

WORLD

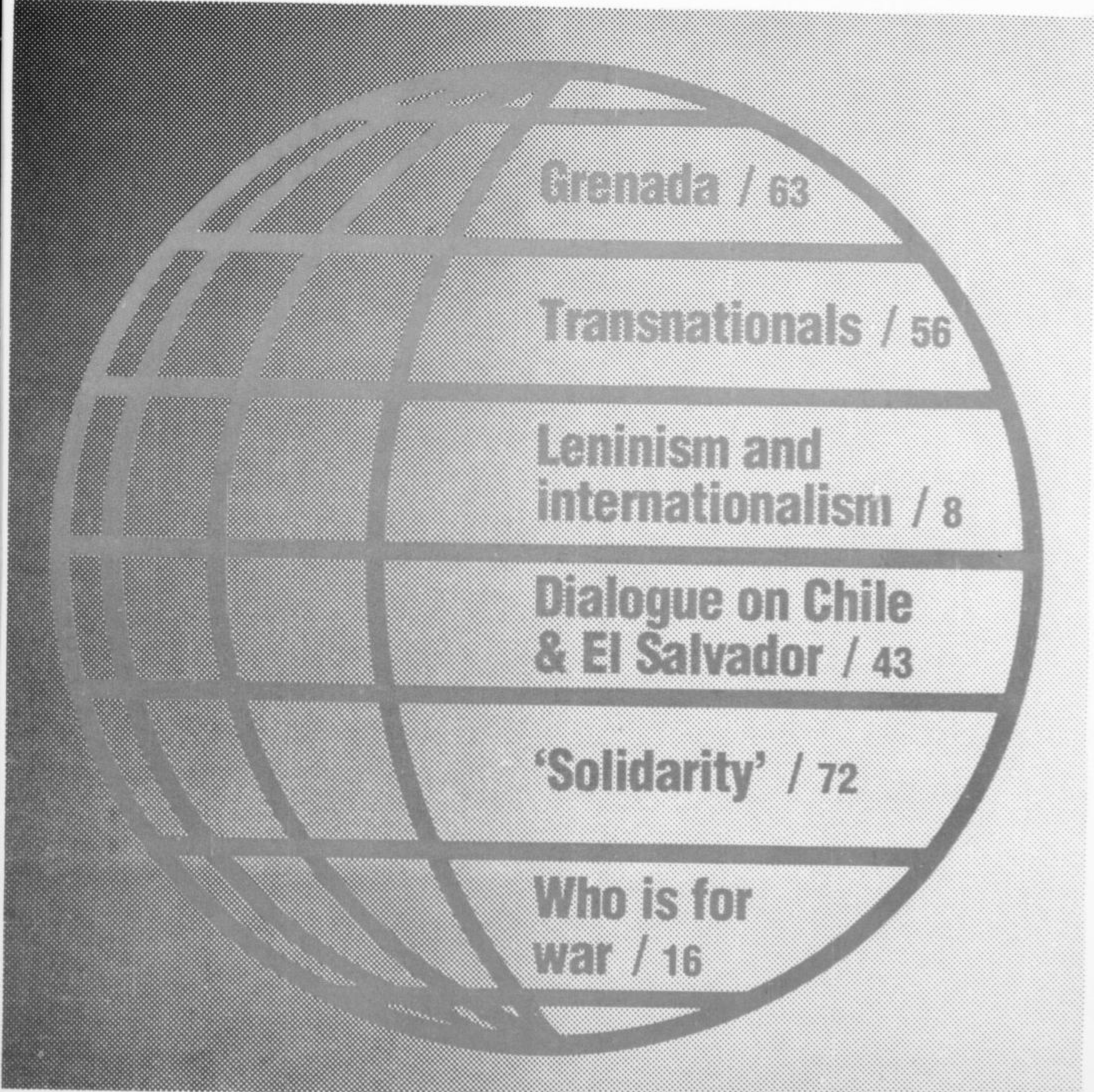
Problems of

MARXIST

Peace and Socialism

REVIEW

April 1982, Volume 25, Number 4 \$1.00



Grenada / 63

Transnationals / 56

**Leninism and
internationalism / 8**

**Dialogue on Chile
& El Salvador / 43**

'Solidarity' / 72

**Who is for
war / 16**



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

April 1982, Vol. 25, No. 4

Theoretical and information journal
of Communist and Workers' Parties

Features

- 1 A key principle of the CPSU's economic strategy
V. Shcherbitsky
- 8 Leninism and some questions of internationalism
K. Zarodov
- 16 New facts: who is preparing for war and who seeks peace
J. West

The party

- 21 The 60th anniversary of the USSR
- 22 Party decisions
M. Balev
- 29 New experience

Exchange of views

- 37 Significance of experience to policy-making
E. Wimmer

- 43 Chile and El Salvador: revolutions are never the same
R. Sanchez, O. Millas
- 50 The historic role of the working class
W. Gerns
- 56 Transnationals in the capitalist world
Materials of discussion

Viewpoints

- 63 Grenada has chosen its road
Maurice Bishop, J. Carrera
- 68 Puerto Rico: a lapse into gunboat diplomacy
R. Valdes Vivo

Facts and figures

- 69 Two destinies of a generation
- 72 What the Solidarity leaders were aiming at
B. Rolinski
- 77 Iceberg of international gangsterism



A key principle of the CPSU's economic strategy

Vladimir Shcherbitsky

CC Political Bureau member of the CPSU and
CC First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Ukraine

Our party's economic strategy rests on the foundation of Marxist-Leninist theory, which in recent years has been enriched with the concept of a mature socialist society, a concept reflecting the laws of that society's ongoing development. This strategy stems from Lenin's proposition on the organic unity, mutual links, and interaction of economics and politics. "Guiding the national economy," Leonid Brezhnev noted, "constitutes the core of all party and government activity. For it is in the economic field that the foundation is being laid for accomplishing social tasks and strengthening the country's defense potential, the foundation for a vigorous foreign policy. It is here that the necessary prerequisites are being created for the successful advance of Soviet society to communism."¹

The general direction and road for the further development of the Soviet economy are determined by the party's program requirement, namely, that all should be done in the name of man, for the welfare of man. The development of the USSR's productive forces — an advanced, multi-branch industry, a single agro-industrial complex being built on the scale of the entire country, and a huge scientific-technological potential — is geared to the satisfaction of society's growing and increasingly more sophisticated requirements. In keeping with this goal, the 26th congress of the CPSU stressed the enormous significance of the principle of rationality in the utilization of resources and the need to implement this principle consistently in the party's economic strategy. "Attention," states the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee on the 60th anniversary of the USSR, "should be centered on intensifying the economy, promoting efficiency in social production, improving quality, accelerating scientific and technological progress, and achieving good end results with the least outlay of raw and other materials, energy, fuel, financial resources and labor."

In a socialist society the productive forces harmonize with the system of relations of production, and this ensures the needed rates of

extended reproduction and the unity of economic and social processes. Thanks to the labor effort of the Soviet people, the nation's wealth is increasing steadily — it is now assessed at 2,900 billion rubles. At the close of 1980 its key portion — basic funds — amounted to 1,854 billion rubles, of which the basic production assets totalled 1,231 billion rubles. In the 1976-1980 period alone, 38 per cent of these assets were renewed.

Soviet society's socio-economic progress is most eloquently expressed by the growth of the Soviet Union's national income, which is the main source of consumption by the people and of the multiplication of national wealth. During the past decade the national income increased by almost two-thirds, which represents a more than 14-fold growth compared with the pre-war level.

Soviet people have to run the economy under the most diverse natural and climatic conditions, which are extremely unfavorable in many regions. Moreover, the economy is developing mainly with its own resources of energy, water, timber, iron ore, most ferrous and rare metals, and many other kinds of raw materials. This underscores the importance of their rational and economical utilization.

Our society has a huge labor potential. With a total population of 268,800,000 we have 114,100,000 factory, office, and professional workers and 13,200,000 collective farmers (in terms of an annual mean). Although the natural population increment has dropped in recent years, largely on account of the so-called demographical aftereffect of the Second World War, it is nonetheless 8-8.5 per 1000 persons, which is a higher rate than in the USA and Western Europe. Of course, this fall of the natural population increment makes it necessary to meet the relative shortage of labor resources by intensifying production and raising labor productivity. The conditions for this exist. The nation has and is successfully developing its huge scientific-technological potential linked closely to production. During the past quarter of a century there has been a

6.1-fold growth of the number of scientific workers. The Ukraine alone now has nearly 200,000 scientific workers.

The nation's financial resources are growing steadily through the revenues of state and co-operative enterprises and organizations. The state budget and the consumption and accumulation funds are increasing uninterrupted. In the 10th five-year plan period, investments added up to 634 billion rubles, or roughly to one-third of the total since the establishment of Soviet power.

Public property in the means of production ensures the planned, rational enlistment of natural and reproduced resources into the economic turnover. In our country nobody can turn production and other resources of society into a means of exploiting the labor of others, nobody has the right to use them as a source of profit and parasitical living. This advantage is dependably guaranteed by the constitution of the USSR, the constitutions of the Union and Autonomous republics, and the entire body of legislation. The Soviet state, guided by the principle of democratic centralism and combining centralized planning with the functional independence of lower economic units, provides socialist enterprises with needed resources and ensures the comprehensive use of these resources and their concentration in key sectors.

The advantages of the socialist mode of production are particularly striking when one takes into account that within an extremely short span of time the USSR accomplished a gigantic advance in the development of basic industries and firmly stepped into first place in the world for the output of oil, iron ore, pig iron, steel, cement, timber, mineral fertilizers, and many products of the engineering industry. In the past 10 years the nation's industrial output has nearly doubled; to achieve a similar increment it took Britain 26 years, the FRG and France 18 years, and the USA 17 years. When economic growth rates are compared, a factor to be taken into account is that during the past 64 years enormous losses have been inflicted on the Soviet economy by the wars unleashed by aggressive imperialist forces. Suffice it to recall that in the Great Patriotic War against fascism, the Soviet Union lost nearly 30 per cent of its national wealth and 20 million lives.

The experience of the USSR is convincing evidence that planned economic development, the use of modern scientific and technological achievements, and socialism's effective incentives for labor and public activity allow, first, to reduce substantially the aggregate magnitude of expended resources per unit of

end product and, second, to proceed with the extended reproduction of resources through the planned use of the achievements of scientific and technological progress. To a large extent this predetermines stable development rates of the entire economic complex.

The 26th CPSU congress set the task of completing, in the main, the economy's switch to chiefly intensive development within the next 10 years, and ensuring a faster growth of output than of outlays. Under socialism this is a natural strategic guideline, because it is the only road on which it is possible to sustain high rates of economic growth and the steady rise of the living standard and cultural level of the people. Intensive and economical extended reproduction creates new prerequisites for success in the economic competition with capitalism.

Bourgeois ideologists, who once aired the view that socialism could not be built in Russia, are now alleging that the USSR cannot make full use of scientific and technological progress and visibly enhance the efficiency of economic management. This allegation is being given the lie by historical practice, by life.

In our country economic development proceeds with the deepening interaction of scientific and technological progress and socio-economic advancement. This is understandable, because to a large extent the settlement of economic and social problems depends on how effectively scientific and technological achievements facilitate the acceleration of the growth of labor productivity. At the same time, the rate of scientific and technological progress is determined by, above all, socio-economic conditions.

Efficiency in the use of resources is influenced largely by the totality of complex and multiform links of this interaction, by harmonious and balanced social and economic development. With this in view, the party is implementing a large series of measures to improve the balance between production and consumption, get a bigger return from the production potential on that basis, and perfect the nation's economic mechanism. At the plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee in November 1981, Leonid Brezhnev declared that under the current five-year plan the party was consolidating its line toward increasing the economic potential and enhancing efficiency in the national economy. With markedly lower investment growth rates and a substantial saving of resources, output must increase by 26 per cent in industry and 13 per cent in agriculture, while the national income is to grow by 18 per cent and the population's

per capita real incomes are to rise by 16.5 per cent. Here a major role is to be played by the 20-year comprehensive program for scientific and technological progress and its social effects.

In parallel with the growth of labor productivity through the retooling of production, special significance is attached to the intensified use of natural resources. The reasons for this lie in the requirements of scientific and technological progress and in the fact that the outlays on bringing such resources into the economic turnover and reproduction tend to increase, especially in connection with the exhaustion of old deposits, the complication of the conditions of extraction, and the relocation of mining industries to new distant regions. The scientific and technological revolution has compressed time and sharply intensified the links between individual industries. It has helped to raise the level of the socialization of production and thereby greatly change and stiffen the criteria of thrift. In fact, it may be said that in a measure it has reshaped the traditional views on economy and thrift.

A more energetic utilization of intensive, resource-saving factors opens up huge additional potentialities for promoting efficiency in social production. This is convincingly demonstrated by the experience of economic development in the Ukraine, which is one of the largest regions of the USSR's single economic complex.

The Ukraine has nearly one-fifth of the USSR's population. It is one of the country's largest fuel, energy, and metallurgical bases, accounting for more than one-third of its steel and rolled stock, over one-fourth of its coal, about one-fifth of its engineering and metalworking output, over half of its iron ore, and nearly one-fourth of its agricultural produce. Despite the high level of industrial production and the limited supply of a whole range of resources, the republic has increased its industrial output by 72 per cent in the past 10 years (1971-1980). To a large, if not decisive extent, this is due to the purposeful work of party, local government, economic and scientific organizations and institutions on the restructuring of the mechanism of economic management and the speeding up of scientific and technological progress.

New structural changes are to take place in the 1980s, and these will lead to a further rise of the rate of retooling industry, chiefly through the accelerated development of engineering. As an illustration, it is planned that by 1985 the output of the Soviet Union's engineering and metalworking industries will grow by 40 per cent, with the productivity and the per-

formance longevity of the machinery put out rising by an average of 30-50 per cent and 25-35 per cent respectively.

There are to be significant changes also in the pattern of energy resources. There will be a higher rate of output of coal (by open-cast mining), gas, and of the development of the nuclear and hydro-power energetics. The period of the 11th five-year plan is to witness the development of new deposits and the building and completion of a number of big trunk gas pipelines, notably the Western Siberia-Center pipeline and the export-oriented Urengoi-Uzhgorod pipeline. As a result, within the next few years the proportion of oil and gas from the country's eastern and northern regions and also of energy from nuclear power stations will increase tangibly in the Ukraine's energy structure.

Qualitative changes are to take place in the Group B industries and in the agro-industrial complex in connection with the development and implementation of a food program. Already today the Ukraine's agriculture is developing through intensive factors. The entire increase in output is being achieved as a result of a more effective utilization of resources. In particular, the higher per worker assets and energy ratios have in recent years been releasing an annual average of 80,000 persons from agriculture for work in other industries.

A wide-ranging soil improvement program is being carried out in the republic. Irrigation in the southern, drought-prone regions of the Ukraine is creating a large zone of guaranteed harvests. At the same time, more organic and mineral fertilizers are being used, large-scale programs have been started to fight water and wind erosion, and meadows and pastures are being improved.

Efficiency in the use of land depends in large measure also on the care given it outside the sphere of agricultural production. Hence, in the Ukraine, we are introducing technologies that reduce production waste, starting the recultivation of land, promoting denser housing development in towns and villages, and cutting down the territory for new enterprises. This allows, on the one hand, to reduce to a minimum the land taken from agricultural use and, on the other, to speed agricultural development on land released from industrial exploitation.

The fresh water problem is being resolved in the republic by regulating the flow of rivers, redistributing this flow territorially, going over to technologies requiring little or no water, adopting advanced methods of irrigation, and

also desalinating sea and mine water, using sea water for industrial requirements, and so on.

All the measures I have mentioned will unquestionably contribute to a more rational and effective utilization of natural resources, of the entire potential of resources. As Leonid Brezhnev said, "today, as we look ahead five and ten years, we should not forget that it is precisely these years that will see the laying of the foundation and building of the economic structure with which the country will enter the 21st century. It must embody the basic features and ideals of the new society, be in the vanguard of progress, and personify the integration of science and production, the unbreakable alliance between creative thought and creative work."²

By its nature socialism is a society of economical and rational economic management. The ruthless exploitation of resources implicit in capitalism is alien to it. The Soviet economy is free of unemployment, galloping inflation, destructive cyclical crises, and bankruptcies. Our society has no glaring contrasts between luxury and poverty, such as are to be observed under capitalism, where between 8 and 10 per cent of the families own the bulk of the national wealth, and millions are denied what is most vital, often even the opportunity to work and earn the means of subsistence. Public property in the means of production and the planned management of the economy from a single center in combination with the creative initiative of millions of people, the implementation of a coherent economic, scientific-technical and social policy, and the material and moral incentives offered by socialism bring to light fundamentally new opportunities for making better use of resources.

Socialist society shows particularly great concern for the main production force — the working person. The constitutional rights and duties of Soviet citizens ensure to them the fullness of socio-economic, political, and personal freedoms, choice and access to any forms of socially-useful work, knowledge and cultural wealth, and participation in state and economic management. Socialist society spares no effort for the education of the harmoniously developed individual. Mainly at the expense of social consumption funds, the state ensures the upbringing of the youngest generation at nursery schools and kindergartens, the education of young people at secondary and vocational schools and institutions of higher learning, the social security of veterans of labor, medical services for the population, the promotion of physical culture and sport, the development of the entire social in-

frastructure; housing construction is proceeding on a vast scale.

Society's labor potential is the foundation of its existence. In terms of the functioning of this potential socialism has features that distinguish it fundamentally and qualitatively from all preceding social systems. It has made the working person the true master of his country and generated the idea and practice of socialist emulation, which has become a major incentive for highly productive work. The attitude of a person to work, his actual labor contribution to the national wealth have become the principal criterion of his merits and social status. Concern for future generations prompts our society to define an overall pattern of the location and development of the productive forces that ensures the comprehensive and effective utilization of all resources. This is the starting point for the subsequent planned establishment of industrial and agro-industrial complexes.

Further, let me note that under socialism scientific and technological progress, regulated by an integral state plan, opens up favorable opportunities not only for the preservation but also for improvement of the human environment and for the reproduction of natural resources. In the USSR large state appropriations and material means are allocated to ensure the ecological balance, to preserve and enlarge natural resources. These are used for afforestation, the regulation of rivers, the building of artificial reservoirs and purification installations, the introduction of closed-cycle waste-free technologies, and the organization of wild-life preserves and parks. In the Ukraine, for instance, in addition to the scores of irrigation systems already in operation, new projects, including the Kakhovka irrigation system (one of the longest in Europe), the second section of the North Crimea complex and some other systems are being built, and the gigantic Danube-Dnieper water distribution complex is being planned. Outlays of this kind will benefit present and future generations.

Our party holds the view that the protection and reproduction of natural wealth are a broad field for international cooperation. Unlike the anti-humane orientation of the colossal expenditures on the arms race started by aggressive imperialist circles, the costs involved in protecting nature would be in the interests of all the peoples of the world.

Large-scale programs for the comprehensive development of the wealth of the non-chernozem zone and the creation of large new industrial complexes in the country's North and East, which have considerable energy and

mineral-raw material potentials, are vital for the rational utilization of the Soviet Union's resources. The enlistment of these potentials into the active economic turnover will be facilitated by the completion of the Baikal-Amur Railway and the building of hydro-power complexes, power transmission lines, giant oil and gas pipelines, and other elements of the modern infrastructure. The extension of explored reserves of minerals and their planned, rational, and comprehensive utilization are an inalienable component of the strategy for the country's industrial development.

Special program planning — the elaboration and implementation of Union, republic, and regional special-purpose comprehensive programs — is becoming increasingly important in the planned management of the economy. These methods allow resolving challenging scientific-technical problems, including the utilization of natural resources comprehensively. Moreover, this opens up the possibility of combining the elaboration of problems linked to the manufacture of new kinds of output closer with steps to introduce advanced machinery and technology. Under this approach, the capital construction plan, in effect, fuses with the plan for the development of science and technology in a single, indivisible scientific-production program.

In the Ukraine, for instance, the practice of drawing up special programs on the republic, regional, and branch level has become widespread. On the basis of our accumulated positive experience of replacing manual by mechanized labor, there is, within the framework of the current five-year plan, a special comprehensive program combining technological, organizational, and socio-economic measures aimed at enhancing efficiency in the use of labor resources. Alongside special programs covering the entire Soviet Union, work is under way according to republic programs under the headings "Metal", "Energy Complex," "Material Intensiveness," "Agro-complex," "Labor" and "Sugar."

By combining the branch and territorial aspects, and planning with a system of effective production management, the special comprehensive programs provide the organizational foundation for economic maneuvering. Our critics are deluding themselves when they allege that production can be intensified and made more dynamic only by cutting down on planned management. The course toward an intensification of production is a course toward the improvement of the mechanism of planned management, as was profoundly substantiated at the party's 26th congress. This has been

strongly reiterated at the CPSU Central Committee plenary meeting in November 1981.

In our day, when production tends to turn "from a simple process of labor into a scientific process," "into the technological application of science,"³ interaction between science and production is more important than ever. In implementing the guidelines laid down by the 25th and 26th congresses of the CPSU, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine has carried out a series of measures to reinforce the link between science and production. State and economic bodies are oriented on speeding up scientific and technological progress. The republic's State Planning Commission has been given a bigger role. The organizational structure of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences has been improved. A number of new scientific institutions have been set up and their experimental-production facilities are being enlarged.

Many academic institutes are scientific-technical complexes embracing the institute proper, a design office, experimental production facilities, and an experimental factory. It is in complexes of this kind that the most favorable conditions are being created for using fundamental research to obtain dramatic practical results leading to higher efficiency in entire industries and even to the formation of new branches of the economy. Thus, the republic's academic institutions have developed the now widely known electrosag technology that led to the emergence of a new branch of metallurgy — electrometallurgy — and also the technology of producing synthetic diamonds, powder materials and articles made of them, and some other technologies.

An effective form of linking science and production now consists of plans of joint work by the Academy of Sciences of the Ukraine and a number of Union and Republic ministries. These plans provide for the creation of the necessary conditions in production for the introduction of scientific breakthroughs and raising the level of the mutual responsibility of scientists and people engaged in production. Also, there is the practice of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukraine concluding contracts with various regions in the republic. All this has allowed drawing scientists into the fulfillment of important regional tasks on a larger scale.

What has been accomplished in the Ukraine to secure a further rise of the technological level of production, promote the development of science, and speed the introduction of its achievements in practice is already now yielding positive results. Compared with the period

of the ninth five-year plan, the volume of research, experimental designing, and technological breakthroughs rose by 50 per cent in the years of the 10th five-year plan. More than 11,000 scientific innovations were introduced into the economy annually, and the economic returns from them have grown by one-fourth.

A system of managing scientific and technological progress has been formed in the main. It involves branch and inter-branch scientific and technological cooperation and consists of three basic levels.

Management at the first, upper level is implemented by the Council of Ministers of the Ukraine, the republic's Commission for Scientific and Technological Progress, and its State Planning Commission. Scientific and technological projects for the immediate future are determined on that level on the basis of the strategy of scientific quests worked out by the State Planning Commission of the USSR, the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, and the Academy of Sciences of the USSR for the entire country. Forecasts of economic development are used to specify the problems facing science, problems on whose solution the rate of scientific and technological progress depends.

The second level of management consists of Union-Republic and Republic ministries and departments directly responsible for scientific and technological progress in their branches. These have charted and are putting into effect more than 100 branch scientific-technical programs. The end aim of each is to resolve key problems of introducing new machinery and advanced technology into production, boost machine efficiency, and improve the technico-economic indices of each industrial enterprise and of entire industries.

Lastly, the third is the regional level. Here the bulk of the work is conducted by local organs of government. In their drive to promote scientific and technological progress they are dependably aided by research centers of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences whose influence covers all the regions in the republic. This is an important element of the system of managing scientific and technological progress, for it coordinates the work of scientific programs, and concentrates the efforts of scientists of academic, branch, and educational institutions on the fulfillment of these programs. The involvement of party committees and local authorities in this work helps to surmount departmental barriers and resolve complex organizational problems more quickly.

Increasing use is also being made of the potentialities of scientific-technical societies

and the mass production innovation and rationalization movement. In the 10th five-year plan period alone, the implementation of innovative suggestions in production gave the republic a saving of nearly 6,000 million rubles.

In the interrelationship between science and production there are unresolved problems as well. One of these is the need to further improve the mechanism of using economic incentives to foster scientific and technological progress. We still get cases of obvious reluctance to adopt this or that technical innovation only because it is unprofitable from the standpoint of current economic interests. We are doing everything to put an end to problems of this kind.

The rational use of resources is linked intimately to inculcating in people a responsible attitude to means of production and working time. Lenin characterized economical management as a feature of communism. In the article *A Great Beginning*, he wrote: "Communism begins when the rank-and-file workers display an enthusiastic concern . . . to increase the productivity of labor, husband every poond of grain, coal, iron and other products" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 29, p. 427). In the laconic and meaningful words, "the economy must be economical," the 26th congress of the CPSU expressed the essence of our party's approach to this task today.

A solicitous attitude by people to public property benefits everybody. Economizing under socialism has nothing in common with the austerity policy pursued in capitalist countries. There it signifies economizing at the expense of the working people's incomes, of expenditures on social needs, in other words, impingement of the vital interests of the people, while the benefits of these restrictions are ultimately appropriated by big capital. Where public property prevails, economizing benefits the whole of society, and it is practised and used by the working people themselves. These two types of economizing are as different as are the direct aims of capitalist and socialist production.

It is another matter that benefit to society is not understood with crystal clarity as benefit to oneself. This understanding does not come automatically. For that reason, while perfecting the economic mechanisms we try to bring the benefits of saving, as quickly and as tangibly as possible to those who produce them. At the same time we are conducting educational work to show the lofty moral significance of concern for the public good.

The creative initiative of working people and the utmost promotion of socialist emulation in

overfulfilling output plans with the simultaneous saving of financial and material resources greatly predetermine the results of the work of enterprises. In their resolution of July 1981, the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers endorsed the main guidelines for the efforts of work collectives and all elements of economic management to ensure the economical and rational use of raw materials, fuel and energy and other resources over the long term.

A matter of special concern, on which we strive to concentrate the attention and creative efforts of all working people, is to reduce the capital-intensity of output. What does this signify concretely? In some industries in the Ukraine, for example, the cost per workplace has been rising faster in recent years than labor productivity. In some cases this is due to the operation of objective factors, linked mainly to improvements in working conditions, environmental protection, rising prices of means of production on account of the more complex methods of extracting raw materials, and so on. To some extent, this is also due to the underutilization of equipment because the number of workplaces is growing faster than the number of workers. However, an analysis shows that here and there extensive tendencies still predominate in the process of developing production. In combatting these tendencies the party committees of the Ukraine take as their point of departure the fact that today priority must be given to the growth of the volume of production over the growth of the value of basic production assets. Further, we take into account the fact that a reduction of the consumption of materials and capital in terms of per unit of output is not only a means of enhancing efficiency in production but also a realistic way of offsetting the labor shortage.

We expect a substantial saving from the fulfillment of republic special comprehensive programs. For instance, the "Energy Complex" program is expected to save 160 million rubles' worth of all kinds of resources toward the end of the 11th five-year plan period, while the "Metal" program envisages a saving of over two million tons of metal.

In the republic, every incentive and encouragement is given to initiatives effectively helping to mobilize resources. For instance, much is being done to disseminate the experience of the party organization and people of the Dnepropetrovsk Region who have developed a comprehensive system of managing output quality and the effective use of resources, including labor, material, and financial. The Kiev city party organization is

energetically facilitating the introduction of new forms of creative cooperation between the city's research centers, institutions of higher learning, and factories. This effort is getting widespread support. Suggestions from work collectives are likewise contributing to the economical expenditure of raw and other materials. Embodied in concrete deeds, the initiative and sense of being master of the country implicit in the Soviet citizen acquire a material dimension and are expressed in large savings of fuel, electric energy, and finances.

Party organizations attach paramount significance to spreading advanced experience, promoting good organization and efficiency, and strengthening state, planning, financial, and labor discipline in every sector of production, at all levels of management. A public inspection of how effectively material and fuel-energy resources are being used is now conducted on the scale of the entire republic under the 11th five-year plan. These inspections have become traditional in the Ukraine. Some 10 million people take part in them annually.

In this context it is important to note the growing interest in the experience of other socialist community countries vigorously looking for the most rational ways of economizing on resources. The creative application of the accumulated aggregate experience is greatly facilitated by economic links between neighboring regions of socialist countries and also by cooperation of local party bodies.

As Leonid Brezhnev said at the 26th congress of the CPSU, "economic policy is coming to hinge on a matter that would seem simple and quite routine — a thrifty attitude to social property, and an ability to make full and expedient use of everything we have. It is on this that the initiatives of work collectives and the party's mass activities should be concentrated. It is on this that technological policy, investment policy, and the system of planning and accounting indicators should be concentrated."⁴ Party organizations in our republic are doing everything to implement these guidelines.

In books and articles some bourgeois economists allege that the socialist economy created and developed in our country has been and remains self-contained, that it is opposed to man and his vital needs. In making this allegation they usually refer to the 1920s and 1930s, the period when socialist industry was being built. That period did indeed require a large effort. But our critics entirely ignore the decisive circumstance that we accepted hardship consciously, understanding the historical significance of industrialization and of

strengthening the nation's defense capability in the face of capitalist encirclement and the mounting threat of war. Also, they usually say nothing of the fact that in those extremely harsh conditions our party and government carried out social tasks of unprecedented dimensions: unemployment was wiped out, millions upon millions of people came to know the joy of free labor, an all-embracing system of education and vocational training was formed, and a deep-going cultural revolution was accomplished.

Bourgeois Sovietologists are in vain trying to prove that today, too, economic progress is achieved by us at "much too high a price," distorting the character and direction of the state's economic functions, and belittling the diversity and wealth of social tasks whose fulfillment brings the people benefits that are incomparably greater than what working people

get from the policy of the ruling classes in capitalist countries.

Socialist society is working on the lofty aim of building communism on the basis of scientific prevision, of the conscious management of complex socio-economic processes. In the interests of the people's material and cultural well-being and of increasing social wealth, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and our government are steadfastly applying the principle that all resources must be used rationally, thereby creating one of the basic conditions for the life of present and future generations.

1. L.I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Vol. 8, Moscow, 1981, p. 668 (in Russian).
2. L.I. Brezhnev, *ibid.*, p. 684.
3. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Works*, Vol. 46, Part 2, p. 208; Vol. 23, p. 638 (Russian translation).
4. L.I. Brezhnev, *op.cit.*, p. 681.

Leninism and some questions of internationalism

Konstantin Zarodov
WMR Editor-in-Chief

Every April 22 people dedicated to the building of socialism and the revolutionary struggle to achieve it mark the birth of Vladimir Lenin. This is tradition. As every tradition, it mirrors the strong bond of time and at the same time has a topical content. In the given case, the bond of time signifies that we are living in an epoch started by the revolution accomplished under the leadership of the party headed by Lenin. The topicality of content means that the overall complication and growth of the contradictions of global socio-political development steadily add to the value of the theory and revolutionary experience of Leninism.

Having said this, we have touched upon a subject that gives rise to acute ideological clashes. Debates rage over the present-day significance of Leninism. They are going on also in the working-class movement — not in the shape of abstract discussions but directly in connection with pressing political problems. One of these problems constantly places the working class in a position of having to define its international posture and choosing allies outside its own country. In other words, this is the problem of internationalism. It is dramatized by virtually every event holding the world's attention, whether it is the Madrid con-

ference of nations that signed the Helsinki Final Act, or the NATO decision threatening to turn Western Europe into a base for Pershing and Cruise missiles, or the fall of the monarchy in Iran, or the social changes in Afghanistan, the explosive upsurge of the anti-war movement in West European countries or the crisis in Poland, the civil war in El Salvador or Israel's "legislative" annexation of seized Arab lands.

"Only lazy people do not swear by internationalism these days," Lenin noted in April 1917 (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 24, p. 74), thereby underscoring that internationalism becomes an empty sound if it does not consistently express the class policy of the proletariat and its allies in key issues of world developments, of international life. Anybody familiar with Lenin's theoretical and political work knows that he saw the test of true internationalism in the stand taken on three issues: war and peace, society's socialist restructuring, and the liberation of oppressed peoples. This approach of Lenin's to the question of internationalism retains its full significance, for under the present, sharply changed historical conditions humankind is confronted with these selfsame three main issues. With this in mind we shall try to consider some major aspects of the present-day

struggle for the internationalist unity of the working class, for the consolidation of international solidarity among the forces of peace, among all forces of the world revolutionary process.

Let us begin with the question of war and peace. First, because humankind today has no greater concern than to prevent a thermonuclear war and preserve peace on earth. Second, because in the 20th century the demarcation between class internationalism and phrasemongering began precisely with the choice of the stand on exactly this issue.

Of course, solely the fact that the question of war and peace existed then and continues to exist today is by no means sufficient to look for its solution by the method of analogy. Every period places this issue in a medium of its own, a medium formed as a result of an intricate interaction of economic, socio-political, socio-psychological, and many other factors. The international working class is constantly faced with the task of specifying its concept of peace in order to bring its views and attitude into line with the imperatives of the day.

Today, account must be taken of the destructive power of the stockpiled weaponry, of the heavy burden of the unending arms race that the peoples have to bear, and, at the same time, of its threat to the very existence of humankind. The present arsenals are simply not comparable with those of the past, either in quantity or in quality.

Also unprecedented is the alignment of international forces, which embraces, among other factors, the military-political confrontation between the USA and the USSR, and between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization. Here an approximate military parity combines with diametrically opposite policies. The Soviet Union and the other socialist community nations are doing everything possible to put an end to the arms race, preserve détente, and give a fresh impetus to its development. Spokesmen of bellicose circles in NATO, chiefly in the USA, are, on the contrary, pursuing a policy of escalating world tension and publicly proclaiming as virtuous a hardening of their line toward the USSR and its allies, having recourse to various forms of interference in the affairs of socialist countries and announcing "sanctions" against them.

The question arises whether from all this the conclusion may be drawn that world politics are made solely by diplomats, governments, states, powers, blocs? Further, can one conclude from this that the struggle of the working people against the power of capital, for socialism, in no way or manner intersects with the

conflicts on the international scene? In line with this logic can one recommend that the participants in this struggle should distance themselves as far as possible from "bloc policy," from the two poles of the global military-political confrontation? It seems one can if the reasoning is approximately that since both sides have been drawn into the arms race, since both are represented on the international level by blocs, they are both, in equal measure, responsible for the political tension in the world.

Such a "peace philosophy," outwardly adapted to present-day world realities (small wonder that the accent is put on blocs), does indeed exist. Of course, it differs from the "philosophy" being spread by imperialist propaganda and which is buttressed solely by the "Soviet threat" inventions, but this does not make it a philosophy that correctly mirrors the realities of the world. It goes no farther than to express the understandable aspiration to avert the threat of war, but contains no serious attempt to answer the question of where this threat comes from. In short, it does not rise above the level of the people's spontaneous peace sentiments and demands.

Lenin had insisted that "the workers' class-conscious vanguard," while in every way supporting and developing such demands, should nevertheless be able to put forward its own slogans stemming from a scientific analysis of the situation (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 21, p. 292). This compels us to look back into history and scrutinize what determined Lenin's own stand on the question of war and peace and how it was shaped.

Why, on the eve of the First World War, had the internationalist Lenin wanted to have nothing to do with the leaders of the Second International and the Russian Mensheviks? The reason was that they looked for ideological loopholes to enable them to evade opposing the imminent war and come to terms with the class adversary with the defense of the motherland as the basis. Why had the internationalist Lenin advanced the slogan of "defeat of one's own government" when war broke out? The reason was that this was an imperialist war, which the bourgeoisie of each of the belligerent countries was fighting not for national but for its own interests that conflicted with the interests of the proletariat. Why did the internationalist Lenin become a "defensist," a proponent of the defense of the motherland, after the October Revolution? The motivation was that now it was a matter of defending the class state of workers and peasants.

Thus Lenin's line was in keeping with the realities of international life. But the specifics of

a situation can be taken into account differently. With references to the imperatives of the times, spokesmen of the right wing of the working-class movement likewise hastened to renovate their "peace philosophy." Take, for instance, G.V. Plekhanov, who found himself among them. In 1915 he declared that "our tactics change with circumstances" and from this drew the conclusion that although the Socialists "stood for the preservation of peace before the war, this should not mean they could not now . . . take part in the war."¹ The course steered by the leaders of the Second International in fact evolved into direct collusion with the bourgeoisie, which sought to strengthen its positions by militarism and war. Leninism's anti-war posture was a powerful factor behind the revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants of Russia, and the victory of the October Revolution, which, as a matter of fact, strikingly demonstrated for the first time the unbreakable link of the struggle for peace with the struggle for society's socialist transformation.

Why, with their seemingly identical attention to the specifics of the obtaining situation, did the policy of Lenin, on the one hand, and the policy of right-wing social-democracy, on the other, prove to be antipodal in purport and results? The reason was that the opportunist leaders of the working-class movement noted a change only in government-to-government relations, only in the external structures of international life. For Lenin, as we have just shown, the main thing was the class criterion, the class approach, the class viewpoint.

The theory and practice of Leninism have taught advanced members of the international proletariat to identify what is cardinal in the problem of war and peace, namely, its class content. It taught them to understand that the international arena is, above all, an arena of conflict and confrontation of class interests. Besides, a specific of our time is the growing polarization of class forces represented in it. This process was started by the October Revolution, which split the world into two opposing social systems and thereby "gave" the whole of international life a single pivot. It, Lenin wrote, led to a situation in which "world political developments are of necessity concentrated on a single focus" — the struggle of the world bourgeoisie against the Soviet state and its natural allies, namely, "the movements of the advanced workers in all countries, and all the national liberation movements in the colonies and among the oppressed nationalities" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 21, p. 146).

When Lenin wrote these words socialism

was only taking its first steps in one country. Today there is a large international family of socialist states and the whole of world politics is more than ever pivoted on the struggle between socialism and capitalism. The development of this internationalized conflict between labor and capital, the struggle between and balance of the forces involved in it determine the content and direction of the main trends of international life.

Scientific socialism insists on unity of theory and practice. Among other things, this requires the ability to be a realist in matters relating to current politics. The communists are aware that with the existence of military-political blocs it has to be taken into account in one way or another that under present-day conditions many key international issues, the problems of disarmament, and the destiny of détente cannot be resolved apart from and outside these blocs. But the same realism allows seeing the fundamentally different role played within the framework of "bloc policy" by imperialism and socialism, by the USA and the USSR, by bourgeois nationalism and internationalism. Realism also implies a lucid understanding of the fact that the problem of disbanding blocs (raised, incidentally, in the Peace Program advanced by the CPSU) can be resolved provided the military parity is maintained, and the armaments level is lowered consistently, in other words, by developing both the political and military aspects of détente.

The communists approach the development of their concept and policy of peace with an eminently high sense of responsibility. They see their internationalist duty in correctly orienting the mass anti-war movement, in explaining to its participants that the course of international life is determined not by "bloc logic" but by the logic of class interests and contradictions. In opposition to the "peace philosophy," which leads to the fragmentation of the peace forces, they offer a class analysis of world development with the resultant conclusions, which indicate the way to the internationalist unity of these forces regardless of their partisanship, ideology, national affiliation, and so on.

This analysis shows with crystal clarity that the threat of war today, as was the case in the two world wars, comes from imperialism, and that socialism is the principal force of the international front in defense of peace. Internationalist solidarity in the struggle for peace can be effective only if it is based on an understanding of these two truths. And it must be effective, because the essentially class issue of

war and peace today confronts humankind as a question of life and death.

Let us now consider the kind of check to which internationalism is subjected in terms of practical problems and actual gains on the road of society's socialist transformation.

In the summer of 1917 the developments in Russia were heading toward a point where the socialist revolution had to evolve from a theoretical abstraction into a tangible reality. At the time, Lenin had a conversation with a wealthy engineer, who had once been a revolutionary and even a member of the Bolshevik Party. Lenin related the change that overcame his interlocutor on the threshold of a historic turn: "Now he was full of fear and rage at the turbulent and indomitable workers . . . He was willing to accept the social revolution if history were to lead to it in the peaceful, calm, smooth and precise manner of a German express train pulling into a station. A sedate conductor would open the carriage door and announce: 'Social Revolution Station. Alle aussteigen (all change)!' (Coll. Works, Vol. 26, p. 119).

Let nobody think that in citing this bit of Lenin's personal recollections, which appeared in his pre-October work "Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?", we have digressed. By no means. What does Lenin underline in this story? Evidently, that it does not cost much to display platonic sympathy for the revolution, for socialism if one is not prepared to share the difficulties, sacrifices, and other "inconveniences" of the class struggle. Lenin expressed this thought and amplified it in many theoretical works and political speeches. It has a direct bearing on the problem of internationalism as well. We shall now see this, and again first in an example from history.

After the October Revolution Karl Kautsky set out to blaze a special, "middle" way between the internationalism of the communists and the advanced workers who were wholeheartedly in solidarity with the world's first socialist state, and the anti-Sovietism of the social-reformists, who sided openly with the bourgeoisie.

Did he remain a proponent of socialism? Yes, but with the totally unscientific, anti-Marxist reservation that socialism must instantly "come into the light of day" in the alluring image of universal abundance, high culture, and legality. The socialist example of Russia did not suit him. However, as becomes a "centrist," he elaborated a concept according to which the revolutionary affairs of the proletariat of Russia could merit a positive evaluation provided the entire world process of transition to socialism was "ennobled" by a revo-

lution embracing the whole of Europe. Such a revolution, Kautsky asserted, would help "to remove the hindrances" that arose in Russia to the "attainment of socialist production," it would render painless the "difficulties" and "losses" that proved to accompany the first steps toward socialism.²

Taken by themselves, i.e., as theoretical abstractions, arguments of this kind could be accepted as quite reasonable. Of course, for revolutionary Russia assistance from revolutionary Europe would have been most welcome. But the point is that Kautsky wrote all this "not for the sake of writing" but as a reproach against the proletariat of Russia, against the Bolsheviks for having accomplished the revolution without waiting for the "German express train." For this he was prepared to ostracize them from "true socialism" and willingly joined the bourgeois and reformist chorus that grieved over the violence, destruction, pain and suffering in which the new society was born.

Lenin directed withering criticism at this centrist "revolutionariness" and "internationalism" that kept looking round at the powers that be, at the sentiments and views they were propounding. The right Social-Democrats, Lenin wrote, "bluntly, crudely, cynically . . . deserted to the side of the bourgeoisie." The "centrists" were doing "the same thing, only hesitatingly and haltingly, and casting cowardly side-glances at those who were stronger at the moment" (Coll. Works, Vol. 28, p. 291).

This does not fortuitously come to mind. The shades of Kautsky and other "centrists" keep appearing in political circles linked to the working-class movement. Familiar patterns are being revived, and their present exponents are demanding an "improvement" of existing socialism and declaring that socialist transformations will proceed more successfully if an end is put to capitalism not where it is relatively weak but where it is strongest. Let us consider the substance of these arguments.

For the bourgeoisie socialism is in principle unacceptable — both as it exists and, much less, if it is "improved," if in fact it accords with such fundamental criteria as the socialization of the basic means of production and the concentration of power in the hands of the working people led by the working class. Authoritative spokesmen of monopoly capital do not always speak frankly of this, but they have done so quite frequently of late. For instance, the U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger and the U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig have been repeating stiff-neckedly that one way or

another socialism must go into oblivion.

For the international working class, on the contrary, real existing socialism and every gain it makes are a value of the highest order. This view of socialism in its living flesh and blood is prompted to working people by, to say the least, their social, class instinct. As regards the political vanguard of the working-class movement, it is guided also by realized class interests. This means understanding that for the revolutionary working masses the countries of victorious socialism are an irreplaceable international ally and that the hard struggle of the proletariat of the capitalist world for the new social system would have been even harder without their existence, without their experience.

Of course, neither in the socialist community countries nor in the Marxist-Leninist parties functioning in other countries is the absurd illusion harbored that existing socialism is at the same time an ideal socialism, an embodiment of perfection in all fields.

What follows from this? That socialist society which does not coincide with ideal socialism should generally be "annulled" and "closed"? Or that recognition and support for it should be delayed until it harmonizes perfectly with the ideal? The very raising of such questions cannot be other than ridiculous in the revolutionary working class, for the formation of the socialist system, its improvement and approximation to the ideal (which, as a matter of fact, spells out communism) is a long process full of problems and difficulties. Ever since the October Revolution the stand of the advanced workers of the world has been one of internationalist support for this process and the utmost assistance to its steady and successful development. Incidentally, they had themselves seen at once that the road to socialism was not strewn with roses. But, Lenin said in this connection, "if we make mistakes and blunders and meet with obstacles on our way, that is not what is important to them; what is important to them is our example, that is what unites them. They say: We shall go together and conquer, come what may" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 26, p. 471).

An argument of Leninism's adversaries is that by stressing the significance of the actual experience of the accomplished revolutions it thereby "imposes" a pattern of struggle for socialism, a single "model" of socialist construction. This, they allege, was Lenin's stand, and it always has been and remains the stand of "Moscow." But let's look at the facts.

In the year of 1919 developments were such that the Red Army units marching to the assis-

tance of the Hungarian revolution were unable to fight their way beyond Galicia and Bukovina. But what were they taking to the Hungarian revolutionaries? The "Soviet model"? The following is the keynote of a wireless message sent by Lenin to the leader of the revolution in Budapest Bela Kun: "It is altogether beyond doubt that it would be a mistake merely to imitate our Russian tactics in all details in the specific conditions of the Hungarian revolution. I must warn you against this mistake" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 29, p. 227).

The year was 1937. Civil war was raging in Spain. In fulfillment of their internationalist duty, the Soviet communists sided unequivocally with the Republicans and helped them to the best of their ability. For what? In order to "export" the "Soviet model" to Spain? Let's open a book by Santiago Carrillo, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain, and read the letter received at the time by the Spanish comrades from Moscow, from the Soviet leaders. In the letter there are evaluations, considerations and advice offered, without the shadow of categorical sermonizing, offered as material for contemplation. The following is its keynote: "The Spanish revolution is paving a way in many respects different from the way traversed by Russia. This is due to the distinctions in prerequisites of a social, historical and geographical order, the international situation. . . . It is quite likely that in Spain the parliamentary way will prove to be a more effective way of revolutionary development than it had in Russia."³

In 1946 the peoples of countries of Central and Southeast Europe took the revolutionary road leading to socialist transformations. The USSR gave them every possible assistance. In order to assert the "Soviet model" there, too? The following is what Klement Gottwald, leader of the Czechoslovak communists, said about the "view of Moscow": "... practice has proved what the classics of Marxism foresaw, namely, that there is a way to socialism other than through the Soviet state system."⁴

By the years 1981 and 1982 a vast international experience had been accumulated of building socialism and of revolutionary struggle for socialist-oriented development. This experience embraces many-sided cooperation with the Soviet Union and the use of various forms of its assistance. What does "Moscow" see or want to see in this experience? The international spread of the "Soviet model"? In the CC report to the 26th congress of the CPSU we read: the process of drawing the socialist states together "does not obliterate the specific national features or the historical distinctions of

the socialist countries. We should see the variety of forms in their social life and economic organization for what it really is — a wealth of ways and methods of establishing the socialist way of life.”⁵ And this is what is stressed in the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee on the approaching 60th anniversary of the USSR: “The Soviet Union is foisting on nobody patterns and ‘models’ of a state system that ignore the specifics of this or that country.”⁶

Evidently, this clears up the point about “models.” But there is another aspect of the matter linked to the fact that in pondering the socialist future of their countries many revolutionaries emphasize their intention to do without the deformations that had taken place in the history of socialism’s formation. The Marxist-Leninists treat this with understanding, for, to quote Lenin, nobody can be denied “the opportunity of fulfilling a modest wish — to create a better Soviet power than ours” (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 29, p. 175).

However, in the case of some theorists this wish has few trappings of modesty. They simply cross out the experience of existing socialism, declare that it is obsolete, and promise to take an entirely new approach to the building of socialism. To understand the worth of their arguments one has only to consider one of their theses, which we have already mentioned namely, that the global transition from capitalism to socialism has to be “renovated,” that it should now proceed in capitalism’s main citadels. It would seem that here there is nothing to argue about. Who among the people devoted to the idea of socialism will object to the fall of capitalist power in its main strongholds in the world, to the socialist restructuring of society in the most developed capitalist countries? But this is not the point.

The point is that social, revolutionary development is governed by objective laws, that the socialist break through the chain of imperialist rule proves to be possible only where the latter has its weakest link. The acuteness of internal contradictions in combination with a definite alignment of international forces may at a given moment make any highly developed capitalist country that “weak link.” In the revolutionary movement it has always been considered vital to foresee such a possibility and utilize it when it arises. But it is one thing to bear this possibility in mind and prepare to utilize it, and quite another to set one’s bearings solely on “the light of socialism blazing up only in the West.” This brings back the image of the “wealthy engineer,” who, having checked with the railway timetable, patiently

waits for the train to arrive at the “Social Revolution” station on time.

Bourgeois ideologists believe it is very important to draw up and publicize projects for the “ennobling” of the world revolutionary process. It will be seen that underlying projects of this kind is the idea of dissociation from existing socialism and the recommendations emanating from this idea to the working people to fight imperialism singlehandedly, without relying on their natural international allies. The Marxist-Leninists are well aware that for the revolutionary working-class movement to succumb to illusions of this sort can only mean one of two things: either to doom itself to defeat and useless sacrifice or leave only the signboard of its struggle and reduce its political activity to quests for compromises with the bourgeoisie, as the social democrats are doing. There is no other choice. Such is the logic inexorably functioning in the world, where any decline of internationalist solidarity with socialism strengthens the position of the bourgeoisie one way or another.

Lastly, let us consider the problem of national freedom.

Members of the revolutionary working class have always seen an indisputable duty in recognizing and championing the right of nations to self-determination. A great service rendered by Lenin was that he showed the actual content of this duty, presenting it as a definite line of action conforming to the alignment and struggle of class forces on the world scene.

He showed that by creating a system of “the constantly increasing oppression of the nations of the world by a handful of ‘Great Powers’” (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 21, p. 317), imperialism generated a situation in which the main class contradiction of the capitalist system intertwined closely with a similarly deep and acute contradiction of an international order. It brought together the working class, the main adversary of monopoly capital, and the peoples deprived of national freedom. Consequently, the revolutionary replacement of capitalism by socialism cannot be the result of a socially “pure” struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat; a tangible contribution to this worldwide process must inevitably be made also by the national liberation movements of oppressed peoples (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 30, p. 159; Vol. 32, p. 481).

From this spring the practical tasks conforming to the essence of the revolutionary proletariat’s class internationalism. Lenin concretized them, stressing that it was not enough to proclaim oneself an advocate of national self-determination; it was always necessary,

first, constantly to explain that the way to genuine freedom, state independence, and equality of nations was linked to the struggle for socialism and, "second, that all communist parties would render direct aid to the revolutionary movements among the dependent and underprivileged nations ... and in the colonies" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 148).

The Leninist or, in other words, the proletarian class approach to the national self-determination of peoples was diametrically at variance with the predominant ideas and guidelines of the bourgeoisie, with its general class line of safeguarding colonial orders, regimes of national oppression. However, alongside this open clash of ideologies and political lines reflecting the basic antagonism of class interests, an antagonism seen by both sides, a "third stand" began to flourish following the outbreak of the First World War and, especially, after the October Revolution. Its proponents were extremely active, notably, on the reformist flank of the working-class movement, in the Second and Centrist "Two-and-a-Half" Internationals. The impression was that they dissociated themselves from the imperialist bourgeoisie by recognizing the equality of nations and the right of peoples to national self-determination. However, they went to all lengths to dissociate themselves from the revolutionary ideas of Leninism. They insisted that the struggle of peoples enslaved by imperialism was exclusively their own affair, which one could sympathize with but under no circumstance help.

Lenin called this "distortions of the concept and policy of internationalism" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 149). For the reformists, he wrote, the principle of national self-determination recognized by them in words became "a false signboard" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 148). They felt very cozy under that signboard: they could pose as internationalists and, without risking anything, they could hold aloof from the battles unfolding in the colonial empires.

Today the problem of national freedom is in many respects different from what it used to be. But, logically, there remain two basic international approaches to it. There is the class approach of the bourgeoisie pursuing the aim of keeping the developing nations within the orbit of capitalist exploitation, under the control of imperialism at all costs. And there is the approach of the working class and socialism, which, to use Lenin's words, consider that "it is our duty and in our interest" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 23, p. 67) to extend the utmost assistance to the peoples of former colonies and semi-colonies, to enable them to enjoy actual freedom in de-

termining their national and social destinies.

Here again the champions of the specious "golden mean" appear on the scene. Indeed, they denounce imperialism, which tramples on national rights, state sovereignty, and the interests of peoples. But they also attack socialism, which, you see, does not rest content with expressions of sympathy for the forces of national liberation but renders them practical assistance, and more, extends it in forms considered "impermissible" by the yardstick of the "third stand."

Of course, in revolutionary policy the choice of forms is of no small importance. However, it is determined not by dogmatic prescriptions. As regards the alliance of the forces of socialism and the national liberation movement, it naturally acquires different forms, which, as Lenin pointed out, are "determined by the degree of development of the communist movement in the proletariat of each country, or of the bourgeois-democratic liberation movement of the workers and peasants in backward countries or among backward nationalities" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 146). For the Marxist-Leninist parties and for the socialist community countries the fulfillment of their internationalist duty and the rendering of effective assistance to the national liberation, revolutionary forces is no simple matter. It involves material outlays, sacrifices and the need to adopt what are often difficult political decisions. In short, this is a tense and complex sector of the world class struggle.

The bourgeoisie knows its class interests perfectly well and cares more about them than about form. Imperialism has recourse to a wide spectrum of traditional and new means to throttle the national freedom of peoples. Here it finds fitting to use "rapid deployment forces," gangs of mercenaries, and loans granted with the categorical proviso that doors are opened to the transnational corporations. It finds fitting the doctrine of "struggle against international terrorism". It finds fitting also, nothing more nor less than the slogan of national self-determination. This is no slip of the pen. History has taught the monopoly bourgeoisie a thing or two as well. It is prepared to pose also as a champion of the national rights of peoples when this can serve as an argument against the liberation movement, in the attempts to isolate the latter from socialism, from its powerful international ally.

Under these conditions genuine concern for the national freedom, independence and sovereignty of peoples can only signify one thing, namely, the utmost support for their struggle and their protection against imperial-

ism's military, political and economic encroachments. Time and again it happens that the liberation movements do not have the strength to repulse imperialist pressure. What is the worth of internationalism that does not recognize the need to go to their assistance? Does it help to assert their national rights? Does it help to strengthen the international front of anti-imperialist solidarity?

Closing their eyes to the stern realities of the world and dreaming of a smooth and neat implementation of the principle of national self-determination, the proponents of the "third stand," given a face-lift to adjust it to the present time, go from the sublime to the ridiculous by arguing that the liberation movement should be placed in a vacuum, that it should be walled off from the influence of the global class struggle. This is an illusion. But it can confuse some section of the working-class, democratic, and liberation movements. In the face of this danger the Marxist-Leninists do not permit themselves to remain indifferent. They are acting in accordance with the behests of Lenin, who said that the struggle against precisely this sort of danger is one of the most important tasks of the revolutionary working class, of its policy of internationalist solidarity with peoples seeking to shake off imperialist tyranny (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, pp. 148-49).

Lenin devoted much of his strength to ensure the fulfillment of the behest of the founders of Marxism that the working class should have its own foreign policy. Under Lenin's direct leadership such a policy was charted by the proletariat that seized power in Russia. Led by the Leninist communists, the working-class movement in other countries likewise learned to develop its class line in international affairs. Today one has full grounds for saying of this foreign policy of the workers that it has a rich history and impressive achievements.

This policy always has been pursued under various circumstances: there through the apparatus of state, here only through the placards of street demonstrations, there by means of the parliamentary lectern, here only by leaflets from the underground, there by powerful modern mass media, and here by rallies and meetings attended by a limited number of people. But in all cases this has been an extremely effective policy. Even its most minor actions are not in vain, do not pass without leaving a trace. Why? Because in all cases they convey the great worldwide strength of proletarian internationalism. As Lenin said, "It is not a question of numbers, but of giving correct expression to the ideas and policies of the truly revolutionary proletariat. The thing is not to 'proclaim' inter-

nationalism, but to be able to be an internationalist indeed, even when times are most trying" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 24, p. 82).

For the historical moment in which we are living today these are indeed topical words of the highest order. The acuteness of the key problems of the times imperatively demands the strengthening of the internationalist solidarity of all forces motivated by the interests of peace, social progress, and national freedom. These forces have grown immeasurably. They are looked up to and joined by more and more social groups, by entire peoples. In their minds they are becoming increasingly certain that there must be international unity of action. In this the Marxist-Leninists see new opportunities for increasing the strength and effectiveness of the tested alliance of socialism, the revolutionary working class, and the national liberation movement. The inviolability of this alliance is the first precept of true internationalism.

1. G.V. Plekhanov, *Internationalism and Defense of the Motherland*, Petrograd, 1917, p. 6 (in Russian).
2. Karl Kautsky, *Die Diktatur des Proletariats*, Vienna, 1918, p. 28.
3. S. Carrillo, "Eurocomunismo" y Estado, Barcelona, 1977, p. 157.
4. Klement Gottwald, *Spisy*, Vol. XIII, Prague, 1957, pp. 230-231; *Rude pravo*, September 26, 1946.
5. *Report of the CC CPSU to the XXVI Congress*, p. 17.
6. *Pravda*, February 21, 1982, Resolution of the CPSU Central Committee "On the 60th Anniversary of the USSR."

The Political Economy of Revolution

K. Zaradov
Editor-in-Chief
of World Marxist Review

— the relationship between
economics and politics with focus
on key questions of contemporary
debate: property, power,
democracy, and internationalism

A finely argued reply to attempts to
"revise" Marxism-Leninism

cloth 232 pp. \$5.95

PROGRESS BOOKS
71 Bathurst St.
Toronto, Ont. M5V 2P6

New facts: who is preparing for war and who seeks peace

James West
CC Political Bureau member,
Communist Party of the USA;
WMR Editorial Board member

COMMENTARY

The stepped-up ideological competition between the moribund world of capitalist exploitation and the world of emancipated labor, of socialism, is a distinguishing feature of the closing decades of the 20th century. This contest embraces not only theory but also, and to a growing extent, specific present-day economic, political, social and military problems.

Of course, no rules have been laid down for the ideological competition. Each side wages it in accord with its own concepts of what is right and what is wrong. In other words, from positions corresponding to the social and political concepts of the class forces dominant on each side. In any case, objectivity, the readiness to face reality, is a must in any fair ideological competition.

And the more significant the issues on the agenda, the stricter must be the approach to objective facts, and the more persevering must be the efforts to interpret them without bias. In our epoch, of course, this imperative relates, above all, to the dialogue on the fundamental issue of war and peace, on the settlement of which humankind's very existence depends. But this is exactly where one finds the basic difference in the practice of the ideologists of capitalism and socialism, as will be shown strikingly by an analysis of two recent books: *Soviet Military Power* published in the USA¹ and the Soviet study *Whence the Threat to Peace*.² It is important from both the theoretical and the political angle to try to analyze this distinction.

Capitalism in its last, imperialist stage is inherently unable to tell the truth about itself and about the policies of its governments, fearing an ideological competition based on fair and honest ground rules. True of all imperialist powers, it is especially so for U.S. imperialism, whose militarist-oriented wing stubbornly refuses to acknowledge the objective changes in the world and adjust itself to them.

The most bellicose sections of U.S. imperialism have turned the struggle for the hearts and minds of people into a campaign of deliberate

deceit, lies, half-truths, and outright slander. The invariable source of this polluted fountain is the cesspool of anti-Sovietism and the biggest lie of all, the myth of a Soviet menace. The present imperialist campaign against the USSR has gone outside the framework of an ideological competition, a contest of ideas, and can only be classified as psychological warfare with its rejection of all standards of morality and of the striving for truth.

The guideline for this psychological warfare was laid down unambiguously by Ronald Reagan during his presidential election campaign in 1980. Without a twinge of conscience he charged the Soviet Union with responsibility for all the troubles in the world. The White House is relentless in wanting people to see the "hand of Moscow" in everything — an explosion of international terrorism or advances of the national liberation struggles, the setbacks for U.S. imperialism or discord among the NATO allies, or the thundering anti-war protest.

It must be stressed that while it is anti-Soviet in content, Washington's increasingly virulent psychological warfare is directed not only against the peoples of socialist countries. Militarist propaganda of this kind is directed, above all, against the people of the USA and other industrialized capitalist countries and of the newly-emergent nations.

The principal aim of political sabotage — there is no other name for these actions — is to trigger war hysteria, confuse people, make them believe that the USA can win a "limited" nuclear war, that the neutron bomb and binary chemical weapons are "humane," and so on and so forth.

The troubadours of wars of aggression are urging the people to rely on the strategy of a "first-strike capability," on the effectiveness of a nuclear "warning shot." They seek to condition the minds of people to think that international peace can be made secure only if the USA has military superiority over the Soviet Union, which is constantly portrayed as the "enemy of the free world."

Reagan's psychological warfare is the spreading of the myth about NATO's "strategic lag" behind the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the brazen lie of Soviet, Vietnamese, and Cuban use of chemical and bacteriological warfare. Not only juggling but also inventing "facts," the Pentagon vainly seeks to justify its program of adding to its already swollen store of weapons of mass destruction and erase the memory of its barbarous chemical war in Indochina and Washington's biological war against the Cuban and other peoples. Moreover, fables of this sort are obviously being used to justify the allocation of \$810 million in the coming fiscal year for the manufacture of toxic weapons.

Reagan's psychological warfare is the bludgeoning of U.S. imperialism's partners in Western Europe and Japan, and all other countries it can intimidate into lining up behind its plans for world domination.

Reagan's psychological warfare is designed, lastly, to justify Reagonomics, the irrational policy of piling up a Mount Everest of mass destruction weapons at the expense of slashing programs for social needs down to the size of anthills. It is the alibi for the White House's mad decision to increase the budget in fiscal 1983 to \$757.6 billion and mark nearly 30 per cent of this enormous sum (over \$263 billion) for war preparations.

There is every justification for calling the book *Soviet Military Power*, issued by the Pentagon, a concentrated expression of this dirty propaganda war. Nowhere in it can the reader find an explanation of the threat to humankind's existence in the stockpiling of nuclear weapons, of the tremendous cost to the peoples' well-being imposed by the arms race. Nor has it one word to say about a peace alternative. Everything in it serves the specific purpose of getting the people to think in terms of the "inevitability" of military conflicts.

Military propaganda experts resort to all sorts of artifices to get the reader to feel intimidated by the Soviet Union's "formidable" military capability. Extremely indicative is the fact that this U.S. "document" says absolutely nothing about the dimensions of the military preparations in the USA itself and in other NATO nations. But the problem would seem to be precisely in evaluating the balance of the opposing forces.

Some months later world opinion was offered a book antipodal in purpose, spirit and approach to facts. Published in the Soviet Union, it is entitled *Whence the Threat to Peace*. One might well call it a manual for peace. It stands in sharp contrast to the mili-

tarist Pentagon concoction. It is not an exercise in psychological warfare but a clear-cut example of fair and honest ideological struggle over the cardinal question of our time.

The Soviet study convincingly shows the unscrupulousness of Pentagon propaganda. For example, the American pamphlet offers the information that the Soviet Union has 1,398 ICBM launchers, 950 submarine-based ballistic missile launchers, and 156 heavy bombers with a total payload of nearly 7,000 nuclear weapons. But there is not a word in it about the 10,000 U.S. nuclear weapons threatening the USSR. Also it is silent about the fact that the U.S. strategic offensive forces have 1,053 ICBM launchers, 648 submarine-based ballistic missile launchers, and over 570 heavy bombers.

Is it "fair play" to shroud in silence the fact that in proximity of the Soviet Union, the USA has thousands of aircraft as part of its forward-based nuclear force? Or that the USSR is confronted not only by the USA but also by two other nuclear powers who are the latter's allies, and that in Asia there is a nuclear threat to its security from Peking?

The same may be said of the total numerical strength of armed forces. Take the Pentagon's strident cries about the Warsaw Treaty Organization's "overwhelming superiority" in this sphere. But a check shows that there is an approximate parity here as well: the regular armed forces of the socialist community number 4,788,000 effectives, while those of the NATO countries have 4,933,000.

In using faked statistics to persuade world opinion that Soviet defense spending is steadily growing (although its level has in fact not changed in recent years³), the Pentagon publication evades the question of the growth of military allocations in the USA. Yet their annual growth rate in 1978-1980 averaged 13 per cent, while last year they were increased by 19 per cent. Altogether, Washington plans to allocate \$1,500 billion for war preparations over the next five years.

Soviet Military Power is conspicuously silent about the fact that it was the USA which first produced each new weapon of mass destruction and initiated every new spiral in the arms race.

The sidestepping of all these key issues, *Whence the Threat to Peace* states, is a typical gambit of imperialist propaganda: the people are not told even what has to be acknowledged by many prestigious experts, including some of NATO's political and military leaders. It is indicative that the influential British weekly, *The Economist*, sees the most convincing aspect of the Soviet study in its presentation of pro-

nouncements by Helmut Schmidt, Alexander Haig, and others showing, as the journal writes, Western recognition of the present parity of forces and the U.S. bid for military supremacy.⁴

As might have been expected the Pentagon propagandists do not even try to analyze the role of the arms race as a means of maintaining the domination of the imperialist powers in former colonies. Yet it is not at all accidental that about 45 per cent of the world's arms sales are accounted for by the USA and over 20 per cent by the other NATO countries, most of whom were major colonial powers in the past.

Media reports indicate that U.S. arms exports to 42 developing nations went up 50 per cent in 1965-1980 over 1950-1965. The inevitable outcome was that the military spending of these nations rose from \$11.3 billion in 1960 to \$77.5 billion in 1980. These huge expenditures prevent them from developing their economy and making themselves less dependent on imperialism.

Unlike the Pentagon publication, the Soviet study draws people's attention to the actual role played by the military-industrial complexes. It writes that 94 monopolies working on contract with the Pentagon made a net profit of 50 per cent on invested capital, 49 netted a profit of over 100 per cent, while the net profits of 22 amounted to over 200 per cent, of three to about 500 per cent, and one corporation took a profit of 2,000 per cent. Altogether, in the USA 25,000 contractors and 50,000 sub-contractors are working for war.

Whence the *Threat to Peace* cites many instances of U.S. imperialism using every trick to sabotage or at least delay real steps toward ending the arms race and achieving disarmament. More, Washington does not shrink from renouncing the agreements it has itself signed. This was cynically stated by Reagan's chief adviser, Edwin Meese, who said: "We feel there is no legal or moral commitment to abide by SALT-1" (should people be reminded that this treaty was signed by a U.S. president and ratified by the U.S. Congress?).

Soviet proposals to limit the nuclear and strategic arms race, ban all nuclear weapons tests, secure the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, promote nuclear-free zones and establish peace zones, and ban chemical and bacteriological weapons have met with hard resistance from U.S. imperialism. The same may be said of the Soviet proposals to dismantle foreign bases, ban new weapons of mass destruction, reduce military budgets, extend confidence-building zones in Europe, enhance European security, and achieve general and

complete disarmament with the simultaneous dissolution of military blocs.

Unilateral moves by the Soviet Union to reduce the danger of war (such as the withdrawal of 20,000 troops and 1,000 tanks from the territory of the German Democratic Republic) have met with no response-in-kind from the USA. To the contrary, the Pentagon is increasing the numerical strength of its troops in Europe and at key bases in other parts of the world (altogether there are more than 1,500 bases).

A comparison of the concepts underlying the two books brings out in bold relief the diametrical difference and basic contradiction between the international policies of imperialism and those of socialism. The socialist countries are championing peace and security, urging détente and an end to the arms race. For their part, Washington and its allies are seeking to achieve military superiority and thereby to create the material foundation for a "diplomacy of strength."

Of course, these fundamental distinctions spill over into military-strategic doctrines and this is seen in a comparative analysis of the two books. Thus, response, in other words defensive action, has always been the principle underlying Soviet military doctrine. Its basic provision is that the Soviet Union will not resort to a nuclear first-strike. By contrast, the USA is developing various military-strategic concepts that are undisguisedly aggressive. An example is the "pre-emptive nuclear strike" doctrine that has long been preached by Washington and was reasserted in 1980 by President Carter in his notorious directive No. 59.

These, the Soviet study underscores, are more than theoretical premises. If one is strong one is permitted everything — such is the amoral credo sermonized by the U.S. élite, which relies on threats and violence in its world policies. According to statistics of the Brookings Institution (USA), cited in *Whence the Threat to Peace*, in the period from 1946 to 1975 the USA has had recourse to direct or indirect armed force in 215 instances. In Washington's top echelons the possibility of using nuclear weapons was discussed 19 times, and four times — directly against the Soviet Union. All in all, since 1945 the USA initiated or participated in most military conflicts, in which over 10 million people died.

But is this surprising? U.S. militarist policy reflects imperialism's certainty that it cannot win in a peaceful competition, including in the competition of ideas, and hence its striving to rely increasingly on securing military superiority and on armed conflicts. At the other pole,

the policy of the socialist community personifies confidence in the righteousness of the ideals upheld by socialism, its emphatic opposition to have conflicts and disputes settled by military means.

The Soviet study is confirmation of how right Leonid Brezhnev was when he characterized the Reagan administration's attitude to the arms limitation talks as an "irresponsible, adventurist play with the destinies of humankind." "Diplomacy," said the leader of the CPSU and the Soviet state, "requires 'denouements' and not 'linkages.' The tangled knot of conflict situations and disputed problems in the present world cannot be cut by any sword. The only way is the way of patient, constructive talks, talks ensuring a real reduction and destruction of arms."⁵

The Soviet Union is backing up this posture convincingly with concrete, realistic proposals based on equal security and renunciation of attempts to upset the strategic equilibrium. One of the most significant and topical of these concerns medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe. The essence of the matter is that Washington wants Moscow to dismantle the Soviet medium-range nuclear potential while leaving untouched U.S. forward-based missiles targeted on Europe. Further, it is suggested that British and French missiles and bombers should be excluded from the overall strategic balance.

In contrast to the obviously aggressive undertone of this project, Leonid Brezhnev has proposed coming to an agreement on a total renunciation by both sides — NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization — of all types of nuclear missiles, medium-range and tactical, deployed in and near Europe. This fundamental and serious initiative, spelling out a true zero option, merits a fundamental and serious reply.

That *Whence the Threat to Peace* is convincing and trustworthy is borne out by the circumstance that its authors drew upon not only the statistics of competent Soviet institutions but also on the data of the London Institute of Strategic Studies and official U.S. sources. The latter can hardly be suspected of sympathy for the Soviet Union. As the bourgeois *Christian Science Monitor* (USA) had to acknowledge, citing diplomatic sources, this book gives one the impression that it is more objective than the Pentagon pamphlet.

It may be said, without fearing the accusation of exaggeration, that the Soviet study has become an aid for all who, in the quest for ways to peace, want to stand on the firm ground of objective facts.

The Soviet study provides the massive anti-war movement with sound arguments for its struggle against the threat of a nuclear catastrophe emanating from imperialism and against the consequences that the arms race is already now bringing humankind. The latter circumstance is likewise of exceptionally great significance.

The nuclear weapon is quite justifiably called the doomsday weapon. People are beginning to see more clearly that all life on our planet will be threatened if it is used to settle disputes between nations. But there is something else that should not be overlooked, namely, the burden that missiles and nuclear weapons place already today.

The colossal spending on preparations for wars of aggression and the snowballing accumulation of weapons do not allow ensuring economic and social stability in the capitalist countries. In Western Europe people are beginning to be more aware of this. In the USA itself there is growing understanding that a reverse link exists between the arms race and the living standard.

The American people feel the burden daily through high taxes, inflation, and unemployment. The government is bent on depriving the people of their hard-won social gains and is deliberately refusing to stem the erosion of housing, health services, education. The old militarist slogan of "Guns Instead of Butter" is now being foisted upon the nation by the White House.

In this situation the struggle for peace intertwines tighter with the actions in defense of the working people's social and economic rights, gathering new momentum. This was a major factor in the demonstration of half a million people held in Washington last September on the initiative of the trade unions in cooperation with 200 democratic organizations.

The attempt of the Reaganites to dismiss the tremendous peace upsurge in Western Europe and the United States as being nothing more than a narrow, Left manifestation is a self-deception. Imperialism is finding it ever harder to ignore the unprecedentedly wide political and ideological spectrum, the unparalleled mass character of the present anti-war protest. Is it not indicative of the times that in the campaign for reconverting military production now under way in the USA under the slogan of "Jobs, Not Bombs!", a leading role is played by the International Association of Machinists, a union of over 900,000 members, a large number of whom work in aerospace and "defense" industry? The new level of the anti-militarist struggle is also evident in such things as the

emergence in California of an organization that has put forward a project for converting the armaments industry into the production of civilian goods.

Today the anti-militarist movement is increasingly meshed with the solidarity movements in support of national liberation. Increasing White House interference in the internal affairs of Cuba, Nicaragua and El Salvador, interference that is becoming more and more sinister in form, is holding out the menace of involving the USA in another dirty war. As a result, apprehensions are turning into public anger in the USA itself. Organized, resolute opposition to the Reagan interventionist policies is gathering growing momentum.

U.S. imperialism's worldwide aggressive ambitions come into conflict with the best national interests of all countries. This compels people of the most diverse views who want relief from the heavy arms burden and freedom from the threat of nuclear annihilation to look more energetically for an alternative to sliding into the abyss of a world war.

However, it should under no circumstances be forgotten — and a further reminder of this is the Pentagon pamphlet — that imperialist propaganda is doing its best to fix in people's minds a set of false political and ideological stereotypes.

"It is a fact of political reality," said Gus Hall, General Secretary of the CPUSA, "that as long as people are convinced that the United States faces a military threat from the Soviet Union . . .

most will not join in the struggle against the mounting military budgets or the MX missile or the B-1 bomber . . . As long as people are convinced that the national liberation struggles are directed by the Soviet Union, or that they are a feature of 'Soviet expansionism,' either directly or by forces from other socialist countries, most will not join in the struggle against policies of U.S. imperialist aggression. As long as people are convinced that the 'national interests' of the United States include all the waterways of the world and most of the developing countries the people can be misled by the forces of reaction."⁶

Hence the extremely important conclusion for the communists in the struggle for peace today: it is of growing significance to expose anti-Soviet and anti-communist myths and to tell the people about the peace initiatives of socialist diplomacy and its great efforts to have these initiatives realized. There is no dearth of such initiatives. In only the period since the war, the Soviet Union has come forward with more than 130 concrete proposals on disarmament. Developments over the past few months indicate that it is steadfastly continuing its quest for a solution of this vital problem.⁷

In our nuclear age world peace has become the indispensable condition for continued life on our planet, for social and economic progress, and for the consolidation of national independence. Grasped by the millions throughout the planet and reinforced by their determined mass actions for peace, this can bring an end to the mad arms race and the nightmare threat of nuclear annihilation.

Small in volume but a powerful generator of anti-war thinking *Whence the Threat to Peace* is a further eloquent reminder that the uncompromising struggle of the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries against imperialism's aggressive ambitions is an inalienable feature of modern development and the decisive factor in the cause of peace, national liberation, and social emancipation.

Whence the Threat to Peace

The Soviet answer to the Pentagon pamphlet — the true picture of East-West military strength, and the approach of the two sides to détente, peace and the arms race.

Color photos, maps and charts
78 pp paper \$2.50

PROGRESS BOOKS

71 Bathurst St.
Toronto, Ontario M5V 2P6

1. *Soviet Military Power*, Washington, 1981.
2. *Whence the Threat to Peace*, Moscow, Military Publishing House of the Ministry of Defense of the USSR, 1982.
3. Soviet defense spending amounted to 17.2 billion roubles in 1978, 17.2 billion roubles in 1979, 17.1 billion roubles in 1980, and 17.05 billion roubles in 1981. The allocations for defense in 1982 total 17.05 billion roubles. This is equivalent to 7, 6.03, 5.7, and 5.3 per cent of the budget respectively.
4. *The Economist*, February 6-12, 1982.
5. *International Herald Tribune*, February 4, 1982.
6. *Daily World*, December 18, 1980.
7. Soviet peace initiatives in 1981 and the reaction of the imperialists to them are analyzed in *WMR*, October 1981.



The 60th anniversary of the USSR

DOCUMENTS

The Central Committee of the CPSU has adopted a resolution on the 60th anniversary of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which falls on December 30, 1982. The emergence of the USSR, the document emphasizes, resulted from the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The working class of Russia acted as the leading force of international unity. The formation of the USSR is a great achievement of Lenin's Bolshevik Party, which is multinational in membership, and profoundly internationalist in ideology and politics, organizational structure and principles of activity.

The Soviet Union is a living embodiment of Lenin's ideas and his nationalities policy principles. On the strength of his scientific analysis of the new epoch, the resolution says, Lenin creatively and comprehensively elaborated the views of Marx and Engels on the nationalities question. He believed that the main line for its solution lies in the proletariat's class struggle for political power and for the creation of a new, exploitation-free society. The ideas he elaborated have been translated into life.

The past 60 years have been marked by the Soviet Union's rapid socio-economic rise, and its peoples, united under the leadership of the CPSU, have built a developed socialist society. Mature socialist social relations have been established in the country, and the task of evening out the economic development levels of the Soviet Republics has in the main been fulfilled. Socialism has equipped millions of working people with the achievements of culture, opening up all the sources of knowledge to every individual, regardless of social status or nationality. A new historical entity of people — the Soviet people — has taken shape in the USSR. Developed socialism visually demonstrates the indissoluble interconnection between the flourishing and drawing together of all the nations and nationalities in the country, and the deepening of socialist democracy.

In present-day conditions, the resolution goes on, there is a steady growth in the role of

the CPSU's leading, guiding and organizing activity in the development of nations and nationalities in the USSR and the strengthening of their fraternal union. Correct party leadership based on Marxist-Leninist principles in the sphere of national relations is a necessary condition for the progress of the multinational socialist society.

The Soviet Union's formation and successful development are of abiding international importance and are an important historical milestone in progressive humankind's age-old struggle for the revolutionary renewal of the world. Life has confirmed Lenin's prediction that the new social system would produce totally new international relations free from the discrimination and domination that are characteristic of the capitalist world. The relations between states which are intrinsic to the nature of socialism are most fully embodied in the socialist community.

The fraternal socialist countries' achievements in building the new society are incontestable. At the same time, the document says, experience testifies to the importance of Lenin's idea that the road to socialism would be a hard one. Practice shows how important it is for a ruling communist party to display concern for strengthening ties with the masses, for pursuing a realistic policy, educating the working people in a spirit of internationalism and giving timely and resolute rebuffs to the enemies of socialism.

The document expresses the CPSU's striving to work consistently for the strengthening of the solidarity of the socialist community with all the forces of the international communist, working-class and national liberation movement. The communists' consistent struggle for peace and against the aggressive policy of imperialism and the arms race, which it has been stepping up and which poses before the peoples the threat of a nuclear catastrophe, says the resolution, serves as a mighty factor in the further cohesion and the growing authority of the world communist movement.

Hundreds of millions of people in the countries of Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America

are now advancing along the trail blazed by the Great October Revolution. There is no road — and there can be no road — to socialism, the resolution says, in obviation of the general uniformities discovered by Marxism-Leninism and confirmed by the experience of the USSR, the countries of existing socialism and the international practice of revolutionary struggle and socialist construction, just as there can be no further advance along this way without comprehensive consideration of each country's national specific features. The Soviet Union exerts a growing influence on the course of history by the every fact of its existence, by the

actual practice of the new type of social, international relations, by the power of its example in tackling the most complicated problems with which capitalism cannot cope.

The resolution outlines a broad complex of measures aimed to raise further the political and labor activity of the masses and to implement successfully the historic decisions of the 26th congress of the CPSU. Preparations for the USSR's 60th anniversary, the document says, must help to improve the ideological, political, patriotic and internationalist education of the working people and season their class consciousness.

Party decisions

Milko Balev

Political Bureau member, CC Secretary,
Bulgarian Communist Party

Party decisions — their drafting, adoption and implementation — are of exceptional importance for the progress of socialist society. Their significance is determined by the leading role of the communist party in public life, a role which is also confirmed in the constitution. At the same time, party decisions are an important instrument of its exercising its leading role.

The drafting and adoption of party as well as administrative decisions, their execution, and verification of this execution are an increasingly complex process at the stage of building a mature socialist society. New demands on management arise from the increasing interconnection of all public spheres, with the social, political and ideological effects of economic decisions more marked than ever before. Decisions in these three spheres can noticeably quicken or slow down the pace of economic development. Demands on management are also increasing as a result of the people's rising general culture, standard of education and social activity.

The problem of party decisions is also a problem of the international responsibility of the communists of each country for the results of their effort. In view of the present-day dimensions, interconnection and dynamism of social processes, miscalculation in management, above all mistakes connected with the adoption and execution of party decisions, costs more and more dearly.

This is why the Bulgarian Communist Party, which concerns itself with perfecting the

whole social management system, sees party decisions as a decisive factor.

I

A party decision must have a class character in any circumstance and at all levels. This follows from the historical mission of the communist party as a body which expresses and defends the working people's interests and as organizer and leader of the masses. Specifically, a class approach finds expression in the party ruling out spontaneity and uncontrolled price fluctuations even where this holds the promise of growing accumulation in some economic fields; it rules them out because a spontaneous uptrend in prices would strongly affect the people's interests. In perfecting economic management, the BCP sees to it that price formation is flexible yet planned and manageable. It associates this process with other incentives of growing production and with steps to raise the living standard and increase allocations for social security.

The party also takes a class approach in decision-making on culture, education, public health, etc. Observing the 1300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state, we borrow the people's progressive and democratic traditions from past history, mobilize the masses for achievements in the socialist present and draw on our cultural heritage to strengthen our internationalist relations.

Party decisions express the scientific character of party policy and the objective require-

ments of society. They take account of the objective laws operating in the economic and social spheres and are not merely a result of subjective aspirations. After the victory of the socialist revolution our party trained an impressive contingent of highly competent people to ensure that decision-making met high scientific standards.

Party decisions embody party democracy. They are expressive of the connection between party leadership and membership and between the party and the people. Lenin wrote on the basis of the Bolsheviks' experience that discussing a problem, expressing and hearing different opinions, ascertaining the views of the majority of organized Marxists, expressing these views in the form of decisions and conscientiously carrying out these decisions is what reasonable people all over the world call unity (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 19, p. 519). Party unity is an essential aspect of democracy in decision-making.

The April line adopted by the CC BCP in 1956 and fully re-establishing Leninist standards of the party and state enhances the significance of democracy at every stage of the drafting and operation of party decisions. Furthermore, it raises their democracy to a higher plane in the new socio-historical context. "The method of discussing important questions before their final decision with numerous party, state and economic activists, and in some cases with all working people, in order to make maximum use of their intelligence and experience," Todor Zhivkov pointed out as far back as 1958, "has been providing its worth since the April Plenum of the CC as a permanent working method of the Central Committee and the government."¹ It is through the participation of numerous activists, working people and society as a whole in the discussion of problems of vital importance and in decision-making that the masses become a creative subject of social management; they are not reduced to the role of passive executors of decisions made by the party and administrative leadership. The democracy of this process permeates public life and provides a creative atmosphere throughout socialist society.

Party decisions perform the function of the organizing principle in the life of party organizations. Our experience shows that where communists lack a common orientation and clearly formulated tasks, meaningful collective effort is impossible and, worse still, there is a danger of discord, inaction, lack of principle and even division. Decisions drafted according to Leninist principles of party leadership and succinctly expressing the party's collective

thought and wisdom possess organizing, mobilizing and inspiring power. They unite the communists and are the paramount factor for their unity.

Our adversaries often criticize us communists for treating party decisions as a law. They allege that this is evidence of the "undemocratic" nature of our organization and means that we "shackle" the membership's initiative and freedom of action.

Does the fact that execution of decisions is binding on all communists contradict the democratic character of the party? It does not, because, first of all, the communists' unity of action is based on submission to the decision of the majority and on the like-mindedness of party members, who have a common scientific world view, Marxism-Leninism, and secondly, because a common world view does not preclude different opinions on this or that point which are expressed in discussing a draft decision and taken into account in one form or another when approving the draft.

Whatever the level on which a party decision is taken, it is not meant for the membership alone. To quote Lenin, a party decision "is a call to the people" intended "to teach practical steps to the hundreds, thousands, and millions of people" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 29, p. 209). It is an instrument of mobilizing the masses to accomplish social tasks, an organizing factor in society's creative effort.

The masses know very well that party decisions generally involve their vital interests (everyday as well as long-term ones). Their confidence in party decisions is confidence in the party itself and prompts them to take an active part in carrying out the party's projects.

II

The main characteristics of a party decision, primarily its class character, scientific quality and democracy, begin to manifest themselves at the stage of drafting and adoption.

Class character implies consistent and creative application in drafting and adopting decisions of the fundamental tenets of Marxism-Leninism and of provisions of the party program aimed at achieving the immediate and ultimate goals of the working class and other working people. A scientific approach expresses itself in regarding society as an integral social, economic and political system governed by its own inherent laws. A systemic approach is the antipode of a one-sided, narrow view of reality, of inability to see the general beyond the particular. However, it does not at all imply that the positions are unclear from the class point of view or that the problems existing at the mo-

ment are considered to be equal in importance. Choosing the main line of action so that success on it leads to advances in every field of socialist construction is a highly important matter. Lenin said that "the whole art of government and policy-making consists in being able to assess and know in good time where to concentrate your main forces and attention" (*Coll. Works*. Vol. 42, p. 164).

Shortly before the 12th BCP congress (March-April 1981), when we were only just drafting the CC theses for it, the question arose, as it always does in similar circumstances, of both covering the main problems of public life and choosing the main lines of work. The document that was drafted on the basis of an in-depth investigation of economic, social and political processes and a theoretical assessment and summing up of the evidence may, we believe, serve as an example of systematic approach.

The congress decisions fully cover the many different aspects of the country's internal life and foreign policy tasks. But the congress provided the communists and the masses with a clear orientation by noting that the chief socio-economic task was to carry on the line of comprehensive satisfaction of the people's steadily growing material, spiritual and social requirements. This orientation is the fundamental point of departure for all our efforts. It not only assures meaningful and coordinated effort by the creative forces of society but is an important incentive to conscientious labor.

The congress decisions stress that only increasing production can be the source of meeting requirements to a greater extent. They indicate the main lines on which it is necessary to concentrate so as to achieve the planned growth and create a potential for further steady economic and social progress. These lines consist in intensifying social production, promptly introducing scientific and technological achievements and retooling the enterprises, perfecting the mechanism of economic management and the whole system of economic relations, effecting economic integration and carrying on scientific and technological cooperation with fraternal socialist countries within the framework of the CMEA, and implementing the general pattern of specialization and cooperation of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union in the material production sphere. Specific decisions are drafted, adopted and carried out with due regard to the strategic goals and tasks set by party forums and according to the main lines of party activity.

We feel that a party decision cannot be sound scientifically unless based on entire valid and

sufficiently objective information, that is, constant and systematic information on social phenomena and processes which makes it possible to reveal developing contradictions in good time and to single out the problem that must be solved. What we mean is purposefully collected, detailed and trustworthy information as the basis for drafting, discussing and adopting a sound decision on the problem concerned.

Undoubtedly, the Marxist demand that "all serious policy . . . be based on and grounded in facts capable of exact and objective verification" (Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 25, p. 291) is entirely relevant to this day.

The Central Committee expects party organizations to inform it of not only what is gratifying but what is dissatisfying and disturbing. Any different approach would lead to supplying information selected one-sidedly and hence false. Inadequate information is a basis for subjectivism, and untrustworthy information is the beginning of a mistake. Experience tells us that negligence in obtaining adequate information as a basis for drafting a decision, and a tendency to rely on one's "intuition" and general knowledge of the problem result in producing a document inherently incapable of execution from the outset (to say nothing of what is more obvious, namely, the likelihood of mistakes).

The party makes its decisions on the strength of economic research into the requirements of the population and available resources, sociological data, estimations made by research centers, and statistics. But it also has its own sources and channels of information. Party committees collect and process information through both staff members and various auxiliary commissions and groups. The CC and district committees receive information direct from branches and factory and village party committees. Enormous attention is devoted to letters, complaints and warning signals from the population.

Operating under the CC BCP is an Information and Sociological Center (ISC),² which supplies the CC, its Political Bureau and its Secretariat with comprehensive, authentic and timely information and offers methodological aid to other party information bodies, in particular the information and sociological sectors of party district committees. The results of ISC research as well as information supplied to the National Documentation of Sociological and Socio-Psychological Research in the Country (a body operating under the ISC) largely help ascertain in time problems coming to a head. The ISC also takes an active part in providing in-

formation and hence a basis for each decision to be drafted.

Systematic and meaningful collection of information in the party as an essential component of the national information industry being set up makes it possible to establish objective needs and analyze problems, and serves as the starting point for discussing and adopting decisions. *Problems can be properly discussed and decisions on them made with a proper sense of responsibility only where leaders and every member of the given party committee or organization have adequate information.*

The principle of democracy is applied in every phase of drafting a party decision. The drafting is done collectively and with the aid of experts. Discussions are held in commissions with the participation of local representatives and people from industry, the service sector or cultural institutions as the case may be. The working people's likely reaction to a prospective decision is ascertained beforehand at work places. These methods and others like them make it possible to achieve at least the following positive results:

- reflecting vital requirements in a decision as fully as possible, taking proper account of the various aspects of the problem that particular experts may overlook, and reducing the risk of subjectivism and adventurism (typical of some leaders), that is, ultimately drafting an optimal decision;

- taking a first step toward carrying out the decision, for everyone knows how very important it is to ensure that the greatest number of communists and non-communists have reason to say: "This decision was drafted with my participation. It embodies my ideas, wishes and suggestions and I know how it must be carried out and what the effect will be." Those who participate directly in drafting a decision can spell it out to the masses better than anyone else, and can enlist their help in fulfilling the tasks set.

Work on the documents of the 12th BCP congress could also serve as an example of democracy. During the discussion of the CC theses, 68,000 suggestions came in; 4,000 of them concerned the text of the draft theses and 64,000, problems raised in it.

However, I would like to reveal the procedure of drafting party decisions by giving an everyday example. Here is how the CC Secretariat drafted its decisions (May 1980) on increasing production and diversifying goods and services for the population.

The problem of meeting the demand for goods and services in greater measure and on a comprehensive basis has always been central to

BCP policy. Our home market became stabilized, especially after the CC had adopted a program of raising the living standard (December 1972). Larger quantities of goods in greater variety and of higher quality were made available to the population. But in 1977, due to certain objective as well as subjective causes (primarily the adverse impact of the energy, raw material and monetary crisis in capitalist countries on the world market), we registered an incipient trend toward minimal growth and in some cases a deterioration of goods supply. The party promptly took steps to remedy the situation without waiting until a contradiction developed. While we were doing this work and studying local experience, Todor Zhivkov called attention to the fact that meat, egg, fish, fruit and vegetables supply was well organized in Slivo Pole, Ruse District. He asked why other communities where conditions were comparable did not borrow that positive experience. The problem was raised to the national level and a systematic analysis began.

I must say that in such cases we follow an important methodological guideline of the CC Political Bureau which insists on taking account of the whole range of problems in the given sector of the public sphere. Before solving a problem, we seek an exact description of the general state of affairs, a photograph of it so to speak. This makes it easier to detect shortcomings, draw conclusions and ascertain the main factor for solving the whole range of outstanding problems. It is an approach that assigns everything to its proper place and helps solve problems as a complex.

After we had "photographed" the overall state of efforts to meet the population's demand for goods and services, Todor Zhivkov analyzed developments in his speech to a meeting of the CC Secretariat, the first secretaries of district party committees and ministers. The meeting was held in Ruse in May 1980 and the experience of Slivo Pole studied on the spot. There and then, the CC Secretariat adopted a decision setting out a series of measures for the solution of pressing problems. It decided, in particular, to work out a comprehensive goal-oriented program of increasing the output of consumer goods and extending their range as well as that of extending general services under the eighth five-year plan. This procedure of drafting a party decision is indicative of a class approach, scientific quality and democracy and shows the role of objective, timely, analytical and systematic information.

According to current practice, numerous experts, many of whom are scientific workers,

and people from diverse parts of this or that sector of the public sphere take part in investigating the state of the sector and in preparing detailed "photographic" reference material and various drafts, programs and alternative solutions. The resulting material is discussed more than once; if necessary, it is returned once, three or more times for further editing. Many programs go through what may be called a practical assessment at the local level. We now lay special emphasis on studying, taking into account and using public opinion on a decision.

Demands on the procedure of adopting a party decision at a congress, conference or meeting or on a party committee are almost the same as those made of drafting. It is indispensable that the participants be informed as thoroughly and as objectively as possible and enabled to state their views freely, that alternative drafts be discussed and that (I think this needs to be emphasized) a businesslike approach prevail as the antipode of ostentation. An important factor conditioning the quality of decision-making is the party, political, administrative, economic and practical experience of party cadre members, their training, ability and competence. The experience and maturity of the party organization concerned and the party as a whole are particularly important. In the 90 years of its history, the BCP has gained a great deal of class experience and become steeled, operating in the most diverse and intricate situations. Proceeding from solid Marxist-Leninist traditions, it has always shown itself to be strong enough to overcome difficulties in time as it led the working people on their road to socialism and communism.

The BCP teaches its members that *everyone who has taken part in adopting a decision is answerable for its correctness*. The party not only enabled all communists to frankly state their view on a problem under discussion but insists on their doing so. We want every party member to be principled in approaching a party decision and to show persistence and boldness. Every communist must, as we see it, be able to take a reasonable risk in making a decision if the situation calls for it. Leaders must assume special responsibility for a careful consideration of all opinions and criticism; it is their duty not only to listen but to hear everyone. It follows that the quality and effectiveness of a party decision in our case depend on the general atmosphere in the given party organization and the party as a whole, and on *unfailing application of the principles of democratic centralism, the Leninist standards of party life*

and consistent implementation of the April line.

Meeting these conditions is a guarantee of decisions not becoming a piece of paper in the archives but helping solve burning problems.

III

The real existence of a party decision begins with its implementation. *Organizing and controlling the application of a decision* are instruments of promoting the activity of the party, carrying on its line and implementing its leading role in socialist society.

Lenin described a party decision adopted at any level as being equivalent to a word of honor freely pledged by all party members (Coll. Works, Vol. 7, p. 149). A communist must keep his word. The BCP program says: "Full democracy, freedom of opinion and criticism in discussing all questions, iron conscious discipline and unity of action after a decision has been approved by the majority, and scrupulous execution of the decisions of higher elected bodies are an unalterable law of party life binding on all communists wherever they work and whatever post they hold."³

As soon as the votes have been counted, discussion stops and work begins. It is at the stage of execution that the binding character of a party decision manifests itself. Discussion may continue, except that it must not concern what is to be decided but how best to carry out the decision. Any different approach would efface the distinction between an active political organization accountable to the masses and a political debating club.

A communist must carry out party decisions with the greatest energy, perseverance and devotion, the BCP tells its members. Special responsibility rests on those who hold a leading position at any level. It is important that they should combine efficient organization of people with a *personal example* of discipline, a keen sense of responsibility and full commitment. Where a leader is exacting in regard to others and yet lenient to himself, makes an exception from the rule in his own favor or is not principled and energetic enough in carrying out party decisions, some people become indifferent to their duties. What is more, the attitude to a communist leader such as that may be extended in a measure to the given party organization and the party as a whole.

The party regards such conduct and non-execution of a party decision on the part of a leader, especially in the case of a democratically adopted decision of the body headed by that leader, as an attempt to put himself above the party membership, an infringement

of the standards of party life and an abuse of authority. This is no personal matter. A leader's inaction or incorrect action inevitably affects the interests of many people and may cause material and moral damage to individuals, the collective concerned and the whole of society. This is why *the party calls to account members who comport themselves irresponsibly in carrying out party decisions.*

Mobilizing the masses to fulfil tasks set by the party is a complex and multiform process. It begins at the stage of adopting a decision, by democratically drawing people into the discussion of the problem and by taking account of their views. But it is wrong to consider that if a correct choice meeting the interests of the masses has been made everything is clear to all. There is a need for sustained and competent explanatory work with due regard to the knowledge, degree of maturity, mentality and sentiments of various sectors; different groups should be approached differently and there should be dependable feedback. We know by experience that the more widely the masses are drawn into decision-making, the easier it is to explain things to them and the greater the organizing role of the decision made. To ensure that the masses do not dissociate the tasks set by the party from their own interests and that they realize why a particular decision must be carried out and regard its execution as a matter of vital importance to themselves means largely guaranteeing success.

It is well if the connection between a set of measures and the working people's immediate interests is obvious, for this simplifies the problem of explaining. Regrettably, not all decisions that have to be made are popular. We encounter difficulties, are compelled to maneuver with reserves and adopt measures requiring extra effort of the workers, peasants and intellectuals. People often want more than can be offered them at the given stage. That is when it is most important to tell them why a particular choice had to be made, why one step forward was taken and not two, where our possibilities stop and why, when and in what conditions we plan to extend them.

This kind of explaining is by no means easy but there is no other way. Unless the people have a deep understanding of the optimal character of a choice made by the party, unless they realize that a decision must be put into effect because it ultimately serves their interests, no amount of organizing effort can yield adequate results.

Combining political, ideological and organizing work in carrying out measures decided on by the party is a condition and guaran-

tee of success. We aim at ensuring that properly selected and trained people answer for the execution of a decision in general and its various provisions in particular. To organize work better is a major task which the party has set itself in recent years. This calls for greater efficiency on the part of all, primarily the younger generation, in organizing work.

Party control over the execution of decisions is one of the methods of assuring steadfast implementation of the party line and winning the masses' confidence.

"It is perfectly safe to say," Georgi Dimitrov pointed out, "that most of the failures and blunders in our work are due to the lack of permanent and properly organized verification of execution.

"Only this kind of verification can ensure effective struggle against pen-pushing and red tape, against those who cannot lead people and organize effort toward carrying out party decisions, against every manner of distortion of the party line. But to achieve this, we must verify execution systematically, daily, constantly..."⁴

We must admit that, unfortunately, control is still one of our weak points. The problem has lately been receiving special attention at party forums and in party documents. I think we must remember that people constantly watch how party decisions are carried out, how we communists and leaders put our projects into effect. It is not even a question of organized people's control, which the party does its best to promote, but of all-embracing, everyday and spontaneous control by the masses, which exists if only by virtue of the close links between the party and the people. Our activity is there for all to see and people realize their importance for their destiny. Those who hope to avoid this control are very wrong. The only conclusion to be drawn from the above fact is that we must organize the strictest party control over the execution of our own decisions, both "from above" and "from below."

Our primary concern is to develop preventive control, which means that we begin verifying execution not when a decision has failed or is threatened with failure but well in advance, within a judiciously set time limit. We consider that it is important to specify this limit in the decision itself. "It is time," Todor Zhivkov wrote in a Memorandum of the CC BCP Political Bureau on October 14, 1980, "to end a primitive conception of the nature of control. It is primarily a question of verification which must be preventive and not lead to failures or sensations but help detect and remove shortcomings in time and improve the decision it-

self . . . It is well known that every provision of a decision must be implemented by a concrete executor. He must fully bear the material, financial and legal responsibility for failing to do his duty and causing damage to the state as a consequence."

But sometimes it happens that a leader or even a party committee is not exacting enough as regards verification of execution and treats the guilty with excessive liberalism and magnanimity. "At whose expense?" the party queries. No one has the right to be "kind" at the expense of the party, the state and the people. This kind of "magnanimity" is not only harmful but creates a climate in which irresponsibility can thrive.

To be sure, our steadfast effort for the execution of every decision does not eliminate the fact that reality often turns out to be different from what we had expected it to be, and that objective circumstances occasionally prevent us from achieving what we had planned. The party considers that in such cases it is of fundamental importance to assess the situation in time and soberly, ascertain beyond all doubt the causes of the discrepancy between plan and achievement and adopt, if necessary, a new decision with due regard to the changed circumstances. At the same time we increasingly realize the need to end a harmful practice which prompts people, rather than carrying out a decision, to invent a second, third or further new decision many of which, moreover, rule out one another. The party cannot afford what is currently described in our country as "inflation" in decision-making.

There is a further aspect of the matter, one of fundamental importance. We must tell the people honestly and openly that a decision cannot be carried out, adding why not and who is to blame — if the failure is due to subjective causes — and showing the need and advisability of a new decision. Only when the real state of affairs is disclosed and the people are convinced that the party knows of the existing difficulties, conceals nothing from them and does not lose heart in a difficult situation but finds new ways of attaining this or that goal, do the people fully retain their confidence in the party or the party organization where a work collective is concerned, and only then can work on implementing the general line continue normally.

It is important to note that computers at the disposal of the ISC under the CC BCP remember all decisions adopted earlier. This precludes the possibility of repetition and contradictions, which occurred now and then in the past and, needless to say, did not exactly play a beneficial

part in reducing "inflation" in party decision-making. Computerization of documents and automation help keep track of the execution of decisions of the Central Committee, its Political Bureau and its Secretariat and make control more accurate and punctual. The ISC also helps enhance the significance of control over the execution of decisions of central party bodies, primarily by providing an information basis for a comprehensive assessment of the results of carrying out past decisions.

Control over the execution of decisions also includes *analysis of effects*. It is occasionally hard to foresee these effects in their entirety and vast variety, particularly in view of changing circumstances. Sometimes a decision has to be amended in the process of execution, which is only natural. But when it comes to this we must bear in mind at least two important things.

First, amendments can only be approved democratically, that is, by the body which has made the decision, and not arbitrarily, not by this or that leader, no matter how highly placed he is, relatively speaking. Second, these indispensable amendments must not come down to unwarrantedly easing a task set earlier. Regrettably, this is what happens at times in revising plans. Plans are curtailed to ensure that everything seems all right and that the staff threatened with non-fulfillment of the plan is not deprived of the expected bonus. The party has declared war on this practice.

Studying the effects of decisions, meaning both positive and negative ones, is a requisite of making subsequent party actions more effective.

In the light of the foregoing, it is particularly important to note an idea expressed by L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, who said that "the art of leadership does not consist in spawning and lavishing guidelines on every occasion. Once a decision has been taken, it is necessary to see to its unfailing execution within the time limit set. This is what stricter control should help achieve. Moreover, this control should be exercised systematically and promptly, at once from above and from below."⁵

The 12th BCP congress, held a year ago, was a major event in the life of our people. It adopted decisions defining the strategy and tactics of Bulgaria's building developed socialism for a long time to come. They provided, in particular, for steps to steadily raise our people's living standard and strengthen their fraternal relations with the peoples of other countries of the socialist community, primarily by promoting closer relations with the Soviet

Union in every sphere. The congress specified the contribution which Bulgaria must make to a more durable world peace. These are fundamental decisions whose significance goes far beyond the next five years for all that they are specific. They impinge not only on life in our own country but on international developments.

Links between the Communist Party and the people are growing stronger with the implementation of congress decisions. Led by the party, the people are advancing to new noteworthy achievements as they make their history.

The tasks set by the congress also envisage more efficient decision-making by the party. The development of the political system of socialism and inner-party democracy as a model of socialist organization, and the transformation of every party branch into a natural

center where new and more complicated problems are considered directly help in the final analysis to perfect the making and implementation of party decisions.

All that the CC BCP has undertaken of late to enhance the significance of party decisions, prevent "inflation" in decision-making, increase the mobilizing and organizing role of decisions and make them more effective will unquestionably contribute to success in building a new society in our country.

1. T. Zhivkov, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, Sofia, 1975, p. 567.
2. WMR, December 1980.
3. 10th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Sofia, 1971, p. 764.
4. G. Dimitrov, *Collected Works*, Vol. 14, Sofia, 1955, p. 344.
5. L.I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Vol. 8, Moscow, 1981, p. 719.

New experience

OUR INTERVIEWS

THE ECONOMIC EFFECT OF THE PRINTED WORD

Gunter Schabowski

alternate member, SUPG CC Political Bureau,
Editor-in-chief, *Neues Deutschland*

Q. What is your paper's role in the drive to fulfil the economic plans mapped out by the party?

A. The social policy of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany is focused on our economy and the people's great effort to enhance its efficiency, as Erich Honecker said at the 10th congress of the SUPG, because that is what ensures progress in the further construction of mature socialism.

The GDR's economic development in the 1980s presents more large-scale and complex tasks than it did in the past. Consider merely the fact that in order to realize the socio-political goals set by the 10th congress of the SUPG there is a need to increase from 1981 to 1985, the national income and industrial output by 28 per cent, with energy and raw-material inputs remaining at the old level or rising insignificantly. In other words, the specific feature of the present situation is that the further upswing of the economy must be brought about exclusively through scientific and technical progress and economies in materials and energy.

The successful functioning of the whole economy now depends, as never before in the

past, on the development of socialist democracy and the "individual factor," that is, the social activity and skills of the working people, their frame of mind and their sense of responsibility.

It is in the light of these specific factors that we carry on our work at *Neues Deutschland*. We believe that one of the paper's main tasks is to act as a propagandist of socialist consciousness, to inspire people to the attainment of new frontiers, and to help by means of journalism to realize the party's socio-economic plans.

I should like to emphasize that *Neues Deutschland* has given special attention to the problem of increasing the working person's role in present-day socio-production processes. Various aspects of this problem are dealt with in correspondents' reports, in articles written by workers, party leaders and economic executives, in commentaries and readers' letters. We believe that our task is not only to reflect the ideological aspect of the problem, but also to provide a fresh impetus for its solution, making use above all of the power of advanced experience.

Let me give a couple of examples. One report carried by the paper described in detail how the work collective of a combine for the production of foundry installations solved this most difficult problem: with an increase in power consumption of only 0.5 per cent, it got an annual increase in output of 5 per cent. By means of economies, the foundry shop also covered one-half of its requirements in power

for social needs, that is, heating, showering, cooking, etc. Another article reported on the initiative of constructors at the Magdeburg armature works named after Karl Marx. Their proposal was virtually to halve the period for designing and engineering new large-scale armature products. Their initiative will yield an annual saving of 26,000 hours of working time and more than 6 million marks' worth of basic materials.

In our country we say: "The use of advanced experience is the most profitable investment." We popularize in every way the best achievements and optimal methods for realizing the party's decisions. At the same time, the paper shows how our society combats the inertia and stereotype approaches which still occur in its advance.

Neues Deutschland relies on its readers, who write in to tell about good examples and about what deserves to be criticized. Our principle is to keep up public criticism until the shortcomings are removed.

Q. What forms does the paper use in presenting economic matters, and spreading advanced economic knowledge and the experience of innovators in production?

A. I should like to bring out three forms among the great spectrum which *Neues Deutschland* makes use of.

First, there is the newspaper's dialogue with the leading work-teams of the Republic. Before the 10th congress, we began regularly to publish conversations with work collectives on the most burning problems to give readers an idea of the views and proposals voiced by workers with respect to management methods and the socialist style of behavior. Thus, a conversation with the youth work-team at the Carl Zeiss works in Jena showed readers how at this enterprise which has many long-standing traditions young people are taught to take an interest in scientific and technical creativity, and are educated in a spirit of conscious socialist discipline, so helping them to achieve a high level of performance.

We published a conversation with experienced miners on the way trade unions are now in a position to establish themselves as a "school of socialism," as they are called in the GDR, and so enable workers to exercise their power in the state. Workers from the Wilhelm Pieck works at Mansfeld told of the way the revolutionary traditions of Red Mansfeld are being passed on from one generation to another, and how they are now used in the struggle for scientific and technical progress. I think that it is hard to exaggerate the importance of this form of *Neues Deutschland*

work: it helps to bring out and support the beginnings of what is new, creative and progressive, what has been found and applied in socio-production practice at the best enterprises. Such topical publications in the newspaper have met with a wide response in many work collectives throughout the Republic and, I would say, constitute the basis of the economic effectiveness of the party's ideas.

Another important form is interviews with the general directors of industrial and building combines. In the past several years, we have set up a total of 157 large-scale economic subdivisions of this type, integrating the bulk of the economic and sizable part of the research potential in the country. They have a key role to play in blending the advantages of socialism with the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution. It is the combines which primarily have the task of organizing the process of reproduction in such a way as to make full use of the working people's creative energy, initiative and knowledge.

Neues Deutschland regularly makes its pages available to the directors of front-ranking combines, whom we ask to describe above all their efforts in creating the ideological and material conditions which enable the working people to develop their creative capacities and labor skills in implementing our party's socio-economic policy. I think that the social value of these reports is self-evident.

Finally, another form which has been established in the paper is economic reflections about the main lines of the SUPG's strategy in the economic sphere. Readers are invited to take a bird's-eye view of the interconnections within the national economy. The topic of one such "reflection" on the rationalization and efficient use of labor resources was formulated as follows: "We do not have too little labor power but too many jobs." We regard these articles as a necessary supplement to the topical reports and news about the progress of socialist emulation.

In conclusion I should like to emphasize that all the publications on economic and political problems in *Neues Deutschland* are designed to show readers that the socialist society has forward positions in the scientific and technological revolution, because socialist consciousness, a high level of education, experience and skill among the working people add up to a force that will never be found under capitalism. We also want to confirm our people in the conviction that good work and fulfillment of plans are ultimately the most important of what they can do for themselves, for the Republic, and for the maintenance of peace.

EFFORTS TO UNITE THE OPPOSITION

David Garcia

CC Political Commission member,
CP Bolivia

Q. There has lately been talk in Bolivia about some liberalization of the military regime. How true is this and what effect is it having on the work of the Communist Party and other revolutionary and democratic organizations?

A. What people are talking about is not liberalization but some of the limited measures taken by the General Celso Torrelio government under pressure from the masses. The general got the presidential chair as a result of the changes which have occurred within the ruling regime set up in 1980 by the fascist-minded militarists connected with the "cocaine" mafia.¹ The policy conducted by the first head of the regime, General Garcia Meza, aroused protests from an overwhelming majority of Bolivians and drew sharp condemnation from international democratic opinion. The dictator managed to irritate even some of the military. The big bourgeoisie in our country and the imperialist circles abroad reached the conclusion that Garcia Meza was incapable of setting up a "strong and stable" government, which they had so hoped to have. The economic crisis has been aggravated to an extreme. That is why there was a "change of the guard."

Just now, Celso Torrelio's "team" is trying to present itself as a kind of transitional government allegedly in search of a way to democracy, respecting human rights and uncompromised by any connections with the drug traders. The authorities are now trying to secure international recognition of their regime and to reduce internal tensions by means of demagogic promises. In actual fact, they are looking about for a scheme of stable power guaranteeing the interests of the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie, which are expressed in the government's three-year plan.²

Meanwhile, the ban on the activity of political parties is still in force. The control of the universities by the military has not been lifted. The old apparatus of violence continues to function behind new signboards, and paramilitary bands are running amok. Still banned are the main trade unions, above all the Bolivian Workers' Center (COB). The Communist Party and other progressive organizations still have to work in the underground.

The democratic opposition has recovered from the heavy blows dealt at it and has reformed its ranks in the underground.

Together with their allies from the Left Revo-

lutionary Movement (MIR), the Left Nationalistic Revolutionary Movement (MNRI) and other organizations within the Democratic and Popular Unity Front (UDP)³ the communists have been intensifying their resistance to the military regime and its anti-popular policies. We have acted with every accessible means and have maintained contacts with the masses — workers, peasants and students.

In carrying on their work in working people's organizations in clandestine conditions, the communists have had to give battle to the Trotskyites and Maoists and various other groups of leftists who sought to confine the whole of the struggle to action deep in the underground. Having lost their influence on the people, they wanted to set up under their control "underground command centers" by means of which to usurp the right of representing the working people. In practice, no one but the government would benefit from this scheme.

Q. How is trade-union work organized in clandestine conditions?

A. The authorities tried to realize a plan for structuring the trade unions on corporative lines which had been worked out under Banzer.⁴ Its substance was to substitute officials for the democratically elected leaders. Under the new military regime, this function is assigned to officials "responsible for labor relations," appointed by the Ministry of Labor, and acting under the control of the Ministry of the Interior. These are usually men who know next to nothing about trade-union affairs or are simply informers on the payroll of employers and the government.

Virtually everywhere the workers have rejected the plans to set up corporative trade unions. They have set up independent "base committees" to fight for their rights and against abuse by the employers, low wages, sweatshop conditions and repression. The communists are naturally taking an active part in this process of mass organization.

These committees have convened meetings of working people in defiance of official bans and have begun to re-establish the traditional mechanism of trade-union leadership elections. That is what happened in several mining centers. The workers united in the "base committees" staged strikes and the government was forced to recognize the leaders elected by the miners and even to negotiate with them on the demands put forward by the strikers. Everywhere, the "base committees" have voiced their adherence to the old trade-union federations and the COB, and have declared their recognition of the leaders of these organ-

izations, and demanded the re-establishment of their civic and political rights.

With every passing day, the committees' activity has helped to gain more and more ground for the resumption of trade-union activities. The committees' experience in the militant miners' centers rapidly spread across the country. Simultaneously, the COB, the Miners' Federation, the Federation of Factory Workers, the Bolivian University Confederation, the United Center of Toiling Peasants and other trade union associations reorganized their activity in the underground. Members of the Communist Party and other UDP parties have been actively working in their leadership.

The persevering struggle started by the miners and carried on by other contingents of the working people, the strikes, the hunger strikes and other mass protest actions forced the government to retreat. In December 1981, the authorities recognized "base committees" and abandoned the idea of appointing officials "responsible for labor relations." The government has formally agreed to the re-establishment of trade-union bodies. Inspired by this victory, the working people have continued their struggle for full freedom of trade-union activity and for the restoration of all democratic rights. But the military regime has combined concessions with repression so as to avoid honoring its promises.

Q. How do the communists and other members of the resistance to the dictatorship carry their ideas to the masses?

A. The communists are constantly working in the very midst of the people. The UDP parties have to overcome great difficulties connected with the constant repression in their efforts to publish their newspapers, bulletins and booklets, which are passed on from hand to hand. The Communist Party publishes its central organ, *Unidad*, the youth paper *Temple* and a number of local publications. This press helps to expose the regime and to guide the popular struggle. The masses are given an understanding of the action program proposed by the opposition. It is important to take into account that the press helps the parties themselves to consolidate their organizations. In addition, there is an active spread of leaflets, pamphlets and wall-posters. All of this helps to undermine the government's monopoly of the printed word, radio and other mass media and to break down the barriers in the way of critical thinking.

Q. What is the Communist Party doing to unite the opposition?

A. Even in the underground we have been working for joint action by democratic, revo-

lutionary and anti-fascist forces, among which the UDP has the leading role to play. The communists believe that their task is not only to maintain the front, but also to expand it by involving other democratic forces.

Very important steps have recently been taken to unite the anti-dictatorship movement. The organization of the Front's work within the country has been markedly improved so as to enhance its role as the political leader of the masses. The Communist Party has been working to turn the UDP into the dynamic core of a broader coalition which could be represented by the National Committee for the Defense of Democracy (CNDD),⁵ or some other body.

We believe that in the present circumstances the UDP's efforts should yield fruit both on the level of the national or departmental leadership and at its lower echelons, in the neighborhoods, the pits, and shopfloor, in the universities and in the rural localities. The communists are working hard to consolidate the extensive network of grass-roots organizations which must become a reliable support for the UDP's leading organs.

Starting from primary demands, the anti-fascist resistance is shaping a minimum program. This involves the protection of the economy, natural resources and state enterprises, and abolition of the IMF's "economic package" which is being imposed on Bolivia. This paves the way for the attainment of more general goals, like the country's democratization, free party activity, recognition of the people's sovereignty and national liberation. We believe that our agreements with our allies will help to overcome the difficulties in political cooperation which have been felt in the past.

It is now safe to say that thanks to the mobilization of all the forces in the underground and the combination of clandestine and legal work, the resistance to the dictatorship is growing. Our party says that united and organized, the people will defeat fascism.

1. In Bolivia, the drug trade has become something of a sector in the economy. The "cocaine" mafia has established mutually advantageous relations with senior officials in the state apparatus and senior officers in the army. — Ed.

2. It provides for denationalization of state enterprises and a sharp cut in the incomes of the bulk of the population, an approach in line with IMF recommendations and Reagan's policy in Latin America. — Ed.

3. A coalition of progressive political organizations set up in 1978. — Ed.

4. The dictator Hugo Banzer was in power from 1971 to 1978. — Ed.

5. An association which took shape shortly before the 1980 coup. It includes the COB, virtually all the political parties in the country (with the exception of the right-wing Nationalist Democratic Union and the fascist "falange"), and also religious, youth and other public bodies. — Ed.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESS

RABOTNICHESKO DELO

Discovery of Georgi Dimitrov's letters

The organ of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian CP reports the discovery of some letters addressed by Georgi Dimitrov to the Swedish proletariat. A number of letters which he wrote in French and German in 1909 have been found in the archives of the Central Association of the Trade Unions of Sweden. At that time, Sweden was the arena of bitter class battles, which culminated in the general strike of 1909. A campaign in support of the Swedish proletariat was organized in several countries of Europe, including Bulgaria. In that period, Dimitrov was one of the leaders of the national trade-union movement, and in his letters he voices the Bulgarian proletariat's internationalist solidarity with the struggle carried on by the Swedish comrades and informs them of a remittance to the striking workers of funds collected by the trade unions in Bulgaria.

The news that several unknown letters written by the outstanding leader of the Bulgarian and international communist movement have been found in Sweden, says the newspaper, is of special significance in view of the forthcoming centenary of Dimitrov's birth.

VOZ DA UNIDADE

The communists' newspaper on the streets of Rio de Janeiro

The newspaper of the Brazilian communists *Voz da Unidade* (Voice of Unity) has published an article describing the successful circulation by the communists of the party press in Rio de Janeiro, one of Brazil's biggest cities. Teams of volunteers, consisting of communists and party sympathizers, regularly appear at the busiest crossroads of this sprawling city with its millions of inhabitants to offer fresh issues of the party paper. Their vigorous agitation, colorful placards and bundles of newspapers on the pavements present a totally new scene in the life of Rio de Janeiro. Passers-by stop to look at the unusual spectacle, to talk with the communists and usually buy a copy of the paper. Contrary to the apprehensions of the pessimists, the paper says, the very fact that an organ of the press expressing the communist view appeared on the streets of Rio de Janeiro has evoked a lively interest and attracted the attention of its inhabitants.

The paper says that these efforts should be carried on and that the teams should innovate their methods so as to bring the paper closer to the masses of the working people and above all

to organize the circulation of the paper near enterprises, offices, railway stations and public transport stops. The paper says that the circulators should be better supplied with placards, use should be made everywhere of loud hailers, and a mobile team formed with its own means of transport so as to provide a quick assistance to the circulators if the need should arise. Supporting the idea voiced by some members of the party that music should be used to attract perspective readers, *Voz da Unidade* calls on readers to submit their proposals which could help to develop and improve the methods used in circulating the Brazilian communists' newspaper among the masses.

FORMATION OF THE PALESTINIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

An announcement on the formation of the Palestinian Communist Party (PCP) has been published in the progressive periodicals of a number of Arab countries.

By agreement with the Palestinian communists who are members of Jordanian CP organizations abroad, and with the consent of the Jordanian CP, and also following the adoption of the relevant organizational measures, the document says, the Palestinian communists have decided to announce the formation of the Palestinian Communist Party. Among members of the PCP will be communists in the Israeli-occupied West Bank of the River Jordan and the Gaza Strip, Palestinians who are members of the Jordanian CP resident outside the boundaries of Jordan, and also members of the Palestinian communist organization in Lebanon. Palestinian communists, the document says, have taken this step in accordance with the objective requirements of the struggle for the attainment of the main goal of the Arab people of Palestine: the creation of their own independent state, and also in order to consolidate the Palestinian people's unity in the struggle for that goal.

The Palestinian CP, the announcement says, is a party of Palestinian workers and poor peasants. The PCP "is guided in its activity by the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, the principles of proletarian internationalism, and the documents of the international meetings of communist and workers' parties, and is structured in accordance with the principles of democratic centralism." The Palestinian CP regards itself as an inalienable part of the national Palestinian movement, the Arab liberation movement, and the international communist movement.

The party's main task at the present stage — the stage of national liberation — is to fight for the withdrawal of the troops of the Israeli in-

vaders from all the Arab territories occupied by them in 1967, the establishment of an independent Palestinian state, and the return of Palestinian refugees to their homeland in accordance with UN decisions.

The PCP regards the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and asserts the right to have its own representative in the PLO, something that would help to strengthen national unity, democracy and the national struggle of the Palestinians.

THE STORY BEHIND THE FACT

WHO FINANCES THE PARTIES AND HOW

On December 19, 1981, the newspaper *Unsere Zeit* published a financial report of the Board of the German CP. What is the purpose of the GCP's annual presentation to the public of the party's report on its financial sources? The answer is given by Georg Kwiatowski, GCP representative on *WMR*.

"Political struggle costs money," says a call issued by the GCP Board in connection with the drive for donations to the party's fund. Such calls are regularly published in our newspaper *Unsere Zeit* and are appended in the form of a leaflet to party publications together with a postal remittance form. Collections for the GCP fund is a component part of the party's work and constantly has the attention of its leadership.

The money to fund our struggle does not come from the vaults of big business, but from membership dues, the sale of our newspaper, the spread of party publications and — last but not least — donations by tens of thousands of members and friends of the GCP. The funds coming in from our comrades and colleagues are workers' money, which is especially appreciated because we know that in these hard times a man has to finger every mark again and again before deciding to spend it. Of course, we try to collect as much money as we can, but we try hard to spend it economically and with a sense of responsibility.

The GCP Board issues individual bonds and blocks of bonds valued at 2, 3, 5, 10, 20 and 50 marks, which are sold to party members, friends and sympathizers. The names of those who remit money direct to the GCP account are published in *Unsere Zeit*, which is why our party's financial sources can be checked at any time.

Yet the bourgeois press has continued to spread its old fairy-tales about the GCP being financed with millions coming in from the

"East." The purpose of these inventions is to present the party as an outfit whose acts fall within the ambit of the Criminal Code, to hamper our political struggle, to depress the communists' authority, and to prevent people from displaying their solidarity with the Communist Party and from making donations to its fund.

But the facts show that the reactionaries have failed to smear the German Communist Party in the eyes of the working people. In 1980 (no data are yet available for 1981), donations to the GCP fund totalled almost DM6 million. Besides, many communists provide the party with all kinds of economic and everyday services free of charge, by helping, for instance, to repair the GCP premises. Another example is voluntary participation in preparing the latest *Unsere Zeit* festival: more than 1,000 party members used a part of their holiday for this purpose. In sum, services of this kind in 1980 were valued at over DM 4.8 million.

The Political Parties' Act in the FRG puts the duty on each to make an annual "report to society." The report must be audited, submitted to the President of the Bundestag and published in the newspaper *Bundesanzeiger*, the organ of the Federal Ministry of Justice. The law determines the forms and content of the items of the report. Thus, together with membership dues, receipts from party enterprises, publications and publishing activity, it is necessary to report on "donations" from private persons. In this connection, the law says: "Donations to any party or its several Lander organizations which exceed DM 20,000 in a calendar year must be stated in the report together with the name and address of the donor and the total amount of the donation."

Our party has scrupulously observed the injunctions of the Federal Law, listing in each annual report the names and addresses of persons who donate large amounts to it. By contrast, the parties represented in the Bonn Bundestag resort to various tricks and dodges in order to cover up their financial sources from the electorate. If these were made public, the people would certainly be able to draw the right conclusion about whose interests are actually represented by the CDU, which claims to be a people's party, and also by the CSU or the FDP. That is why the main donors listed in their reports are what we call "doubtful" or "generally useful" societies which claim to be non-profit making and whose activity is in the "interests of the society as a whole." Thus, the largest "donor" to the CDU is a "society for stimulating the economy of the Land Baden Wurttemberg," which in 1980 gave the Christ-

ian Democrats over DM 650,000, while simultaneously donating DM 486,000 to the FDP fund. The "Bavarian State Civilian Association" also simultaneously finances two parties: the CSU and the FDP. The CDU receives its funds from three so-called state associations, and the FDP — from four, and so on.

What are these associations and whose interests do they safeguard? Behind them stand well-known concerns, millionaires or large share-holders. But everyone knows that a capitalist will never spend any money unless it yields a benefit or profit. There is an old German saying which has the same meaning as "he who pays the piper calls the tune," and it is a precise reflection of the character of the relations between bourgeois political organizations and the world of business which finances them, for the latter naturally expects the parties to stand up for its interests in working out political and parliamentary decisions.

There are numerous facts to show that the bourgeois parties are closely interwoven with big capital. It is not at all accidental that *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, a mouthpiece of business circles, said that "donors were apprehensive of the secrecy of their contributions being made public."* The capitalists do not want the society to know about the fact that their interests are "identical" with the interests of this or that party, but here they also have another axe to grind. The fact is that under the law donations to parties by companies and private persons of up to DM 1,800 a year are exempt from taxation. Similarly, donations by companies to "non-profit" societies not in excess of five per cent of the company's earnings are also exempt from taxation. Making use of this juridical loophole, big businessmen fragment a sizable part of their profits and remit it to the accounts of "non-profit" societies, without paying any taxes. The "non-profit" societies, for their part, remit the money to the accounts of the parties. In this way, big capital stands to benefit twice: it does not pay tax to the state, finances the bourgeois parties through "doubtful" societies and manages to stay in the background.

The scandals which have erupted over the financing of the bourgeois parties are a part of their history since the origination of the FRG. However, the powers that be take a condescending view of diverse financial abuses of this kind and the scandals are mostly hushed up. Whenever this cannot be done, the responsibility for the affair is heaped on in-

dividuals in order to cover up the fact that such practices are part and parcel of the capitalist system and its political parties as a whole. Let me illustrate this with a few examples.

A subsidiary of the union of enterprises GmbH, belonging to the CDU, was set up in Lichtenstein to market expertise data to companies in the FRG. Minus the small overhead costs, its earnings are remitted to the CDU fund.

The FDP has opted for a different method. It has set up abroad a number of societies with high-sounding names like "International Economic Club — Union for Ideal Goals," "Society for the Promotion of the Free Market Economy — Professional Union," and so on. Donations and contributions received by these societies are remitted to the accounts of other foreign organizations, and the latter remit these to FDP fund. What is the purpose of these financial manipulations? *Der Spiegel* emphasized that as the money moves from one vault to another in Geneva, Brussels or Miami, all traces of its origin disappear and they return to the party till "laundered," as the gangsters say.

In January 1982, illegal donations to parties from the Dusseldorf concern Henkel, the Hamburg company Deutsche Unilever GmbH and other major enterprises in the FRG were brought to light. Another loud scandal involved Flick. At its offices in Dusseldorf and in the office of its manager von Brauchitsch, the authorities — acting on suspicion of tax evasion and bribery — confiscated many documents pertaining to information about the company's donations to party funds.

The exposure of such manipulations, which has been stirring up public opinion in the FRG for more than 10 years now, is not at all the result of any pangs of conscience among the bourgeois parties. It is often accidental. Thus, a secretary on the FDP Board decided to make some money on the side by selling her information about the dirty methods by means of which the party is financed. But when she was not paid the promised amount, she revenged herself by reporting it to the prosecutor's office, and the whole business was brought to notice of the public.

All the parties represented in the Bundestag are involved in such manipulations, which is why they join each other in trying to hush up any scandal. Deputies from these parties in the Bundestag have even proposed a change in the law so as to allow the guilty persons to go scot free. But regardless of whether the law is revised or not, one thing is clear: it is no longer possible to obscure the financial dependence of bourgeois parties on big business.

* *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, December 5, 1981.

The communists take a principled stand on the question of party finance. The document issued by the Mannheim congress of the GCP says: "In financing their activity, the parties must be independent of state subventions and the million-mark donations coming in from industrialists and bankers, for otherwise the parties will be forced to represent the interests of those who finance them, as is the case just now. The financing of parties should depend exclusively on a sense of solidarity and the readiness of their members and sympathizers to make donations." That is why in its program, our party demands the elimination of the state financing of parties and fulfilment of the requirements of the Fundamental Law concerning the public reporting by parties on their financial sources. The GCP believes that this demand is an important condition for the genuine democratization of socio-political life in the FRG.

IN BRIEF

AUSTRIA

An extraordinary congress held by the CP Austria has approved a new Program of the CPA.*

AFGHANISTAN

A seminar was held in Kabul for responsible party workers on realizing the decisions of the seventh plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of

* For its content see WMR, April 1981, and April 1982. — Ed.

Workers in Society

T. Timofeyev

Polemical essays on the various interpretations of the historical mission of the working class.

cloth 320 pp \$6.95

PROGRESS BOOKS

71 Bathurst St.

Toronto, Ont. M5V 2P6

Afghanistan. The participants in the seminar spoke of the successes in improving the organizational work of the party and strengthening the leadership of regional, district, city and provincial party committees. In order to enhance the ideological seasoning of the PDPA members and increase their role in the life of the country, it was decided to hold in 1982 a campaign in the course of which party cards are to be presented to members and candidate members of the PDPA.

ANGOLA

The Central Committee of the MPLA-Party of Labor has decided to restructure the system of party information. It is to publish a newspaper called *The Cell*, a theoretical journal, and a special information bulletin which is to be circulated abroad. The MPLA radio has resumed "Fighting Angola" broadcasts which it carried on during the struggle for national liberation.

WEST BERLIN

A memorial plaque has been set up on the bank of Landwer canal, where 63 years ago reactionaries killed two outstanding leaders of the German and international working class movement and founders of the Communist Party of Germany. The inscription says: "To Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, front-ranking fighters for peace, democracy and socialism, who were killed here."

MEXICO

The first issue of the weekly *Asi Es* (That Is How It Is), organ of the United Socialist Party of Mexico, has appeared.

MOROCCO

On the initiative of the Party of Progress and Socialism of Morocco a series of lectures has been arranged in Casablanca on the subject: "The Working Class of Morocco." The purpose of the lectures is to tell about the solidarity of the PPS with the struggle of the Moroccan working people for democracy and social progress and to acquaint the people of the city with the history of the national working-class movement.

TURKEY

The decision to get down to establishing a broad democratic front in Turkey resting on the political unity of the working class has been taken as a result of negotiations between the leaders of the Workers' Party of Turkey, the Communist Party of Turkey, and the Socialist Workers' Party of Turkey.



Significance of experience to policy-making

Ernst Wimmer
CC Political Bureau member,
Communist Party of Austria

Thanks to its links to the people, to the working class in the first place, the communist party assimilates vast historical experience. It acquires it in struggle for immediate and long-term aims, in ideological debates, political battles, and movements, in the testing of new forms of organizing the masses, and in modifying the functions of social institutions. Its experience is indispensable for joining theory and practice.

In revolutionizing the world there is hardly anything so important and difficult as to preserve and pass on the experience of one generation of revolutionaries to another, to assimilate it creatively on new soil. Experience that is significant and crucial to all countries is acquired first in one or several countries. Nations lose something priceless if no more than a small portion of this experience crosses the border or if it is assimilated by others belatedly. But not every significant experience of one nation, of a national working class, however great the need for such experience at some other stage of the development of the productive forces or of the class struggle, is entirely applicable in the specific situation obtaining in other nations.

In the development of humankind the use of experience is a great source of rationalization. In order to act rationally the most humane movement, the revolutionary working-class movement, has to learn constantly from the new. There is today a tendency toward diversifying and sophisticating the forms of social progress. But one must also see the tendency toward unification of content, toward unity of the revolutionary struggle in the world. Hence the special significance of accumulating, sifting, utilizing, and generalizing experience.

To be able to successfully extend and transplant the tested experience of the international revolutionary movement to one's own soil it is vital to have a correct understanding of the dialectics of the general, the specific, and the individual. On this largely depends success or failure, the acceleration or deceleration of progress.

As well as errors generated objectively, the revolutionary working-class movement constantly encounters, in one form or another, two misconceived and mutually complementing attitudes: "diseases" that may dramatically weaken or become lethal to it. The first consists of underestimating or ignoring "foreign" experience. The second lies in imitating or mechanically borrowing experience without taking the trouble to consider the specifics of national conditions. Proponents of these attitudes as, indeed, of right and "left" opportunism in general, use the mistakes of others to justify their own. It is symbolic that in many cases both these attitudes entail the "construction of models," the invention of non-existent experience, of experience for which no conditions exist anywhere. Such "models" are evidence of contempt for general laws and, more often than not, represent an attempt related to nationalism or opportunism to turn what is specific into something mandatory for everybody. Or, conversely, they are based on a negation of specifics that bear out what is universal, are generated by blindness of what is concrete, or spring from dogmatism.

Hence the undeniable indispensability of the most diverse forms of international exchanges of experience. Such exchanges help to understand and distinguish the general from the specific. They are a means of verifying the correctness of suggested solutions and new hypotheses put forward as part and parcel of the development of theory — a means of verification with the aid of practical data embodied in the collective experience of our movement.

Few concepts are so profound in meaning and so often abused as that of "experience." There is lasting topicality in Lenin's observation that many philosophers base their systems or pseudo-systems on the word "experience," camouflage their reaction with talk about "experience," that "the word 'experience' may unquestionably imply a materialistic or idealistic line in philosophy," that it may provide the basis "for eclectically passing from the idealist position to the

materialist position and vice versa" (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 14, p. 151).

Dialectical materialism has introduced clarity, creating by its studies the requisites for a more critical, rational, and cautious handling of experience. Our philosophy condemns any slanted interpretation of experience (which was a distinctive characteristic of pre-Marxian materialism). Also, it rejects the specious thesis, typical of many varieties of idealism, that outside experience there is for people neither nature or man himself, that experience is identical to knowledge and reality, and even constitutes the latter.

The founders of Marxist philosophy were opposed to this interpretation of experience. Unlike the sages who set themselves above experience and disregarded real conditions, Marx and Engels put forward a scientific method of study: "Its premises are men, not in any fantastic isolation and fixity, but in their actual, empirically perceptible process of development under definite conditions. As soon as this active life-process is described, history ceases to be a collection of dead facts, as it is with the empiricists (themselves still abstract) . . ."¹

A point made by materialistic dialectics is that experience springs from the attitude of people (as individuals, groups, strata, classes, and types) to the social and natural environment. Consequently, it is vital to see who is the subject of experience and what is its object. This determines what aspects of reality and what relationships are reflected in experience, and whether they are reflected accurately or not. Marxism-Leninism distinguishes between the recognition of the social conditionality of experience, its dependence on man's links with nature and the surrounding world as revealed by science, and consciousness, organization, and the breadth and intensity with which the acquired experience is used.

Socially significant experience comes from social practice. However, it should not be confused with practice. The conditions of the processes in which experience is acquired blend into the ultimate result in the most diverse ways. But processes and results are by no means one and the same thing.

Unquestionably, no scientific theory can be evolved without a scientific analysis of the relevant experience. But there always is extensive and valuable experience that has not and possibly will never become a theory on account of the short duration of its operation. However, this experience is needed for the ongoing movement and for the further development of theory. In assessing both experience and

theory, Marxism draws upon social practice, which it regards as a touchstone. The "critical rationalists" claiming to have said the latest word in philosophy are wrestling with the problem of how to move from subjective experience to the substantiation of the objectivity of scientific knowledge. Their trouble is that they confine themselves entirely to the subjectiveness of experience, attaching no significance to social practice as a criterion of truth and divorcing it from the process of cognition.

The aforesaid seemingly conflicts with the pragmatists' unconditional recognition of practice. Do not pragmatists propound the thesis that what is useful and brings success is true? But it should not be overlooked that a short-lived success may come even from what is wrong and does not at all reflect the essence of a phenomenon. Marxism-Leninism's superiority lies not only in its recognition that social practice is the touchstone of social knowledge but also in the recognition of the relativity of social practice. Only active and transformative social practice, which links the subjective and objective world and acts as a mediator between them, can be the criterion of truth or of the approximation to it. Practice is a long-term test of the experience of individuals, groups, and classes. However, "the criterion of practice can never, in the nature of things, either confirm or refute any human idea *completely*" (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 14, p. 142).

It is dangerous to forget that some forms of practice may be successful for some time and yet be fundamentally at variance with the class interests that these or those ideologists seek or pretend to uphold. The history of the working-class movement contains many deplorable and sometimes tragic examples of this. Disregard or underestimation of social practice as a criterion of truth leads to a wrong direction sooner or later. The same happens when practice is *absolutized*, a phenomenon that often goes hand in hand with the belittlement of theory. An essential feature of amateurism and also of economism in the working-class movement is that their spokesmen do not include the experience of an individual sphere in a systematic awareness of broader relationships, opposing it to such understanding or even putting such experience above it.

In studies of experience crucial to the working-class movement a distinction is made between experience embodied in theory and the diverse experience developed and used by the movement.

However, from the standpoint of the historically and logically primary aim of the revolutionary working-class movement, i.e., the

inculcation of a socialist consciousness among the people, the closest attention is merited, of course, by yet another sphere: the day-to-day social experience that the people acquire outside the working-class movement. This mass day-to-day experience is still not adequately influenced by the movement's aims and stimuli. For the most part it covers only a tiny portion of living reality, stemming from the surface of phenomena seen by the observer and, at best, revealing only a few short threads of an interrelation.

Since this sphere is evidently far from any theory and is in many cases not linked to the activities of the working-class movement, little attention is often given to the fact that each process of the acquisition of experience is linked to preceding knowledge and contains an element of theory. A person acquiring experience is not an empty vessel. Errors in knowledge likewise put a false light on experience. Limited practice may be the source and medium of misconceived consciousness. State-monopoly capitalism has created a mechanism for the manipulation of the public consciousness with the objective of undermining the people's experience and inducing them to forget it. When this fails a web of false relationships is woven to entangle new experience.

Even direct participation in the working-class movement, let alone "day-to-day experience," is not enough for understanding the essence of society and the status and interests of classes. However, the exceedingly important question of what the immediate environment of the working-class movement becomes like is in large measure resolved precisely in the sphere of day-to-day experience. And the solution itself depends on the ability of the party, of the working-class movement to take into account the day-to-day, hour-to-hour experience of those who are politically untrained, to enable them to see, if only partially, their experience in a new light, define its shades and key, and reveal at least some of its relationships. Only the anti-capitalism that has the ability to substantiate the issues of its struggle and link them to day-to-day problems can in fact help to enlighten the masses, sink deep roots, and raise the level of their consciousness.

It is quite justifiably said that the extent to which social experience is used depends on the extent Marxism-Leninism has been mastered, on the level of the socialist consciousness. It may be added: on the extent a party is Marxist-Leninist depends its ability to make the maximum use of experience, to verify it in its own practice and in the practice of the masses

and utilize in its policy all its valuable aspects without delay or loss. Party norms of democratic centralism are a concentration of militant experience acquired under the most diverse conditions. That these norms are irreplaceable is also proved by the fact that where they are strictly observed they ensure the functioning of highly complex mechanisms, thanks to which experience is taken into account, verified, and utilized and the attainment of the party's aims thereby ensured. Violation of these norms is inevitably the outcome of incomprehension and of refusal to utilize valuable experience.

Let us take the lessons of the communists of Austria to consider the problem of the relationship between a party's experience and its policies.

The elaboration of the CPA's first wide-ranging program during the past two years required not only an analysis of experience and its results but also answers to the following questions: Precisely where and why had the complex mechanisms of inner-party life failed to function or where and why had they functioned inadequately? What had been the causes of errors? Of course, program documents can spell out only the most general, the most important conclusions and experience. Theory, like a compass, shows the direction. But it is one thing to theoretically forecast the need for a turn in objective conditions and quite another to feel when this turn begins and becomes a reality. The working class often feels this earlier than its leaders. Here experience anticipates theory.

Moreover, precisely the practice of the masses, the experience of the movements, and participation in conflicts and struggle for day-to-day demands, even if this experience is not included in program documents, is decisive in placing accents, in determining the focus of agitation, of economic and socio-political actions. The practice of the masses provides the starting point for the party's concrete decisions, which comprise its line of action and which cannot be replaced by any program documents.

The most valuable elements of experience surface during drastic changes in objective conditions, when the habitual horizon widens. In Austria this turning point came in the mid-1950s: the signing of the State Treaty, the withdrawal of occupation troops, the commencement of brisk business activity that went on for a quarter of a century, the broad development of state-monopoly capitalism and of the form of its domination specific to Austria, namely, "social partnership," and the failure of the counter-revolution in neighboring Hungary.

There are many reasons why the Communist

Party, which sought to fundamentally re-examine its strategy, was unable at the time, despite some major studies, to take essential elements of the new situation into account correctly. The further elaboration of the theory of state-monopoly capitalism was only beginning in the party and there was little international experience to rely on.

However, the ultimate and main reason for the subsequent crisis in our party was the strong position held in it by proponents of two erroneous viewpoints. One was the underestimation, if not outright disregard, of new phenomena in capitalism and of new grass-roots experience. The proponents of this view underrated practice. Basically their stand was that theory determines what can be said by experience, which is allegedly subordinate to theory. The other viewpoint exaggerated new forms and new experience beyond all bounds. From this exaggeration the conclusion was drawn that capitalism had acquired a "new essence." It was argued that the "old theory" had nothing more to say. The errors in each of these viewpoints served the sides as arguments in debates. The complex relationship between theory, the party line, practice, and experience was seriously impaired. In the long run, the revisionism that took shape dropped theory, which could not explain important new developments, in favor of "practice" in a narrow, limited sense, descended to pragmatism, and found itself stuck in questions of tactics.

Let me illustrate. The party quite correctly saw the cooperation of the top echelon of the Socialist Party and the trade union federation with big capital, i.e., "social partnership," as a negation of the traditional forms of working-class struggle and renunciation of working-class independence relative to capital. However, from the correct thesis that capitalism had outlived its time the erroneous conclusion was drawn that in every situation the historical eclipse of capitalism must signify its stagnation. On this basis it was argued that "social partnership" could not bring about a rise in the real wages of the masses. However, in the subsequent period of high business activity capital raised wages substantially. It took this step to avert action by the working people by which they might have won much more. Thus, the direct experience of hundreds of thousands of workers came into conflict with what the party was saying; because what it said on this score was obviously wrong the workers began to doubt the party even when what it said was right. Revisionism promptly pounced upon the weakening of the movement and the difficulties this was generating. The revisionists used

them to "prove" that the party line had to be fundamentally modified, that the left faction in the trade union federation had to be independent of the party but not of "social partnership" and capital, and that the party's shop-floor organizations at factories had to be disbanded as having become a "hindrance."

There is no capitalist country in which the champions and partners of the old system have not tried all ways of preventing the working class from seeing its historical role and of weakening and shaking its will to struggle. Since the working class is the grave-digger of capitalism, bourgeois ideologists are arguing that this class no longer exists, that it has dissolved in the "new middle classes" and been entirely integrated in capitalism. What they are in fact saying is that unlike the bourgeoisie, without which it would indeed become easier to breathe, the working class is not an inalienable part of society. Fertile soil for this sort of insinuation was created by the glaring unevenness of political and economic development in Austria. This unevenness allows referring to Austria as a "striking example" bearing out that within only a few decades a fierce class struggle, as was the case in the First Republic, where it erupted into civil war, may be followed by "social peace," allegedly achieved in the Second Republic.

Our experience is that if a party allows the historical mission of the working class to be questioned, the character of the party itself, its right to exist as a revolutionary party will be questioned. The socialist aim disappears where confidence is lost in the working class as a force transforming society. But when the socialist aim loses its clear-cut outlines, the sole achievable aim very soon becomes reform, "modernization," a better "programmed" capitalism, its "rectification" to ensure a still higher profit rate — at the expense of the working class. Then every new development, however superficial it may be, every fashionable idea is grasped at in support of the argument that there is a need for a "party of an entirely new type." A logical outcome of this theory is the attempt to show the "expediency" of "dissolving the party" in the broadest possible alliances and fronts.

Lenin compared human cognition to a curve drawing ever closer to a series of circles, to a spiral. And he added: "Any fragment, segment, section of this curve can be transformed (transformed one-sidedly) into an independent, complete, straight line, which then (if one does not see the wood for the trees) leads into the quagmire" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 38, p. 363). Opportunists of every stripe are adept at pre-

cisely the art of this sort of slanted transmutation. They can survive only by adapting themselves to the quagmire to which they are carried by the river of life.

From the experience of struggle with various manifestations of revisionism and of surmounting the crisis of the close of the 1960s the Communist Party of Austria drew significant lessons, which are mirrored in its new program adopted by the extraordinary congress in January 1982. These lessons are that the party can maintain its political and ideological unity if, with scientific socialism as its guide, it is able to take new experience into account and use it, and opportunely and correctly evaluate and identify new important processes in social development. Any delay or omission may become the chink for the penetration of virulent, hostile notions and theories.

Where ideological unity is lacking, organizational unity cannot be maintained for long. Living unity cannot be ensured by norms alone. Needless to say, there is always some deviation from norms in the practice of party life. All the more necessary then is the effort to draw as close to them as possible. If violations are accepted as "inevitable," they easily evolve into a rule, with the result that unity is undermined as is the complex process of understanding reality at different levels. This leads to quarrels, intrigues, and factions. What have essential facts to do here since they do not fit into the platform of this or that faction or current? Without a contention of opinions it is impossible to eliminate misconceptions, harmful or hostile views. Our own experience is that if the debates needed by the party do not end in clear-cut conclusions, there is more uncertainty and vagueness than before. Besides, in this case it is hardly possible to use experience and the further course of events to discern what caused previous mistakes or shortcomings, and draw correct conclusions.

The basic condition for ending the crisis in the party was to politicize, activate, and mobilize its grassroots organizations and not merely to "enlist" them into a discussion. This allowed concentrating the debate on several main issues: the attitude to existing socialism, the assessment of social-democracy, which is particularly strong in Austria, and the essence and functions of the Communist Party.

The attitude to existing socialism is obviously of special importance in a country like Austria, which borders upon three socialist countries in which hundreds of thousands of relatives of Austrians reside. Encountering particularly heavy anti-communist propaganda, our party made the mistake of depict-

ing socialism in exclusively rosy hues. One must ponder the fact that Bruno Kreisky, leader of the SPA, attributes to the Communists the claim that all contradictions will vanish once power passes to the working class. Following him the revisionists began asserting that since existing socialism does not live up to "ideal expectations" it is of no use whatever. But a world where ideals are achieved at once, without exception, exists only in the imagination. Our experience is that under present conditions distancing from existing socialism leads to concurrence with its sworn enemies and, in the long run, to acceptance of their positions.

While characterizing the renegades, who once claimed to have renewed Marxism and discovered an entirely new, "pure" socialism, it must be noted that they are now accusing the left socialists of "bias" in the struggle for peace, of taking a "pro-Soviet list."

The realities of the class struggle in the world, dismissed by the present "true utopians," demand solidarity with socialist countries, which are the greatest achievement of the international working class. This solidarity by no means extends to the errors made there. The point is that these errors must be corrected in essence and as quickly as possible. As everybody knows, this is precisely the stand of the ruling communist parties in the socialist countries. To be effective, solidarity must in fact show socialism's advantages, superiority, and problems.

Taking into account the consequences of a non-dialectical approach to understanding socialist society and bearing in mind the experience of Austria, where what happens in socialist countries has repercussions in the political infighting, the CPA program notes that "under socialism, as well, progress is possible only through the appearance and settlement of contradictions." However, "unlike capitalism, whose irreconcilable contradictions can be removed only with the removal of the system itself, in a socialist society the settlement of contradictions is not only possible but acts as a specific form of advance and a motive force."²

All opportunists go along with the allegation that the reason for difficulties under socialism is the absence of "pluralism" and the "claim" of the communists to the leading role in society. Our party program opposes this central thesis of modern opportunism with the understanding that the "combination of a coherent scientific leadership of the economy and of society with initiative from the people is the decisive advantage and condition of socialism. To make this combination work there must be a leading force, a revolutionary party. If, as ex-

perience shows, the party fails to cope with its leading role, the working class loses its historical strength, crucial political and economic problems remain unresolved and the foundations of socialism may be shaken."³

For our party the experience of the socialist countries has been invaluable when it developed its program views about a socialist Austria. These views, recorded in the CPA program, reflect experience acquired under the most diverse conditions: the greater the diversity of the forms of socialism's political system in the process of its extension, the more distinctly are common features and regularities to be seen. Much as regularities do not exist "by themselves" isolated from national specifics and concrete historical conditions, the specifics and the conditions themselves cannot exist independently of regularities. Both must always be taken into account. If a revolutionary movement ignores national specifics and traditions it will not lead to socialism. In Austria, too, socialism will most certainly harmonize with specific regularities, otherwise it will simply not come into being. Our program notes that the "existence of the system of socialist states will prove useful. The experience of other nations, both positive and negative, is useful for it can reduce birthpains. Unquestionably, socialism in Austria will have its own features; it will be a socialism in the colors of Austria."⁴

We have used this experience — positive and negative — as the basis of our program provisions on the role of the largest class organization, that of the associated trade unions, under socialism. What potentialities and functions will the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of workers' power create for the trade unions? As our program declares, under the new conditions the trade unions would have the opportunity of consistently representing the interests of their members, exercising the functions of control, monitoring the observance of all agreements, and cutting short arbitrary behavior, faulted decisions, and bureaucratic practices on the part of the leadership and management. They would be able to help develop production, increase social wealth, educate working people in a spirit of solidarity, active cooperation and participation in decision-making. Under socialism all these functions of the trade unions are vital in helping to resolve conflicts between long-term and short-term, common and private interests. Disregard of any of these functions would be prejudicial to others.⁵

The question of power, of involving the masses in the struggle to win power, is central to any revolutionary movement. Hence the im-

portance of thorough consideration and study of all the relevant experiences, successes and setbacks.

None of all the innumerable "third ways" peddled as the "only democratic ones" has led to socialism. This is vividly borne out by Austrian reality after more than 10 years of continuous rule by the social democrats. As quite a few socialists themselves now admit, this is only one of many facts confirming the untenability of a "third way." Experience has shown that the common feature of all "third ways" is that they renounce and reject revolution. At the same time, experience has shown time and again that the democratic way is the only real way to socialism. An upheaval of this dimension against a highly-organized armored adversary, against the combined power of the state and the monopolies can actually take place only when the masses refuse to continue submitting to oppression, exploitation and deceit, when they are determined to carry the change to completion.

The hegemony of the working class, its leading political, ideological and moral role is the condition both for an anti-monopoly and for a socialist revolution. Contrary to what some exponents of "third ways" assert, hegemony is still a far cry from power. All of them are under the illusion that everything can be settled without a decisive trial of strength, that the adversary will surrender his positions without battle. The lesson of Chile (and, of a quite different order — of Portugal) gives grounds for saying that imperialism has learned much from its many defeats (the example of Cuba is an illustration), that it will use *all the means at its disposal to nip in the bud any revolutionary movement*. It will use these means before matters reach the storming of the citadel of capitalism. Imperialism endeavors to crush revolutionary actions when there is fighting only along its outer fortifications.

The CPA sees anti-monopoly democracy as a possible way of moving toward socialism. Our party program states that as early as in the struggle for these aims, local and foreign monopoly capital will, evidently, try to bring into play all its means, up to attempts to establish an undisguised reactionary dictatorship, to prevent the downfall of its power.⁶ In other words, it will be not so much a question of the working class and its allies wishing to avoid a civil war as of their ability to make it impossible for the adversary to have recourse to such a war. The mastering of all forms of work and struggle is a condition of the victory of the working class.

Of course, many features of socialism, of its

political system will be taking shape in our country already on the threshold of the establishment of the new system, in the course of struggle that will lead the masses to it. Thus, the functions of institutions will be defined by their role in the struggle. Consequently, it would be unscientific to attempt to forecast the details of a political system. However, on the basis of the common features and regularities that are now becoming ever more clearcut in the socialist countries, despite their diversity, we can reiterate what some years ago was formulated by our party as "politico-ideological propositions": the decisive factor in society's socialist transformation is the qualitatively new, socialist democracy, the power of the workers, the new state discharging the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In our view, it is not fundamentally important whether or not use is made of the concept of dictatorship of the proletariat as formulated by Marx. The main thing is to see and share the essence of Marx's formulation. It does not spell out this or that frequently transient mode of winning power, or this or that specific of institutions. What it means is that as long as hostile classes exist the state is an organ of class rule. It is only in this dimension that the new

state can represent the interests of the working class and the related social strata.

These are some of the conclusions our party draws from international and national experience for its practice and program. Of course, nothing can replace experience acquired by the revolutionary movement in the course of the struggle of its own people. However, I repeat, it would be unpardonable complacency, nationalistic eccentricity, and narrow-mindedness to turn a blind eye to the experience of other peoples, to the experience of a victorious working class. The more you desire victory for your people over the exploiters and oppressors, the better weapons you must make on the basis of the triumphs and defeats of other peoples. National interests and the internationalism of our movement make it imperative to internationalize the experience it has accumulated and processed.

1. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 37.
2. *Sozialismus in Österreichs Farben*, Das Programm der Kommunistischen Partei Österreichs, Vienna, 1982.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*

Revolutions are never the same

Ruben Sanchez

CC Political Commission member, CP El Salvador

Orlando Millas

CC Political Commission member, CP Chile

COMRADES-IN-ARMS SPEAK

El Salvador and Chile: in the former, a popular revolutionary war is flaring against the blood-stained junta and U.S. imperialism, which is supporting it; in the latter, the people may have suffered a defeat, but are gathering their forces to overthrow the tyrant and to regain their trampled rights. Ruben Sanchez and Orlando Millas met with a *WMR* staff member and replied to his questions on the cardinal problems of the revolutionary movement in their countries and the concrete features of the struggle against the pro-imperialist military dictatorships. Here is an abridged transcript of the interview.

Q. What are the experience and potentialities of rallying the democratic and left-wing forces in a single anti-fascist stream?

Orlando Millas. In Chile, fascism has led to a national disaster. How then has it managed to hold on? One of the main reasons is that up to now the democratic organizations have been acting in isolation from each other and have yet to reach the necessary level of unity in fighting the Pinochet dictatorship. In September 1981, the Communist Party of Chile addressed a manifesto to the people urging them to take decisive action. As the document said, "the sufferings and tears must be turned into strength, the poverty and privation — into hatred, the humiliation into wrath, the fear and trepidation — into boldness and courage."

In the recent period, things have started moving — and for the better: there is a stronger urge for unity among workers, peasants and students — among all those who actively oppose the repression. What is equally important is that the Christian Democratic Party has finally

taken a stand in opposition to the junta, and even shares our standpoint on a number of issues. But that is not enough. The CP Chile has declared that it is prepared to frame a common platform for tackling the basic problems facing the country. In this context, we have put forward a minimum program which, we believe, reflects the thoughts, aspirations and interests of the overwhelming majority of the Chileans. Our proposals cover a wide range of issues on which agreement needs to be reached: only then can a clear-cut alternative be put before the country.

The point is to set up a broad anti-fascist front which, besides the Popular Unity coalition, would also include other forces. That is, understandably, no simple matter. After all, even among the Popular Unity parties (and among them there have been no deserters, and none of these parties has retreated from its anti-dictatorship stand) there continue to be problems, even if they are minor ones. For the past two years, the efforts to concert practical action, whether in Chile or abroad, have not been successful. It is, of course, not right to put the blame for these difficulties on any one party. They spring from various factors, and the communists have called for efforts to overcome them, stressing that it is up to the leadership to see that the parties act up to the people's demands.

In this context, importance is attached to the recent conference held in Mexico by eight left-wing organizations: the parties of Popular Unity, the Left Revolutionary Movement, and the group among whose members are Carlos Altamirano, one-time General Secretary of the Socialist Party of Chile (SPC), and its other former leaders, who have their differences with the present SPC leadership, led by Clodomiro Almeyda. On the basis of a compromise, it adopted a political declaration ranging over the most important issues which, we believe, require a joint approach. An agreement has been reached to improve organizational ties among all the members on the left. One of the points deals with mutual understanding among opposition circles, including the Christian Democrats.

I think that unity is hammered out in the struggle, and we are trying to develop it in real, concrete forms. That is the only way in which the various forces can truly draw closer to each other and clarify their stand on the major problems, above all the establishment of an anti-fascist front. To set up unity as the cornerstone and to push the struggle into the background would mean harnessing the ox tail first, as the Chilean peasants say. We believe that there is a

need to act in the reverse order: to increase the resistance, to provide it with lucid slogans, to formulate precise goals and to work for unity. Unity is strongest where the anti-fascist struggle is most vigorous. Conversely, wherever protest fades, cooperation also tends to run into difficulties.

Ruben Sanchez. The Communist Party of El Salvador (CPS) has always emphasized the strategic value of the unity of revolutionary and democratic forces. We are firmly convinced that here it is not right to ignore any single group that is prepared to fight against fascism and imperialism, however small it may be. We are convinced — and not only by Salvadoran experience — that small organizations frequently command considerable influence in a society.

What are the ways that have led us to unity? One early proposal was the joint staging of concrete acts, the celebration of memorable dates, like May Day, etc. At one time, there was a fairly long and open polemic among the left-wing forces in our country, but the communists, while calling for joint action, scrupulously maintained a respectful tone and called the members of other organizations their "revolutionary friends." We recognized all the positive elements our potential allies had, and whenever we wrote about the negative aspects, we made a point of simultaneously bringing out our own mistakes. By means of these methods, the CPS had found — by the time the pro-fascist Romero Government fell in October 1979 — points of contact with some left-wing groups, and this allowed another step in their approximation. In December of that year, the CPS, the Farabundo Marti People's Liberation Forces and the Armed Forces of National Resistance signed an agreement setting up the Military-Political Coordination Center. It should be emphasized that this was made possible by the recognition of the crucial, strategic importance of the unity of the revolutionary forces. It was announced that all those who shared this stand could join in the agreement. This compromise made it possible to coordinate the struggle of the three organizations.

The unitary process continued to develop. The Coordination Committee of Mass Revolutionary Organizations (CRM), a committee on which the main political and social groups were represented, was set up on January 2, 1980.* While emphasizing the historic importance of its establishment, I must add that the document then signed said nothing about the character of the revolution, the program, the

*For details see WMR, October 1980.

policy of alliances or the foreign-policy line. Shafik Jorge Handal, General Secretary of the CPS CC, said that it would, of course, have been logical to start with a discussion of those problems before setting up a joint combat body. But development ran a different course. It is true that the CRM shortly adopted a 10-point Programmatic Platform, calling for, among other things, the overthrow of the dictatorship, the destruction of its military-political machine and the formation of a government capable of winning genuine independence for the country and putting through profound social transformations.

On April 18, 1980, the revolutionary and democratic mass torrents of the resistance merged into the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador (FRD), consisting of 118 political, trade-union, student and other organizations. It was given full support by the Catholic Church, as represented by Archbishop of San Salvador Oscar Arnulfo Romero. Accordingly, the FRD got together believers and atheists, Marxist-Leninists and social democrats, and representatives of other trends. In class terms, the FRD expresses the interests of the working people, broad middle strata, and small and middle entrepreneurs.

The left soon scored another major success: on May 22, 1980, they set up the Unified Revolutionary Leadership, which adopted a joint line of action, including matters of domestic and foreign policy (with the five groups represented on it retaining their own structure). This was followed by the establishment of a collective General Command and auxiliary agencies, among them a General Staff. Finally, the insurgent army — the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FLNFM) — emerged on October 10, 1980. It took final shape with the signing on December 5 of an agreement between the main revolutionary organizations: the Party of Salvadoran Revolution (PRS), the Farabundo Marti People's Liberation Forces (FPL), the Armed Forces of National Resistance (RN), the Revolutionary Party of Central American Working People (PRTC) and the Communist Party of El Salvador (CPS). The FLNFM and the FRD, with which it has direct relations, set up a joint Politico-Diplomatic Commission to act on behalf of the united forces. This unity was sealed at the June 1981 plenary meeting of the FLNFM, an event of exceptional importance. It was attended by the representatives of all the organizations responsible for the successful outcome of the struggle. It approved the conception of the people's revolutionary war in El Salvador, a plan of military operations at the present stage, the guidelines

for domestic and foreign policy, and the principles of the FLNFM. Its work proceeded in an atmosphere of frankness, without any manifestations of sectarianism, and in the light of the supreme interests of the revolution and the people.

Millas. Like the Salvadoran, the Chilean experience carries the message that there are no "minor" allies. Unity is not an addition of components but their multiplication. Even in situations when there is an internal conflict in one of the revolutionary parties, a split or the withdrawal of some parties from it, the line of cooperation must be maintained. We have recognized, for instance, that from the organizational standpoint the continuity belongs to the Socialist Party leadership headed by Almeyda.

The mutual understanding attained by the socialists at the meeting in Mexico was met with satisfaction by the communists. We have repeatedly discussed all these matters with them. Almeyda and his comrades assured us that there would be no objections on their part to the participation of other groups of socialists in mass associations, in solidarity committees abroad, in associations of Chilean emigrés and other bodies. That does not cut across our policy of non-interference, but in fact, testifies to our respect for the interests of our allies. I think the fact that no one will regard the SPC as an impediment to mutual understanding among the anti-fascists will merely help the party.

While acting on the basis of an agreed program reflecting the interests of all the democratic parties, there must definitely be respect for the convictions of each. The communists do not require anyone to go back on their principles or to side with them, just as they will not entertain such claims on the part of other organizations. At the same time, we are prepared to reach agreement and, wherever possible, to extend the range of the problems being discussed. One must be realistic. *If it should prove impossible to reach agreement on the basis of a concrete program, it will be necessary to attain unity only for the overthrow of the Pinochet tyranny so as to enable the people of Chile to choose their own way forward.* There is here only one condition, and it is to ensure the full realization of all the democratic freedoms and to convene a Constituent Assembly, while, naturally, isolating the forces which could impede this.

Consequently, we oppose any deal with the dictatorship, or in other words, any opposition within the framework of the existing regime, for this would mean kowtowing to Pinochet and betraying the people's cause. What we

have in mind is mutual understanding based on anti-fascism.

The problem of unity, I think, also depends most immediately on which social classes and groups are involved in the resistance. The communists regard the working class as the backbone and driving force of the anti-fascist struggle. Some say that the changes brought about by the dictatorship in Chile have weakened the traditional role of the proletariat. Our Manifesto gave a number of arguments, emphasizing that the weight of the working class has, in fact, increased. It has an especially great part in fighting the fascist junta. It is true that strikes frequently fail to achieve the set goals, but they help to deepen the strikers' class consciousness and to strengthen their ties with other contingents of the working people. This will be seen from the solidarity displayed with the strikers. The development of conflict situations themselves largely helps to change the mood of the masses and to create a new situation in the country, so enlarging the front of popular struggle.

Q. On what does the choice of forms and methods in the struggle depend?

Sanchez. It was said at the fifth congress of the CPS in 1964 that in the historically foreseeable future, the dictatorship leaves the people no other alternative except armed struggle. It was also stressed that a period of accumulation of forces had begun in El Salvador. For us, electoral campaigns were the means for mobilizing the masses (at first, a limited one, of course). At that time, the masses still had faith in bourgeois democracy. This experience reached a culminating point during the 1977 presidential elections, when the National Opposition Union (UNO), consisting of democratic organizations, was robbed of its second victory by means of the most scandalous fraud in the country's history. The popular protest which developed into an uprising on February 28 was drowned in blood by the authorities. The masses realized that insurgency was the only possible way of resistance.

However, the UNO subsequently proved incapable of giving a lead to the popular struggle and this led to confusion among the most militant and politically active part of the population. Our party also proved to be unequal to the imperative of the times and failed to make a rapid switch of tactics. This led to a vacuum in the political leadership of the opposition, which was soon filled by other forces, among them left-wing forces. In mid-1979, we set up the Popular Forum (FP) consisting of trade-union and political revolutionary organizations, and also some former UNO parties.

The FP set itself the task of fighting for common goals, namely, for the release of political prisoners and "disappeared" persons, an end to dismissals for political motives, and respect for human rights. It did not issue public calls for the overthrow of the dictatorship.

That is the situation in which the military coup was staged on October 15, 1979, and the events that followed are not always correctly interpreted at home, let alone abroad. To this day some people ask: "Why did the FP and, in particular, the CPS support the first military-civilian junta set up after General Romero's fall?" In broad outline, here is what happened: the leaders of the coup asked the FP to join both the junta and the government. Some democratic forces regarded such an invitation as highly attractive, and they decided to accept it. The communists were faced with the dilemma of abandoning their allies or staging the experiment together. We opted for the latter in the hope of dissuading the doubters, because we believed that the reformist project worked out by the new authorities in the atmosphere of general crisis had no prospects before it. Proof of this was not long in coming. It took only a few weeks for the fascist camarilla to seize the initiative and to torpedo every possibility of reform, by sharply curbing what were already curtailed democratic rights and freedoms. Thereupon, together with other left-wing organizations, we withdrew from the government. Our example was soon followed by the other groups, so finally proving that there was no other way of fighting for democracy in El Salvador except arms in hand.

Millas. We are frequently asked whether the Chilean revolution will take the armed way. We say: it is hard to give a definitive answer to this question, in view of Chile's specific conditions. There are periods in which the resistance is on an upgrade and rises to a level at which it is possible to distinguish the crucial forms and methods of struggle. But there are other stages which we need to consider in the light of the requirements of military science: before working out a battle plan or putting forward the question of war, there is a need to study the enemy, to find out what kind of forces he has, to take account of his potentialities and alternative lines of action, and only then go on to mount possible operations against him.

Even after Pinochet's takeover, there were moments when there was an objective possibility of the democratic forces' scoring a success on the basis of a broad accord, a possibility not necessarily involving the use of direct force. It could not be used because of the indecision, vacillation, prejudice and fear in some circles.

Pinochet won time to clothe his regime in a semblance of legality and to get rid of both the civilian and military opposition.

In contrast to El Salvador, no revolution is now under way in Chile. There is not even a revolutionary situation. In these specific conditions, we insist on the people's right to stage an uprising, together with the use of all the other forms: legal and clandestine, peaceful and coercive, traditional and new. The main thing for us is to convert the protest of thousands into a movement of hundreds of thousands, and then of millions of Chileans, whom the enemy has taught a lesson of violence. That is not a theoretical, but a purely practical task. That is why there is now no dilemma about Chile's choosing the armed or unarmed way of struggle.

It is true that the junta has been trying to confuse the people by asserting that we, communists, want an instant uprising. That is not so. It is still not yet possible to say anything definite about just how the tyranny will be overthrown. But the masses are beginning to understand that Pinochet and his regime can be overthrown only by means of force, and that, consequently, there is a need to prepare for this. Any form of struggle and above all struggle in the crucial sectors requires experience. We believe that the Salvadoran experience, among others, will also be of benefit to us.

Q. What is one to do with the army?

Sanchez. Our front does not fight against soldiers, and does not regard them as enemies. After all, we are defending the interests of the whole people and most military men are a part of it. The members of the FLNFM fight those who have been turned into an instrument for the suppression of Salvadorans. But we draw a distinction between the reasons for which the soldiers resort to force and their right to life, their human dignity. The FLNFM, I repeat, is not at all fighting for the purpose of blindly killing soldiers, guardsmen, policemen and even officers.

The FLNFM has clear-cut programmatic goals. Although we have taken up arms, we seek to attain these goals not only by military means. Such is the most important aspect of the revolutionary struggle and, I repeat, there is good reason why the government is trying very hard to cover up this fact. But it will fail to do so. What has once begun will spread across the whole country, and there will be more and more cases of military men surrendering, and our attitude to them will become known to everyone.

In the ranks of the FLNFM today there are, alongside the others, former soldiers, police-

men, guardsmen and officers of the junta. We are planning to set up a new army, drawing into it all honest and patriotic forces; we believe that in the present armed forces there are enough patriots who will be able to act at one with the revolutionaries. That is an absolutely realistic possibility.

Millas. Some believe that in the present conditions it is impossible to exert an active influence on the armed forces. We take a different stand. We have been systematically carrying on ideological and political work among those who are doing military service. There is a contradiction between the class function which the army objectively has, and its social make-up. The anti-national, pro-imperialist nature of the regime, and the fierce repression cannot but generate discord within the armed forces. This provides an objective basis for the emergence of a conflict.

We attach much importance to the circulation of party documents among military men to acquaint them with the communists' standpoint. It is important to reckon with the interests of the social stratum which the military men represent and to get them to realize the strength of the people against whom they are acting, to feel the force supporting our policy. We are convinced that up to now their response to developments in the country has been weak, because of the closed character of the armed institutions and also because the communists — the popular movement as a whole are not yet influential enough to demonstrate that the tyranny is not only anti-national, reactionary and unpatriotic, but is doomed to disappear. We believe that it is highly important for the military men to understand that the dictatorship is doomed. In that case, the development of the popular movement and the struggle of the masses in its various forms could have an influence on the state of the army as well.

Q. What is the communists' view of the prospects in the struggle?

Sanchez. The events in El Salvador have become an international problem attracting the attention of the whole world. This is borne out by UN resolutions, statements by governments, international organizations, movements, and even the Organization of American States. The attitudes differ, and one of them was reflected in the Mexican-French statement,* which, I think, is a challenge to Reagan, for it proceeds from the right of the people of El Salvador to decide their own destiny.

On the other hand, the scheme on which Washington is acting appears as follows: it is

*WMR, November 1981.

alleged that in our country there is a Soviet-Cuban-Nicaraguan aggression; that is something the United States cannot allow, and so it has to be suppressed, in order to promote the "prosperity" of the Salvadorans. That is how the escalation of U.S. interventionist acts after January 1981 is explained. Reagan assumed that he would find it easy to put us down by building up the military strength of the reactionary forces of El Salvador, by helping them with advisers and modernizing the armies of Honduras and Guatemala.

By now, this first phase of the imperialist intervention has run out. The military strategy of the ruling junta has failed, and this is simultaneously a practical and political defeat for the United States in Central America. The present military-political situation in the country is largely the result of these developments.

An analysis carried out by the Political Commission of the CPS CC shows that military operations in the country have assumed extensive proportions both in form and weapons involved. It is a war in the literal sense of the word. Over the past several months, the enemy has used aircraft, heavy artillery, armored cars and chemicals in relatively large quantities; he has been mounting one offensive after another against the insurgent bases. These attacks have failed every time. Incredible! We admit that we ourselves did not expect to be able to fight so successfully in such conditions. But the resistance, the revolutionary war generally, has its own laws, which do not always square with the canons of military science.

In this context, we anticipate three strategic stages in the struggle. The first is defense, the second is equilibrium, and the third — counter-offensive. There is no need to specify the details of all these stages, so I will describe them only in general terms. At first, the most difficult problem was the small size of our national territory. How were we to provide the resistance with a rear within our own country? We have succeeded in solving this problem by setting up staging areas of the revolution, not only in the military but also in the political sense of the word. They also provide shelter for the guerrilla contingents. The most important result of the military operations in January of last year was the strengthening and enlargement of our bases, which made it possible to execute a "strategic leap," to go on to the stage of equilibrium of forces. We think that it has two phases. At first the fighting, from the standpoint of tactics, is defensive. The transition to the second phase consists in seizing the initiative and preparing the political and material prerequisites for the strategic counter-

offensive. We believe that just now we are at the first phase of the second stage, and at its highest point.

We are frequently asked about the conception of this equilibrium. Does it imply equality with the enemy in terms of armaments, hardware, fire-power? We say no. The main thing for the junta just now is to destroy our rear, and for us — to safeguard it. The fact that the revolutionary forces are capable of defending their bases, without having the same fire-power and numerical strength as the enemy, shows that there is an equilibrium. Consequently, this is not some subjective optimistic assessment, but a real fact. It is a trial by weapons, and in war there is no better way to stand a test.

The FLNFM offensive which started on July 19 and continued until last August was of invaluable political importance. It showed that the so-called "pacification" plan did not attain its goal, which was to rout our forces. Faith in the victory of the revolution has increased among the masses and the fighters' morale has grown.

Millas. The party set itself the goal of developing legal mass organizations, while carrying on its clandestine work. At first this cost us some blood.

First of all it was necessary for the CP Chile to continue operating on the scale of the whole country. Before the fascist coup, the CP Chile had — in a country of 10 million — 250,000 members together with the Young Communists (incidentally, the largest youth organization), and enjoyed solid influence within the working class. Pinochet intended to destroy the communists and eradicate Marxism. But this proved to be a futile effort. To do so he would have had to destroy the broadest strata of the nation. The CP Chile suffered a loss in numbers, but survived. Acting in the underground — and not simply hiding — it has gained tremendous experience and is continuing its work among the masses.

Despite the extremely harsh conditions, the party has observed the Leninist norms of democratic centralism. A system of consultations and discussion of various documents has been arranged. The political line is worked out on strictly collective principles, as in the past. In the course of the struggle, new cadres are trained and given responsible assignments. The party's positions within the main contingents of the proletariat have been strengthened. The prevailing trend among the workers is a sense of great responsibility for the CP Chile, and that is the basis on which the Central Committee and the Political Commission are renewed, in accordance with the party rules.

The overwhelming majority of the communists are in Chile, this also applies to the leadership, and holds true for absolutely every level.

Furthermore, it was important under the fascist reign of terror to preserve — at all costs — the mass organizations as the basis of action against the dictatorship. At first, the people's struggle was limited but it gradually gained in strength and assumed new forms. One of these is to create difficulties for the regime wherever possible, and to respond to its actions with a general protest.

Have you heard, for instance, about "plan-chaton"? That is when smoothing irons are switched on in a district simultaneously, to blow out the transformers.

Commando-type troops in touch with the masses operate in the country to raise the people's morale. They also make use of the most diverse methods, from very simple ones, like the simultaneous switching on of taps in a district, with the inhabitants of other districts being warned in advance that there will be no water, all the way to more intricate ones like the blasting of power transmission line supports, just when the dictatorship is staging some function. Open confrontation with the dictatorship at various demonstrations has become traditional. One should bear in mind that a demonstration involving 2,000-3,000 people already amounts to an act of courage. After all, it usually ends in a clash with the police. That is a peculiar school for transition to higher forms of struggle.

The trade-union movement is gathering momentum and demanding the restoration of its lost rights. Large-scale strikes in the copper and coal industries, at textile mills, in ports and other proletarian centers, protests and action by various groups of the middle strata, courageous behavior by thousands of women demanding information about "disappeared persons" — those are only some of the many facts testifying that the working-class and popular movement has entered upon a new and higher phase of its development.

The successes have been increasing as the masses accumulate experience. That is why we are faced with this task: first, clearly to outline the perspective after the overthrow of fascism; second, to promote the development of the most massive forms of resistance; and third, to prepare not only the party, but all the other working people for the use of diverse methods of fighting the dictatorship.

Sanchez. Our people are clearly aware that they can overcome the enemy only arms in hand. But that does not at all mean that we

reject the possibility of negotiations. Rather, the contrary. It is the FLNFM and the FRD that are striving for a political settlement of the conflict so as to safeguard the most important value: human lives. In only two years of the junta's rule, the number of those killed and missing has exceeded 32,000, while the material damage runs to hundreds of millions of dollars. The democratic forces have taken concrete steps to start a dialogue that would open the door to negotiations. We support initiatives for mediation between the two sides. In October of last year, our organizations sent a letter to Daniel Ortega Saavedra, coordinator of the National Reconstruction Council of Nicaragua. It was read out at the 36th session of the UN General Assembly and contained a plan for the search of ways to peace talks in El Salvador. Such talks were not hedged with any preliminary conditions, but they were still rejected out of hand by the Christian Democratic military junta and the Reagan administration. On November 8, the FRD and the FLNFM called on democratic opinion to avert the aggression that was being prepared against the people of El Salvador, Nicaragua and Cuba.

One should not forget that never in the whole of history has imperialism made concessions voluntarily. It agrees to negotiate only when it has no alternative. That is why I believe that the military, political and diplomatic successes of the popular movement in El Salvador, combined with international solidarity, will force the junta and the U.S. administration to retreat.

Let us recall that the 36th session of the UN General Assembly approved by an overwhelming majority a resolution on "The State of Human Rights and Basic Liberties in El Salvador." In it, the international community condemned the terrorism and repression being perpetrated by the junta, and unequivocally called on all states to refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of our country. But we know of only one interference, and it is that of U.S. imperialism. This is a fact that cannot be concealed. It is on such a scale that many even in the United States are beginning to talk about "another Vietnam."

We do not claim that the whole world should support our revolution, but we hope that the overwhelming majority of the nations and governments are against direct intervention by U.S. imperialism and its henchmen, who are seeking to deny the Salvadoran people their right to an independent way of social development.

Editorial note: The problems arising from the specifics and various concrete forms of anti-

fascist and anti-dictatorship resistance are of great interest, and here many communists — and not only in Latin America — have vast experience. The Editors hope that other frater-

nal parties will also share their reflections about the potentialities, forms and methods of struggle for the unity of the democratic and left-wing forces.

The historic role of the working class

Willi Gerns
Presidium and Secretariat member,
German Communist Party

A REPLY TO "LEFTIST" CRITICS

Opponents of Marxism assail above all its conclusions about the historic role of the working class. "Marx's gravediggers" have done this in past decades and are doing it — not accidentally — today. "The chief thing in the doctrine of Marx," Lenin wrote in "The Historical Destiny of the Doctrine of Karl Marx", "is that it brings out the historic role of the proletariat as the builder of socialist society" (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 18, p. 582).

Now as before, frankly bourgeois critics of Marxism are backed by theorists posing as "leftists". They trot out both old arguments refuted long ago and new ones. This is seen, for instance, in *Farewell to the Proletariat* by André Gorz, a French critic of Marxism, and in *Security State: The "German Model", Its Crisis and the New Social Movements* by Joachim Hirsch, a Frankfurt professor specializing in politics.¹ The two books give a sufficiently clear idea of the new trend in the criticism of Marxism.

I will deal with the main arguments advanced by the two authors against Marxism's conclusions about the historic role of the working class.

Gorz describes the Marxist theory of the historic role of the working class as "unscientific" and even "religious," saying that it cannot be proved empirically because it is not based on concrete research into the concrete condition and activity of individuals. "The Marxian theory of the proletariat," he writes, "is based on neither an empirical investigation of class contradictions, nor the battle experience of proletarian radicalism. No amount of empirical observation or battle experience can help discover the historic mission of the proletariat . . ." (p. 11).

Hirsch accuses Marxism of tending not "to desubjectivize the working class as social individuals fighting for their self-realization (that is, to regard it as only a class and not as

individuals. W.G.). If science is to be revolutionary and a guide to emancipation it should devote proper attention to the concrete practice of individuals, ways of life, conflicts and social movements, and concern itself with the social mode of human production, which is neither dissolved in, nor 'deducible' from them even though determined by objective structures. In short, it must be a 'theory of practice.' As such, Marxist theory is, of course, underdeveloped" (pp. 136-137).

The assertion that Marxism has not empirically investigated class contradictions and the experience gained by the working class in struggle (Gorz) and fails to devote proper attention to concrete practice, to the proletarians' way of life, conflicts and social movements (Hirsch), is indicative of considerable ignorance. Many works of the founders of Marxism investigate the proletarians' condition and way of life, their social movements and their struggle empirically. While taking a stand against the tendency to reduce science to a mere description and systematization of observed facts, Marxism does not at all deny the significance of empirical facts and experience as a source of scientific knowledge or the part they play in the verification of scientific conclusions. To be sure, empirical investigations of the proletarians' concrete condition, way of life and struggles are conducted with a view to making generalizations and drawing conclusions about the condition and actions of the class, both on the basis of scientific theory. After all, social changes result from the class struggle.

It goes without saying that neither observation of the concrete condition of the proletarians, nor the latter's experience of struggle could in themselves have led to revealing the historic mission of the working class. This necessitated a scientific theory, the application of scientific methods in observing and estimating experience, generalizing, abstracting and

revealing intrinsic, necessary interconnections, and penetrating into the essence of phenomena. Although the concrete methods of investigation differ due to the dissimilarity of objects, it is always fair to say that without a scientific approach to the problem, it would have been impossible to discover either the law of gravity in natural science, or the law of value in political economy.

To reveal the historic mission of the working class, it was necessary to analyze social development with the aid of dialectical materialism. Investigation by this method made it possible to establish the dialectical interconnection of productive forces and production relations as the material motive forces and social executors of social change and class struggle. A comprehensive analysis had to be made of capitalist production relations, their inherent laws, the objective condition of the working class in capitalist society, its development trends and its class interests.

It was only as result of all this that Marx and Engels were able to reveal the objective historic role of the working class. "It is not a question," they stressed in *The Holy Family*, "of what this or that proletarian, or even a whole proletariat, at the moment regards as its aim. It is a question of what the proletariat is, and what, in accordance with this being, it will historically be compelled to do. Its aim and historical action is visibly and irrevocably foreshadowed in its own life situation as well as in the whole organization of bourgeois society today."²

According to Gorz, "Marxism is burdened with inability, as with the original sin, to empirically effect an additional verification of its theory" (p. 15). This creates the impression that he lives on some other planet. Marxism has been something more than a theory ever since the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia. It has become a living social reality. The doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin is constantly and creatively complemented by the experience of existing socialism, national liberation movements and the struggle of the working class in capitalist countries; it is constantly verified through this experience and goes on developing on the basis of new realities.

Gorz's next argument against the Marxist theory of the historic role of the working class reads as follows: "Marxism is in crisis because so is the working-class movement. In the past 20 years, the link between the development of the productive forces and that of class contradictions has broken . . ." (p. 9).

There are probably two possibilities of this link breaking: either class contradictions have

disappeared with the development of the productive forces, or they are resolved, at any rate, outside the class struggle.

The former possibility conflicts with reality so strongly that Gorz cannot even bring himself to contend anything of the kind.

As for the latter possibility, that is, the disappearance or a slackening of class struggles, Gorz does not formulate this proposition in precisely these terms. But while accusing Marxism of renouncing empirical analysis of proletarian radicalism, nowhere in his book, *Farewell to the Proletariat*, does he refer to the development of the class struggle in recent years.

Hirsch, for his part, notes "a decline in traditional forms of class conflict,"³ presenting it as a "phenomenon." He, too, might as well be living on a different planet, or perhaps he has overslept the past decade. Indeed, it is since the late 60s that we have witnessed in the main capitalist countries an upturn in "traditional and new forms of class conflict," in which embryonic forms of class consciousness manifest themselves with fresh vigor. From this point of view, the September 1969 strikes constituted a definite boundary for the working-class movement in Federal Germany. Every year since then has seen more or less big strikes by wage and salary earners as well as a growing number of provocative lockouts. (Yet these are unquestionably "traditional" forms of class struggle.)

The more important actions of the recent period included the strikes called by metalworkers in Baden-Wurttemberg, the printers' struggles and the steelworkers' strike for a 35-hour week. It is typical of present-day class struggles that strikes not only show greater militancy but last somewhat longer than before and that new demands are put forward. Lately more and more strikers have raised the issue of the devastating effects of capitalist abuses of scientific and technological progress.

Workers threatened with massive layoffs go into action on a growing scale. Strikes are coupled with street demonstrations and rallies, and civic initiative teams back the workers. This should be regarded as a noteworthy new form interlocking with and substantially complementing traditional manifestations of the class antagonism.

Where "a decline in traditional forms of class conflict" or even a break of the link "between the development of the productive forces and that of class contradictions" comes in is, in the light of these facts, a secret which Gorz and Hirsch keep to themselves.

The idea of the proletariat taking "the productive forces developed by capitalism" into its

own hands "through a single revolutionary act," Hirsch affirms, is untenable, "because these productive forces, as far as technology and machinery are concerned, cannot at all be 'taken over' but must be thoroughly transformed in basic structure and developed anew. . . One cannot translate capitalist machinery into a different social form without breaking it. This machinery, including the minutest principles of its functioning and design, bears the imprint of the existing social relations: exploitation and domination" (p. 143). Gorz expresses a similar view. "The development of the productive forces," he writes, "is functional only for the logic and requirements of capitalism" (p. 9).

Let it be said, first of all, that no Marxist has ever affirmed that the working class must take the productive forces into its own hands as the result of "a single revolutionary act." On the contrary, the communist parties of industrial capitalist countries, which are operating under state-monopoly capitalist domination, proceed nowadays (according to Lenin's advice about searching for transitional bridges on the road to socialism) from the possibility and even probability of the development of their countries in a socialist direction not confining itself to a single revolutionary act but needing to pass through intermediate stages.

The focal argument adduced by Hirsch and Gorz is that the technology and machinery used under capitalism are inseparable from capitalist production relations and hence can only be used under capitalism. This invites the question: Does it follow that the socialist revolution must destroy the entire material basis created in the past? The exploiting classes do use technology in their own class interests but this does not lend machinery and technology a class character; they are not part of production relations, of the basis and the ideological and political superstructure to be destroyed. Gorz and Hirsch "demonize" technology, primarily large-scale technology. They consider that the greatest evil comes from technology and not from capitalism's abuse of it.

But does it really make no fundamental difference to the worker whether he works to boost the profits of big capital, having no real share in the organization and management of production, or whether he uses the same large-scale technology and same organization of labor to improve his living standard, so that his cultural requirements may be met to an increasing degree and he may have more free time and play a decisive role at the enterprise through his trade union? None but sworn enemies of socialism, or people whom bourgeois views imposed on them prevent from realizing their own in-

terests, or petty bourgeois — they dread organization and discipline in both the production sphere and society — can ignore the difference.

Marxists do not at all deny the need to change machinery and technology and to make both more "humane" in the course of building socialism. In particular, there is a need to replace small and ill-lit shops (this limitation of space and light enabled the capitalist to invest less and make bigger profits) by well-lit shops that are planned and ventilated better. It is necessary to dependably safeguard the worker against industrial accidents and the environment, against destruction. Changes must also be made in labor organization to provide greater opportunities for the appearance of more attractive trades, cut working time, reduce unhealthy night work as far as possible, and so on.

However, much of this can only be accomplished over a long period, since the "humanization" of production hinges on the growth rate of productivity and better use of scientific and technological achievement. Changes of this nature in capitalist countries are delayed by precisely the preservation of capitalism and its negative effects (one of which is the arms race whipped up by imperialism). At the same time, the advantages of socialism as regards the "humanization" of working conditions stand out more and more. Among other things, there are fewer accidents in socialist enterprises than in their capitalist counterparts employing an equal number of workers. We stress that on winning political power, the only way for the working class to achieve its goals is socialist nationalization of all private capitalist property in the basic means of production. Any other solution, advocated in the name of a "better" socialism, would mean renouncing socialism altogether.

One of Gorz's arguments against the proletariat taking over the means of production created under capitalism is that "the history of capitalism has produced a working class, whose majority is in no condition to take possession of the means of production" (p. 11). He paints an idyllic picture of the role of skilled workers under early capitalism, at a time when, "along with the social and economic power of capital, there existed at the factory, a workers' power of a technical nature that could hold its own quite well against the former and had ample prospects of eliminating it. To be sure, that power did not belong to all united workers or the 'aggregate worker' but to the skilled workers . . . Being at the top of the labor hierarchy, the worker had nothing to envy the bourgeois hierarchy. On the contrary, he represented an independent culture and faced the

representative of the bourgeoisie as his equal, proud and determined to cooperate with the latter in production only to the extent that the other cooperated with him, recognizing the superiority and sovereignty of the specialist" (p. 37). Elsewhere Gorz writes: "The class which could have taken up the socialist project and put it into effect disappeared with the versatile skilled worker . . ." (p. 61).

Gorz's impressive depiction of the power of skilled workers under early capitalism (incidentally, they were entirely dependent on the capitalists' whim even though their condition was better than that of unskilled workers, and had to work from 12 to 15 hours a day for wages which barely provided them with a livelihood) is as far removed from reality as the picture of "social partnership" painted by the employers and by ideologues of big capital today. Speaking of workers' power, or workers' strength to be exact, it must be admitted that today's workers, who are backed by powerful trade unions, are certainly stronger by far than the skilled workers of the early capitalist period. What other reason is there for the gains made by the working class of capitalist countries in recent decades in the struggle for a higher living standard and greater rights?

Hirsch declares that "in fact, contrary to Marx's assumptions, the proletariat has not become (after going through all the defeats and setbacks due to competition) a more politically conscious and autonomous revolutionary class." By contrast, the capitalist form of development of the productive forces is alleged to have resulted in "the proletariat becoming in a way a stratum, a subordinate class, which the system has most effectively put in its proper place, a class robbed of the capacity for autonomous and promising action in terms of independent solidarity" (p. 143).

These words betray a supercilious attitude to the working class and ignorance of its struggles, both past and present. Surely the working class of the socialist countries would have been unable to win power and do away with capitalism had it not become a politically conscious revolutionary class. And surely there is no overlooking the fact that the working class of capitalist countries rouses time and again to a struggle showing independent solidarity in spite of legal and economic pressure from the capitalists and ideological manipulation by the bourgeois media.

It is true, of course, that the road from "independent solidarity" action aimed at winning the immediate economic demands of the day to revolutionary action for a socialist future is long and arduous. But this can annoy only

those who visualize the development of the working class as an ideal process and not as a difficult and contradictory one. "Revolutionaries" who are guilty of this notion and misrepresent the real state of affairs are now putting the blame for this on Marxism.

However, the "stratum which the system has most effectively put in its proper place" is the guild of those who class themselves among left "theorists"; they help the bourgeoisie ideologically disarm the forces critical of capitalism.

Every argument used against the theory of the historic role of the working class is intended in the final analysis to support the allegation that "large-scale production on the basis of division of labor" and the "technocratic system" lend both capitalism and socialism an equally bad quality, which means that establishing the political power of the working class and making the means of production social property would in no way alter the workers' condition.

Gorz also defends capitalism directly by claiming that socialism is inferior to capitalism because it is based on a planned economy (p. 73).

Questioning the fact that the monopolies dominate industrial capitalist countries, Gorz adds that "the secret of large-scale industrial production as, indeed, that of all large military or bureaucratic formations lies in nobody possessing power" (p. 42). While the existing system is a class system, it does not follow, according to Gorz, that "the individuals forming a class are dominant. What is more, they are dominated themselves within the power they exercise." It is impossible to discover the subject of this power (p. 51). Gorz considers that the monopoly capitalist state is no class state, either. It is "nobody, an administrative machine dominated by no one" (p. 71).

In the concept of the social order evolved by Gorz, the need to socialize the most important means of production plays a secondary role. Being at pains to equate socialism and capitalism, he denies the significance of the problem of property. He rejects seizure of political power, seeing "the coupling of politics with power, and of political struggle with struggle for power (that is, for the right to run the state)", as the "death of the political principle" (p. 107). All the strongly does he come out against the winning of political power by the proletariat, for he thinks it is "far from being able to become the subject of power" (p. 56).

Both the question of how a revolution has to be carried out in capitalist society (which the author of the book wants to be eliminated)

without socializing the means of production and without the working class winning political power, and the question of what social forces are to effect the change are left open.

In Gorz's opinion, it is "only the strata embodying or advocating the dissolution of all classes, the working class included", that can "go beyond capitalism", renounce it in favor of a different kind of rationalism" (p. 10). He calls them a "non-class of non-workers." Such a "non-class" comprises, from what he writes, "all who have been forced out of production by the process of abolishing jobs or people who cannot apply their abilities due to the industrialization of intellectual activity (automation and informatics). It comprises the totality of redundant people in social production: at the moment or virtually, permanently or temporarily, fully or partially. It is a product of decay of the old society based on labor, dignity, value, social usefulness, and requirement for labor. It extends to nearly all strata and goes far beyond the range of those whom the U.S. Black Panthers called 'lumpens' in the late sixties, and is the antithesis of the class of permanent organized workers protected by labor and pay-rate agreements" (p. 63). We wish to note, however, that the Black Panthers' political fate alone should have been enough as evidence of where concepts recognizing the activity of marginal groups and not struggle by the organized working class as the chief factor can lead to.

Gorz sees the advantage of his "non-class of non-workers" in its being free, by contrast with the working class, from the "imprint of capitalist production relations" and being a "result of the crisis of capitalism and the dissolution of capitalist production relations under the impact of new technology" (p. 63). Yet the example of socialist revolutions as well as earlier facts of history show that the transition to a new social system has never been effected by those who were a product of social decay settling on the bottom of the old society but invariably by new class forces which matured within it in step with the progress of the productive forces. Of course, other classes and social strata can likewise play a positive role but only if they side with these progressive class forces.

When Gorz says that the "non-class of non-workers," unlike the working class, "appreciates itself at once" and is "emancipated subjectivity" (p. 67), this sounds like a mockery of people eking out their livelihood on the bottom of capitalist society rather than like a thesis worth disputing seriously. What is more, he emphasizes that the "non-class" lacks a "global concept of the future society" (p. 67). To regard

this as an "advantage," one must probably be a person who, like Gorz, advances the following argument: "There is no sense in pondering on where we are going to, to cling to the immanent laws of historical development. We are going nowhere and history has no meaning" (p. 68). It is hardly necessary to demonstrate that this concept has nothing to do with scientific policy and misleads instead of leading the forces seeking social change.

As Gorz denies the importance of the question of property and takes a stand against the working class winning political power, the "anti-capitalist" program advocated by him in *Farewell to the Proletariat* is a most expressive instance of reformist eyewash.

Hirsch, too, adheres to a reformist platform. He too, regards the question of property as a matter of secondary importance; he, too, denies (as has been shown) the possibility and necessity of the working class winning political power because the working class simply cannot do it, or so he believes. Hirsch himself calls his concept of social change "radical reformism" (p. 165). This doctrine is pivoted on the thesis of consistently effecting "self-organization and autonomous perception of interests while changing working and living conditions in practice by widening rifts and conflicts in 'decentralized' fashion and consistently refusing to carry out emancipatory plans with the aid of the state" (p. 165).

Whether knowingly or otherwise, Hirsch advances in a different wording the old reformist concept of a gradual growing into socialism on which history has long since passed its sentence. Neither the decades-long existence of reformist theory, nor even social democratic government has brought about the abolition of capitalism anywhere. Still less reason is there to expect new reformism to carry out radical social changes, for unlike traditional (social democratic) reformism, it is not oriented to the working class but (as with Hirsch) to so-called new social movements (conceived by him as, among other things, decentralized initiatives and alternative experiments in life and labor) which Hirsch himself acknowledges to be "a domain of the middle strata."

The working class has been and will remain the decisive force equal to effecting radical social changes. This reality cannot be shaken by either structural changes occurring within the working class and capitalist society generally, or the fact that the class consciousness of a substantial part of the working class of capitalist countries (particularly class consciousness in its highest, socialist form) is still undeveloped or underdeveloped. Without active

action by the working class, all designs to implement radical anti-monopoly alternatives and replace capitalism will be futile.

Wage and salary workers and their families constitute an impressive majority of the population in industrial capitalist countries. The working class there is the main producer of all values. Society could not exist without the workers' labor. The working class is an object of the most brutal and direct capitalist exploitation. Unlike working people still in possession of the means of production, it is not linked with the exploiting class by any bonds of private property. Its core, the industrial working class, is concentrated in large enterprises. In present-day conditions, with the production process based on division of labor, the functioning of the economy, and hence public life as a whole, depends in decisive measure and primarily on the effort of this section of the working class. The capitalist production process and the concentration of workers in large enterprises make for discipline and organization as prerequisites of fighting successfully for the immediate and long-range interests of all working people.

Our emphasis on the historic role of the working class does not imply that we underestimate or even deny the importance of other social movements that are not specific in class terms. On the contrary, we communists have always devoted much attention to the peace movement, the fight for democratic rights, and actions by the intellectuals, peasants and other working people for their legitimate rights. We will go on doing so. It has been said that due to deepening crisis phenomena in the capitalist system, abuses of scientific and technological progress by capitalism and the imperialist policy of atomic confrontation, as well as increasing state regulation and oppression, new movements have been added in recent years to these "traditional" democratic and social movements. The anti-monopoly fight has become more varied and effective.

Participants in the new movements carry on explanatory work and mobilize citizens to act independently and fight for their interests. They have opened the eyes of millions to the danger posed by the NATO decision to deploy new U.S. missiles in Europe, the destruction of the environment by monopolies, the whittling down of democratic rights, the disastrous situation in the educational sphere, speculation in housing, discrimination against women, and curtailment of the rights of national minorities, and have in this way given rise to public protests and contributed to the political struggle in our country. Many participants in these move-

ments realize more and more that the war menace comes from imperialism, that the environment is being destroyed by the monopolies, that there is a connection between the economic interests of big capital and the brutal use of the coercive apparatus of the state and that the purpose of joint maneuvers by the Bundestag parties (CDU/CSU, SDPG, FDP) is to protect capitalist interests.

Thus democratic and social movements outside the production sphere play a notable part in molding anti-monopoly consciousness and expanding the anti-monopoly struggle. They use their own methods and help reveal new seats of conflict in a society dominated by state-monopoly capitalism. This also stimulates the working-class movement.

Due, however, to their limited trend and social amorphousness and to the vague political and ideological orientation of the participants, the "new social movements" (as many authors call them) cannot counter the state-monopoly system of domination with a clear-cut social, economic and political alternative. This is something that only a revolutionary working-class movement guided by the theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin can do.

But there is no doubt that the more the organized working class supports all progressive movements, however limited, the sooner anti-monopoly alternatives and the socialist goals of the revolutionary working-class struggle will materialize. Furthermore, unity with the working class and its organizations greatly meets the interests of participants in all other democratic and social movements. And the more they support the working class and its organizations in actions against monopoly capital, the more fruitful their own struggle will be.

This is why posing marginal sectors of society (the "non-class of non-workers," according to Gorz) and new social movements as decentralized initiatives and alternative experiments (Hirsch) against the working class as a socially transforming force is contrary not only to the objective role and class interests of the working class. This also injures the interests of the non-working class forces that join in democratic and social actions in capitalist countries.

1. André Gorz, *Abschied vom Proletariat*, Cologne-Frankfurt, Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1980; Joachim Hirsch, *Der Sicherheitsstaat — Das "Modell Deutschland", seine Krise und die neuen sozialen Bewegungen*, Cologne-Frankfurt, Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1980.

2. Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 4, p. 37.

3. J. Hirsch und R. Roth, " 'Modell Deutschland' und soziale Bewegungen", in *Prokla (Probleme des Klassenkampfes)*, West Berlin, No. 40, p. 14.

Transnationals in the capitalist world

The WMR Commission on Problems of the Class Struggle in Industrialized Capitalist Countries has arranged, in continuation of the study of the specific aspects of the present stage in the crisis of capitalism,¹ a discussion of the role of transnational corporations in the economic and political mechanism of the non-socialist part of the world. Among those who took part in discussing these problems were party representatives on the journal: Leonardo Paso (CP Argentina), Robert Francis (CP Belgium), Jeronimo Carrera (CP Venezuela), Clement Rohee (PPP Guyana), Otto Sanchez (Guatemalan Party of Labor), Ib Norlund (CP Denmark), Ibrahim Malik (CP Israel), Peter Boychuck (CP Canada), Agamemnon Stavrou (AKEL, Cyprus), Raul Valbuena (Colombian CP), Manuel Delgado (PVP, Costa Rica), Felix Dixon (People's Party of Panama), Severo Romero (Paraguayan CP), Ahmed Salem (Sudanese CP), James West (CPUSA), Kemal Kervan (CP Turkey), Samuel Behak (CP Uruguay), Georg Kwiatowski (German CP), José Lava (CP Philippines), Rodny Ohman (Left Party-Communists of Sweden), Raja Colure (CP Sri Lanka), and also John Manning (U.S. labor union representative at WFTU) and N. Sergeyev, a Soviet economist and a former member of the UN group of experts for drafting a "Code of Behavior in Technological Transfer."

The participants in the discussion proceeded from the assumption that the activity of the transnational corporations (the official UN designation; in the documents of communist and workers' parties frequently designated as multinationals) exerts a steadily growing influence on the crisis processes in the world capitalist economy, has a most immediate effect on the working people's socio-economic condition and produces an important change in the conditions of the class struggle. Hence the interest in this problem on the part of the international communist and working-class movement. The need to internationalize action in face of the transnationals' offensive was mainly dealt with at the Brussels Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of European Capitalist Countries (1974) and it was also an important item at the Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties (Berlin 1976).

WMR has also repeatedly dealt with the problem of the transnational corporations.² How-

ever, its comprehensive analysis presents many difficulties. First, because it entails, in effect, an analysis of the whole mechanism of the contemporary capitalist economy. Second, because many actual facts relating to the practical activity of the transnational corporations are kept secret and do not become public knowledge. Accordingly, the participants in the discussion decided to concentrate on aspects like the politico-economic substance of the transnationals, their place in the capitalist economic system today, some consequences of their activity for the working people's socio-economic condition, the threat they pose to the sovereignty of states, above all less developed states, and approaches to the problem by various communist parties and their demands.

We present the gist of the discussion on the transnational corporations and hope that it will be continued on the pages of this journal.

New stage of concentration

The old, colonial commercial and then also the raw-material monopolies could be called the prototype of the present-day transnationals. But in the full sense of the word, the emergence of capital beyond the state boundaries began simultaneously with the formation of national monopolies — in a few cases in the 19th century, and on a broad scale for the first time with the onset of the 20th century. At that time, this meant for the most part the formation of international cartels which shared out the markets. The establishment of foreign subsidiaries, the organization of production on an international scale which is characteristic of the present-day transnationals was just beginning. In 1901, no more than 18 U.S. corporations had subsidiary enterprises abroad — a total of 47. On the eve of the First World War, these figures increased, respectively, to 39 and 116. Nowadays, such associations are known as "first generation" international monopolies.

The incipient process was noted by Lenin, who saw it as one of the most important features of the imperialist stage of capitalism and who defined the politico-economic nature of its new form of organization.

Analyzing the uniformities governing the formation of monopoly capital, Lenin connected the emergence and growth of international monopolies with the development of capitalism's productive forces, which had "outgrown the limited boundaries of national

and state divisions" (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 21, p. 159). He said that the international monopolies were "a new stage of world concentration of capital and production, incomparably higher than the preceding stages" (*ibid.*, Vol. 22, p. 246), and that internationalization, i.e., "the break-down of national barriers, the creation of the international unity of capital, of economic life in general," (*ibid.*, Vol. 20, p. 27) amounted to an objective historical process.

Lenin's approach holds true for characterizing "second generation" international monopolies, the present-day transnationals, whose rapid growth began in the 1950s.

The deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, the shrinking of its sphere of domination as a result of the formation and strengthening of the world socialist system, the collapse of the colonial foundation of imperialism, and the ongoing scientific and technological revolution have determined the *qualitatively new stage* in the international concentration of production and capital. The result is a gigantic increase in the scale and a radical change in the nature of the monopolies' international activity.

Something of a milestone was passed in 1971, when the output of the transnationals' foreign subsidiaries (\$330 billion) for the first time in history topped world capitalist exports (\$310 billion). That same year, UN experts designated as transnationals almost 650 major international associations with a turnover of at least \$300 million each, while the total number of their enterprises abroad reached 55,000.

Over the past two decades, the organizational, financial, production and marketing forms of the "internationalized" functioning of the transnationals within the capitalist system have undergone deep changes. These are connected with the switch of emphasis in international operations from the sphere of circulation to the sphere of technology application and production. This has provided the transnationals with much more powerful instruments, as compared with those wielded by the first generation international monopolies, for the attainment of the old monopoly goal: domination of the whole non-socialist world. The deep integration of foreign enterprises into international complexes with a single decision-making center and subsidiaries abroad is the most characteristic feature of present-day transnational enterprise. Meanwhile, virtually every giant monopoly tends to become a transnational.

The impact of these giant associations on the mechanisms of the capitalist economy is be-

coming ever more definitive. By the beginning of the 1980s, they accounted — within the framework of the world capitalist economy — for almost 80 per cent of all technology under development, roughly 40 per cent of industrial production, 60 per cent of foreign trade, and 80 per cent of international technological transfer. This is a qualitatively new stage in the private-capitalist monopolization of the technological application of science, production and international exchange.

In this context, the advocates of transnational enterprises, of whom there are many in the capitalist countries, argue that the transnationals have helped to "spread" scientific and technical progress on the scale of the whole world capitalist economy. The facts tell a different story. In their efforts to monopolize the fruits of the new technology on an international level, the transnationals concentrate scientific and technical projects at their head enterprises in the home countries, ousting other corporations from the sphere in which new technology is being developed and restricting such projects abroad.³ By the early 1970s, eight major transnationals in each of seven leading industrial capitalist countries had a monopoly on nearly 30 per cent of new products. By the middle of the decade, four U.S. corporations had extended their control to the development of almost 20 per cent of new products and processes in that country. The transnationals block access to new technology for independent companies in the host countries and transfer it abroad almost exclusively to their subsidiaries.

Consequently, what we find is not some "international spread" of technology by the transnationals, but a new stage in its monopolization which leads to the technological subordination of less developed and many industrial capitalist countries. The transnationals' activity in this field is antithetical to the progressive internationalization of economic life and the shaping of equitable economic relations between states.

Tougher exploitation

The transnationals seek to use their control of the commanding heights of the economy to multiply their capital. Thus, in 1979, as the capitalist world was sliding into its third economic recession over the past decade, the net profits of 50 major international monopolies exceeded \$1 billion. Altogether, in the second half of the 1970s, these giants of transnational business increased their profits by 240 per cent.

No matter how the forms of intrusion into the economy and foreign trade of other countries may change, the transnationals' activity is en-

tirely geared to one ultimate goal: the maximization of profits. Throughout the 1970s, U.S. transnationals increased their investments abroad from \$78 billion to \$193 billion, or by 150 per cent, while the mass of net profit went up from \$9 billion to \$38 billion, or more than 300 per cent. It has doubled in the past three years alone. Their profitability (ratio of earnings to invested capital) went up from 12 per cent to 21 per cent. This is an indicator which is, as a rule, much higher for the subsidiaries of U.S. and other transnationals than it is for local companies, even in the developed countries.⁴ That is why the national capital of the states in which the transnationals operate seeks to further intensify production and exploitation of the working people.

The lower wages at foreign subsidiaries⁵ enable the transnationals to regulate them for their own interests at the head enterprises as well. In the past decade, the profits of the transnationals' head companies were frequently 20 per cent and more above the figures for companies without foreign subsidiaries.

Bourgeois propaganda has suggested that the transnationals are some kind of new force capable of overcoming economic difficulties and contradictions and carrying the capitalist world out of its all-embracing and deepening crisis. In actual fact, their activity most clearly reveals one of the most important trends in the development of world capitalism which has become an essential factor in deepening its general crisis over the past several years. It is the objective incapacity and unwillingness of monopoly capital to use the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution to promote humankind's social and economic progress. Instead, they seek to apply these in such a way that it goes to deepen the social antagonisms and harms the working people's vital interests. The development of new technology provides the basis for an unprecedented drive on the vital rights of the masses, simultaneously with an equally unprecedented enrichment of the monopoly élite.

Consider the following figures: from 1973 to 1980, the sum-total profits of 500 major U.S. monopolies, the overwhelming majority of which are ranked as transnationals, went up by more than 100 per cent,⁶ while the real wages of U.S. workers steadily declined. According to official data, in 1980 they were 13 per cent below 1973. Wages fell another 3 per cent in less than the full year of 1981. It is highly indicative that at the beginning of the past decade, when there was some growth of wages in the United States, their growth was slower at transnational enterprises. Meanwhile, the

profits of the transnationals were much higher than those of other corporations.

The situation is similar in other industrial capitalist countries. From 1976 to 1979 alone, the sum-total profits of the 500 major West European and Japanese monopolies, mainly transnationals, increased by 50 per cent, while real wages at their enterprises remained the same or even dropped.

Having established undivided control of the markets, the transnationals get down to an uncontrolled hike of prices, so intensifying the exploitation of the working people outside the sphere of production as well. That is why the working class regards the monopolies' international price-formation as one of the most dangerous instruments by means of which the bourgeoisie seeks to undermine the living standards of the working class.

Another and equally dangerous instrument is the transnationals' rationalization of production which inevitably leads to mass lay-offs, the closure of enterprises in some countries and the transfer of production from these to the transnationals' subsidiaries in other countries. That is one of the main reasons why in the 1970s, irrespective of the economic fluctuations, unemployment in the zone of developed capitalism doubled, and in some cases even tripled, and has continued to increase.

Factor sharpening contradictions

The growing strength of the transnational acts as a catalyst in aggravating the contradictions between the imperialist powers, adds ferocity to their fight for marketing outlets, and sources of raw materials and energy, and deepens the crisis of world capitalism in that sector as well. In the external markets, the center of gravity of inter-imperialist rivalry tends increasingly to shift into the area of the foreign operations by the transnationals of the United States, the West European countries and Japan, and the monopoly associations inject ever greater ruthlessness into their competition.

As a result of the intrusion of U.S. corporations into Western Europe in the late 1960s and early 1970s, U.S. capital established control over a number of key sectors in the economy of the old continent. With that as a bridgehead, the U.S. transnationals have carried on their offensive. From 1976 to 1979, their investments in the area went up by 65 per cent, constituting the vast amount of \$81 billion. In that period, the earnings of U.S. corporations in West European countries increased from \$6 billion to \$16.7 billion, while their profitability went up from 12 per cent to 22 per cent. The sales of their West European subsidiaries were three

times as large as U.S. exports to Western Europe.

However, in the recent period, the process has begun to develop in the reverse direction as well. Thus, from 1976 to 1979, investments by West European transnationals in the United States went up by 80 per cent. In some sectors (like automobiles, household electronics, and some chemical goods) they have successfully competed with U.S. corporations on the domestic market of the United States.

Japanese transnationals have also started vigorously to set up their subsidiaries in the United States. In 1978 and 1979 alone, their direct investments in the United States doubled. On the whole, in the course of the 1970s they expanded their foreign operations to such an extent that they are now ahead of some of their rivals, notably France, which started out on transnational enterprise very much earlier than did Japan.

In the past decade, investments by FRG corporations abroad tripled. Prominent among them are the giants of automobile, chemical and electro-technical industry, which rank with the biggest exploiters of the world.

The external economic expansion by the monopolies of the United States and other imperialist powers poses a grave threat to economic sovereignty, the goals of national development and the social gains of the working people even in countries which have a sizable economic potential and helps to strengthen the political positions of the most reactionary circles.

Canada offers a vivid example of how foreign capital, mainly in the transnational form, establishes control over economically developed countries. In 1973, the sales of U.S. subsidiaries in Canada exceeded \$56 billion. That same year, the country's gross national product was valued at \$117 billion. Canadian big capital has, in a sense, consciously let in the U.S. transnationals so as to join them in the intensive exploitation of local resources and the resources of third countries. Consequently, the interests of Canadian and U.S. transnationals are not only in competition but are also interlaced.

In Belgium, virtually one in three major enterprises (45 out of 115) is now under foreign control, with the positions of U.S. and FRG corporations being especially strong. They not only aggravate the problem of employment in the country, but also exert a negative effect — directly or indirectly — on the Belgian working people's social gains.

The step-up of operations by the transnationals in the international arena inevitably

results in a growth of their role in the shaping and realization of the imperialist state's foreign policy. What is important here is that it is the transnationals that constitute the nucleus of the military-industrial complexes of the United States, Britain, the FRG and other powers. With their super-profits from the arms business and whipping up the arms race and inflating war hysteria, the transnationals are in the front ranks of those who have been trying to replace détente with a "cold war," and respect for mutual interests and equitable relations, with a "strength" policy.

The inducement behind such a foreign policy orientation is perfectly obvious. Every new twist in the arms spiral goes to increase the superprofits of the arms business. In 1979, the aerospace monopolies of the United States — Douglas, Boeing, Lockheed and General Dynamics, among others — increased their turnover by one-third, and almost doubled their profits. In 1981, when the growth of profits of many U.S. monopolies slowed down under the impact of the recession, the stocks and earnings of the merchants of death continued to soar. The planned production and deployment of new medium-range missiles in Western Europe will alone enable U.S. transnationals to extract from the pockets of U.S. and West European taxpayers an additional \$7-8 billion.

That is why the bourgeois propaganda claims that the transnationals have a "peace-making mission" which allegedly springs from their activity in many countries will not hold water. In foreign policy as well, the line of the transnationals, the battering-ram of the monopolies, is one of "reaction all along the line," something that does not, of course, conflict with the pursuit of concrete economic interests in each individual case.

Threat to national sovereignty

The massive penetration of less developed countries by the transnationals helps to entrench the latter's subordinate position within the world capitalist system and to deepen the gulf between them and the monopoly centers. That is why the gross product per head ratio of 10 to 1 which took shape in the early postwar period between the imperialist powers and the newly liberated countries went up to 13 to 1 by the mid-1970s, and since then the gap, as far as most countries are concerned, has continued to grow.

The transnationals now control almost 40 per cent of the less developed countries' industrial production and roughly 50 per cent of their external economic exchange. U.S. corporations

are in the front ranks, and account for over 50 per cent of all the direct foreign investments by the imperialist powers in these countries: from 1971 to the end of 1979, investments by U.S. transnationals there increased from \$26 billion to \$48 billion (by 80 per cent, only in the past three years). Japanese and FRG corporations have been expanding their activity even more rapidly.

In Colombia, for instance, in 1980 the assets of foreign monopolies made \$1,395 million. Let us note that this expansion is being encouraged by the country's government, which has been trying to put down the working people's anti-monopoly movement by means of repression, so as to create reliable conditions for the investment of foreign capital.

Transnational banks have a special role to play. In the past decades, they have dramatically intensified their penetration, above all of the newly liberated countries. Thus, in the mid-1960s, the annual influx of private foreign loan capital to these countries totalled \$4 billion, in 1976, it surpassed \$26 billion, and by now the amount has evidently doubled. At the end of the 1970s, the less developed countries' total debt to commercial banks came to \$75 billion, or 40 per cent of their foreign debt. Of this amount, they owed \$45 billion to U.S. banks, and this testifies to the latter's dominant positions in the global system of transnational exploitation.

The plunder of the young states is being ceaselessly intensified. There, the profitability of U.S. transnational operations went up from 17 per cent in the second half of the 1960s, to 20 per cent in the first half of the 1970s, and again to 29 per cent in the early 1980s. In some countries it stands at 100 per cent and more in many industries. As a result, from 1976 to 1979, the officially reported profits of U.S. transnationals in the developing world almost doubled.

In an effort to prove that the transnationals are helping the less developed countries to "flourish," bourgeois propaganda has kept asserting that the transnationals have been making available capital they badly need. In actual fact, the outflow of capital from these countries resulting from the activity of the monopolies is often three or four, and even 10 times greater than the influx of capital from the head companies and other units of the transnational corporations. Their foreign subsidiaries extensively practice what is known as self-financing through re-investment of a part of the profits. Besides, the transnationals attract local financial resources for their investment — to the detriment of national companies and frequently of the economy as a whole.

The transnationals are highly flexible in adapting to the changing international situation, being now and again forced to reckon with the demands of the governments in Third World countries. They strengthen their ties with the local bourgeoisie, making ever broader use of various forms of "cooperation" with it. For its part, the national bourgeoisie seek to collaborate with the transnationals, and the nature of these ties is in many cases determined by its urge to survive even at the price of becoming "junior partners" of neocolonialist monopolies. For the transnationals, such "cooperation" and "partnership" provides some guarantee against the possible nationalization and other acts of independence on the part of governments.

The transnationals' technological, production and marketing control in the economy of less developed countries is largely due to the fact that the economic ties which emerged are effected via inter-corporate channels (this naturally also applies to the industrial countries). As a result, almost one-half of the machine-tools and equipment and many other commodities which are vital for the economy and the population are not imported by national companies but come in through the transnationals' subsidiaries. The problem of new technology is even more acute. Thus, nearly 80 per cent of U.S. technology is transferred by the head companies of the transnationals into the ownership of their foreign subsidiaries and not to the less developed countries. On the other hand, over a third of the export of raw materials and other commodities of these countries does not go on the open world market, but is dispatched by subsidiaries to head companies on terms which the latter themselves lay down.

The newly liberated countries suffer tremendous losses as a result of having to pay much more when importing goods and technology, and getting much less for the raw materials and other goods they export. A very modest estimate is that they lose \$50-100 billion a year only on raw-material exports at under-stated prices.

Consequently, the system of ties between the transnational units in the imperialist and less developed countries is becoming an ever more powerful mechanism for plundering the latter and keeping them economically subordinate.

Bourgeois propaganda frequently operates with statistical data showing the growth of national production and foreign trade of the young states. Actually, these figures are largely a reflection only of their mounting exploitation by imperialism. They provide hard evidence of

the existence of an ugly socio-economic phenomenon which is now usually called "development without progress."

The transnationals have become the main obstacle in the way of restructuring the outdated capitalist system of world economic relations. Acting in the interests of the transnationals, the imperialist powers have prevented the approval of the UN Documents designed to normalize international economic exchange. They have blocked the drafting of a code of rules to control transnational operations known as "Code of Behavior of Transnational Corporations." Last spring, for instance, imperialist powers made it impossible to complete the drafting of a document designed to protect the rights of less developed countries in technology transfer. Finally, the transnationals have ever more frequently resorted to overt and covert political pressure, directly meddling in the internal affairs of these countries, supporting fascist regimes and even organizing plots and coups. The role of ITT in the overthrow of the Allende government is a well known and infamous example.

Coordination of struggle

The early 1980s are marked by a stepped-up drive by the transnationals on the economic and political sovereignty of many countries and the vital rights of masses of working people in the non-socialist world. The transnationals increasingly reflect the cosmopolitan character of the present-day industrial-financial oligarchy and the qualitatively new scale and acerbity of the socio-economic problems and antagonisms in capitalist society.

Ranged against the transnational front is the international working class, the mightiest and most conscious anti-monopoly force, which is inspired by the ideas of international class solidarity. That is why the communist parties believe that their cardinal task is to enhance the organization of the working class at every level and to raise it to the level of internationalization of capitalist production and capital itself. But moving increasingly to the forefront are problems in coordinating the strike movement and other forms of action by the working people at enterprises of monopoly complexes in various regions. Thus, only joint action by workers at factories owned by Siemens (FRG) simultaneously in several countries frustrated the monopoly's blackmail in Belgium and prevented the lay-off of workers at its Belgian subsidiaries.

The German and other communist parties believe that it is useful to hold meetings of working people's representatives from differ-

ent countries engaged at enterprises of the same transnational corporation. Experience shows that such meetings provide an opportunity for an exchange of information on the situation in the individual units of the complexes and the employers' plans, and this helps to define more precisely the goals of the anti-monopoly struggle and to coordinate better concrete acts in defense of the socio-economic rights of workers and employees, taking into account the changing conditions of trade-union activity, which are shaped under the impact of the growing economic and political power of the transnationals.

There is no doubt that at the present stage it is impossible to ensure effective resistance to the transnationals only through national effort. It is hard to say anything about progress here so long as trade-union rights and struggles are confined to national boundaries, while the transnationals operate on a global level. That is why the World Federation of Trade Unions has raised with the UN Commission on Transnational Corporations the question about the need to establish the trade unions' right to negotiate within the framework of one or several countries on all matters relating to employment and working conditions. The WFTU believes that trade-union representation in deciding matters relating to the activity of enterprises should be written into the labor codes as a statutory condition for transnational operations in any country.⁷

Many communist parties believe that the best way to enlarge the front of struggle against the transnational strategy, which jeopardizes the working people's working and living conditions, is to have a platform providing for democratic nationalization of major facilities. The communists in the countries where the transnationals are based are right in regarding this not only as protection against the transnationals' drive on the vital rights of their own people, but as a means for reducing monopoly oppression in the host countries.

The Communist Party of Canada, for instance, believes that in deciding on nationalization priorities, its prime objectives should be the sectors of the economy in which the transnationals' monopoly pressure is felt most of all. In Canada, these are the energy industry, the extractive industry, and the major banks which have close ties with the top layers of the industrial oligarchy.

The communists of the United States start from the assumption that many of the country's most acute socio-economic problems are rooted in the activity of the transnationals. Their voracious profit-drives have contributed

to runaway inflation, the drop in real incomes of the population, and the spread of unemployment. The Communist Party demands the democratic nationalization of the energy and other industries, including the oil corporations as a first urgent step. Voicing solidarity with the peoples suffering from U.S. external economic expansion, U.S. communists want an end to the transnationals' meddling in the affairs of other countries and have exposed the support of reactionary regimes by U.S. monopoly capital.

One of the most important demands made by the communist parties of some West European countries in their programs for anti-monopoly struggle in defense of the working people's rights and national sovereignty is the nationalization of the major transnational monopolies and the ousting of foreign, above all U.S. capital.

The need is also indicated to use the growing contradictions between transnationals and national capital, which provides fresh opportunities for extending the front of anti-monopoly struggle. In view of this, the Communist Party of Belgium has called on the government to support the small and middle entrepreneurs, helping them to survive in competition against the alien giants, and so to preserve jobs.

The less developed countries have increasingly directed their struggle against the transnationals' neocolonialist policy. The progressive forces of Asia, Africa and Latin America — above all the parties taking the stand of scientific socialism — attach growing importance to the programs and measures aimed resolutely to restrict arbitrary acts by the transnationals. The communist parties are aware that in many newly liberated countries, the interests of the ruling élite and of some strata of the national bourgeoisie and international monopoly capital are entwined on the basis of their joint exploitation of the working people and the plunder of natural resources.

Accordingly, in the various countries, nationalization itself will have a dissimilar socio-economic content. Thus, in a country with a capitalist orientation it frequently fails to oust the transnational corporations, which continue to benefit from participation in developing strategic sectors of the economy.

That is why, the communist parties' anti-monopoly policy — including their struggle against the transnationals' neocolonialist policy — consistently takes account of each country's specific conditions. Thus, the communist parties of the Latin American region, the Caribbean, the Philippines and other states where

the U.S. transnationals' pressure is strongest, proceed from the assumption that social emancipation is indissolubly bound up with efforts to do away with dependence on U.S. imperialism.

The further spread of the monopolies' expansion and dangerous consequences of this process add urgency to the call issued by the Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties for efforts to "invigorate and voice solidarity in support of the struggle against the policy of the transnational corporations, a policy which has a negative effect on the working people's working and living conditions, and which brutally violates the national interests of peoples and the sovereignty of states."

The analysis of the transnationals' activity shows, therefore, that they have taken shape as a relatively small but powerful and aggressive group of monopoly associations to become one of the foundations of the whole economic life within the system of industrially developed capitalism. The level of their transnational operations, which has been growing in quantitative and qualitative terms, tends to compound the old and produce new and more cunning methods of monopoly pressure resulting in more savage exploitation of the working people on the scale of the whole capitalist world. This is another twist in the law-governed spiral development of monopoly capital which calls for a new response on the part of the international working class.

1. WMR June 1980 — on unemployment, September 1980 — a comparative analysis of the two crises: 1930s and 1970s; December 1980 — on the energy crisis, and July 1981 — on the monetary crisis.

2. See, for instance, the materials of the international discussion held by Marxists on "Imperialism in the 1970s — the Crisis Deepens," February 1973; international study group which met to discuss "The Scientific Principles of the Anti-Imperialist Struggle," May 1973; and the international theoretical conference "Present-Day Imperialism in the Light of Lenin's Doctrine," March 1976.

3. Although subsidiaries account for almost one-third of the transnationals' assets, and production and marketing activity, they handle no more than 4-5 per cent of projects to develop new products and processes.

4. In Britain, for instance, the profits of U.S. subsidiaries are 50 per cent higher than those of local companies.

5. In the mid-1970s, wages at the enterprises of the world's largest U.S. corporation General Motors in the FRG, Britain, Argentina and Brazil came, respectively, to 59 per cent, 44 per cent, 16 per cent and 15 per cent of the rates paid at its plants in the United States. Volkswagen subsidiaries in Brazil pay one-third of the rates paid to the personnel in the FRG.

6. Adjusted for inflation, the growth of profits came to more than 35 per cent.

7. At the same time, the report of the WFTU to the 10th World Congress of Trade Unions (February 1982) says that the world trade-union movement has not yet succeeded in finding ways of achieving unity in the struggle against the transnationals.



Grenada has chosen its road

Maurice Bishop
Leader of the New Jewel Movement,
Prime Minister of Grenada

Q. The situation in the Caribbean basin, and particularly as concerns Grenada, has lately taken a very serious turn. How would you explain that?

A. It seems to us in our party that the Reagan administration is determined at this point to establish a total hegemony over the Caribbean region. The old notion of the Caribbean Sea as part of the "backyard" of the United States has reappeared with a vengeance in recent times. There are very clear attempts to reimpose the Monroe Doctrine philosophy in the region, and a policy of open and direct intervention is now being proposed in Washington. We are deeply concerned about this because it is our view that decision-making in the United States is now dominated by right-wing sentiment in all the major areas. Right-wing opinion has gained stronger positions in the White House, in the State Department, in the Pentagon, in Langley, in big business and the media. As a consequence, this region is going through an extremely dangerous time.

What is also frightening is that certain new concepts are being evolved in the United States. There is, for example, increasing talk about so-called "enemies of democracy." That really means just about anybody who is opposed to U.S. imperialism — not only revolutionaries, not only socialists but the Catholic left, anybody who differs with the United States. They are also talking a lot in Washington about the policy of "linkage." They claim the right to intervene in the Caribbean or any other part of the world if they disapprove of developments there.

The Reagan administration's recent statements about El Salvador, about Cuba, about Nicaragua, about Grenada are really quite direct and open threats. And we are taking it very seriously in Grenada, because it is clear to us that with the desperate crisis that capitalism inside the United States is presently facing, they do need some justification for the crisis

and see the best possible justification in blaming it on other countries. Hence they have come up with the wildest arguments. They have gone as far as to allege that what is happening in Cuba, Nicaragua, El Salvador and countries like that is responsible for workers being thrown out of their jobs in the United States, and for hospitals and schools being closed down there.

It is also clear to us that the military-industrial complex, which really rules the United States, is determined to step up the armaments race because it is good for profits and also because a war would help to divert attention away from the real problems inside the U.S. In spite of the defeat in Vietnam and the trauma of Watergate, there is a very strong macho instinct, with the President imagining himself to be a cowboy riding around on a horse as in a movie. Thus developments are taking a dangerous turn for the Caribbean region.

We believe very strongly that democratic, progressive, peace-loving, socialist and communist forces in the region must unite more closely than ever in face of this threat. We have long been calling for the Caribbean Sea to be declared a peace zone. We think that is one of the fundamental problems of today. It is very important for Grenada's revolutionaries to join up with other progressive forces of the region in raising the consciousness of the working people of the region and helping them understand that war is not in their interest but in the interest of a very, very tiny minority of capitalists and imperialists in the United States.

They need to be very vigilant, to stand by in case there is intervention in this region against the Cubas, Nicaraguas, El Salvadors or Grenadas, and to protest as effectively as possible.

Q. You have mentioned that certain concepts are being used by U.S. reactionaries. Would you like to comment on one of those concepts: the concept of "limited or regional war," a kind of war which irresponsible politicians would be willing to start in the Caribbean?

A. I think such an eventuality cannot be ruled out. After all, Washington is laying plans

Maurice Bishop granted this interview to Jeronimo Carrera, representative of the Communist Party of Venezuela on the WMR Editorial Council, who was on a visit to Grenada.

"to meet any contingency." Think of Reagan's recent statements about the possibility of using nuclear weapons in Europe and so centering the entire conflict in Europe. This is a sign of the greatest contempt for the peoples of Europe and for his own allies. And if they are willing to treat their own allies like that, what can our region expect?

Q. What about the economic situation?

A. Our economies, which are very open and very dependent on imperialist centers, have been severely affected. In Grenada, for example, the world capitalist crisis last year forced down the price of cocoa, one of our main exports, by 55 per cent. We have more nutmeg in storage — that's another important export item — than we can sell. The price of bananas is virtually nothing, our farmers get 12 cents a pound while a box to contain them costs 10 cents. It's a serious economic situation we face. And on top of that there is a military threat to the people of the region. Stepped-up military activity in the region means that it has to live in an atmosphere of growing tension and instability in which progressive social and economic development is impossible.

It's a very rough time for the region. But we are not pessimistic. We believe there is evidence that the working people of the region are getting more conscious. This is not always reflected in election results because right-wing forces have lately been winning the elections, in the English-speaking Caribbean at any rate, by using the most diverse means. None the less, it's a fact that the left in the region is getting more and more votes and becoming more organized. Within months after an election won by the right, the people come to realize that what the left forces were saying was true, and they begin to protest. And that must be a good sign for the future. Looking at the balance of forces dialectically, we would say that the future is promising.

Q. As the New Jewel Movement is affiliated to the Socialist International, could you comment for us on the experience of its relations with the other SI members? What is your opinion of the possibilities of cooperation between social democrats and communists?

A. I think it's important to understand that the Socialist International is by no means a monolithic organization, and is perhaps as heterogeneous as the non-aligned movement. After all, one of the non-aligned countries is the Egypt of the Camp David deal. As for the Socialist International, we would say that it shows still greater diversity. There are parties in it which support national liberation movements and cooperate with communist parties.

But there are also right-wing, reactionary parties in the Socialist International, parties whose objectives are contrary to those of the communists. They are represented in the Socialist International like any other party. Membership in the SI is seen in some cases as purely ideological. Many of those who take a particularly tough stand in the SI are virtually anti-communists. They see their mission in competing for influence on the world level.

Our position is that the Socialist International offers our party one more opportunity of diversifying our relations with political forces around the world, with the governments of various countries. And it is on that basis that we have entered the Socialist International and have been trying to build relations with different parties in it.

We believe that the Socialist International has in general taken a positive stand on Latin America and the Caribbean. The SI has come out in favor of Nicaragua and the people of El Salvador. It has come out in support of the Grenada revolutionary process and against the warmongering policies of the Reagan administration. That is clearly a good thing.

So I think there is an objective basis for cooperation. As to which parties we can cooperate with, it depends, because I have no doubt there are some whose positions are so reactionary that they themselves will not be willing to cooperate with communist parties.

Q. Every visitor to Grenada can see for himself that the people sincerely support revolutionary changes in this country. What about the substance of those changes and how would you define the present stage of the revolution in Grenada and its prospects?

A. We see this revolution as being in the national democratic stage. We are an anti-imperialist party and government and we believe that the process we are involved in at this time is in an anti-imperialist, national democratic, socialist-oriented stage of development.

Naturally, that means we have a number of priority tasks. One is obviously not only to restore democratic rights, which the Gairy¹ regime ignored, but, in fact, to expand those rights. For the first time the working class, the working people generally, are beginning to enjoy not only their political rights but also their social and economic rights. We have been attempting to bring this about through many different measures: the repeal of repressive laws and the passing of laws aimed at uplifting the standard of the working class. We have also passed a decree on equal pay for equal work for women in the state sector.

It is necessary at this stage to greatly expand

the democratization process in the country, to enable more and more of the poorer working people to take part in the exercise of people's rule, the new type of democracy. To this end we have created Parish Councils which are now becoming Zonal Councils because they are too large for one parish. We have also created Workers' Parish Councils, Women's Councils and Youth Councils. As a result, the people of our country and the workers are now able to meet at their workplaces and in their communities on a regular monthly basis. They meet not only to express their views but to really join in decision-making and help run the country. We feel this is a very important process which we have to develop as fast as possible.

Another problem is to disengage the economy from the clutches of imperialism. And in this process the role of the state is quite crucial. The government is taking steps to rapidly build a state sector in the economy for the first time.

There are now 31 state farms with some 4,000 acres of land and we are trying there not just to improve production but also to introduce new concepts. For example, we have introduced the principle of profit-sharing on these estates, so the workers get one-third of the profits. We have abolished commercial secrecy on the estates, so everybody knows what is being done for development, what are the losses and the plans for making profits. People have a say in all of that and commit themselves more, knowing production needs.

The low cultural level of the people is a great obstacle to their participation in government. A substantial part of the population is illiterate. Therefore we have had to do something about raising the people's literacy and cultural level. We now conduct mass campaigns to this end.

The state has also entered the financial sphere. For the first time in our history a government bank, the National Commercial Bank, has been established. This bank has already become the second largest in Grenada. We have also entered the area of tourism. The government now owns several small hotels. Through the state-owned Grenada Resorts Corporation we are trying to compete with the private sector.

The purpose of the National Import Board established by the government is to end foreign monopoly domination in foreign trade and on the home market. Already this has happened for sugar, for rice, for cement. This has had the effect of greatly reducing the cost of these basic items to the ordinary people of our country. And we hope to add new items to the list of controlled commodities in the course of 1982.

We do our best to ensure that these commodities are sold with a minimum mark-up. Profit is not the main concern here, for it's important to keep the goods as cheap as possible so as to reduce the high cost of living which we have inherited.

We are interested in developing links with the progressive world. Over the past three years, as part of our policy of non-alignment and as an expression of our anti-imperialist outlook, we have established very close ties with national liberation movements, with countries in the non-aligned movement, with countries of the socialist world, in particular revolutionary Cuba, with which we have established extremely close relations. The government and people of Cuba are rendering tremendous fraternal internationalist assistance to the people of Grenada, including assistance in building a large international airport.

We have dissociated ourselves from the policy of Gairy, who had very close relations with Pinochet, Duvalier and the South Korean dictator. Today Grenada is committed to an independent foreign policy based on the principles of equality, sovereignty and peace.

Afterword

Analyzing the lessons of the Great October, Lenin stressed that each subsequent revolution, though governed by universal objective laws, would have its distinctive aspects according to the given conditions. One cannot but recall this in face of the vast variety of contemporary revolutions, especially in their formative period. Lenin has also been proved correct by events in Grenada, a very small island² in the Caribbean where a group of revolutionaries rose in revolt and overthrew the dictatorship under Eric Gairy on March 13, 1979.³

The Grenada revolution is a manifestation of the world-wide liberation process, an instance of abolition of colonial rule and growing resistance to the neocolonial policy of imperialist monopolies. It is evidence of a serious weakening of U.S. imperialist domination in the Caribbean — a phenomenon whose implications world opinion probably has yet to appreciate to the full.

The situation in Grenada is now marked by a conflict between the revolution and its enemies inspired by Washington's policy of intervention. The working people are faced with the same dilemma as another Caribbean people — in Cuba — had to tackle over 20 years ago: either carrying forward the revolution, or losing the gains made. It is clear that events in Grenada are beginning to pass beyond the national liberation movement. During the past

three years, under the pressure of recurrent imperialist threats, both objective and subjective conditions have matured to a degree that has embarked the country on a way of development that is not precisely the one of capitalism.

Paradoxical as it may seem, the U.S. policy of aggression has become something of a strong catalyst of the revolutionary process both in Sandinista Nicaragua and in Grenada (as was the case in Cuba previously). Washington tries to bar the peoples' road to socialism but its rather stupid policies produce entirely different results. Patriotic sentiment prompts even some opponents of the communists to sympathize with socialism.

U.S. politicians had never been concerned about the fate of the small Caribbean island and its people. Never under British colonial rule or the neocolonial regime of that petty tyrant, Gairy, did Washington stop to think how it could help the people of Grenada. The day after the March uprising, however, the U.S. administration expressed "deep concern" about developments in Grenada and has kept the island's revolutionary government under attack ever since. Washington chooses to ignore the obvious fact that the majority of the people back that government — a fact confirmed by all who have visited the island since the victory of the revolution. What has earned the present government popularity is not only that it has removed a brutal dictatorship. The main reason for its popularity is its policy meeting the people's interests and aimed at making thrifty and effective use of the limited economic resources of the island. The islanders know full well that the United States, which is talking about restoring "democracy" in Grenada, means the exact opposite. Experience tells the peoples of the Caribbean that what Washington says should always be called into question because it means something different.

The question arises: Can a small and poor country such as Grenada survive the conflict that the U.S. government has imposed upon it? Doubts on this score are often voiced as a pessimistic reaction to Reagan's policy of blackmail and pressure. Some people even have a feeling that the President's threats possess all but fatal power. We believe, however, that to answer this question, one should proceed from an objective assessment of the external and internal situation of Grenada. Besides, it is important to realize what the island's revolutionary organization and leadership, which the people are following, stand for. And this is a point I would like to deal with first of all.

Many bourgeois ideologists today go out of their way to advertise "pluralism," supposed to

be the quintessence of democracy. This is understandable, for the existence of diverse parties incapable of effectively leading the revolutionary movement as a whole is the best guarantee for the exploiting minority to regain its positions. Yet the current history of the international revolutionary movement is proof of the decisive role of the party in today's revolutions. It also shows that the process of forming and building up a vanguard organization can vary greatly in character.

I think the merits of the leaders of the Grenada revolution are among the most important of the numerous factors for its rapid progress. The core of the leadership began to take shape long before the assumption of power — when, in 1973, two left-wing groups merged to found the New Jewel Movement (NJM). This is what enabled the people to accomplish a victorious uprising.

In a country whose underdeveloped economy is based on agriculture and tourism, it was intellectuals and members of the petty bourgeoisie that played the leading role in forming the revolutionary vanguard organization. However, its leaders coming from this milieu were closely associated with trade-union activity and participated directly in strikes and other conflicts with the employers prior to the overthrow of the Gairy dictatorship. In other words, the NJM leaders went through the school of class struggle.

Unity of leadership is an indispensable condition for revolutionaries if they are to advance to victory. To deny this valuable achievement for reasons of "democracy" would mean endangering the stability and very future of the new society. The revolutionary forces of Grenada are closing their ranks more and more within a unique party and its leading core headed by comrade Maurice Bishop.

The NJM has the support of the mass movements that have greatly developed over the past three years. It is worthy of note that by late 1981 the women's and youth organizations had 7,000 members each whereas the population of the island barely exceeds 100,000. The trade unions are gaining in strength and unity; they have about 10,000 members already. The peasant organization has 1,000 members. The Young Pioneers' organization, formed recently, has admitted 6,000 children by now.

In addition to a small armed force, People's Militias have been formed to defend the revolution. The Militias are organized all over the country and this gives the people a sense of security. Needless to say, the Militias can arouse no fears in Washington but the latter's

agents still active in Grenada certainly are afraid of them.

It is not easy at the moment to give an opinion of the process of ideological maturing of the revolutionary movement in Grenada. After a short trip to that country, my own conclusion is that there are still problems and difficulties. The ideological formation of the vanguard is proceeding at a relatively slow pace. But the revolutionary forces are gaining experience as they put theoretical tenets into practice.

The NJM is now a full-fledged member of the Socialist International (SI).⁴ However, its leadership makes no secret of its Marxist views, its friendship with Cuba and Nicaragua or its desire to promote relations with all socialist countries. As comrade Bishop said, Grenada is "at an anti-imperialist, national democratic, socialist-oriented stage of development."

Grenada's economic and foreign policy furnishes increasing evidence that the revolutionary government has been seriously weighing the possibility of taking a socialist road.

Building socialism in Grenada, on so small a scale, may seem utopia at first sight. But then the idea of building socialism in one country alone in the past was also looked on sceptically by many. And when those sceptics could no longer deny that the Soviet Union had built a socialist society they tried to dismiss the achievement as unique or exceptional.

The vast socialist community, which comprises countries varying greatly in area and population, goes on living and gaining in strength despite enemy intrigues. The common basis cementing their unity is Marxism-Leninism, the scientific theory of revolution and socialist construction. It is a theory which has demonstrated in practice that for the working people of any country, whether big or small, a political organization of their own based on the principle of proletarian internationalism plays a key role making it possible to overcome all obstacles and hold out against a hostile encirclement.

The people of Grenada are faced with enormous economic problems. They are threatened by a dangerous and powerful enemy, U.S. imperialism, which is aggravating their problems by boycotting trade and tourism, blockading their government financially and waging a psychological war against it. However, they also have true friends everywhere, class brothers who will give them effective support. This means that building socialism on so small an island, with limited natural resources, should not be regarded as impossible. Developing a socialist economy on so modest a scale is, of course, a formidable

challenge for those who try it. However, socialist construction, like the revolution itself, is something more than a product of scientific thought. Practice, with the creative élan of the masses, and the humanist ideals of the finest works of art also play a tremendous role. To use an analogy, the monumental quality of Michelangelo's *Moses* does not prevent us from appreciating the artistic values of Cellini's miniatures.

On all continents today, people of progressive and democratic convictions realize the urgency of solidarity with the people of Grenada. And communists have an important role to play in this international solidarity campaign.

Jeronimo Carrera

CC member, Communist Party of Venezuela

1. Eric Gairy, who was helped to power by the British colonial authorities, set up a repressive regime. His dictatorship was brought down by the 1979 uprising. — Ed.

2. The state (the island of Grenada plus Carriacou and Petite Martinique in the Grenadine archipelago) has an area of 344.5 sq. km and a population of 115,000. — Ed.

3. For a description of the antecedents of the uprising and the results achieved in the first year of people's rule, see W. Richard Jacobs, "Grenada: On the Road to People's Democracy," in *WMR*, September 1980. — Ed.

4. Its application for membership was submitted to and approved by the Madrid Congress of the SI in November 1980, that is 18 months after the victory of the Grenada revolution.

Disarmament and the Economy

R. Faramazyan

A comprehensive study of not only the economic and social effects of the arms race, but also the effects of converting a military economy to peaceful uses.

A book which supplies the facts and the arguments to counter the idea that disarmament would cause unemployment.

cloth 172 pp \$4.95

PROGRESS BOOKS

71 Bathurst St.

Toronto, Ontario M5V 2P6

A lapse into gunboat diplomacy

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Last January President Reagan formally announced the proposed transformation of Puerto Rico into the 51st State of the Union, a plan given little publicity until then.

As expected, the news caused deep concern among the progressive public of our region and the world at large. First of all, the proposed step is a direct challenge to the UN, for the UN Committee on Decolonization, which represents countries with different political and social systems, has repeatedly declared the Puerto Ricans' right to independence and self-determination. Second, Reagan's announcement is based on an extremely dangerous concept of U.S. imperialism, which denies so-called small nations the right to establish their sovereign states and shape their destiny on their own.

However, this is only one aspect of the matter. Washington fears that if Puerto Rico wins independence the Pentagon will lose an "unsinkable aircraft carrier" anchored in the heart of the Caribbean. After all, there are 16 U.S. military bases on the island and they take up one-seventh of its territory. It would be easy to carry on punitive operations from Puerto Rico against the whole Central American region and so threaten the peoples seeking revolutionary change or fighting against imperialist domination. Thus, Reagan makes no secret of his desire to "bury" the Torrijos-Carter treaty, which has abolished all legal basis for U.S. colonial domination of the Panama Canal zone, an inseparable part of Panama. This threat is also directed against the oil-producing countries of the region, since the United States has "vital interests" wherever there is oil, according to the monopolies' current doctrine.

Contrary to international law, the White House now wants to impose its undivided rule on a country that has nothing to do with the U.S. in terms of territory, language, culture, history or tradition. For 84 years past, U.S. imperialism has been trying to legalize the virtual annexation of the island, doing so under its global strategy which provides for interference in the affairs of other countries, action from positions of strength, aggression and war.

To make Puerto Rico another component of a

power which José Martí invariably described as "the other America" would mean taking a criminal step commensurate to the 19th-century seizure of nearly half of Mexico's territory, to extend the southern frontier of the United States. This intention is a striking instance of implementing the imperialist Monroe Doctrine, advanced more than 150 years ago. But while President Monroe tried to disguise the real purpose of his policy — forcing European competitors out of the New World so as to ensure that the U.S. remained the only "wolf in a flock of sheep" and imposed its influence on a vast zone of America — Reagan proceeds with cynical frankness.

What has the future in store for the people of the "51st State"? The same fate as that of the 40 per cent of Puerto Ricans who had to emigrate to the U.S. in search of work (unemployment in Puerto Rico involves 40 per cent of the population). They are subjected to brutal racial discrimination along with Blacks, Indians and Mexicans. In New York and other cities, many offices are still barred to "dogs and Puerto Ricans." In some parts of Harlem, whose population includes Puerto Ricans, you come across ruins, incredible squalor and decay everywhere.

Needless to say, U.S. monopolies have an entirely different vision of the island's future. They expect to continue making over 2.5 billion dollars a year there, or roughly half of the profit made by U.S. companies in Latin America through plunder and exploitation.

The Reagan administration's shameless plan to strip Puerto Rico of even the facade of a "free associated state" and turn it into an internal area of the U.S. is bound to bring about a new upsurge in the liberation struggle on the island. Puerto Rico refuses to be either a colony that must give up all hope of freedom and independence, or a State of the Union where Puerto Ricans would be treated as second-rate citizens. This Caribbean country seeks a future predestined by its geographical situation and history, that is, wants to become another Latin American republic. Puerto Rico enjoys the solidarity of all forces sharing the principles of justice, peace and national self-determination.

Raul Valdes Vivo



Two destinies of a generation

Demographers say that socially active young people make up one-fifth of the world's population. What are their problems, condition and prospects? The only way to answer this question is to consider it in the context of the social system, of the whole complex of social conditions in which the rising generation now lives. Young people living under capitalism, and those living in the society that has ended exploitation and social inequality for good are destined to live in different conditions, as will be seen from the following survey prepared by the WMR Commission on Scientific Information and Documentation.

Young people are always eager to act, to create, to build and to know. It is a natural urge of every young person in the world today to develop his capabilities to the full, freely to choose his occupation, to receive an education, and to take part in solving social problems. How are these rights and potentialities realized by young people under the two opposite socio-political systems?

Right to work

Because capitalism is in need of able-bodied and educated young people who easily adapt to new conditions, it has actively involved young people in various production cycles. Young people now already make up almost 40 per cent of the labor force in the capitalist world. But the number of jobs the capitalist economy can offer to the generation which enters upon life tends markedly to lag behind the demand for jobs among young people.

In the United States, the unemployment rate among young men and women is 21.7 per cent (42.2 per cent among Black youth). Since 1974, the number of unemployed young people in the FRG has not fallen below 400,000. In France, they number almost 600,000, and in Britain — 500,000. In Italy, three in four unemployed are under the age of 29 years. On the whole, the unemployment rate among young people in the industrial capitalist countries is two or three times — and in some countries six times — higher than that for older people.

Does the fairly extensive network of job train-

ing help to improve the condition of young people on the capitalist labor market? It does, but only relatively so. In order to learn a trade, the young Frenchman, for instance, has to pay 5,500 francs a year, in the FRG, the worker in effect has to pay three-quarters of his training, while a school-leaver in Britain stands to lose 35 per cent of his unemployment benefit. As a result, according to the ILO, one-third of young people in search of jobs in the capitalist countries have no occupational training at all.

Working young people in the capitalist world are subjected to the same forms of exploitation as their seniors, but as a rule, to a greater degree. The young worker's strength, alertness and readiness to learn, together with the possibility of paying him lower wages (according to the ILO, young people are paid 40-45 per cent of the wages of adult workers) make the employer regard him as especially suitable for the extraction of surplus value.

Young people also account for a large part of the productive forces in the socialist countries. In the USSR, for instance, young people under the age of 25 years make up the larger part of workers in the crucial sectors of the economy. The socialist property in the means of production, the economic planning, and the steady growth of the productive forces not only rule out unemployment in the socialist-community countries, but also create a constant demand for labor. In the 1970s alone, the number of persons working in various sectors of the Soviet economy increased by 19.7 million, largely through the influx of young people taking on their first jobs.

Under socialism, the young people's attitude to work is not so much a matter of earning a livelihood as choosing a way in life in a congenial field. In Czechoslovakia, only 3-5 per cent of school-leavers are involved in the labor process right away. Most go on to study within the system of technical-trade education, which helps to choose from a wide spectrum of trades. Out of 100 school-leavers in Hungary, 90 continue their studies (55 per cent in industrial training schools). In the GDR, nearly 90 per cent of young people in that age bracket graduate from polytechnical school.

As a rule, young people not only receive occupational training free of charge, but are also provided with board and lodging, clothes and study-aids. Upon graduation they are guaranteed a job in their special field. Soviet enterprises, for instance, have a special reserve of jobs for young men and women under the age of 18 years, who are graduates of general education, technical trades and vocational schools, a reserve which comes to 10 per cent of the total number of industrial and office workers. In every city, there are special centers for helping young people get jobs.

In most socialist countries, shorter working hours are laid down for teenagers, but they are paid the same wages as adults of similar grade and skill rating working a full day. Young men and women under 18 are entitled to a longer holiday (from 18 to 24 working days in Romania, up to 30 calendar days in the USSR, and so on).

The favorable working conditions promote the young people's labor activity and creative initiative. In the GDR, for instance, one-third of the innovators in production are young people. In the USSR, there are all-union reviews of scientific and technical creativity among young people, and these regularly involve something like 20 million young men and women.

It is the inalienable and real right of the young generation in the socialist community countries to work to the full measure of their capabilities and duly to enjoy the fruits of their labor.

Right to education

The scientific and technological revolution impels capitalism to carry out some reforms of its education system. Thus, there has been a marked increase in the number of young people enrolled at schools, especially at higher schools. But discrimination by social origin has been and continues to be a cardinal principle of the bourgeois education system.

Austria's Central Statistical Administration, for instance, testifies that only 7.8 per cent of the sons and 4 per cent of the daughters of workers receive their secondary school-leaving certificates, while 49.1 per cent of the sons and 30 per cent of the daughters of capitalists go on to receive a higher education. In France, only 10 per cent of the students are of working-class origin, in the FRG — 14 per cent, and in Japan — 8 per cent.

In the capitalist countries, education is not a right, but a commodity for which a high price has to be paid. In the United States, a college education costs \$4,000-5,000 a year, and in some colleges it is as high as \$8,000. It costs 7-8

million yen to spend a year studying dentistry at a private medical university in Japan, and this is 3-4 times more than a worker's annual income. In Britain, students and post-graduates have to pay from £740 to £6,000 for the privilege of studying, and that is also much more than most Britons can afford.

In Austria, only 10 per cent of the students receive scholarships, and in France — 14 per cent. In Japanese universities, scholarships come to only 6 per cent of the cost of living. Things are not much better with lodging for the students. In Rheinland-Pfalz (FRG), for instance, places in student hostels are available for only 7 per cent of the total; in Frankfurt on the Main (Hessen) the number of university students for the past 10 years has gone up by 50 per cent, but in that period not a single new place has appeared in the student hostels.

When looking for jobs, a large part of the school-leavers at every level of the capitalist world have to fend for themselves. In France, only 30 out of every 100 diploma-holders on average stand a chance of finding a job for which they were trained. In the United States, nearly 1.3 million certified specialists with a higher education have been unable to find jobs since the early 70s. In 1980, 10 per cent of the higher-school graduates in the FRG remained jobless. That same year, only 60,000 of the 250,000 Japanese who had diplomas were able to find jobs. This year, the 1,600 graduates from Austria's higher teacher training schools can look forward to only 200 openings in schools. The chronic discrepancy between supply and demand for highly skilled labor in the developed capitalist countries emphasizes capitalism's incapacity to plan the training of personnel on the state level and so to ensure their efficient use.

In socialist society, the right to education is backed up with real guarantees and facilities. All young citizens, regardless of sex, nationality, and property status receive education free of charge. In 1981, more than 100 million men and women in the USSR were involved in various types of education. The Soviet state spends 180 rubles a year for the education of one secondary-school pupil, nearly 700 rubles for a technical-school student, and over 1,000 rubles for a higher school student. It makes sizable allocations for the provision of study-aids, school equipment, and the provision of amenities at school hostels.

What about scholarships? In the USSR, 77 per cent of students of full-time departments at institutions of higher learning and 72 per cent of students in technical schools receive scholarships. In Romania and other socialist

countries, state scholarships are paid to up to 70 per cent of the students. In Hungary, there are several types of scholarships: the "study" scholarship for those whose average marks are better than satisfactory, the "social" scholarship, which is paid to a student depending on his parents' income, and which has nothing to do with his academic progress, and the scholarship of the People's Republic, which goes to honors students. Indeed, these three scholarships can be added to each other — all one has to do to get them is to try harder!

In the socialist countries, there is a high and steady percentage of students who are of working class and peasant origin. In Hungary, 43 per cent of the students are children of manual workers, in Romania, nearly 50 per cent, and so on.

The socialist state gives every encouragement to young people in their urge for education. Those who go in for on-the-job study in the USSR have certain privileges: they are allowed paid leave for the exam period and during the preparation of their diplomas, and in their final year, one free day a week for which they are paid 50 per cent of their wages. As a result, over a period of 5 years, an evening or correspondence student is away from his job for 10-12 months, while collecting his pay all the time. The state believes that it pays to do so, because under socialism the raising of the standard of knowledge is not only the young person's personal business. It is something to which both the work collective and the society as a whole look to, because they are in need of well-educated and skilled specialists.

In the socialist-community countries it is not only young people but specialists as well who have no problem in finding a job. Indeed, they are offered jobs in their field while they are still undergraduates. In 1980, 66,000 young graduates from higher and secondary special schools went to work in various sectors of the GDR economy, in Czechoslovakia — over 108,500, and in Bulgaria — almost 53,500. Last year, 2.1 million trained specialists went to work in the USSR economy, and 0.8 million of them had a higher and 1.3 million, a secondary special education.

Right to govern

Nowadays, young people in the capitalist society have more political rights than the previous young generation had. Over the past few years, young people have won the right to vote at the age of 18 years in a number of industrial capitalist countries as a result of the progressive forces' tireless struggle. But in the United States and some other countries there are still proper-

ty, residence, literacy, political loyalty and other qualifications, and this is primarily an infringement of the rights of the young. There are many countries in the capitalist world where young people are allowed to go to the polls only at the age of 21, or even 28-30 years. As a result, there are only a handful of young people in the organs of power, in the administration and management. The capitalist countries' ruling circles have pursued a deliberate policy of depriving masses of young people of the opportunity of learning the art of government, in having a say in decisions directly bearing on the interests of young men and women, so effectively barring them from public activity.

Capitalist society recruits its administrative and management personnel of the higher and middle echelon mainly from among graduates of privileged schools and colleges. In France, for instance, it is the Polytechnical Institute, the Higher Commercial College, the Paris Pedagogical Institute, the Institute of Political Sciences and the National Administrative School. These institutions enable the student élite to gain a knowledge and the skills required for public and political activity, and they are trained as active advocates of the social values of the capitalist system. In this way, the ruling class grooms its successors who are to take over from their fathers in running the economy and the society as a whole. Capitalism seeks to confine the training of the bulk of the young people "to the training of docile and efficient servants of the bourgeoisie, of slaves and tools of capital" (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 28, p. 408).

The same purposes are served by the manipulation of public opinion, the cultivation of the consumer mentality and conformism, and the spread of standardized "mass culture." At school, in everyday life and in business, young people are being actively inculcated with individualism and the cult of money-making. Capitalism tries to channel the whole process of the young people's socialization in such a way as to make them indifferent to politics and the most acute social and political problems.

A different lot is in store for young people under socialism. Socialist society has a stake in seeing the young generation politically active, capable of running things, and acquiring all the skills of state activity. Young men and women have not only the broadest rights to elect and be elected to the organs of the people's power, but also to take part in discussing drafts of all normative-judicial acts and to submit their proposals and recommendations to the authorities. Here is a characteristic example: in Hungary, 1.9 million men and women took part in

discussing a law relating to youth.

The young people's opportunities for having a say in running the affairs of society under socialism are well exemplified by the Soviet Union. Today, one in four deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet, one in five deputies to the Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics, and one in three deputies to the local Soviets is a young person under the age of 30 years. In the Soviets, young people control the observance of legislation on the protection of labor and health of young people, display concern for the raising of their general education and cultural standards, and for the provision of facilities in everyday life, leisure, physical training and sport. The Soviets have standing deputy commissions for the affairs of young people.

One sociological study showed that more than 43 per cent of young men and women in the USSR are in one way or another involved in the management of their enterprises. Every work collective has a number of forms in which this can be done: workers' meetings, standing production conferences, people's control organs, scientific and technical societies, and young specialists' councils. Out of 1,000 executives of enterprises and their structural subdivisions, 89 are young people.

Soviet young people are also enabled to participate in the management of social affairs

through a ramified network of mass organizations, above all the Young Communist League, a self-governing organization, with its own rules and material and information facilities which enable it to tackle many problems on its own. YCL representatives will be found on the boards of various ministries and departments. For all practical purposes, decisions taken by government bodies relating to young people are adopted jointly with the YCL or with an eye to its opinion. Almost two million young workers in production in the USSR have been elected to governing trade-union bodies, and to factory and local trade-union committees. One-third of those who run grass-roots trade unions are also young people.

The extensive and all-round involvement in social life provides the rising generation in the socialist countries with a real school of socialist education, labor activity and ideological and moral growth.

The incapacity of capitalist society to solve the vital problems facing the young impels more and more of them to look for an alternative to the capitalist system. In these conditions, it is hard to exaggerate the attractive power of existing socialism, which has deprived the old system for good of historical initiative in the sphere of youth policy.

What the Solidarity leaders were aiming at

DOCUMENTARY MATERIALS FROM TRYBUNA LUDU

After martial law was proclaimed in Poland, bourgeois propaganda stepped up its campaign against the PUWP and the Polish government. While depicting the crisis in the country as the "fruit" of the socialist system generally, and the efforts to stabilize the situation as suppression of democracy and civil liberties, the bourgeois media are full of acclaim for elements who had for 16 months been going to all lengths to plunge Poland into chaos. They portray the anti-socialist, extremist leadership of Solidarity as spokesmen of the interests of the working class, as champions of freedom and human rights, as defenders of a program for surmounting the crisis and leading to unprecedented well-being in Poland. But what are the hard facts?

There is extensive documented evidence revealing the true face of the Polish counter-revolution. For several months running *Trybuna*

Ludu, central organ of the PUWP Central Committee, has been printing materials on Solidarity. These are cycles of publications reproducing the discussions in the leading organs of the movement and documents discovered in its archives. What do all these materials say?

Now, as before, in its principled assessment of Solidarity the PUWP sees this mass organization as having emerged from worker disaffection, which acquired acute forms in the autumn of 1980. Party documents, including the decisions of the ninth extraordinary congress, note that this mass movement had good reasons to emerge. *Trybuna Ludu* writes that it played "an important role as a force that took part in removing deformations and helping to bring down the entire system and the personal links in the structure of power that had obstructed a radical change in economic and social policy."¹ Moreover, this movement was of no little significance in "removing from the

power structure those individuals who had caused the crisis and were guilty of abuses, and also incompetents."² The social protest aroused by the political errors and distortions of the 1970s concerned also the principles underlying the activities of the trade unions. These had been "pushed into the background and the administration had compelled them to adopt its position."³ These serious errors shut out from view, among other things, the indisputable merits of the trade union movement and the conscientious work of thousands of its functionaries.

A vital point: "In July 1980, when a wave of worker protest swept across the nation, there was no demand for 'free trade unions' although by that time the existing trade unions had been subjected to sharp criticism."⁴ A "Cuckoo's egg" was slipped into the list of demands of the strike committees of the maritime provinces by people from KOR; the sponsors of the "independent" trade unions, as *Trybuna Ludu* shows, were the Paris-based journal *Kultura*, Radio Free Europe, and other anti-socialist propaganda centers.

From the outset the communists clearly saw the damage that would ensue from a split of the trade-union movement and sought to persuade the workers that it was possible to renew it while preserving existing structures. However, past deformations prevented the masses from believing in the sincerity of this initiative. The idea of forming new trade unions, the newspaper notes, proved to be more attractive for the working class and gradually won the support of a large section of the workers. United strike committees insisted on the formation of "independent" unions, making this their cardinal demand; the September conflict grew protracted, inflicting a heavy loss on the national economy. Although the idea of independent unions was genealogically linked to the activities of anti-communist centers and foreign intelligence agencies, the fact remains that the movement which emerged at the time for the formation of Solidarity acquired a mass character. The PUWP conceded this demand, guided by the principle that the party should be with the worker masses, that its duty is to reckon with the opinion of the workers. Thus Solidarity appeared on the scene.

Although this movement initially had wide support, *Trybuna Ludu's* analysis shows that it suffered from deep-lying defects from the moment of its emergence.

While it called for "genuine socialism," it had nothing approaching a clear, constructive socialist program. Its tactics were telescoped entirely on sabotaging the work of the govern-

ment and the executive authority of all levels and on continuously criticizing the efforts of the party and the state administration aimed chiefly at ending the crisis. This orientation toward destabilization, *Trybuna Ludu* points out, would have been damaging even in a period of economic upsurge. "But during a crisis it is destructive for the government, although at the same time it is self-destructive for society if society condones such methods."⁵ The counter-revolutionaries steadfastly undermined confidence in basic socialist institutions, did all they could to weaken them, and attacked the foundations of the social system. They also staked on the fact that the government's sober, concrete program for ending the crisis did not promise streets paved with gold and did not conceal the enormous difficulties that its fulfillment would involve. But what alternative did the opposition suggest?

"To win support from the masses, who naturally wanted a radical change in the difficult situation, propaganda (by Solidarity. — B.R.) drew alluring pictures of a mythical super-democratic system (for instance, J. Kuron's self-administrating republic) and a faultless economy providing everybody with an abundance of all sorts of blessings. This pleasant mirage was not overshadowed by any comparison with our country's present realities, by any thought about the efforts that had to be made to bring it to materialization."⁶ The imagined ease with which "genuine socialism" could be achieved made it attractive to the workers in the beginning. However, reality inevitably showed that all these promises were illusory. Adoption of the anarcho-syndicalist concepts of economic management propounded by Solidarity experts, *Trybuna Ludu* writes, "would in practice have signified the swift atomization of the national economy in the sphere of management, especially in the sphere of property, and also society's removal as a factor influencing the determination of the aims of economic activity and the ways and means of achieving these aims."⁷

The newspaper sees another defect of Solidarity in its duality. The movement appealed to the worker masses, who by no means questioned socialist ideals and principles, but in the leadership of Solidarity and among its "advisers" there were many, who, despite a great diversity of views, were united by bellicose anti-communism. The initial program statements of the Solidarity leaders were vague: the anti-socialist, extremist elements did not feel the time was ripe for openly defining their own platform.

However, *Trybuna Ludu* writes, from the very outset "they beat trails to the West, organized pilgrimages to extreme right-wing trade-union centers, and received large subsidies in hard currency, printing machines, and radio and television equipment . . . This was the outcome of the stand that was adopted when the movement was started; the capitalist West became its ideological mentor."⁸ Reactionary forces, especially in the USA, inflamed the Polish crisis and in so doing spared no expense: in particular, the AFL-CIO offered Solidarity large financial resources.⁹ The U.S. intelligence agency established direct contacts with members of KOR and the Confederation for an Independent Poland (CIP) who were involved in setting up Solidarity and in its activities. This is testified to by the documents discovered in the CIP archives¹⁰ and by facts cited at a press conference held for foreign correspondents by the Polish Foreign Ministry.¹¹

"What the workers wanted was a true champion of their interests, not an opposition structure."¹² But the Solidarity congress in Gdansk demonstrated that its leaders had little interest in trade union matters . . . Of the 20 resolutions passed during the first round of that congress only two were directly related to such matters.¹³ More, in the program drawn up by experts and adopted at Gdansk, Solidarity was defined as an "organization combining features of a trade union and a major social movement."¹⁴ J. Rulewski, chairman of that organization's Bydgoszcz chapter, put this more bluntly: "We are not a trade union. As I see it, we are an opposition socio-political movement."¹⁵ Indeed, the Solidarity program declared the intention "to sustain and champion civil initiatives aimed at submitting to society various political, economic, and social programs and also setting up an organization with the purpose of carrying out these programs".¹⁶ Thereby, *Trybuna Ludu* notes, Solidarity took all opposition groups under its wing.

Under the pretext of consistently implementing an economic reform the Solidarity leadership started a campaign to expel the PUWP committees from factories, alleging that these committees spelled out "political interference" in matters of a purely production character. Was this campaign directed at making the Polish working class indifferent to politics? "By no means," *Trybuna Ludu* writes. "It (the union's leadership. — B.R.) raised no obstacles to the creation of CIP cells at some factories and benignly watched the formation of various 'clubs' of a 'self-governing republic'."¹⁷ Attempts were made to form new political parties with Solidarity as their base: altogether,

more than 10 such organizations sprang up.¹⁸ In particular, the centrist Polish Labor Party was to be the political superstructure of the "independent" trade unions: its avowed purpose was to replace the PUWP in power.¹⁹ But political pluralism, which, bourgeois propaganda claimed Solidarity was championing, did not extend to the communists. It "signified the replacement of the freedom of expression of views guaranteed by the constitution with dictation from anti-socialist political thought,"²⁰ writes *Trybuna Ludu*. "In fact, it meant nothing less than the replacement of one political force with another."²¹

Extremist, anti-socialist elements seized one position after another in Solidarity. At first they became predominant in a number of regional organizations, but after the first congress of this movement they got the upper hand also in the All-Poland Commission (Komisja Krajowa — KK), the highest executive body. The facts given by *Trybuna Ludu* indicate that gradually, "despite the intentions of the union's founders and the aspirations of its grassroots members, . . . having started out as a constructive force, it began to degenerate into a weapon of destruction of the state and society, again threatening the awakened — in particular, with the help of Solidarity — hopes for the embodiment of the ideas of socialism in our country and the national interests of Poles."²²

The masses could not help but feel this. Broad support was shrinking and Solidarity had to lean more and more on elements of the internal, "apparatus" organization. This is strikingly shown by the reaction of Polish society, including members of the union itself, to the decision of the authorities, in connection with the proclamation of martial law, to suspend its activities. The impact of the organizational factor was thus inhibited. The result? "It may be surmised," *Trybuna Ludu* writes, "that if this happened a year ago there would definitely have been a threat of civil war, but today a vast majority of the people accepted this decision with relief."²³

However, let us not forestall events. By December 1981 Solidarity had already lost some of its prestige. True, it may be argued that even at that time its actions — strikes, rallies and demonstrations — were still attracting many people. But the materials published in *Trybuna Ludu* present a deeper analysis. The newspaper warns against being hypnotized by the numbers involved in strikes, for there were many circumstances creating the illusion of mass support: the desire to preserve the movement's unity and the growing psychological pressure, and then the ever more distinct manifestations

of psychological and physical terror. Under these conditions one cannot equate participation in strikes with conviction that they are expedient. This is borne out by the fact that more than half the people questioned in a study of public opinion stated a negative view on strikes even when nearly 90 per cent of the workforce of enterprises was still involved in strike actions.²⁴

When the threat of a confrontation grew increasingly more manifest, soundings of public opinion showed that 51 per cent of Solidarity's members were against the course toward a civil war, while approximately one-third "dissociated themselves entirely from the course of Solidarity and in principle accepted the government's view."²⁵

Was this ebb realized and felt by the Solidarity leadership? There is evidence that it was. For example, K. Modzelewski, an influential KK member, declared in Radom: "The union is now not stronger but weaker, much weaker, and every leader is aware of this."²⁶ At the October sitting of the Polish Commission, Z. Rolicz, chairman of the southern regional organization, acknowledged that further talks and compromises with the government were eroding Solidarity's social base. Another KK member, M. Lach declared: "We cannot let ourselves be reduced to the position of a beaten dog. We must show courage. If we do not give open battle the union will suffer losses."²⁷ The party can afford to delay a confrontation, G. Palka declared in Radom, Solidarity cannot.²⁸ These pronouncements quite clearly indicate that the feeling of the ground slipping from under their feet was not alien to the Solidarity functionaries. But their overall assessment of the situation, of the alignment and correlation of forces in society, was unrealistic.

Trybuna Ludu published "evaluations" from the Mazowsze archives: the government would be unable to put in the field more than 100,000-120,000 men of the security forces and the army, while Solidarity could oppose them with between 200,000 and 300,000 armed and properly trained combatants, "ready for anything."²⁹ Giving out the wish for reality, the Solidarity leaders assured each other that the state power was paralyzed, "lying in the street," and that it only needed to be picked up. "We should cease hiding," said one of them, "especially as authority no longer exists in Poland."³⁰

The time came to put the cards on the table. Meeting in Radom in early December the presidium of the All-Poland Commission decided on an open confrontation with the government, dropping aside all camouflage: it believed it no

longer needed this camouflage. The extracts from the record of this meeting, printed in Trybuna Ludu, speak for themselves.

Lech Walesa: "... Confrontation is inevitable, and there will be confrontation. This must be explained to people. I should like to come to this confrontation naturally, when almost all groups of society are with us ... However, I made a mistake in my calculations because I thought we would hold out for some time longer and then shake off these sejms and these soviets, and others. But it turns out that we can no longer continue these tactics. We therefore choose the road for a lightning maneuver."³¹

What, it may be asked, now distinguished Solidarity's leader from extremists of the A. Gwiazda and J. Rulewski ilk, who were, to quote Lech Walesa, suggesting using tanks and aircraft without delay? The desire, as he put it, to "pay the smallest possible price," although in principle, with his next breath he found it necessary to stress that Gwiazda and Rulewski were right.

Thus, "shake off these sejms and these soviets" — can one be more blunt? One can.

Lech Walesa: "We must say: We love you, we love socialism and the party ... but at the same time with the aid of faits accomplis we must do our work and wait. We did not deceive ourselves over the fact that from the very beginning we were pulling the wool over their eyes, and I was well aware of this, but said nothing because I wanted to play. But today we have no choice, for matters have now reached a point where we have to indulge people and tell them the game we are playing. That we are playing for such high stakes, that we are in general changing reality, and that this game cannot end any other way. No change in the system can be made without a sock on the jaw but, it goes without saying, we must win this game."³² At last, the loose slogan about "genuine socialism" were given more clear-cut outlines by Lech Walesa himself: "We are, after all, aware that we are pulling the system apart ... If we create private owners, sell the state farms, if we create a self-administration, this system will disappear, and we are not deluding ourselves about this."³³

But what about democracy? Bourgeois propaganda zealously tries to present Solidarity as its shield. Did the leader of that organization himself remember it when the mask was dropped and the moment of truth came? He did: "I am not interested in any Popular Unity front³⁴ ... in any United Peasant Party, in any PAX,³⁵ in any branch trade unions."³⁶

The Commission held its last meeting on December 11-12, 1981 in Gdansk. The docu-

ments published in *Trybuna Ludu* show that the same mood reigned at this meeting as well. Here are three extracts from the record. B. Lis, deputy chairman of Solidarity's All-Poland Commission: "No negotiations; the basic guideline of a possible government with our participation will be the Radom posture." Z. Bujak, chairman of the Warsaw regional organization of Mazowsze: "We cannot afford to be the vanquished in the conflict; the authorities must be the vanquished." J. Lusny, a CIP activist: "We must tell ourselves: We want power! We want it! The communists are such interesting animals that they must be put in gilded cages and displayed in the zoo!"³⁷

"Gilded cages" were far from the worst envisaged for people of differing views by those whom bourgeois propaganda described as true "pluralists." *Trybuna Ludu* quotes from a speech by A. Rozplochowski, head of the Silesian chapter of Solidarity: "For every member of Solidarity I would put a bullet through the heads of three militiamen."³⁸ *Jednosc*, A Szczecin weekly, unceremoniously printed pronouncements such as "If I had my way I would shoot all of them (communists. — B.R.)," while it assessed the threat of the KK vice-chairman M. Jurczyk to hang the communists as an "extremely useful warning to our 'rulers' of what the consequences of uncontrolled reaction may be."³⁹

All that was wanting was the signal for fratricidal mass fistlaw. Mazowsze, which called

All that was wanting was the signal for fratricidal mass fistlaw. Mazowsze, which called upon the people of Warsaw to go out into the streets on December 17 was assigned to give this signal.

The role of a battering ram, accorded to this regional organization in the overall scenario for a counter-revolutionary coup, gives a special significance to the documents found in its archives after martial law was proclaimed. In a series of articles headed "What Was Discovered in Mazowsze," *Trybuna Ludu* recounted, for example, the leadership's instructions to rank-and-file Solidarity members in the event martial law was proclaimed. Two forms of resistance were envisaged: civilian and armed. The first included actions aimed at intimidating and demoralizing the state apparatus by compulsion and blackmail, encouragement of bribery and various kinds of passive resistance. Armed resistance provided for wrecking, acts of terrorism, attacks, kidnapping, and attempts on the lives of "representatives of the regime." Groups of armed combatants and "civil guards" equipped with clubs and all other possible weapons, were, according to the plan of

the Mazowsze extremists, to erect barricades, set fire to houses, dig up streets, and take railway tracks apart. Solidarity members working in offices were instructed to destroy documents, and wreck and leave their workplaces.

However, even this was not enough. A special place was accorded in the scenarios of the extremists to inexperienced and excitable young people — students and even school-children (this was demonstrated by the strikes of last autumn). One of the chief authors of these instructions, a Mazowsze leadership member P. Fialkowski insisted on the immediate formation in residential neighborhoods of so-called revolutionary committees consisting of trade union functionaries from small enterprises and of young people. "Residential neighborhoods should come under student and school revolutionary committees."⁴⁰ "The revolutionary committee of an apartment house, residential neighborhood, district and, possibly, school is the coordinating center of public resistance and self-assistance under conditions of martial law." What is this "self-assistance"? The instructions explained: "In a confrontation . . . there is the real danger . . . that people, especially women, the aged, and children will succumb to panic and hide in their homes." "This cannot be allowed because it will give freedom of maneuver for the military and police."⁴¹ Evolution came to its logical end: a take-off on the crest of a mass movement — forcible destructive activity — preparations for an open rebellion and . . . agreement to shed blood, sparing neither the aged nor children.

The materials published in *Trybuna Ludu* show that the anti-socialist elements in Solidarity exposed not only themselves as opposed to the people but also their readiness to use weapons against them. While talking big about democracy, the Solidarity leaders indiscriminately trampled its elementary principles. While claiming to champion the people's interests and well-being, they halted production and compounded the difficulties of supplying the population with necessities. Their outward concern for Poland's sovereignty meant no more than disregard for basic geopolitical realities, while their patriotic pose spelled out manipulation of national symbols (the anthem and the national colors) for selfish political aims.

As the record printed in *Trybuna Ludu* piles up, it becomes obvious that martial law was proclaimed only after the government had exhausted all other possibilities of ending the crisis. It averted the horror of bloodshed and created the conditions for implementing the

PUWP's policy of national concord, promoting a dialogue with the people, and resolving the entire spectrum of acute issues on the road of socialism.

Bohdan Rolinski
Polish journalist

1. Trybuna Ludu, December 29, 1981.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., January 14, 1982.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., December 29, 1981.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., January 15, 1982.
8. Ibid., January 15, 1982.
9. Ibid., December 21, 1981.
10. Ibid., December 24-27, 1981.
11. Ibid., January 29, 1982.
12. Ibid., January 14, 1982.
13. Ibid., December 30, 1981.
14. Ibid., January 15, 1982.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid., January 4, 1982.
17. Ibid., December 23, 1981.
18. Ibid., January 15, 1982.
19. Ibid., December 23, 1981.
20. Ibid., January 4, 1982.
21. Ibid., January 7, 1982.

22. Ibid., December 29, 1981.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid., January 16-17, 1982.
25. Ibid., January 13, 1982.
26. Ibid., December 7, 1981.
27. Ibid., January 13, 1982.
28. Ibid., December 7, 1981.
29. Ibid., December 28, 1981.
30. Ibid., January 5, 1982.
31. Ibid., December 7, 1981.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid.
34. Popular Unity Front, a mass socio-political movement in Poland was founded in 1952. It consisted of progressives and patriots regardless of their party affiliation, religious belief, and social origin. They were united by a program of socialist construction, economic development, the strengthening of socialist statehood, and the consolidation of Poland's frontiers. The Front included the PUWP, the United Peasant Party, the Democratic Party, the trade unions, the Federation of Polish Socialist Youth Leagues, and other organizations.
35. PAX — a secular Catholic organization represented in the Sejm and the government.
36. Trybuna Ludu, December 7, 1981.
37. Ibid., January 13, 1982.
38. Ibid., December 19-20, 1981.
39. Ibid., January 23-24, 1982.
40. Ibid., December 16, 1981.
41. Ibid.

Iceberg of international gangsterism

CIA Operations in Developing Countries

Secret services are among the main instruments of imperialism's foreign policy. Although socialist countries are their main target, they keep developing nations within the focus of their attention. For various reasons, precisely in these nations the actions of imperialist intelligence services acquire their most provocative and insolent character and most odious forms.

It is no secret that the various imperialist intelligence services coordinate their actions, often planning and conducting joint operations. In almost every case first fiddle is played by U.S. intelligence agencies, the principal of which is the Central Intelligence Agency. The CIA's record of more than 30 years is punctuated with instances of subversion against revolutionary, progressive forces and movements in the zone of the national liberation movement. This is shown in the following survey prepared by the *WMR* Commission on Scientific Information and Documentation.

A course of terror and plots

This is a list of only a few of the operations conducted during the past three decades with

the participation or under the direct control of the CIA in the above-mentioned zone.

1953

A coup in Iran that brought down the government of Mohammed Mossadegh.

1954

A military coup in Guatemala that deposed the progressive government of Jacobo Arbenz.

1958

A plot to murder the Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser.

1959

The assassination of Solomon Bandaranaike, Prime Minister of Ceylon (now Sri Lanka).

1960

The first attempt to organize a terrorist act against Fidel Castro. Altogether, in the period up to 1981 there were 24 attempts on his life.

1961

Orchestration of a conspiracy against the Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru.

The murder of Patrice Lumumba, Prime Min-

ister of the Republic of Congo (now Zaire).

Armed intervention against Cuba in Playa Giron.

A coup in the Dominican Republic.

1969

The murder of Eduardo Mondlane, Chairman of the Liberation Front of Mozambique (FRELIMO).

1971

In collaboration with the CIA, the British counter-intelligence service MI-6 and the MOSSAD of Israel orchestrated a coup in Uganda. The Milton Obote government, which was pursuing a policy of nationalization, was deposed.

1973

The assassination of Amilcar Cabral, General Secretary of the African Party of Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC).

Overthrow of the lawful Popular Unity Government of Chile, the murder of its head Salvador Allende, and the establishment of a fascist dictatorship.

1975

The assassination of Mudjibur Rahman, the first President of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

1977

The assassination of Marien Ngouabi, President of the People's Republic of Congo.

1978

The training of personnel and the supply of armaments are started for groups of wreckers operating against the lawful government of Afghanistan.

1979

A coup is planned with the purpose of overthrowing the progressive government of Grenada.

Actions are stepped up against the Nicaraguan revolution, including attempts to destabilize the internal political situation, help the anti-government emigrés, and organize the assassination of the nation's leaders.

1981

The Indian police uncovered a plot against Prime Minister Indira Gandhi orchestrated by the ultra-reactionary Ananda Marg organization, which has close links to the CIA and other imperialist intelligence agencies.

The results of an inquiry into the subversive

activities of the U.S. intelligence service were published in the People's Republic of Mozambique. CIA agents planned to assassinate President Samora Moises Machel and other Mozambican leaders.

In Zambia, the CIA and South African special services planned the murder of Kenneth Kaunda, the nation's President, the army commander-in-chief, the chief of police, and some senior security officers.

The CIA's plans to kill Moammar Qadhafi, leader of the Libyan revolution, were made public.

Jointly with the South Africa intelligence service, the CIA had a hand in orchestrating the bandit attack by mercenaries on the Republic of the Seychelles Islands.

General Omar Torrijos, leader of the Panamanian revolution, died in an air crash under suspicious circumstances.

The U.S. intelligence services step up their activities in El Salvador in order to "roll back" the revolution and prevent "another Nicaragua."

These are only some of the CIA operations that have become public knowledge. As the journal *U.S. News and World Report* wrote, in the period from 1961 to 1976 alone, the CIA conducted roughly 900 major secret operations against "undesirable" dignitaries and governments.

With the hands of hirelings

To set the record straight it must be noted that whenever and wherever possible the U.S. intelligence agency conducts its terrorist operations with the hands of local hirelings, of U.S.-financed foreign agencies and organizations, or "friendly," in other words, pro-imperialist regimes. Here the calculation is simple — to cover up tracks, to avoid, if not suspicion, direct accusation of CIA responsibility.

In Asia these hirelings include the Peshawar-based (Pakistan) Islamic Alliance, which operates against Afghanistan. In Africa the Sadat regime was used actively in preparing military provocations against Libya. In Latin America a crucial role is accorded to dictatorial regimes, with whose help the CIA has set up a number of centers training political assassins. One of these centers is in Guatemala City with its headquarters in the presidential palace; its recruits come from among the anti-Cuban dregs in the USA. All in all there are 15 of these centers in Latin America and in the USA. All are run on money from the CIA and from big landowners and industrialists who

had fled from Cuba, Nicaragua and other countries.

Lately, these centers have grown visibly more active. As well as anti-Cuban elements they train counter-revolutionaries from Nicaragua. Weapons come from Chile, Uruguay, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras, and all bear the stamp "Made in USA."

Indicatively, far from being shrouded in secrecy the existence and purposes of these military training camps are publicized. On December 23 last *The New York Times* carried a front-page story from Miami, reporting that in a camp near the small town of Everglades, Florida, special urgency was given to the training of "refugees" (the word used for counter-revolutionaries — Ed.) for infiltration into Nicaraguan with the aim of overthrowing the government. The same story spoke of the formation of a special inter-American defense unit designed for the military overthrow of the governments of Nicaragua, Cuba, and Panama.

These and many other facts show that the CIA runs a large network of terrorist gangs, which are used against organizations and persons "distasteful" to U.S. imperialism.

The CIA is responsible for kindling inter-tribal strife and separatism in the national liberation zone. The following are only a few of a host of illustrations.

In Nigeria the CIA supplied money and armaments in the 1960s to separatist forces seeking the secession of the nation's Eastern region.

In Angola, acting together with the racist regime in Pretoria and its intelligence agency, the CIA extended massive support to the separatist UNITA and FNLA groups in order to crush the Angolan revolution. The CIA spent \$50 million to build up the military and technical resources of these two groups. To this day the U.S. and South African intelligence services are giving diverse assistance to UNITA armed gangs fighting the lawful government of the People's Republic of Angola.

In India, using secret channels via Pakistan, the CIA finances the separatist movements that have grown active in the states of Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir. It supplies and trains bandit units engaged in terrorism.

Psychological warfare

The CIA does not confine its operations to terrorism and the organization of political and other provocations. It is active in psychological warfare, which is a special means of interfering in the internal affairs of other nations.¹

The most notorious example of the CIA's

"psychological" operations was the intensive campaign against the Popular Unity government in Chile. According to statistics of the U.S. Senate, the CIA spent \$2,500,000 on only the fabrication and dissemination of anti-government material in Chile.

Nearly \$2 billion are allocated annually from the U.S. budget for subversive propaganda in foreign countries. A large proportion of this money goes into CIA channels.

Lecturing on the subject of "The Media and the CIA" in Madrid in July 1981, the U.S. journalist L. Wulf noted that of the agency's staff of 30,000, more than 2,000 are linked in one way or another to the press, radio and television. One of the forms of the CIA's subversive activities, Wulf said, was the preparation of special material that is sent to newspapers and journals in the USA and foreign countries, and printed in these publications through "its men."

The Finnish journalists J. Lindfors and J. Rislakki write in their book *CIA* that it controls nearly 50 newspapers, journals, news agencies and radio stations. More than 100 U.S. and roughly 800 foreign journalists are paid CIA agents.²

In Latin America, the U.S. intelligence service directs *The Copley News Service* and *The Latin News Agency*. The Inter-American Press Association, which has close links to the CIA, maintains a news service for about a thousand newspapers in Latin America. This association is particularly active against Cuba and Nicaragua.

In Asia and Africa the CIA runs a number of figurehead organizations and agencies that provide it with cover. One of these is the Asia Foundation, which engages in espionage and propaganda in nearly 20 countries where it has subsidiaries. The Asian People's Anti-Communist League, which likewise specializes in subversive activities against national-patriotic and liberation movements, is also known for its links to the CIA.

New propaganda agencies are being set up with the assistance of the CIA. One of them is the International Organization for Freedom of Information in Egypt. Its tasks is basically to obstruct the spread of communist ideology in the Middle East.

Further, the CIA infiltrates agents into "independent" scientific centers, and educational and cultural institutions. For instance, the not unknown Afro-American Institute functions in New York. Officially it is a "non-governmental" agency, but it operates in close contact with the CIA. As well as training Africans in the USA, this institute publishes

and disseminates books and other propaganda in Africa.

On orders from the White House

H. Rositzke, a former ranking official of the CIA, wrote that U.S. presidents systematically use the agency as a mechanism through which they can conduct foreign policy without diplomats, carry out military actions without armed forces, and interfere at will in the affairs of other nations without the sanction and control of the Congress.³

For a long time the Congress was kept away from issues linked to the foreign operations of secret services. However, outraged by CIA-sponsored assassinations, conspiracies, and bloody acts of subversion, U.S. and world opinion compelled the Congress in 1975 to institute an inquiry into CIA activities. A Senate commission was formed under the chairmanship of Frank Church. After long *in camera* hearings it declared in its report that the CIA had or-

ganized conspiracies with the aim of assassinating foreign political leaders and conducted other unlawful operations in and outside the USA. As a result of these hearings some restrictions were placed on the agency's activities abroad. In particular, the CIA was obligated to inform some Congress commissions in advance of operations it was planning in foreign countries.

A new stage began in the history of the CIA with Reagan's installation in the White House. One of the new president's first steps was to recommend lifting even those inconsiderable and mostly paper restrictions that were imposed in the 1970s and extend the CIA's terms of reference. As the journal *Time* noted, the new president is clearly determined to restore the CIA's muscle and make it an important element of his administration's global policy.⁴

At the close of last year the CIA director William Casey told the Senate Intelligence Committee that the Reagan administration was planning to use intelligence agencies as an effective vehicle for his foreign policy actions and that CIA men in the field would be vested with correspondingly bigger rights and powers.

In December 1981 Reagan signed two executive orders (which have the force of laws) further extending the prerogatives of intelligence agencies in the collection of information among American citizens and abroad. Intensified subversion in foreign countries has again been sanctioned. With the blessings of the White House, the CIA has begun planning further subversion and terrorist operations, moving along the road of lawlessness, counteraction to the national liberation movements, and flagrant interference in the internal affairs of sovereign nations. The CIA's current priorities include using the anti-Cuba emigrés entrenched in the USA for further terrorist acts, the arming of the remnants of the Pol Pot gangs operating against the lawful government of Kampuchea, and the organization of plots and attempts on the lives of leaders of developing nations.

The CIA thus carries out its operations not against the will but with the knowledge and under the overall direction of the Washington administration. The facts we have cited are only the tip of a colossal iceberg of international gangsterism by this leading special service of U.S. imperialism.

1. WMR, November 1981.

2. J. Lindfors, J. Rislakki, *CIA*, Helsinki, 1978, p. 97.

3. H. Rositzke, *CIA's Secret Operations*, New York, 1977, p. xvi.

4. *Time*, January 19, 1981, p. 27.

Unity, Solidarity, Internationalism

B.M. Leibzon

Relations between communist parties is the subject of this superb study: theoretical principles, practical implementation, problems. The author examines the historical development of the subject — the Comintern, its dissolution, the many international, bilateral and other meetings up to the end of the 1970s.

cloth 376 pp \$5.95

PROGRESS BOOKS

71 Bathurst St.

Toronto, Ontario M5V 2P6

Canada's Party of Socialism

History of
the Communist Party of Canada
1921-1976

The history of a party which throughout its 60 years has been linked inseparably in struggle with the working-class and democratic movements.

A history which shows how communist policies are developed, refined and updated in keeping with what is new in the context of both Canadian and international developments.

A history which pays fitting tribute to the communists who were harassed, imprisoned and murdered for their dedication to the goal of a socialist Canada.

A history for working class and democratic political activists, trade unionists, for young and old.

319 pp, over 175 photographs, index
paper \$14.95 cloth \$29.95

PROGRESS BOOKS
71 Bathurst Street
Toronto, Ontario M5V 2P6

Represented on the Editorial Board and Editorial Council of PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM are the representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties in the following countries: Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Finland, France, German Democratic Republic, Federal Republic of Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Guatemala, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Mexico, Mongolia, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Senegal, South African Republic, Soviet Union, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syria, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, Vietnam.

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., \$12.50 a year. Institutions, double rate.

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

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

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

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

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

Copyright © 1968 by Progress Books, Canada. All Rights Reserved.

Editions of the journal

PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM

EDITIONS IN ENGLISH:

Central Books Limited,
14 The Leathermarket,
London, SE1 3ER, England
Progress Subscription Service,
71 Bathurst Street,
Toronto, Ontario M5V 2P6, Canada

Imported Publications,
320 West Ohio Street,
Chicago, Illinois 60610, USA

New Horizon Publications,
P.O. Box 2165
Mushin, Lagos, Nigeria

FRENCH EDITIONS:

Coopérative Ouvrière de Presse et d'Editions,
16, rue Christoph Plantin,
Luxembourg/Gasperich

Société Populaire d'Editions,
rue de la Caserne, 33-35
1000 Bruxelles, Belgique

Editions Nouvelles Frontières,
185, rue Ontario est,
Montréal, Québec H2X 1H5, Canada

Gestu BP 2678

Dacar, Senegal

AMHARIC EDITION:

Press Department
Ministry of Information and
National Guidance
P.O. Box 30232
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

ARABIC EDITIONS:

Al-Wokt, POB 6247,
Beyrouth, Liban

32, rue Ledru Rollin B.P. 152
Casablanca, Maroc

Dar Al-Hilal

16 Mohamed Ezz-Arab Street
Cairo, Egypt

BULGARIAN EDITION: Hemus,
Russki 6, Sofia, Bulgaria

CZECH EDITION: Artia,
Praha 1, Ve smeckach, 30, CSSR

DANISH EDITION: Förlaget Tiden,
Bredgade 37, 1260 Kobenhavn K, Denmark

FINNISH EDITION: Aikakauslehti Kommunisti,
Kotkankatu, 11, 00510 Helsinki 51, Finland

GERMAN EDITIONS:

Buchexport Volkseigener Aussenhandelsbetrieb
der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik,
701 Leipzig, Leninstrasse 16, DDR

Brücken-Verlag GmbH Literatur-Vertrieb,
Export-Import, 4000 Düsseldorf,
Ackerstrasse 3, FRG

GREEK EDITIONS:

Papayannis Stephanos,
Menandru 66, Athens, Greece

People's Agency
Tricouppis 53c, Nicosia, Cyprus

HEBREW EDITION: Problems of Peace
and Socialism, POB 9525, Haifa, Israel

HUNGARIAN EDITION: Kultúra,
Könyv-és Hírlap, Külkereskedelmi-
Vállalat, Budapest 1, fő u 32, Hungary

INDIAN EDITIONS:

Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi 110055, India.
In: Bengali, Hindi, Malayalam, Oriya, English,
Punjabi, Tamil, Gujarati and Telugu

ITALIAN EDITION: Libreria Rinascita,
Via delle Botteghe, Oscure 4,
001 86 Roma, Italia

MONGOLIAN EDITION: Ulaanbaatar Mongol,
Ulsyn Nomyn, Khudaldaany Gazar,
V.I. Lenin gudamzh 1, Mongolia

NORWEGIAN EDITION: Verden og vi,
Boks 3715, GB Oslo 1, Norway

PERSIAN EDITIONS: P.B. 49034,
10028 Stockholm 49, Sweden

16 Azar Ave.
No. 68, Tehran, Iran

POLISH EDITION: RSW "Prasa-
Ksiazka-Ruch", BKWZ Warszawa,
ul Towarowa 28, Poland

PORTUGUESE EDITION: Revista Internacional,
Av. Santos Dumont, 57,
30 Lisboa-1, Portugal

ROMANIAN EDITION: Ilexim,
Calea Grivitei 64-66,
POB 2001, Bucuresti, Romania

RUSSIAN EDITION: Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga,
Moskva 121200, USSR

SINHALESE EDITION: 91 Cotta Road,
Colombo 8, Sri Lanka

SPANISH EDITIONS:

Ediciones Paz y Socialismo,
Apt. Aéreo 1253, Bogotá, Colombia
Revista Internacional,
Apartado 4665, San José, Costa Rica
Agencia de Distribucion de Prensa,
16 616 Praha 6, Thakurova 3, CSSR

Ediciones Cubanas,
Ministerio de la Cultura,
La Habana, Cuba

Empresa Editora e Importadora C.A.,
Villami 211 y Calderon,
Casilla 6217, Guayaquil, Ecuador

Ediciones de Cultura Popular S.A.,
Filosofia y Letras 34,
Col. Copilco Universidad,
Mexico 20, D.F., Mexico

Revista Internacional,
Calle 46, Este No. 16,
Panama, Rep. de Panama

Ideologia Y Politica,
Jr. Rufino Torrico No. 671-Of. 401,
Lima, Peru

San Pedro a San Francisquito,
Edif. Cantaciaro, Caracás, Venezuela

SWEDISH EDITION: Internationell Revy,
Fack, 12206 Enskede 6, Stockholm, Sweden

TURKISH EDITION: Baris ve Sosyalizm
Sorunlari, PK: 41, Sirkeci
Istanbul, Türkiye

VIETNAMESE EDITION: S'ô xuất nhập,
Khẩu sách bào 32, Hai Bà Trưng,
Hà-Nội, Vietnam

