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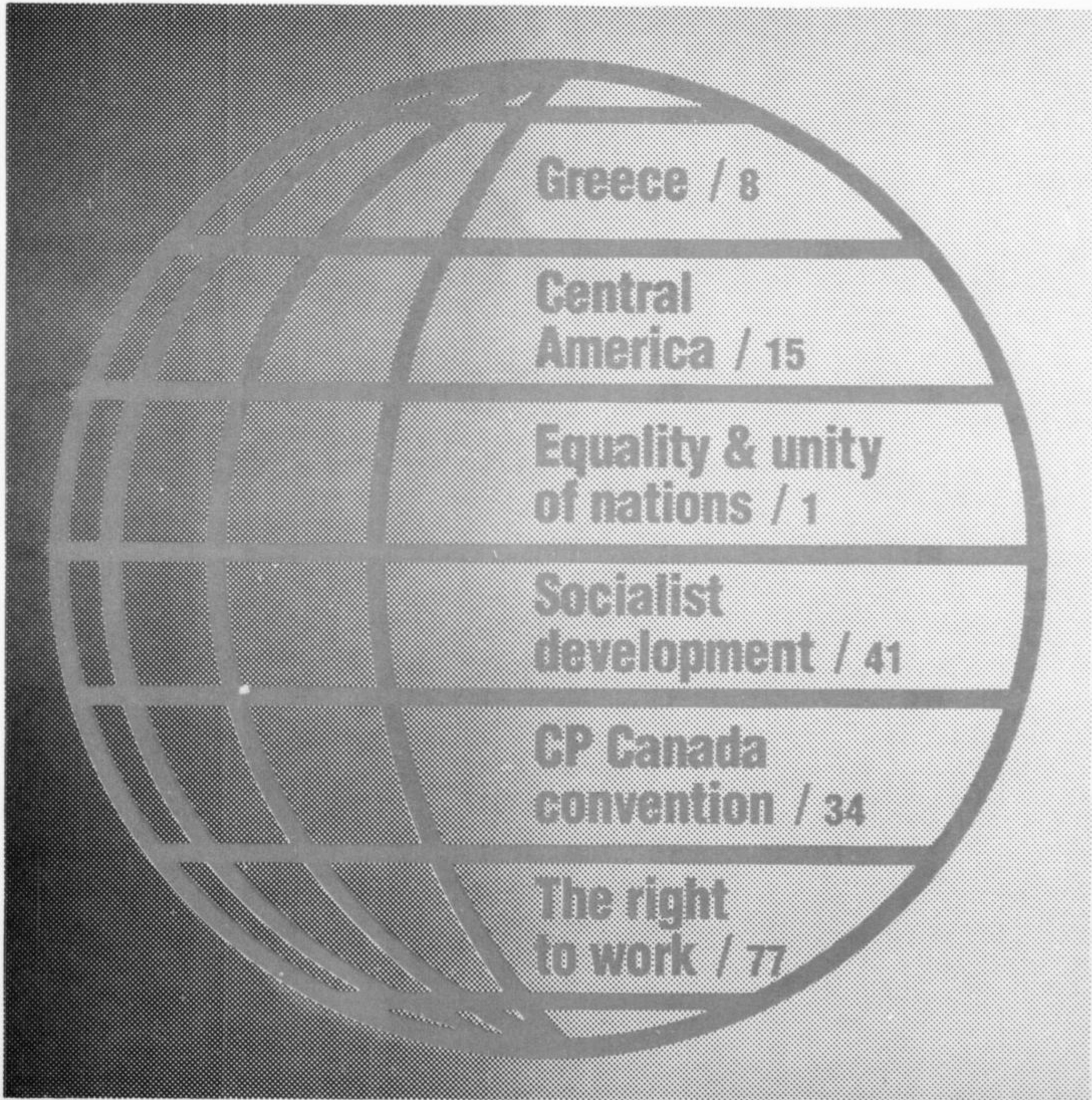
Problems of

MARXIST

Peace and Socialism

REVIEW

May 1982, Volume 25, Number 5 \$1.00



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

May 1982, Vol. 25, No. 5

Theoretical and information journal
of Communist and Workers' Parties

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Lenin's principles of the equality and unity of nations

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In 1922, 60 years ago, and five years after the Great October Socialist Revolution, four sovereign republics — the Russian, the Ukrainian, the Byelorussian and the Transcaucasian, which then consisted of Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia — concluded a treaty on the voluntary entry into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This was made necessary by the objective course of social development, the tasks in building a socialist society, and the need to provide reliable defense of the working people's gains against imperialist aggression. A resolution adopted by the CPSU CC on the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR says: "The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was born of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. It smashed the chains of social and national oppression and raised all the peoples of our country to independent historical creativity." The fine history of our fraternal union, which now consists of 15 Soviet Union Republics, is a treasure-house of invaluable experience in solving the most acute social and economic problems which were regarded — and in the capitalist states are regarded to this very day — as insoluble. One of these is the nationalities question, that is, the problem of doing away with the oppression and inequality of the peoples and ensuring freedom for all the nations, without exception.

In contrast to diverse bourgeois conceptions of the nationalities question, Marxism, taking account of the complexity, sensitivity and frequently complicated psychological and historical aspects of this problem, finds its roots in the character of the relations of production, above all property relations. The essence of the truest approach to the problem was defined with explicit lucidity by Marx and Engels back in the mid-19th century, when they wrote: "For the peoples to be able truly to unite, they must have common interests. And in order that their interests may become common, the existing property relations must be done away with, for these property relations involve the exploitation of some nations by others; the working class alone wants to see the existing property

relations abolished. And it alone is also capable of bringing this about."*

That was taken as the basis for the program on the nationalities question which Lenin worked out even before the Great October Revolution and which helped to achieve such outstanding historical results in the practice of socialist construction. The leading force in the unification of the peoples of the USSR was the working class, whose consistent internationalism has won for it the trust and the gratitude of all the working people of our multinational state. In the relations between the more than one hundred nations and nationalities living on the territory of the USSR, phenomena like national oppression, inequality and racial discrimination have been wiped out for good. The Soviet society ensures — not just in word, but in deed — freedom of the individual and provides guarantees of human rights for all, regardless of national origin. In our country, *new, socialist nations* have taken shape, and the Soviet peoples are linked by *relations of a new type*: relations of equality, fraternal friendship and mutual cooperation. A *new historical uniformity* operates under socialism: the all-round flourishing of the nations and their drawing ever closer to each other. With the victory of developed socialism, a *new historical entity — the Soviet people* — has taken shape in the USSR as an expression of the moral and political cohesion of all the classes and social groups, of all the nations and nationalities.

The Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic, once a backward fringe of tsarist Russia, has risen to a high level of economic, social and cultural development, and brilliantly exemplifies the transformative power of the CPSU's Leninist nationalities policy. In the fraternal family of Soviet peoples, our Republic's life is full of dynamism and is permeated with the creative spirit of innovation. Just now, working to fulfil the decisions of the party's 26th congress and meet the targets of the 11th five-year plan

*Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 6, p. 388.

period, Kazakhstan successfully continues its all-round economic, social and cultural ascent.

I

In tsarist Russia, nationalities problems were especially complicated and acute. The historical destinies of neighboring peoples generated for them an objective need to enter into an alliance with the Russian people, and accession to Russia saved some of them from annihilation by foreign invaders. Kazakhstan's voluntary accession to Russia was initiated 250 years ago, and for it this became the starting point for its subsequent historical development. The indissoluble union of Russia and Kazakhstan, consolidated for all time by the Great October Socialist Revolution and welded in the class battles of the proletariat and the laboring peasantry against the autocracy and the power of the capitalists, on the construction sites of the early five-year plan periods, in the life-and-death battles against fascism, and in the years of the heroic and epic effort to develop the virgin lands, enabled our Republic to travel a way equivalent to centuries in a matter of decades.

There would never have been such an upswing but for the Great October Revolution and the Leninist nationalities policy conducted by the Communist Party, because the Russian empire was autocratically ruled by tsarism and the peoples were subjected to savage oppression by the absolutist state. Kazakh territories were divided up between the Turkestan Territory and a number of gubernias. Our territories were assigned the role of "raw-material appendage" to the central industrial areas. Before the revolution, there was not a single large industrial enterprise on the vast territory of Kazakhstan and Central Asia, sprawling over almost 4 million sq. km., that is, over an area equal to 40 per cent of the area of the European continent. Exorbitant taxes and diverse services in cash and kind were levied on the population, while goods were sold to it at plunderous prices.

Any, even the most timid, beginnings of national statehood were stamped out. Tsarism deprived the Kazakh people even of its own name, and the territory was dubbed "the steppe," and its inhabitants the "steppe people" and "aliens." They were regarded as second-class people and had no civil rights at all. The people were in a state of impoverishment and degradation.

From the midst of the Kazakh people rose talented people of culture, like the poet Abai Kunanbayev, the scholar and traveller Chokan Valikhanov, and the enlightener and teacher Ibrai Altynsarin. But the mass of Kazakhs was illiterate, denied a developed literature, drama,

professional figurative art and choreography.

Apart from oppression by the tsarist autocracy, the masses of working people in the non-Russian fringe areas were subjected to fierce exploitation by the local feudal lords, the *bais*, and — from the beginning of the century — also by foreign concession-holders in quest of new sources of profit. Tusup Kuzembayev, an old miner who worked in Karaganda at the British-owned Carnot mine recalled: "In my mind's eye I see a procession of lean, emaciated miners' faces covered with coal dust. I see their mud huts reeking of dampness. I remember Jim Herbert and his cane whistling over my head. And then I come to think that somewhere, perhaps in the mines of South Africa, a similar Sir Herbert torments his slaves as we Kazakhs were once tormented."

Nor did the exploiter classes' urge to perpetuate the unjust order change in any special way as a result of the bourgeois revolution in Russia in February 1917. The oppressed peoples of Russia could not expect any reforms whatsoever from the Provisional Government.

Consequently, the nationalities question in Russia on the eve of the revolution was especially complicated. We find, first, that its content was not confined to problems arising from the living together of two, three or more peoples, but *simultaneously* involved relations among dozens upon dozens of peoples. Second, the question was compounded by the "multiple" character of the exploitation of the outlying areas, in which local, autocratic and foreign forces frequently ranged against each other took part. And third, the peoples constituting the population of Russia were at different levels of socio-economic development. The 10th congress of Lenin's Party said in 1921: "If the Ukraine, Byelorussia, a part of Azerbaijan and Armenia, which have in varying degree passed through the period of industrial capitalism,* are excluded from the 65 millions of the non-Great Russian population, this will leave about 30 millions of a predominantly Turkic population (Turkestan, a large part of Azerbaijan, Daghestan, the Gortsy, Tatars, Bashkirs, Kirghiz, and others) who have not yet gone through capitalist development, who have no or virtually no industrial proletariat of their own, who in most cases continue to engage in cattle-breeding and lead a patriarchal and tribal way of life (Kirghizia, Bashkiria and Northern Caucasus) or who have not yet quite gone beyond the semi-patriarchal and semi-feudal way of life."

*In Georgia, the Soviet power was established two months after the 10th congress.

That is why the settlement of the nationalities question required not only the establishment of relations of equality among all the peoples, not only the removal of every possible form of oppression, but also a tremendous effort to overcome the great historical gaps in socio-economic development. Otherwise, the attainment of actual equality would have had to be postponed for a long time to come. That is why there is good ground to say that the elimination of every type of inequality — political, economic and social — and then the further evening out of the substantial differences in the socio-economic sphere were the main content of the CPSU's Leninist nationalities policy.

The political basis of Lenin's line in national construction was determined in the Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia, adopted by the Council of People's Commissars after the establishment of the Soviet power, as follows: the equality and sovereignty of the peoples of Russia; the right to free self-determination, including secession and the formation of independent states; abolition of all and every national and national-religious privilege and restriction; and the free development of national minorities and ethnic groups.

The principled and consistent character of Lenin's policy won the profound gratitude and respect of the peoples which had risen to struggle for a new life. For the first time, it ensured the unity of the revolutionary working-class and national liberation movement in the social renewal of the world. At the same time, the boldness of this policy also aroused discussion and frequently the fear that the vast power would end up as a scattering of small states. Not everyone was able right away to comprehend the profound dialectics of Lenin's approach aimed at a radical renewal of the basis for the cohesion of nations and nationalities. Lenin wrote: "The proletarian party strives to create as large a state as possible, for this is to the advantage of the working people; it strives to draw nations closer together, and bring about their further fusion; but it desires to achieve this aim not by violence, but exclusively through a free fraternal union of the workers and the working people of all nations" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 24, p. 73).

In the struggle for the principles on which the USSR was to be based, diverse proposals were compared and defeated. These ranged from the idea of a confederation of disparate republics, on the one hand, to their inclusion in the RSFSR with the rights of autonomy, on the other. But it was Lenin's idea of a union on the basis of a Soviet federation that prevailed and triumphed. The large nations, making up a size-

able part of the population on the territories they occupied, were set up as Union Republics. Within them were constituted autonomous republics, autonomous regions and autonomous districts, through which — as also on the level of the Union Republics — each people's right to develop its own statehood was realized. The federation based on the principles of proletarian internationalism and democratic centralism simultaneously united the peoples into a well-knit and powerful socialist state.

Under the new system, socialist nations were dynamically shaped out of the nationalities, tribes and ethnic groups; national-territorial divisions were corrected and established on the basis of justice and mutual agreement. The historical decree on the constitution of the Kazakh Republic, signed by Vladimir Lenin and Mikhail Kalinin, was issued by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR on August 26, 1920. Kazakh statehood, like that of many other peoples in our country, originated as Soviet socialist statehood.

The important thing to note is that, as a rule, in population make-up, the country's national-territorial units were and are still multinational, both in consequence of the specific historical settlement, and as a result of the subsequent movement of the country's population caused by large-scale economic construction and development of new mineral and raw material areas and districts. This fully applies to Kazakhstan as well. Some Sovietologists claim that the participation of people from other territories and regions in solving economic problems on the territory of our Republic amounts to "neo-colonization," which infringes the interests of the indigenous population. But this is just as absurd as suspecting the Kazakhs themselves of engaging in some kind of "colonization" when they work on construction sites outside their Republic, for instance, in building the Baikal-Amur Railway or setting up new state farms in the central non-black-soil regions of Russia.

The Kazakh nation now makes up more than a third of the population of our Republic and continues its dynamic growth. In between two all-Union population censuses (1959 and 1979), the number of Kazakhs nearly doubled. At the same time, among the population, there are many Russians, Kirghiz, Uighurs, Soviet Germans, Koreans and representatives of other nations and nationalities of the USSR. How is respect for their national interests and peculiarities ensured? This is done through all-Union and Republican legislation which guarantees to citizens of various nationalities

all the political rights, civil freedoms and actual equality with others, regardless of domicile. In Kazakhstan's Supreme Soviet, for instance, there are 10 deputies of German nationality, while tractor-driver Natalia Gellert from the Amangeldy State Farm has been elected to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR as a deputy from our Republic. A newspaper, *Freundschaft*, is published in Kazakhstan in the German language, and there is a German drama theater in Temirtau. There are also a Korean and Uighur theaters, and newspapers are published in the Korean, Uighur and Uzbek languages. The same is true of the multi-language radio broadcasts in the Republic, the publication of books, and so on.

In the ranks of the country's glorious armed forces, the young people of Kazakhstan do their military service shoulder to shoulder with the representatives of all the other nations and nationalities of the USSR. Our young people honestly fulfil their constitutional duty of defending the Fatherland. The people of Kazakhstan put a high value on the tremendous role which our army — an army of the friendship of the peoples of the USSR, an army of patriots and internationalists — has to play in the education of the young generation.

The foresight and fruitfulness of the CPSU's Leninist nationalities policy have now been amply demonstrated, for as a result of it the peoples' freedom and equality have not only been a guarantee of the flourishing of each of them individually, but have also helped to establish — for all time — genuine friendship and brotherhood among them.

II

From the outset, Marxist-Leninist theory considered the practical ways of accelerating the economic progress of the backward peoples, without which it is impossible for them truly to rise to an equal level with the other countries. Engels emphasized the proletariat's important role in helping the backward countries considerably shorten their advance to a socialist society and largely sparing themselves "the sufferings and the struggle through which we in Western Europe have to make our way."* Creatively developing this idea in a new situation, Lenin drew the following conclusion: "With the aid of the proletariat of the advanced countries, backward countries can go over to the Soviet system and, through certain stages of development, to communism, without having to pass through the capitalist stage" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 244). The October Revolution

opened up this historically new possibility of "making up for lost time" and for the first time advanced the Russian contingent of the working class to the position of a ruling class that had both the willingness and the means to help the other peoples.

This conclusion acquired tremendous importance for the destinies of the world revolutionary process. More and more, once backward peoples, breaking out of colonial dependence, opt for the way of independence and socialist development. The assistance on which they can rely on the part of the working people united in the family of socialist countries is ever more tangible. And the power of this support was first demonstrated when the problem arose of raising the fringes of Russia, when our hopes were mainly pinned on help from the Russian people.

"Such help, the readiness to exert tremendous efforts and, let us say frankly, to make sacrifices for overcoming the backwardness of the national outlying areas, and their accelerated development was bequeathed to the proletariat of Russia by Lenin as a high international duty," Leonid Brezhnev said. "And the Russian working class, the Russian people have fulfilled this duty with honor. This has, in effect, been a fine achievement by a whole class, a whole people, performed in the name of internationalism."

The effort to do away with the colonial legacy began in the early years of socialist construction. Important measures for this purpose were taken by the 10th and 12th (1923) congresses of the party; in particular, it was recommended that "industry should be implanted in a balanced manner in the outlying areas through the transfer of factories to the source of raw materials." The industry of the center provided production and technical assistance to the young republics in the East. In the 1920s, cloth factories, sugar mills and other plants were transferred to Kazakhstan from Moscow, Nizhni Novgorod, Kolomna and other cities. Thousands of engineers, technicians and skilled workers went to work in the Republic.

Those were the earliest steps, which were impressive by their resolution and urgent approach to the matter. At the same time, a long-term program was being drawn up to muster the forces for raising the backward regions, and this was based on *priority economic development rates in these areas that were much higher than the average for the Union as a whole.*

In order to assure the national republics of such a rate, additional material and financial resources were allocated to them from Union funds. As a result, from 1927 to 1939 alone,

*Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 403.

fixed assets in Kazakhstan's industry multiplied 22.9-fold, while in the country as a whole they increased 7.8-fold. Considering the period from 1940 to 1970, gross industrial output in the Union as a whole, for instance, multiplied 12-fold, and in our Republic — nearly 19-fold. Behind these figures is the emergence of new industrial centers and whole industries, the development of transport and communications, and housing and cultural construction.

Major transformations were also effected in agriculture. As early as 1918, while Soviet Russia itself was still suffering from economic dislocation, it allocated from its very modest budget a million rubles for irrigation works in the Turkestan Republic, in the southern districts of Kazakhstan. In the 1930s, agriculture was collectivized and many collective and state farms were set up. They were able to use new machinery for the cultivation of agricultural crops on large areas. The forms of cattle-breeding also changed: once nomadic, it was being transformed into pasture-land cattle-breeding.

The fact that a common method was used to overcome backwardness — it consisted in enabling the backward areas to develop at a faster rate — does not at all mean that there was some kind of stereotype or standard in the content of socialist transformations. The policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state has never regarded evening out as some mechanical levelling down, implying the implantation of similar economic structures, correlations, etc. Our approach is at root distinct from the "aid" which is widely practised in the capitalist world and which is aimed to shape in less developed countries lop-sided "appendage" economies geared to the interests of the economic centers of imperialism. Socialist planning and construction concentrate on the most effective development of each region, of each republic within the whole national-economic complex with an eye to the most rational location and functioning of the productive forces on the scale of the whole country.

The development of Kazakhstan, for instance, rested primarily on the exceptional wealth of its raw and other materials. Their balanced use was started with the development of the Karaganda and then of the Ekibastuz coal basins. Our Republic's contribution to Soviet coal output has been growing with every five-year period. Large-scale oil deposits were discovered and developed on the Mangyshlak peninsula, on the eastern coast of the Caspian Sea.

Coal, energy and iron ore constituted the foundation for the build-up of metallurgy. Kazakhstan has become one of the country's

major steel producers. Iron ore from Sokolovsk-Sarbai and Lisakovsk, steel, pig iron and rolled stock from Temirtau, which is known as Kazakhstan's Magnitogorsk, ferro-alloys from Yermak and Aktyubinsk, and manganese and chrome ores are supplied to every part of the Soviet Union. Kazakhstan's non-ferrous metallurgy leads the country in the production of lead, zinc and cadmium, and altogether supplies the economy with something like 50 non-ferrous, rare and rare-earth metals. For its part, the progress of our metallurgy has helped to build up the engineering and metal-working industry, whose products are known not only in the USSR, but also in more than 80 foreign countries.

In this way, Kazakhstan's unique industrial complex was shaped element by element. The complex approach is generally characteristic of economic development under socialism. Just now, the emphasis in Kazakhstan is on the formation of territorial-production complexes, within which there is coordinated development of enterprises in various industries, construction facilities, an integral network of communications and populated localities, and successful solution of ecological problems. Several such complexes already account for more than one-half of Kazakhstan's industrial production.

Over the past two decades, its industrial output has multiplied 4.3-fold, or metaphorically speaking, another three industrial Kazakhstans have emerged, with electric-power generation going up nearly 6-fold, engineering and metal-working output 7.8-fold, and chemical and petrochemical output — 9.6-fold.

Over the past several decades, our agriculture has been radically transformed through the development of 25 million hectares of virgin and fallow lands in Kazakhstan, a project of unprecedented proportions in the history of farming. What we, Kazakh people, most cherish is that it was realized under the leadership of Leonid Brezhnev, who was then First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan.

It goes without saying that one republic could not have coped with such a ganglion of the most complicated and diverse problems as the virgin-land project presented. The virgin lands were upturned by the whole country. To realize the truth of this one need merely consider the names of the state farms built by the men and women who came from every part of the Soviet Union: there is the Moscow State Farm, the Leningrad State Farm, the Sochi State Farm, the Kiev State Farm, the Minsk State Farm, and so on.

In the quarter-century since the start on the virgin-land project, the Republic has increased its grain crop nearly 7-fold, and now — when the conditions, are favorable — produces more than 30 million tons of grain a year. A high percentage of this is marketable grain, with over 80 per cent of the crop consisting of durable, hard and other species of especially valuable strains of wheat.

Even if the former virgin-land area produced nothing but grain, it would have justified the outlays on its development. But together with cropping, there is also intensive development of cattle-breeding. Kazakhstan now produces over one million tons of meat a year, and procures four times as much meat as it did before the virgin-lands were upturned.

The evening-out process was gradual, as the programmatic task required, while being carried on with a dynamic speed that is unattainable by any other economic methods except socialist ones.

In the course of socialist construction, which continues to receive powerful impulses from the Great October Revolution to this very day, some of the once backward nations have travelled a way of development which it would have taken thousands of years to traverse in the past. That is one of the gains of existing socialism which only the blind can fail to see. The USSR's Union republics have now risen to roughly the same level of national income per head, with approximately similar indicators of labor productivity and technical equipment in the economy. It was emphasized at the 26th congress of the CPSU that the Soviet Union no longer has any backward non-Russian fringe areas.

This makes it clear why it is no longer necessary to ensure priority rates of development. *The Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for the 1981-1985 Period and for the Period until 1990* adopted by the 26th congress of the CPSU, provide for an increase in Kazakhstan's industrial output by 22-25 per cent, that is, virtually as much as for the Ukraine (20-23 per cent), one of the country's most developed republics.

Deepening of labor cooperation and enhancement of the efficiency of the whole economic complex of the USSR in implementing the large-scale socio-economic programs put forward by our party for the 1980s, are now the main criteria determining the pace and lines of economic construction in the localities.

When speaking about our successes we do not, of course, forget that which hampers us in our work. There is less than enough precision in planning and management of the economy, there is not enough discipline and efficiency in

the organization of production, and now and again there are delays in implementing the latest scientific and technical achievements. Critical assessment of what has been achieved and the pinpointing of shortcomings and efforts to combat them are an imperative for the whole of our activity. That is the only way we can successfully advance in building the new society.

III

The tasks of equalization in the social sphere are determined by the CPSU's general maxim in communist construction: "Everything for the sake of man, everything for the benefit of man." This lofty purpose is served by the political and economic work of the state and it gives meaning to our common life and endeavor. The building of a new society is most complicated, because it does not in any sense boil down to the problems of providing everyone with goods, but entails a profound change of man himself, the education of a new type of individual with a harmonious personality make-up and a high level of social consciousness. The shaping of the new man cannot be brought about otherwise than as a result of millions upon millions of individual transformations occurring in each individual life, but at the same time it is a process that cannot but be massive and one that leaves an imprint on the face of the people as a whole.

This is most clearly demonstrated by the social structure of our society and the changes that have taken place and are taking place in it. Two antagonistic classes — the *bais* and the poor *sharua*, who were indigent cattle-breeders — predominated in Kazakhstan's pre-revolutionary society. The national working class was numerically small and dependent on handicraft production and a patriarchal-feudal way of life; it had neither ideological seasoning nor class experience. But it is the working class that now has the front-ranking and leading role to play in socialist construction. That is why a tremendously important aspect of the effort put in by the party and the state was the shaping of the working class in the Republic, as it was in the other once-outlying areas of the country.

From the outset, Kazakhstan's fledgling working class emerged as a socialist class. In 1939, because of the dynamic growth of industry, workers already made up 33.8 per cent of the employed population, and now account for about 70 per cent, with over one million of them Kazakhs. Let us add that the important factor in this rapid growth has been the emergence of a large contingent of agricultural workers in the former virgin lands, where hun-

dreds of machine-operators and other specialists work on every state farm — and none of them can, strictly speaking, be now called a peasant. These are representatives of the working class in agrarian production, men and women whose business is to handle machines.

However, it is important to note not only the quantitative growth but also the qualitative changes that have been steadily taking place in the make-up of the working class. The workers' skill standards have been growing and they have been mastering new trades meeting the requirements of scientific and technological progress. Their socio-political activity has been growing, and more and more of them are taking part in government. In the 1980 elections, 510 deputies, including 221 workers, that is, 43.3 per cent of the total number of deputies, were elected to the Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh Republic.

The working class is engaged in the construction of socialism in a fraternal alliance with the collective-farm peasantry, in whose midst profound changes have also been taking place. The share of unskilled workers has markedly decreased among the collective farmers, while the number and percentage of machine-operators and other specialists has sharply increased. By 1980, 22 per cent of all collective farmers were machine-operators, as compared with only 16 per cent in 1965.

The intelligentsia has an important part to play in social life. In 1922, the number of persons employed mainly in mental work in the Republic came to 20,000, in 1940 to 283,000, and in 1979 to more than 2 million. Our economy now employs seven times more specialists than the whole of Russia did just before the overthrow of tsarism.

Behind all these changes in the social structure are the transformation of the whole national way of life, the assertion of new values in it, and the rise to a new level of satisfaction of people's material and spiritual requirements.

In Kazakhstan, housing and socio-cultural construction has acquired tremendous proportions. In the 10th five-year period alone (1976-1980), the working people received 40 million sq.m. of dwelling space. Virtually one in five inhabitants of the Republic moved into a new home. There is a steady growth of the well-being of the population, because of the development of state and cooperative trade, public-utility facilities, everyday services and other elements of the social infrastructure. In the Soviet period, the real incomes of urban workers have multiplied nearly 10-fold, and those of rural working people — 12-fold.

Social consumption funds are of the utmost

importance in raising the level and quality of life, because these funds are used to provide free education, skill refreshing, medical care, low-cost health and health-improvement facilities, aids, pensions, scholarships, and places in child welfare institutions. Over the past two decades, payments and benefits from social consumption funds in our Republic have increased more than five-fold.

Let us consider public health. In pre-revolutionary Kazakhstan, there were virtually no medical services and there was one doctor per 23,000 of the population. Here are some truly tragic statistics from that period: in 1913, 7,702 Kazakhs were born and 7,764 Kazakhs died in the Urals Gubernia. In the Soviet period, the mortality rate has been reduced more than four-fold; once massive diseases like the plague, smallpox, cholera, trachoma, malaria and many others have been wiped out. The average life span has doubled, to 70 years. The health of children and mothers is a special concern. There are 1,450 women's consultation centers and children's polyclinics. On guard for the people's health are almost 48,000 medical specialists.

Similar radical changes have occurred in education and culture. It took Kazakhstan only a few decades to fulfil the task set by Lenin of raising cultural standards to a very high level. Like many other tasks, this one was also fulfilled with utmost assistance from the center, and through the efforts of the whole country. Kazakhs were sent to study in Moscow, Leningrad, Tashkent, Omsk and other cities. In the late 1920s, more than 17,000 Kazakhs were studying in other parts of the country. Meanwhile, educational, scientific and cultural facilities in the Republic itself were rapidly growing. Kazakhstan's Academy of Sciences has become the national center for research in a broad range of fields. There are over 600 higher and secondary specialized schools in the Republic. As a result, more than two-thirds of the workers and over 60 per cent of the collective farmers have a higher or secondary education. In the number of students per 1,000 of the population, Kazakhstan is ahead of many developed countries, and if all the forms of education are taken into account, one citizen in three in the Republic is engaged in study.

Under the beneficial influence of the multinational Soviet culture, and above all of Russian culture, our national art has flourished. Works by Soviet Kazakh writers are widely known in the USSR and abroad. We have dozens of dramatic and musical theaters, and the Kazakh cinema industry is developing. Our folklore traditions are being preserved and re-

juvenated in our art, which also has access to the spiritual experience of all the peoples of the world. Kazakh culture also has an influence on the culture of the other peoples of the USSR. Indeed, a great many examples illustrate the processes in which the Soviet national cultures are mutually influenced and mutually enriched, a process in which their uniqueness is asserted as they are carried along the highroad of internationalism.

The triumph of socialism in Kazakhstan and the Central Asian Republics has shown in practice that, *given internationalist assistance from the triumphant proletariat, and thanks to the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party*, the peoples, at whatever stage of pre-capitalist relations they may be, are capable of achieving that which they can never achieve in other conditions: they can overcome the gap which separates them from the most developed nations and rise to their level in a short historical period.

We do not foist our experience or our way of life on anyone. But now that the national liberation movement has been growing from year to year, while the ignominious system of colonialism is crumbling, and the ideas of socialism are penetrating ever more deeply into the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the peoples are convinced at first hand of the value of Soviet experience.

In our country, the state of the proletarian dictatorship has developed into a state of the whole people. In the construction of a developed socialist society, the numerous nations, nationalities and ethnic groups living on the territory of the Soviet Union merged into a new historical entity: the Soviet people.

"The formation of the USSR is the greatest achievement of Lenin's Bolshevik Party, which is multinational in make-up, and profoundly internationalist in ideology and politics, organizational structure and principles of activity," the resolution of the CPSU CC emphasizes.

We take pride in the fact that the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, with its almost 750,000 members, is a part of Lenin's splendid party. The communists are in the front ranks of those working on the fields of the former virgin lands and in the world's biggest coal mines, in the research institutes, on the launching pads of the cosmodrome at Baikonur, and in every other sector of the tremendous labor endeavor in which the working people of our Republic are engaged. Three-quarters of Kazakhstan's communists work directly in production. This fact is visual confirmation of the strong bonds linking the party and the people. The party's grand plans, including the shaping of relations among nations, have been realized because the people have always regarded them as their own cherished cause. That is why our Union is strong and indissoluble, and this is a guarantee of its continued successes.

Our concept of democratic change

Charilaos Florakis
General Secretary,
CC, Communist Party of Greece

The activity of the revolutionary party of the working class is by nature a dynamic process reflecting the complex dialectics of contemporary social development. Proceeding from our own experience and from that of fraternal parties, we Greek communists see a guarantee of fruitful work in always keeping pace with the times, feeling the heartbeat of society and following the political rhythm of its life. While persevering in the party's general line, we must react promptly to every change in the situation at home and abroad, the alignment of class forces, the mood and behavior of the masses, and take them into account in evolving and implementing our tactics, and in setting tasks

and advancing slogans with due regard to current exigencies. In short, we must carry on our work and struggle in a Leninist way.

It is from these positions that our party is operating today, when there is a prospect of substantial changes in Greek public life and policies. This prospect is a result of the latest general election (October 1981), in which the rightist, reactionary forces were defeated while the left-wing forces registered a major gain — evidence of the desire among the various sections of society for far-reaching social changes that has greatly increased among the people oppressed and held down by monopoly capital. The communists of Greece, whose devoted

struggle over many years has made a tremendous contribution to the victory of the democrats, are now faced with new and difficult problems requiring stepped-up effort by the party in both the theoretical and practical spheres.

What are the specifics of the political situation resulting from the swing to the left in present-day Greece? How and in what forms meeting these conditions are we to continue our fight for democracy and socialism, for the unity of all anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly, democratic forces? How should we go about using the new opportunities to increase the party's influence on the life of the nation and the home and foreign policy of the state? Our policy in the period ahead will largely be conditioned by our approach to these problems.

We will be able to answer these questions correctly, provided we take account of the more general problems in line with the laws of social development which the party's theoretical thought ascertains on the basis of creative Marxism-Leninism. For, to quote Lenin, "anybody who tackles partial problems without having previously settled general problems will inevitably and at every step 'come up against' those general problems" without realizing it and doom his policy "to the worst vacillation and lack of principle" (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 12, p. 489).

Indeed, if, for instance, we were to assess the electoral defeat of the right and the transfer of power to the government formed by the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) without regard to the fundamental contradictions of Greek capitalism and its place in the world imperialist system, we might have the impression — as many left-wingers do — that the change which has come about in the country is so radical as to all but pave the way for fundamental transformations of a socialist nature. What policy would such an estimation prompt? What would it lead to?

Assuming that the decisive step toward change has already been taken, the revolutionary struggle for change is pointless by the logic of things and must give way to a policy of structural and other reforms supposed to make it possible to gradually change capitalism into a new social system. Yet the experience of social reformism has shown that a policy on these lines invariably translates into a series of unprincipled concessions to the class enemy that can never take society beyond an evolution of the old system.

Does it follow that we regard the transfer of power from the conservative New Democracy Party (ND) to PASOK as a mere "relief of the

guard" typical of many West European countries where the succession of bourgeois and social democratic governments has long been a standard of politics? Not at all, for both in substance and in terms of its implications, this event is something more significant. To appraise it objectively, I will go on to some general problems of contemporary Greek society.

The CPG program defines Greece as a capitalist industrial-agrarian country whose productive forces have attained an average level of development and whose main characteristic is strong dependence on foreign monopoly capital and imperialism. Economically this dependence expresses itself in a national economy dominated by transnationals. They control over one-third of overall industrial production and from 50 to 95 per cent of the most up-to-date industries — metallurgy, electrical engineering, oil refining and chemical industry. Foreign capital also plays a big role in foreign and home trade and in banking. Greece's entry into the Common Market has increased its dependence and shifted decision-making on key economic matters beyond the borders of the country more than before. Foreign capital, using the numerous privileges granted it by previous governments and cheap labor (the earnings of a Greek worker are a mere fraction of those of his fellow-workers in other EEC countries), makes huge profits, which in recent years have exceeded 10 billion dollars.

The subordination of Greek policy to the military-political interests of U.S. imperialism and NATO holds a special place in the pattern of external dependence. This purpose is served by military-political mechanisms set up under agreements on military cooperation with the United States and NATO, U.S. and NATO bases on Greek territory, the transformation of Greek ports into permanent anchorages of the U.S. Sixth Fleet, the activity of foreign special services and their close links with Greek reaction.

Economic and military-political dependence is the strongest barrier to progressive change. Its anti-democratic and anti-popular character affects the domestic political situation whenever the country's social development points in the direction of democratic changes imperilling the interests of the ruling class and international capital. Each time this happens, the ramified apparatus of imperialist influence which virtually pervades all public spheres begins to function. It is geared to suppressing the democratic movement or, if this cannot be done for lack of adequate opportunities, to diverting it into a channel safe for the monopoly oligarchy. In turn, Greek big capital sees dependence

on imperialism as a decisive guarantee of maintaining its own positions and so tries to prevent whatever may undermine it and to adapt it to changing conditions.

The power of the alliance of Greek monopoly, foreign capital and world imperialism has a disastrous impact on the condition of the Greek people. This alliance is responsible for the fact that the living standard in a country having considerable economic potentialities is still one of the lowest in Western Europe. The jobless make up about 15 per cent of the employed work force, inflation runs at an annual 25 per cent, housing is an acute problem and there is a great shortage of schools and hospitals. The power of the monopoly oligarchy hits not only the workers but also the peasants, whom big capital exploits through an unfair purchase price system, as well as numerous sections of the urban petty and middle bourgeoisie.

The vitally important problems of present-day Greece are pivoted on the issue of democracy, with which each problem is linked in one way or another. This is logical. Greece is a country that was ruled for decades by extreme reactionary regimes and, quite recently, by a military junta, which was succeeded by the ND government, which left the dictatorial apparatus virtually intact and imposed an authoritarian constitution. In such a country, all of the people's demands ranging from a pay rise to the abolition of foreign military bases are invariably blocked by anti-labor, anti-popular laws, and the arbitrary practices of the employers, police and a conservative, largely reactionary government bureaucracy — in short, by the lack of real democracy.

This analysis led the 10th CPG congress to the conclusion that the main political contradiction of Greek society is the contradiction between the anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly forces, on the one hand, and the monopoly oligarchy and imperialism, on the other. Developments have proved the conclusion correct. In the early 1980s a marked exacerbation of this contradiction produced a powerful upsurge in the democratic, popular movement involving most population groups. It was this upsurge, made possible by the people's years-long struggle, that enabled the left-wing parties to win the 1981 election. By backing them, the voters opted for democracy and progressive changes in every public sphere.

Our party believes that it is only with due regard to all these circumstances, which account for the content of the socio-political development of Greece at this stage, that the significance of the political results of the elec-

tion can be assessed soundly and objectively. We see their significance in the following:

First of all, the downfall of the authoritarian regime and the winning of a dependable parliamentary majority by the left are evidence of the people's will for a democratization of the existing socio-political system which no party can ignore any longer. In fact, even conservatives are trying to adjust to the people's aspirations by hypocritically swearing allegiance to democracy. Parliament, with over half of the seats held by socialists and communists, can now become an effective instrument of renewing the country on democratic lines.

Second, the communists' positions were substantially strengthened before and during the election and in the subsequent political struggle. By polling over 10 per cent of the vote, the CPG exceeded the minimum established by anti-democratic regulations to restrict the presence of left-wing deputies in parliament. The 13 seats won by our party enabled it to form a full-fledged parliamentary group, the third largest after those of PASOK and ND. But this is not all. It should be borne in mind that many voters who were backing the CPG voted socialist, hoping in that way to help more effectively in fulfilling the principal task — defeating the right; besides, part of the democratically-minded electorate, fearing a swing too far to the left, voted on the principle "First PASOK and then the CPG." Both groups belong to our potential electorate, and we are certain that they will vote communist in a really democratized society. What is also of fundamental importance is that, in spite of rampant anti-communism, the baiting of our supporters, the lack of access to the media, and serious difficulties due to increased international tensions, the CPG not only won more votes than before but considerably increased its influence and prestige as the staunchest democratic force championing the people's interests.

Third, we see the socialists' assumption of power as a progressive development. While realizing the political limitations of the PASOK program and its tendency to compromise with bourgeois forces, our party considers, nevertheless, that the establishment of a new regime provides ample opportunities to democratize the country and do away with the legacy of the junta, of authoritarian rule, which shackles the people's creative energies. The problem is to materialize these opportunities. It is from the standpoint of its actual solution that we assess and will assess the efforts of the PASOK government. The point is not to praise or censure it, posing as an arbiter, but to take a political stand expressing itself in action. The CPG

has made it clear that we are going to support every step of the government in favor of democratization and to resist every deviation from this road.

Thus the communists, far from minimizing the political significance of the changes that have occurred, attach exceptional importance to them. However, our party is well aware that these changes are only modest inroads into the fundamental social, economic and political spheres in which the sources of real power lie. The most important levers of power are still in the hands of the oligarchy. Dependence on imperialism and NATO, which gives it strength, is still there. Big capital still holds strong economic positions. Anti-democratic legislation is still in force. The conservatives hold over one-third of the seats in parliament and many key government posts, including the Presidency, which enables them to block the adoption of important legislation. Home and foreign reaction does its best to coordinate and synchronize actions designed to undermine the new regime and make it serve reactionary interests.

For all that, the situation differs essentially from what it was before the election. Reaction's positions have been seriously weakened. The left has captured the political initiative. The masses are more active now and take the initiative of fighting for their rights. The transfer of power to the socialists has provided greater opportunities for the working people to organize themselves and make legal use of strikes, demonstrations and other forms of struggle. All this has created more favorable conditions for communist activity, for the growth of the numerical strength and social influence of the CPG. The task is to use the new situation to the utmost in order to make further headway toward democracy and carry forward the people's gains while at the same time building up the party and strengthening its bonds with the masses.

The contradiction between the forces of democracy and reaction goes on growing in Greece. This expresses itself in their political polarization into two opposite trends. One trend — ND and other bourgeois organizations — approaches the problem of the country's development from the point of view of preserving and perpetuating monopoly domination and imperialist dependence. The other trend — the left progressive trend — expresses the people's desire for a solution of this problem in a way freeing Greece from monopoly power and guaranteeing its dependence from imperialism, that is, a desire for deep-going democratic changes.

We are by no means inclined to oversimplify the situation by dismissing notable distinctions between parties belonging to one or the other trend. Life itself has shown, however, that the policy of any one of them is drawn in one measure or another and more or less obviously to one of the two trends, which are conditioned by the realities of the class struggle and are brought into being and reproduced by the dynamics of social contradictions and the nature of the problems facing the country. Every attempt to adopt an "intermediate" position is futile in today's situation. The contradictions of Greek society have gone so far that every party is attracted to one or the other political pole independently of its will, due to objective circumstances.

The CPG realizes its place in the complicated and contradictory situation of today. Now as in the past, it is in the forefront of the struggle of the working class and the masses for real democratic changes paving the way for socialism. But then it is not enough, as Lenin pointed out, to call ourselves the "vanguard," for we must also act as a vanguard, must lead the masses and convince them that we are leading the way (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 5, p. 426). How does our party perform its role in the present conditions? What tasks does it set the masses?

I must go back to the "general problems" of transforming society, whose solution is a prerequisite of ascertaining the prospects of the struggle and hence setting specific goals for its every stage. This is all the more urgent because, as I have said, the democrats' gains have bred reformist illusions in some sectors of the anti-monopoly movement and there are those who are trying to win us communists for these illusions. Let it be said right away that they are wasting their time. They cannot find response in our party, whose loyalty to Marxism-Leninism has been steeled by decades of revolutionary struggle and severe trial. However, we cannot disregard attempts of this kind, for they may mislead this or that contingent of the working-class movement.

Now what is the concept of social change which Greek reformists offer to the left? It is just another version of the "third way," supposed to differ from both the social system existing in the socialist countries and the traditional concepts of "democratic socialism" advanced by the ideologists of social democracy. However, it is hard to see the actual changes which this particular "model of socialism" could produce. And it looks as if its advocates cannot see them, either, since the "model" is inherently incapable of being translated into an explicit social

and political program. I think that ideologically these "models" are prompted not so much by a desire for real change as by a desire to pose something against existing socialism, and often by undisguised anti-Sovietism. In fact, they are usually put forward as an alternative to the "Soviet model" on the false assumption that the latter is "imposed" on the peoples of other countries.

We are convinced that there is no common "model of socialism" in real life, in the actual process of effecting social changes, nor can there be any. It is absurd to imagine that socialism can be built irrespective of the objective trends of social development, according to a speculative pattern set beforehand. And it is still more absurd to believe that such a pattern can be imposed from without. The CPG considers that the socialist reorganization of every society is a natural historical process governed by objective laws and going on in the specific context of the country concerned. These laws, primarily the establishment of working people's power in one form or another and the socialization of the basic means of production, are universally valid, as Marxist-Leninist science and the experience of the countries building the new society have demonstrated. They cannot be by-passed in carrying out social changes. What we consider necessary is that general laws be applied in strict accordance with the given conditions.

This is a real and very difficult problem indeed. Its solution in the present situation depends primarily, as the CPG sees it, on a correct definition of the relationship between democratic and socialist tasks due, first of all, to the distinctive character of the evolution of Greek society, which has been advancing to "normal" bourgeois democracy (to be reached yet) for so long a time and so painfully that this democracy has become something of an end in itself for fairly large social sectors. Opportunists exploit this circumstance to put off the struggle for socialism indefinitely. They affirm that at this stage the anti-monopoly movement should confine itself to strictly democratic tasks and accomplish them before going on to the next stage, at which it can proceed to effect socialist changes.

We reject this approach on principle, for it is aimed, in fact, at keeping the anti-monopoly movement within bourgeois democratic bounds. We regard the struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism as a single process. Of course, the tasks vary from stage to stage. But each task must be prompted by the class interests of the working people without losing connection with the socialist per-

spective, which ensures the interconnection of all the stages of the process.

In preparing now for its 11th congress, the CPG is working out a comprehensive program for democratic changes corresponding to the domestic situation and intended to provide conditions for socialist transformation of society. The program is comprised of three sets of tasks.

First of all there are the tasks involved in democratizing the political system on an anti-oligarchic basis, with the masses taking an active part. They consist in repealing the present constitution and adopting a new, truly democratic one providing ample civil rights and freedoms and enhancing the role of parliament and local government; ridding government, the army and the police of reactionary elements and reorganizing the state apparatus on democratic principles; abrogating all anti-democratic laws and decrees, in particular anti-labor and anti-trade union legislation; recognizing the National Resistance and fully rehabilitating all its fighters; guaranteeing the unhampered repatriation of political exiles.

The next group is comprised of the following anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly tasks: abolishing U.S. and NATO bases and taking Greece out of NATO; repealing all laws and agreements that put foreign monopolies in a privileged position; withdrawing Greece from the Common Market; nationalizing foreign monopoly enterprises and taking steps to substantially restrict the activity of domestic monopolies; restructuring the economy and developing its public sector; effecting agrarian reforms in the interest of the bulk of the peasantry; redistributing state revenues to ensure that they do not enrich the oligarchy but help improve the people's life; protecting the interests of small enterprises from pressure on the part of big business.

The purpose of the third group of tasks is to unite the anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly forces on the common platform of struggle for democracy. The paramount objective is to unite the working people for the solution of democratization problems from below, by organizing and promoting their struggle for a better social condition and for trade union and civil rights in close connection with the general problems of the country, by achieving unity of action of the membership and supporters of all mass democratic organizations and by coordinating their action. We also intend to work for the unification of all democratic forces from above, through agreements on cooperation with other parties and social movements intent on ending monopoly domination and winning

national independence. The unity platform we propose does not restrict the ideological independence and political autonomy of parties and organizations whose main common principle is the advocacy of democratic changes. We believe it can become a factor for uniting all who really seek a democratization of society.

These, then, are the objectives to which our party gives priority today. Depending on changes in the situation, we will specify them and add new objectives while maintaining the overall orientation to far-reaching democratic changes introducing the potentialities of future socialist changes into social structures.

I need hardly say that we communists do not expect the parties and organizations which do not share our views to accept our guidelines. This is not to say, however, that we refuse to criticize ideological and political concepts we regard as running counter to the democratization process. We are convinced that such criticism furthers the cause of democracy and helps consolidate the people's democratic gains, a most important task of the day.

Criticism is all the more called for because, the likelihood of anti-democratic complications is still there. The rightists and reactionaries are mustering forces to attack the positions won by the democrats, including the positions of the socialists. Yet what is the latter's reaction? Extremely hesitant. Their electoral promises of greatly democratizing home and foreign policy are still far from becoming reality. Time and again PASOK makes unprincipled concessions to the right; it hesitates to effect democratic changes or does it in forms more or less acceptable to the ruling class, so that it is very much open to question whether any deep-going changes will be carried out from above. PASOK's stance on international issues is contradictory. By declaring that it is ready to take Greece out of the NATO military organization and have nuclear weapons removed from our territory, PASOK is going much further (at least in theory) than many working-class organizations in other NATO countries. On the other hand, it has no intention of fully ending its military-political dependence on imperialism.

What is behind this policy of PASOK?

Vast social sectors, including a notable part of the national bourgeoisie, have a stake in the consolidation of democratic gains. However, the approach to this problem varies. The working class and other working people see the main road of consolidating democratic changes in deepening and developing them. By contrast, the big bourgeoisie would like to wind up the democratic process. The right affirms that

any further change is bound to lead to economic turmoil and anarchy and to endanger democracy itself. This is the view taken by the oligarchy, a force hostile to democratic change; it means defending the interests of monopoly capital and trying to make the PASOK government follow a policy of compromise leaving the fundamental interests of big business intact.

Developments have shown that the government gives in to pressure from the right. The CPG, while criticizing the government's policy as inconsistent and contradictory, does not at all expect democracy to be "introduced" from above overnight and everywhere. We are well aware of the immense difficulties blocking the path of democracy. The task is not to travel this path in a trice but to advance along it without stopping and with due regard to the interests of the masses.

We do not directly place ourselves in opposition to the government. Indeed, by fighting against reaction and supporting all of the new government's democratic initiatives, even partial ones, the CPG helps strengthen it and offers it fair cooperation on democratic principles. But our effort is not reciprocated, I am sorry to say. What is more, the ruling party is carrying on what we call a "policy of hegemonism" designed to gain superiority in the trade unions, mass democratic organizations and local government to the detriment of other left-wing forces, primarily the communists.

This policy, coupled with concessions to the right, not only jeopardizes the cause of democracy in Greece but makes the socialists' own position ambiguous. PASOK is faced with an increasingly pressing dilemma: either going back on its commitments to the people and becoming a tool of capital, or advancing in common with all left-wing forces to real democracy through anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly changes. There are signs of a growing trend among the socialists that urges the party to make the latter choice. The communists, for their part, use every opportunity in and outside parliament to ensure that PASOK keeps its promises and exercises the power entrusted to it by the people to promote democracy and not to curb it.

Regardless of any vacillation in the policy of the socialists and their government, our party is steadfastly pursuing an independent policy for radical social change. Democracy must not stop half-way. Curtailed or limited democracy is no democracy. To ensure that it goes on developing and becomes a system of people's rule, the CPG strives for the growth of the mass democratic movement and the full application of the enormous revolutionary potential that the

people have accumulated over long years of struggle against home and foreign reaction.

What are we doing to achieve these objectives? The CPG, being a revolutionary party, strives primarily to promote the working-class movement. It concentrates on the industrial proletariat, which is the most organized and united contingent of working people and a major source of communist strength and influence. The party is intensifying its effort in the enterprises, where it forms and strengthens new party organizations, trying to make them militant centers of working people's class actions. We closely combine this work with effort to strengthen the ideological and political unity of the party as a whole and to help all communists acquire sound mastery of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

The CPG carries on its activity in a way enabling the working class to combine economic struggles with political demands relating to the whole nation and to move thereby into the forefront of the struggle for a democratic renewal of society. From this point of view, the most noteworthy successes have been registered by the trade union movement, which exerts mounting pressure on the authorities to make them repeal anti-labor legislation, extend the powers of the unions and democratize every sphere of production. The communists play a key role, for they hold a greater number of leading positions in the unions than members of any other party — in both the enterprises and major amalgamations.

Our party plays a similar role in the youth movement through the Communist Youth of Greece, which has become the largest and most militant contingent of the movement. It is also very active in the peasant and women's movements and associations of scientific and other creative workers as well as in other mass organizations; it steadily paves the way for the unity of all progressive forces to bring about further democratic changes. We make active use of the possibilities of local government, the fact that the communists' participation in the solution of problems of town and countryside enables the party to reach very large population groups and draw them into the democratic movement. Communists hold the office of mayor in many cities, in particular in Salonika which is the second biggest city of the country.

We attach great importance to the party's activity in parliament, in which our deputies invariably defend the interests of the people and insist on deciding inner and foreign political questions with due regard to society's demand that the state be democratized and rid of imperialist dependence. This activity is sup-

ported by the popular movement and combines closely with the extra-parliamentary work of the CPG, which helps raise the party's prestige among the people.

It is now fair to say that our party is gaining strength as an influential national force and has become the most active factor for democratic change in the country. We owe this above all to our unfailing resolve to abide by the revolutionary position of the working class and to consistently express its interests. Greek communists regard the opinion that the party's unfailing pursuit of a class line inevitably limits the influence of the CPG in national life as completely untenable. Our entire experience shows that the more resolutely and consistently the communists uphold class interests, the greater their influence among the people and the more effectively they can defend the national interest. This was the case in the years of the Resistance, when the party championed the slogan of national salvation as the leading force of the people in the fight against the invaders. It is the case today, when the party is fighting from the positions of the working class for the free and independent development of the nation.

While preparing for our congress, we give much attention to specific problems relating to it. We have no ready-made solutions. But it is certain that the changes which we communists seek will be brought about by our own people and in their interest, and will be inseparable from the democratic tradition of Greece and the Greek way of life.

We consider it our patriotic duty to fight for the dismantling of foreign military bases on Greek soil and for the withdrawal of our country from NATO. Greece should pursue a foreign policy of active neutrality, peace and co-operation with all nations. The CPG declares for a policy independent from military blocs. This is not to say that it applies the same yardstick to NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization or to U.S. and Soviet policy, or that it considers the two countries equally responsible for growing international tension. Such an approach would mean departing from class positions and hence — let it be stressed again — from defense of the national interest.

Indeed, it is certainly not the Warsaw Treaty countries that have made Greece dependent militarily and politically. It is not they that have set up nuclear bases in our country which endanger the very existence of our nation. Who of the leaders of the great powers has ever supported the idea of creating a nuclear-free zone in the Mediterranean, an idea vitally important to Greece? The U.S. President has certainly not

done it. But Leonid Brezhnev, the Soviet leader, has. U.S. imperialism and NATO have for years blocked the solution of the Cyprus problem, which all Greeks have at heart. By contrast, the Soviet Union and its allies steadfastly advocate a fair solution of it. This being so, those who, like our party, fight against the imperialist policy of aggression and support the peace initiatives of the socialist countries are certainly patriots unlike those who prefer to stay out of the struggle between socialism and imperialism or even side with the latter.

The patriotism of the Communist Party of Greece is inseparable from proletarian internationalism. The communists and their supporters are initiators and organizers of solidarity actions involving tens of thousands of people who identify themselves with the

peoples of El Salvador, Nicaragua and other countries. In seeking democratic renewal and social progress in our own country, we combine our effort with active participation in the struggle of the socialist community, the communist and workers' parties and other progressive forces against imperialism, for peace, democracy and the freedom of peoples.

We are faced with difficult tasks. They will have to be accomplished under complicated conditions. But we are optimists and we feel certain that the Greek people will win real democracy, which will be the forerunner of socialism. We are also realists and we know that we will have to travel an arduous path to achieve it. But it is imperative that we should travel this path.

Dramatic stage in the history of a continent

World opinion is watching developments in Latin America with growing concern. As a reaction to them, we print below an article by Cuban authors, and a record of a discussion of U.S. policy toward Central America held in the editorial offices of *WMR*.

MERGING INTO ONE STREAM

Jesus Montane Oropesa

Alternate member of the Political Bureau,
member of the Secretariat, CC,
Communist Party of Cuba

Manuel Pineiro Losada

CC member, Communist Party of Cuba

Anyone who examines the situation in Latin America and the Caribbean today is bound to be struck by a dramatic crisis in every sphere of public life that the United States is aggravating through its reckless policy of aggression.

Developments on the continent since the second congress of the Communist Party of Cuba (December 1980) have confirmed the congress estimation of the direct and serious consequences with which the Reagan team's accession to power in Washington is fraught for our peoples. The contradictions between U.S. imperialism and the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean have again been proved to be irreconcilable.

The current activity of the U.S. administration in the region is characterized by direct support and encouragement of the most reac-

tionary governments and forces, and by undisguised hostility to processes in which the interests and sentiments of peoples find expression. It is accompanied by vicious propaganda blaming Cuba for the steep upturn in the revolutionary struggle in Central America.

However, progressive and democratic forces the world over and international opinion know, as Fidel Castro, First Secretary of our party CC, has stated, that the destabilization of the situation in Central America is not due to Cuba's alleged subversive activity. "It was Yankee imperialism," Fidel Castro said, "that in the past imposed brutal governments and systems of ruthless exploitation on the region and that now rejects every possibility of political agreement in El Salvador. Every day it supplies the repressive forces of that country with more arms. It resorts to hypocrisy to cover up the barbarous genocide of its accomplices and threatens to mount direct or indirect armed intervention through equally reactionary regimes of assassins serving it in the area. It is responsible for the absence of peace in Central America."*

It is obvious that the United States does not know how the serious problems of the region can be solved. It can no longer maintain its hegemony and pursue its policy of diktat. The only "solution" it offers (coupling it, moreover, with the threat of force) is reliance on "free

*F. Castro. 68 Conferencia de la Union Interparlamentaria, Havana, 1981, pp. 39-40.

enterprise," a massive influx of private investments and expansion by transnationals. These are formulas which demonstrably lead to a further deformation of the economies of Latin American countries, a depletion of their natural resources through plunder and an alarming increase in their foreign debt.

The worsening general crisis of capitalism and the utter inability of the system to cope with it and answer the legitimate demands of our peoples prompt the more aggressive groups of monopoly capital to adopt fascist methods and practices. This adds to tensions on the continent and causes more suffering to the working people, who are resisting imperialist domination with increasing resolve and rousing to struggle against the policy of plunder. It is an indisputable fact of history that there is no way of subduing the peoples' insurgency.

These realities are reflected in the victorious revolutions in Nicaragua and Grenada that have pierced the chain of imperialist domination and set an example of qualitative growth and success achieved on the part of a revolutionary, popular and democratic movement. Both revolutions are unquestionably the most important events of the liberation struggle on the continent since the victory of the Cuban revolution. They have furnished new experience and confirmed beyond all doubt the possibility of shaking off imperialist control and drawing nearer to an independent future.

The victories achieved by Nicaragua and Grenada have spurred anti-imperialist liberation trends and revived the revolutionary, progressive movement in Latin America, the struggle against oligarchic and imperialist oppression, for democracy and peace.

The processes under way in Nicaragua and Grenada are continuing in spite of attempts by the U.S. government and the more reactionary regimes of the region to destabilize the situation in both countries, which are exerting tremendous efforts to carry out changes and assure the people's prosperity. At a time of growing hostility on the part of the northern neighbor, which goes to the point of threatening armed aggression, and in spite of the provocations of home reaction (a minority), both revolutions preserve their pluralist and democratic orientation with the support of the masses.

The class struggle is also expanding and intensifying at the continental level. But it is in Central America that the revolutionary movement shows the greatest dynamism. Fighting side by side with the Nicaraguans, who are staunchly defending and pressing forward their revolution, are the people of El Salvador

led by their vanguard, the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMNLF), who are adding heroic chapters to the history of the struggle against the genocide being carried on by the U.S.-backed military and Christian Democratic junta.

It is in that small Central American country that U.S. imperialism is trying to demonstrate its strength by imposing a forcible, military "solution" and rejecting the idea of international mediation aimed at ending the crisis by negotiation. By contrast, the revolutionary forces of the country have expressed readiness for a dialogue.

However, the U.S. government and the Salvadoran junta, which intend to persist in genocide, raise obstacles to this line of action. They reject the initiative of the Mexican and French governments calling for the recognition of the patriots of El Salvador as a representative political force, the UN resolution in favor of a political settlement, the proposal for peace talks submitted by the FMNLF and Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador through Daniel Ortega, Coordinator of the Reconstruction Council of Nicaragua, and the steps taken by the Socialist International.

The situation is also explosive in Guatemala, where repression and terror have become an everyday reality for the majority of the population. The revolutionary, popular and democratic forces of the country are gaining steadily in strength — an inevitable reaction to the escalation of repression. Uniting more and more closely, they deliver telling blows to the military regime and gather fresh impetus in their legitimate fight for national and social liberation.

The people of Panama are resisting imperialist domination; they want the agreements on the Canal to be implemented and the country to regain sovereignty over that part of its territory.

The growth of the revolutionary forces of Central America is undoubtedly loosening the hold of the oligarchy and imperialism on the subregion and this finds reflection in many ways throughout the continent.

In the Caribbean area, where the Grenada revolution is making progress, there is a new upsurge in the people's struggle despite attempts by the United States and its servile allies to reverse the ongoing process.

The Puerto Rican patriots' struggle for independence and sovereignty, the Haitian people's resistance to the dictatorship that is oppressing them and the desire for change shown by Surinam are unmistakable evidence of the

gains of popular and democratic forces upholding their legitimate rights.

In South American countries, above all in the Southern Cone, the popular movement is growing against the background of the failure of the economic model imposed by oligarchic groups and transnationals. It is unfolding in the face of stepped-up repression aimed at defusing social tension. Revolutionary and popular forces are making headway in Colombia, Chile, Uruguay and Bolivia. The working people of Argentina are intensifying their fight for democracy once again, after a period of decline.

The successes of the revolutionary and popular movement on the continent vary from country to country due to dissimilar development levels, growth rates and national characteristics. This bears out the following conclusion of the conference of communist parties of the region: "The forms of socio-political development in Latin American countries vary and so does the degree of participation of diverse sections of the people in the direct implementation of political and social changes."

Everywhere there is evidence of a desire for revolutionary transformations. The fight against fascism, the defense of democratic gains and resistance to imperialism and oligarchy merge dialectically into one stream. The struggle for democracy, fundamental structural changes and socialist objectives is inseparable from the fight against monopoly and imperialist domination, the mainstay of oligarchy and reaction. The strategic and tactical pivot of the revolutionary movement is resistance to the chief common enemy, U.S. imperialism.

Close links between the popular movement and its revolutionary vanguards are a major factor for the intensification of the revolutionary process. They indicate the level of political consciousness of the workers, peasants, youth and other population groups and, on the other hand, the gravity of the crisis of imperialist and bourgeois domination in the region. The mounting trade union struggle, the increasing influence of the organized working-class movement, the radicalization and growing militancy of the peasantry, the activity of youth, particularly young workers and students, and the gains scored by women in the struggle for their rights are realities confirming the achievements of the masses and their revolutionary vanguards.

Another factor of importance to the revolutionary organizations of the continent (emphasized in the resolution of the second congress of the Communist Party of Cuba on international politics) is the unity of these organizations and the degree of coordination and cohe-

sion with other democratic and progressive forces, primarily revolutionary Christian sectors, which join more and more in the popular movement. The best answer to the policy of isolation and division constantly pursued by the enemy is unity of these anti-imperialist forces and coordinated solidarity action in a common struggle.

The progressive and peace-loving forces of the planet must show greater vigilance than ever to defeat through joint action and exposure the U.S. government's plans for intervention against El Salvador, Nicaragua, Grenada and Cuba.

Past experience and the present situation confirm the fact that Latin America and the Caribbean are no longer a backyard of the U.S. empire. The strength of the revolutionary popular movement, the demands of numerous democrats and progressives and the firm anti-interventionist stand of some governments are a reflection of the qualitative changes that have come about at continental level.

U.S. imperialism's policy of aggression and military threats and its irresponsible and anachronistic bid for hegemony are seriously endangering peace and stability in our region and the world. Faced with these threats, the peoples of Latin America are fighting on with still greater energy and resolve, following lofty traditions and inspired by the example of heroes who, like the unforgettable Ernesto Che Guevara, paved the way for an independent and just future by their activity and their very lives.

STRANGLERS OF FREEDOM IN CENTRAL AMERICA

Representatives of the communist parties of El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica and Panama met in the editorial offices to discuss U.S. policy toward Central America. The meeting was proposed by the WMR Commission on Problems of Latin America and the Caribbean. Following are summaries of the contributions made by the participants.

DEFEAT PLANS FOR ARMED INTERVENTION

Ruben Sanchez
CC Political Commission member,
Communist Party of El Salvador

I think the Reagan administration's policy of aggression is a logical sequel of earlier U.S. policy, of a global U.S. strategy based on rabid anti-Sovietism. Washington has not changed. It merely shows still greater brutality in performing its role of policeman and strangler of freedom in the so-called third world. This is

exemplified by more frequent threats against Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada, massive support for the savage dictatorial regimes of Guatemala and El Salvador and open interference in the affairs of our peoples.

There is a militarist group inside the present U.S. administration that banks chiefly on military means, including aggression and armed intervention. Imperialism has replaced the earlier propaganda cover of its policy — “human rights” — by “international terrorism,” as it calls the peoples’ struggle for freedom and the assistance offered it by victorious revolutions. Our country has been selected as a bridgehead for “counter-acting terrorism.” The White House has mounted a shrill campaign in an attempt to prove that the insurrection in El Salvador “lacks” popular support and hence has been “imposed” by the Soviet Union through Cuba and Nicaragua. However, the allies of the United States take a sceptical view of the talk about “foreign interference.”

In an attempt to tone down criticism and pose as a peace-maker, Reagan has begun to maneuver. He has even tried to capture the initiative by supporting the idea of a general election in El Salvador. The purpose of the election, held amid repression, is clear: to shore up an anti-popular regime, lend it a semblance of legitimacy and divert the attention of world opinion.

The democratic forces of El Salvador, while demanding an end to U.S. interference, declare that they would accept international mediation and are willing to negotiate with the government in the presence of delegates from third countries. But the junta and the U.S. administration have turned down these initiatives.

Early this year the leadership of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMNLF) sent the U.S. President a letter repeating its proposals for a political settlement in El Salvador. Referring to Reagan’s New Year’s message in which he held forth about his effort to “promote” world peace, our leaders stressed that the war was dragging on and had taken a turn for the worse due to Washington’s criminal posture. The United States not only supplied the junta with arms and military advisers but directly urged it to follow a scorched-earth strategy. In line with this strategy, the Salvadorans had become a target of military operations irrespective of whether or not they were involved in fighting and regardless of sex, age or religion. The massacre of peasants perpetrated in Morazan Department in December 1981 was a crying illustration of this.

It is worthy of note that Reagan’s policy toward El Salvador arouses growing scepticism

in the United States, even in the higher echelons of power. Many politicians consider that the first round of escalating U.S. military strength has been lost and that, in general, the FMNLF cannot be defeated in that way. They are inclined to search for a political solution, for they realize that the problem cannot be solved by increasing U.S. arms deliveries or sending foreign — not necessarily U.S. — troops to El Salvador. What is more, they fear that this trend of development may have undesirable consequences for imperialism.

Washington’s attempts to settle the conflict without the revolutionary democratic organizations of El Salvador have not produced the results it had hoped for. The fact is that the rightist camp has split and the split is growing deeper. There are at least four different groups. The first is the military fascist clique, which controls the army and other repressive bodies, including paramilitary bands. It is represented on the political scene by the Nationalist Republican Alliance. This new party is headed by Robert d’Aubusson, a fascist. The only “tranquillity” he recognizes is that of a graveyard — needless to say, for left-wingers and anyone else who opposes the oligarchy’s reign of terror. A second group comprises part of the businessmen. Its more moderate wing has formed a so-called Production Alliance. Some of its adherents have lately been more reasonable than before. They are casting about for a political solution of the crisis. We appreciate and take proper account of their sentiments in assessing the alignment of class forces in society. A third group is made up of remnants of the Christian Democratic Party (CDP), or “Duarte’s Christian Democratic Party,” as the people call it. It has fully discredited itself by maintaining criminal relations with fascists and imperialist “hawks.” Most CDP members have wound up their activity or shifted to a democratic position. The fourth group is the National Conciliation Party (NCP), which ruled from 1961 to 1979. After the overthrow of its leader, President Romero, in October 1979, it seemed as if the NCP had left the political scene. It was not long, however, before it recovered somewhat. Its leadership evidently believes that the increased bloodshed in the country offers them some chances and even entitles them “morally” to contend with the junta for power. Already they swear allegiance to the domestic oligarchy and go to Washington to pay their respects. However, Reagan is in no hurry to avail himself of their services, for it is more profitable for the White House to keep a man like Duarte in power and to publicize him as a

"centrist" under attack from both the "right" and the "left."

That is why Hinton, the U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador, is trying to head off an ultra-rightist coup which would not only limit the possibilities of imposing an imperialist solution of the conflict but strip the junta of the support of the Christian Democrats of Venezuela, Colombia and Costa Rica. To be sure, this does not rule out U.S. recourse to drastic measures in the event of a real threat to the regime.

In conclusion I wish to repeat that to achieve peace, tranquillity and respect for human rights and freedoms in El Salvador, it is necessary to expel the fascists, who are carrying on genocide, and establish a truly democratic system.

IMPERIALIST BASE

Pilar Gomez

CC Political Commission member,
Guatemalan Party of Labor

The past year has added some new aspects to the economic policy of the Guatemalan regime. The dictatorship vacillates between two variants of "ending" the crisis.

One of them, a "military solution," provides for curbs on a monetarist plan while at the same time adhering to "national security" criteria. Part of the ruling military clique is against transferring certain enterprises to the private sector, the lifting of state tutelage over oil deliveries and a total liberalization of the economy. It wants to militarize the state, that is, to make it entirely subservient to its own selfish aims and interfere openly in business activity. The reasons are obvious — some military men would like to keep the situation in hand and yet to play the chief role in overcoming the crisis. They are convinced that the revolutionary movement can be counteracted and suppressed through terror and genocide.

Advocates of the second variant, which calls for an economic solution of the crisis, refer to the Chilean, Taiwan and South Korean models, making them out to have been "tested" and alleging that they have proved "successful." The dictatorship has fallen to a degree under their influence. As the crisis is deteriorating the ruling group may well opt for precisely this plan. It believes in the possibility of reviving banking, replenishing foreign exchange reserves, ending economic stagnation and solving many problems by encouraging massive foreign investment. We all know, however, of the effects of such measures in the countries dependent on imperialism — a deeper crisis and greater stagnation.

Washington's policy has brought about a

marked increase in "offensive" protectionism, which is typical of imperialism and hits countries like ours hardest of all. The International Monetary Fund and International Bank for Reconstruction and Development have hardened their diktat. Pressure is also being put through political channels. The new U.S. Ambassador to Guatemala, Chapin, tried to discuss some problems which he said the Reagan government was somewhat "concerned" about. These were, first of all, the situation in regard to "human rights" and "respect for election results." However, Washington's appeal to the dictatorship to moderate its zeal can mislead nobody. First of all, it is a crime to destroy people regardless of whether death is administered in "moderate" doses or takes the form of genocide. Secondly, the United States merely wants to give a face-lift to the Guatemalan regime, which goes on trampling human rights underfoot. The change of scene at the White House encouraged the worst reactionaries of the country to step up carnage. The dictatorship shares the resolve of Reagan, Haig and others to "prevent the emergence of new Cubas or Nicaraguas on the continent" by continuing its policy of official terrorism.

Guatemala is imperialism's main outpost in Central America. It is the principal strong-point for struggle against the insurgents of El Salvador, counter-revolutionary attacks on Nicaragua and the involvement of Honduras in a new military pact known as the Northern Triangle. The pact is designed to unite the Guatemalan, Salvadoran and Honduran armies and virtually to take the place of the abortive Central American Defense Council.

One may have the impression that the Guatemalan authorities are a mere pawn in the hands of U.S. imperialism. They certainly are but that is only one aspect of the matter. The Guatemalan government is not merely involved in a dirty anti-Soviet, anti-Cuban and anti-Sandinista campaign but has a vital stake in the campaign. It does not have to be told whether or not it should brandish the bogey of a "communist threat." The media and all bourgeois groupings are at one in opposing the insurrection. The cold war has never stopped in our country. Thus the Guatemalan dictatorship is, among other things, a cover for Washington's policy of violence in our area.*

However, neither the military fascist clique,

*On March 23, 1982 a part of the armed forces accomplished a coup and was immediately backed by Washington. Though essentially it does not change the character of the regime, it testifies to the attempt to neutralize the growing revolutionary movement. — Ed.

nor U.S. imperialism, its mainstay, can cope with the economic, social and political crisis that has affected the country ever since the victory of the counter-revolution (1954). On the contrary, they are aggravating it. The revolutionary democratic movement is gaining in scope and strength as it recovers from the blows delivered to it in 1978. A relative downturn in open actions has not checked the development of the people's revolutionary armed struggle. They are joining actively in a revolutionary war, showing a greater degree of organization, using new forms of resistance and drawing on past experience. Battles with the dictatorship awaken the left-wing forces to the need to solve their big problems without delay, and above all to achieve unity without any exception whatever. This has already enabled us to heighten the combatability of our organizations, concentrate their growing potential and direct their efforts toward accomplishing a common task — overthrowing the dictatorship and bringing about a revolutionary, democratic and popular government.

EVERY FORM OF STRUGGLE IS POSSIBLE

Tomas Rodriguez

Communist Party of Honduras

While current U.S. policy began to take shape under the previous administration, it is more aggressive now, tends to balance on the brink of war and interferes brazenly in the affairs of other countries, particularly Nicaragua and El Salvador. Operating by themselves or with the aid of friends, the imperialists are trying to involve our countries in the implementation of their criminal plans.

An important role in Central America is assigned to Honduras, for the troops of El Salvador and Guatemala are engaged in a protracted civil war. Honduras has lately received unprecedented quantities of modern arms. Its army gets increasing help in training personnel. Police units are being supplied with military equipment and the formation of bands of mercenaries is being encouraged. The troops train under the direction of U.S. advisers and carry out frequent maneuvers. Over 15 per cent of budget appropriations are earmarked for military purposes. The army is gradually becoming a U.S. policeman in Central America entrusted with the same function as was performed by Somoza's Guards.

It is in this light that the maneuvering of the Honduran top military and pro-fascist groups should be considered. The recent general election was won by the Liberal Party. Its leaders have declared in no uncertain terms for the U.S.

military presence in Central America and against the people solving the crisis in El Salvador. In other words, that party largely identifies itself with imperialism's policy.

The left took part in departmental elections by nominating candidates within the framework of the National Patriotic Front of Honduras. However, the communists do not believe that elections hold the promise of democracy. Our only aim was to lay the groundwork for left unity and we took advantage of the election campaign to strengthen links between the vanguard and the masses.

With due regard to the people's tradition of struggle and the various aspects of the class confrontation that is gaining daily in intensity, our party urged all democratic forces to prepare for struggle in every form. This is not to say that an armed uprising is the order of the day. To call for an uprising at present would be political adventurism.

There is much talk now about Honduras finding itself in the thick of events in Central America. Indeed, the impact of the Sandinista revolution and the expanding armed struggle in El Salvador and Guatemala is increasing fast. But we realize that the liberation process cannot be approached mechanically. Among the ruling classes of Honduras, most groups dread even slight democratic changes and see the only way out in greater repression. However, the crisis is sapping imperialist domination, the so-called model of dependent capitalism, accelerating the growth of the political consciousness of the masses and revolutionizing them. This means that we, too, may have to use violent forms of struggle.

THERE WOULD BE A "NEW VIETNAM"

Luis Orlando Corrales

Member of the Political Commission
and Secretary, CC,
People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica

The states of Central America are interlinked by close economic and political ties. Developments in one of them directly influence the situation elsewhere in the subregion and condition one another. This explains why speakers at the 13th congress of our party (June 1980) described the "Central American revolution" as a single process encompassing the whole area and, on the other hand, proceeding in each country according to local conditions and culminating under the impact of diverse factors.

U.S. imperialism's answer to the revolutionary upsurge in the area is expressed in the main lines of Reagan's Latin American policy. It is a bellicose, warmongering policy, a policy of ag-

gression and repression against popular, democratic movements and organizations. Washington threatens armed intervention against all countries and enjoins on them fascist dictatorship as the basic model of government. It sees progressive social changes as posing a "communist threat" and so tries to prevent them.

Part of the ruling classes of Central American countries as well as some sections of U.S. imperialism are trying to ease certain economic problems if not to solve them, which does not contradict Reagan's political guidelines. At the same time various groups of the bourgeoisie hope for a "miracle" which they imagine the United States and other imperialist powers could perform by rendering ample economic aid. This idea is embodied in the "Marshall mini-plan." It gave rise to real euphoria among our bourgeoisie — they were naive enough to see in it a solution sparing Costa Rica the fate of other countries, where popular protest is growing, threatening to develop into a general uprising. It was not long, however, before their hopes were dashed.

Washington completely dispelled the illusion during the so-called North-South dialogue in Cancun, Mexico, last October. Reagan not only ruled out the possibility of "global negotiations" between the imperialist powers and our countries but virtually banged the door shut to various kinds of the traditional "aid." His remedies do not go beyond open monopoly interference in the Latin American economy and a "liberalization" of economic structures.

In Costa Rica the masses are not yet enlightened and organized enough. However, a worsening economic situation combines with other factors to create the prerequisites of a notable expansion of the people's struggle. The 10th plenum of our Central Committee noted that all these factors are likely to hasten the maturing of a revolutionary situation, all the more since contradictions within and between the traditional bourgeois parties are deepening, which suggests that a severe political crisis is impending.

Prior to the presidential elections held in February 1982, the National Liberation Party (NLP), a bourgeois opposition party, did its utmost to curry favor with the United States. It showed readiness to abandon many of its reformist positions and refused to follow the line of the Socialist International, to which it is affiliated, in support of the Sandinista and the popular organizations of El Salvador and Guatemala. Its electoral victory was not accidental. However, there are groups even in that party which do not entirely agree with bellicose

U.S. policy. Some NLP leaders call for complete neutrality on the conflicts under way in Central America. This approach makes it difficult for imperialism to carry out its plans for the formation of a united reactionary front in the subregion.

The danger of armed intervention in Nicaragua and El Salvador is no communist invention. To stave it off, it is necessary to expose the criminal designs of imperialism. The range of forces opposed to the policy of aggression is wide in Costa Rica. This is why our party is carrying on its struggle along two lines: first, opposing the ruling classes and traditional parties, which are responsible for the crisis, and second, applying flexible tactics to hasten the formation of the broadest possible democratic alliance. The communists are not using a figure of speech or propaganda slogan when they say that there would be a "new Vietnam" if the United States tried armed intervention. We take account of the actual state of affairs. If imperialism used force to stop the people it would reap more than one revolutionary storm.

SOLIDARITY IS OUR WEAPON

Miguel Porcel

CC Political Bureau member,
People's Party of Panama

It is well known that there are several variants of general imperialist policy worked out within the so-called Trilateral. The Carter plan, which was the first, provided for combating revolution, primarily socialist revolution, mostly by non-military means. Recourse was had to economic pressure, demagoguery over "human rights" and other methods of the same kind. When a revolution was accomplished the adherents of this plan tried to prevent the revolution from taking a socialist road. This is true of Washington's activity in regard to Nicaragua and some Asian and African countries. However, the Trilateral had another plan in case Carter's methods proved ineffective. That plan was drawn up before Reagan took office and provides for armed intervention by imperialism in countries where the victory of a democratic national liberation revolution is likely. The imperialists know well that nowadays such a revolution may develop sooner or later into a socialist revolution given, of course, definite internal and external conditions.

The second plan is embodied in the notorious Santa Fé document.* It presents Reagan's policy in all its "splendor," as a policy which considers brute force a panacea for the ills of

*WMR, July 1981 and January 1982. — Ed.

capitalism. But it is one thing to adopt a policy and another to put it into effect. Besides, the numerous contradictions existing both inside U.S. imperialism and between imperialist powers are beginning to tell, as the attitude of France, West Germany or Japan shows. And this means that it is not really easy for Reagan as a spokesman of the most reactionary imperialists to implement his policy toward El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala or Costa Rica.

At the same time, we must remember that also operating in Central America are forces which would like to keep the activity of democratic organizations within bounds while supporting them. The position of the Socialist International is indicative. The SI's main object is to ensure that these organizations do not look to the socialist countries and communist parties for guidance but follow the social democrats.

Thus it is important to bear in mind the peculiarities of the situation that is shaping, use it efficiently and be always on the alert so as not to have to correct unfortunate mistakes afterward. I am far from opposing the idea of alliance with the social democrats, nor do I deny its likely benefits. It is simply that I feel I must call attention to the fact that the social democratic parties are by no means disinterested.

I would like to deal especially with the place Panama holds in the revolutionary process in that part of the continent. The situation in the country differs greatly from that in Guatemala, El Salvador, Costa Rica or Honduras. The changes that have been effected have dealt a strong blow to imperialism. First and foremost, all legal basis for colonial rule in the Panama Canal area has been abolished. The treaty on the Canal is occasionally viewed from an extremist standpoint. Panama's ultra-leftists wanted "all or nothing." Yet they now hold protest demonstrations against violations of the agreements which they rejected earlier. To be sure, the treaty has not brought our people complete freedom and independence. But it is the beginning of a gradual restitution of the natural resources of the territory formerly called the Canal Zone. After all, that is a strategic base of imperialism and this means that even a partial dismantling of it is a blow to the common enemy. And though we delivered the blow without using arms, it proved so effective that Reagan and his Santa Fé team made up their minds to torpedo the treaty at all costs and also to remove an obstacle to their Central American policy. The obstacle was called Omar Torrejos. What befell him is well known — he died in a "mysterious" air accident.

The imperialists must have known well

about the Panamanian government's support of liberation movements on the continent, primarily in Central America. Hence the well-aimed blow. Washington called a conference of army commanders of the OAS countries. It wanted to secure backing for a common strategy of combating "terrorism and subversion," that is, of quelling liberation movements in Central America and organizing aggression against Cuba.

Now for a word on the stand taken at the conference by the Panamanian military. They voiced the opinion that the root cause of the evil in Central America and the region as a whole did not lie in "international terrorism" or "subversion" by communist and other democratic parties but in the plight of the masses. Armies and governments should work for the solution of social problems. This was the only way to remove the causes of conflict. The delegates of some armies agreed with the Panamanian delegate and the United States was neutralized. It was unable to impose an agreement on collective armed aggression against the peoples of El Salvador, Nicaragua, Cuba and Grenada.

One of the factors conditioning U.S. imperialist policy toward Panama is that Panama is one of the few countries of the continent to maintain active relations with Cuba. The United States puts strong pressure on our government to make it sever relations with Havana. Evidently, such a move would imply submission on other issues as well, and would result in Panama trailing behind imperialism. But Panama firmly resists the pressure and if it has made any concessions at all, it has not done so of its own accord but because the odds were against it.

In reply to imperialist intrigues, our party carried out a nation-wide campaign, with the result that the National Assembly of People's Representatives, as the Panamanian parliament is called, passed a resolution exposing the aggressive activity of the United States against Nicaragua, Cuba and El Salvador and supporting the liberation movements in the region.

We are doing much to promote solidarity with the peoples who are fighting. But to be frank, we have yet to master this weapon properly. The victory of the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua lulled our vigilance somewhat. At one time we believed the situation to be out of danger and slackened our effort toward mobilizing the masses in support of the patriots of other countries and that, in turn, led to a slackening of the anti-imperialist struggle in Panama. The situation is changing for the better now. Recently there was a march of solidarity with the peoples of Central America tyrannized

by imperialism. We are convinced that if the communists and other democratic forces of the region form a united front against imperialism they can render invaluable aid both to those who are fighting for freedom by peaceful means and to insurgents battling with reactionary dictatorships. It is beyond doubt that imperialism can no longer shape the destiny of the world at will. But we entertain no illusions and are well aware that the liberation movements in Central America will have to travel a long road before they win.

The events of the first three months of this year

— the so-called Caribbean initiative of the U.S. administration, virtually a rehash of the notorious Monroe Doctrine, on the one hand, and the Mexican President's constructive proposals for a settlement in Central America and the positive response of the Cuban and Nicaraguan governments as well as the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front to them, on the other — bear out the estimations made by the authors of the article from Cuba and by participants in the WMR forum. Washington's policy of intervention is imperilling peace and security in both Central America and the rest of the planet. The peoples are coming out resolutely against this threat.

May Day solidarity for peace and socialism

Ho Si Ban

WMR Editorial Council member from CP Vietnam

COMMENTARY

May Day, the international day of the working people's solidarity, is marked by the Vietnamese people simultaneously with a great national holiday: the anniversary of our republic's reunification within one socialist state following a 30-year period of wars for independence, first against the French colonialists and then against the U.S. imperialists. Seven years ago, on April 30, 1975, as a result of the general offensive launched by the People's Armed Forces of the Liberation of South Vietnam and supported in an uprising by the whole people, the banner of victory was raised over Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City). The U.S. imperialists and their satraps suffered the final defeat and were expelled for good from the land of Vietnam, to which came peace. The establishment of the new system in the South restored it to its historical integrity and made it possible to start socialist construction within the framework of the whole country. In this way, for our people international solidarity day and the great spring victory are blended in one radiant celebration.

The working people of the whole world cherish the tradition of marking May Day, which originated on the eve of the 20th century. May Day has become a true festival of our age, and a symbol of the class struggle against oppression and capital, and for peace and socialism. The red flags over the globe give us a reminder on this day not only of the blood shed by the Chicago workers in 1886, but also of the

self-sacrifice of the heroes from various countries who have dedicated their lives to the cause of freedom and justice. These battle flags call for a continuation of the struggle for the emancipation of labor and for loyalty to it until final victory.

May Day has many faces, and every year adds its own features reflecting the course of history and the world developments which most acutely affect the interests of the working people. Today, the political substance of the festival is determined above all by the sharpening of the class battles in the capitalist world and the contest between the forces of progress and of reaction in the international arena. Imperialism is trying to mount an offensive against existing socialism and the Soviet Union, its main bastion, and has created and continues to step up the threat to peace, which has especially increased in the recent period. All of this leaves an imprint on the content of the working people's mass struggle.

May Day is celebrated differently in various countries, but everywhere it remains a combat review of the revolutionary forces and a demonstration of solidarity by the working people. Its international character gives one an especially full sense of our cohesion with our class brothers and sisters and of the need for voluntary alliance and unity without which, Lenin said, complete victory over capitalism cannot be won (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 150).

The population of a sizable part of the globe marks the working people's solidarity day

under the banner of socialism. Here it is celebrated by the people as a whole not only in all the towns and villages, not only at all the enterprises, but in every family. Those who have seen the socialist countries' press these spring days, are sure to have noticed the festive items. These are usually brief reports about the pre-scheduled fulfillment of production assignments, labor gifts prepared by workers' collectives for May Day . . . These features of everyday life are a reflection of the deep essence of socialism, which signifies a radical transformation of labor relations, the main component of social relations. It would be absurd and unnatural to imagine that under the capitalist system a wage-worker would develop the urge to make a gift of additional labor to his exploiters. But when this system of exploitation and oppression gives way to relations of equality and conditions of socialist democracy, when men and women become the masters of production and manage the affairs of the state and the society, it becomes possible to make labor truly free and creative.

The new system has put a majority of the working people in communion with such creative effort and helped them feel that it is a prime necessity. That is the source of our confidence in our strength. While bourgeois futurology has responded to the start of the present decade with exclamations of alarm and apprehension for the future of their society, the fraternal socialist countries have marked it with a realization of their current five-year plans envisaging concern for the material and cultural level of the people's life. Such is the main goal of the state under socialism: it seeks to use the production potential and social accumulations for solving the key social problems and satisfying the working people's requirements.

It is a fact that the right to work has been asserted only by socialism, and by no other socio-political system. It is also a fact that socialism has paved the way for a radical reconstruction of the principles of social security. With its social consumption funds, it has laid out free systems of social insurance, medical care, school education and vocational training which are accessible to all.

Vietnam is among the socialist countries which stand at the very beginning of the construction of the new society. It is quite natural that we have followed with keen interest the life in the other fraternal countries which have advanced much farther along the socialist way. The experience of our friends helps us more confidently to tackle the difficult problems which spring from the peculiarities of the stage through which our Republic is now

going and the specific nature of its conditions. We can say even more, without any reservations at all: we are fully aware that but for this example and this experience, present-day Socialist Vietnam, rid of colonialism and united in an integrated national state, would not have existed.

The half-century history of our revolution has run along ways that have been marked by special difficulties and peculiarities. The new system has had to assert itself in direct contest against the forces of colonialism. While it had already scored a victory in the North, the South remained under the heel of a puppet regime, with the people having to fight not only against it but also the U.S. invaders. Following the formation of the united Socialist Vietnam, when the young state required all its internal forces to heal the wounds of war and for peaceful construction, the country was twice subjected to aggression: first by Peking's henchmen Pol Pot and Ieng Sary and then directly by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists. Besides, the specific character of our revolutionary way has also been determined by the specifics of the internal economic structures and the whole make-up of the Vietnamese people's national life and mentality.

This makes it clear that there is no question of some mechanical borrowing of experience but of taking it into account in our concrete conditions and, relying on the general uniformities of socialist transformations, of creatively applying everything that has justified itself in revolutionary practice. This again and again bears out Lenin's well-known thesis: "All nations will arrive at socialism . . . but all will do so in not exactly the same way, each will contribute something of its own . . . to some variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the varying rate of socialist transformations in the different aspects of social life" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 23, pp. 69-70).

Thanks to the creative Marxist-Leninist policy pursued by the Communist Party of Vietnam, our country marks this year's May Day with a noticeable movement toward the building of the foundations of socialism. For a year and a half now, the Republic has been living under a new constitution, which has asserted the people's revolutionary gains. Profound changes have taken place in the political structure of the society. When the country was liberated from the French colonialists, we had just over 60,000 workers and technical personnel, but now the working class numbers more than 1 million, while a total of 2.2 million working people, or almost 10 per cent of the active population, is engaged in industrial produc-

tion. The country has laid the foundations of industry: there are 550 central and 1,400 local state enterprises. An electric-power industry has been built virtually from the ground up and is being enlarged. Both new and traditional sectors of the economy are being developed, ranging from engineering and chemistry to the light and food industries. The socialist transformations in the countryside have been continued.

Behind these processes is the persevering labor of Vietnamese workers, peasants and intelligentsia — of the whole people. At the same time we never forget that the fraternal socialist states, notably the USSR, have provided direct assistance to Vietnam's peaceful gains through economic, scientific and cultural cooperation. Our country is a full-fledged member of the CMEA, a profoundly internationalist alliance, which holds out preferential conditions of development for those who for historical reasons are most in need of accelerating economic growth rates. This is something that also needs to be said in celebrating this festival of the working people's international solidarity.

We send heart-felt greetings and gratitude to all those whose friendly help we felt in the fierce battles against imperialism, to the millions of participants in the anti-imperialist "Hand Off Vietnam" movement which rolled across the globe. For us, the support of progressive international opinion in our just cause of defending ourselves against the encroachments of the Peking hegemonists is also highly important. The Vietnamese people address themselves with whole-hearted gratitude and warm handshakes to the working people of the socialist community countries, whose support is now especially important in consolidating its advance.

But we see internationalism not only as a possibility of receiving, but also as a duty of giving, that is, of our own efforts in helping our class brothers and sisters in defending the revolutionary cause and strengthening the ties of solidarity in the struggle for peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism. To the best of its abilities, Vietnam is supporting the fraternal peoples of neighboring Laos and Kampuchea, standing up for a relaxation of tensions and development of good-neighbor relations in Southeast Asia and developing contacts with the newly liberated states. The communists and all the other working people of Vietnam "strive to fulfil their international duty in defending the alliance between the revolutionary forces of Europe, above all between the fraternal socialist countries, between the com-

munist and workers' parties, in defending the purity of Marxism-Leninism and internationalism against opportunistic tendencies."* These general lines in the foreign policy of our party, the state and the whole people were most emphatically re-emphasized at the recently held fifth congress of the CP Vietnam.

In celebrating May Day 1982, we see that the ideas of solidarity, by which this working people's festival is inspired, are not less but even more important today than they were in the past, when many national contingents of the working class and its parties were weaker, while existing socialism was just at the beginnings of its history. The importance of internationalism tends to increase, because our common class enemy — capital — having felt the power of the opposing forces, has become even more dangerous; it is totally mobilizing itself and not stopping short in the choice of its weapons either at psychological warfare in the sphere of ideology, cold war in the sphere of politics, or the threat of a hot nuclear war against the socialist world. That is why we put such a high value on the support of world socialism by the working people of the capitalist countries and their dedication to our common ideals.

Our adversaries, speculating on the problems and difficulties which naturally arise in the complex processes of building a new society, have charged that the existing practice of socialist construction has failed, claiming that socialism has "worked itself out" and is "losing its attractive power." What does this mean in reality?

The main contest in the present epoch proceeding on an international scale is the contest between the two systems, between the two ideologies. In this struggle, capitalism seeks to present its system as the best one for the working people. But, however broad a look one takes of the world arena, there does not seem to be any mass sympathy for the system, to put it mildly. Capitalism has not become more attractive for the millions of unemployed, for the working people of Turkey, where activists of the working-class movement are incarcerated in their thousands, tried and sentenced to death, or for the patriots of El Salvador and Lebanon, on whom immense suffering has been inflicted by aggressive external intervention. All the peoples fighting for their right to national independence and social progress are well justified in regarding imperialism as the

*"The half-century of the Vietnamese revolution. Theses for the 50th anniversary of the Communist Party of Vietnam," *Tap chi cong san*, No. 1, 1980, p. 9.

culprit to blame for the evil of colonialism and neocolonialism.

Or is it perhaps the suggestion that the ideals of communism are losing out on what could be called their own soil, in the eyes of the working people of the socialist countries? Let us put it bluntly: the very suggestion would arouse a tide of indignation among the workers, peasants and intelligentsia of Vietnam. It is certain that just as categorical a reply would come from the peoples of the other countries where the socialist world view has struck deep roots in the people's consciousness. It is hardly accidental that the bourgeois enemies of socialism, trying to capitalize on the difficulties in the life of our countries and inflating these difficulties to crisis proportions at every opportunity, frequently use the screen of efforts not to wipe out but to "improve" socialism.

The Marxist-Leninists have never tried to get anyone to believe that socialist construction is a bed of roses. The ruling parties of the states of the new world, believing criticism and self-criticism to be the best way to correct shortcomings, frankly speak — at their congresses, in their dialogue with the masses, and in their statements for international opinion — about the difficulties occurring on the way, identify their own mistakes and blunders. Thus, it was said at the fifth congress of the CP Vietnam that as a result of the aggressions which the country has had to beat back, and also in consequence of several natural calamities and our own failings, the rates of economic growth have turned out to be lower than those planned, and agricultural production has developed at a slower pace. This tends to produce a further series of problems: with the supply of food for the population, the expansion of export, and accumulations for advancing socialist industrialization. The CP Vietnam has mapped out concrete measures to overcome these shortcomings, measures which are realistic, constructive and oriented toward support by the whole people.

The ways of socialism which are historically novel for everyone are not easy to pave but that does not and cannot alter the vector of our advance. In its full-blooded destiny, socialism does not lose any of its attractiveness, it has not faded, but has been acquiring the rich colors of living flesh, just as a good project is fleshed out only at the construction site. The sense of healthy realism which working people have, enables them to see which ways lead to a dead end, and which to the realization of their aspirations.

The proletarian slogan of solidarity is free of any shade of "class egoism." The specific feature of the historical mission of the working

class is that in emancipating itself, it emancipates all the other working people as well. This mission has now become an especially responsible one, and it is to ensure, in the harsh conditions of our epoch, national liberation and social emancipation, to preserve for humankind its very life, to prevent a slide down to nuclear disaster, and to defend and assert peace.

Everyone can see how sharply the threat to peace has increased. The aggressive circles of U.S. imperialism, and of NATO with them, are trying to poison the international atmosphere, having chosen an unprecedented build-up of military strength as the trump-card of their policy. The production of U.S. neutron weapons is in full swing, and the mass manufacture of toxic weapons, which are just as terribly destructive, has been resumed. Public opinion is being stubbornly induced to accept the idea that a "limited" nuclear war is acceptable, and that there are things which are "more valuable than peace." In Western Europe, preparations are under way for the deployment of U.S. medium-range nuclear-missile complexes.

Vietnam is situated far away from the European center of tension, but the gravity of the situation is equally felt in our country. After all, a military clash in any region could spark a world conflagration. There is all the more reason not to forget this because at the helm of state in the country neighboring us in the north, stand hegemonistically-minded rulers conducting an expansionist policy in Indochina and throughout the whole of Southeast Asia. Having made a treacherous deal with U.S. imperialism, the Chinese leaders have accepted the role of its shock force on the Asian continent and have acted as "NATO in the East."

That is why our people redouble their efforts to unite their forces with those of all the fighters for peace. The anti-war movement has acquired unprecedented proportions. It is based on mass organizations of working people and involves people of differing views, atheists and believers, workers in science and culture, members of parliament, all those who seek to promote international détente, disarmament and the cause of the peoples' security. The community of purpose goes to strengthen the ranks of the participants in this truly worldwide movement for peace. Confronted with this fact, and in an effort to sow dissent in the movement's ranks, the imperialists have trotted out the old myth of a "Soviet threat" claiming that the responsibility for tension in the world today falls on the USSR and the other socialist-community countries.

But war is antithetical to the very nature of the new society, for peace and socialism are

indivisible. This is evidenced once again, in particular, by the constructive Soviet proposals for a simultaneous dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization, an end to the arms race, repudiation of the use of nuclear weapons and for disarmament. The CPSU is the architect of the Peace Program for the 1980s, and, despite Washington's line of confrontation, the Soviet Union has continued to do its utmost to realize that program. Another important step along this way is the recent initiatives which Leonid Brezhnev made public at the 17th congress of the Trade Unions of the USSR and the proposals aimed at creating an atmosphere of trust in Asia which he made recently in Tashkent.

At the 10th World Congress of Trade Unions held in February of this year, it was said: "War preparations and the arms race pluck the very bread from our mouths." Confrontation and international tension inflict painful blows on the interests of the working class and all the other working people. The communists, standing up in defense of these interests and sharing responsibility for the future of humankind, believe that their duty is to be in the front ranks of the anti-war movement. They do not seek for

themselves any unilateral party advantage and act within that movement on the basis of the broadest policy of alliances. Thus, the Communist Party of Vietnam wholeheartedly welcomed this statement by the participants in the Paris Meeting of European Communist and Workers' Parties: "We, the communists of all the countries of Europe, are prepared, when it comes to the struggle for peace and disarmament, for any dialogue, for any negotiations, for any joint actions. We want all the peace forces to unite for that purpose."* This is a stand that has been joined on all the other continents by all those who truly cherish peace.

We, communists, believe that the international solidarity of the working class and of all the other working people will turn May Day 1982 into a demonstration of their will to fight against capitalist exploitation, the aggressive strivings of imperialism and its line of suppressing the age-old urge of the peoples of national liberation and social emancipation, a demonstration of their firm will to break the ill wind of war.

*Meeting of European Communist Parties for Peace and Disarmament, Moscow, 1980, p. 8 (in Russian).



Topical tasks of ideological work

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The promotion of the level of ideological work and efficacy of political education is among the immediate tasks set before the Czechoslovak communists by their 16th congress. Ideological work must be geared to the new requirements made by the building of a developed socialist society.

"The whole history of revolution and socialist construction," Gustav Husak said in the report to the 16th congress of the CPCz, "gives us ample examples showing that a person armed with Marxism-Leninism, utterly devoted to and convinced of the righteousness of socialism does not retreat in the face of obstacles or lose confidence in the most difficult situations and will not be afraid to fight for the realization of socialist ideals.

"Our party fully realizes the significance of ideological work as a means of strengthening links with the people and enlisting their support for its policies. The political consciousness of people contains a huge creative potential capable of mobilizing society for the fulfillment of any task however complex it may be. Life constantly reaffirms that Lenin was right when he said that the socialist state is strong through the political consciousness of the people."*

In pondering new tasks we turn again and again to the "Lessons of the Crisis Development in Our Party and Society After the 13th Congress of the CPCz." This lively and inspiring

*XVI sjezd Komunistické strany Československa, April 6-10, 1981, Prague, 1981, pp. 43-44.

document gives a very high assessment of the role of Marxist-Leninist theory, showing the significance of disseminating it and conducting agitational work in its spirit. Our people were able to defeat the bourgeoisie and build socialism only under the leadership of the Communist Party, the revolutionary vanguard of the working class that is armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism and is able to develop and apply this theory creatively in specific historical conditions. It is only with Marxism-Leninism as its guide that our party was able to mold the working class into society's leading revolutionary force, bring to light its creative potential, rally all other working people around it, and bring them into the fulfillment of complex tasks of the class struggle and the restructuring of society.

The entire history of the CPCz before it became the ruling party is marked by the process of Bolshevization, in other words, the mastering of Leninism and eradication of social-democratic vices, the most notable of which was disregard of revolutionary theory and ideological work. Our party thereby prepared itself for a new and extraordinarily responsible role, and its subsequent successes were directly proportionate to how consistently it followed the Leninist road, while deviations from that road inevitably led to miscalculations and setbacks.

In the past when, for one reason or another, we neglected or underrated theoretical and ideological work, forgot that it is the core of the people's political education, this always held out the threat of serious deformations in socialist construction. This manifested itself as liberalism prepared to allow the formation of the scientific world view and socialist morality to drift, and also as bureaucracy, as exaggeration of the potentialities of armchair administration. Both these departures from Leninist norms signified a distortion of the party's leading role in society and undermined the people's confidence in its policies.

In the post-April 1969 period of consolidation favorable conditions were created for ideological work and political education, for returning to it the place it merits. This conforms to Leninism and, to no little extent, determines the party's revolutionary character, principled policies, the purposefulness of its forward movement, its influence and prestige among the people, and its role in the political system of socialist society and in the National Front. However, this gives no grounds for complacency.

The tasks that the party sets in the course of building developed socialism — in the ec-

onomy, in the socio-political and cultural spheres, in the struggle against imperialism, against its threat to our peaceful construction, the cause of peace, and social progress in the world — are making new and greater demands of ideological work and political education.

The character, complexity, and difficulty of the problems we are encountering are linked, in particular, with the switch from extensive to intensive economic development, which is accompanied by a massive growth of social requirements. This raises the question of combining a creative approach with a high sense of responsibility and discipline at all levels of leadership, efficient organization in work collectives, and their interest and more active involvement in determining the ways and means of society's development. Here the responsibility of the ideological front is beyond question. This is the responsibility to give an accurate interpretation of the tasks set by the congress and to create the correspondingly exacting and businesslike atmosphere for carrying them out.

This responsibility is now growing because the difficult problems of building a developed socialist society have to be resolved in a situation witnessing the sharpening of the struggle between the two antipodal social systems, between the two irreconcilable ideologies. Imperialism's reactionary circles, particularly in the USA, are clearly starting a new crusade against socialism, against the revolutionary and people's liberation, anti-imperialist movements, and are sparing no effort to erode and break existing socialism's positions in the world, to nullify our plans and work.

The epoch itself, the interests of socialism's further development, and the external conditions for ensuring these interests pose us with the need to secure a visible improvement of ideological work in all areas — theory, propaganda, and agitation — link it more securely to politico-organizational work and administration, and make its media more comprehensible, convincing and effective.

Our ideological work cannot leave unanswered a single question raised by life. It has to be more compelling and assess all phenomena from the class Marxist-Leninist standpoint. Experience, for which a dear price was often paid, is invaluable. However, we must use it with an eye to further development. Ideological work does not tolerate preconceived patterns and formalism. It can influence a person's mind and heart only if it is creative. When it encounters complex problems it has to press for their constructive solution instead of presenting them in an illusory light or passing

them over in silence. Hence the more exacting requirements of the forms and methods of this work and the need to gear it to the achieved level of society's education and political culture.

All this was spoken of at the CPCz Central Committee plenary meeting in March 1980. The conclusions drawn at the time were reaffirmed at the party's 16th congress. It must be stressed that at the plenary meeting there was withering criticism of relapses into underestimations of ideological work, a manifestation of which was not an open belittlement of its significance but its "improvement" in the context of proclaiming ideology the business solely of theorists, propagandists, agitators, and persons working in "purely" ideological organizations, thereby creating the danger of isolating it from all other party, political, and administrative work and tangibly undercutting its cogency and the range of its influence.

Formerly this paradoxical state of ideological work — externally "privileged" but in fact reduced to departmental status — had been repeatedly criticized and seen as an anachronism. Today, in view of the new tasks and requirements, it is intolerable; its preservation would be extremely harmful. In this lies one of the main reasons why in practice ideological work is still quite widely interpreted as "educational," reduced to propaganda implying no more than lectures, political study, and the issue of literature undistinguished for any profound account of the problems posed by life. This sort of propaganda is divorced from theoretical research into urgent questions of society's development, and is not linked closely with agitation and day-to-day mass political and organizational work. Small wonder that when this is the case its significance, apart from the formal aspect, remains low.

The other side of the coin is even more serious. The helplessness, abstract character, and academic character of this sort of propaganda inevitably give rise to the temptation to "link" it to practice in such a way as to confine propaganda to the role of no more than a herald or advocate of current practice.

While in the first case we speak of relapses into dogmatism, into doctrinairism, in the second case it is a matter of pragmatic tendencies. Dogmatism and doctrinairism rely on rhetoric, replace arguments with empty words and slogans, and take no account of the maturity and knowledge of people, the distinctions between the different strata of the population, the age groups, and so forth. Much has been said and written about the weaknesses and shortcomings of this sort of propaganda. However,

one does not often hear graphic and persistent criticism of the harm of pragmatism, which reduces ideological work to substantiating the various measures of day-to-day political leadership. Moreover, pragmatists claim that their approach conforms with the Marxist-Leninist requirement that theory should be linked to practice, but in fact no theory interests them. The attempts to reduce ideological work to the role of an accompanist to political routine with all its extremes, twists and turns, and needed and unneeded improvisations are very dangerous. Reconciliation to them leads to loss of clarity and perspective, to uncertainty and, sooner or later, to problems in the attitude of the people to the party, to the socialist state.

In its criticism of these errors, the March 1980 plenary meeting of the CPCz Central Committee noted that the danger of these errors is in practice often underestimated. The harm is not evident to all people, is not seriously resisted, and the stand of pragmatists is justified by the need to take reality into account. Moreover, the "realists," many of whom hold high positions in, say, the selfsame economic sphere, turn away from politico-educational work with the argument that they do not feel they are "competent" enough. They are least of all interested in the ideological and political aspects of their decisions, the undesirable consequences, and the effects on public opinion. They do not feel they have to react constructively to criticism, while in cases where they encounter dissatisfaction or resistance, in other words, when a political problem arises, they appeal to the sense of responsibility of those who "engage" in propaganda.

Criticism of the tendency toward pragmatism is particularly necessary in the context of struggle against the departmental approach, which often predominates in economic practice and is one of the major obstacles to the planned development of the economy, society's unity, the concentration of means of the solution of basic problems, the fulfillment of long-term programs, and so on. Departmentalism shrouds in secrecy information affecting the prestige of the relevant organs and branches, gives rise to bureaucratic practices, and nevertheless enjoys favor under cover of high professionalism and thanks to its skill, when necessary, of using the arguments needed at the given moment. It is interested in propaganda ready to serve as an advertising agency, disseminate information embellishing the stand of a department and substantiate and champion its demands. It would be superfluous to emphasize that our propaganda could hardly be overcome by a worse fate than to serve

departmental thinking, which regards the narrow interests of its own sector as inviolable and raises them to the level of the interests of society as a whole.

Of course, distorted interpretations of ideological work have deeper roots than might seem at first glance. Their viability is, evidently, linked to disregard of the known but inadequately mastered truth that "politics must take precedence over economics" (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 32, p. 83): such disregard undermines the party's leading role and simplifies the demands on ideological work.

One cannot fail to see that as soon as the socialist revolution triumphs, as soon as the party assumes leadership of the new system of political power represented by the dictatorship of the proletariat, as soon as it becomes the "ruling party," the "official authority" and undertakes the responsibility for building the new society, the center of gravity of its activities inevitably shifts to administration, to the political leadership of society; and, as Lenin wrote immediately after the Great October Socialist Revolution, economics "are the politics that interest us most" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 32, p. 430). This historical situation, which fundamentally changes the party's status in society, cannot but change the direction of the party's propaganda, of all its ideological work. Here what is new is not only that the party's finest cadre are concentrated largely in organizational work, leadership, the administration but also that ideological workers must unconditionally adopt a positive and constructive stand in defense of the revolution and its aims, the ways of consummating it and ensuring its triumph; it is their duty to society to assert the socialist ideal in the sharp confrontation with the past and everything that hinders construction.

Without fatalism relative to errors and without trying to justify them, I should like to ask whether it would have been possible to avoid entirely this understanding of the "official role" of ideological work which, on the one hand, was pushing it toward simplification, sketchiness, and doctrinairism and, on the other, toward "linkage" with practice subordinating it to the needs of the given moment which, as it seemed in the times of acute class battles, determined the destiny of the revolution?

Nothing is simpler than to lecture history, especially when the greatness of events recedes together with the events themselves. However, the vanquished and their latest followers will always try to nullify the significance of the past, dispel its heroism, and put it on display for public censure. As we saw from our own ex-

perience, in the 1960s they did not forget a single real or imagined grievance or injustice. The striving to settle accounts with the revolution at all costs became the keynote of the so-called "anti-dogmatic" campaign, of the attacks on the "ideologization" of life. Already then the adversaries of socialism found an ally in pragmatism inclined to assert the relative-ness of values. It suited them in their efforts to destroy the "myths" and "idols" of the revolutionary epoch in order to clear the way for the restoration of former ideological structures. At the time it was a matter not of "sobering" but of an overture to the counter-revolution, as was strikingly demonstrated at the close of the 1960s.

The principle that "there is no revolutionary practice without a revolutionary theory" is true today and it will always be true. The party can discharge its historical mission only as the revolutionary vanguard of the people. It shows the way to communism by means of revolutionary theory that sets practice the course toward the attainment of socialist and communist aims. The view that propaganda is the "assistant" of practice has nothing in common with Leninism. At the turn of the century Leninism took shape in struggle against this view. (Suffice it to recall the epochal significance of Lenin's *What Is To Be Done?*, which was printed 80 years ago and has become a cornerstone of the Marxism-Leninism of our era; the topicality and viability of this work is seen by anybody who rereads it.)

The separation of ideological from politico-organizational work of the party, or such combination of this work with practice that implies an apology of the latter, can only reinforce faith in the strength of administrative measures and foster bureaucratic flaws in the administration of society. Such flaws, as everybody knows, are promptly utilized by our ill-wishers for attacks on existing socialism, for the slanderous allegations that our system does not justify the hopes of the people and the revolutionary forces of the world, cannot serve as an attractive example for working people, and even spells out "regress" compared with bourgeois democracy. In making these attacks the bourgeois ideologists, as the experience of Czechoslovakia showed, are backed by revisionists and opportunists, who use criticism of deformations to substantiate programs for a sham "rejuvenation" of socialism and projects for various reforms, most of which boil down to suggestions for reviving, in one way or another, historically outworn forms of society's economic, political and cultural life.

In defining the place and aims of ideological

work we base ourselves on Lenin's understanding of the party's leading role in the political system of the society being built. We are aware that this role is implemented in two areas that form a single whole — political leadership and ideology. In our country the revisionists and opportunists deliberately divided and counterposed these two areas, reducing the understanding of the party's leading role to educational tasks, thereby eroding the revolutionary character of the ideological program and opening the door to liberalism, to persuasions whose proponents boast of their "non-commitment to ideology" and of not knowing the difference between truth and lies (and they even call this attitude "creative").

Revisionism identified the party's socio-political function with bureaucratic arbitrary rule. It then used this as the justification of campaigns attacking the Marxist-Leninist understanding of state and revolution, the tested principles of socialist construction, and proletarian and socialist internationalism.

In these campaigns revisionism also sought to "cure" itself of the complexes that are inevitably part and parcel of apostasy. It was sheer hypocrisy to suggest that we should confine ourselves to "ideological" influence (meaning, of course, abandonment of revolutionary ideology). With similar hypocrisy it was suggested that we should "democratize" our social system (stop strengthening the people's power and enhancing the party's prestige, pull apart the state system, renounce power, and give free rein to counter-revolution).

From the history of socialist construction in Czechoslovakia we drew conclusions that, we believe, have been arrived at by other socialist countries. These conclusions are that there must be unrelaxed vigilance relative to revisionism and opportunism, and that ideological work must not be underrated and divorced from the party's politico-organizational and leadership activities. It is only when all these basic functions are harmoniously combined that the party is able to assert its revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist character, correctly implement its leading role in socialism's political system, ensure the precedence of politics over economics, promote socialist democracy, and strengthen socialism in all spheres of life — in the economic basis and in the social superstructure.

In this context it would be appropriate to consider what is called the "propaganda of success" that is sometimes of doubtful benefit. The disenchantment that comes of development that is replete with unexpected twists and turns (unexpected for those who do not or can-

not see what is happening behind the scenes) is always evidence of the failure of propaganda whatever its actual responsibility for this has been. In such situations the question of responsibility for information policy cannot be side-stepped.

When we criticize — quite justifiably — the myopia in propaganda, which sees only positive results and goes so far as to exaggerate them deliberately, this does not mean that it would be better to give up passionate defense of everything truly positive and great that has been and is produced by revolution and socialist construction. Primitive "propaganda of success" is the result of blind subordination to pragmatic aims, and this does not justify itself. But what are we witnessing? This sort of propaganda excellently bears "expedient coexistence" with alien ideologies, with the habits and traditions of the past. Triumphant trumpeting of great construction drowns self-consciousness and reinforces self-confidence to such an extent that one adopts not only a complacent attitude toward one's own tasks but also a carefree attitude to what has been outworn and now threatens the new forms of life. Further, we see how this serenity is justified with the argument that account must be taken of "historical specifics," the "national way of thought," while this spinelessness, which under certain conditions signifies retreat before hostile forces, is depicted as a special approach that is allegedly a "specific contribution" to general development. All this only reaffirms how fluid is the border-line between the light-weight "propaganda of success" and the loss of the class approach, the slide into pragmatism.

Propaganda must show the positive results of society's revolutionary reorganization, the advantages and potentialities of socialist transformation, and safeguard them against efforts to smear existing socialism, against efforts to belittle its achievements and its historical superiority over capitalism. This is one of the central and most honorable duties of the communists. To abandon it would be tantamount to leaving the field of the most important battle to the enemy.

We have much we are proud of. We have no cause to be ashamed of the revolution and of the colossal historical changes that have taken place in our society as a result of revolutionary reorganization. We do not have to justify ourselves to those who attack existing socialism from the standpoint of the old world or from the standpoint of a utopia, who swear by the revolution but are doing nothing for it. Self-criticism, which is mandatory for communists,

by no means requires underwriting the faults that ill-wishers ascribe to us in order to undermine the moral credit received precisely as a result of carrying out the revolution and the social changes based on the revolution. These changes represent not an abstract but a tangible solution of the basic issues of the modern person — emancipation from exploitation and all forms of oppression, the creation of the conditions for a dignified life of the working people, for the implementation of their rights and freedoms, and for all-sided development.

Restrictions precipitated by concrete circumstances, of which far from secondary is the need to surmount the resistance and intrigues of reactionary forces, can in no way belittle the historical achievements of socialism that began its advance on an international plane 65 years ago with the Great October Socialist Revolution. For the peoples of Czechoslovakia, who in their drama-laden history have time and again faced the question of life and death, there is no more brighter period than the era of transition to and construction of socialism, the era opened by our country's liberation by the Soviet Army and the victory of the working people over bourgeois reaction in February 1948. The greatness of this period is also characterized by the difficulties that had to be overcome and which there is no reason to conceal or belittle. The principal thing is that the problems facing society are being resolved on an entirely new foundation, on the dependable basis of socialism.

Of course, propaganda that truthfully depicts socialism's achievements, the results of revolutionary battles and the dedicated work of the party and the people has nothing in common with the strident "propaganda of success," with its blindness to actual problems and the difficulties that have been surmounted. Our weapon is truth. It reinforces people's consciousness of the historically-predetermined nature of the emergence of socialism and communism, and enhances the party's prestige and the people's confidence in its policies, which are based on scientific socialism, on the theory of Marxism-Leninism. This propaganda is not afraid of confrontation with bourgeois ideology and, in struggle with it, does not confine itself to defense. To the way of life under capitalism it can effectively counterpose our, socialist way of life with its system of values based on respect for labor and profound optimism, whose source is faith in the creative potentialities of people delivered from exploitation.

We therefore have every ground for demanding that our propaganda should convey the heroism of the revolutionary epoch, intelli-

gently promote the militancy and moral dedication of the builders of the new society, show the grandeur of our communist ideal, and inspire the people, especially the rising generation, to achieve this ideal.

Of course, the danger of schematism is very real, but there is no cause at all for countering it with affected scepticism in order to sustain a deliberate "balance" of the positive and the critical. This would hold out the danger of affecting a pose that would in the long run be unidentifiable from malicious hostility. The critical approach, which propaganda should never abandon, must stem organically from the defense of truth, from an account of objective laws and tendencies of development in all its intricacies. A sober analysis and the unravelling of shortcomings are a vital process whose purpose is to help to synthesize, to integrate creative forces, to contribute to a constructive solution of problems and to the removal of shortcomings. These are, as everybody knows, among the basic behests of Leninism.

Those who charge us with conducting "propaganda of success" that puts things in a rosy light are barking up the wrong tree. But neither do we need dark glasses, much less since as we move ahead we will have to resolve complex problems for which many shortcomings will have to be resolutely brought to light and eliminated. This is the only approach that will fortify our confidence in ourselves and our will and determination.

Thus, to improve ideological and politico-educational work significantly means, above all:

- to free consistently the very concept of this work of shortcomings that are survivals of the past and expressive of various forms of underestimating it (formalism, doctrinairism and, especially, pragmatism);

- to reinforce unity between theory and practice, the organic link of ideological and politico-educational work with the entire party work in all sectors.

We attach particularly great significance to reinforcing the theoretical basis of propaganda and using its achievements in day-to-day political work among the people.

While setting ourselves these tasks and seeking to promote the level and efficacy of ideological influence, we are aware, of course, not only of the gigantic creative strength of consciousness but also of the boundaries of the potentialities with which this work in all its forms — in theory, propaganda or agitation, in the form of images, and the spoken or printed word — has objectively to reckon with.

First and foremost, it must be borne in mind

that between a program, even the most realistic, and actual life there is always some disparity, from which our adversaries will tirelessly and, as experience shows, more and more subtly and perseveringly draw their arguments against our ideology and practical policies. Occasionally, it is precisely this activity of theirs, pressure at a time of direct ideological confrontation, that prompts a touching up of some deviations of practice from theory, deviations that are used for charges of weakness against both theory and practice. In this context bourgeois propaganda agencies have an arsenal of means of psychological pressure against us. It must be acknowledged that in some cases this arsenal has been used not without success to put us on the defensive in this or that sector (this is seen most strikingly in the efforts to discredit the socialist system and its democratic character). It would be more than naive to try to find a way out of this situation by "improving" practice at any cost or "rectifying" theory to suit our critics.

From the aforesaid it does not follow, however, that one can merely shrug off contradictions between theory and practice, between a program and reality, between words and deeds. As soon as they begin to be felt these contradictions should indeed be the signal for a critical reappraisal of work (for looking whether the formulation of tasks is consistent with actual requirements, whether they have been correctly interpreted, whether work with personnel is sufficiently exacting, and so on and so forth). If it is not to defeat its purpose, ideological work must teach and lead to self-criticism. It can be protected from false concord with a given practice only by *theoretical substantiation* that underlies any principled policy. There is no other guarantee. But sometimes theory is disregarded and deliberately emasculated when it is put in an ivory tower, or denied the conditions for development, or, lastly, when no concern is shown for giving it a clear-cut class demarcation, for safeguarding it against the influence of philistine conceptions and methodology. In these cases it is hard to expect ideological work to fulfil the needed stimulating function, help remove contradictions between theory and practice, and give political decisions a conceptual character, the features of scientific policy.

When we say that today the key to raising the level of ideological and politico-educational work lies in placing it on a solid theoretical foundation and that the strength of our policy lies in that it is scientific, this by no means signifies that we forget that theory is the generalization of experience, that practice and

only practice has been and can be its sole living source. When matters concern the historical practice of giving shape to existing socialism it is futile to theorize about various "models" in the hope that this will lead to valuable practical conclusions without taking into account precisely this historical road with all its variations, that this road can be discounted and it will be possible to rest content with doctrines, which are the imagined product of the will, of hopes, of phantom illusions. To act in this manner means not only to devalue the effort of thought but also to place oneself at the mercies of the class adversary, to confine one's political activity to a more or less seeming improvement of the forms of social practice without leaving the confines of capitalism.

The experience acquired in the struggle against revisionism and other ideological deformations prompts us to be strict and uncompromising in our concern for strengthening all forms and elements of the socialist way of life, of the socialist economic basis and all the principles of socialism enshrined in social relations. Every step toward a change in the system of leadership and administration of society should be comprehensively weighed from the standpoint of whether it will indeed help to consolidate the revolution's gains, the socialist elements and principles in society, or whether it will revive the proprietary forms of life, thought and habits implicit in pre-revolutionary society. Everybody is aware of how important it is to ascertain these fundamental positions in, for instance, the economic sphere, where the difficulty lies, on the one hand, in the fact that the concepts ignoring the market mechanism are becoming outdated and, on the other, in making a definite fetish of the law of value with concessions to the ideas about a "consumer" socialism.

The quest for ways of further development lies, as was shown at the 26th congress of the CPSU, in a sober evaluation of the potentialities of each country of our community, of its contribution to the development of the entire community, in generalizing and using experience, which serves as the factor drawing these countries closer together and reaffirms the efficacy of the universal Marxist-Leninist principles underlying the building of socialism and communism. This approach, which takes full account of the specifics of the given country, the level of its development, and the concrete conditions in which the program of socialist transformations is being carried out, allows, despite momentary difficulties, to see the situation from the viewpoint of historical optimism and gives us profound confidence in the

growth of our combined strength and in the creation of new and larger possibilities for carrying out not only current but much more complex future tasks.

There is no question of internal policy that can be satisfactorily answered outside the context of the international situation, by regarding it as independent of the universal experience of joint struggle for the realization of scientific socialism, the joint struggle against imperialism and the forces supporting it.

For that reason the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia regards its duty to educate the people in the spirit of proletarian and socialist internationalism not as some more or less automatic concomitant but as an organic part of the patriotic education, an inalienable fundamental element whose absence would knock the ground from under ideological work. If this work falls under the influence of any form of national narrowness or isolation it will lose its lucidity, force, clarity of perspective, and persuasiveness.

A dependable theoretical basis makes propaganda convincing and allows creating the foundation of the communist conviction of the citizen of the new society purposefully and consistently. The principal condition for making propaganda more effective is thus its link to theory. Any isolation from theory weakens and

devalues it. However, the impact of propaganda depends not only on the level of creative theoretical work and on the opportunity to use the results of this work. Propaganda must be constantly oriented on mobilizing society's creative forces, help to mold the cultural world of the citizen of socialist society in such a way as to foster a need for an active, constructive approach to reality, and the consciousness of the new social status, and the duty to the work collective and society as a whole. We should never forget that while being an autonomous element in the system of education, propaganda is the link between theory and agitation, between the ideological system and mass political work. The quality of propaganda must be the guarantee — regardless of its breadth and the specific tasks it concerns — that this work will always see its significance and its aim in enhancing and promoting the conscious activity of the working people, of the builders of the new social order, of those who while transforming society are themselves undergoing a change.

In working on the tasks set by the 16th congress of the CPCz, tasks requiring a fundamental improvement of ideological and politico-educational work, an upgrading of the level of this work in accordance with present-day needs and requirements, we seek to achieve this aim above all.

Course toward mass action

Jack Phillips

Alternate member, Central Executive Committee,
Communist Party of Canada

The 25th convention of the Communist Party of Canada, held in mid-February of this year, was a proud moment for the Canadian communists because it marked the 60th anniversary of the founding of the party. In his opening address, the General Secretary William Kashtan said: "The formation of the party 60 years ago was an historical event in the political and social life of the working-class movement of Canada. It added a new dimension to the struggles of the working class. In these 60 years our party has consistently upheld and defended the interests of the working class and working people of our country."

While the party was secretly founded under illegal conditions in 1921, it held an open convention in February 1922, from which time it

has been a permanent part of Canadian reality. Small wonder that public attention was attracted by *Canada's Party of Socialism, History of the Communist Party of Canada, 1921-1976*, written by party historians and issued while the 25th convention was in session. This history is long overdue. For too many years now, Canadians interested in the history of our party have had to read histories written by enemies of the party, books which had many distortions, omissions, and falsehoods. The new book, whose appearance was welcomed by all party members, friends and supporters, will play an important role in educating and inspiring the fine, new cadre who are coming to the fore in the Canadian party. Without a doubt, it will be used as a reference by many students and

graduate scholars, and by many workers, progressive-minded people, intellectuals, and left-thinking persons who are questioning the future of capitalism.

After 1921 the party had two other periods when it had to function underground. Moreover, in the Province of Quebec it had to fight the Padlock Law,* which in fact denied it legal status for 20 years. Ever since its founding it has had to counter savage anti-communist propaganda.

However, difficulties notwithstanding, the Communist Party of Canada has always been a party of mass action devoted to the cause of the working class and socialism. The following are only some key moments of its glorious history.

During the 1929-1933 crisis and the subsequent depression the Communists led many actions of the workers and working people against the destructive effects of the decline in production. In that period the party did much to organize the struggle of the unemployed against starvation, increase employment, unite the workers, set up industrial trade unions, bring cohesion into the trade union movement, and turn it into the powerful force it is today.

The party denounced fascism and called for the defense of democracy in Republican Spain. Six hundred Canadians, many of them communists, laid down their lives in Spain. Our party was among the first to warn that Hitlerite fascism and the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis were a threat to democracy and world peace, and it contributed to their defeat.

After the war, when U.S. imperialism began its bid for world supremacy, the communists were the first people in Canada to call for peaceful coexistence and the prevention of a nuclear war, to link these aims with the struggle for the country's independence, against U.S. domination in its economy.

Relying on Marxism-Leninism and applying it concretely in the specific conditions obtaining in Canada, our party was the first to demand the right of self-determination and equality for French Canada as an inalienable element of a democratic settlement of the constitutional crisis. At the same time, it consistently urges unity among all Canadian workers in the face of their common enemy, monopoly capital.

The communists are strongly resisting the power of the monopolies, of the transnational corporations, and preparing the conditions for

the formation of a powerful democratic, anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist coalition that would pave the way to socialism in our country.

The delegates to the 25th convention met at a critical moment when imperialism was exacerbating the situation in the world and trying to split the world communist movement by causing a division between parties. The convention demonstrated that the Communist Party of Canada stands solidly on a position of unity of all communist and workers' parties on the basis of a common ideology and a common assessment of the world situation and the balance of forces on a global scale. As William Kashtan declared at the convention, "No communist or workers' party can go it alone if it hopes to achieve success in its own country and in the prevention of war."

It was in this spirit that a very warm welcome was given to delegations from fraternal parties of the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Greece, Great Britain, and the USA. In addition, greetings were received from 29 other communist and workers' parties.

The fight for peace and peaceful coexistence was clearly laid down as the central task for the party. William Kashtan noted: "The danger of nuclear war is real. There are crazy people in the USA who are prepared to undertake what Hitler failed to accomplish."

The delegates were cognizant of the fact that their meeting was taking place at a particularly dangerous moment in history, when the fundamental question of war or peace was an immediate and pressing issue. Under the Reagan administration a sharp change has taken place in U.S. policy. U.S. imperialism is prepared to take civilization into nuclear war to further its aim of world domination. The White House's new military strategy is one of material preparation for war. Unable to halt the process of change in the world, the USA is increasing its armed forces and whipping up the threat of a nuclear war. That explains the decision to produce the neutron bomb and to deploy medium-range missiles in Europe.

The convention noted that U.S. imperialism is seeking military superiority over the Soviet Union and other socialist countries through a policy of worldwide confrontation. The collusion and cooperation between the USA and China was sharply criticized as adding to the war danger.

The policy resolution declared that to be successful the anti-war movement in Canada must reach out to the majority of Canadian people. It has already begun to embrace the

*Passed in 1937 by the Legislative Assembly of Quebec, the law on the "defense of Quebec from communist propaganda" prohibited providing premises for the activity of communists.

trade union movement, some leaders of the New Democratic Party (Canada's social democratic party), the churches, some in the bourgeois parties, and the business and academic world. The resolution states: "There is no room for sectarian approaches which could limit the scope of the movement in any way. The party's political responsibility lies in helping to broaden the peace movement and working to make peace the majority sentiment in Canada. An essential part of the further broadening of the peace movement is the need to expose imperialism as the main source of the war danger."

The peace fight in Canada tends to focus around the issue that Canada's foreign policy should be free of U.S. interference. This finds its reflection in some of the more positive positions taken by the Liberal Government in Canada. At the same time, as the convention noted, the Trudeau government tends to vacillate and to retreat in the face of pressure from U.S. imperialism. Matters have gone to the extent of imposing "sanctions" on Poland and the Soviet Union.

The struggle for peace and détente and for an independent foreign policy for Canada is connected closely with the struggle for Canadian independence and the well-being of the people. What the convention registered in this context is not only a new and higher level of struggle against U.S. domination, but also greater pressure by U.S. imperialism to check and reverse the process of Canadianization of the economy.

The Reagan administration has stepped up its pressure to prevent the Trudeau government from implementing its Canadianization program in the field of energy and with respect to foreign investments in Canada. The White House is afraid that this program may go far beyond energy and dislodge the American multinationals from their positions of control over vital sections of the Canadian economy. There is also Washington's fear that a far-reaching program of Canadianization of the economy would have repercussions in other countries where the USA has substantial control of the economy.

While the Communist Party of Canada favors Canadianization of the economy, it does not advocate the replacement of U.S. multinationals by Canadian transnationals and monopolies. What the party calls for is nationalization of vital industries under democratic control. "Without control over the key sectors of the economy," William Kashtan declared, "without taking them out of the hands of the transnationals and monopolies in Cana-

da, it is neither possible to plan, nor to develop the economy, or to create conditions for full employment." In short, while supporting the Trudeau government's opposition to U.S. control, the party's strategic aim is nationalization of the key sectors of the economy and the banking and credit institutions.

Another question which received the attention of the delegates was the proposed Canadian constitution, which is to come under the jurisdiction of the Canadian instead of the British parliament. It is one of the anomalies of Canadian history that while Canada is a sovereign state, the constitution up to now could not be amended without an act of the British parliament. But the constitution proposed by the government will not solve the problems arising from the fact that Canada is a two-nation state, because it fails to recognize the right of French Canada to self-determination. The struggle for basic constitutional changes is far from over, despite the compromises agreed to by different monopoly, political, and sectional groupings.

The convention called for a constitution that would specifically uphold the right to self-determination of French Canada, enshrine the democratic rights of all Canadians — including the right of Native peoples to their lands and the right to self-government on those lands — economic rights, full equality for women, full democratic rights for the ethnic communities regarding language and culture, and an end to all forms of discrimination.

The convention devoted considerable attention to the economic crisis in Canada. For more than four years now workers and working people have been faced with declining living standards while profits continue to rise for the dominant monopolies and the banks. Farmers have also suffered. High interest rates, zooming energy costs, unstable commodity prices, and inflation have brought them a 15 per cent cut-back of their living standards.

Close to 1,500,000 Canadians (out of a total labor force of some 10 million) are without jobs. Many manufacturing plants (particularly in the main manufacturing provinces of Ontario and Quebec) are being closed and the number of bankruptcies is growing. The crisis is seriously affecting more than half the industries in Canada, including automobile, farm equipment, electrical appliances, construction, mining, steel, forestry, garments, textiles, furniture, and chemicals. Signs point to the present recession in Canada lasting longer than any other downturn in the economy since the crash of 1929-1933 and the depression that followed.

The main policy resolution — A New Course

for Canada — the main report to the convention, and the speeches of many delegates pointed out that the worsening economic situation has led, and will continue to lead, to a sharpening of the class contradictions and a sharpening of the class struggle. This was reflected in the large number of strikes in 1981, which were significant because of the militancy shown by the workers and because of the large-scale involvement of young people and women. It is likely that there will be more strikes this year as close to two million workers (more than half of those organized in trade unions) will negotiate their collective agreements at a time when employers are more and more demanding a freeze and in some cases an actual cut in wages and benefits and the preservation of the former working conditions.

As was noted at the convention, the principal question for the working class now is the mass struggle against the effects of the crisis and the attempts to shift the costs of that crisis to the backs of the workers. Delegates stressed that workers can truly defend their gains and create conditions for advance only through class struggle, and not through class collaboration.

Delegates reported a strong sentiment among auto workers in opposition to the policies whereby the United Automobile Workers Union in the United States has agreed to the surrender of hundreds of millions of dollars in wages and benefits in order to protect the profits of the major corporations in the same industry. The same union functions in the same corporations in Canada. Having received concessions in the USA, these corporations are pressing for similar deals in Canada. This, of course, will inevitably increase the demand for more Canadian autonomy for the Canadian membership.

The convention clearly spelled out that resistance and fight-back should be focused on the demand for new economic and social policies, alongside of a collective bargaining program to unite workers, young and old, men and women, blue collar and white collar workers. Sound economic policies should be merged with united political action to move politics to the left and to strengthen the position of the working class and democratic forces. Above all, it was stressed, there must be a consistent class approach in the economic fight-back. The scientific and technological revolution and the deepening crisis of capitalism clearly reveal that the main contradictions in capitalist society manifest themselves most clearly and most decisively in the struggle between labor and capital — and the future of our country rests on the outcome of that struggle.

The convention strongly called for improving the Communist Party of Canada as a party of mass action, a party of mass struggle. It underscored the decisive importance of building the party, the Young Communist League of Canada, and the communist press. In this connection, it laid down the following guidelines:

- the development of the fightback on all fronts — economic, political, and ideological;

- constant attention to the development of and support for left coalitions and other united actions, involving wide sections of the people. Where such broad movements develop without the party's participation, the party must seek to overcome its isolation and make its own unique contribution to a deepening of the struggle. Sectarian aloofness must be avoided;

- in striving for breadth we must avoid any tendency to self-effacement. Under all conditions, the party must find the ways and means of advancing its position and making its positive contribution to the unfolding of the mass movement;

- a key factor in furthering this work is the building of the circulation of the party press and literature, as a means of breaking through the news blockade imposed by the monopoly-controlled media. Building the circulation of the press is a major factor in the fight for peace, for alternative policies to take Canada out of the crisis, and in countering the ideological offensive against world socialism and the communist movement;

- special emphasis must be placed on recruiting industrial workers, young workers, and women workers into the party, and people from all strata where there is a searching for new and radical solutions to the problems affecting our society. Building the party means improving the inner and public life of the party clubs and enhancing their ability to serve as centers of political activity in their respective spheres of work. Attention must be paid to building party clubs in communities where none exist and among immigrant workers.

The main policy resolution states that the ideological struggle has assumed very acute and aggravated forms, internationally and in Canada. The main edge of this ideological offensive is directed against real socialism and the national liberation movements. The aim of the offensive is to save capitalism and to condition the people to accept the idea that nuclear war is an acceptable component of Western (meaning U.S.) foreign policy.

The recent deterioration of the international situation, the convention pointed out, has led to a deepening of the crisis of revisionism. It was also noted that in Canada this crisis is

merging with the crisis of the ultra-left. A process of fracturing and polarization is developing among some ultra-left groupings around the question of the attitude toward the Soviet Union and socialism. A number of ultra-leftists have entered into collusion with imperialism. The Communist Party will continue to expose this conspiracy while at the same time seeking out a basis of cooperation with those who really want to struggle against imperialism, and for peace and socialism.

The main policy resolution clearly stated the firm internationalist stand of the Communist Party of Canada. There may be temporary setbacks, it said, but imperialism can neither retrieve the historical initiative it has lost nor reverse world history. The world is no longer what it was when imperialism held unchallenged sway. The socialist countries led by the Soviet Union, the document declares, are the main bulwark of peace. With their growing strength they can counter the attempts of imperialism's reactionary forces to revive the cold war. Our party has always noted the historical significance of building real socialism to social progress and world peace. The convention re-emphasized that the existence of the Soviet Union is a factor strengthening the international communist and working-class movement and creating the conditions for developing the struggle for the interests of

working people, for the cause of socialism in the capitalist world.

A steadily growing role is played in world affairs, the convention noted, by peoples who have won liberation from colonial oppression. The democratic and anti-war movements have grown visibly. The working class, too, has become stronger in the capitalist countries. The communist and workers' parties continue to win ever greater influence and prestige. Despite all of U.S. imperialism's efforts, it will not achieve military superiority and change in the balance of power on the international scene.

The inspiring keynote of our convention is that the ranks of the peace fighters in the world are large enough to stay the hand of the advocates of war and aggression. The results of the convention indicate that the Canadian communists are determined to rouse the Canadian people to the struggle for peace, support the peoples fighting against imperialism, for independence, and reinforce the movement of solidarity with them.

The 25th convention, which marked the party's 60th anniversary, mirrored the pride of the communists in what they have achieved and it demonstrated their confidence in the future. This future belongs to socialism, and the Communist Party of Canada is a party of socialism.

Communist congresses and conferences

The *Peruvian Communist Party* has held its eighth extraordinary congress in Lima. The congress was attended by more than 200 delegates as well as by representatives of the parties and organizations forming the Left Unity coalition of Peru. It discussed the Central Committee report submitted by Jorge del Prado, General Secretary of the CC PCP, and the organizational pattern of party work.

Delegates stressed the need for the party to evolve a strategy based on militant activity by the working class and large-scale actions by the masses. They also dealt at large with party work in the trade unions, exposed the concept of "class collaboration" advocated by bourgeois ideologists and showed the need to set up on the basis of Left Unity a popular front of all sectors of Peruvian society seeking positive changes.

The congress approved a document condemning the government's anti-popular economic policy and calling on the com-

munist to promote a mass movement in defense of the interests of labor. It passed a number of resolutions expressing solidarity with the peoples of Latin American countries fighting against fascism, reaction and imperialism.

The congress adopted new party rules and elected a Central Committee and an Auditing Commission, increasing the proportion of working-class members of the CC.

After the congress the CC plenary meeting elected a Political Commission of 11 and re-elected Jorge del Prado General Secretary of the CC PCP.

The *Left Party — Communists of Sweden* (LPCS) has held its 26th congress under the slogan "Peace, labor, social justice." The congress drew over 300 delegates representing 22 district party organizations.

Prominent in the congress deliberations were questions concerning the party's con-

tribution to the struggle for peace, disarmament and international solidarity. LPCS Chairman Lars Werner said in his report that the main threat to peace comes from U.S. imperialism, which seeks military superiority in the world and is trying to mislead public opinion, primarily in Western Europe, and to sidetrack the peoples' movement for peace and disarmament. This makes it a most important task, he said, for all peace forces and progressive humanity to work harder for durable peace and further progress in international détente. The creation of a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe would be a notable step toward ridding Europe of nuclear arms. There is no defense against nuclear war, it was pointed out at the congress. The only defense is to achieve political détente and disarmament.

The congress discussed and approved a policy document entitled "Sweden Needs a New Policy." The delegates defined their tasks in defending the vital interests and democratic rights of the working people and the ways of ending the nation's economic crisis.

The documents approved by the congress stress the importance of resisting the onslaught of Swedish big capital and transnationals and the need to extend the struggle for peace, disarmament, international solidarity and the creation of a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe.

The congress elected a new Board. Lars Werner was re-elected Chairman of the LPCS. *The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan* (PDPA) has held a national conference in

Kabul. It was the first time since the April 1978 Revolution that so representative a party forum had met to decide on the party's general line, strategy and tactics. Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the CC PDPA, said in his speech to the delegates that the chief strategic task set by the first party program — winning political power — had been accomplished. The party was now faced with new tasks. The main purpose of the national conference was to define and formulate these tasks and chart the concrete paths of further progress.

The conference adopted an Action Program of the PDPA and an Appeal to the People of Afghanistan. The party and the revolutionary power, the Action Program says, want the workers to be the fastest growing and best organized force. The Program speaks highly of the important role of the peasantry in the implementation of progressive changes and stresses the need to create an integrated, comprehensive system of defending the revolution and the people against the intrigues of internal and external enemies. The party sees the main foreign policy goals in the pursuit of a policy defending the territorial integrity, state sovereignty and independence of the country and in promoting its fraternal friendship and traditional cooperation with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community.

The Appeal to the People calls on the sons and daughters of the country to unite behind the party, fight under its leadership for an end to counter-revolution and work to build a happy, independent and prosperous Afghanistan.

New experience

AT READERS' REQUEST

BREAKING THE CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE

Many readers of *WMR* want to know how the communists in capitalist countries use the mass media to spread revolutionary ideas.

Below Arsenio Hernandez Fortuna, CC member of the Dominican Communist Party, speaks of his party's experience.

The Dominican Communist Party has quite a lot of experience of spreading its views through the mass media. To illustrate.

In December 1981 it discovered that there was a plot to assassinate the party's General Secretary Narciso Isa Conde. Some elements in the ruling circles were planning to institute a reign of terror with the purpose of physically

eliminating many personalities of the left opposition. Their lists, drawn up in advance, contained the name Narciso Isa Conde.

In this connection the communists called a press conference. The facts put before the journalists evoked a wide response in the commercial media and the public pronouncements of independent political personalities and representatives of revolutionary organizations. Even José Francisco Pena Gomes, General Secretary of the ruling Dominican Revolutionary Party, openly declared his solidarity with the leader of the Dominican communists whose life was seriously threatened. Large sections of Dominican public opinion consider that the physical annihilation of a prominent political leader like Narciso Isa Conde would have been a blow not only to the communists but also to

all other democratic forces, to the social freedoms won by the Dominican people at the price of enormous sacrifice.

The protest movement against the plans of the reactionaries paralyzed the criminal designs of the plotters. However, the danger still exists, for the President of the Republic still has to state his attitude to the plot and has not taken the relevant administrative-political measures to normalize the situation.

Or, take another example. In the middle of last year thousands of workers of the state sugar industry went on strike, demanding the additional pay promised them. The State Sugar Council refused the demand on the pretext that the accounts department did not have the final figures on the Council's revenues. However, our party obtained an official document showing the Council's revenues and held a press conference at which newsmen were acquainted with this document. The Council's machinations were exposed by national newspapers and other mass media. This action by the party helped to enlist more public support for the struggle of the sugar industry workers. At the same time, we were able to give the working class further convincing proof that the Dominican Communist Party is the most consistent champion of its interests.

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And, lastly, one more fact showing how the communists succeed in influencing the nation's political life through the so-called free press.

The Communist Party gained possession of a copy of a secret report of the National Businessmen's Council containing an analysis of the work of various mass media. This document censured many media for publishing statements by communists and representatives of other left forces. Businessmen were planning to pressure these media and go so far as to close those that in their view were enemies of private property. The report was studded with fascist-type ideas that had been massively rebuffed by the majority of the population.

After this exposure the Council had to acknowledge the existence of the secret document. Thus, the reverse side of the coin of bourgeois "freedom" of speech and of the press was demonstrated to the nation thanks to the determined actions of the communists.

The Dominican Communist Party, founded in 1944 during the struggle against the dictator Trujillo,* recognizes the positive role that was played by the national press in this struggle. For their part, many persons working in the mass media respect the communists. They know that when the Communist Party campaigns against disorder and lawlessness there is always a response to its opinion from the people. That is why the publication of the DCP's statements in this or that newspaper attracts readers and helps to increase the paper's circulation. This concerns radio and television in equal measure.

Naturally, at the same time, we give much attention to the publication of the DCP weekly *Hablan los Comunistas*, which conducts a political and ideological struggle against the class enemy and brings to light misguided views among party members and supporters.

Not everything, of course, is all that well in our relations with the bourgeois mass media. Many newspapers and the radio and television networks often join in a conspiracy of silence about the actions of the communists and distort the party's views. What we publish in the bourgeois press cannot counter the shameless commercial propaganda and misinformation churned out by the international imperialist agencies. This makes it incumbent on us to develop new ways of spreading revolutionary ideology and promoting and improving the work of the communist press.

*Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina, dictator of the Dominican Republic from 1930 to 1960. — Ed.



Socialism: economic development and social progress

The fraternal party congresses held last year in a number of socialist community countries summed up their socio-economic and political development for the past five-year period and the 1970s as a whole and mapped out the tasks ahead in domestic and foreign policy. The congresses introduced many new elements both into the theoretical comprehension of socialist and communist construction and in the approach to the practical solution of pending problems.

This provided the basis for a *WMR* international scientific symposium on "Economic Development and Social Progress at the Present Stage of Socialist Construction." It was attended by: Mincho Semov, Dr. Sc. (Philosophy), a responsible official of the BCP CC; Academician Aladar Sipos, Director of the Institute of Economics, Hungarian Academy of Sciences; Academician Otto Reinhold, Rector of the Academy of Social Sciences under the SUPG CC and CC member, SUPG; Eugeniusz Mazurkiewicz, Dr. Sc. (Economy), Prorector of the Higher School of Social Sciences under the PUWP CC; Professor Grigore Botoi, Dr. Sc. (Economy), S. Georghiu Academy under the RCP CC; Academician Oleg Bogomolov, Director of the Institute of Economics of the World Socialist System, USSR Academy of Sciences; Academician Radovan Richta, Director of the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences; and by party representatives on the journal: Professor Girgin Girginov, Dr. Sc. (Philosophy), CC member, BCP; Ho Si Ban, CP Vietnam; Assistant Professor Karoly Lipkovics, Cand. Sc. (History), HSWP; Roland Bauer, Cand. Sc. (History), CC member, SUPG; Tserengiin Gurbadam Cand. Sc. (Economy), CC member, MPRP; Wieslaw Klimczak, PUWP; Barbu Zaharescu, corresponding member, Romanian Academy of Sciences, Central Auditing Commission member, RCP; and Assistant Professor Pavel Auersperg, Cand. Sc. (Law), CC member, CPCz, *WMR* Executive Editor.

In this survey of the discussion, the *WMR* Commission on the Problems of Socialist

Construction made use of the material of the plenary meetings held by fraternal party Central Committees in late 1981.

The economic potential of the socialist community countries, the material basis of their progress and increasing influence on world developments, has been substantially strengthened over the past decade. From 1971 to 1980, the CMEA countries' national income went up by two-thirds, and industrial output by more than 85 per cent. They accounted for about one-half of the world's industrial growth, and this made a tangible contribution to the development of humankind's productive forces. While surpassing the most industrialized capitalist countries in some volume indicators, the CMEA countries still lag in labor productivity and product technical level in some branches of engineering, chemistry, and the light and food industry.

They continue their efforts to switch agricultural production to an industrial basis, and here major successes were scored by Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR and Czechoslovakia, where the average wheat yield rose to 40 and more centners per hectare. From 1976 to 1979, the CMEA countries' average annual gross agricultural output was roughly 30 per cent up on the 1964-1970 figure.

They have built up a powerful research, development and engineering system (the socialist community accounts for almost 20 per cent of the patents taken out in the world) and this enables them to tackle the most complicated problems through their own efforts.

In the 1970s, their economic progress enabled them to pursue a policy of steadily raising the people's material well-being and increasing real incomes. There was a marked increase in food consumption per head and the market of consumer durables was diversified. Important advances were made in housing construction and large-scale measures were put through in social security. The main tasks set by the fraternal parties in this sphere were successfully fulfilled.

ECONOMIC STRATEGY IN NEW CONDITIONS

The formulation of strategic goals is the starting element in the policy of the fraternal parties of the socialist countries. These goals encompass the fundamental problems of development and are projected over a sufficiently long perspective, which is why they are abstracted from short-term fluctuations and many of the current and particular changes. However, any substantial changes in the domestic and external conditions of economic management do, as a rule, result in fundamental corrections or even reviews of old policies. It is noted by the participants in the discussion that such are precisely the changes that have occurred since the second half of the 1970s.

Factors behind the changes: their nature and significance

In formulating socio-economic strategy for the 1980s, Otto Reinhold said, the 10th congress of the SUPG proceeded from the assumption that the new factors differ both in origin and in impact on the economy. Some of them are internal factors, intrinsic to the social system, and others are external factors. Alongside the factors exerting a drag on economic development and complicating economic management, there are other factors — both external and internal — which facilitate the attainment of the set goals, open up fresh potentialities and counteract unfavorable trends. The situation must naturally be considered with an eye to the impact and interaction of all the factors taken together.

Analysis shows that the economic development of most socialist countries in Europe has been complicated in recent years by processes under way in world markets. In this context, participants in the symposium spoke of the worsening ratio between the prices for fuel and energy commodities (notably oil), on the one hand, and for manufactured goods, on the other, and this when the former constituted the main item of imports by the socialist countries (with the exception of the USSR), and the latter — the main item of their exports. The changes in the import-export price proportions on the world market have done some damage to the economy of most European socialist countries.

Unfavorable effects are also caused by the unpredictable fluctuations in the market outlook, which complicates planning, especially medium and long-term planning. Meanwhile, the structural crisis of capitalism tends to sharpen competition on the world markets, increasing the urge for protectionism and high-handed attempts to discriminate against the

socialist countries. The overall political situation which has taken shape in the world over the past few years tends to operate in the same direction.

In the middle of the past decade, Oleg Bogomolov recalled, ties between states with different social systems were rapidly spreading, and this was favored by the climate of détente, notably, by the results of the Helsinki Conference on European Security and Cooperation. This was followed, however, by a toughening up of the U.S. foreign-policy line, and the imperialist circles became more aggressive. In defiance of the principles of international law, the U.S. government brazenly tries to put direct economic and political pressure on the socialist countries and to divide them by means of a deliberate policy of differentiation. The Reagan administration has set in motion the whole arsenal of anti-communist propaganda weapons, including its "heavy artillery," the methods of psychological warfare.

Having analyzed the sources of the present crisis in Poland,¹ Eugeniusz Mazurkiewicz emphasized that anti-communist subversion centers have been mounting savage psychological attacks on socialism and the PUWP, making use of them to step up tensions in the world. Polish counter-revolution has done much to sharpen the international confrontation, notably because the imperialist forces did not see the crisis as some isolated phenomenon, but as an impetus to provoking internal conflicts in other socialist countries.

The worsening of the international climate is of special importance for the GDR, which lies along the boundary line between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, Otto Reinhold declared. It is well known that close by, on the territory of the FRG, nuclear warheads and other nuclear weapons are already deployed more densely than in any other country of the world. That is where a sizable part of the U.S. medium-range missiles are also to be sited. In other words, along no other border in the world is such a large modern military potential concentrated as it is just beyond the western borders of our republic. In these conditions, the SUPG believes that its duty is to make sure that the socialist system is strong, that there are no provocations fraught with the threat of an explosion. Political and social stability are closely interconnected, the one mutually ensuring the other; that is why in the present decade the SUPG strategy attaches special importance to dynamic economic growth and the raising of living standards.

It was suggested in the course of the discussion that a new and lengthy period of aggravat-

ing struggle between capitalism and socialism on a worldwide scale has begun. The altered situation impels the CMEA countries to correct the strategy not only of their external ties, but also of their internal economic development. First, there is the need for the socialist community states to back up their security with all the necessary means, to switch additional resources to the requirements of defense. Second, life demands the further strengthening of the moral and political unity of the socialist society and enhancement of the cohesion of the CMEA countries.

Meanwhile, some of the internal factors of socio-economic development also tend to create complications, although by character they relate to the advance of the new society, to its development on its own basis. Such, for instance, is the problem arising from the exhaustion of the extensive factors of growth. Although the sharpness of the problem differs from country to country, it tends increasingly to become a common one for the members of the community.

The working out of the extensive factors of development and the need for a radical enhancement of the efficiency of production is a problem that has been considered in the CMEA countries in the past as well. However, Oleg Bogomolov said, it has taken some time to realize that this is not just a matter of occasional economic complications, but of the onset of a fundamentally new stage in which a radical change in the situation entails the need for a serious correction of the methods of economic policy, the practice of planning, and economic thinking itself. Many socialist community countries now face the use of intensive sources of growth as a sharp and absolute imperative.

This idea was supported by Tserengiin Gurbadam, who spoke of the main lines of the socio-economic strategy of the MPRP. Experience shows, he said, that there is no alternative to intensification, for it is the only way which makes it possible simultaneously to develop production and fulfil social tasks. Our party relies on the rich experience of the Soviet Union and the other CMEA countries, which has demonstrated that all-round intensification of social production and its ever greater efficiency are the main condition for attaining the supreme goal of socialism. That is why the MPRP's 18th congress (May 1981) set the task for the new five-year period of making more rational use of resources and optimal combination of intensive and extensive growth factors, with the utmost enhancement of the former.

The era of cheap energy and raw materials has ended for good, Oleg Bogomolov stressed.

What is more, the vast scale on which raw materials are being extracted nowadays has brought out the fact that some types of mineral resources are limited and non-renewable. An extensive factor like foreign credits, above all in convertible currency, has simultaneously ceased to yield an effect. More and more countries find their influx of additional man-power running out, although, Bogomolov pointed out, experience shows that here again there are latent reserves (the less than full use of working time, etc.). It may well be that improved organization of production will help more fully to muster labor resources and once again set this source in motion for some time. At the 16th congress of the CPCz, there was criticism of the insufficiently rational use of working time, whose losses in industry came to 15 per cent, and in building even to 30 per cent. Pavel Auerberg said that the complex of measures for improving the system of planning and management of the national economy adopted in Czechoslovakia in 1981 is aimed, in particular, to overcome these shortcomings and tighten up labor discipline. Increasing attention is being given to the better use of labor resources in the USSR. In the present five-year period, roughly 17 million are to be made "redundant" to enable their use in other industries. In Bulgaria, Girgin Girginov said, the problem of making more efficient use of living labor is also an acute one, and there is no prospect in the immediate future for a marked increase in the number of able-bodied persons, which means that the existing man-power shortage will have to be made good by rationalizing employment.

Successful implementation of the economic strategy of the 1980s calls for the most efficient use of available resources. On the one hand, socio-political measures (shorter working hours, longer holidays, etc.) tend substantially to reduce the annual fund of actually worked labor time: in the GDR, for instance, by one-eighth, which is equivalent to a reduction in the number of persons employed in the national economy by one million. On the other hand, there is a growth in the population's real incomes,² in the number of flats being built every year,³ in which people want to have new furniture, and so on. In these conditions, if supply is to be squared with demand, there must be a substantial restructuring of consumer goods production, marketing and the planning and management of these spheres of the economy.

Does existing socialism have — at the beginning of the 1980s — sufficient potentialities to neutralize the effect of the negative factors, without upsetting its policy of coherent economic and social progress? Is the effect of

such negative factors being compensated by other, positive factors? Is not evidence to the contrary provided, say, by the fact that since the late 1970s there have been signs of a slowdown of economic growth in most European CMEA countries?

Growth rates

The rate of growth is, of course, a relative indicator: as social production is expanded, every percentage point takes on added weight. Nevertheless, more moderate rates of economic growth than in the past have been planned in virtually all the European CMEA countries for the new five-year period. What is this: is it a short or a long-term phenomenon, is it law-governed or accidental? The importance of such an analysis not only in theoretical but also in practical terms emphasized by B. Zaharescu and K. Lipkowics, induced the participants in the symposium to take a closer look at this problem. If it is true that moderate rates of growth are organic to intensive production, the corollary is that any attempts to whip up the pace of economic growth are futile as being unnatural, if not downright harmful. Conversely, if there is no organic connection between the two, and there is no constraint on acceleration, it would be not only justified but even advisable to seek to step up economic progress.

Speakers said that the rate of expansion of social production in a country and the acceleration or slowdown of growth rates over a period of years amounted to a highly concrete problem whose solution depended on a great many factors: short and long-term, objective and subjective. Sudden one-time swings in the world market outlook or the vagaries of the weather may now and again have an effect. It is, of course, wrong to blame everything on unfavorable external economic conditions and unexpected happenings. Speakers also indicated some of the internal factors, like the inadequate efficiency of production and the relatively slow mastery of new hardware, both of which also slowed down the effort in the recent period to switch the economy to intensive development and, ultimately, had an effect on the rate of economic growth.

While external and internal factors are dissimilar in nature, their effect on the economy tends to run in the same direction, emphasizing the urgency and necessity of sharply boosting the efficiency of all its branches, and making full and thrifty use of resources, in short, of an accelerated switch to the intensive type of expanded reproduction, which is adequate to developed socialism. Greater efficiency of pro-

duction tends to make the country's goods more competitive on the world market, while expansion of profitable exports in its turn opens up fresh potentialities for economic growth at home.

It was emphasized in the discussion that there is nothing fatal about the slowdown in growth rates which some countries have planned for the 1980s. A. Sipos showed, for instance, that the pace of economic development established in Hungary was not a passive tribute to world economic processes but a conscious step designed for a regrouping of forces, a sort of medium-term economic maneuver staged for the purpose of advancing to new frontiers.

In the first two or three years after the 1973-1974 "price explosion," Hungarian economists assumed that it was a temporary flare-up and advocated support for the policy of dynamic growth, and protection of enterprises from the unfavorable ratio of import and export prices on the part of the state, which was to take care of their losses for a certain period. But the result was a paradoxical situation which could not be tolerated for any length of time: while the budget showed a growing deficit, the economic units continued to earn their incomes as if nothing had happened. Time and practice also confirmed that in fencing off enterprises from the influence of the world market, the state runs the risk of pushing its foreign-trade and payments balances into ever greater disequilibrium; meanwhile, contrary to its best intentions, the progressive transformation of the structure of the national economy is slowed down.

When it became clear that the changes in the world fuel and raw-material markets were irreversible, the HSWP duly adjusted its economic policy. The starting point in the conception of the new five-year plan is the country's export potentialities, because whenever imports outrun exports (and dynamic growth tends to give an impetus to imports), the country finds itself with a foreign trade deficit, in need of foreign credits, and so on. In order to maintain proportionality and equilibrium it has been deemed advisable to limit temporarily the rate of economic growth, while simultaneously concentrating on the utmost expansion of exports. Besides, in order to cut down the external debt to a minimum, the consumption of the national income from 1981 to 1985 has been set at a lower level than its production.

Hungarian planning agencies expected to see the internal and external economic equilibrium restored by as early as 1983, so marking the end of the period of stabilization and the

economy's relative adaptation to the new conditions. For a number of objective and subjective reasons, the process may last somewhat longer, but, Sipos said, there is no ground for constructing a conception of "natural fade out" of growth rates at the stage of intensive expanded reproduction.

It was said that in the future, growth rates need not necessarily rise to the levels which were characteristic, say, of the 1950s, but after a certain transition period, they could be expected to pick up. The sooner the resources of intensive development are set in motion, the shorter the transition period will be.

Dynamic and consistent economic growth, Reinhold said, is of fundamental importance for the build-up of a developed socialist society. Such growth is necessary because the society's material and spiritual requirements tend to increase, while it is still a long way from fully satisfying these. This cannot be achieved either tomorrow, or the day after tomorrow without consistent growth. At the same time, the shaping and further perfection of developed socialism entails problems which cannot be solved without a marked expansion of economic potential. One need merely recall the tasks of approximating the way of life in town and country, and reducing the substantial distinctions between those doing manual and mental work. The present stage in the building of socialism, the creation of the basic prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism is an exceptionally dynamic process which requires similarly dynamic economic growth. Abandonment of such growth is fraught with a sharpening of contradictions and social conflicts signifying stagnation and decline. That is why, Reinhold said, the 10th congress of the SUPG set before the party and the working people these two fundamentally important tasks: first, to bring about an acceleration of economic growth in the GDR in this five-year period,⁴ and second, to do this exclusively by intensifying social production.

The fundamental importance of dynamic economic growth was considered from a somewhat different angle by G. Botoi. He presented two arguments: the need to reduce the distinctions in development levels, first, between the individual socialist countries (to enable the less developed countries to join in the general socio-economic advance in the community) and second, between the socialist and the capitalist states. While we are in the act of catching up with them in economic terms, we cannot do without a higher growth rate. The actual figures for economic development in this or that socialist country are another matter,

which depends on the potentialities and circumstances, on how successful the switch to intensive reproduction is.

Switch to all-round intensification

On the strength of the documents of fraternal party congresses, participants in the symposium sketched out the following lines along which the swing to intensification is to be effected: adaptation of economic strategy to the new conditions, correction of current goals and their priorities; improvement of the economic mechanism, especially of the system of economic incentives, planning and organization of social production; greater efficiency of social policy, and rates of growth of well-being; perfection of labor relations; and political back-up of the complex decisions being taken in the economic and social spheres.

Speakers recalled that in the 1980s, scientific and technical progress is to be resolutely accelerated, reserves for economizing on labor resources, raw and other materials and fuels are to be brought out, and the use of fixed assets improved through the elaboration of a relevant economic strategy and complex improvement of the mechanism of the planned economy. Those are the targets of the measures formulated in the Soviet Union and a number of other socialist states.

In determining the ways for intensive economic development, the parties of the socialist community countries attach serious importance to improving management and organizational relations, especially in view of the inadequate planned control of some processes, among which speakers designated capital construction, the introduction of new hardware, import, and the growth of the incomes of the population.

A part of the reserves connected, say, with the current rationalization of production, could be set in motion relatively soon, and this is envisaged by the decisions of the party congresses. Another part, like optimization of the structure of the economy and raising of the skills, culture and social consciousness of the working people will evidently require more protracted effort.

The strategic decisions in the fraternal parties' economic policy are designed for a major success in raising the people's well-being by boosting the efficiency and raising the technical level of production. Such decisions include definition of economic growth rates, which make it possible to attain faster the necessary level of production of material and cultural values, while taking into account the real stock of available resources. An important element of

the strategy is a progressive remodelling of the structure of production and a corresponding distribution of capital investments, and also long-term orientation in the distribution of incomes and consumption. Serious importance is attached to the build-up of reserves of commodities and production capacities, and definition of the priority tasks in scientific and technological development. Much depends on the concentration and location of production and on external economic ties. Much more attention is now being given to all these aspects of the long-term orientation of planning activity in the socialist countries.

While formulating the strategy of intensive economic growth, speakers said, most fraternal parties devote much importance to keeping the economy in greater equilibrium. In this context, the USSR, Czechoslovakia, the GDR and Hungary have restrained the growth of capital investments, which are being regrouped in favor of the fuel and energy complex, agriculture, the food industry and some of the most efficient and technically progressive lines of production in manufacturing, and also in favor of the production infrastructure and measures for economizing on fuel and raw materials. The volume of new industrial construction is limited, with emphasis being switched to the modernization of existing facilities. The reduction and elimination of inefficient lines of production is being made a matter of great urgency.

In some CMEA countries, like Hungary, the GDR and Czechoslovakia, special importance is being attached to maintaining a balance between supplies on the consumer market and paid-up demand. The maintenance of this national-economic proportion is seen as an important prerequisite for practising the socialist principle of distribution according to work and providing moral and material incentives for labor activity.

In the discussion on problems arising from the intensification of social production, participants in the symposium dealt in greatest detail with the basic elements of their parties' socio-economic strategy designed to bring about a resolute swing to intensification and to offset the negative impact of the external economic factors. These are, first, acceleration of scientific and technological progress; second, structural policy; third, deepening of integration processes; and fourth, perfection of the system of economic management. It was also stressed that success in the first two areas largely depends on the third and the fourth, which are the key internal and external conditions for intensifying social production.

Main instrument

The latest congresses of the fraternal parties of the CMEA countries saw the acceleration of scientific and technological progress as the crucial factor of an intensification. In the present conditions, R. Richta said, science is of tremendous importance, for it helps to bring about stable and dynamic growth of production and consumption over the long term, to set in motion the links between social production and social progress, and to shape the system for the mutual stimulation of these processes, the basis for realizing the socio-economic program of developed socialism.

Two opposite trends are in evidence in the conditions which have taken shape by the early 1980s, O. Reinhold said. On the one hand, because of the higher cost of fuel and raw materials, there is a need to effect expanded reproduction even if only to ensure the continued maintenance of simple reproduction. On the other hand, the most efficient use of the latest scientific and technological advances provides the potentialities for making production so "fruitful" that qualitative changes in simple reproduction yield the same effect as expanded reproduction. One of the key goals of the economic policy of the fraternal parties, including the SUPG, is to see that the latter trend becomes the definitive one.

The imperialist circles largely develop modern science and technology not only for obtaining additional profits, but also for consolidating their domination within the capitalist world and to step up external expansion. The monopolies have been pressing for efficient scientific and technological progress and enlarging the sphere in which its achievements are applied to promote their military-political interests and to overcome the deep economic crisis. The drive for domination in the crucial spheres of production through the application of new products and technological processes is becoming the key form of competitive struggle. Successful mastery of the scientific and technological revolution, especially with an eye to economic, social and cultural consequences, speakers said, tends to become central to the competition and contest between socialism and capitalism. The fact that in the 1980s, the pace of technological progress and the aggregate scientific and technological potential of the imperialist adversary will markedly increase is yet another important argument for taking the most serious attitude to these problems.

The fraternal parties and governments in the CMEA countries are taking resolute measures to improve their technical policy. Thus, the

resolution of the CPSU CC and USSR Council of Ministers "On the Improvement of Planning and Enhancement of the Influence of the Economic Mechanism in Raising the Efficiency of Production and Quality of Workmanship" mapped out concrete ways for joining science and production even more closely by means of economic instruments. In the 11th five-year period, it is planned to accelerate the renewal of hardware by roughly 50 per cent. The Soviet Union will be working on 38 goal-oriented complex scientific and technical programs to apply the most effective scientific and technological achievements in the economy. By 1985, it is estimated, this will yield over 25 billion rubles.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Pavel Auersperg said, is now taking steps to modernize every sector of the "science-technology-production" chain, because it is dissatisfied with the pace of scientific and technological progress achieved in the country. On the party's initiative, researchers and designers are concentrated on a number of important lines (cutting inputs of energy, metal and other raw materials, the development of electronics and cybernetics, the use of robots, elaboration of new biological technology for agriculture, for the food and pharmaceutical industry and medicine), while the unpromising projects are being folded up. In pursuance of the tasks set by the 16th congress of the CPCz, the CC Presidium has decided to analyze the use of the country's scientific and technological potential, a sizable part of which is directly connected with production. This analysis will range not only over the matters connected with the orientation of research and development, but also the problem of the influence exerted by the activity of scientists and designers on the concrete types of production, on the development of products which are up to the best world standard in quality. In this way, the party intends to reach practical conclusions about how best to manage scientific and technological progress and to influence its pace in the whole of the economy with greater effect.

The lines of basic and applied research to be carried on in Bulgaria in the 1980s were determined by the 12th congress of the BCP. These are above all problems relating to the concentration of raw-material and energy resources, the development of high-molecular compound chemistry, enhancement of biological productivity, development of biologically active substances and bioproducts used in industry, agriculture and medicine, and the creation of new and effective

technologies and more perfect products. The party, G. Girginov said, has set the task of perfecting the mechanism of planning and stimulating scientific and technological innovation, the system for providing incentives to enterprises for their application. The Directives for Bulgaria's Eighth Five-Year Plan envisage a four and five-fold increase in economic efficiency of research and development projects. It is emphasized that our own achievements need to be combined with the best world achievements, and for this purpose there should be utmost efforts to develop scientific and technological cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries, the Soviet Union in the first place.

Socialism has objective advantages in the extensive application of scientific and technological achievements. What are they?

Speakers at the symposium considered some of these advantages. The most substantial one is that under the new system the scientific and technological revolution exclusively serves to raise the working people's living standards, to develop them as individuals and to preserve peace. The very nature of socialism rules out the use of new discoveries and inventions for inhuman purposes, and only under socialism can science first fully manifest its progressive substance. Besides, in our society, both science and technology are developed consciously and in a planned way.

Under socialism, scientific progress, technical progress and social progress constitute a dialectical unity which makes it possible to change the nature of labor and working conditions, to improve social ties, and to reduce the substantial distinctions between those working by brain and by hand. As the developed socialist society is built up, measures are planned not only in the sphere of science and technology, in economic development, but also in the social sphere. Oleg Bogomolov said that over the past five-year period, in the USSR manual labor was mechanized for more than 2 million persons, while 750,000 were relieved of arduous physical operations. A special goal-oriented program for reducing manual operations is being worked out for the 1980s. In Czechoslovakia, much attention is being given to the development of work collectives, notably, the social and hygienic improvement of the working environment, as the 16th congress of the CPCz showed. These tasks are to be fulfilled through the joint efforts of enterprises and national committees, of all the organizations working on a given territory, so that the funds earmarked for social purposes should be used with the maximum effect.

Participants in the symposium spoke of the gradual shaping of the strategy of their countries' scientific and technological development and specification of the fundamental tasks arising along this way. But despite the unquestionable gains, the fraternal parties have drawn attention to the insufficiently high rates of scientific and technological progress. Why is it that in the presence of a sizable research and development potential, some scientific and technological advances are still being applied with delay?

CPCz documents and the Czechoslovak press note that regional interests frequently act as a barrier in the way of measures aimed at profound modernization of social production and its all-round and consistent intensification, R. Richta said. It happens that some departments, enterprises or local organs resist major structural shifts, and qualitative changes in the nature and distribution of labor, in the system of management. In tackling concrete problems, economic executives frequently concentrate all their attention on economic efficiency, sidestepping the problem of efficiency of a higher order, which is efficiency from the standpoint of the basic goals of social and economic development as a whole, which calls for complex and in-depth analysis.

What are the ways and means for overcoming these difficulties? Scientific and technological progress can be resolutely accelerated through the fuller use of socialist relations of production, speakers emphasized. Here, perfection of the system of management, and especially of material incentives, could have a big part to play.

Priorities of structural policy

The changing situation in the world markets has highlighted some weak spots in the CMEA countries' economic structures. The structural (selective) policy which some of them have pursued over the past 15-20 years failed to take due account of the latest scientific and technological advances. This has had an effect on the quality and reliability, the energy and material-intensiveness of production, that is, on the key criteria of its efficiency, which also means on the competitiveness of products. The following calculation was cited in the course of the discussion: compared with the Common Market, the European CMEA countries on average spend 30-40 per cent more energy to produce a unit of national income. Here we have an important source of economies. Bogomolov stressed: all other conditions being equal, the mastery of progressive norms of energy con-

sumption could help to increase national income by 30-40 per cent.

In the second half of the 1970s, the fraternal parties of the socialist community countries intensified their attention to structural policy and the priorities which had taken shape in this sphere have been changed in a number of cases.

The pursuit of an effective structural policy and purposeful shifts on the micro-level, that is, within the industries, imply accelerated development of the technically and technologically most advanced lines of production with a high export profitability and the elimination of outdated ones. This is a fairly deep reconstruction for which favorable conditions are provided by moderate growth and a balanced economy. But, A. Sipos remarked, moderation does not at all mean a slowdown along every line. On the contrary, the necessary priority growth is envisaged for some spheres.

In the 1960s, in the GDR mechanical engineering and instrument-making, chemistry and electronics were regarded as the industries which determined structure. Their priority development helped substantially to modernize the economy. On the initiative of the SUPG, structural policy was corrected in the mid-1970s: attention was concentrated on the development of micro-electronics, as a kind of new shock force of the scientific and technological revolution. Under the party's leadership and with the active and general participation of the communists, a totally new industry was built up fairly rapidly (employing 100,000 as early as 1980) which produced the expected favorable chain reaction in other areas of the economy.

The structure of industrial production in Czechoslovakia is being remodelled in such a way as to reduce the share of heavy engineering, metallurgy and the chemistry of basic materials, and to accelerate the development of electronics in general, and micro-electronics, in particular, and also "minor" chemistry. The deep structural changes outlined by the 16th congress of the CPCz envisage the development of nuclear engineering and the nuclear power industry, micro-electronics, bio-engineering, and some types of chemical production.

In the development of the structure of production in Bulgaria, special attention is being given to building up the fuel and raw-material basis, and accelerating the development of engineering (especially investment engineering) and the chemical industry.

In Romania, priorities have been established for engineering and precision mechanics. Serious attention is being given to raising agriculture and turning out consumer goods.

The purposeful change of economic structures calls for special methods of planning and management. Here, the goal-oriented program approach, which is being ever more widely applied, is especially effective. One example is the elaboration of a complex food program in the USSR. At the November 1981 plenary meeting of the CPSU CC, Leonid Brezhnev emphasized that the drawing up of such a program for the new five-year period is a highly creative and complex matter, for it involves the joining of efforts in agriculture, the industries catering for it, and in the systems of procurement, storage, processing, transportation and marketing of farm produce. The operation of all these sectors is geared to a single goal, that of providing the country with foodstuffs. The successful fulfillment of such a large-scale complex of problems will help to make economic development more balanced.

Speakers in the discussion said that the intensification of production attained through structural policy could, consequently, ease and even neutralize the effect of the factors which tend to constrain economic growth, help maintain the earlier pace of development and possibly even to accelerate it somewhat.

Integration reserves

While noting the impressive achievements in the CMEA countries' economic, scientific and technical cooperation and in developing international specialization and cooperation, speakers concentrated on the outstanding problems and impediments to the deepening of these processes.

In the early 1970s, cooperation within the CMEA framework — alongside the other favorable factors — did much to promote Hungary's success at the initial phase in switching to the intensive type of reproduction, A. Sipos said. Against the background of the "price explosion" and the acute economic crisis in the capitalist world, this cooperation acted as a stabilizer and, in addition, helped to increase production further, primarily because the economy was basically assured of energy and raw material supplies. But over the past several years, integration began to manifest some shortcomings in its structure.

The multiplication or marked increase in the world prices of energy sources and some raw materials tends to have an ever more marked impact on the CMEA's contract prices, even if with a certain time lag. The production of modern machines and parts needed for raising the efficiency of the economy and production specialization and cooperation in manufacturing have been developing at a slower pace than

that envisaged in the Comprehensive Program. No agreement has been reached on approximating to the world level of prices in the mutual trade in farm produce. There is a growing need for joint efforts to perfect the mechanism of the CMEA's functioning, so that it be constantly on the level of the tasks of the present stage and open up fresh sources of growth both for the community as a whole and for its individual members.

The decisions of the fraternal party congresses and the Crimea meetings between their leaders indicate that the partners in socialist integration have before them broad horizons for deepening production cooperation and specialization and a broad field for their scientific and technical cooperation. It has been decided to step up the development of this cooperation and specialization in the current decade.

International practice has brought out the advantages of specialization in the making of components and assemblies: within the EEC framework, such deliveries are valued at 40 billion rubles, constituting a sizable part, if not the bulk of the mutual trade flows in specialized products. Meanwhile, in the cooperation deliveries of the European CMEA countries, finished products are predominant, while the total value of exchange in components and assemblies does not exceed 1-2 billion transferable rubles. Meanwhile, a number of successful joint projects show the potentialities and effectiveness of this form of cooperation in our community.

Experience shows that the development of progressive forms of international socialist division of labor, Bogomolov said, is being slowed down by several factors. One of these is the inadequacy of guarantees that obligations will be fulfilled precisely and on time. More substantial impediments arise from the fact that up to now the bulk of the specialized production (almost 90 per cent) has consisted of products which have been turned out for some time. There are no prospects for international cooperation on such a basis. Partners are eager to join in component and assembly specialization only with projects based on the latest technical approaches, holding promise of large orders and — a highly important point — the possibility for moving into the markets of "third" countries, including those which are heavily monopolized.

The idea of production specialization and cooperation based on the CMEA countries' scientific and technical cooperation and joint research and development projects was written into the Comprehensive Program. Now that the

question of formulating the principles of a common economic policy has been raised, it is useful, speakers at the symposium said, to look not only for ways to improve the cooperation mechanism and common organizational decisions, but also for concrete industries and enterprises with respect to which progressive forms of specialization and cooperation could be the most effective.

Supporting this idea, Reinhold and Richta said that scientific and technical cooperation was highly important for the conduct of structural policy. Only through joint efforts, with the active participation of the Soviet Union, can some socialist countries rapidly advance the development of micro and opto-electronics, nuclear engineering and other progressive industries. In G. Botoi's opinion, it is also advisable to use component, assembly and technological specialization and cooperation for making items which are in short supply and which have to be bought on the capitalist market. This will help to reduce its negative impact.

The less developed a country is in economic terms, said E. Mazurkiewicz, the more complicated the process of involving it in integration, especially its highest forms. The level of development has general civilization aspects, being expressed, in particular, in the workers' attitude to work, technological discipline, etc. All of this has an effect on the quality of the product being supplied under cooperation agreements and, consequently, on the partners' willingness to continue cooperation.

The Polish scientist was supported by G. Botoi, who also said that cooperation was being complicated above all by the differences between the individual countries.

Objective difficulties in the integration process do exist, but Botoi's assertion concerning the relative and absolute increase in the gap between the socialist countries' development levels drew objections on grounds of principle and methodology. Thus, according to R. Richta, computations made by the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences indicate that over the past 30 years the differences in the material well-being of the populations in the European socialist countries have been on the wane.

National-state interests have many shades and concerting them is a complicated matter. The existing specifics need to be carefully studied and taken into account. But it was also emphasized that the gaps in development levels inherited by the countries could be reduced in a historically short period only by joint efforts.

Speakers emphasized that further consolidation of the socialist community countries' unity

and deepening of their economic cooperation, especially integration ties, are a key way for successfully tackling the complicated economic problems of the current decade.

Restructuring management

Participants in the symposium held that improvement of the system in which the economy functions is a responsible and vital task, because the old management methods used at the stage of extensive development were no longer capable of effectively catering for the further development of production and the raising of living standards.

Oleg Bogomolov dwelt in detail on a number of common aspects of the policy pursued by the fraternal parties in the European socialist countries on these matters. It is characteristic, for instance, that concentration and centralization of production are being increasingly geared to the need to combine research, output, marketing and servicing in integral economic complexes. This is exemplified by associations in the USSR, combines in the GDR, agrocombines in Hungary, and large economic organizations in Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria. There is an ever more vigorous search for inter-sectoral forms for combining enterprises and scientific organizations to grapple with large-scale economic problems.

In economic calculus relations, the idea is, above all, to approximate wholesale prices to the real costs of production and international exchange and to reduce state subsidies and unjustifiably high profits to a minimum. Say, the substantial reviews of wholesale and retail prices in Bulgaria and Hungary in 1980 are regarded as a key measure for switching to intensification. It is up to planning activity to ensure the greatest benefit at the lowest costs, with the tasks of overcoming the traditional quantitative "gross" approach to the characterization of economic development. It was said, for instance, at the November 1981 plenary meeting of the CPSU CC that "gross output" calculated in tons or roubles for the output of machine-tools or bread, or in ton-kilometers in assessing the work of transport, in effect induces waste. Enterprises and associations find it economically unprofitable to adopt taut plans, to accelerate scientific and technological progress and improve product quality.

It is symptomatic that for the purpose of improving the normative system, resort is made to indicators oriented toward final products — net and provisional net products — and in Bulgaria to gross income. That which meets the interests of the society as a whole becomes economically justified also for the individual associations

and enterprises. Their display of initiative in introducing new hardware and technology, economizing on resources and intensifying production largely depends on the style of activity of higher-ranking agencies. In the Soviet Union, for instance, there has been recent criticism of some ministries for their unacceptable practice of placing in similar conditions poorly and well performing economic units. Non-fulfillment of plans was covered up with corrections and reductions in assignments, while the economies obtained by the front-ranking collectives were withdrawn under various pretexts. Enterprises were also frequently deprived of a right independently to dispose of the development funds. Administration by fiat tends to invalidate even a very thoroughly considered normative system, which is why the CPSU has resolutely objected to this style of work.

Various forms of team economic calculus are being introduced in the CMEA countries, with efforts to do away with what remains the leveling down approach, to have remuneration of labor differentiated according to skill and quality, while ensuring a socially justified spread between the lowest and highest incomes. This makes it possible to expand the field for autonomous operations by economic units and to rid them of excessive tutelage from the center.

Characterizing the measures taken to improve the economic mechanism in Bulgaria in the recent period, M. Semov said that the state now laid down for the enterprises a limited number of basic indicators which guarantee balanced economic development and which give the economic units much room for displaying initiative, and making the maximum use of their potentialities in economic and social development.⁵

But we know from experience, he said, that it is not enough to give an enterprise room for upwardly adjusting the plan. Now and again, plans are arbitrarily altered by other departments or economic executives. The 12th congress of the BCP came out resolutely for the stability of plans, in which no corrections can be made on orders from higher-ranking agencies or executives, regardless of rank, without their coordination with management. The BCP's struggle against bureaucratic regulation of enterprise activity envisages the use of a planning procedure that would enable the economic units to enter into a dialogue with high-ranking bodies as an equal partner.

Nor is the party quite satisfied with the activity of economic councils at the enterprises:⁶ they do not give workers enough opportunities for having a say in management in their capac-

ity as masters, Semov continued. Here it is advisable more consistently to practice the principle of electing leading personnel. The BCP sees several ways of enhancing the autonomy of enterprises and also of urban and rural communities. One of these is resort to competition in filling leading posts at state enterprises. In Bulgaria, such an experiment has now gone on for three years, and its results are assessed as positive. The 12th congress also urged the need for public consultations in the most diverse forms, including local public polls on matters of concern to the whole population, like the marketing network, public transit, the laying of roads, etc.

The current restructuring of economic management in the socialist countries is often deliberately distorted by bourgeois ideologists who seek to put their own gloss on things. Some have tried, for instance, Reinhold said, to galvanize a meaningless and undialectical discussion about the correlation of centralism and decentralization. Those who are stuck in the crisis and do not know how to get out of it are quick to offer advice to others, recommending "the broadest decentralization," a "switch to self-management," and so on. However the socialist society is not at all faced with the alternative of centralization or decentralization; social property in the means of production is inconceivable without social, centralized management of the economy. That is what gives socialism its important advantages. It does not follow from this, of course, that the central element is consolidated at the expense of constraints on local initiatives or curtailment of the right of enterprises to act on their own. The one does not rule out the other; for instance, the establishment of large combines in the GDR certainly signified a concentration of production, but it went hand in hand with an extension of the responsibility of these big economic units for the reproduction process. Their formation is an extremely important element of the SUPG's economic strategy and is the source of the accelerated industrial growth evident from 1979 to 1981.⁷

The restructuring of the economic mechanism in the socialist community countries toward all-round intensification is a reflection of the further shaping of the relations of production in the new society and of the actual socialization of production, and it provides impulses for the development of socialism on its basis.

The economic strategy in the 1980s has maintained the necessary continuity of economic policy which was formulated at the entry upon the present stage of socialist con-

struction and which springs from the basic law of socialism. However, the continuation of this line has nothing in common with inertia or immobility of methods and means for realizing it or of the system of priorities established in practical activity. On the contrary, the fraternal party congresses showed that consistency in attaining the set goals was expressed in an in-depth analysis of the changed situation, a comprehension of the new facts of economic life, and a flexible selection of instruments ensuring the implementation of the taken decisions.

The principal features of the economic strategy for the new decade are also reflected in the social sphere.

SOCIAL POLICIES FOR THE 1980s

International opinion, some speakers noted, has frequently protested against economic progress which entails the waste of fuel and raw-material resources, a worsening of the environment and conditions for habitation on the globe. There is a growing number of active advocates of a so-called alternative way of life, and the advisability of constant economic growth is being increasingly questioned in the developed capitalist countries.

Why is it that economic development and concern for its rate are such an important matter in the elaboration of long-term conceptions in the socialist countries? This question became the starting point for a discussion of problems in the fraternal parties' social policy in connection with their economic policy.

Dialectics of goals and means

In capitalist society, social policy is designed to serve the maximization of profits or, at best, to ease the most inhuman consequences of the arbitrary acts of capital. By contrast, the systematic concern for human development, improvement of well-being and living conditions, and the shaping of new requirements under socialism is an objective goal that is intrinsic to this system and expresses its supreme meaning and substance of its economic activity. Having recalled this, R. Richta said: the history of socialist construction testifies that in the countries of our community the growth of production, the raising of its efficiency and of the scientific and technical level become — for the first time ever — the means and the basis for attaining the principal goal: "Everything for man."

This approach to economic and social tasks as a unity was clearly expressed in the documents of the congresses held by the communist and workers' parties of the socialist community

countries. At the 26th congress of the CPSU, Leonid Brezhnev stressed that "concrete concern for concrete man, for his needs and requirements is the be-all and end-all of the party's economic policy." Gustav Husak said at the 16th congress of the CPCz: "We do not plan for the sake of planning, we do not organize production for the sake of production. Everything that we are doing, all our efforts in developing socialism and ensuring the flourishing of our homeland go to benefit the working people. The good of man has been and continues to be the main purpose of our strivings."

The concrete forms in which economic and social tasks relate with each other naturally differ depending on the stage of socialist construction and are influenced by the balance of class forces both at home and in the international arena, Richta went on. In the period of Czechoslovakia's transition to socialism, the material and technical basis inherited from capitalism, the character of labor and consumption, etc., which it determined, exerted a strong influence. Socialist relations of production could not bring out all their potentialities because the fundamentally new motivation for production and social activity had yet to take shape. The bulk of our resources went into the extensive expansion of production in order to ensure the basic vital needs of all the working people. This, for its part, tended to narrow down the boundaries for the conscious shaping and development of requirements of a higher order, and so weakened the dialectical interaction between economic and social transformations in the course of which they reinforce each other.

The basic law of socialism — the maximum possible satisfaction of the growing requirements of all the working people through the rational use of science and technology in production and throughout the whole of the economy — also indicates the retroactive connection: the development of human capacities gradually becomes an ever more effective instrument for boosting the productive forces and accelerating social progress in general. In the process, socialism gradually creates specific sources for its internal dynamic, which consist in the conscious and purposeful management of the mutual influence of scientific, technical, economic, social, political, cultural and ideological transformations.

The urge for better satisfaction of social requirements is a factor which operates most strongly in making economic development dynamic, E. Mazurkiewicz emphasized. Insufficient satisfaction of the working people's

requirements and breaches of the unity of economic and social policy could provide the cause for slowing down economic development and produce social tensions, as Poland's example testifies.

While accepting this approach, Reinhold added that the dialectical unity of economic and social policy reflects the interconnection of social and individual interests and visually demonstrates it, so developing social activity and initiatives among the masses. Since enhancement of the efficiency of the economy, growing labor productivity and the quantitative and qualitative growth of production are directly connected with the improvement of the citizens' living and working conditions, each of them daily feels that good work tends to justify itself. While the scope of social policy is determined by the efficiency of the economy, social policy, for its part, is one of the crucial sources for boosting social production. These fundamental considerations require the continued pursuit of economic and social policy as an indissoluble whole. Increasing importance is attached to the unity of scientific, technical and social progress, whereas rationalization and modernization of production in the capitalist world signify a loss of jobs and the threat of unemployment for many working people. Sociological studies in the GDR show that its citizens have no fear of such consequences — and that is quite natural. The socialist countries seek to apply the latest achievements in a way that, far from threatening the loss of jobs, they should enhance the creative character of activity, help do away with arduous manual labor and confirm their citizens in their sense of social certainty and optimism.

Social progress in the 1980s

There was a lively exchange of views over the problems of social progress and of social stability in the new economic conditions.

Speakers showed that there was no straightforward connection between social stability and social progress, on the one hand, and economic growth rate, on the other. Consequently, while intensifying production, the socialist planned economy is capable of maneuvering with its economic proportions, so that living standards continue to rise even with some slowdown in the rate of growth. In the USSR, for instance, the 11th five-year plan envisages an increase in the share of the consumption fund from 75.3 per cent to 77.3 per cent, with a simultaneous priority increase in the output of consumer goods (Group B), as compared with the output of producer goods

(Group A), a fact that will be conducive to the fulfillment of social tasks.

A. Sipos drew attention to yet another specific aspect of the connection between economic and social progress. Behind the impressive figures one will sometimes find the production of goods which cannot be marketed either at home or abroad. That is precisely why in Hungary, for instance, there was an excessive growth in the 1970s, of unsold stocks of some goods, while others were in short supply. It is the possibility of freely buying the required product of a given quality, without having to line up, that goes to strengthen social stability.

This led to another important factor which has an influence on living standards, namely, the movement of prices. There are two approaches to price-formation in Hungary, A. Sipos said. Some advocate stable and centrally fixed prices, while others want prices to change freely depending on the movement of supply and demand. The polarity of these two approaches is largely imaginary, for the stability of prices frequently turns out to be fictitious whenever there is a shortage of some goods on the market — a scarce commodity is hard to buy. Therefore, we are looking for a solution to this problem.

Oleg Bogomolov supported the idea that the rate of economic growth and social stability largely depended on social factors. In the present situation, they acquired primary importance. The rising skill and cultural standards of the working people open up tremendous potentialities, but they require considerable capital investments and — most importantly — time. That is why, without losing sight of them, there is a need to mobilize, to the maximum possible extent, the social factors which are not directly connected with investments, like the improvement of labor relations and management.

R. Richta drew attention to the question of intensifying social progress, notably to compensate for the negative influences. The purposeful use of funds, he said, makes it possible, even with smaller outlays, to shape a qualitatively higher way of life for the working people which accords with socialist principles, that is, to obtain a greater social effect. In the spirit of the decisions of its 16th congress, the CPCz has assigned an important role to the development of socialist production and social relations in accelerating social and economic progress. This entails a two-fold task: on the one hand, efforts to have material resources purposefully channeled into the individual's all-round development, and on the other, to have the expended funds produce a return, in-

tensify and invigorate the subjective factor, instead of being wasted without trace, and without generating any fresh impulses to this development.

The discussion brought out two main possible lines in intensifying social progress, as envisaged by the fraternal parties' policies: coordination of social, group and individual interests, and consistent realization of the principle of distribution according to work.

Society — collective — individual

The basis created by socialism for harmonizing the interests of the society as a whole and those of work collectives and the individual is an objective one, but this does not occur automatically, in a ready-made form immediately upon the socialization of the basic means of production.

The concrete harmonization of three groups of interests largely determines the pace of economic and social progress. It is a fairly complex task for planning and management to make these interests completely identical. On its fulfillment largely depends the continued unity of economic and social policy in the changed conditions.

R. Richta emphasized that in developing socialist relations of production in the current decade, the CPCz will devote special attention to work collectives as the main unit in which the socialist attitude to work, to people and to the society as a whole takes shape. If an enterprise is to be optimally "meshed" with the system of economic and social relations, there is a need to perfect the economic mechanisms systematically, to enhance the scientific character of management and to develop the working people's social activity. This means, in effect, the need to strengthen the foundations of democratic centralism so as to bring out in ever bolder relief the fact that socialist democracy is democracy of the whole people.

The importance of correctly combining the various groups of interests was also considered by M. Semov. A key factor in labor activity is the political awareness of social interests, but it assumes concrete forms depending on where a person lives and works. It is important that he should be able to have a say in solving the problems faced by his collective, by the inhabitants of his town or village. In Bulgaria, not everything was duly arranged in this respect. The old planning system handed down "from above" too many regulating indicators.

Replying to a question from Ho Si Ban on the concrete forms in which social, collective and individual interests are concerted in Bulgaria, Semov said that the BCP, and Bulgarian

economic and sociological science seek to draw a theoretical and practical distinction between the concept of "proprietor" and "master" of the means of production. The proprietor is the people as personified by the socialist state, while the master is the work collective, the workers of the enterprise, the inhabitants of a town or village.

Social, group and individual interests under socialism are harmonized by means of a broad complex of measures designed to ensure collective leadership and direct participation by the working people in managing the various spheres of social life, G. Botoi said. He described the various organs of workers' self-management set up in Romania and stressed that the RCP attaches much importance to the renewal of personnel at every level of party and state leadership. It also wants consideration of the opinion of the collective in the appointment of personnel to responsible posts, and more working people from the shop floor to be represented on the organs of collective management.

Measures recently taken in the European socialist countries help more fully to bring up and to express publicly group and territorial interests and provide for more effective forms and methods for concerting these with each other and with the national interests. It is well known that the promotion of the interests of the society as a whole is guaranteed by the ruling communist and workers' parties, which seek to do away with departmental and petty local influences and to ensure sound interaction between the interests of every level for the purpose of accelerating social progress. The fraternal party congresses emphasized the need to enhance party leadership at every stage of economic and social management: from the drafting and discussion of plans, to their realization and control of fulfillment.

Labor: criterion of equality

In the spirit of the party congresses' decisions, the participants in the symposium devoted serious attention to the problems of the purposeful regulation of incomes as a means for perfecting the system of incentives to labor activity and social relations as a whole.

What is significant for the social climate under socialism, Richta said, is first the line of income differentiation and then its depth. International studies of social structure show that in the 1970s there was evidence of two types of such differentiation in the socialist community countries: one, where the regulation of incomes ran within classes and social strata, depending on skills and labor inputs, and the other, in

Poland where there was a deepening of differences between classes and strata, especially between the working class and the intelligentsia.

The second type of development, Richta went on, is regarded by the society as an infringement of social justice and tends to cause tension. This is also borne out by the experience of Czechoslovakia. The 1960s saw there a period in which the people's well-being rapidly rose. However, the incomes of cooperative peasants and especially of office workers grew faster than those of workers, and this created definite problems. The policy adopted in the 1970s, for evening out incomes has roughly equalized living standards of workers and peasants. The Czechoslovak society has attained a high degree of social equality. The income differential among the various classes and social groups does not exceed, on average, 15 per cent, while living standards in the Republics and the individual regions differ by no more than 9 per cent.

This picture — with some variations — is characteristic of all the European socialist countries. Here, the ratio between the highest and lowest income-groups ranges between 2 to 1 and 4 to 1. In Czechoslovakia, for instance, it is 2.2 to 1, and in Hungary 2.4 to 1.⁸

Assessing the existing income differentiations, speakers noted the presence of some "egalitarian" elements and the need to overcome these. The trend to some egalitarianism in Czechoslovakia, for instance, sprang from the active social policy in the 1970s. Throughout that decade, receipts from social funds in the country grew almost twice as fast as wages (64 per cent and 36 per cent).

This kind of movement has a contradictory effect on the intensification of production. The growth of social funds, and the tremendous outlays by the state on education and public health operate as important objective prerequisites for enhancing the efficiency of labor. At the same time, the large volume of payments and services made available from social funds tends to limit the resources which the society is able to use for direct stimulation of labor. That is why, Richta remarked, in the near future wage earnings will become the more dynamic element of incomes in Czechoslovakia.

Oleg Bogomolov backed up this approach with a socio-psychological argument. In some cases, he said, the state could be seen as an institution set apart from the society and making available definite benefits to its members simply in virtue of its "power." Everyone saw that wages or aids to whole groups and categories of working people were increased by decision of the highest state organ, frequently

without a direct relation to the growth of skills or labor productivity. However, the socio-psychological perception of this connection is very important. For the sake of intensifying production and social progress it would, probably, be more important for the growth of living standards being connected in the minds of people above all with an increase in individual labor inputs, a rise in skill standards and honest workmanship.

Marxist-Leninist theory, the scientist recalled, has clearly formulated the principles of social justice and has determined the measure of equality attainable under socialism. They are: equal status with respect to the means of production, labor as the main criterion of equality, and equal opportunities for social advancement. But there may be a discrepancy between principle and practice. The measures taken by the fraternal parties in regulating incomes are aimed consistently to assert the socialist principle of distribution. That is a great theoretical and practical task. We have not yet learned how to reduce complex labor to simple labor, to measure its various types with the same yardstick, and to take account of psychological aspects like the popularity or unpopularity of a given type of activity or its social utility. (There are, after all, cases in which highly skilled labor is expended uselessly or in such a form that it is inadvisable to reward it). In this sense, well-grounded wage differentials and efforts to overcome subjective and organizational impediments to practising the principles of scientific communism are an important step in enhancing social equality and justice and intensifying social progress.

Bulgarian scientists dealt with the decision of the 12th congress of the BCP on incomes policy. The artificial regulation of wages and its excessive levelling off do nothing to promote labor activity and cut across the interests of social justice. It was decided at the congress, in particular, to improve the conditions for the individual's self-realization in work, by providing the opportunity of working an additional two to four hours a day in agriculture (on specially allotted plots), in marketing or the services, to anyone willing to do so, for the purpose of raising their living standards.

The effective regulation of incomes, Richta stressed, is not confined to positive incentives for work. Of importance are also measures which prohibit any breach of the principles of socialism. Whenever people receive funds in excess of their actual socio-political contribution, it means that they enjoy advantages at the expense of the other members of the society, at the expense of its perspectives. Any breach of

the socialist principle of distribution weakens the social motivation for work, creates impediments to scientific and technological progress, and distorts the socialist activity of individuals and social groups. In such instances, private, local or individual interests tend to substitute for the interests of the society as a whole, and this erodes its unity. The CPCz has set itself the goal for the immediate future to purge systematically the relations of production from everything that is alien to the socialist society, be it breaches of labor discipline, bribes, unearned incomes, speculation or any other form in which socialist property is used for self-seeking purposes.

The level of equality that has been attained is the embryo of new forms of social relations which will develop at the higher stage of socialism and in the course of the actual transition to communism, when the society will have more wealth at its disposal, while the relations of universal mutual cooperation will begin to develop into relations of universal mutual development of people. Meanwhile, Richta said in conclusion, the society has created adequate resources only for ensuring the development of *all* the working people at a definite (even if steadily rising) level, which does not yet make it possible to ensure the full and all-round development of every individual. That is why scrupulous observance of the duty to work for the benefit of the society and the right to receive remuneration according to the quantity and quality of labor (and in no other way!) continues to be one of the basic tasks of the present stage in socialist construction.

In closing the symposium, K. Lipkovics, Chairman of the WMR Commission on Problems of Socialist Construction, said that the discussion ranged over a broad spectrum of problems relating to the dialectical connection between economic development and social progress at the present stage of socialist construction in the European CMEA countries. It was a discussion of the key lines of the strategy for building up and perfecting developed socialism, as formulated by the fraternal parties for the 1980s, and showed the main aspects of the concrete policies worked out by their congresses and being realized in practice. The exchange of opinion showed the participants' unanimous belief that the mustering of internal, national resources and the deepening of mutual economic, scientific and technological

cooperation will help to fulfil successfully the tremendous tasks facing the socialist community, so enabling it to take another major stride in the development of the new society.

1. Wieslaw Klimczak and Eugeniusz Mazurkiewicz said that the crisis in Poland broke out as a result of departures from the general principles of socialist construction, voluntarist policies, neglect of the basic requirements of the working people, and underestimation of the need to cooperate with the other CMEA countries. The workers' well-justified protest was then utilized by the forces of international imperialist reaction and Polish counter-revolution to spread as much political instability in the country as they could.

The PUWP representatives at the symposium characterized the various aspects of the economic and political situation in the country. People's Poland has a developed material and technical basis, especially in industry, and is capable of emerging from the present complicated situation, attaining a high level of labor productivity and rapidly expanding social production.

Klimczak said that the special state of the Polish economy now hampers conceptual activity and adoption of long-term plans for socio-economic development, and that the work of the PUWP and the government of the republic on long-term problems, notably improvement of the economic mechanism, has not yet been completed. Accordingly, Polish problems are virtually not dealt with in this survey.

2. Within 10 years, the increase in Bulgaria came to 49 per cent, in Hungary 35 per cent, in the GDR 63 per cent, in Romania 79 per cent, and in the USSR 46 per cent (here and elsewhere the references are to the material of the symposium).

3. In that period, the number of flats built in Bulgaria was 603,000, the GDR almost 1.5 million (including modernization), Czechoslovakia 1.3 million, and the USSR 21.5 million flats.

4. Among other things, to increase national income growth by an average of 5.2 per cent a year.

5. Enterprises are allowed to set up ancillary farms, workshops and shops to provide services for their workers, so effecting measures to improve the working and everyday conditions of industrial and office workers, and to help to infrastructure populated localities. Urban communities are entitled to set up not only similar workshops, but also subsidiary farms in the countryside, and to take out bank loans on easy terms; economic and production activity in favor of the local population is exempt from taxes, while the profits go to the urban community.

6. The economic council includes the director of the enterprise, his deputies, the chief engineer, the secretary of the party committee, the chairman of the trade-union council, the secretary of the YCL committee, and front-ranking workers.

7. In 1979, the GDR's national income went up by 4.0 per cent, in 1980, by 4.2 per cent, and in 1981 — by 5 per cent. Industrial output went up by 4.7 per cent in 1980, and by 5.1 per cent in 1981.

8. The calculation was based on 40 per cent of the population with the lowest incomes and 10 per cent, with the highest. The income equality is brought out through a comparison with ratios for the capitalist countries, e.g., FRG — roughly 4-5 to 1; France — 6-7 to 1; and South Africa — 24 to 1.

Peace or war? — a key issue of our day

The contemporary international situation arouses growing concern among the peoples for the future of the world. The imperialist circles continue to whip up tensions, revealing their readiness to take any step to prevent progressive social changes on the planet. In these conditions, the world's communists and all the other peace forces bear a special historical responsibility. How to frustrate the adventurist plans of the militarists? On what basis can the broad anti-war forces be further rallied against the threat of a thermonuclear holocaust? Such are the most urgent questions of our day. Here are two items dealing with some aspects of the stand taken on the key problem of our day by peace fighters of diverse political and ideological views.

THE SOURCE OF OUR OPTIMISM

Martha Buschmann

Presidium member, German CP Board

The vital question now agitating the working people of the Federal Republic of Germany, especially its young generation, is: "How to strengthen peace?" This paramount problem bears on the future of every individual and of all the working people. Because of the resolute anti-war protest voiced by a sizable section of our people, it is a problem that can no longer be ignored by any social or political force.

We, communists, have long concentrated our efforts on the struggle for peace. Since the sixth congress of the GCP issued its call: "Everything for Peace!", this struggle has been invigorated and our party's contribution to the development of the peace movement in the Republic has increased.

In early February 1982, the third plenary meeting of the GCP Board declared: "Now, as before, nothing is more important than to ensure peace." Having analyzed the international situation, the participants in the discussion reached the conclusion that present-day conditions give ground both for concern and for optimism.

The source of concern is the policy of U.S. imperialism, which seeks to replace peaceful cooperation with confrontation, to abandon international détente and return to the cold war. We are worried by the reanimation of the militaristic doctrine, which proved to be a

fiasco in the late 1960s, and which prescribes the conduct of negotiations with the Soviet Union from "a position of strength."

But at the same time, we are filled with a sense of optimism. The people's urge for peace has generated the most powerful anti-war movement in the history of the Federal Republic. A beneficial effect is being exerted on the public atmosphere by the consistent and constructive peace policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, which shows that there can be a real alternative to the slide toward war.

The Reagan-Haig-Weinberger line of confrontation is not being accepted anything like unconditionally in the United States itself and in the NATO countries allied with it, and frequently meets with growing resistance. The expectations of the extreme right, aggressive forces in the United States and the West European countries of the Atlantic bloc, seeking to foist their adventurist line on the world, have not been justified to this day. They have failed to wind up détente.

There is a mounting contest between two opposite conceptions: the socialist policy of peace, negotiations and readiness for disarmament, on the one hand, and the imperialist policy of rejecting serious negotiations, continuing stepped-up armaments, and material preparations for war, on the other. This is a contest which expresses the basic distinction between capitalism and socialism, the two socio-economic formations.

Imperialism's concrete policies daily demonstrate its predatory nature and its deeply imbedded anti-humanism. However, there is every evidence — and this goes to fortify our optimism — that international monopoly capital is no longer capable of imposing its will on the peoples. It is prevented from doing so by the might and influence of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, their consistent policy which meets universal interests, and also the resistance put up by masses of people in the imperialist countries themselves. The cardinal political problem now is to help the public to realize this, because the objective potentialities for averting a nuclear catastrophe can be realized only with a correct answer to this question: who threatens peace, and who is its chief guarantor?

The present international situation and the nature of the global contest between the forces of war and peace can be correctly analyzed only with a fundamental and class approach. We are sure that the participants in the working-class movement and the movement in defense of peace who refuse to see the differences between the foreign policy of the socialist community and that of the imperialist states, and in particular between the policy of the Soviet Union and that of the United States, are profoundly mistaken. For this kind of analysis there is a fundamental and objective fact: a country's attitude to the problems of war and peace, to the arms race and to disarmament is determined by its social system, by its socio-economic structure. Ultimately, it is the economic and political interests of the society's ruling class that are of crucial importance.

From this standpoint, it is important to understand the substance of Soviet foreign policy, which rejects war as a means for settling inter-state conflicts and which consistently advocates the practice of the principles of peaceful coexistence in relations between states with different social systems. This approach springs from the specific features which are organic to socialism. The main one is that under socialism power belongs to the working class, and the means of production are the property of the whole people. From this it follows that in the socialist society there can never be any social groups or classes deriving economic or other benefits from the arms race and wars of aggrandizement.

Let us recall that the first foreign policy act of the young Soviet power was the call for an end to war. The triumphant October Revolution, carried out by the working class in alliance with the poor peasantry, enshrined the policy of peace as a state doctrine and made it the basis of Soviet military conceptions, which are entirely oriented upon defense. The USSR makes efforts to strengthen its Armed Forces so as to defend the gains of the Soviet people and to provide global defense of peace.

For more than six decades now, the world's first socialist country has invariably followed this principled line, and fresh and convincing evidence of this is provided by the Peace Program for the 1980s adopted by the 26th congress of the CPSU. For the citizens of the Federal Republic, vivid confirmation of this line toward peace was provided by Leonid Brezhnev's visit to our country in the autumn of 1981. The Soviet delegation, which came to Bonn in an exceptionally difficult international situation, made an important contribution to the further improvement of relations between

the FRG and the USSR and to the cause of ensuring peace.

We, communists, were able to state with satisfaction that the basic political orientation of the most powerful socialist state meets the aspirations of all the peoples, including the people of our country. The German Communist Party, a party of the working class actively involved in the peace movement, emphasized that Leonid Brezhnev's visit showed once again that Soviet policy does not breed dangers or hostility, and that peaceful cooperation is its goal.

In the course of the negotiations in Bonn, the Soviet delegation clearly set forth concrete proposals which could consolidate international security and prevent Europe from sliding to the brink of a nuclear holocaust. Thus, in order to facilitate the Geneva dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States and to create a more favorable atmosphere for it, Moscow proposed that in the period of negotiations both sides should refrain from deploying new and modernizing already deployed medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe. What is more, if the United States agreed to such a moratorium, the Soviet Union would be prepared not only to halt the build-up of SS-20 missiles, but would unilaterally, as an act of good will, partially reduce its medium-range nuclear weapons on the European part of the USSR. In other words, the idea was in a sense to move in advance toward a lower level on which an understanding could be reached.

It was also declared that the USSR was prepared, on a mutual basis and with the observance of the principle of equality and equal security, to reduce radically its medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe and not by dozens but by hundreds of units. Moreover, the Soviet Union came out in favor of an understanding on a complete repudiation by both sides of all the medium-range nuclear weapons aimed at targets in Europe.

During his stay in Bonn, Leonid Brezhnev declared: "We are generally in favor of Europe ultimately becoming free from nuclear weapons, both medium-range and tactical. That would be a real 'zero option,' a fair deal for all the parties."

The Soviet leadership has consistently maintained this stand, and this was confirmed, in particular, in the course of Leonid Brezhnev's conversation in early February of this year with representatives of the Socialist International's Consultative Council for Disarmament. This approach, reflecting the socialist nature of the Soviet Union, fully meets the aspirations which unite peace fighters in the FRG, who have

joined in the demand for disarmament and for European security.

As for the states of the capitalist system, even at the stage of early capitalism, its "free competition" generated within the ruling class an urge to expand the sphere of the working people's exploitation territorially, not even stopping short of the use of armed force, including war, whenever this could not be done by economic means. With capitalism's entry upon its highest stage — imperialism — the aggressive element of the bourgeoisie's foreign policy was further increased. Expansion became an organic feature of the power of monopoly capital.

The inter-imperialist struggle for a division and redivision of the world generated by this trend has resulted in two world wars. In the present conditions, the edge of imperialist policy is directed above all against the USSR and the socialist community as a whole. Strong pressure is being exerted on the young, developing states, especially those of them which have left or are trying to leave the capitalist way.

The fact that the world process is no longer determined exclusively by the uniformities of development and the will of monopoly capital tends to sharpen further its aggressive substance. Imperialism has been doing its utmost to re-establish its world domination, and believes that this can be done through military superiority over the socialist system, of which the Soviet Union is the most powerful economic and defense component. The readiness on the part of imperialism to start a "limited" nuclear war in Europe and its hopes for an effective "first nuclear strike" strategy will be found in the nature of imperialism. In its efforts to ensure its domination, U.S. imperialism is prepared to convert the European continent into a nuclear battlefield, our country into a scorched desert, and our people and the peoples of other NATO countries into cannon-fodder.

Consequently, a scrupulous scientific analysis of international processes inevitably leads to the conclusion that the goals and character of socialist and capitalist foreign policy are diametrically opposite. Any other approach will lead to a dead-end and will frequently produce dangerous delusions. It is exemplified by the notorious "super-power" concept, with its deliberate attempt to ignore the concrete content of political phenomena. This vacuous concept is used to obscure the gist of the problem and to cover up the socio-economic distinctions between the USSR and the United States, and the differences between

their political lines. The term "super-powers" is designed to inject into public consciousness associations suggesting that the United States and the Soviet Union are equally to blame for the arms race, so that they are equally "bad."

To remove the threat to peace is an imperative of common sense and the main task in the present-day struggle. We, communists of the Federal Republic, are working to fulfil it. The GCP is a component part of the anti-war movement, it has been working within its ranks together with other political forces. We are firmly convinced: there is hardly another such state for which the preservation of peace would be as important, as it is for the Federal Republic. After all, it lies at the point of contact of the two opposite social systems, along the boundary line between the armed forces of the two military alliances: NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization. Mammoth armed groupings and armaments, including nuclear weapons, are concentrated on its territory. Our people literally have to live on a powder-keg. In the event of a war, it is doomed to destruction.

Exposing the claims of anti-Soviet propaganda and relying on the facts, we say: the threat to the existence of the Federal Republic does not come from the East. The Soviet Union has always been a good neighbor and a reliable partner to treaties and agreements. It has never committed aggression against our country and has no intention of attacking it. The USSR has unequivocally declared that it does not seek military superiority and has proclaimed its readiness to conclude an agreement on a reduction and prohibition of all types of weapons. It has proposed an international-law declaration of the first use of nuclear weapons as a most grievous crime against humankind. "To preserve peace: no task is now more important in the international plane for our party, for our people, and, indeed, for all the peoples of the globe." That is how the Soviet stand in international relations was formulated at the 26th congress of the CPSU.

The real threat to the security of the Federal Republic comes from the imperialist policy of the United States, from the support being given to it by influential forces of German imperialism, which want the Federal Republic to spearhead the anti-socialist struggle. For that purpose they have not stopped short even at converting the FRG into a base for a nuclear attack on the Soviet Union, and thereby — into a target for a devastating retaliatory strike. Our compatriots are being sacrificed to Washington's political adventurism in its efforts to deflect the threat of a nuclear holocaust

from the American continent by using Western Europe as a peculiar lightning-rod.

There are forces within the circles formulating the policy of the Federal Republic which have proved incapable of learning the lessons of history and of comprehending the realities of the epoch. Their aggressiveness and their readiness to obediently follow Washington are truly boundless. But it would be a mistake to fail to see that one will also find within these circles, leaders who assess more realistically the balance of forces in the world arena, see the advantages of the policy of détente and want to retain for the FRG some freedom of action vis-a-vis the United States. We fully accept the existence of these differing trends and do not at all equate the sober-minded and the aggressive circles within the bourgeois camp.

There is every indication, however, that the policy of FRG imperialism is, on the whole, being shaped under the influence of the dangerous illusion that unconditional support for the anti-Soviet global strategy of the United States will help to realize its own expansionist goals and to bring about a revision of the results of the Second World War. One must see that on the crucial issue of building up medium-range nuclear weapons, the Federal government and the leadership of the Bundestag parties have bent to Washington's will. They have agreed to put our country at the disposal of U.S. imperialism as a military bridgehead and a launching pad for nuclear missiles. Consequently — whether they want this or not — these circles have, in effect, turned over to the Pentagon the right to decide on what is a matter of life or death for our people.

The exacerbation of the contest over the problem of war and peace, which has been so pronounced in the recent period, and the need to determine the FRG's place in this contest have induced the German Communist Party to take steps for further strengthening the peace movement in our country. The third plenary meeting of the GCP Board held a circumstantial discussion and adopted a document which sets forth the party's proposals on an alternative policy of security. The essence of the document is expressed in its title: "War must never again start from German soil!"

The GCP Board's decisions are an effective contribution to the sharp debate on the kind of security policy the Federal Republic should conduct in a situation in which the nuclear arms race has brought humankind to the brink of self-destruction. The communists' proposals show that the ruling capitalist class cannot have any monopoly on the formation and im-

plementation of such a policy. That is a matter for the whole people.

The substance of our alternative security course is that it is oriented not toward confrontation and the arms race, but on peaceful coexistence, détente and disarmament. We say: the Federal Republic of Germany needs a policy that is not subordinate to Washington but serves vital national interests. A genuine security policy should always give preference to the settlement of conflicts by political, instead of military means. It springs from an urge to have peaceful cooperation and rejects any measures which could turn the FRG into a U.S. "nuclear colony." We declare with a full sense of responsibility: peaceful coexistence, détente and disarmament — that is what must constitute the basic content of any reasonable security policy.

In a public statement on the content of the communists' document, Herbert Mies, our party's Chairman, told a press conference in Bonn that it was the GCP's program for struggle for peace and security in the 1980s. He said that the plenary meeting decisions should be seen as "our party's contribution to the debate under way within the peace movement," and a "political challenge to the Federal government and the parties represented in the Bundestag."¹

The GCP's proposals add up to a clear-cut alternative to the nuclear-missile race, which threatens the existence of humankind, and to the submission of national and European security to U.S. diktat. It is above all an alternative to the planned deployment of new U.S. nuclear missiles on the territory of the Federal Republic. Putting it more broadly, it is the communists' alternative to the efforts to undermine the principles of peaceful coexistence.

The communists of our country are deeply convinced that an imperative of any reasonable security policy is to prevent the realization of NATO's medium-range missile decision. We call on the Federal government to promote the achievement of an understanding on a weapons moratorium for the duration of the Geneva talks. The Federal government should withdraw its consent to the deployment of Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles on the territory of the FRG.²

There was universal interest in that part of the GCP proposals which we, communists, call "national disobedience." This does not in any sense imply the fanning of anti-Americanism. We merely oppose a U.S. policy which is designed for the arms race and confrontation. Here we are at one with the peace movement in the United States itself, because — as its participants emphasized with good reason — such

a policy is incompatible with the interests of the American people.

The following statement by Herbert Mies gives an idea of what the communists concretely mean by "national disobedience":

"If Reagan intends to make our country agree to the deployment of Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles and this is coming up against objections and, moreover, generates a protest movement under the slogan 'No new U.S. missiles in the Federal Republic! Disarmament in West and East!', that is national disobedience. If steelworkers come out against U.S. attempts to impose an anti-Soviet embargo on the FRG and object to a cancellation of the deal on gas deliveries in exchange for pipes, and go out into the streets to demand a continuation of East-West trade, so as to preserve their jobs, that, too, is national disobedience. If U.S. President Reagan now intends . . . to resume the production of chemical weapons, if it is planned to store new types of combat toxins and neutron bombs in the Federal Republic and even to tip Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles with poison-gas warheads and deploy them on our territory, and the population says 'No!', that is national disobedience."³

The communists' national security policy proposals unambiguously opt for a political — instead of military — settlement of conflicts, which signifies our faith in the possibility and necessity of Soviet-American negotiations, and also in negotiations within the framework of the United Nations and other agencies. The very fact that the dialogue between the USSR and the United States on a reduction of medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe was started at Geneva in November 1981, may be seen — from our standpoint — as a two-fold success. After all, it became possible, first, because of the Soviet Union's steadfast striving for the adoption of concrete and effective measures in this area which is so important for the future of the world, and second, because of powerful pressure from the mass anti-militarist protest.

But the point is not just to sit down to the negotiation table. The peoples expect that the dialogue which has been started will be completed with positive results. When the course of the Geneva meetings is considered from this angle, the U.S. attitude there cannot but arouse definite anxiety. In contrast to the USSR, which has taken a positive starting position, the U.S. side has yet to display a serious urge to seek a solution in line with the principle of equality and equal security.

Washington continues to insist on the so-called "zero option" which President Reagan

set forth on November 18 last year. There is no doubt that this is an incongruous approach. Here is what Nino Pasti, retired Italian General and one-time deputy commander-in-chief of the NATO armed forces, said about Reagan's idea: "That is no zero option at all. It is a 1 to 0 option, which is designed to weaken the Soviet Union."

Much has already been written about the Geneva negotiations (and in *WMR* as well). It is worthwhile, however, to repeat once again that the U.S. proposals clearly betray a patent attempt to upset the rough equilibrium on medium-range nuclear weapons which exists in Europe, so as to change the strategic balance in favor of imperialism.

The defective substance of these attempts stands out in stark contrast against the background of the diametrically opposite, Soviet foreign policy line. No objective observer can fail to see the USSR's urge — for the sake of reaching an agreement — to reckon with the stand of the negotiating partners and to seek mutually acceptable compromises, without, of course, abandoning the main goals and principled approaches. That is the only way, for instance, in which the Soviet proposals set forth above can be evaluated.

Another convincing example of this is the Soviet Union's announcement in mid-March 1982 of a *unilateral* moratorium on the deployment of medium-range nuclear weapons in the European part of the USSR, in other words, a freeze on these weapons in quantitative and qualitative terms, and a suspension of replacements of old missiles with newer ones. In addition, the Soviet Union intends — this very year — provided there is no further aggravation of the international situation, to reduce on its own initiative by a definite number the strength of its medium-range missiles, and has also proposed a number of additional confidence measures to enlarge the zones of peace.

One cannot but see in these proposals the Soviet leadership's urge not to stop in the search for a solution to the most complicated and vitally important problems of disarmament. This is yet another powerful demonstration of the Soviet Union's good will and of the purposefulness of its peace policy. It remains to be hoped that the Western partners in the negotiations will also respond to the constructive Soviet proposals in a spirit of good will. However, a great deal here depends on the peace movement and its purposefulness. Our task is to give even more vigorous support to the USSR's peace initiatives and to take a stand against the destructive approach of the United States, whose policy clearly shows that

Washington intends to sabotage the Geneva talks and, given the opportunity, to torpedo them as well.

In the extremely dangerous situation which is taking shape through the fault of the militaristic forces, we, FRG communists, say: a policy which stakes on the defective mechanism of nuclear intimidation and includes nuclear war among its schemes, has nothing in common with security. This suicidal course should be countered with national disobedience. We need an alternative policy. The people of the Federal Republic have a vital stake in repudiating the outdated military doctrine of the past, in turning toward a policy based on reason, and oriented toward the solution of controversial issues exclusively by political means, toward peaceful cooperation.

The GCP's strategy and tactics in the struggle against the threat of another war are based on a sober view of the balance of forces in the world arena, and on the communists' conviction that the socialist community's political and material potential and joint efforts by all the peace fighters can prevent imperialism from realizing its inhuman plans. In this struggle, we rely on cooperation with all the advocates of peace, both in the FRG and in any other country, working to strengthen and develop it. Surrender to the attempts by the enemies of peace to divide the ranks of the fighters against militarism, to smear socialist foreign policy and to distort its peaceable character, can have only one result: a weakening of the forces of peace and social progress.

It is our duty to the present and future generations to frustrate these attempts. And we, communists, will do everything to fulfil our duty.

1. *DKP Pressedienst*, February 11, 1982.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

STOP THE NEUTRON MONSTER

Washington's decision to proceed to the full-scale manufacture of neutron warheads has given rise to world-wide protests. The most powerful anti-war actions are taking place in Western Europe, described by overseas strategists as the likeliest theater of war where new sophisticated weapons of mass destruction would be used. But West Europeans are not the only ones to be threatened, since no one on earth can feel safe as long as nuclear maniacs blackmail humanity with the neutron monster.

Rafic Samhoun, CC Political Bureau member of the Lebanese Communist Party, LCP representative on the journal, has inter-

viewed at the request of *WMR*, noted public figures of Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East countries on their opinion of the Reagan administration's ominous decision. Following are the comments of the interviewees.

Further stage in militarist preparations

General Georgios Kumanakos (ret.), Chairman of the Greek Committee Against Foreign Bases, considers that the ideological guidelines of the U.S. rulers' policy implicitly recognize war as part and parcel of social being. This accounts ultimately for the aggressive nature of U.S. foreign policy activities and for the steady build-up of U.S. military power. The United States has lately adopted an unprecedented program for the renewal and perfection of strategic weapons systems, the modernization of conventional armaments and the equipment of ground, naval and air forces with new arms. The decision on the full-scale manufacture of neutron ammunition is merely a further stage in the unrestrained escalation of militarist preparations.

The way for this decision was paved not only by the present U.S. administration but by its predecessors, said Sami al-Mounis, Editor-in-Chief of the Kuwaiti journal *Al-Talia*. A plan for the creation of an increased-radiation weapon was first discussed under President Kennedy. President Ford gave the go-ahead to research aimed at designing neutron warheads for tactical missiles and neutron shells. President Carter disclosed information on the designing of a new weapon of mass destruction but an outraged world opinion forced him to retreat — he said it was only a question of manufacturing the main components of neutron warheads. President Reagan went even further. We are in the presence of obvious militarist continuity showing once again that the very nature of imperialist policy is thoroughly hostile to peace.

The most reactionary and bellicose spokesmen of U.S. imperialism now in power, said Abdulla al-Rashid, member of the leadership of the National Liberation Front of Bahrain, have staked on a maximum escalation of the arms race. As well as chasing the chimera of military superiority over the socialist community, in particular the Soviet Union, they are pursuing a strategic aim, which is to bring into being a large potential for aggression against the newly-free states whose policy does not suit Washington and for the suppression of national liberation struggles.

Perhaps this is exemplified best of all, said Hassan Mohammed Omar, Executive Com-

mittee member of the Democratic Alliance party of the Sudan, by the U.S. militarists' current attempts to reimpose by brute force their one-time imperialist domination on Africa, whole regions of Asia and other parts of the planet. The United States is particularly aggressive in the Middle East, where it is stepping up tensions and pressing forward war preparations. Coupled with Israel's bid for conquest, this constantly poses a threat of not only local but global armed conflict. Mounting war hysteria plays into the hands of the Zionist aggressors. Quite understandably, Prime Minister Begin of Israel described Reagan's order for the manufacture of neutron bombs as "correct." Militarist frenzy and a stepped-up arms race are calculated to intimidate the peoples, chain Afro-Asian countries to military alliance with the United States and make them adapt to its military-political strategy. This is, in effect, one of the main purposes of the disgraceful, capitulationist settlement of the Middle East conflict being enforced on the Arabs. The USA would like to tie the whole Arab world to the Camp David deal as it tied Sadat, who came to an inglorious end, and Nimeiri, the Sudanese ruler following in his footsteps.

"Outside Europe" as well

Speaking of the destructive potential of the neutron weapon and the dangers it presents to world peace, Sheikh Abdul Hamid al-Saih, General Secretary of the People's Union of Jordan, said that this weapon is one of the most monstrous and barbarous means of mass destruction. The very thought of its being used makes every sensible person shudder. It is a blasphemy to talk about the "advantages" of neutron warheads, said to kill enemy troops while leaving property largely intact, something which militarists are particularly happy about. Such is the imperialist people-hating depraved logic. It is false from beginning to end. The neutron bomb kills not only those who are directly involved in hostilities but, just as inevitably and painfully, the civilian population.

Military experts realize, Kumanakos pointed out, that the idea of using increased-radiation arms as an "absolute" anti-tank defense weapon — an idea advocated in NATO quarters — does not hold water. Tanks do not operate in close but in open order. In view of the added difficulty of hitting moving targets, it would take a great number of neutron warheads to beat off what is expected to be a massive tank attack. Civilians would unavoidably suffer enormous casualties and the whole environment would

be reduced to a radioactive scorched desert. The neutron bomb, the general stressed, is not so much an anti-tank weapon, which its advocates make it out to be, as a weapon for the destruction of people. Of little use in defense, it is more suitable for an aggressor planning to clear the way for his advancing forces.

The very inclusion of the neutron bomb in the nuclear arsenal, to say nothing of plans for its use, al-Saih said, is considerably aggravating the danger of a universal military catastrophe. Washington sees the neutron bomb as an extra trump-card at arms limitation talks. The U.S. President and those who surround him refuse to understand that nowadays blackmail and threats are useless in talking with the peace forces.

The probability of a disastrous course of development, al-Rashid pointed out, has greatly increased due to the evolution of U.S. strategic doctrines in the direction of extending the range of eventual uses of weapons of mass destruction, such as the doctrine of "lowering the nuclear threshold," waging a "limited nuclear war," and so on. What may prove particularly tempting to adventurists is the use of this weapon — in the hope of eventually "localizing" an armed conflict — against developing countries that cannot retaliate. In this instance, the aggressor sees the "advantages" of the neutron bomb as particularly attractive, for after destroying people, he would seize their property, such as oil-fields, intact. The U.S. imperialists have repeatedly threatened a nuclear show-down with Asian and African countries. In 1980 the American press leaked reports on the President's Memorandum 51 instructing the Pentagon to prepare for the eventual use of nuclear arms in the Middle East. Former U.S. Defense Secretary Harold Brown admitted that the U.S. fleet cruising in the Persian Gulf could, "if necessary," use such arms against selected targets. The 200,000-strong rapid deployment force is nuclear-based. During last autumn's war games in Egypt, the Sudan and Oman, their troops were trained for cooperation with U.S. strategic aviation.

U.S. strategists are plainly inclined to speak of the neutron variant of nuclear weapons in terms of the "expediency" of using it in the Afro-Asian area. At a press conference called after the White House had announced its decision to manufacture the neutron bomb, U.S. Defense Secretary Weinberger said that it could be used "on battlefields outside Europe." The *International Herald Tribune* commented on this rather hazy phrase as follows: "Mr. Weinberger... did not mention the region

around the Gulf, but other officials indicated that the weapons were considered to be potentially effective in stopping a possible armored thrust toward the oil-fields of Iran and Saudi Arabia." In spite of the reference to a mythical "armored thrust," the fact remains that the emphasis is on the permissibility of using the neutron bomb in areas regarded by Washington as zones of its "vital interests."

What is more, al-Mounis noted, the imperialists want that weapon to be near at hand, in the immediate proximity of the expected conflict. Half of the U.S. nuclear arms are admittedly in U.S. bases abroad. As for neutron ammunition in the form of warheads for tactical missiles and howitzer shells, it is, as the press has pointed out, ideal for the strategy of war on foreign territory. With U.S. military objectives in other countries virtually enjoying ex-territorial rights, it is futile to seek guarantees of barring neutron weapons from, say, bases in Egypt, Kenya, Somalia or Oman, all the more since there are reports of Pentagon plans for the conversion of the Diego Garcia base in the Indian Ocean into a nuclear arsenal. Nor can we shut our eyes to the fact that countries from whose territory U.S. generals plan to strike nuclear blows are fated to become hostages of the Washington militarists.

What makes these calculations particularly cynical is, in Omar's opinion, the fact that those behind them are coolly gambling on the destiny of peoples, for they want to make others perform the dance of death on the neutron powder-keg while carefully warding off the threat from their own home. Washington says it has no intention of stockpiling neutron bombs anywhere outside the United States but this assertion is so laughable that nobody takes it seriously. Does the Pentagon perhaps expect a massive tank attack from the Atlantic or Pacific? Earmarked as victims of the "neutron plague" are the populations of other continents thousands of kilometers away from the USA. Imperialist policy-makers are concerned about

the interests of these people and their existence least of all — unlike the vast natural resources of the countries concerned. Peace supporters in Asian and African countries are wondering in anguish and anger whether their peoples are not doomed to the same lot as befell the inhabitants of Hiroshima and Nagasaki on whom the destructive power of the atom bomb was tested.

The peoples' will is stronger

The U.S. rulers' reckless policy of aggression is endangering the whole of humanity, Kumanakos said, and so resistance to it is assuming worldwide proportions. The movement for peace, against nuclear catastrophe has a gigantic potential. It is fostered by a phenomenon having deep roots and conditioned by objective factors — the peoples' fight for political and economic independence and social liberation. Washington's attempts to block positive changes in the world through the use of force evoke a sharp reaction. The very intention of the former U.S. President to proceed to the manufacture of the neutron bomb drew protests from millions, and the Reagan administration's decision to turn out neutron death on the conveyor belt deeply angered the world.

As in so many other countries, public opinion in Jordan denounced the action, al-Saih said. The General Secretariat of the People's Union of Jordan, an organization grouping people of the most diverse views and professions and prompted by a common desire to defend peace, has released a statement stressing the dangerous consequences the militarist action of the White House can have for peace on the globe, including the Middle East.

The interviewees emphasized the great importance of the peace actions and initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries. The 26th CPSU congress, al-Rashid said, stressed the danger posed by attempts to put the world under the sword of Damocles that is the neutron bomb. It called again for an agreement outlawing the bomb for all time. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries submitted a relevant draft agreement to the Geneva Committee on Disarmament as far back as 1978. The Soviet Union's statement that it would not begin manufacturing neutron arms unless they appeared in other countries had a wide international echo. This approach is not a sign of weakness but of the socialist system's humanism and love of peace.

"The people's will is stronger than all conspiracies or bombs," al-Mounis said, as if to sum up the thoughts and sentiments of the interviewees. "Nobody can turn back the wheel of history."

Classes and Nations **G. Glezerman**

paper 269 pp \$3.50

PROGRESS BOOKS
71 Bathurst Street
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Some lessons of party journalism

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The facts of history provide incontrovertible evidence that the communists, proponents of the most advanced ideology, were the first to see the unprecedentedly enhanced role of the mass media in our 20th century, the epoch of colossal revolutionary changes, of great social, economic and scientific advances. Defining the communist press as a collective propagandist, agitator and organizer, Lenin likened it to the "scaffolding round a building under construction, which marks the contours of the structure and facilitates communication between the builders, enabling them to distribute the work and to view the common results achieved by their organized labor" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 5, p. 22). In the allegorical image of a "building under construction" we, in keeping with Lenin's teaching, have seen the building of the party itself at the different stages of our history, the preparations for the victorious socialist revolution, and the creation of the new society.

Lenin elaborated the basic principles of the communist press: unflagging partisanship, ideological content, national roots, veracity, and proletarian internationalism. Seventy years ago these principles were embodied in *Pravda*, the first-ever daily workers' newspaper. Alongside its name are the words: "This newspaper was founded on May 5, 1912 by V.I. Lenin." The anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx was chosen for the printing of the first issue. This was not an accidental choice. It underscored the continuity of the new publication, in other words, its fidelity to Marxism and the cause of the proletariat. "The working class must know the truth," the editorial in the first issue stated. "The workers' newspaper *Pravda* must live up to its name."

Lenin's *Pravda* heralded the October Revolution, which opened the road to socialism for many countries and peoples. It carried the appeal "To the Citizens of Russia," the news that the great revolution had triumphed, and the famous Decree on Peace, which was the first-ever in socialism's life-giving practice of the striving for peace implicit to it. In a historically brief period, the new system raised the Land of Soviets to the summits of social prog-

ress, bringing the people to a developed socialist society and the building of communism. Throughout this period *Pravda*, organ of the CPSU Central Committee, grew together with the party, acquiring new qualities and becoming the flagship of the Soviet press and the most widely read newspaper of our times.

Socialist development raised the people's political consciousness, activity, education, and cultural requirements to a high level. When the Soviet public is described as the most widely-read in the world, the justification for this rests directly on, among other things, the popularity of the Soviet press. It consists of 8,088 newspapers in 55 languages of the peoples of the USSR. Their total daily printing exceeds 176 million copies. Journals have a total circulation of 200 million copies. For every family in the Soviet Union there are upward of four periodicals.

By contrast, in many capitalist countries, even in those that have long been regarded as hubs of culture and from which we often hear arrogant criticism of the Soviet way of life, a large section of the population reads neither newspapers nor journals. This is one of the vices of capitalism, under which a section of society remains almost illiterate and sluggish in the status of pariahs, while another is deprived of confidence in the social significance of information.

Why is the situation so different under socialism? Needless to say, one cannot seriously believe that "formal democracy," a reproach that we continuously hear from political ill-wishers, can induce millions of people to show a day-to-day interest in public life, that people can be induced to read the press by "ideological compulsion", that very self-same press that bourgeois sociologists allege is undemocratic in essence and professionally backward — "totalitarian," an "instrument of political power" isolated from the people, flabby and blocked."¹

Whether some people like it or not, the growing popularity of the Soviet press springs from the democratic character of the society that created it and which it serves. It is common

knowledge that cheap sensationalism, the savoring of glamor, scandal, and empty entertainment are alien to the socialist press. Its prestige rests on the political profundity of its analyses of reality, on the fact that it raises important questions related to our construction and the whole of world development, that it reflects public opinion and responds to the issues uppermost in people's minds. Confidence in our press is founded chiefly on its political line expressing the interests of the people, the honesty and objectivity of its reporting, the opportunity that everybody has of writing to a newspaper or journal on any matter in the knowledge that this will not be left hanging in the air, will not be ignored. As regards the mass need for the press, it also stems from the nature of socialist society, in which people feel not only involved in but also responsible for all its affairs and where the mass media serve as a major channel of the people's participation in the administration of these affairs.

In view of the ongoing ideological struggle and the growing social role of the press, the accent is on party commitment, which we regard, of course, not as a dogmatic code of a priori rules but as a traditional, steadily developing element of communist journalism.

The CPSU attaches immense significance to the press and is constantly concerned with perfecting the management of this most important sphere of social life. "Naturally," it was noted in the CC report to the 26th CPSU congress, "all of us want our media always to be a true voice of party and public opinion." What does this entail? The congress replied clearly addressing Soviet journalists and contributors to the press: a high degree of social involvement and sense of responsibility, with the Leninist principles and traditions of party journalism as the guide.

The history of *Pravda*, from which, one can say, the entire Soviet press has sprung, offers extensive material for understanding these principles and traditions, these *unfading Leninist lessons of journalism*. There is justification for so calling them not only because Lenin was the founder of the Bolshevik press and stood at *Pravda's* helm for many years, not only because it published many hundreds of his articles and speeches, and also documents written by him. Lenin introduced so many new elements into the elaboration of the theory and the practice of party building linked with the management of the party press and also directly into editorial and publicistic work that his teaching on communist journalism is unquestionably an inalienable part of Leninism. Which of these principles and tradi-

tions may today be regarded as the most significant?

The experience of *Pravda*, as of progressive publications generally, is that the prestige and social influence of a party publication and, consequently, the extent to which it discharges its functions depend mainly on its political, party stand. Over the question of party commitment, the class character of the press, many a lance has been broken in the ideological struggle. This question remains one of the central targets of our ideological adversaries, who fly the tattered flag of bourgeois understanding of freedom of the press. It is well known who benefits by this "freedom" and how it is manipulated — life gives continuous confirmation of this.² We, the communists, on the other hand, openly say that we regard journalism as part and parcel of organized, planned party work, seeing in this its main principle, because "a newspaper is important to the Marxist and consistent democrat as an organ for the enlightenment and consolidation of truly advanced classes" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 19, p. 63).

A lesson of history is that the slogan of freedom of the press may be (and is) used for the manipulation of public opinion, for misleading the people, for political gambling, and as a cover for anti-socialist forces, for counter-revolution. We reject this "freedom of the press," which in fact is freedom of lies and disinformation, clearing the way to ideological sabotage. We state this openly.

When people read in the capitalist press that the USSR and its socialist allies are responsible for the currently growing threat to peace they realize whose interests are served by the bourgeois logic in analyzing present-day international developments. But what if the same is asserted by media linked to the working-class movement? We do not, of course, want to impose our viewpoint on any, including this, matter, but is it not obvious that in this case a departure from a class assessment signifies, willy-nilly, defection to the other, at least non-proletarian, stand. The Soviet Union and all the socialist community nations are the decisive peace force of our epoch — they did not arrogate this role to themselves; they were put in this position by history itself and nobody can cross this out.

"We," Lenin said, "uphold the party principle, in the interests of the broad masses, for the sake of freeing them from any kind of bourgeois influence, for the sake of the fullest clarity of class alignments, we must exert to the maximum our strength and vigilance to see that the party principle is observed not in words merely, but in fact" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 16, p. 62).

While seeing party commitment not merely as the profession of an ideologico-political stand but as the duty to assert it, as spelling out an uncompromising attitude to the ideological adversary and to apostasy, Lenin regarded *unrelenting, active political struggle* as one of the basic conditions for the successful work of the communist press: "But can an organ of forward-looking democrats not be a fighting organ at a hot time like this? . . . Does that look like Marxism? After all, didn't Marx know how to combine war, the most passionate, whole-hearted and merciless war, with complete loyalty to principle?" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 36, p. 198).

What makes the political militancy of the press of special significance is that in our day millions upon millions of people influence policy-making. An unerring understanding of the course of social development is given to them by revolutionary theory, which is the bed-rock in shaping the people's political consciousness. For the communists theory has never been abstract, isolated from politics, from practical action. All the more important then is it for our press to be guided by theoretical clarity in the presentation of facts and events, a clarity asserting the Marxist-Leninist world view. This is what directly distinguishes communist from bourgeois journalism, which, as American sociology acknowledges, accentuates the empirical establishment of facts and considers their theoretical significance accidentally. The purely factological, descriptive approach serves the bourgeois press as a means of masking the actual sense of capitalist reality, the anti-people character of imperialist policy.

The strength of the communist press lies not only in the fact that it reports political developments from party positions but also in its constant analysis of all spheres of society's life from these positions. The organic unity between the presentation of reality and its scientific, political interpretation is for the progressive press an indispensable condition under which "theoretical and practical work merge" (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 1, p. 298).

As elements of the partisanship of the communist press, ideological commitment and political meaning combine with a *scientifically profound* approach to the presentation of reality. This is especially important today with the intellectualization of society's life and the growing role of scientific knowledge in the social consciousness. It is *Pravda's* experience that a newspaper influences its readership most effectively when journalism involves readers in the process of pondering and understanding the lessons of life, goes from observation to generalization, from facts to analyses, from the

specific to the abstract. This, our experience indicates, is when the press is most effective in giving shape to a scientific world view.

Everybody knows the Marxist truth that "theory also becomes a material force as soon as it has gripped the masses."³ But people less frequently remember the second part of this formula, which Marx expressed with the words: "Theory is capable of gripping the masses as soon as it demonstrates *ad hominem*," in other words, when it is demonstrable for the given person.⁴ Demonstrability attracts the people's attention, induces them to think and draw conclusions, helps to shape public opinion, and prompts militant action.

A means that dependably leads to this aim and ensures the functioning of the communist press is the unfolding on its pages of broad discussions of burning issues of theory, party politics, and social development. When *Pravda* was founded Lenin wrote: "A socialist paper must carry on polemics" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 35, p. 42). Of course, he meant discussions and exchanges of views on a principled basis, from party, class positions.

The 26th congress of the CPSU reiterated the importance of theoretically understanding developments, of generalizing new phenomena of life. Our party's theoretical front concentrates on questions related to the building of the material and technical basis of communism, fostering production efficiency, promoting social relations under mature socialism and further developing the democracy implicit in it, and improving the socialist way of life and the communist education of the people. The party continuously analyzes the course of the revolutionary process and the struggle of the two systems on the world scene, the entire spectrum of international relations. The Soviet press strives to bring home to the people, in the creative spirit of Marxism-Leninism, the wealth of party thinking, closely linking theory with the practical tasks of communist construction.

As we understand it, party commitment is intimately bound up also with social objectivity in reporting. Lenin's postulate "We need full and truthful information" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 42, p. 339) has become a tradition of the democratic press. It is founded on confidence in the people, in their ability to understand the complex dialectics of social processes, including the nature of the difficulties arising in the course of the revolutionary struggle and the building of the new society. Objectivity means, above all, faithfully reflecting reality. It may be ostentatious, or may be reduced to outwardly photographic accuracy, becoming distorted as

soon as the significance of developments is interpreted. This sham objectivity is inherent in the bourgeois press. On the other hand it, and not only it, one-sidedly refracts the demand of trustworthiness where the socialist press is concerned: only that is allegedly true that testifies to the shortcomings and errors still to be encountered in our life. Needless to say, the communists are not afraid of admitting that difficulties and shortcomings are real, but to portray them as the direct product of the socialist system is to fail to understand the contradictions that actually exist under socialism. We abide by the lucid Leninist principle: "... let us face the truth squarely. In politics that is always the best and the only correct attitude" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 20, p. 275). Political candor is our party's immutable policy and, naturally, it is implicit in the Soviet press as well.

"It is very important," Leonid Brezhnev said at the 26th congress of the CPSU, "that propaganda should not shun sensitive issues and should not be afraid to deal with what are termed difficult questions. Our party's policy is clear. We are prepared to answer any questions that the Soviet people want to ask. This must be done with more initiative, bearing in mind that if we do not answer them the enemies of our country will try to take advantage of this to smear socialism."

Violation of this indispensable condition of the prestige of the socialist press, evasion of a direct and frank dialogue with the people on problems attracting society's attention, and embellishment of reality may, as practice shows, undermine confidence not only in the press itself but also in the party's policies and in other social institutions. Strictly speaking, such deviation from the norms for the work of the media as laid down by Lenin leads to deformations of the principles of socialism.

It is alleged that in a socialist society there is no real freedom of criticism. However, even a cursory reading of *Pravda* and other Soviet newspapers, that daily print serious and sharply critical matter on various problems of our life and regularly feature whole pages devoted to public control will show the worth of this allegation. Moreover, the criticism carried in our press is not hot air. It helps to remove shortcomings in the work of the most diverse organs — the party, people's Soviets, and economic management.

However, while criticizing defects in all spheres of social life, the Soviet press sees its main task in convincingly demonstrating the new system's historic gains, in speaking out about its makers and heroes, its achievements

and prospects. We are convinced that precisely this approach, which conforms to the optimistic truth of life, is the only sure one for the communist press.

As a key democratic institution, progressive journalism is linked indissolubly with the working people, with their interests, with their struggles and work. This is what, above all, expresses the genuinely *people's character* of the Marxist periodical press, which is the lecturer of the working class and all other working people, serves as a mirror of society's spiritual life, and articulates its progressive aspirations. The mass character of the press, underlying Lenin's idea of the press, means not only profoundly democratic content and form and a huge circulation but also the ability to telescope the party's collective opinion and the people's experience. The verve and viability of a communist periodical are ensured, as Lenin put it, by a constant influx of revolutionary proletarian forces: "... more, more, and still more, workers' letters" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 34, p. 281).

In a socialist society the people's direct participation in the work of the press is eloquent testimony of its democratic nature. With good reason this attracts considerable attention in the world. A book of letters from the people printed in our newspaper was recently brought out in Paris under the heading *Ivan Ivanovich Writes to "Pravda."* The foreword says: "When you start reading this book your first reaction is perplexity: 'What is this strange world? What sort of organization, rules, social mechanisms, and psychology are these?' Gradually, step by step, without your noticing it, you see that this is life."⁵

Let us give some illuminating statistics to back up these words. In the Soviet Union there are over seven million worker and rural correspondents: these are *regular* contributors. *Pravda's* mailbag consists of nearly half a million letters annually from workers, collective farmers, and intellectuals, while the total mailbag of all Soviet newspapers consists of between 60 and 70 million letters. Letters are a barometer of public opinion, a rich fountain nourishing the press and giving journalists a better knowledge of reality. Moreover, they are a channel by which the people directly influence the solution of social problems. Decisions not only of local but, to a large extent, of national significance are often adopted on the basis of letters containing criticism or recommendations.

The enhancement of the role of the press as a vehicle for the fulfillment of managerial tasks is one of the laws of its development under socialism, a law springing from the democratic character of socialist society's mass media.

Here we can distinguish three essential elements. First, the press, television and radio quickly spread social information, bringing it to the entire people and giving it a Marxist-Leninist orientation, making it easy to understand and turning it into a means of mobilization. The people thus receive information in order to come forward as the subject of administration. Second, the press ensures not only a direct but also a reverse link — from the people to leading organs, which is of particularly great significance for promoting the socio-political activity of citizens. Lastly, with the support of public opinion the press comes forward as the organizer of efficient management, disseminating positive experience, analyzing pros and cons, and identifying potentialities for a more effective utilization of information in the diverse elements and institutions of society.

For the press itself the significance of its own experience of interaction with its audience in terms of information, propaganda, and organization grows side by side with the development of its democratic functions. This is especially important because the attention that people give to the media and, consequently, the efficacy of the influence exercised by the printed word of the communists depend directly on the extent reader demand is satisfied: topicality of the themes, account of public opinion, and the speed and depth of information. Lenin justifiably noted, nursing the workers' press of the new type: "... a newspaper is responsible for everything." Under present-day conditions our press can be "responsible for everything," i.e., embrace a wide range of the ideological, political, and scientific interests of different strata of society, chiefly of the working class, only if it understands how these interests grow and change in the course of social progress. Hence the need for close and constant feedback to the readership, for a dialogue with readers on "how they (the media. — Ed.) are putting into actual practice particular views. Without this the Editorial Board ... is left in the air, it will not know whether its advocacy is accepted, whether there is any response to it, how practical life modifies it, what amendments and additions are needed" (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 39, pp. 342-343).

Wide publication of contributions and letters from the people and all-sided account of their experience and requirements express the democratic nature of the communist press as implicitly as its consistent party commitment. As a matter of fact, some critics of existing socialism mean something quite different when they speak of the democratic character of

the press. They mean freedom of action for those who would like to use the printed word to misrepresent our policies and smear and undermine our social system. Indeed, such freedom does not exist in socialist countries, and this only underscores the substance of the press of the new society, a press that is devoted entirely to serving the cause of the working people, the ideals of peace and social progress.

Lenin, it will be recalled, saw a close link between the development of the communist press and the course of the world revolutionary process. "The tenth anniversary of *Pravda*, the legal Bolshevik daily," he wrote, "is a clearly defined marker of this great acceleration of the greatest world revolution" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 33, p. 350). Six decades have passed since then: the cause of revolution has moved far forward, the make-up of the planet has undergone a fundamental change, social development has gained greater momentum than ever, and the democratic press is most intimately linked to this historic process.

In the life of nations today, in the struggle of the working people the most burning issue, on which the future depends, is that of defending peace, of effectively repulsing imperialism's aggressive ambitions. Of course, this has become central to the international work of the socialist press, television and radio, of all progressive mass media. They have taken an active, militant stand against the adventurist course toward an unbridled arms race, the global erosion of détente, the gross pressure and threats, and brazen interference in the affairs of other nations which are a characteristic feature of imperialist policy, above all U.S. policy. This was convincingly shown half a year ago in Moscow at the Congress of the International Organization of Journalists, which is one of the biggest and most prestigious associations of democratic journalists.

In the same way as there are two opposing social systems and two fundamentally different policies on the world scene, the strategy of peace and the strategy of war, there are two opposing schools of journalism representing these systems in the ideological battle for the minds and hearts of people. The communist press is successfully discharging its historic mission by asserting the lofty ideals of peace, security and freedom, explaining and supporting the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries, and showing solidarity with all fighters against imperialism, for national liberation and social emancipation. This work is in full harmony with UNESCO's declaration of basic principles concerning the contribution of the mass media

to the strengthening of peace and international understanding, to the development of human rights, and to the struggle against racism, apartheid, and war-mongering. This important document, which gives a new dimension to the political and moral responsibility of journalism and journalists for the destiny of peace, for the destiny of humankind, was, however, accorded a hostile reception by the monopoly press with the specious argument that it impinged upon its "rights." This speaks eloquently for itself. It is, of course, not merely a case of an abstract negation of principles. It spells out a course toward preserving information imperialism, toward fanning psychological warfare, toward interference in the internal affairs of the peoples of the socialist world and the developing nations.

This accentuates the need for further unity in progressive journalism, for an extension of mutual links and assistance, exchanges of experience, and strengthening solidarity.

Alongside party commitment and closeness to the people, Lenin saw internationalism as a feature distinguishing the communist press. Today this means, first and foremost, a firm, principled, class, party line in the ideological confrontation with imperialism, a determined rebuff to anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, solidarity with all revolutionary, liberation forces, and an active stand in defense of peace.

Pravda's anniversary is marked by the CPSU and the Soviet people as a review of the Soviet press as a whole. Fidelity to Leninist principles and the effective development of these principles in accordance with the imperatives of the times comprise the solid foundation on which, thanks to day-to-day party leadership, the mass media successfully fulfil their important role in all sectors of communist construction in the USSR. We are convinced that these are viable principles and that despite distinctions in social conditions, national specifics, and professional traditions they can serve as the basis for Marxist media everywhere, for all communist journalism.

1. R. Debray. *Le pouvoir intellectuel en France*. Paris, 1979; P. Schaeffer, "Le quatrieme pouvoir," *Esprit*, Paris, 1979, No. 9-10, pp. 17-19.

2. To illustrate, take the reporting of the Polish events in the capitalist press. Speaking in the Sejm Wojciech Jaruzelski noted: "The partial restrictions on civil freedoms in Poland, which are temporary, were explained to the people by us. But these explanations were not brought to the knowledge of world opinion — thus far a large section of the Western press does not go in its 'freedom' of information. However, this 'freedom' gets full rein when it comes to stuffing the reader with all sorts of absurd gossip" (*Trybuna Ludu*, January 26, 1982).

3. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 3, p. 182.

4. *Ibid.*

5. G. Revuz, *Ivan Ivanovich écrit à la "Pravda"*, Paris, 1980, p. 12.

In those days of consolidation

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A 25-YEAR RETROSPECTIVE: SOME ASPECTS OF THE HUNGARIAN EXPERIENCE

In controversy time has the last word. Bourgeois ideology conducted one of its most strident anti-communist campaigns 25 years ago in connection with the attempt at a counter-revolutionary rising in Hungary. Rivers of tears were shed over the "fate of the Hungarian people" and their future, which, after the forces who tried to steer the country away from the socialist road were crushed, was said to have been "trampled." The backstage and value of the prophecies of those days are most vividly shown by present realities. The recognition that has been won in the world by the nation's achievements strikingly demonstrates the purport and efficacy of the efforts of our people headed by the HSWP. But

bourgeois ideology is always loathe to acknowledge its setbacks. As well as some present-day developments, the 25th anniversary has drawn renewed interest in the "Hungarian question." A spate of "recollections" and commentaries gives past falsifications a facelift and attempts to "topicalize" the past by speculation about the difficulties and problems in the life of other nations and about other issues of the day. In this context I believe it would be useful to return to the facts and some lessons of our party's experience of surmounting a social crisis and consolidating the nation on the road of socialist construction and to the conclusions it drew from this experience.

In its analysis of the 1956 events at the time our party assessed them accurately and in a principled way revealing the causes, and stressing the principal four of them:

"1. At the close of 1948, principled Marxist-Leninist positions were abandoned by the Gero-Rakosi¹ clique, which was predominant in the central leadership of the Hungarian Working People's Party and in the government of the Hungarian People's Republic.

2. A large role in triggering the October events and in their tragic outcome was played by the opposition faction that had formed and grown in the party in previous years and which elected Imre Nagy and Geza Losonczy² as its spokesmen. . . .

3. In the preparations for and during the October events the decisive factor was the Horthy-fascist and bourgeois-landowner counter-revolution, large groups of which operated secretly in our country, while the main forces were mustered and organized in West Germany.

4. . . . the decisive, main role in the Hungarian events was played by international imperialism, whose aims ranged far beyond the framework of the Hungarian question."³

The party's healthy nucleus was able not only to analyze the serious situation objectively but also to change the course of events, behind which lurked the beginning of fratricidal bloodshed, and direct them into the channel of the nation's salvation.

In response to the counter-revolution's armed assault on the socialist system, a group of dedicated party leaders headed by Janos Kadar emphatically dissociated itself from the treacherous course, set up a new revolutionary center and formed the Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government. The first burning question facing it was: What to begin with?

An agonizing dilemma confronted the revolutionaries. Either to give priority to the demands, grievances, and justified disaffection of the people "caused by mistakes in the past but in no way directed against the people's power,"⁴ and then gradually organize the struggle against the counter-revolution. Or first direct all forces to repulse the counter-revolution, even if there would be temporary misunderstanding by the people stirred by the whirlpool of developments, and then, under conditions of consolidation, consistently engage in the constructive solution of pressing problems. There was no other option. There could be no question of an error or of trying to leave the issue unanswered. On the accuracy of the choice at that moment depended the whole future of socialist Hungary. The new government opted for determined resistance to the counter-revolution, for otherwise, in view of the mortal threat to socialism, the good in-

tentions toward the aspirations and wishes of the working class, of all the working people would be reduced to a utopia and left hanging in the air.

On this point the assessment of this decision contains, I feel, material for some general considerations of a principled nature.

It is the duty of the Marxist-Leninist vanguard to act in accordance with the basic interests of the workers, of all working people, without forgetting to analyze reality and reckon soberly with the actual situation, the current mood of the people, their frame of mind, level of organization, and capability. Dramatic situations sometimes arise when a contradiction grows between basic class interests and the public mood. These collisions occur not only at stages preceding the transition to the new social system but also at stages of socialist construction. These are always difficult moments, especially in crisis situations.

Precisely such was the case during the events of October and November 1956 in Hungary, when under the influence of nationalistic incitement and revisionist demagoguery, the prevailing mood came into sharp conflict with the best interests of the nation, of the working people. A historic service of the revolutionary center headed by Janos Kadar was that it courageously brought the substance of the contradiction to light and did not hesitate to act against the turbulent, albeit superficial, current. In this way the best class and national interests, hidden beneath the foam of events, were brought into bold relief.

"On November 3 when the decision was taken to set up this government," Janos Kadar recalled at the 10th plenary meeting of the Hungarian Council of Trade Unions in 1957, "do you imagine I did not know we would not be received with open arms and flowers? I was well aware of this, but I was convinced that what we were doing was right and that the people would understand our action, and that they would approve and appreciate it. Fortified by this we stood firm against the pressure of the counter-revolution and saved the dictatorship of the proletariat in Hungary."⁵ In other words, the revolutionary center was guided by principled confidence in the true class sense of the working people and acted on the conviction that the years of the existence of people's Hungary, despite debris, had made a deep imprint in the people's minds. The accuracy of this stand of the Hungarian communists was eloquently borne out, and this is at the root of much of what the enemies of existing socialism seek to bury in oblivion when they make haste to proclaim any complication, any difficulty in con-

struction as a "logical outcome" indicating an upcoming "general collapse." Let them not delude themselves: socialism is gathering strength not only as it ascends but also as it overcomes the difficulties and the most complex trials it has to go through.

The determination of the Hungarian communists to repulse the counter-revolution drew torrents of abuse and slander from the class enemies; this abuse and slander are now being galvanized in the sweeping context of a new anti-communist campaign. Some authors of the "recollections" are repeating the allegation that after November 4 Hungary was plunged into a "reign of terror" directed against a "spontaneous purifying movement." The ability of our enemies to turn the facts inside out has long been known. And while in the wake of events they usually take advantage of the circumstance that there is still little time for the actual facts to become widely known, with the passage of time they speculate on these facts beginning to be forgotten.

It is not all that difficult to revive memory. There indeed was bloody terror in Hungary, but it was a white terror. It was then that during the seizure of the Budapest Party Committee 25 of its defenders were killed. Of these, 23 were killed not during the fighting but in the following massacre; it was then that the Secretary of the City Committee Imre Mezo died at the foot of the building, while Jozsef Papp's heart was torn out while he was still alive; it was then that in Miskolc a group of militiamen was lynched. "Every communist is a criminal," was one of the cries of the counter-revolution, which unleashed summary reprisals. It has been established documentarily that prior to November 1 the counter-revolutionaries took 3,000 communists into custody and that their death lists included more than 10,000 civil servants.

The offensive by the revolution cut short this monstrous orgy. It halted not only harassment of communists and civil servants who remained faithful to their duty; it put an end to the settlement of accounts without trial. The authorities passed a special decision on extraordinary legal proceedings for cases of "manslaughter, premeditated murder, arson, looting, embezzlement, and deliberate damage to enterprises vital to society or producing prime necessities."⁶ Only those who continued armed resistance to the forces of law and order placed themselves outside the pale of law.

Having given priority to the task of crushing the counter-revolution the Kadar government could not and had no desire to remain indifferent to the price that had to be paid for its decision under different variants of the further

course of events. Developments did not exclude the possibility of a protracted civil war or the threat of imperialist interference.⁷ It was precisely to rule out these alternatives, which were fraught with further bloodshed, that the government requested military assistance from the Soviet Union. The sole and clear-cut mission of the Soviet troops was to put down armed resistance from the counter-revolution. The tactics used by them held losses down to a minimum, and within seven days, on November 11, a government communiqué broadcast on radio declared that "the open armed assault against the Hungarian People's Republic has been crushed throughout the nation — both in the capital and in the provinces."⁸

Of course, the organizers of the white terror and their flunkies could not be allowed to escape responsibility. However, the guilt or innocence of each person and the measure of punishment were decided legally, by special court procedure. In order to guarantee legality, a resolution adopted by the party's leading organs stated that no party functionary or organ had the authority to interfere in ongoing trials, in legal proceedings. Only investigative agencies and the judiciary had the authority to decide whether there were grounds for starting investigations or court proceedings against any particular person.

Our enemies refused to "notice" all this. They drew fantastic pictures of "horrible brutalities" and "mass repression." They went so far as to count "tens of thousands" sentenced to death. It was the class enemy, not the Hungarian authorities, who ignored the actual statistics of the trials held in the period from November 4, 1956 to July 31, 1957. These statistics are that a total of 28,601 persons were sentenced, and of these 6,321, or less than one-fourth, were charged with political crimes; 70 were sentenced to death and 5,913 to imprisonment (of these 2,332 to terms of more than a year); for three-fourths the punishment was corrective labor, a suspended sentence, or a fine. Naturally, court statistics always have the taste of grief and pain, but the Hungarian government announced these facts publicly, counterposing invention with truth.

The charges of "vengeance" is refuted by the content and direction of the policy of the revolutionary government, whose main task from the outset of its drive to consolidate society was to ensure a "life without fear," as Janos Kadar said in a speech on radio on November 26. The government took all steps to calm people who had been deceived or were confused. An amnesty was declared for all decent citizens who

went abroad during the events. Instead of any thought of "retribution" the government conducted an open dialogue with the people. "We know," Janos Kadar said at the time, "that there are very many outstanding matters that cannot be resolved overnight. We have therefore adopted the stand that if we have inadequate resources or possibilities for resolving this or that matter, we shall say so openly. We know that in these difficult times we hold responsible office not to paint rosy pictures but to tell the people the truth and act in their interests."⁹ Ever since then open policy became the determining factor in our party's efforts to restore and strengthen the confidence of the people.

A few more words must be said about the military assistance rendered to the Hungarian revolutionary forces by the Soviet Union, because in bourgeois propaganda speculation on this subject plays a special role going far beyond the "Hungarian" theme proper or retrospection. The whole point is that internationalist assistance is given the significance of the main or almost the only factor that determined the further course of events. In this context, it would be expedient to touch on some general questions of the dialectics of external and internal factors of development as they are seen in the light of our party's experience and of the generalizations made by it.

We proceed from the assumption that assistance from without can play no more than a specific and limited role. In Hungary, as I have already noted, this assistance helped to crush the armed counter-revolutionary gangs, halt the white terror, and rule out the possibility of continued international imperialist interference. Moreover, for the Hungarian proponents of socialism it spelled out considerable moral and political support and ensured the conditions for taking heart, reassembling ranks, and taking the offensive in politics, economics and ideology.

However, the significance of the external factor cannot be absolutized, as is being done in the bourgeois interpretation of socialist internationalist policy or, even more strikingly, is to be observed in the extremist practices of imperialism itself, which has used external force scores of times to support and install reactionary anti-people cliques and regimes. Why can such attempts, made time and again in Asian, African, and Latin American countries, bring no more than transient success and invariably evoke growing resistance from the people? The reason is that the imperialist "positions of strength" policy ignores the circumstance that in the historical process the determining role is played by the given socie-

ty's own, immanent motive forces, which define the class orientation of the struggle for a better social system. Revolutionaries, who are consistently guided by historical materialism, by the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the laws of social development, see this as an immutable truth. The idea of "exporting revolution" and counting on external in juxtaposition to internal factors is incompatible with the communist world-view and policy.

Our party's leadership was aware that the armed defeat of the counter-revolution was only the starting point. Fulfillment of the tasks comprising the positive content of social consolidation depended on the actions of the Hungarian revolutionaries themselves. External circumstances influence the strength and character of changes, but internal reasons and stimuli remain decisive for any social movement.

A foreign military contingent cannot administer the restoration of the political superstructure. The effect would be illusory because only the support of the main classes is the foundation of the socialist system and reinforces it. The solution of economic problems depends, in the first place, on national production, on its development and returns. Nobody can cultivate the land except the farmers of the given country. Production process is ensured by the labor of workers and technical intelligentsia. Ideological discord and confusion are surmounted not by weapons but by an ideologico-political struggle, dialogue and unflagging explanatory work.

The revolutionary center headed by Janos Kadar was aware that nothing save the support of the working people could be the guarantee of the socialist system's viability. Therefore, in the process of consolidation the main factors were the policy, stand, and decisions of the revolutionary center. Experience showed convincingly that friendly assistance did not reduce but, on the contrary, enhanced the responsibility and role of the Hungarian revolutionary forces.

The revolutionary center attached paramount significance to reassembling ranks, to restoring the party itself. On November 6 the Provisional Central Committee issued an Address on Reorganization. "Our long-suffering party, which has a glorious past," the Address said, "is going through the most difficult stage of its history. The present situation makes it imperative to rally all the party's forces . . . This is the only way we can secure the broadest democracy to the Hungarian working class, the working peasantry, the progressive intelligentsia, and the entire Hungarian people, and

ensure national independence, sovereignty, and the triumph of the socialist system."¹⁰

The call for unity among all forces by no means signified self-forgiveness for the serious errors in the policy of the HWPP which aggravated the recent past. "To enable our party to become strong again and come forward as the vanguard of the people," the Address said, "we have to make a clean break with the criminal methods of the harmful policy of the Rakosi clique, which shook the working people's confidence in our party and dramatically undermined its strength."¹¹ On the other hand, the Address spelled out a step for which the need was not appreciated by the people at the time. "Moreover, we have to break entirely with the Imre Nagy-Losonczy group, which, having retreated from the position of the working class and the people's power, took the nationalist-chauvinistic path that opened the door to counter-revolutionary forces, thereby betraying the cause of socialism."¹²

Thus was formulated the basic political principle, which became known as "struggle on two fronts" and comprised the cornerstone of the party's rejuvenation and development on the solid foundation of Marxism-Leninism. Another reason why we feel it is useful to recall this is that at the time — as often happens in complex situations — most of the Hungarian communists suffered from "one-sided sensitivity," accentuating responsibility either only for dogmatic errors and crimes or only for revisionist treachery. This "one-sided sensitivity" is especially dangerous when the task is to surmount a legacy consisting of a heap of errors of various character and origin. Here neither deviation should be especially accentuated. Both, to use Lenin's words, are bad.

The party's restoration required a huge effort, in which a major part was played by party veterans, who retained their energy and remained true to the cause of communism despite harassment and difficulties. Toward the close of November some 2,000 primary party organizations had begun to function. During that time the revolutionary center enlarged its ranks and set up the party's Provisional Central Committee, whose first meeting took place on November 11. The number of party organizations and of communists active in public life continued to grow. On December 30, 1956 the party had 102,000 members, and within six months its membership rose to over 350,000. As well as communists, more and more working people were drawn into socialist consolidation.

Another urgent concern was the reorganization of the organs of state power. This matter

was tackled by the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government as early as at its sitting on November 7.

The counter-revolutionaries had abolished the organs of people's power, replacing them with so-called "revolutionary," "national," and "workers'" committees. All elementary norms of democracy had been swept away. To illustrate. At an electrical equipment and cable factory less than 200 persons took part in the "election" of such a "committee" despite the fact that the factory employed more than 2,000 persons. In short, the signboard of "committee" and "council" was used in an effort to institutionalize the counter-revolutionary power in the localities.

Receiving the news that a new government had been formed, loyal local government officials in many regions began forming new workers' and peasants' revolutionary committees or Soviets. The government saw no need for modifying the established system of local government and on November 7 passed a decision, which stated: "The executive committees of the Soviets shall be the lawful state executive organs everywhere."¹³

The revisionists did not at once cease their attempts at rearguard organization. Their tenacity was, I would say, inseparable from the specifics of the period of consolidation. For example, on November 14, delegates of the "workers' councils" of 20-25 of the capital's factories and revisionist-nationalistic intellectuals formed the so-called Larger Budapest Central Workers' Soviet. They sought to hinder the normalization of production, urged strikes, instigated people against the government and the forces of law and order, and obstructed the efforts to establish tranquility. The government did not outrightly refuse to negotiate with the council, but when the latter's demands were found to be counter-revolutionary it rejected them emphatically and publicly. Then, when the council tried to escalate its actions and spread them to other towns it was outlawed, the centers of armed provocation were crushed, and all the "revolutionary" and other self-styled committees acting under various signboards were disbanded. Step by step the work of the Soviets was normalized throughout the country.

From the outset similar steadfastness was displayed in reorganizing and restoring the system of the maintenance of public order, the state security organs, and the armed forces.

The process of consolidating social forces embraces a large range of tasks and concerns. The most difficult of these are at the same time the most crucial to success. These are the resto-

ration of confidence in the party, the enlistment of large sections of the people into its policies, the surmounting of the consequences of chaos in economic life, the resumption of normal production, and the satisfaction of justified demands and grievances of the people.

In Hungary the tactics of the counter-revolutionary forces — judging from everything, these tactics are characteristic of such forces generally — were to camouflage their true intentions while it was possible, to hide behind a facade of pseudo-socialist and pseudo-democratic slogans, which outwardly urged meeting the aspirations of the people and demanded an answer not in words but in deeds. Hence a clear dividing line had to be drawn between the mass movement and the aims and actions of the counter-revolution not only to localize the latter and choose the ways and means of suppression that would not affect other participants in the events whose motivations were sincere and noble. This dividing line had to be drawn also for another reason — for a more accurate, targetted orientation of measures meeting the wishes of society's decent elements.

As soon as it was formed, the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government did all in its power to consistently satisfy valid grievances of the workers, proving that its deeds did not clash with its words. As early as November 10 the childlessness tax was annulled, the wages of industrial workers were raised by between 8 and 12 per cent, a commitment was made by the government to pay compensation for damage caused to buildings, some pension deductions were reconsidered, and so on. On November 27 the government proclaimed a new agrarian policy annulling obligatory deliveries of grain and other produce to the state, condemned violations of the principle of voluntary involvement in cooperative construction, and guaranteed support for collective and individual farms making an effort to increase their output.

Tension was gradually defused by these and other practical steps and by the party's political work among the people. However, the process of consolidation did not and, evidently cannot, by virtue of its character, proceed smoothly. It is a complex struggle in which, as normalization proceeds, there are deviations and also spontaneous complications and outbursts.

Rearguard provocations, including the bloodshed at the Western Railway Station where traitors killed a woman worker and wounded a soldier of the internal security forces, made themselves felt. An attempt was made to organize a strike on December 11-12,

but this attempt was only partially successful. The mood of the workers was changing, and the people themselves were denouncing the provocateurs with growing resolution, demanding normal work and law and order. The uninterrupted restarting of production became a significant yardstick and, at the same time, the motor of consolidation.

An essential feature of the course of consolidation was, we feel, its unevenness in the different spheres of life and strata and categories of the population. The government's measures took effect most rapidly in rural communities. "Special tribute," Janos Kadar said in a speech on November 26, "must be paid to the working people of the Hungarian countryside. In equal measure workers of state farms, members of producers' cooperatives, and individual farmers honorably discharged their duty to the nation. They worked conscientiously even during the turbulent weeks experienced by the entire country. One must give them their due: without any intervention by the central leadership they completed 80-90 per cent of all autumn land cultivation, and are continuing to work tirelessly."¹⁴ Uninterrupted agricultural production and the satisfaction of the nation's food requirements in the following year were a significant factor of the economy's subsequent dynamic development.

However, purification was much slower in, for example, the cultural sphere, among the intelligentsia. Work on this front required considerable time and effort.

Innumerable discussions went on. Their participants, including party members, gave much thought to all that had happened, to the causes of the crisis, to the culpability of various persons. Many extreme, biased judgments were articulated. Some people placed the entire blame for the armed struggle on students, and the responsibility for the spiritual and ideological discord was imputed solely to the intelligentsia. These discussions showed that tens and hundreds of thousands of people, who had been drawn into the events in one way or another, did not see themselves as counter-revolutionaries and had no desire to be regarded as such.

A principled analysis of the situation and a substantive program of further work, which were followed by a fundamental change in the public frame of mind and in the entire course of the consolidation, were given by the Provisional Central Committee of the HSWP at its plenary meeting on December 2, 3 and 5. A detailed resolution was passed after a frank and extensive debate. The resolution defined the armed struggle and the revisionist betrayal of

the interests of the people as counter-revolutionary, but young people, most of whom had taken part in the events in the hope of socialist renewal, were excluded from the category of counter-revolutionaries. Relative to the broad actions of the people, the resolution stated: "As a result of glaring errors worried communists and democratically-minded non-party people pressed for the correction of errors and remained true to the ideals of communism, the socialist social system, the Hungarian People's Republic."¹⁵

In this resolution the party set the task of conducting patient explanatory work among the people, envisaged a more active and bigger role for the trade unions as champions of the interests of working people, and mapped out the further strengthening of state power, the promotion of democracy, and the implementation of a new economic line. "The bedrock of our policy," it declared, "is our close friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies on the basis of complete

national independence, identity, and sovereignty."¹⁶

For us this program document remains of fundamental importance to this day, its spirit nourishing the established open and sincere style of work. It prompted unity of action by all communists and patriots wishing to contribute to the strengthening of socialism. It was precisely then, on December 6, that the first workers' rallies in support of the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government and the first street demonstrations under the banner of the HSWP took place in Budapest.

Much still remained to be done to achieve complete political and economic consolidation, bring general peace of mind, and ensure ideological unity in society, and it was done more and more successfully, enhancing the prestige of the new party leadership in the country and in the world. Consolidation provided a sound basis for steady, though not entirely unhindered, further ascending development. Such are the facts. To this day, a quarter of a century later, the experience of consolidation reinforces our confidence in the strength and viability of socialism.

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1. Matyas Rakosi, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Working People's Party until July 1956, when his place was taken by Eyno Gero (relieved on October 25, 1956). During the events of 1956 the Hungarian Working People's Party was renamed the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

2. Imre Nagy held some ranking posts in the party and the government; in 1955 he was expelled from the party; during the October events he was reinstated in the party and on October 23 became prime minister, a post he held until November 4 when the Provisional Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government headed by Janos Kadar was formed. Geza Losonczy was a party functionary and during the October events he was a member of the HWPP Political Bureau.

3. *A Magyar Szocialista Munkaspárt határozatai és dokumentumai, 1956-1962*, Budapest, 1973, pp. 13-15.

4. *Nepszabadsag*, November 8, 1956.

5. Janos Kadar, *Szilard nepi hatalom, fuggetlen Magyarorszag*, Budapest, 1962, p. 19.

6. *A Magyar Forradalmi Munkas-Paraszt kormánykozerdeku rendeletei és nyilatkozatai*, Vol. II, Budapest, 1956, pp. 21-22.

7. The last acts of the Nagy government, it will be recalled, were to announce Hungary's withdrawal from the Warsaw Treaty and send out a radio message calling for intervention by a UN military force.

8. *A Magyar Forradalmi Munkas-Paraszt kormánykozerdeku rendeletei és nyilatkozatai*, Vol. II, p. 4.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.

10. *Nepszabadsag*, November 8, 1956.

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.*

13. *A Magyar Forradalmi Munkasmozgalom Története*, Budapest, 1976, p. 568.

14. *A Magyar Forradalmi Munkas-Paraszt kormánykozerdeku rendeletei és nyilatkozatai*, Vol. II, pp. 53-54.

15. *A Magyar Szocialista Munkaspárt határozatai és dokumentumai, 1953-1962*, p. 14.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 23.



The right to work: realities in the two systems

The right to work is people's most important social right. It helps to produce material values and to create for people well-being and certainty in the morrow. How is the right to work realized under the two opposite social systems? This will be seen from the following survey prepared by the WMR Commission on the Problems of Scientific Information and Documentation.

"A pitiful pious hope"

Bourgeois constitutions abound in purple patches on "human rights." They create the impression that the world of bourgeois democracy is an embodiment of the dream of freedom and equality. The constitution of the FRG declares: "Every German shall have equal access to any state post in accordance with his inclinations, capabilities and professional qualifications." Japan's constitution says: "All shall have the right to work and the duty to work." Similar declarations will be found in the constitutions of many capitalist countries, but not in all. The constitutions of most capitalist countries, including the constitution of the United States, say nothing about the right to work at all.

However, proclaimed equality does not yet amount to defacto equality. Lenin wrote: "A constitution is fictitious when law and reality diverge; it is not fictitious when they coincide" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 15, p. 336). When applying this yardstick to bourgeois constitutions, every unbiased person must recognize that bourgeois declarations of "human rights," in particular, the right to work, do not square with the actual state of things. Chronic unemployment is part and parcel of life in capitalist society today. In the United States, for instance, there is what is known as the full employment concept, and one could assume that this means the right to work for the whole able-bodied population. Actually, it means the regulation and planning of unemployment. U.S. economists have said, that there is "full employment" when the level of unemployment does not exceed four per cent of the country's labor-force, and in the United States this level is accepted as optimal for the development of the capitalist economy.

In 1978, the "full employment" concept was first enacted in U.S. legislation, when the Congress approved the Humphrey-Hawkins bill under which unemployment was to be reduced to 4 per cent by 1983. The very fact that such a law has been adopted shows the actual state of things. To say that there is "full employment" when millions of people are unable to find jobs is to fly in the face of common sense and any talk about defense of human rights. But such are the realities of capitalist society in the United States.

Unemployment Rates in Seven Leading Capitalist Countries (per cent of labor force*)

	1950-1960-1970-1975- 1959 1969 1974 1980 1980				
USA	4.3	4.6	5.2	6.6	7.7
Japan	2.0	1.3	1.3	2.0	2.0
FRG	5.0	0.8	1.0	3.5	3.4
France	1.8	1.5	2.6	5.1	6.3
Great Britain	1.2	2.0	3.4	5.8	7.4
Italy	7.4	5.1	5.7	6.9	7.5
Canada	4.1	5.1	5.7	7.5	7.5

*According to the statistics accepted in the capitalist countries, the total labor force includes the able-bodied population employed in the economy and in the army, and also those in search of work.

Source: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).

The unemployment rates calculated as a matter of fact by bourgeois statisticians are inhuman, to say the least. But the unemployment rates which are "normal" for each period do not give the whole picture. Official statistics fail to take into account the "stagnant unemployed," those who have lost all hope of finding a steady job and who no longer bother to register at the labor exchange. That is why the actual unemployment level, trade unions in the capitalist world believe, is very much higher than its official "rate."

Uncertainty in tomorrow is increased by the economic crisis which has spread to virtually all the industrial capitalist countries. In 1980-1981, another recession, together with the on-

going capitalist rationalization, has led to a further growth in the number of unemployed. Let us note here that before the 1980 crisis, unemployment in the industrial capitalist countries was already markedly higher than it was at the height of the preceding crisis.

According to the OECD, of which 24 capitalist countries are members, the number of unemployed there by the end of 1981 came to nearly 25 million, as compared with 19 million in 1980. The United States now has 9.5 million unemployed, a post-war record. Western Europe is plagued with the heaviest unemployment since the Great Depression of the 1930s: 15 million persons, or nearly 9 per cent of the labor force are denied the right to work. In the Common Market countries, unemployment has reached a post-war high: the number of "unwanted people" there totals 10.7 million, or 9.7 per cent of the active population in these 10 countries. The right to work is denied to one person in eight in Belgium, Great Britain, and Ireland. Literally every social category of working people has to bear the burden of unemployment, with the brunt falling on women and young people (including certified specialists) and members of ethnic minorities.¹

All over the capitalist world there is a growing number of people who have been out of work for a very long period. According to the OECD, from 1973 to 1979, the percentage of working people denied the right to work for over three months went up in the FRG from 42.8 to 58.2 per cent of the total number of unemployed; in France, from 60.3 to 74.5 per cent; in Great Britain from 53.0 to 60.9 per cent; in the United States, from 18.9 to 20.2 per cent; in the Netherlands, from 52.1 to 67.1 per cent; and in Belgium (over 6 months), from 61.2 to 74.9 per cent.

Considering that sociologists believe six months to be the critical period for job seeking (within six months an unemployed person usually runs through his savings), one can well imagine the number of human tragedies lurking behind these data: in December 1980, the number of Americans out of work for more than six months was 1.15 million, while the average duration of unemployment in the United States went up from 10.8 weeks in 1979 to 13.5 weeks. Throughout the whole of 1980, 21.4 million people — three million more than a year earlier — were out of work in the country for a more or less lengthy period.

Bourgeois propagandists claim that there is no need to bemoan the lot of the unemployed, because they receive unemployment benefits that enable them to live quite "decently." They cite data on unemployment benefits and cal-

culate what a family is able to buy with that money. The result is something just short of a state of bliss: a person who is able to work does not work but has all he needs to live.

But they keep silent of a number of essential aspects of the problem which make the "sweet" picture look quite different. The most glaring of these is that not all unemployed receive benefits, and far from throughout the whole period of forced idleness. In most cases, benefits are paid only to those who have the established seniority and who had had unemployment insurance for a definite period. In some countries, unemployment insurance does not apply to some categories of working people (farm workers, household servants, part-time workers, etc.). The figures also show that not everyone out of work is provided with unemployment benefits. In 1980, only 388,000 unemployed workers out of 766,000 — that is only every other person — received unemployment benefits and aids. In mid-1980, about 500,000 persons in Great Britain were denied the right to receive benefits because they have been out of work for more than a year. In the United States, only one-third of the 9.5 million persons in search of work receive unemployment benefits, as compared with two-thirds of the "unwanted people" who received such benefits as recently as 1975. In Canada, unemployment benefits are denied to one jobless person in three. Almost 400,000 French unemployed are deprived of financial assistance, which is, practically, of the means of subsistence. Another thing to bear in mind is that the benefits far from always compensate the working people for the material losses inflicted on them by the forced unemployment. In Great Britain, the total benefit, paid out in the form of a fixed rate and additional payment, comes to an estimated 50 per cent of wages. In 1975, unemployment benefits in the United States came to 42 per cent of the wages earlier received by unemployed workers. For many U.S. working people, the actual level of benefits does not exceed 20-30 per cent of the earlier earnings.

The social aids systems existing in the capitalist countries may help people to stay on the threshold of indigence, but they cannot heal the psychological traumas inflicted by unemployment. Bourgeois ideologists prefer not to deal with this side of the matter, and speak of the possibility of living without working and fail to say that there is no fully valid life without work. They say nothing about the mentality of a person who has become "unwanted," who cannot find application for his skills, knowledge and capabilities, and has no pros-

pects before him. Felicity Casserly, a Dublin social worker, says that after repeated rejections, "people start to feel inadequate. The spirit breaks down, and the eyes grow duller."² British psychiatrist Leonard Fagin says in a recent report that "the loss of a job can result in clinical depression, with a feeling of sadness, hopelessness and self-blame."³ He says that such emotions can aggravate stress-induced diseases, like asthma. There is a much higher incidence of cardiac disease among the unemployed. Let us bear in mind that the stress of despair through a year without work costs a person five years of life. Every percentage point of unemployment tends to increase the mortality rate by nearly 2 percentage points, a growth of mental diseases by 3.4 per cent, the number of murders by 5.7 per cent, and the number of those imprisoned on criminal charges by 4 per cent. Authoritative specialists at the Johns Hopkins University have estimated that a one per cent increase in unemployment means the death of an additional 37,000 persons over the next six years. A person who has lost his job also loses the respect and support of those around him. He is an outcast of capitalist society and is avoided like the plague. An unwanted person is a finished person. He is branded. And the number of such people in the Western world is growing.

Marx was so right when he said that in capitalist society the right to work is "an absurdity, a miserable pious wish."⁴

Guaranteed by society

Historical experience shows that socialism alone provides real guarantees for human rights, including the right to work, and relieves people from want, unemployment and uncertainty in the future.

Just after the Great October Socialist Revolution, the world's first workers' and peasants' state got down to combating unemployment, which the young Soviet Republic inherited from tsarist Russia. This unemployment was aggravated by the economic dislocation caused by the First World War, the civil war and the foreign intervention. The nationalization of large-scale industry and land, and the introduction of workers' control and the eight-hour working day provided the material prerequisites for eradicating unemployment and its sources. The first Soviet Labor Code proclaimed the right to work for all citizens in accordance with their specialty.

In the USSR, owing to social property in the means of production and socialist economic planning, which does away with recessions and depressions, unemployment was elim-

inated in a short historical period. In early 1928, there were still more than 1.5 million registered unemployed, but by the end of 1930, the last labor exchange had been closed down. When the Fundamentals of Labor Legislation were adopted in 1971, the article on unemployment benefits was dropped: in the 40 years before that, not a single person had applied to government agencies for unemployment benefits.

The 1936 constitution of the USSR enshrined the right to work as one of the basic rights of Soviet citizens. It emphasized that the right to work is the right to obtain guaranteed work with remuneration of labor in accordance with its quantity and quality. There were similar articles in the constitutions of the other socialist countries. The GDR constitution, for instance, lays down that every citizen has the right to work, to a workplace and the free choice of it, in accordance with social requirements and his personal qualifications; he has the right to receive wages in accordance with the quality and quantity of his labor (Article 24). The constitution of the USSR, which was adopted on October 7, 1977, took yet another important step in this direction. In it, the right to work is regarded not only as a guaranteed opportunity for obtaining any kind of work to ensure a subsistence minimum. It includes the right "to choose a trade, occupation and type of work in accordance with one's inclination, abilities, training and education, with due account of social requirements. This right shall be ensured by the socialist economic system, the steady growth of the productive forces, free vocational and professional training, improvement of labor skills, training in new trades and professions, and development of the systems of occupational guidance and job placement" (Article 40).

In the socialist community countries, the right to work is, therefore, not merely enshrined, but is also backed up with social, economic and juridical guarantees. State planning on a countrywide scale makes it possible to tie in labor requirements with the availability of labor resources, now and over the long term. New enterprises are, as a rule, built in areas where additional working people can be involved in social production, and here the socialist state frequently has to meet relatively higher costs.

The bourgeois press often alleges that full employment in countries of the socialist community is a result of low productivity and constitutes hidden unemployment. Actually productivity is steadily growing under socialism; this is planned as the main development

factor in production and accounts for the lion's share of growth. To be sure, the growth of productivity in some sectors still falls short of requirements. Fraternal parties make no secret of this. They take realistic steps to raise productivity and encourage relevant initiatives, such as new forms of labor organization. What they seek, however, is higher productivity and not an unending intensification of labor to the worker's detriment. In other words, higher productivity is achieved by steadily improving the technical equipment and organization of labor and not by imposing speed-up as in capitalist enterprises. A humane, considerate attitude to the working person is a law of socialist society.

Scientific and technical progress does result in some redundancies even under socialism, but the redundant workers do not become unemployed: they are provided with opportunities, in a planned manner, to raise their skill standards, or to be retrained in new specialties (with the state defraying the costs of training or retraining) and to obtain work at the same or another enterprise. In the process, they do not lose in amount of their wages.

The labor rights of citizens in socialist society are scrupulously protected by legislation, which does not allow any restrictions in job-hiring or any reduction in wages for reasons of sex, nationality, attitude to religion, or social origin. It lays down responsibility, including criminal responsibility, for unlawful dismissal from work (for instance, for personal reasons) and for other breaches of labor laws by management.

As was said above, socialist legislation guarantees to citizens not only the right to work but also the right to choose their occupation or profession, the type of job or work in accordance with their inclinations, capabilities, training and education. Opportunities for obtaining special knowledge are provided by the system of free vocational and professional training, and by measures designed to raise skill standards and train people in new fields. The table shows the scale of occupational and technical training in the socialist community countries.

The system of on-the-job training also has a big part to play in the training of personnel and the raising of their skill standards. It helps workers to study new plant, technology and techniques, and also to master second and allied trades and raise their grade standards. All those enrolled are paid wages and provided

with jobs at the end of the course in accordance with their training. Thus, over the past three years, more than one million workers in Bulgaria raised their skill standards at courses, in schools, and at trades training centers set up at enterprises and offices. From 1966 to 1976, 1.4 million workers were enrolled at similar courses in Romania. In the GDR, one working person in four is now engaged in study or the raising of occupational skills.

Number of Factory and Vocational Schools and Enrolment (1,000)

	1960/1961		1980/1981	
	No. of schools	Enrolment	No. of schools	Enrolment
Bulgaria	236	42.1	300	151
Hungary	187	125	268	154
GDR	1,146	338	977	459
Cuba ¹	—	9.2	248	80.8
Mongolia	—	—	37	22.1
Poland	3,724	363	3,274	749
Romania	519	127	603	140
USSR ²	3,684	1,064	7,242	3,659
Czechoslovakia	1,806	241	2,089	393

1. Factory schools.

2. Technical trades schools within the system of the State Committee of the USSR for technical trades education on January 1, 1961, 1981.

Source: *Statistical Yearbook of the CMEA member-countries, 1981.*

There is yet another aspect to the right to work under socialism. Without the consent of the trade-union committee, the management of an enterprise may not revise the workers' output norms, establish a system of remuneration of labor (piecework or timework) or job grading, assign grades or decide on the number of workers in this or that section. The trade union has the right to prohibit work with the use of a given piece of equipment — however new — if it believes that working conditions are a hazard to the health of industrial and office workers.

The facts speak for themselves. Socialism means full employment. By contrast, capitalism means mass and chronic unemployment. Such are the realities of the two social systems.

1. For details on the condition of women and young people under the two systems, see WMR, March and April 1982.

2. Quoted in *Time*, October 12, 1981, pp. 17-18.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

4. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 10, p. 78.

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

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

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: Canada and U.S., \$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.

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

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

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