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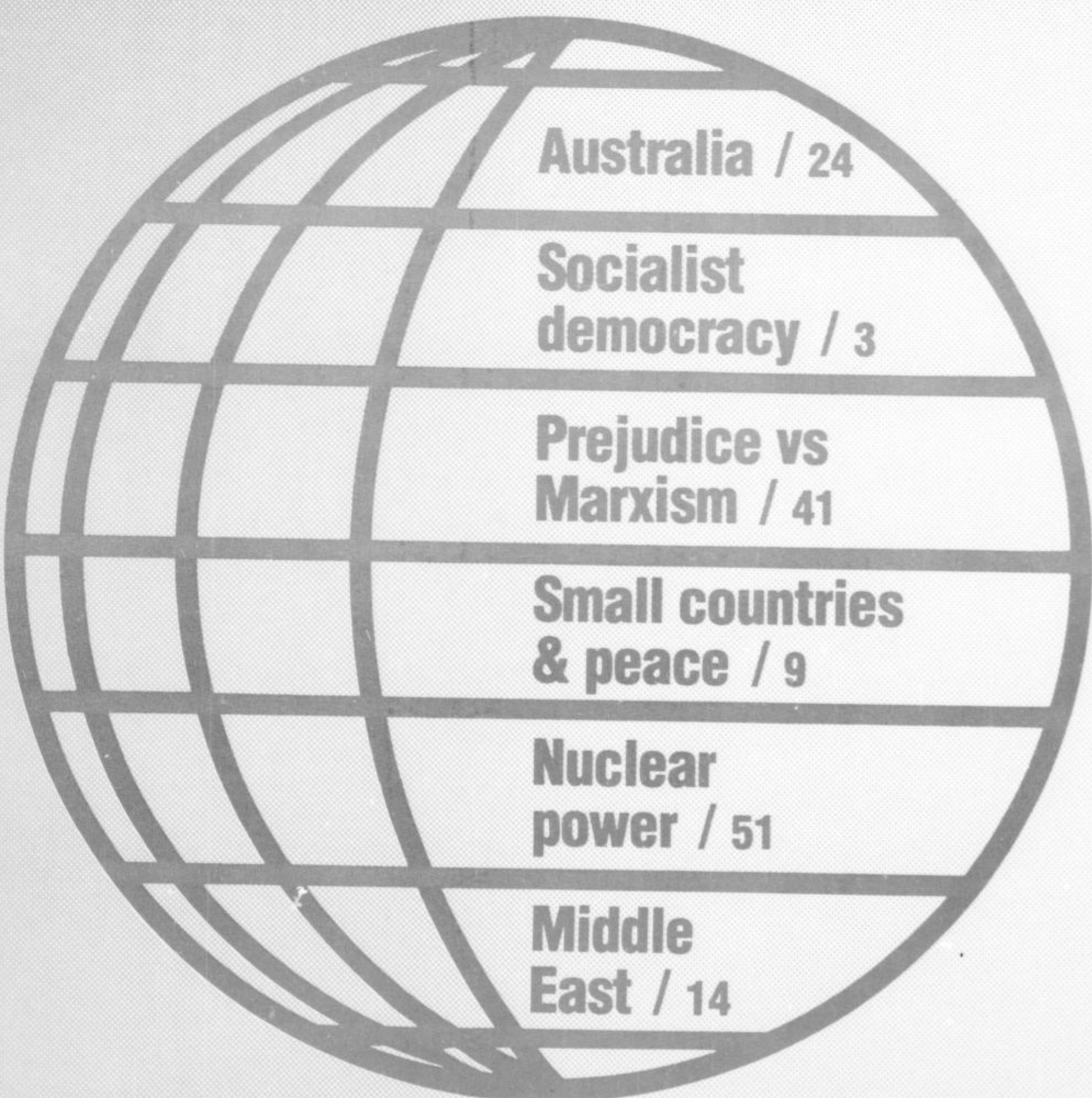
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WORLD *Problems of* **MARXIST** *Peace and Socialism* **REVIEW**

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1982: the cardinal problem of our times is growing ever more acute

In our day there is no more important question for humankind than that of war and peace, a question formulated as follows with bitter candor: Will the forces of progress preserve peace or will aggressive militarism plunge humankind into the abyss of war?

The beginning of 1982 saw the continuation of the struggle between these two trends, a struggle that has acquired dramatic significance in an epoch when distances between continents and countries are measured not in kilometers but in the minutes of the flight of ballistic missiles, when the power of the accumulated stockpiles of armaments is determined not by the number of artillery shells and aircraft bombs but by the capacity for "overkill," when the possibility of a military eruption may depend not on a clash of political interests but on a primitive human error or a short-circuit in the chain of communication.

Albeit in a different, social dimension, the cold war is also pernicious to humankind. Generated by it, the physically and intellectually devastating arms race and the subversion of the conditions for beneficial, mutually-enriching economic, scientific, technological and cultural exchanges and cooperation among nations are placing a heavy economic burden on the working people. The cold war atmosphere, in which the most reactionary tendencies of social development grow eminently conspicuous, hinders the revolutionary process and slows down humankind's advance along the road of progress.

This should always be kept in focus. But precisely today the danger overhanging the world is more real than it has ever been. The imperialist circles are more and more openly moving toward confrontation, and in this situation passiveness on the part of international opinion is inexcusable, nothing is admissible that unties the hands of the forces seeking a further inflaming of tension and prepared, in their egoistic, class interests, to step across the line dividing peace from war.

That is why it is so important today for millions of people to understand who bears the

blame for the present situation and how to stop the slide into war and advance the cause of détente. The communists are striving to give lucid answers to these questions on the basis of a scientific analysis of social processes.

The attempts of imperialism and reaction to mount an effective offensive against peace and progress are linked intimately with the assumption of power in Washington by interest groups and persons representing the extreme right wing of the political establishment of the capitalist world. The year that has passed since the Reagan take-over of the White House has seen the crystallization of the foreign policy that began to take shape in the latter half of the 1970s, with confrontation with the socialist world and the national liberation movements as its undisguised aim. The practical expression of this policy lies in the efforts to upset the military-strategic balance between socialism and imperialism in favor of the USA and the blocs headed by it, a balance that objectively serves to preserve peace on our planet.

It would be a mistake to see the mainsprings of this policy exclusively in the anti-communist, reactionary guidelines of individual political personalities. In present-day developments there obviously is an objective regularity, namely imperialism's efforts to avenge the defeats inflicted on it in the preceding years, to try to prevent a further advance of the cause of national liberation, democracy and socialism.

The class approach to analyzing the present international situation helps to expose imperialism's military plans and develop a realistic policy of countering them, and creates the conditions for uniting the masses in a movement for peace and the security of nations. It clearly shows that the threat of war can be averted not by a political "equidistance" from the two main forces opposed to each other on the world scene, nor by attempts to bracket the aggressive NATO bloc with the defensive Warsaw Treaty Organization, nor by a passive wait-and-see attitude, but only by vigorous struggle that is anti-militarist in form and anti-imperialist in content.

The communist and workers' parties, each of which functions in specific national conditions, are manifestly aware of the historic significance of common efforts to consolidate peace. This was reaffirmed at the recent Prague meeting of representatives of 90 fraternal parties on the work of our journal. It demonstrated how high is the sense of responsibility of the communists for the cause of peace in the obtaining situation.

The need for tireless efforts to show the masses the actual mainsprings of the present tension is made more pressing by the fact that far from all the participants in the peace movement, much less passive people, clearly see who orchestrates the adventurist arms race and the present aggravation of international contradictions. Anti-Soviet propaganda, in particular, is working hard to impute the responsibility for the deterioration of the international climate to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. It obscures the fact that the nuclear arms race was started not by the USSR but by the USA, that none other than the Pentagon initiates every new spiral in the perfection and stockpiling of missile weapons. Bourgeois propaganda is silent about the fact that it is not the Soviet Union but the USA that has covered the entire world with a network of military bases. It hopes to obscure the fact that it is not the USSR and other socialist countries but the USA and its allies that are brazenly interfering in the affairs of many nations — in the Middle East, Africa, the Caribbean, Central America, Europe and the Far East.

The striving of the imperialist circles to stir up counter-revolutionary actions in countries following the road of social progress comes into glaring conflict with the interests of peace, with the cause of consolidating mutual understanding and peaceful coexistence among nations. Evidence of this policy of provocation is Reagan's unprecedented attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of socialist Poland. To cover the failure of these efforts the White House engages in new violations of international law. It has gone so far as to proclaim "economic sanctions" against the Soviet Union, attributing to it actions that are totally alien to the essence of Soviet policy.

That makes it doubly urgent to help people understand what fundamentally distinguishes the policy pursued by imperialism, a policy aimed at subjugating the world, from the foreign policy of socialism, which is guided by the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

These distinctions are self-evident if they are

approached without bias. They are seen notably in the many proposals made by the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Treaty member-states to reduce the level of military confrontation, proposals that embrace all areas of disarmament and international security. Their ultimate purpose is to achieve the simultaneous disbandment of military-political blocs and free humankind from the burden of armaments.

One can hardly over-rate the role played by the Soviet Union in this process. The peace program for the 1980s charted by the 26th congress of the CPSU deals with the key problems of the present international situation and maps out concrete ways and means of improving the international climate. It has thereby become a realistic platform for vigorous action in defense of peace in which growing sections of the people are joining.

We are now witnessing how, surmounting objective and artificially piled up barriers, this program is being translated into concrete initiatives, agreements and accords. More, sparing no efforts to achieve peace aims, socialist diplomacy is invariably prepared to explore mutually acceptable compromises. The only thing it is not prepared to do is to allow a change of strength in favor of imperialism. Such a turn in developments could prove to be fatal to the destiny of humankind.

What are the USA and its most loyal NATO allies offering as an alternative to the socialist peace program? New missile systems, the neutron bomb, the doctrine of "limited war," the insidious "zero option," and undisguised pressure on Cuba, Nicaragua, Ethiopia, Angola, Libya and the Palestinian Arab people.

In combating the threat of war, the communists act on the assumption that there is an objective possibility of averting that threat even in a situation where capitalism is still dominant in most of the world. Of course, the Marxist-Leninists link the prospect of entirely and finally excluding wars from the life of humankind with the universal triumph of communist ideals. However, they profoundly believe that the present balance of strength allows averting a world war. Acting on this historically significant conclusion, the communists are mobilizing the people for a resolute struggle against aggressive imperialism's dangerous plans and actions.

The first month of 1982 forcefully reaffirmed that the realities of our day make it imperative to give absolute priority to ensuring the principal human right, namely, the right to life. The stand on this central problem is the main criterion

ion of the conformity of policy to the cherished aspirations of the people. Lenin's words, "democracy is most clearly manifested in the fundamental question of war and peace" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 30, p. 319), are more topical than ever.

True to the humanist essence of their doctrine, the communists have declared an uncompromising war on war. They are calling

upon everybody, including those who are far removed from the ideas of socialism, to fight more militantly for peace, détente and disarmament. The popular anti-war movement, that last year acquired a qualitatively new dimension, is evidence that this call has been heard.

*WMR Commission
for Peace and Democratic Movements*

The effectiveness of socialist democratic institutions

*Jindrich Polednik
CC Secretary, CP Czechoslovakia*

A fundamentally new political and juridical superstructure, a new type of state and democracy — socialist democracy — correspond to the new economic relations and to the higher type of social labor organization under socialism. The development of socialist democracy and its consistent perfection acquire crucial importance. Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the CPCz CC and President of Czechoslovakia, made this point at the 16th congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia: "We believe that the meaning and content of democracy lie in our people's ever more active participation in the administration of the country, in the management of state and social affairs, and in the day-to-day solution of problems at factories, and in the towns and villages."*

Every stage in the building of the new society naturally has its own primary tasks in the development of democracy. Today, the main element is the enhancement of the efficiency and effectiveness of the work of all its democratic structures.

Profound reasons impel communists to take an especially exacting approach in assessing the concrete results of the functioning of the organs and institutions of democracy, because in the present-day conditions it is of exceptional importance how vigorously we are able to set in motion fresh reserves of political and social activity, production initiative and all of the people's creative powers. This springs, above all, from the socio-economic program mapped out by the party, which provides for a major stride over the current decade in building a developed socialist society through transition

to a mainly intensive type of reproduction in the economy. Labor productivity can be boosted, the economy made more efficient, and scientific and technological progress accelerated — and the well-being of the masses raised on that basis — only with active and vigorous support for the program by all the working people.

This activity is all the more necessary in view of the fact that we have to work in a complicated situation, in which tension in the international arena has been increased through the fault of imperialism, and ideological attacks against socialism are being sharpened. Bourgeois propaganda seeks to speculate on the difficulties and problems in our construction, striving to amplify them to "catastrophic" proportions in the hope of pushing the socialist countries toward destabilization, inciting discontent and discord and activating anti-socialist elements and putting them into a striking position. These attempts can be confidently rebuffed if the society is well-knit and morally and politically united, and here the development of democracy has an indispensable role to play.

Historical experience teaches communists to work tirelessly to have the democratic channels reliably serve to bring out, concert and approximate the interests of individuals and collectives, social groups and the society as a whole. On the strength of our own lessons, we in Czechoslovakia are convinced that discord in such interaction tends to produce painful consequences and, together with other complications, may even lead to crisis situations. Practice also indicates that consistent assertion and development of democratic norms is the best way to overcome the arising difficulties and to

*"Sbornik hlavních dokumentu XVI sjezdu Komunistické strany Československa." Praha, 1981, p. 33.

have the intrinsic, potential energy of the socialist system converted into constructive and creative energy.

Past experience is useful, of course, not only because it is a warning against the repetition of some mistakes. Of tremendous value also are its positive aspects: the achievements, the peculiar historical ways and means of the formation of the various organs of democracy, and the traditions of interaction among them. After all, the continued development of democracy never starts from abstract schemes but from life itself, from reality, in which the legacy and the novelty are closely intertwined. Our party's conception of the ways to make socialist democracy more effective also seeks to reckon with the past experience of its formation, which it is useful to consider, however briefly.

Let us recall that the socialist revolution in Czechoslovakia grew out of the national-democratic revolution and was carried out by peaceful means. The first, national-democratic revolution already brought to life new institutions which raised democracy to a qualitatively higher level. This applies especially to the national committees which originated in the struggle against the fascist invaders and which, following our country's liberation by the Soviet Army, became the first organs of the people's revolutionary power.

The establishment of such committees was an essential step in the replacement of the bourgeois state apparatus, but some of its elements and some of the old personnel were still used for the people's benefit in the period in which the national-democratic revolution grew into a socialist revolution and for some time after the victory of the latter. This policy had a number of purposes. First of all, the party strove to rally to its side the wavering non-proletarian forces which were under the influence of bourgeois democracy; they were involved in fulfilling the tasks which faced the dictatorship of the proletariat and gradually moved to the positions of socialism. Furthermore, this helped to expose the limitations of bourgeois democracy within the framework of its own institutions, to identify those who were incapable of shedding the burdens of the past and subsequently to remove them from the management of state affairs, if they continued to oppose the new system. Finally, this policy helped to strengthen the legitimate character of the revolutionary power. As a result, the working people's ultimate victory and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship in 1948 were attained with complete observance of the Czechoslovakian constitution then in force.

Even in the course of the national-democratic revolution, mass social organizations — trade-union, youth and peasant — began to acquire increasing weight. The working people of our country learned from their own experience under the bourgeois regime about the use of uniting all these forces. The trade unions and other social organizations merged in a single movement, and this assured them of a sizable role in effecting radical revolutionary transformations, like the nationalization of the main industries, the land reform, and the democratization of social life.

The National Front became an important political factor in that period. It emerged from the anti-fascist struggle, gained in strength and during the national-democratic revolution brought together the political parties and mass social organizations on the platform of building a state of people's democracy. The 1948 victory strengthened the positions of the progressive forces within the National Front, consolidated it and carried it to a new field of activity.

History makes it clear that in our system of socialist democracy there are component parts which emerged before the socialist revolution, in the course of the national-democratic revolution (National Front, non-communist parties, etc.), and components which appeared much later. For instance, the federal structure, the formation of the Czech and Slovak socialist republics, which in our conditions was a concrete embodiment of Lenin's nationalities policy, are linked to the period of full-scale socialist construction. The federal system has become an organic component of the democratic system we now have in Czechoslovakia, for it ensures not only the juridical but also the actual equality of the nations, and helps to align the economic and social development levels of the two republics.

One could say that in breadth of compass the existing complex of democratic organizations, organs and institutions meets the country's present-day requirements. We do not believe that democracy can be made more effective through revisions of its structure or the highlighting of some forms to the detriment of others, but through a strengthening of the political system all along its front, and the further consolidation of the alliance of the working class, the cooperative peasantry and intelligentsia with the leading role of the Communist Party.

The party believes that the way to make democracy more effective lies above all in tying ever more closely the work of democratic institutions with the solution of concrete and

vital problems in the political, economic, social and cultural spheres.

The country's new five-year plan for the 1981-1985 period requires the concentration of efforts along the main lines, namely, scientific and technical re-equipment of production and restructuring of economic management, the boosting of industrial and agricultural output, and concern for the people's material and cultural standards. An important feature of this five-year period is that its targets have to be reached, for the first time, virtually without an increase in raw material, energy and other resources. In other words, all-round intensification, a high level of efficiency and quality of workmanship everywhere — in production, in the social spheres — become obligatory prerequisites for reaching our goals. The CPCz CC plenary meeting held at the end of last year discussed the draft seventh five-year plan for Czechoslovakia's economic and social development. It re-asserted the guidelines for the five-year period, while once again emphasizing that the work to realize these will proceed in much more difficult internal and external conditions than before. It called for a mustering of all forces so as to ensure, in this difficult situation, all-round economic progress, and to maintain the people's well-being at a high level and to improve it qualitatively.

We have both experience and important successes in broadly involving the masses in tackling tasks of the largest scale, but practice shows that shortcomings, formalism and superficiality still tend to manifest themselves in this area. Now and again, serious questions are discussed in such a way that the decision tends to be drowned out in a flood of generalities. Nor is it right to close one's eyes to the passiveness of some citizens whose whole "participation" in social concerns boils down to going through the motions of performing their membership or other duties. This is to be found most frequently in the micro-climate of collectives where the tasks which people are urged to fulfil are formulated vaguely, "in general" or in such a way as not to arouse any interest.

Our party tries hard to have party, state, economic and other social organizations devote as much attention as possible to the concrete problems of economic and social life which spring from reality itself and which truly agitate the minds of people at the given enterprise, organization or district. Only then is the whole work enlivened — and this is also borne out by the facts. Dissimilar proposals tend to produce debates and an atmosphere in which the working people's initiative is given an outlet in the

formulation of different options, which are compared for efficiency, and the extent to which they are in line with requirements and potentialities. That can only be welcomed. It is, after all, not the purpose of democratic procedures to assert a unanimity which covers up indifference, but to provide an instrument for an in-depth analysis of problems and for resolving contradictions.

It is, of course, important to see that democratic forums, whatever their size, are held in a business-like atmosphere in which the proceedings are not confined to lively debates or decisions on paper, however wise. Schemes yield results only in the course of persevering organizational effort. That is why in our concern for the effectiveness of socialist democracy we assign a special place to controlling the performance of what has been planned. Enhancement of the efficiency of management, qualitative improvements in its style and methods, which were also considered at the plenary meeting, envisage the broadest participation by the working people in controlling the fulfillment of plans and decisions.

Popular control is made massive above all through a diversity of forms, with the involvement not only of elective bodies, state institutions and social organizations, but also active volunteers, be they participants in check-ups on a plant's readiness for winter, or a commission supervising the work of marketing enterprises in its district. Mass control becomes a norm of our life and helps to shape public intolerance of any discrepancy between word and deed, and makes every component part of the state mechanism function with the utmost smoothness and efficiency. The broader the publicity of control, and the faster and more resolute the efforts to correct the discovered shortcomings, the greater the results.

Under socialism, which is cooperation of the working people managed and planned in concert, the demands on the scientific and professional level of social management are exceptionally increased.

Experience shows that the successful development of socialist democracy and the participation of masses of people in decision-making largely depend on the professional and political maturity of those who work in the management apparatus, and on their qualitative preparation of material and data for the activity of popular organs and functionaries. Nothing but harm would be inflicted on democracy itself from the assumption that it guarantees a high quality of decisions "as a matter of course." The actual effectiveness of

democratic procedures is closely connected with the level of consciousness and training of its participants; this effectiveness is circumscribed by their capacity to take decisions with a knowledge of their business. In the process of management, there is an organic blend of the influence of socio-political positions and of assessments which spring from special, natural, scientific, technical and economic knowledge, while success depends on a harmonious combination of the two, and this suggests the need to deepen both elements in management, both along the line of specialization and along the line of democratic control.

The responsible role of the institutions of democracy is determined not only by their capacity to promote economic progress. Representative and other forms of citizen participation in the administration of the state ultimately serve to assert the ideology of the working class and to raise the individual in the broadest terms. They help to develop the people's consciousness, thereby creating more and more prerequisites for deepening their involvement in the management of social affairs, including labor processes. As a result, there is a simultaneous rise in the level of production and culture, a growth of the activity of the masses and of their creative role in the development of the society. That is the kind of effectiveness of democracy which cannot be achieved under any other system.

The practice of socialist construction, which combines the advantages of socialism with the achievements of science and technology, taps fresh possibilities for elaborating the forms of democracy while the development of the socialist society is determined by the further extension and deepening of democracy.

Socialist democracy helps to make scientific and technological achievements not only a product but also an asset of millions of working people. Under socialism, science provides a theoretical basis for the management of social processes in the course of which the people's needs and requirements are satisfied, and the classes and social groups are drawn closer together through a consistent obliteration of socio-class distinctions. *Marxist-Leninist social science, especially sociological and socio-psychological studies, have the important role of recognizing and consciously directing these intricate processes.*

Czechoslovakia's experience shows that socialist democracy has become an organic part of life in our society and a condition and political form for the solution of the key economic, social and cultural problems. Our view of the

dialectical interconnection between democracy and economics stems from Lenin's idea that democracy "will exert its influence on economic life as well, will stimulate its transformation; and in its turn it will be influenced by economic development" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 25, p. 453). Consequently the development of socialist democracy is inevitably, even if indirectly, connected with economic growth, and vice versa.

These problems are of special importance today when considering the improvement of the system of our democracy as a whole. But it is made up of many elements, each with its own internal reserves for growth.

The key place within the political system of socialism belongs to the representative organs which ensure the working people's participation in the exercise of state power at every stage of its hierarchic structure, including the highest ones. This is borne out by the social composition of the Federal Assembly of Czechoslovakia, of the Czech and Slovak National Councils and the local national committees, in which the decisive majority belongs to representatives of the working class and cooperative peasantry, the social and political foundation of our society. Of the 197,169 deputies elected in June 1981 to the representative organs, 42.9 per cent are workers, 17 per cent are cooperative peasants, 22.5 per cent are intellectuals, and 17.6 per cent are representatives of other groups; 38.1 per cent of the deputies are young people under the age of 35 years, and 30.9 per cent are women. In bourgeois parliaments and municipal councils only a handful of deputies represent the laboring sections of society, which is why the capitalist state, being an instrument of the exploiter classes, cannot vie with the socialist state in the breadth and strength of its social basis.

We believe that efforts to make the work of deputies more effective is the right way to enable the organs of power to fulfil their tasks more fully and even more efficiently. Deputies work mainly in two spheres: among their electors and in the representative assembly and its various organs and commissions. These two spheres are, of course, closely connected with each other. A profound knowledge of their electors' needs and concerns enables deputies to leave their mark in legislative activity and to control the work of the state apparatus, while constantly remaining a representative of the people. At the same time, participation in elective organs helps to gain a clearer understanding of the way in which the interests of the electors fit into the fabric of national, state af-

fairs. Deputies exercise the will of the people on behalf of the state, and this gives them the right to control the activity of ministries, economic associations and other establishments. Success in any undertaking largely depends on how broadly and actively this right is used.

However, there is also a third sphere in which the people's deputies exercise a great influence, and it is their own work collectives. The knowledge and experience gained in these collectives frequently determine the character of deputies' work in the representative body, whenever they have to deal with professional problems. Conversely, the deputies return to their collectives with the political experience they have acquired, and that is why their role in the collectives is most important. The deputies' activity in the work collective, we feel, is a source for enhancing the quality of performance of deputies' duties and so also of the activity of the elective organs of power themselves.

The representative organs can draw not only on their own reserves, but also on external reserves by extending cooperation with social organizations in their efforts to improve this activity. Social organizations not only have the right to nominate candidates for deputies to legislative bodies but also take an active part in their work, by tabling proposals for the consideration of important matters and participating in the drafting and implementation of decisions. Consolidation of the ties between the representative organs and social organizations helps to strengthen the system of democracy as a whole, and this has a beneficial effect on all its components as well.

A great deal in the functioning of the democratic system depends on the national committees, the local organs of power, for they are its foundation, its very basis. Tens of thousands of men and women work as deputies and activists in the national committees. The 16th congress of the CPCz has put forward a program for further improving the methods of their work. The committees' competence in managing economic, social and cultural construction is also being enlarged and their economic and financial basis consolidated. Plans for the building up of new neighborhoods are approved only with the consent of the national committees. A national committee may refuse to endorse a plan if no provision is made for satisfactory development in the new neighborhoods of the infrastructure, a network of marketing and service establishments, child welfare institutions and other cultural and everyday facilities. A movement is now under

way across the country for improving everyday services. It is safe to say that work in this area will be fundamentally improved over the next few years.

We strive to have the regions, districts, towns and villages throughout the country develop harmoniously, as a complex. But harmony is not always achieved, for it is now and again hampered by inability to combine the interests of the region with the interests of the industry which already has or is building enterprises in the region. It also happens that economic planning in the localities is not backed up with social planning, and that is yet another dissonance. The novelty of the tasks facing the national committees consists precisely in coordinating the interests of the industry and the region, and tying the questions of economic, social and cultural development into an integral complex. With that end in view, regional planning is being perfected, and national committees' competence in coordinating and control, and also with respect to economic organizations not subordinate to them, is being extended. Such coordination can produce a very high effect, and it opens up scope for initiative.

But in some conditions the effectiveness of the organs of local power turns out to be inadequate for objective reasons, so that ways have to be found to fill the existing democratic forms with new and real content. Here is an example. Czechoslovakia has many small and very small populated localities. These frequently have no prospects for development and it is hard to create living conditions up to modern standards. In such localities, national committees do not have sufficient material potentialities and so lack the necessary authority. The party believes that this problem can be solved through a gradual construction of large populated localities as centers for entire districts. The national committees of such centers will have adequate material resources at their disposal and so also the necessary powers to administer life in the region as a whole.

The representative democracy of socialism is manifested in the activity of the Federal Assembly, of the Czech and the Slovak National Councils, and the national committees. Direct democracy is manifested in such of its institutions as the election or recall of deputies, and here the will of the working people is binding, or imperative.

Consultative forms of direct democracy are also being ever more broadly practised in our country. A vivid example is provided, above all, by the electoral programs of the National

Front. Such programs were first drawn up 10 years ago, and since then, from one election to another, they have been filled with ever deeper content. National committees, local organs of the National Front and the organizations it unites, and also the enterprises and offices located in each electoral district cooperate in preparing these documents. Programs are worked out on the basis of proposals submitted by electors and the deputies themselves. Each program being a platform of the National Front candidates in the electoral campaign, is, in effect, a plan for life in the region over a period of years. It is a record of how everyday-service enterprises are to be remodelled and built, how many new nursery schools, creches, school dining rooms and sport facilities are to be made available, and what kind of measures are envisaged for the protection and improvement of the environment. The program also reflects the prospects before the factories, plants, cooperatives and social organizations which have an effect on the economic and social development of the district. Much attention is given to the socialist education of the working people and to cultural and social activities.

Both the program and its elaboration are an expression of the working people's new, socialist attitude to their town, to their village, to their country. It is a document with the help of which the elector is always in a position to control the realization of plans, to find out what has not been done and why, that is, to exercise his or her right to participate in the administration of the state. Through their deputies, directly through the governing bodies, or through the press, electors demand fulfillment of the adopted plans. Here they are supported by social and party organizations. Electoral programs have become an effective form in which the working people realize their right to have a say in the administration of the state.

In addition to the discussion of electoral programs, the holding of meetings of activists of national committees and other citizens is also among the forms of direct democracy, because at these meetings citizens voice their opinion on matters like the draft budget of the local organ of power. This form of consultation was most extensively used before the 1981 elections, when almost 44,000 such meetings were held, attended by over one-half of all those who voted for the candidates of the National Front.

In the period of construction of developed socialism, the National Front continues to be a form of giving political expression to the class alliance of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia and the community of our country's

big and small nations. Its structure is made up of local, city, district, regional and central committees, all of which are influential institutions of our political system. Thus, in elections to representative organs, National Front committees nominate candidates, set up electoral commissions, and so on. The organs of the front bring together and coordinate the activity of social organizations in fulfilling the overall tasks of socialist construction.

Practice shows that participation by social organizations in administration is a necessary condition for the efficiency of the process. Within the framework of the National Front, we have 24 social organizations, the most massive of which are the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, the Socialist Youth League, cooperative organizations, the Czechoslovak Union of Women, the Union of Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship, the Czechoslovak Union of Physical Education, and the Czechoslovak Red Cross.

One area in which a great deal still remains to be done both by social organizations and by our scientists is the study of the interests of the various social groups or categories of citizens associated by various features. If the democratic system is to produce more effective results, the interests of the various groups of the population and of the state as a whole need to be harmonized. It also applies to the personal, individual interests of citizens. It is social organizations that help to bring together and harmonize individual, group and state interests.

The trade unions, which in Czechoslovakia have over 7 million members, have an especially great role to play. In a society in which socialist property in the means of production is prevalent, the working people are the masters of their enterprises. That is why the trade unions have developed a new function, which is to exert a direct influence on the progress of production and management, so that the results of economic activity could more fully satisfy social needs.

A plenary meeting of the CPCz CC invited the National Front, the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement and the Socialist Youth League to pool efforts in securing economies in fuel, energy, metals, foodstuff and other resources. Socialist emulation campaigns are organized by the trade unions in cooperation with management in industry. Such emulation is of tremendous benefit when it is not superficial and when it helps to spread advanced experience and progressive techniques.

The system of collective agreements helps to

secure effective cooperation between the working people, their trade unions and management in industry. At the same time, it provides the legal framework for the relations between the working people and the management and safeguards the rights of the workers. All of this ensures the creation of the necessary values for the state and, on the other hand, guarantees payment of remuneration and the extension of other material values, and the best working conditions. All of this serves to confirm the working people in the certainty that their rights are ensured in law, and this makes them sure of the future.

Constant control over the fulfillment of collective agreements makes it possible to settle any situation of conflict in the process of work. This is an effective instrument catering for the interests of democracy.

The institutions of socialist democracy are developed and perfected under the guidance of the communists, of the Communist Party. This is the leading force of our political system, which unites and integrates the efforts of state and social organs and organizations involved in building the new society. For them, the main example is set by the activity of the Communist Party, and the model for the functioning of

effective forms of democracy — by inner-party democracy. "Like party, like society" is a principle that also applies to the development of democracy. Whenever the norms of inner-party life were breached in the past, this was always inevitably reflected in the observance of the democratic principles underlying the life of the state and society as a whole. Our experience confirms that perfection of inner-party democracy is the indispensable condition for the maintenance and deepening of socialist democracy.

"In order to develop socialist democracy and the working people's activity and initiative," Gustav Husak said at the 16th congress of the CPCz, "it is especially important to create a broad platform for the exchange of opinion and the development of constructive criticism."* It is the communists — the people who are equipped with a knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory — that have been making the most important contribution to the creation of such a platform, and they have been doing this by their endeavor, by their example, and by their dedication to the projected goals.

*"Sbornik hlavních dokumentů XVI sjezdu Komunistické strany Československa." Praha, 1981, p. 33.

The role of small countries in defending peace

Michael O'Riordan
General Secretary,
Communist Party of Ireland

"The working people of Ireland, North and South," our party stated in its "Appeal to the People of Ireland" a year ago, "are now facing the greatest challenge to their class interests since the partitioning of this country by a British government in 1920 . . . The very future of Ireland is at stake. The most fundamental right, that of self-determination, is under serious threat by imperialism."

This time the reactionary forces have taken the offensive in the foreign policy sphere in an effort to make the Republic of Ireland abandon its traditional neutrality. They would like to inveigle Ireland into the war plans of the main capitalist powers.

We Irish communists are deeply concerned about developments not only because the sovereignty of our country is in peril. The cause

of world peace and that of Irish national independence are indivisible, as representatives of the Communist Parties of Canada, Ireland and the USA pointed out in a statement published after they had met in November 1981.

This approach is of fundamental importance in our opinion, for it once again shows that it is wrong to estimate international developments solely in terms of the nature and level of relations between the two "superpowers" or "blocs." It is all the more important since this wrong estimation is shared by some communists.

In defining its attitude to the Irish government's moves on the world scene and to its foreign policy concepts generally, the CPI has never taken a narrow view of the national interest. We have always held that no matter how

small a country may be, no matter how small its economic or military potential may be, it is entitled to a place of its own in international relations. What is more, it can influence their formation while expressing, needless to say, the class interests of its ruling quarters.

This is true above all of today's world, in which the attitude of small countries is becoming more and more important in "big-time" politics. Evidence of this is a vigorous and fruitful foreign policy of not only big but also small socialist countries, a beneficial impact of the non-aligned movement, and, finally, the stance of some "junior" members of NATO having a restraining effect on Washington's war plans.

It follows that the main thing is how and in whose interest the "small" countries use their possibilities and how to make their contribution to the common cause of all nations — the defense of peace — more effective. Public opinion in these countries has a big role to play and the communists and their allies are working to organize it in the struggle for détente and against the arms race.

Ireland owes its special place in contemporary international relations to several interconnected circumstances. Its development is still influenced by the fact that for centuries the country has been dominated by Britain, one of the strongest and most rapacious imperialist powers. Six Irish counties are still under direct British control and the sovereign part of a deliberately partitioned Ireland is economically dependent on Britain. The courageous struggle of the Irish people against this foreign domination has earned them the esteem of oppressed peoples everywhere who have cited Irish resistance as a source of inspiration and example. On winning independence, however, the Republic of Ireland was drawn under the impact of an emergent tendency in the capitalist class into ever closer cooperation with the imperialist powers and became a sphere of bitter economic rivalry between them. The sectarian violence provoked by British imperialism in Northern Ireland is having fatal consequences for the Irish people, dividing them through a "religious" conflict and thereby hampering the social struggle.

Accession to the EEC strengthened the economic impact of these factors and committed the country to integration into and domination by the strong capitalist economies of Western Europe. It accelerated the penetration of the Irish economy by multinationals based in Western Europe, North America and Japan, attracted to our country primarily by cheap labor

as well as by tax reductions and other advantages. The very first slogan that greets foreigners arriving at Dublin airport reads "Welcome to Ireland, the most profitable country in Europe."

Along with the involvement of the Republic in capitalist economic structures and due to it there is a trend toward political cooperation with the imperialist powers. The object is to bring the process to completion by involving Ireland in some form of military-political alliance with imperialism. "Without question," says a recent memorandum of the U.S. National Security Council, "Ireland could make a valuable contribution to the defense of the North Atlantic community." Imperialism sees the significance of Ireland in the fact that our island commands the sea and air approaches to Europe and can be transformed into a bridgehead for U.S. armed forces.

A serious obstacle to imperialist plans is the Republic's officially proclaimed neutrality, which NATO strategists are trying hard to undermine. To resist their efforts is all the more important because to abandon neutrality would be tantamount to renouncing national sovereignty.

The communists, who estimate social processes dialectically, remember the lessons of history. They realize that Ireland's neutrality was not primarily motivated by a commitment of its rulers to world peace. It is well known that during the cold war, for instance, neutrality did not prevent the Republic from going along with the most rabid of the anti-Soviet ranters.

However, the present situation has led our party to the conclusion that Irish neutrality today has a different meaning and is an important political factor for the destiny of our people in North and South alike. This is largely due to the political processes going on in and outside Ireland, primarily the changes that have occurred in the alignment of world forces.

The substance of Irish neutrality is increasingly determined by the need to preserve peace which is realized by a large body of public opinion, including some sections of the ruling class. Awareness of this need is keener now that Washington has announced plans for turning Europe into the battlefield of a "limited" nuclear war.

Experience proves the validity of the idea expressed at the beginning of this article that even small countries free from direct military pressure on the part of the imperialist powers can play a noticeable international role.

Relative political independence enabled, for instance, the Irish government to take a more

sympathetic stand on the Palestinians' cause by supporting their legitimate demand for the establishment of an independent state. The Republic has made a number of moves in defense of the independence of the peoples of southern Africa. It has declared for measures to safeguard El Salvador against U.S. interference.

However, the facts I have listed merely suggest a tendency and should be seen as evidence of certain potentialities rather than of a real policy line. Precisely because the Republic's political independence is *relative*, this tendency has not yet taken strong root and as for the country's potentialities in the foreign policy sphere, they are not used to the full.

Pressure from the imperialist powers, on the one hand, and the hypocrisy and opportunism of the leaders of the major political parties, on the other, have influence on the policies of the Irish government. They explain why useful initiatives mostly stop short of action. When attempts were made to curb South Africa's racists, the Irish government abstained from voting on a relevant UN resolution for fear of embarrassing such friends as the USA and the FRG. In the case of U.S. interference in the internal affairs of El Salvador, the Republic ultimately failed to support the French-Mexican initiative aimed at guaranteeing the Salvadoran people the right to resist the junta.

Moreover, the Irish ruling circles occasionally use the country's neutrality to camouflage their direct action in the interest of imperialism. The present Taoiseach, Garret FitzGerald, admitted as much in a recent interview. "Non-membership in NATO," he said, "gives us a higher degree of *acceptability* (my italics. — M.O.) in certain parts of the world ..." In view of the class nature of the present government, it is easy enough to guess whose interests this kind of "acceptability" serves.

Summing up, it is safe to say that lately the position of the Irish ruling class has been more ambiguous than before. The overall change in the balance of world forces was bound to make it revise its approach to the developing countries. In the last decade Dublin has not been so ready to adopt a simplistic anti-communist stance as in the past. However, membership in the EEC and the growing links with foreign monopoly capital give rise to negative political tendencies. It follows that although because of its own history and present position it often finds itself in conflict with imperialism's policies, Ireland remains firmly in the world capitalist system with all ensuing consequences.

And yet, for all its limitations, Ireland's

neutrality offers opportunities to lend its foreign policy some positive aspects, which is particularly important in the tense international situation of today. However, a requisite of using these opportunities is a mass movement of the people that would continuously put mounting pressure on the government and prevent the ruling class from making concessions to the imperialist powers.

The communists attach key importance to resisting all attempts to involve Ireland in imperialist military-political alliances. We consider that accession to such alliances would greatly increase the threat to Irish sovereignty and independence and make Irish policies subservient to monopoly interests.

Attempts to this end have been made at various stages and in various forms. One of these is the idea of forming a West European "defense" body based on the EEC, with Ireland as a member. Hence the effort to involve Ireland in discussion of "defense" matters at EEC meetings. This is a development which the Left predicted during the debate on Ireland's proposed adherence to an "integrated" Western Europe. However, it was not very hard to foresee, for many important figures in the major bourgeois parties seized every occasion to stress our country's "natural orientation" to NATO, making it clear that they did not regard neutrality as an "issue of principle."

Although Ireland is neutral, spokesmen for the ruling class have said all along that it is committed to the West and cannot expect to share its "benefits" if it is unwilling to share its "defense" expenditures. The likelihood of its joining a "defense" agreement, if on what is called "suitable" terms, is not really ruled out. "We were all clear at the time of entry (to the EEC. — M.O.)," Charles Haughey said when he was Prime Minister, "that in the event of full political, economic and monetary union being achieved, we would not stand in the way of such a union being completed in a defense element." The press pointed out that this approach was also accepted by the present government.

True, neither of the Republic's leading parties has ever committed itself in public to joining NATO. Even so, it is a most worrying fact that the people cannot be sure of what is happening behind their backs.

However, the truth cannot be concealed for long. Last year our party's paper, *The Irish Socialist*, revealed that part of the Irish communications system has been used by NATO. Even more frightening is the knowledge that the Western powers may in some situations use

force to secure their plans. There is evidence that NATO has contingency plans to occupy the airport of Shannon in the event of nuclear war. The airport is of strategic importance, situated as it is near the Atlantic coast and also well equipped. It is felt in NATO quarters that popular resistance to such plans would be easily suppressed. So one wonders to what extent Ireland is already covertly involved in the activities of this military bloc.

Lately attempts to involve Ireland in NATO strategic plans have been particularly insidious. For a long time successive British governments, both Tory and Labour, have been determined at least to hold the northern counties — an “autonomous province” of the United Kingdom.

But now that neocolonialist policies in Northern Ireland are definitely in an impasse and increasingly injure the interests of the British ruling class not only in the British Isles but in the world, official London would like to kill two birds with one stone. On the one hand, it wants to make its attitude to the Irish question appear less objectionable and, on the other, to find ways and means of extending its grip to include the whole of Ireland. This is apparently the meaning of the “new” line adopted by Margaret Thatcher, who has hinted that the Tories were ready to consider a united Ireland provided the new entity abandoned neutrality and agreed to join NATO.

The prospect of such a deal understandably causes concern to progressive Irish opinion on either side of the boundary separating the Republic in the South from the “autonomous province” in the North. Apprehensions increased late in 1980, when London and Dublin resumed their dialogue. After the very first meeting between Thatcher and Haughey, the then Prime Minister, rumors abounded that the deal was one of the items on the agenda. The fact that no clear statement was made as to whether or not this matter was discussed served to strengthen the suspicion. Nor did the continuing Irish-British summit talks allay fears.

Britain's neocolonialists began the second stage of their maneuver in the autumn of 1981, when the Minister for Northern Ireland, James Prior, advanced his plan. The plan contains some positive elements or, at any rate, tries to get the solution of the Irish problem off to a start, in particular by calling for greater economic cooperation between the two parts of Ireland.

How sincere this position is remains to be seen. In the meantime our party stresses that the Minister, a staunch supporter of British im-

perialist interests, is undoubtedly prompted by the idea that a united Ireland should serve the interests of Britain and its imperialist allies. This is why we communists consider that the threat to the Republic's neutrality, far from being over, has taken new if more covert forms.

The warning we serve is particularly timely, for certain forces in our country are agreeable to ideas conceived in London. The logic and arguments of reactionary politicians are both simple and revealing. They show again and again that the Republic of Ireland firmly supports the imperialist powers anyway. These politicians attribute Ireland's insistence on neutrality to reluctance to take part in any alliance of which Britain is a member while the latter continues to occupy part of our country. Hence, they argue, if Britain should cease to claim sovereignty over Northern Ireland, no barrier would remain to a united Ireland joining a Western military alliance.

Our party has made clear again and again its opposition to any attempts to compromise Irish neutrality. “The threat to the neutrality of the Republic of Ireland and the undermining of its sovereignty,” says the Appeal to the People of Ireland, “cannot and must not be ignored by the labor movement in particular nor by any of the forces which stand for the right of the Irish people to determine their own future. The abandonment of neutrality by the Irish Republic through a ‘common foreign policy’ with Britain or the submersion of its sovereignty in a ‘federal system’ with Britain would be a greater betrayal of the Irish people's right to self-determination and social emancipation than the Act of Union in 1801.” The communists call on the trade union movement in North and South, all democratic opinion, women's organizations and youth movements to campaign together for the defense of the neutrality and sovereignty of the Republic.

In view of the offense of external and domestic reaction, the communists warn the Irish people to be vigilant. Decisions are being made behind closed doors which affect their lives, their jobs, their future, they stress. The politicians in the cabinet rooms, the generals and the directors of the multinationals are designing an Ireland different from our aspirations.

We are more and more confident of the justice of our cause and its ultimate triumph because we are not alone. The 1981 meeting of the Communist Parties of Ireland, Canada and the USA I have mentioned, stressed that “the events . . . in Northern Ireland must be seen in the light of Ireland's strategic importance to

NATO war plans." The three Communist Parties demanded that the British government declare its intention to withdraw from Northern Ireland and create the conditions for the Irish people to establish a neutral All-Ireland state.

We communists are doing our best to open our people's eyes to the class roots of a situation in which Ireland has not yet assumed a fitting place among the new independent states and is unable to contribute tangibly to the struggle for international justice and world peace. We say that the roots lie in the betrayal by bourgeois politicians at home of the ideals of those who gave their lives for an independent, free and prosperous Ireland. The class character of the exploiting upper strata has made inevitable their compromise with imperialism and accounts, now as in the past, for the pro-imperialist orientation of the country.

We cite facts to reveal the disastrous consequences of abandoning neutrality. The abandonment of neutrality would imperil the Republic's limited independence and make Ireland a target in the event of war. The participation in a military bloc would place untold strains on the country's economy. The already catastrophic balance of payments could hardly bear the added cost of increased spending which membership in NATO or any other group like it would demand. As a consequence, social services would deteriorate even further.

Is there any alternative to the present state of affairs? Can it be materialized before the Irish people abolish the capitalist system?

We see a way to an alternative primarily in recognizing that it is not enough to preserve military neutrality alone. We must also seek political neutrality. This true neutrality must be based on the twin aim of protecting Irish sovereignty and maintaining global peace.

People of varying political views tend increasingly to draw the welcome conclusion that Ireland as a developing country has more in common with some countries in the Third World than with its powerful West European neighbors. Hence it would be much more at home in the non-aligned movement than in NATO.

The Irish Republic can and must cease tagging along behind U.S. foreign policy and stop qualifying its positive stances to appease the imperialist powers. In order to do so, it must first leave the EEC. In addition to the dire economic consequences of membership, this body has become the threat to Ireland's sovereignty that the Left predicted. The CPI is convinced that for as long as Ireland remains a member of

the EEC, its freedom of movement in international affairs will be greatly restricted. Leaders or organizations that want their countries to join the Common Market would do well to take our bitter experience into account.

Those sections of the ruling class that have staked their future on the existing accommodation to the needs of imperialism will certainly not welcome our proposals. They can only be forced to revise their stance by pressure from the people. There is now an opportunity to build a big movement committed to world peace and to maintaining and enhancing the neutrality of the Republic of Ireland. While the Left and progressive movements are divided on a number of issues, there is promising ground for unity on the main issue, that of the Irish people's independence and peaceful future.

Already a wide spectrum of political and other organizations have been attracted to the peace movement in Ireland. It is imperative that unity be maintained and promoted on a principled basis so that the widest variety of people can contribute to it. The CPI is working to ensure favorable conditions for this.

We consider that the peace movement is faced with two main interconnected tasks. One of them is to make the ruling class resist pressure from without and preserve Ireland's military neutrality. The other is to fight as part of the anti-war campaign in Europe against the war menace, for making the United States and the more bellicose of its allies renounce plans for an escalation of the arms race.

With due regard to Ireland's distinctive place and national conditions, our party wants to help broaden and strengthen the movements of solidarity with the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Experience has shown that we can give them something more than moral support. The Anti-Apartheid Committee uniting diverse political forces is evidence of this. Its activity has shown that a broad unified movement seeking a specific goal can exert influence on government.

The further strengthening of the anti-imperialist and anti-war front, the greater vigor and effectiveness of its action would be a setback for imperialism's plans for Ireland and could lay the basis for a truly independent foreign policy worthy of the history of a country which has fought over the centuries against foreign oppressors. The overall result would be a greater contribution to world peace, enhanced prestige of Ireland and fresh proof of the big opportunities which small countries have on the world scene today.

Anti-popular policy in the Middle East: dead-end

Naim Ashhab
CC Political Bureau member,
Jordanian Communist Party,
member, WMR Editorial Council

COMMENTARY

There is an ever stronger smell of gunpowder in the Middle East. Once again the hotbed of a war threat is being fanned in an area where for more than three decades now the heat has been maintained through the exertions of the imperialist-Zionist alliance to be fanned by the "keepers of the fire" into flaring flame whenever their self-seeking interests so require.

Our region is being swept by another wave of conspiracies and interventionist acts. U.S. imperialism, claiming the "right" to designate whole regions of the globe a zone of its "vital interests" and then to "put down" its peoples with the use of armed force, has fettered the Middle East with a network of military bases and has secured military facilities from a number of countries. Armadas of warships with ready-to-land marines on board are patrolling the Persian Gulf and the Eastern Mediterranean, and a rapid deployment force numbering up to 200,000 men has been hastily cobbled together. In effect, to any turn of developments U.S. ruling circles now respond quite simply by stepping up militaristic preparations, which pose a real threat to the independence and national sovereignty of all the states in the region without exception. As everywhere else, the Reagan administration's line here is also marked by bellicosity and aggressiveness.

The White House took urgent military measures (with effective approval by the West European governments) after Sadat's assassination, news of which was received in Washington with unconcealed nervousness. Clearly fearful of the final breakdown of the sputtering Camp David mechanism, and seeking to preserve Sadat's legacy at any price, the United States resorted to crude military-political pressure. Warships of the U.S. Sixth Fleet were dispatched to Egypt's shores and the marines and units of the rapid deployment force were put on combat alert. The establishment of a joint U.S.-Egyptian military committee was mooted, and a decision was taken to speed up deliveries

to Egypt of military hardware and equipment, and send there AWACS airborne radar systems and specialists to operate them.

A strong light on the aggressive-expansionist edge of the U.S. schemes was thrown by the unprecedentedly large-scale exercises staged late last year on the territory of Egypt, Sudan, Somalia and Oman with the participation of U.S. troops and these countries' armed forces. For the first time U.S. strategic air force planes appeared in the skies of the Middle East to bomb ground targets. The aim of the exercises was to practise operations in occupying and holding "strategic objectives," which looked very much like a rehearsal of the Pentagon's well-known plans for an invasion of the countries of our region and occupation of its oil fields.

Another dangerous step in the build-up of the U.S. military presence in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf area was the agreement on the delivery by the United States to Saudi Arabia of AWACS aircraft and other military hardware worth the fabulous amount of \$8.5 billion. Washington claims that the deal is a link in the series of measures designed to re-establish U.S. "might and prestige" in the region. But its actual result is the deployment there on a permanent basis of U.S. troops for the purpose of imposing an imperialist diktat on the peoples of the Middle East. After all, even the very costly AWACS, the agreement stipulates, can be used by the Saudis only under the surveillance and control of U.S. "advisers."

The impasse into which the notorious "Camp David process" has run, the growing impact of the profound revolutionary changes in some countries in the region, and the failure of the attempts to destabilize the progressive regimes in democratic Yemen and Ethiopia — all of this has forced the U.S. imperialists to plunge even deeper into an adventurist and highly dangerous line. Reports filtering into the press say that the "deal of the century" with Saudi Arabia is only the tip of the iceberg of

"the grand defense strategy for the Middle East oil fields" worked out in deep secrecy. This strategy is based on the still secret understanding that in exchange for deliveries of ultra-modern military equipment, Al-Riyadh is to undertake the construction of a vast network of command, naval and air installations to back up operations by U.S. troops in a large-scale armed conflict.

In violation of the legislative acts passed by Congress under the direct impact of the Vietnam aggression fiasco, the U.S. administration has displayed considerable "generosity" in handing out "guarantees" to the regimes it favors. President Reagan has declared that the United States will not permit Saudi Arabia to "be an Iran." U.S. Secretary of State Haig asserts that the "maintenance of the status quo" in Egypt has also been elevated to the level of "U.S. national interest." It is not only Saudi Arabia and Egypt, but also Sudan and, according to the President's then National Security Adviser Richard V. Allen, "any other states in the region"¹ that have found themselves under the U.S. "security umbrella."

In effect, imperialist "patronage" is being forcibly imposed on the Middle East countries, and they are being reduced to the status of U.S. protectorates. This merely emphasizes once again how little consideration U.S. ruling circles have for the will and aspirations of other peoples, and how unreliable they believe to be the stability of their friendly reactionary regimes. Washington is perfectly aware that it is altogether impossible to put its main stake on these regimes in its efforts to suppress the national liberation movement and ensure imperialist interests in the region. On the contrary, one of the basic tasks of the mounting militaristic activity of U.S. imperialism in our region is to safeguard these regimes from collapse in face of the multiplying harbingers of revolutionary change.

Israel continues to be the mainstay, the "state-base" of the United States in the Middle East. The 1967 aggression provided a solid basis for the alliance between the Zionist rulers and the U.S. imperialists. Since then, the alliance has become tighter and more intimate, and Israel's role in it has been steadily growing. Its rulers' requests for all-round assistance, above all for deliveries of vast quantities of the most modern weapons, have never been refused. The piratical raid on the Iraqi nuclear research center has shown very well that these military deliveries are no longer meant only to secure for Israel superiority over the neighboring states. The Zionist aggressors are being

provided with weapons to strike out virtually at any country in the region, should "the need arise." Washington, emphasizing its firm intention to preserve for the Israelis a "qualitative preponderance" in the military field, whatever the circumstances, has continued to spiral the arms race in the region. Following the decision to sell AWACS and other military hardware to Saudi Arabia, the Israeli militarists were promised — by way of compensation — aid worth over \$3 billion, a generous addition to the billions already earmarked for them earlier. Israel's nuclear armament plans pose a grave threat to our peoples.

In the autumn of last year, U.S.-Israeli relations entered upon a new stage of so-called "strategic cooperation," which is blatantly anti-Soviet. Whereas in the past, Tel Aviv acted as the receiver of vast U.S. military-economic aid which was motivated by the need to "ensure the security" of Israel, by accepting such "cooperation" it has been openly enlisted in realizing the global plans of U.S. imperialism in the Middle East and elsewhere. The Zionist rulers have declared their readiness to make the country's territory available for the storage of U.S. weapons, to establish staging areas in Israel for the rapid deployment force, and to assign their own military formations to take part in this force. It is also planned to stage joint exercises and maneuvers and to have the Israeli airforce provide aircover for U.S. transport vessels carrying troops and military freight. Having realized how unusually important it was for Washington, and inspired by its ambitious militaristic preparations, Israel began to behave with the utmost self-assurance. It is no accident at all that virtually right after the announcement of the "strategic cooperation" line, it had the effrontery to adopt its scandalously aggressive decision to annex the occupied Golan Heights, which belong to Syria.

Worldwide indignation over Israel's latest act of aggrandizement was so stormy and universal that Washington had perforce to resort to some gestures to demonstrate its disagreement. The United States announced the suspension of the "strategic cooperation" agreement, voted together with other members of the UN Security Council to condemn the annexation, and threatened to take some sanctions against Israel along the military-economic line. Begin countered by announcing something like a virtual abandonment of the cooperation. The whole farce was met with scepticism even by the capitalist press. *The Economist*, for instance, wrote: "Israel's bombing of the reactor [in Iraq], and its bombing of Beirut in July, also

led the Americans briefly to delay delivery of F-16 fighter-bombers to Israel. Brief was the operative word; it was a quick little slap on the wrist, followed by a forgiving embrace. It may be no different this time."² Indeed, the U.S. administration has made it quite clear that this is no more than a temporary tiff and that "nothing has changed" in the relations between the two close allies. Haig flatly declared: "Despite the friction, Israel has been, is and always will be a close friend of the United States." In other words, the United States intends to go on using the Israeli bridgehead.

There is no need for much guesswork to discover against whom the Israeli bridgehead is to be used. According to the calculations of Israeli military specialists published in the press, it will take 17 days to ferry U.S. troops from the Ras Banas base, proposed by Sadat, into the area of the oil fields on the territory of Saudi Arabia, while the use of staging areas in Israel would help to cut the time to three days. The location there of the necessary hardware for land and air forces would make it possible to move units of the rapid deployment force from the United States to Iran in 48 hours, and to Kuwait in 36 hours. The arrows on the imperialist strategists' maps point to the oil fields of the Middle East.

The price which the partners of the United States under the new military pact have been ever more stridently and insistently demanding for their services, is territorial acquisition and the opportunity to continue their politico-economic expansion unhampered, with the aim eventually of assuming the role of "executor" and "plenipotentiary representative" of imperialist interests in our region. Just now, the whole territory of Palestine is the immediate objective of the Israeli rulers' aggrandizement. Menachem Begin recently declared: "The western part of the land of Israel³ is in our full possession and will never again be subjected to partition . . . Not an inch of it will be returned under foreign control or sovereignty."⁴ Without much ado or verbal dodges, forcible annexation is enshrined as state policy. It is translated into practice in the actions by the Israeli invaders in the occupied territories: spreading confiscation of Arab lands, establishment of new colonial settlements, the speeding up of the carrying out of the plans for laying a canal between the Mediterranean and the Dead Sea across territories occupied in 1967, and the tying of economic life in these territories to Israel's economy. Ever more persistent and dangerous attempts are being made to impose a so-called administration autonomy

on the Arab population, that is, to perpetuate the occupation in a slightly camouflaged form.

The United States has assumed the role of guarantor of the Zionists' aggressive expansionist line. It is true that at first sight the switch of emphasis in U.S. policy to methods of direct armed intervention seems, by the logic of things, to cut across the expansion of Israel's "sphere of competence" in the Middle East in military terms, but that is not so at all. The United States cannot, ultimately, ignore the response in the countries of our region to its military preparations, especially when it comes to regimes friendly to the United States being jeopardized. Nor can Washington ignore the international complications which are bound to arise from any U.S. armed intervention. That is why such intervention is not the most convenient solution for it, but a last chance, and one that should be resorted to only after all the other scenarios, including the "Israeli" scenario, have been tried and have failed.

But while maintaining Israel as its mainstay in the Middle East, the United States would like to knock together a military-political bloc in the region to which Arab reaction could be harnessed in much the same way as had been earlier done with Sadat's Egypt. The present U.S. administration is working in that direction in an effort to create a zone of "strategic consensus" on the basis of a confrontation with the Soviet Union. The Washington leaders would like to see such a zone stretch from Pakistan to Egypt, and from Turkey to Sudan, encompassing the oil-producing states of the Persian Gulf.

Against the background of these impulses, attention is drawn to the markedly stepped up contacts — via overt and covert channels — between various reactionary circles in the Arab world, for this poses a threat to the peoples and their revolutionary gains in the Middle East. When Sadat was still there, President Nimeiri of Sudan re-established the relations with Cairo which had been broken under the pressure of a tide of popular indignation following the signing of Camp David accords and the separate Egyptian-Israeli "peace" treaty. The Gulf Cooperation Council, including Saudi Arabia, Oman, the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Bahrain and Kuwait, has been set up. There has never been a rupture of ties between the members of the Council and the countries of the Cairo-Khartoum axis, which, for their part, recently once again extended the term of their bilateral military pact. Following the signing in later 1981 of a "security pact" between Saudi Arabia and Bahrain, attempts have been made to conclude a similar agreement — but now on

a collective basis — between all the members of the above-mentioned Gulf Cooperation Council.

Attempts to break through Egypt's isolation, to return it to the bosom of the "Arab family" and forgive it the sin of betrayal, are a component part of the efforts to rally Arab reaction. Such attempts were made even before Sadat's assassination. Saudi Minister of Information Mohammed Abdo Yamani and Kuwaiti State Minister Abdel Aziz Hussein, for instance, called for "Cairo's return to the Arab ranks." They asserted that such a step was dictated by the need to "respond" to Israel's mounting aggressiveness, in particular, its raid on the Iraqi nuclear center.

However, Sadat was a totally odious figure and no one but patent imperialist puppets, like Qaboos, the Sultan of Oman, dared contemplate a rapprochement with him. There is no doubt that the removal of the traitor has provided a fresh impetus to the urge for "reconciliation" with the Egyptian regime. The only talk now in the circles of the Arab reaction is about such a reconciliation, despite the fact that the new President of Egypt has reaffirmed that he would carry on with his predecessor's policy, above all in what relates to the "Camp David process" and relations with the United States. Efforts are being made to vindicate this. The Saudi press (which is known to be under the government's direct control) has urged that no pressure should be put on Hosni Mubarak in an effort to get him to abandon the Camp David accords. This was backed up by vague references to "a number of reasons" which are allegedly known to those "who are conversant with international custom." Similar calls have also appeared on the pages of Kuwaiti newspapers.

Parallel with the efforts to knock together a united front of reaction, a massive attack has been mounted against progressive anti-imperialist forces and patriotic regimes in Arab countries so as to suppress and then, if possible, to eliminate the centers of resistance to the schemes of imperialism. The Libyan Jamahiriya has become an objective of threats and brazen provocations. Its consistent anti-imperialism has enraged the overseas pretenders to domination of the Arab world and has pushed them into dangerous gambles. There were extensive international reverberations over the incident when, in the course of large-scale patently provocative naval maneuvers staged by the Pentagon off the coast of Libya, U.S. fighters shot down two Libyan military

aircraft. That was virtually the first time since 1958 — since the intervention in Lebanon, that the U.S. air force was given orders to fire at the armed forces of an Arab state. According to *Newsweek*, the White House has also considered the option of using B-52 bombers to strike at Libyan oilfields. Clearly paving the way for armed action or large-scale subversive operations, the Reagan administration began to step up a wild anti-Libyan campaign. The State Department, among other things, ordered the recall of all Americans from the country and a ban on their travel to it.

Washington has intensely incited its allies to anti-Libyan acts. Referring to "official sources," the U.S. press reported that the Reagan administration had assured Cairo of its readiness to provide military cover in the event of an attack on Libya. Egged on by his imperialist patrons, President Nimeiri of Sudan announced that he considered himself to be in a state of war with the Libyan leader Qaddafi, and even revealed plans for the training of several hundred kamikaze terrorists to assassinate him. Reports have appeared about the U.S. intention to mount a virtual economic blockade of Libya — together with Saudi Arabia and with the support of the West European states — and deprive it of its oil export revenues, the main source of its foreign exchange earnings. Such a campaign fits very well into the U.S. plans for achieving a "strategic consensus" designed to confront the notorious "Soviet menace" which Washington claims to be embodied in the anti-imperialist line of the Libyan regime.

There is continued feverish subversive activity against other progressive-patriotic forces in our region. Imperialism and its henchmen seek by every possible means to break up the alliance of Syria, the Palestine Resistance Movement and the Lebanese National Patriotic Forces, so as to breach the main sector of the front of confrontation with Camp David. Steps are being simultaneously taken to assure the right-wing elements, which are openly collaborating with Israel, of real hegemony throughout the whole of Lebanon. Attempts are being continued to undermine the steadfastness of Syria, for that country's patriotic regime has not been intimidated by the threats of Israeli military reprisals or overthrown by means of the terrorism practised by the bands of the Moslem Brotherhood and other mercenaries. Irritated by the Syrians' "recalcitrance," Washington gave the Israeli expansionists the green light: they took a decision to annex the occupied Golan Heights. Militaristic attacks and provocations against democratic Yemen

have become more frequent, primarily on the part of Oman.

A characteristic feature of this far-flung subversive activity is the incipient growth of coordination between the imperialist powers. Britain, France and certain other countries have sent their warships into the Persian Gulf area for operations jointly with the U.S. navy. Effective steps have been taken to extend the "sphere of responsibility" of the aggressive NATO bloc to the Gulf area. Prime Minister Thatcher of Britain has backed the idea of setting up a "multinational rapid deployment force" with the participation of British troops. With the blessings of the United States, which has been supplying weapons to the Lebanese army for years, France has offered the Lebanese government "aid" in reorganizing it. The imperialists would like to retain the confessional⁵ principle on which that army is organized, to rebuild and strengthen it so as to eliminate the military presence of the Palestine Resistance Movement and the National Patriotic Forces. Washington views as a major success of its diplomatic efforts the decision of the governments of Britain, France, Italy and the Netherlands to take part in the "international force" to be stationed in the Sinai Peninsula, following the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the area planned for this April.

However, it would be a mistake to assert that the Middle East interests of the United States and those of the imperialist powers of Western Europe are completely identical. On the contrary, they frequently tend to clash, and rather sharply at that. The West European powers' economic interests impel their ruling circles to seek ways of consolidating their political ties with the countries of the region, but it is hard — if not impossible — to expect this when following in the wake of Washington's Middle East policy.

Hence the zigzags in the actions of the West Europeans: the flirtation with the idea of an "independent initiative" on the Middle East, the urge to distance themselves from the most unseemly acts of the United States and its Israeli partners, the vacillation on the question of participating in an "international force," which made Washington resort to the well-tried method of arm-twisting, and so on.

In these conditions, crucial importance is attached to the arrangement of forces in the Middle East arena itself. The inter-imperialist contradictions could have been more sharply manifested or could have even prevailed over the centripetal trends, if the situation in the Arab national liberation movement changed

for the better and the initiative was taken over by the revolutionary forces. The situation in the region would then itself act as a factor of pressure on the imperialists. However, developments ran a different course: the partial success of U.S. policy, as expressed in Sadat's betrayal, in the submissiveness of the reactionary Arab regimes in face of the mounting aggressiveness of the U.S.-Israeli alliance, has induced the West European states to rally more closely than before under Washington's "umbrella" in an effort to secure their own interests.

Is it conceivable that the Arab peoples are powerless in face of this fresh and fierce attack by imperialism, which would like to re-establish and bolster its control over the countries of the Middle East and their natural resources, oil in the first place? Of course not. On the contrary, this attack, the methods and techniques being used are of themselves indications of the intrinsic impotence of imperialist policy.

First of all, the clear switch by the United States of the accent on the use of "power influence" techniques for the sake of "defense" of U.S. interests and alongside of this the all-round and truly boundless support of the Israeli aggressors, together with the growing and organic conflation of the expansionist urges of Israel's Zionist rulers with the hegemonistic schemes of the U.S. ruling circles tend to generate growing resistance on the part of the masses in the Arab world. This also creates great difficulties for the regimes which are looking for an opportunity to join in realizing the imperialist plans but are afraid of being swept away by a tide of popular indignation. After all, even bourgeois analysts reflecting on the lot of the Iranian shah and the Egyptian president Sadat, suggest that it is "mortally dangerous" to be a friend, or rather a henchmen of Washington's in regions in a state of ferment like the Middle East.

The fundamental flaw of the U.S. administration's political line in our region is that, having made its global anti-Soviet schemes its cornerstone, it has pushed into the background the key issue of a Middle East settlement: the Palestinian problem. The destiny of the Arab people of Palestine, the re-establishment of its trampled national rights, the liberation of the territories occupied by the invaders — all of this is regarded by the Washington strategists as a secondary matter. It is seen purely through the prism of confrontation with the Soviet Union, the "main antagonist."

Having produced the Palestinian problem by its own actions, the imperialist-Zionist alliance

has now been unable — for more than 30 years — to have done with it, although it seems that it has tried out every possible means, ranging from plans for the settlement and assimilation of Palestinians in other Arab countries to campaigns of genocide against them. What is more, this problem has become the main obstacle in the way of imperialism's plans in the Middle East, beginning with the attempts to set up aggressive military blocs in the 1950s and all the way to the Camp David deal. Today everyone — apart from the immediate participants in Camp David — admits that it has run into a dead-end. But the trinity of conspirators have refused to reconcile themselves with their defeat, and believe that their prime task today is to strike out at the Palestinian revolution.

The use of force against the Palestinians has always been the favorite method of the Zionist rulers, and such it remains today. In this way they seek to break the Palestinians' will, to kill off as many of them as possible, until such a time when historical conditions will make it possible to stamp them out as a people, like the American Indians. It would be naive to expect last year's raids on Southern Lebanon and Beirut to mark the end of Zionism's bloody crimes. But have the aggressors got what they wanted? Here is the opinion of former Israeli Prime Minister Rabin (during the 1967 war he was chief of the Israeli army's general staff, and this makes his view especially weighty): "It is impossible to overcome the Palestinians by military means. There are only political solutions."⁶ We do not, of course, have the slightest illusion concerning the substance of the solutions suggested by Rabin, but his admission is there, for what it is worth.

Among the "solutions" designed to take the Palestinian problem off the agenda is the so-called Jordanian option. Strictly speaking, there are by now several such "options," among them the "Allon plan," the project for a "united Arab kingdom,"⁷ and so on. Another similar project was fairly extensively advertised not very long ago. Under it the Palestinians are invited to "exercise self-determination" not on the soil of their homeland but in Jordan. This is obviously not only an encroachment on the rights of the Arab people of Palestine, but also a conspiracy against the Jordanians, an attempt to sow hostility and strife between two fraternal peoples.

In late summer of last year international opinion was invited to look at another plan claiming to pave the way for a settlement of the Middle East conflict. It was put forward by the Saudi Crown Prince Fahd, and consists of eight

points setting forth the main conditions for a settlement.⁸ However, what is interesting about the plan is not that which it contains as that which it does not. Highly indicative also are the circumstances in which it saw the light of day and the response to it in the official and public circles of various countries.

The first thing that leaps to the eye in the Fahd plan is the lack of any mention in it of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian Arab people. Nor does the plan say anything about the international mechanism designed to ensure a fair and comprehensive settlement of the acute problems of the Middle East.

Highly significant also is the timing of the presentation of the Saudi project. First of all, it emerged against the background of a mounting imperialist offensive designed to influence the arrangement of forces in the region at the present moment. The fact is also that at the end of April, which is now not so far away (the date of the planned withdrawal of the Israeli troops from Sinai), all the means which have up to now helped to maintain at least a semblance of the viability of the "Camp David process" will have been exhausted. The continuation of the talks on "administrative autonomy," envisaged by Camp David, is a patent absurdity. The Palestinian people have resolutely rejected any attempts to impose on it a deal made behind its back and in defiance of its interests. This will be seen, in particular, from the massive resistance put up by the inhabitants of the territories seized by Israel in response to the authorities' efforts to embellish the regime of oppression and terrorism established in the area by getting the occupation administration to change from military uniform to mufti.

That being so, many came to see the Fahd plan as a lifebelt thrown to the floundering participants of the Camp David deal. Here is, for instance, the view of Philip M. Klutznik, Secretary of Commerce in the Carter administration, President Emeritus of the World Jewish Congress and Honorary President of B'nai B'rith International:⁹ "If the autonomy talks fail to deal adequately with the Palestinian issue, there is no dishonor in supplementing them with the suggestions of others. Here the Saudi approach may prove useful."¹⁰

In official West European circles there was open talk of the prospect of "bridge-building" between Camp David and the Fahd proposals, with emphasis on their proximity to the ideas of the Venice Declaration,¹¹ which contains nothing that could be regarded as an alternative to the Camp David deal. The participants in

that deal themselves — even if with reservations and in differing degree — voiced definite approval of the Saudi initiative. President Mubarak of Egypt flatly said — while the White House hinted — that it does not cut across the “Camp David process.” Even in Israel, where the Fahd plan was officially rejected, Foreign Minister Shamir found some “positive aspects” to it, while Energy Minister Berman described the Saudi project as an “interesting phenomenon” because it allegedly reduced the Arab-Israeli conflict to a “border dispute” which fully lends itself to resolution.

All of this gave commentators ground to liken the Fahd plan to Sadat’s speech in the Israeli Knesset, whose content merely provided a cover for the policy of betrayal of the interests of the Egyptian, Palestinian and other Arab peoples. A parallel is also drawn between the Saudi initiative and the Rogers plan, which was put forward in 1970 in order to create friction and divide the fighters against the Israeli aggression.¹²

The Fahd plan has resulted in deep disagreements in the Arab world. The bulk of the progressive patriotic forces came out against the Saudi proposals. Many Arab states, including the National Front for Steadfastness and Confrontation — Syria, Libya, Democratic Yemen, Algeria and the PLO — likewise refused to support these proposals. These sharp contradictions, in effect, blocked the holding of the summit at Fez in Morocco scheduled for the end of last November.

The Palestinian people, who over the long years of struggle have acquired much experience in resisting diverse schemes aimed to hamper the re-establishment of their legitimate national rights, are fully aware that they can gain nothing through deals with the camp of imperialism, Zionism and reaction. The only way to victory lies through resolute confrontation with that camp. And perhaps the great number of plots and political moves designed to do away with the Palestinian problem itself provides the most convincing evidence of the failure of all the attempts to overcome or sidestep this main impediment to the sinister forces’ plans to recarve the Middle East for their own benefit.

Similarly, the fundamental anti-Soviet edge of the campaign now being stepped up in our region by U.S. imperialism is obvious, even if unwitting testimonial to the fact that it has been impossible to discount the role of the Soviet Union and to confine the examination of the Middle East problem to a narrow circle of imperialists and their henchmen. Simul-

taneously, it is a malevolent admission that so long as Arab-Soviet friendship exists, the national liberation movement of the Arab peoples cannot be stifled, whatever its defeats and losses. The central and most urgent task U.S. imperialism has set itself in the Middle East is to undermine and break the ties of this friendship.

However, this is resisted by the will of our peoples, the progressive forces in the Arab world. They realize that the united front of imperialism, Zionism and reaction can be defeated only by relying on the alliance with the USSR and other socialist community countries. A considerable role in deepening this understanding belongs to the communist and workers’ parties, with respect to whom there has been a decisive change in the ranks of the Arab liberation movement. Today, no genuine fighter against the imperialist-Zionist alliance can deny that the communists are real and full-fledged participants in this movement, or accuse them of “dependence” or even “betrayal,” as was done in the past, when attempts were made to set the nationalists at odds with those who adhered to the communist ideology.

The Soviet Union’s consistent line of supporting the Arab peoples’ just struggle against imperialist aggression, and for a fair and lasting peace in the Middle East deals a heavy blow at the anti-Soviet inventions. The concrete foreign policy acts of Soviet diplomacy, the USSR’s constructive peace initiatives show the way to a real and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East crisis. They carry such potency and conviction that even the regimes in the Arab countries whose class interests should apparently impel them meekly to follow in the wake of imperialist policy have not been able either to ignore or to reject these facts.

In face of the malicious moves by the imperialist-Zionist adversary, invincible steadfastness has been displayed by the Arab peoples, above all the heroic peoples of Palestine. The alliance of Syria, the Palestine Resistance movement and the National Patriotic Forces of Lebanon is sound, and the Syrian regime’s will to continue the anti-imperialist line is undeviating. Relations of friendship and alliance between the Arab liberation movement and the USSR and other socialist community countries have been growing stronger. The harbingers of a revolutionary storm in various parts of the Arab world are ever more pronounced. All of these taken together make up the wall which will break the new wave of plots and aggressive acts against the peoples of the

Middle East countries and their national-liberation movement.

1. *International Herald Tribune*, October 14, 1981.
2. *The Economist*, December 19-25, 1981, p. 57.
3. This means "Greater Israel" which according to the Zionists, stretches from "the Nile to the Euphrates," and, naturally, includes the whole mandated Palestine, including the Eastern bank of the River Jordan.
4. *Al-Safir*, July 31, 1981 (in Arabic).
5. Confessionalism is a system under which posts in a state are allocated in accordance with the religious-community principle. — Ed.
6. *International Herald Tribune*, July 24, 1981.
7. Naim Ashhab. *Beating Back the Drive by Imperialism, Zionism and Reaction*, WMR, June 1980. — Ed.
8. It provides for Israel's withdrawal from all the territories occupied in 1967, the dismantling of all the Israeli settlements on these territories, freedom for the exercise of

religious cults in Jerusalem, recognition of the right to repatriation for Palestinian refugees and payment of compensation to those of them who do not want to return to their native places, establishment of a temporary UN trusteeship over the West Bank of the Jordan and the Gaza Strip, establishment of an independent Palestinian state with its capital in Arab Jerusalem, assurance of the right to a life in peace for all the countries of the region, and guarantees of the agreement on the part of the United Nations or its leading members.

9. Both these outfits are among the governing centers of international Zionism — Ed.

10. *International Herald Tribune*, November 20, 1981.

11. A statement on the Middle East issued in Venice on June 14, 1980, by a session of the European Communities Council. — Ed.

12. Let us recall that this plan created the prerequisites for a massacre of the forces of the Palestine Resistance Movement in Jordan.



Panama: legalization — a major victory

Miguel Porcel
Political Bureau member,
CC, People's Party of Panama

The communists and other working people of our country have achieved a major victory. Legal status has been granted to the People's Party of Panama (PPP), the party of those who have been in the forefront of the struggle of workers and peasants for half a century, firmly upholding their rights and interests and invariably defending national sovereignty.

Our party opened a new stage in its history by holding its extraordinary legalization congress in July 1981. The congress drew 358 delegates from every part of the country. In accordance with the class character of the PPP, workers and peasants accounted for 72 per cent of the delegates, intellectuals for 21 per cent and students for 7 per cent. The congress was marked by universal enthusiasm. It assessed the road travelled by the party, summed up the results of the struggle for legalization and elected a Central Committee of 40. Ruben Dario Souza became General Secretary again. The congress approved program documents and party rules, and specified the party's tasks in conditions of legality.

The struggle for the recognition of a political organization operating on Marxist-Leninist principles got under way in 1930, when the

country's communist organization was formed. In subsequent years the communists used legal and other opportunities to bring it home to the masses that the oligarchy and U.S. imperialism were the nation's chief enemies and that there was no democratizing society without attacking these enemies' positions. Not a single gain came as a gift from heaven. We had to fight for political and economic rights, showing a firm will and self-denial. First we won the legalization of communist activity in mass organizations. Work among the people helped spread Marxist-Leninist ideas.

A complex struggle began when, in 1968, patriotic military men led by General Omar Torrijos took power. The progress made since then is beyond question. The traditional oligarchy lost political power and a democratic government began to take shape. The National Assembly of People's Representatives that was elected is composed mainly of peasants, workers and intellectuals and other sections of the population. It expresses the views of all political forces, the communists included. Progressive changes were effected in agriculture and industry. Most important of all, we now have a Torrijos-Carter treaty which has removed the

legal basis for colonial domination of the Panama Canal area. As a result, Panama has gained in international prestige, the pace of democratization has quickened and all parties and other organizations seeking a better form of democracy (compared with the classical bourgeois model) are in a position to operate. We call it progressive democracy. This formulation was adopted by the sixth PPP congress (1980).*

The party campaigned for two years to win new members. The campaign proceeded in difficult conditions, in an atmosphere of intensified reactionary propaganda against the communists. Even so, we were able to submit to the authorities a list of 36,000 new members whereas the minimum required by the law for a political party to be legalized is 30,000. This came as a surprise to anti-communists at home and abroad, for spokesmen of imperialism and domestic reaction had claimed that the PPP would never be able to collect enough signatures to qualify for legalization. Our opponents miscalculated. By fighting heroically for the working people's cause, the communists won their love and esteem. The PPP showed itself once more to be a revolutionary organization having the greatest political experience among the left-wing forces and closely linked with the people.

Preparations for the congress involved a number of serious problems. First of all, we had to bring the party program and rules into line with the provisions of the law without sacrificing any of our principles. And then, official registration was not easy to secure. There were vacillation, reflections and discussions. We had to foresee all political consequences, in particular the effect of legalization on the functioning of party bodies, party propaganda and our working methods.

In opening the congress, Ruben Dario Souza stressed that the communists had won legal status in spite of the attacks of imperialism and the intrigues of its Panamanian underlings. It was particularly important that the party had been legalized in its present form, as a political organization of Marxist-Leninists. "The task now," Souza said, "is to accustom our opponents to seeing communists every day in the bright light of legality, the very same legality as they themselves widely enjoy."

The General Secretary of the PPP called for the defense of the party's legal status as a right won through struggle. At the same time he served warning that the communists would re-

nounce this status if legality were made conditional on abandoning Marxist-Leninist principles. It should be clear that as far as the PPP is concerned, legality is incompatible with concessions of any kind. We regard the political pluralism proclaimed in Panama as an opportunity to muster forces for revolutionary struggle in the interest of the masses, and not as a new ideology to be adopted by us.

Panama's communists have no reason to conceal their views or the Marxist-Leninist character of their party. This is an undeniable benefit as well as a serious problem. We must clear a psychological barrier in the form of fear of legality. Clandestine and semi-clandestine activity has its laws, forms and methods. The experience of the communists of many countries indicates that often when a party joins openly in politics, its cadre cannot adapt promptly to the new situation and go on operating as in the past. The party has to pay dearly for this, particularly because this hampers the establishment of links between the party and the masses. Adaptation to conditions of legality is generally a painful process. What is particularly important to us at the moment is to get rid of subjectivism and a bureaucratic approach and to intensify ideological schooling considerably so as to be equal to meeting new exigencies.

Hence the great significance of the Political Bureau decision to carry out an experimental ideological and political education campaign. The campaign is to last about four months and encompass all party members ranging from those in the national leadership to those in party branches, as well as PPP supporters. The program comprises the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, the party's policy line, national and international problems, inner-party life and the principles of collective leadership. The campaign is expected to help train activists who can competently put party decisions into practice, inform the Central Committee of useful experience gained by branches and bring new people into branch activity.

It is often alleged both in our country and abroad that the "Panamanian process" has come to a standstill because the bourgeoisie has turned its back on the revolution. The fact is, however, that in the case of Panama this class has accomplished no revolution. The main social force of the movement that began in 1968 was made up of members of the petty bourgeoisie who accepted democratic ideas. When these people, whose views are a far cry from those of the working class, found themselves in power, the masses' demands made them effect changes

*Ruben Dario Souza, "Continuity in the Revolutionary Process." WMR, July 1980.

in both the superstructure and the basis of society. Real changes are now coming into conflict with existing social structures. However, the forces which have carried out changes tend to lapse into traditional reformism instead of moving on. The congress noted that a policy of admitting conciliation with the oligarchy and imperialism is entirely wrong and likely to have dangerous consequences. Delegates sharply criticized the government's flirting with reaction and empty promises, that is, a policy line creating a crisis situation in our society.

A pressing task of the party is to offset negative factors of a subjective nature and work for the return of the ongoing process to the path of progressive changes. Our attitude to the government could be described as one of critical support with the important specification that we consider ourselves active participants in the democratic process. The nation's present leadership represents diverse forces. The communists, while supporting the government's progressive measures, firmly resist the anti-popular and anti-labor activity of rightists who have wormed their way into the highest echelons of power.

Congress delegates exposed imperialist provocations against Panama and other countries of Central America and the Caribbean and reaffirmed the communists' allegiance to internationalism. The congress passed a resolution expressing solidarity with Cuba and Nicaragua and the heroic fight of the peoples of El Salvador and Guatemala.

We know full well that the struggle for the withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Panamanian territory is of international significance, especially for Latin Americans. After all, the United States still keeps military bases in Panama endangering the sovereignty of the countries of our region. It is in the one-time Canal Zone that thousands of punitive troops were trained and that the headquarters of the Southern Command of the U.S. Armed Forces laid plans for aggression against freedom-loving peoples. And now Washington is out to nullify the progressive provisions of the latest agreements on the inter-oceanic canal. U.S. legislators unilaterally introduce amendments injuring Panamanian interests. All this adds to the communists' resolve to fight on for the completion of the national liberation process.

The official recognition of our party is evidence of the positive trend of the country's political evolution. It also shows that the communists discern the interconnection of phenomena and analyze them with due regard

to the given situation and the peculiarities of the current stage of the struggle against the common enemy of the peoples of Latin America. Our success, like the revolutionary victories of Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada, shows that the issue of paths of the revolution cannot be approached metaphysically, particularly in Latin America, a region of social storms and political upheavals.

Misinformation by imperialism and its allies results in some revolutionaries occasionally questioning the struggle which we Panamanian communists have been carrying on against home and foreign reaction. Attempts are made to misrepresent the meaning of the democratic process guided by General Torrijos and our support of that process. But the Panamanian communists' prediction and political maturity have been vindicated by now. In estimating the legalization of the PPP, there is no overlooking its significance in the context of the fierce counter-offensive of imperialism and home reaction. Life has shown again that the forces of the past cannot turn back irreversible historical changes.

On August 13, 1981, the Electoral Tribunal handed the PPP leadership a document officially registering the party as a legal political organization. Our party now enjoys all the rights laid down in the 1972 constitution and in the electoral law regulating the activity of parties. At the same time the authorities extended recognition to the PPP rules approved by the party congress and to Souza as official representative of the party.

Answering the congratulations of the Chairman of the Electoral Tribunal, Souza described the granting of legal status to the party as a progressive and profoundly democratic move. The event was of historic significance inasmuch as it met the legitimate demand of a sizable part of the Panamanian people backing the communists.

The legalization of the PPP fully accords with the socio-political concepts of General Omar Torrijos, whose work became the axis of a radical change in the fortunes of the Panamanian nation. We revere the memory of that outstanding man. His death was a tragedy for our people. Panama's communists have been doing all in their power for the consolidation of the progressive trends of social development. We have always been loyal to the ideals of the national liberation movement. Now that our people have lost a leader, the PPP reaffirms its solidarity with all who want to continue the current process and are willing to carry it

deeper. We know that in today's complicated international situation it is essential to be vigilant toward all enemies of democracy and cooperate closely with those who are committed to the goals of national liberation.

The Declaration of Principles of the PPP adopted by the congress states that our party "believes firmly in the need for the unity of all parties, social organizations and sections of Panamanian society interested in the definitive decolonization, economic independence and social progress of the country. This is the surest way to end Panama's economic backwardness and dependence and raise it materially and spiritually to the level of the most advanced countries." Our party reaffirms its call for the formation of a democratic national liberation

front of the forces supporting the revolutionary process.

It is noteworthy that the PPP congress sat in Balboa Hall, on territory formerly controlled by the U.S. Army, in the one-time Canal Zone, at the foot of Ancon Hill on whose top the national flag is now flying. We got together at the legendary spot where Ascanio Arosemena, our national hero, lost his life on January 9, 1964, trying to climb over a fence raised by U.S. troops. Congress closed long after sunset but the delegates were in no hurry to leave. Shouts of "Long live the People's Party of Panama" and "Long live proletarian internationalism" rang out over the liberated Panama Canal.

It was the dawn of legalization. Panama's communists have won but the struggle goes on.

Australia: new orientations of the communists

Peter Symon
General Secretary,
Socialist Party of Australia

Since the mid-1970s, Australia has been in the grip of a deep-going social and economic crisis. Despite some ebbs and flows, it is growing increasingly obvious that this is a protracted crisis and a return to the relative prosperity of the 1950s and 1960s is unforeseeable. The crisis is marked by inflation, unemployment, currency instability, an aggravation of international trade conflicts, balance of payments difficulties, overproduction in some areas, and exorbitant interest rates. The only real boom is in company profits, which, in the main, continue to break new records year by year.

The crisis is developing against the background of far-reaching and long-term changes in the Australian economy. The process of monopolization of industry has been accelerating over the past three to four decades, with mergers and takeovers. To a large extent this has been compelled by factors linked to scientific and technological breakthroughs requiring costly technological changes and updating of equipment that only the big companies with large capital can afford.

The following gives an idea of the scale of production concentration in Australia: 556 companies out of almost 100,000 accounted for 55 per cent of taxable income in 1976-1977. In mining, which plays a large part in the econ-

omy, 38 companies produce 95 per cent of the output. The resolution adopted by the fourth congress of the Socialist Party of Australia (October 1981) states that a relatively small number of national and transnational monopolies control key sectors of the economy: banks, commerce, mining, transport, communications and agriculture.¹

Transnational conglomerates have also begun to emerge in Australia. For example, the Colonial Sugar Refinery operates not only in sugar but also in chemicals, concrete, iron ore, and building materials, and has properties in Australia, Malaysia, New Zealand, and Fiji and other Pacific islands.

A feature of the socio-economic development in Australia is that key areas of the economy are dominated by foreign capital. The extent of this domination is revealed by the fact that whereas in 1977 foreign investments stood at \$15,880 million, last year they amounted to nearly \$25,000 million. Foreign capital, declares the resolution of the fourth SPA congress, is concentrating in key areas of the economy yielding the highest profit rate and enabling it to control the nation's economy and influence all aspects of its life.

Of the 200 biggest companies in the manufacturing industry, 87 are under foreign

capital control: 34 American, 44 British and EEC, and 9 from other capitalist countries. Currently, 98 per cent of car production, 78 per cent of the chemical industry, 77.8 per cent of the pharmaceutical industry, 59 per cent of mining, 36 per cent of manufacturing, and 54.6 per cent of heavy and transport equipment are foreign controlled. While in 1949 not more than 19 per cent of profits earned by companies in Australia was payable abroad, in 1975-1976 the percentage of such profits rose to 55. With the exception of Canada, Australia has the highest foreign control of key industries of all the developed capitalist countries.

But Australia is not only an object of imperialist penetration and investment, it is also an imperialist country itself. Australian companies are also exporters of capital. Their foreign investments (mainly in New Zealand, Papua-New Guinea, and ASEAN countries) totalled \$1,430 million in 1978. In many cases these investments are not those of Australian-owned companies but of Australian-based foreign corporations. For example, about 50 of the nominally Australian companies having enterprises in Singapore are subsidiaries or branches of U.S. transnational corporations operating in Australia.

International imperialism is forcing upon Australia a restructuring of its economy, striving in the interests of transnational corporations to hold up the growth of the manufacturing industry and keep Australia in the status of a supplier of minerals, energy resources and agricultural products. One manifestation of this is the scaling down of the motor vehicle manufacturing industry in Australia on the pretext that this industry should be concentrated in the hands of leading firms manufacturing what is known as the "world car." The big companies are "de-industrializing" Australia; they are moving their operations to other countries where labor and raw materials are cheaper and where repressive and corrupt regimes suppress the labor movement, do not establish high taxes, and make no exacting demands on pollution control.

At the same time, Australia's large resources are used not so much for its own development as in the interests of stronger imperialist powers, namely, the USA, Japan, and the EEC nations. The resolution of our party's fourth congress noted that alongside internal factors the restructuring of the Australian economy is predicated by the changes taking place in the capitalist world economy as a result of the realization of the global plans of the transnational corporations. The growing signi-

ficance of energy and mineral resources is tying Australia more and more closely to the interests of the leading imperialist powers.

And, lastly, a major feature of Australia's development is that its economy has acquired a state-monopoly character. The monopolies are using the state to acquire more domination, to extend and reinforce their control of all sectors of the economy, including the operation of small capitalist enterprises, in order to ensure super-profits.

The primary designation of the state-monopoly mechanism of power is to guarantee the distribution of social wealth in such a way as to give the monopolies the largest share. For this purpose use is made of the tax system, wage restrictions, the deterioration of working conditions, the manipulation of bank credits, currency operations, and so forth. The government finances the building of the infrastructure, which the monopolies need but which is much too expensive for individual companies: roads and railways, ports, power transmission lines, communication channels, and so on. Consequently, by regulating economic development to a certain extent the state acts in the interests not of various monopoly groups but of the ruling class as a whole.

Under the impact of the crisis, the authorities are now endeavoring to "free" the state-monopoly mechanism from certain restrictions imposed on it as a result of the struggles of the working people, from obligations to them, and giving the monopolies a free hand. The Liberal-National Country Party coalition government that came to power in 1975 is encouraging the so-called "market forces" to the detriment of state regulation of the economy. It is conducting a deceptive campaign against "big" (i.e., spendthrift) government. As a result, even those few public enterprises still operating in Australia are being dismantled and the most profitable sectors handed over to private enterprise. The allocations for social requirements are being reduced. The campaign for "smaller" government does not extend, of course, to the repressive arms of the state apparatus — on the contrary, here there is a steady build-up.

The changes in the economy brought about by all these policies are having serious social consequences, intensifying class stratification and dangerously affecting the condition of the working people.

Australia has perhaps the highest percentage of wage and salary workers in the world: 86.9. Managers and owners constitute only 5 per cent. Self-employed, including members of

families, comprise 7.8 per cent of the workforce. Only in agriculture, forestry, and fishing do wage and salary earners fall below 80 per cent of the total of those actively working. Structural changes are taking place also in the workforce itself: employment in blue collar industries has declined relatively, while employment in white collar occupations has increased from 32 per cent in 1954 to 48 per cent in 1977.

For the working people inflation and unemployment have become a calamity in the true sense of the word. When the present government was elected it declared that its primary objective was to fight inflation. However, price rises are continuing at about 10 per cent each year. The government promised a job for everyone who wanted to work. But unemployment continues and now affects 400,000 persons or 5-6 per cent of the workforce. By bringing in new technologies and stepping up exploitation of the people they are employing, the companies are reducing the number of jobs and thereby increasing the army of "redundant people." In an effort to shift over the burden of the crisis onto the shoulders of the working people, the government has launched a real offensive against the rights of the broad masses and against their living standards. In 1974 the proportion of the national income going to wages and salaries was 68.9 per cent, but by 1978 the proportion had been reduced to 64.9 per cent. This represented a money loss to the working people of over \$3,300 million. So if the government did fight anything, it was wage increases and in this it has had some success.

Monopoly oppression and the deterioration of living standards are inducing a growing number of people to fight for their interests. Strike struggles are spreading in support of wage demands, shorter working hours, more jobs and better working conditions. A distinctive feature of these actions is that they are now also involving previously passive white collar workers and government employees. Apart from the struggles for traditional trade union demands concerning wages and working conditions, many struggles are unfolding over health facilities, housing rents, environmental protection, women's and youth issues, and so on. It is significant that these struggles are aimed not only against capital; they are acquiring an anti-government slant because the government's responsibility for the present situation is growing increasingly more obvious. Greater attention is devoted to defending democratic rights, peace and independence.

The trade union movement is becoming visibly more active. The amalgamation of trade union organizations was completed at the most recent congress of the Australian Council of Trade Unions. The ACTU now unites 57 per cent of blue and white collar workers, including scientific and professional workers and those employed in government occupations, making it the largest and most effective non-party organization of the working class.

This gives considerable strength to the trade unions even though the potential is not yet fully realized. While the Australian working class resists exploitation by the big bourgeoisie, the majority still lack the class consciousness to reject the political and ideological domination of monopoly capital. It does not yet advance those economic, political and social policies which alone will enable it to win to its side other progressive sections of the working people who are also exploited by monopoly.

In this situation the work of the Socialist Party of Australia acquires tremendous significance. Its fourth congress mapped out the basic areas and aims of its work. The congress was preceded by six months of discussion among virtually the entire membership, who submitted many amendments that helped to enrich the principal document, the political resolution. At the congress this resolution was adopted unanimously. Moreover, the congress approved the redrafted constitution and some special resolutions dealing with the peace struggle, questions of foreign policy, and current economic problems and demands of the working people.

As in some other countries, so in Australia, the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party of the working class has come under attack and attempts are made to water down its ideological and organizational principles. The congress felt it necessary to re-emphasize their significance.

These principles spring from the revolutionary aim of the SPA, namely, to put an end to the capitalist system and build a socialist society. This means, above all, that the party should successfully give the working-class movement a socialist content and a socialist direction. The concept of the leading role of the communist party arises from its ability to give a correct Marxist-Leninist analysis of social processes and to chart the way ahead and to organize and lead the struggles of the masses to end the capitalist system. It is this alone which justifies use of the terms "vanguard" and "leading role." This role cannot be won merely by being proclaimed.

The congress considered the ideological problems which daily confront the communists in Australia. These include the problems of the struggle against the manifestations of both "left" and right opportunism, economism and spontaneity, reformism, Trotskyism and Maoism, an underestimation of the role of the party, and the question of the leading role of the working class in society.

In the many-sided struggle, the working class must lead all other progressive social groups and classes, although, as I have noted, it is not yet ready to do this. The political resolution says, "Only when the working class becomes politically conscious of itself will it both accept and be able to perform this task."² The congress called upon the working people of Australia to fight for a world at peace, an independent and sovereign Australia and a new democratic economic system. The proposal for such a system is a new feature in the elaboration of the party's policy.

Setting out the present social and economic situation brought about by the crisis of capitalism, the resolution says that "an effective change in direction, the alleviation of even some of the worst features of the crisis requires far-reaching changes in the private enterprise system of capitalism and the drive for profits which is the engine of its developments."³ This spells out a series of anti-monopoly measures, notably the nationalization of large enterprises in mining, manufacturing, building, transport, finance, commerce, energy production, the media and communications. Nationalization should be planned, commencing with key enterprises.

Further, it would be important to control the flow of money in and out of the country to prevent speculation and to control interest rates and credits, prices and profits. Taxation should be brought into conformity with the needs of the economy, and wage and salary taxes reduced.

Foreign trade should come under direct government control, with trade in basic commodities to be entirely in government hands.

These and other measures would enable a start to be made in the planning of the economy, and for this purpose there would have to be planning agencies with representatives of trade unions and academic and public movements and organizations drawn into their work. These agencies could also be drawn into the management of nationalized industries.

The resolution also answers the question of what agencies and what social forces are going to carry out such a far-reaching program. The

party urges the formation of a government of people's unity with the enlistment of all progressive, democratic and patriotic circles, of socialist and labor organizations and public movements. The core of such a government must be the organized working class supported, as the congress resolution says, by small working farmers, professional, academic and intellectual circles, small business, and other middle strata, by all who are concerned about overcoming the consequences of domination by state-monopoly capitalism.⁴

The struggle for a new democratic economic system and the formation of a government of people's unity is inseparable from the defense of democratic rights and the satisfaction of the working people's vital demands. Hence the reason why the party attaches paramount significance to the day-to-day needs and requirements of the different groups of the population, of women and young people in particular.

For the first time the party's documents make reference to ecology movements. In Australia it is the workers who first took up the struggle to improve the environment in work places, mines, factories and other places of production. The destruction of the environment and the unplanned use of resources are seen primarily as a class question and not just a technical one. "The solution of environmental problems," the resolution says, "is finally dependent on ending the private enterprise system and the private profit motive."⁵

A feature of Australia is that it is a country with a large migration intake. Many migrant workers — they have a poor knowledge of the English language — are discriminated against and brutally exploited by employers. It is therefore important to win migrants to the side of the progressive forces, integrate them as members of the working class and draw them into the social actions of the Australian working class.

The struggles of the Aboriginal people are of great political significance in Australia. They are demanding local autonomy and land and mineral rights. With government support the mining companies are out to separate ownership of land from the rights to the minerals underneath the soil. They are prepared to make some concessions to the Aboriginal people, consenting to let them retain possession of some poor and desert territory provided they, the companies, have full right to the minerals in this territory. This would be deception of the Aboriginal people, a transgression of their legitimate rights.

Our party supports the demands of the Aboriginal people, seeing them as a "national

minority within the Australian state" and part of the working class of Australia, as participants in the general anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist struggle.

The tasks confronting the working class, obviously, can be carried out only under conditions of national independence, of Australia's liberation from the fetters of dependence on foreign imperialism, U.S. imperialism in the first place. The big bourgeoisie ruling the nation is betraying national interests, selling out resources, and placing the nation's industrial and economic potential in the hands of foreigners. Australia's onerous alliance with the USA is leading not only to its economic subjugation but also its conversion into a base for U.S. nuclear bombers, submarines and surveillance and communication facilities.

By dragging Australia into its military preparations, into the arms race, the USA is placing a heavy burden on the Australian people. In the course of the five years to the end of 1985, Australia's military expenditures will amount to \$17,600 million. This may well be increased as armament plans gather momentum. This expenditure will make the nation more dependent on the USA than ever, as most of the weapons being purchased come with a "Made in the USA" label.

Our party demands the annulment of the shackling Australian-U.S. alliance, the removal of all U.S. military and naval bases from Australian soil. For the first time the party advanced the proposal that the Australian government should adopt a policy of non-alignment and enter into collective security and non-aggression pacts with all the nations of our region, pacts that would not be directed against any country.

Also for the first time the SPA documents link the defense of national interests with the struggle for peace, against the threat of war. The party urges the continuation of détente, the peaceful settlement of disputes, the formation of nuclear-free zones, mutual general disarmament, and the destruction of all nuclear weapon stockpiles.

Since the main threat to the peace, freedom, and independence of nations comes from imperialism, we call upon all progressive, democratic, and patriotic circles to unite against monopoly and imperialism, to unite in struggle for the interests of the people.

The resolution of the third SPA congress used this formulation but it is given greater prominence in the current resolution. For many years the communist movement in Australia limited its perspectives to "anti-

monopoly." The inclusion of "anti-imperialist" considerably advances and broadens the scope of the party's perspectives. It aligns the party with the urgent anti-imperialist tasks which face the world communist and working-class movement, and in this context mention must be made of the anti-imperialist orientation of the main document adopted by the 1969 international meeting of communist and workers' parties.

The fourth congress pointed out that the class interests of Australia's monopoly groupings in the worldwide struggle between capitalism and socialism lead them to a position of subservience and betrayal of the country's independence and sovereignty. It is, therefore, the responsibility of the working class to lead the struggle for independence. However, it is noted that "should elements among Australia's national capitalists join in the struggle for independence they will be welcomed."⁶

Our party plays an active role in the Australian peace movement and seeks to unite the largest number of people in this movement. As in other parts of the world, so in Australia, new sections of the people are awakening to the war danger and joining the peace movement.

In particular, this is reflected in the trade unions with which our party has strong links. For instance, in May 1981, trade unions of Australia, New Zealand, Japan, and of some newly independent island states combined to hold a Trade Union Pacific Peace Conference, which unanimously demanded the conversion of the Pacific into a nuclear-free zone, an end to all nuclear tests, the dismantling of U.S. war bases in the region, and the implementation of the policy of disarmament as decided by the United Nations.

In September 1981, at a meeting of the Australian Trade Union Congress the 1,100 delegates representing three million unionists unanimously condemned the Reagan administration's decision to manufacture the neutron bomb, declared complete opposition to nuclear war, and called for the outlawing of nuclear weapons. They declared that the Indian Ocean should be a peace zone and that the Pacific should be turned into a nuclear-free zone, and strongly opposed attempts to make Australia join an "international" military force in the Sinai as demanded by the USA. As a matter of fact, opposition to this participation is coming from the Australian Labour Party as well. Leaders of that party are beginning to question the Australian-U.S. alliance and coming out for a more independent policy and for peace. The breadth of the peace movement will be con-

siderably influenced and extended by the involvement of the Australian Labour Party. Our party attaches great significance to the development of relations with the Labour Party in the interests of setting up a united front of struggle against war.

With imperialist strategists justifying their aggressive policies and militarist preparations with references to a "Soviet military threat" and whipping up anti-Sovietism, we are giving considerable attention to exposing this myth. The CC report to the congress said: "It is necessary to strip this mask from the face of the imperialists and to convince the people that the communists and the Soviet Union are in the

forefront of those who are for peace and human progress."

Such are the basic guidelines of the Socialist Party of Australia for the coming years. By carrying out new tasks it will reinforce its influence among the working people and champion their vital interests more effectively.

1. *For a World at Peace, an Independent and Sovereign Australia and a New Democratic Economic System*. Sydney, 1981, p. 6.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

Guadeloupe: for democratic autonomy

Guy Daninthe
General Secretary,
Guadeloupe Communist Party

The seventh congress of our party (May 1980) formulated a program slogan for the communists: democratic and popular autonomy¹ as a stage on the road to independence with a socialist content.

The colonization of Guadeloupe had its peculiarities, which predetermines the character of decolonization. We do not see the ultimate goal of the people's struggle in "independence at all cost," which is what nationalist, Trotskyist and Maoist groupings seek, but in ending the exploitation of man by man and making basic production means social property, or building socialism to put it shortly. The advance to this goal has definite stages whose bounds must be specified according to national conditions. The current stage is aimed at establishing a political power that will manage public affairs under the people's control and begin exercising the people's inalienable right to self-determination.

Since the seventh congress, life has proved the conclusions and decisions of the party's highest authority to be correct. Never in this period have we stopped fighting against colonial policies and their various aspects, in particular the monopolies' ill-intentioned plans designed to destroy the country's production machinery. The monopolies' schemes have already affected the whole national economy, hitting construction hardest of all by curtailing the operation of many enterprises. The monopolies' activity has

created a truly dramatic situation in the sugar-cane industry, which supplies up to 60 per cent of the output of the productive sector of the economy.² It is obvious that the liquidation of this industry, which the EEC sugar monopolies and the feudal lords carrying on in Guadeloupe as colonialists seek, tells on the people's condition.

"... To protect production in French and West European beet-sugar refineries from the effects of the current crisis, the colonialists are reducing sugar production in Guadeloupe," says the political resolution of the GCP congress. Indeed, of the 15 refineries that were operating three decades ago, producing 300,000 tons of sugar, or one ton per capita, only six were left in 1979 and their output was only 80,000 tons. At the end of that year, another refinery was closed down and a plan was announced under which sugar production in the 1980-1985 period is to come virtually to an end.

The working people refused to reconcile themselves to this state of affairs, and the party began immediately after its seventh congress and in accordance with congress decisions to act so as to prevent new blows to the country's production potential and hence to employment. The communists carried out numerous demonstrations and rallies, put up posters and conducted signature collecting campaigns.

However, the answer which the colonial

employers enjoying powerful support from the Giscard government then in power and from domestic reactionary politicians gave to all of our party's proposals was a flat no. Late in 1980, Guadeloupe's most modern refinery was turned into scrap and in 1981 the output of the four refineries still in operation dropped to 59,000 tons, or 0.25 ton per capita.

Whereas hundreds of breadwinners found themselves jobless and thousands of people were thus doomed to a pauper's existence, the French authorities under Giscard paid over 5,000 million francs in "indemnity" to industrialists, which meant subsidizing the liquidation of refineries.

Encouraged by this income received, moreover at no risk (this is one of the ways in which monopolies enrich themselves at society's expense), the employers decided to close down the biggest of the remaining four refineries in 1981.

That is when a protest movement developed, one that assumed greater proportions than the actions of the previous year. Workers in the sugar and other industries, above all in the public sector, demonstrated their resolve to avert a new crime against the national economy. Rallies and strikes swept the island; workers' delegates submitted petitions to the authorities. Under the leadership of trade unionists of the General Confederation of Labor of Guadeloupe, in which communists are active, and with the support of our party, the workers at the refinery about to be closed down announced that they were going to take over the management of the refinery unless the decision to close it down was revoked. Their firm stand forced the colonialists into retreating and putting off the execution of their decision.

The decisions of the seventh GCP congress found widespread response among the people, as major struggles in the sugar industry indicate. But the significance and impact of the congress go beyond this industry. Among other things, the congress took a stand on election campaigning.

"In spite of predicaments and setbacks," the CC report said, "the electoral sphere remains an important part of our battlefield... We are pondering on the differentiated manner in which we will have to approach the various consultations with the electorate so as to offer the people ever clearer and more mobilizing electoral prospects." What we meant was primarily the 1981 presidential elections in France. The issue of participating

in them became a subject of lively and fruitful discussion in the party.

Contrary to theories promoted by Maoist groups, there are no forms of struggle that can be regarded as more suitable than others and hence preferable without regard to the given situation. Communists must skilfully use and combine all forms of struggle according to the actual situation, without ruling out or accentuating any one of them. The communists of Guadeloupe, who take a sober view of both the significance and the limitations of election campaigns, see in them an opportunity to confront colonialism and do not generally ignore them.

In each particular case, the GCP estimates how far its participation in elections can contribute to the national struggle and the defense of the interests of labor, without losing sight of the international aspects of the matter. In 1979 the government urged the French to take a further step in West European integration.³ The GCP called on the people to abstain from voting so as to reaffirm their distinctive nature in this way and to stress their difference from the French nation. The party's call, which had many favorable factors to support it, brought response from 81 per cent of the electorate. Would it have been right to use this tactic again two years after? Of course not. We had to estimate the changes that had occurred in the situation, study its components and ascertain what was likely to carry forward the cause of national liberation.

The conclusions of our seventh congress were assessed by friend and foe alike. While reactionaries fiercely attacked the party's decisions, these won increasing prestige among the masses. The strategy of the colonialists, which spared no effort to achieve their aim, was to turn the elections into a plebiscite in which they hoped the colonial regime would be backed by the colonized themselves.

As for the GCP, it considered that the elections provided an opportunity to fight for the right of the people of Guadeloupe to self-determination and the establishment of an autonomous democratic and popular regime whose political power would enable them to manage their own affairs and organize society as they saw fit. What led us to this conclusion? The fact that one candidate, nominated by the French Communist Party, was advocating in the election campaign a program expressing our political demand.

It must be noted that the campaign took place amid efforts to step up anti-communism and impose views questioning the advis-

ability of solidarity with the revolutionary vanguard of the French working class. Specifically, the FCP was assailed for its internationalist posture and its struggle for disarmament, against the neutron bomb and the deployment of new U.S. nuclear missiles in Europe.

We could not be indifferent to the action of the French working people, who were trying to end the semi-monarchic rule of the Giscard clan and bring about a democratic policy providing for curbs on the multinationals' profits and supporting the lawful demands of developing countries. In the situation before and during the presidential elections, we needed to identify ourselves with the forces fighting in France for democracy, social justice and peace.

Accordingly, the CC GCP, stressing that we were not trying to make a choice for the French people, let alone mixing up the problems of the two countries, decided to go to the polls with its own program. The communists worked hard to spell out and publicize the program. But our means were too small in comparison with the funds and propaganda media, the blackmail and bribery used by the colonialists, who counted on the electorate's "overseas votes." The result was that, in spite of the party's political effort, the elections had an outcome unfavorable to the GCP.

Even so, the work we carried out bore fruit shortly after. The general election held a month later showed how the authorities manipulate the voting mechanism. The colonialists had only to loosen slightly their stranglehold on the administrative apparatus for the GCP to make very noticeable progress by collecting nearly 45 per cent of the votes against less than 10 per cent before. We won one of the three seats in parliament and came very close to winning a second seat.

The recent period has thus been marked, both in the sphere of elections and in socio-economic struggles, by an ever more visible increase in GCP influence and political prestige, which also heightens the party's responsibility to the country.

As a result of political changes in France, Guadeloupe finds itself in a new situation fraught with dangerous developments but also offering some prospects.

Indeed, power in France has changed hands. The fact that the FCP and the Socialist Party, which commands a parliamentary majority, signed an agreement and that four communists entered into the government was an important development. A policy

more in keeping with the working people's interests is being shaped. From what documents like the French-Mexican declaration⁴ suggest, this policy is aimed at supporting the rights of the peoples of the "third world."

However, there is still little change in Guadeloupe itself. The colonial machinery is intact and continues exploiting the people. Officials in high positions appointed by Giscard d'Estaing are still there and comport themselves with provocative arrogance. Nothing real has been done to curb the policy of discrimination, suppression and socio-economic decline.

Nevertheless, and in spite of the fact that the workers are becoming more active in expressing discontent and concern, we cannot treat today's French government as uncompromisingly as the Giscard cabinet. Francois Mitterrand's program (para. 58) pledges itself to open an "era of concord and dialogue" with the peoples of French overseas territories on the principle of "recognizing their distinctive character and their right to materialize their aspirations." In view of this, the GCP has called on the people of Guadeloupe to back his government. We are supporting his government through the GCP deputy to the French parliament.

All this makes the present situation most delicate. However, we have concluded no agreement with the authorities. The GCP was prompt to declare its favorable attitude to the government and supports it with critical reservations; on the other hand, it is trying to use the changed climate and the program statements of the new French administration for improving the islanders' life and intensifying the fight for national liberation. We must not disappoint our working people's hopes.

The analysis made by the seventh congress showed that only a thorough reorientation of the policy that has been pursued in this country since the enactment of the so-called assimilation law will help our people avoid catastrophe and survive.

The communists of Guadeloupe are fighting to ensure that the following criteria prevail in the government plan for a revision of the country's political status:

- recognition of the right of the people of Guadeloupe to self-determination;
- renouncement of the policy of assimilation;
- settlement of the status of Guadeloupe by democratic means;
- election as early as 1982, by universal

suffrage and on the principle of proportional representation, of an Assembly and a collective executive body to manage the affairs of the country;

— recognition of the evolutive character of the status to be adopted.

We consider that any reform ignoring these demands would be a step back.

The Guadeloupe Communist Party has evolved constructive proposals for the prompt solution of the most acute economic, educational, health care and other problems and submitted them to the government. We work to popularize these initiatives as widely as possible. Given the working people's back-

ing, the proposals of our party could serve as the basis on which to begin decolonizing the island. In the meantime they have become a starting point of discussions as part of preparations for the national conference of the GCP (January 1982) which is expected to help carry out the decisions of the party congress more effectively.

1. Guadeloupe has had the status of an overseas department of France ever since 1946. — Ed.

2. This sector has been declining. In 1979 its share in the GNP was a mere 21 per cent.

3. Through elections for the European Parliament. — Ed.

4. WMR, November 1981. — Ed.

A mass fighting party

Rafic Samhoun
CC Political Bureau Member,
Lebanese Communist Party

THE CHARACTER OF A COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION

We feel that the talk about the character of a communist organization begun in the journal by comrades from Czechoslovakia and Guyana* is very timely. In my remarks on the same subject I shall try to touch on some aspects of the Lebanese Communist Party's experience in the course of two periods: the first, from its second congress (1968) to the outbreak of war (1975), and the second, from the outset of hostilities to the present. Of course, it would be difficult to give a comprehensive picture of this experience, but that is not my aim. The purpose of these remarks is to show mainly the party's present condition when it has to operate in a unique situation, develop entirely new ways and means of struggle, and adjust them to rapidly changing circumstances. A digression into history is necessary in order to understand the present easier, correlate the law-governed and the specific more correctly, and show the dialectical link between the party's political line and its organizational work.

Prior to the latter half of the 1960s the Lebanese Communist Party was in a difficult position: there was virtually no clear-cut organizational structure, the norms of party democracy were not observed, party organs played a spectral role, and the principles of collective

discussion and decision-making were ignored. It was imperative to go over to Leninist principles and norms of party building in order to extricate the party from isolation, from the exclusiveness "in its own shell," to overcome the stagnation of thought and dread of the masses, enlarge its ranks through the enlistment of working people, chiefly workers and peasants, open it to the people, make it a mass party in the true sense of the word. This was precisely the goal set by the party's second congress.

It is a goal that every genuinely revolutionary proletarian party inevitably confronts. In the course of struggle it invariably comes round to realizing that it cannot simply proclaim its vanguard role, that to win the right to be called the vanguard of the working class it must engage in day-to-day, tireless work involving sacrifice. By concrete actions, by translating our policy into reality we had to win — and this is crucial — the people's recognition of the party's right to that role.

Let us consider what the party has accomplished since the second congress.

First, party life has been placed on the foundation of the Leninist principles of democratic centralism. Account was taken of the dialectical relationship between the objective need for centralization, which coordinates the party's activities, and the development of party democracy. The question is that "centralism" should not become a factor paralyzing the work

*WMR, January 1982.

and initiative of local party bodies, undermining collective efforts, obstructing the participation of communists in defining party policy, the implementation of their right to state their views freely in party committees prior to the adoption of a decision, fettering criticism and self-criticism, and curtailing the right of democratically choosing leading organs at all levels. At the same time, the development of inner-party democracy does not mean giving anybody the right to turn the party into a club for interminable discussion, to create trends and factions in our organization, or permitting a minority to ignore the will of the majority and allowing lower organizations to disregard the decisions handed down by higher organizations.

Second, the party committees of all levels were enlarged in order to reinvigorate the militancy of members and improve the leadership of their work. These committees formed special groups with strictly defined terms of reference. In fact, in all links of the party's organizational structure work began to be conducted "by sectors," as we put it. Why was that important?

Formerly, numerically small party committees handled virtually everything — from the current affairs of the organization concerned, to problems of interaction with the workers and with mass movements, activity in the national-patriotic front, propaganda, agitation and so forth. The established forms of organization and methods of work were found to be unsuitable in the new situation. When the party became more open for the masses and steered a course toward an enlargement of its membership, the pressing need arose for enlarging the committees from top to bottom and for going over to specialization in these committees.

The restructuring began with primary organizations. Thus, party groups of from three to ten communists were fused into party divisions consisting, in some cases, of up to a hundred persons. The sphere of influence of our organizations widened substantially. Bureaus were formed in the divisions and their members headed specialized commissions, with each given a clearly defined sector of work.

Of these the basic are: workers — trade unions, organizational, for work in the national-patriotic front, for student and youth affairs, for work in rural communities, and some others, depending on the situation in the localities. Set up also at district, town, and provincial level, these commissions have the dual function of recommending a program of work and drafting decisions to their party organs and then helping to implement what has been

planned. They maintain broad horizontal and vertical links among themselves and operate under the control of party committees.

To make executive control more effective, the party's central leading organizations have likewise formed specialized commissions. The work of these commissions is divided into four basic sectors controlled by the secretariat of the party's Central Committee. A sector covers several areas, for each of which one or another CC Political Bureau member is responsible. Every area covers several lines in party work for which are responsible individual CC members.

Third, it was decided to form lower party organizations on the production principle. Where, by virtue of objective reasons, this proved to be unfeasible, party organizations were formed on the principle of uniting communists with the same or allied professions, or, as a last resort, according to their place of residence. The reason for this is obvious: since, as I have pointed out, the key aim was to ensure the growth of the party's membership mainly through the enlistment of industrial and agricultural workers, it was necessary to revitalize the party's work at large factories and among agricultural workers and the poorest sections of the peasants.

We are determined to form a strong nucleus of workers in the LCP. They comprise the party's main social base as members of the only class that consistently pursues a revolutionary line in the social struggle and is capable of bringing the task of national liberation to completion. This, to quote Lenin, is the class forming, identifying, and nurturing the party (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 19, p. 406). Moreover, we are enlisting peasants and other working people conscious of "their common interests with the proletariat" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 11, p. 33).

Fourth, the party assigned many of its members to work in trade unions, associations of young people, students, intellectuals, and professionals, sports clubs, and so on. At first it was found necessary to go so far as to oblige party members to join various public organizations. Where possible we helped to set up trade unions if such were non-existent. At the same time we countered, as we are still doing, notions about mass movements being subordinate to the party and demanded, as we are still doing, that communists should comply with their rules and regulations.

As a result of the modification of the forms and methods of its work and also the implementation of some other measures, which lack of space prevents me from discussing, the party has, despite all shortcomings and difficulties,

begun to play the leading role in the class struggle. It has won the confidence of the masses and begun to evolve into a mass legal party in the true sense of the word.

Although in terms of organization the LCP fell short of its actual political influence, its membership more than tripled compared with the mid-1960s. Many party groups and organizations were formed at factories, in rural communities, and at schools and universities. By 1975 it had become a major political force in Lebanon articulating national interests and the social aspirations of large sections of the people. It became a vanguard contingent of the Arab national liberation movement, being at the same time faithful to proletarian internationalism, to solidarity in the international communist and working-class movement.

In 1975 the situation changed radically: war erupted in Lebanon. Armed struggle became the basic form of our activity.

The party had anticipated this possibility and taken the relevant measures. But it is one thing to prepare, and quite another to join in an armed struggle with all its intricacies, specific requirements, and day-to-day changes. Properly speaking, war preparations are made in the true sense only in the course of an armed struggle. But the main thing is in something else. The nation's transition to a fundamentally new stage required cardinal changes in the essence of the party's activities, in the form of its organization, and in the methods of its work. This concerned all party members and sympathizers and affected the problems of the national-patriotic movement and the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people.

Prior to the war we sought to extend the struggle of the working people for general democratic demands, relying on their confidence in our party and their desire to see the nation's socio-economic problems resolved. Started by imperialism, Zionism, reaction, and the fascist forces linked to them, the war made it imperative for the party to go over rapidly from a legal, general democratic struggle to an armed struggle and then to a retreat in some areas, to entirely or partially illegal work in some regions, and subsequently to a position where it had to carry out military and purely civilian tasks simultaneously.

We were confronted with the task of turning the LCP into a *mass fighting party*. Our experience showed us the justification of Lenin's words that "in a period of civil war the ideal party of the proletariat is a *fighting party*" (Coll. Works, Vol. 11, p. 220). Naturally, in many ways the former organizational patterns did not

conform to the changed conditions of struggle. They were a fetter that had to be broken, much as we had to break up the organizational structures that at the close of the 1960s were a hindrance to the transition to the building of a mass party.

Moreover, the situation was compounded by the fact that as a result of the hostilities Lebanon was split into zones, in which the situation differs significantly. Some areas came under the direct control of isolationist, fascist forces and became known as isolationist ghettos. Part of the country was brought under Israeli occupation (South Lebanon). Units of the national-patriotic front, the Palestinian resistance, and the inter-Arab peace-keeping force were concentrated on territory extending from south to north, including Bekaa and some mountainous regions, and also many large towns and the western districts of Beirut. Because there were communists in all the above-mentioned zones, the party had to modify its organizational structures and adopt differentiated methods of work that differed substantially depending on the region and the actual situation in each region.

On the territory controlled by fascist forces we had to go over entirely to an illegal status and abide by all entailing rules and requirements. On that territory it is impossible to conduct our work "by sectors," to engage in open, mass activity. Instead of large party committees, we set up very small party groups, and fundamentally reshaped our methods of work and the forms of organizational links between the various units of the party. All organizations were made subordinate immediately to a special committee that directs, coordinates, and controls their actions.

In areas under Israeli occupation the party formed military groups with guidelines differing from those of the life and work of other party units. In these areas illegal work is combined with guerrilla operations against the enemy and his accomplices, with armed resistance to unceasing Israeli attacks aimed at enlarging the occupied territories. These party organizations are subordinate directly to the party's Supreme Military Command. They coordinate their actions with those of the party committee of the given province and the combined command of the national-patriotic movement and Palestinian resistance.

In zones controlled by national-patriotic forces the party seeks to combine its military activity with work in other areas of social life, in diverse sectors. We are gradually moving to organizational forms, ways, and means corres-

ponding to the struggle in many areas and to the specifics of peaceful respites, of a "no war, no peace" situation, when military tasks intertwine with non-military. The imperatives here are to protect the various areas, maintain the staunchness and security of the population, coordinate the work of party organizations, and conduct extensive work in the national-patriotic movement, in its military, social and other organs.

Of course, in these extremely complicated situations the party has encountered and continues to encounter many difficulties. In the course of hostilities and in the political and social struggles the most acceptable solutions have to be found for cardinal problems.

The first of these is how to understand the party's military work in the new situation. Naturally, when war had just broken out, this work was handled mainly by the correspondingly trained comrades in the party's military arm. However, with the passage of some time the organization of military operations could no longer remain within their exclusive competence. This became increasingly obvious with the intensification of the attacks of imperialism, Zionism and reaction on Lebanon and the entire Arab nation. Moreover, the number of communists with military training grew and the party acquired increasing battle experience. Thus, on the one hand, there was a pressing need for and, on the other, the possibility appeared of military work being conducted by the entire party, by all its committees and organs, by all its sympathizers, by large sections of the people.

This was why the fourth congress, held in 1979, adopted the slogan of turning the LCP into a mass fighting party. Today it may be said that significant headway has been made toward the practical attainment of this aim.

The party's administrative work has been raised to a considerably higher level of efficiency and the functions of its leading bodies have been modified. The secretariat of the Central Committee has become a purely executive body. The more important areas have been left under the direct leadership of the CC Political Bureau and also of provincial and town party committees. Preparations have been started to set up a party school, a network for the political, special, and theoretical education of communists. Every middle-echelon party organ has become a military, political and organizational headquarters bearing responsibility for, among other things, military work in its area and the coordination of this work with the party's military leadership. These organs, notably the pro-

vincial party committees formed on the eve of the LCP's fourth congress, include mostly comrades who have had diverse military training. The accumulated experience is spread to lower, party district and section committees.

The most efficient fighters among communists are assigned to the party's central armed forces or to sectors of military conflict in one or another district. In accordance with the party's present guideline, those of its members who have had only initial military training are being assigned to complete it or appointed to the people's militia units in residential neighborhoods. The latter consist of communists and party sympathizers. During peaceful respites these engage on instructions from the party committees in massive mobilization campaigns among the population. When tension rises the party sends trained fighters to reinforce its central armed forces or to front-line units. The others are instructed to maintain security in interior regions or give people first aid, build bomb-shelters, or organize classes, which carry on without interruption even during the heaviest bombing and shelling. These units have to help to ensure at least the minimum satisfaction of the population's everyday needs (electricity, water, food and so on).

This is how the slogan of turning the LCP into a mass fighting party is understood and being put into effect in Lebanon today.

The entire party is thus engaged in military work, which is growing more effective as the imperialists intensify their attacks on our people. However, this by no means implies that the LCP ignores other important issues. It regards them in the context of the ongoing armed confrontation in the country and gives them all the attention it can in the circumstances.

Needless to say, the Lebanese communists are not acting singlehandedly. They are part and parcel and the main contingent of the Lebanese national-patriotic movement, in which there are many parties, organizations and personalities fighting for the same patriotic and national aims as the communists. Consequently, the task before us is to organize a united struggle. We are tackling this task together with other members of the movement in the Central Political Council, the regional councils and all of the former's organs, and the bureaus set up by the councils for military questions, security, and social, information, educational and other problems. Party members active in the front's councils and other organs continue to play the principal role in strengthening unity and coordinating the activ-

ity of the front's forces. In keeping with the guidelines set by its fourth congress the LCP makes a large contribution to the development of the national-patriotic movement, helping it to advance to a qualitatively new stage consistent with the situation now obtaining in the country.

This situation requires, as the experience of the war years shows, that all of the front's supporters should join in the struggle. It is our view that the parties, forces and personalities united under its banner cannot achieve their goals if they fail to develop ways of involving larger sections of the people in the patriotic struggle. The point is not to replace the mass struggle by its own struggle but to organize it. The communists are suggesting the formation of local councils uniting the people's militant forces on the basis of the experience of regional councils consisting of representatives of all the parties in the national-patriotic movement. Further, they suggest the formation of various people's committees in residential neighborhoods on the pattern of the party committees functioning in these neighborhoods. The point we constantly make is that even the combined forces of the front's parties in this or that neighborhood or district cannot by themselves ensure the safety of the people, while the government is either unable to do this or is procrastinating deliberately in order to place the national-patriotic movement in a difficult position and discredit it in the eyes of the people. For that reason the LCP holds that people's security committees should be formed in every neighborhood and district to protect its territory against subversion. Further, we note that even by combining their efforts, the front's parties cannot by themselves provide the minimum means of life for the citizens. People may be left without electricity, water, communication and food if the front does not effectively restore the work of the corresponding enterprises and offices (in an organized and planned way with the assistance of the patriotically-minded specialists) when for various reasons it is disrupted. The same may be said of organizing people's militia units, civil defense and first aid committees, sanitary services, educational commissions and so forth.

Fulfillment of these tasks — of which some have already begun to be tackled — will unquestionably mark a new advance in the activities of the national-patriotic front, reinforce the people's staunchness, and contribute to stepping up the struggle against the Lebanese people's internal and external enemies.

What we have achieved during the past few

years indicates that the party can act in the most diverse, sometimes very adverse conditions, if it applies the Leninist principle of party building creatively. Its experience reaffirms that it is possible to build a mass party, win the confidence of the people, and mobilize them for struggle for the principal goals of the moment, consolidate the vanguard role of the communists, and create a mass fighting party playing the leading role in the alliance of forces and parties of the national-patriotic movement. All this has become possible because the party:

- had a clear-cut political line, saw the prospects of its policy and practice, secured support for its actions from large sections of people interested in achieving the aims set by the communists;

- precisely defined, at each stage, the main line of the class struggle and the basic forms of its manifestation, the specific contradiction of the present period of the country's development, a contradiction predicated by the struggle against imperialism and its tool, Israel;

- consider the questions of peace and security in the Middle East, questions worrying the peoples of all continents and of our region, in the first place, not as "routine" but as part and parcel of a continuous, day-to-day, many-faceted struggle of the communists against imperialism, against the plots and subversion orchestrated by it in and outside the country;

- took into account the dialectical link between global and local aspects of the Middle East problem, acting on the firm belief that every success in opposing imperialism's plans and any victory in the struggle against it and its agents strengthens the forces of liberation, peace and progress and is, consequently, a tangible, concrete contribution to the establishment of a truly just peace, which is wanted by the peoples of our region and all continents;

- approached the national question as one of the greatest import today to the working class and its vanguard, demonstrated that it is the political force most interested in a just settlement of this question, and in practice convinced the masses that the communists are the most devoted to the cause of national liberation, the most able to undertake the leadership of the liberation struggle and attain its aims;

- emphatically denounced the artificial division of two aspects of the class struggle: the socio-economic and the efforts to settle the national question;

- distinctly saw that the program of a revolutionary party is revolutionary to the extent it expresses, at each stage, the aspirations and aims of the broadest forces interested in

radical changes; that this program ceases to be revolutionary if the party lags behind or surges ahead of the imperatives of the times, deviates to the right or the "left," ignores the role of the main social forces or overrates the significance of others, and fails to perceive that its activities are inconsistent with or run counter to the aspirations of the masses;

— in the light of this, put forward an effective front program, a program of class alliance of the social forces playing a major role in the revolutionary process at the given stage.

Our experience is that since the very pattern and principles of the communist vanguard's activities play an important role in the elaboration and implementation of its political line, the new tasks arising during the realization of the communist plan of political action demand an improvement of the organizational forms and methods of work and their conformity with political aims (this was clearly seen in the positive sense during the first period). On the other hand, an "optimal" organizational line and "optimal" forms and methods of work can yield the desired results if they rest on a clearly defined political line consistent with the features of the given historical period. Shortcomings and weaknesses in organization can be identified and corrected provided there are reliable political criteria for this (in this sense the second period of the party's history is indicative).

Our experience fully bears out Lenin's postulate that a party that adapts its organization

and forms and methods of work to changing circumstances, preserves or must preserve the basic type, we would add, the Leninist type of organization. This is the guarantee of success in the face of any changes, of the most radical twists in the course of events.

Today, more than ever before, the pernicious effects of the strategic cooperation between the USA and Israel are felt in Lebanon. These two nations are, especially since the assassination of Sadat, persistently using false promises and demonstrations of military strength in order to draw some Arab states into a capitulatory, defeatist settlement of the Middle East problem, and sow discord and engineer a division among the Arab progressive-patriotic forces. This is seen most strikingly in Lebanon, for it has now become the target of the widening conspiracy and growing aggression of imperialism, Zionism, and Arab reaction against the Arab peoples.

The Communist Party's own development on the basis of Leninist principles, the adoption of more effective forms and methods of struggle by the national movement, its reliance on the masses, the increased vigilance of the main forces of steadfastness in Lebanon and other Arab countries, and the strengthening of their own unity and their strategic alliance with the USSR and the entire socialist community are vital conditions of our success. This will enable us not only to continue countering the sinister plans of the enemies of Lebanon and the Arab nation but totally disrupt the anti-people conspiracy.

New experience

OUR INTERVIEWS

HOW AND WHY UNIFICATION TOOK PLACE

A unitary assembly of five left parties and organizations of Mexico has resulted in the formation of a new left political organization — the United Socialist Party of Mexico. It includes the Mexican Communist Party, the Party of the Mexican People, the Revolutionary Socialist Party, the Movement of Socialist Unity and Action, and the Movement of United Popular Action. At the November 1981 meeting of representatives of fraternal parties on the work of WMR, the USPM was represented by Alejo Mendez Garcia, whom we asked to speak in some detail about the new party:

At the National Unification Assembly, held in early November 1981, the Mexican Communist Party, the Party of the Mexican People, the Movement of Socialist Unity and Action, the Revolutionary Socialist Party, and the Movement of Popular Action proclaimed that they had merged in an integral political organization called the United Socialist Party of Mexico.

Addressing the 20th congress of the Mexican Communist Party, held shortly before the National Unification Assembly, the CC General Secretary Arnoldo Martinez Verdugo said that on joining the new organization the Communist Party should not dissolve in it. We communists merged with the new party in order to continue the cause to which we had been

devoting ourselves for more than 60 years, the cause of liberating workers, all oppressed and exploited people from capitalist tyranny.

This merger of the MCP and other parties was not a fortuitous action prompted by situation considerations. It was predicated by the requirements of the revolutionary movement and is consistent with the Marxist principle of uniting all genuine proponents of socialism in the party of the working class. The way to the merger was cleared by many years of joint action by the five organizations in election campaigns, acts of solidarity with the people's struggle, and other actions. Moreover, there were unitary tendencies in the mass movements, the working-class movement in the first place. Unity among the revolutionary left forces is regarded here as indispensable to the settlement of socio-economic problems arising out of inflation, the rising cost of living, and unemployment, as a guarantee of success in the struggle for the democratization of our organizations, and for political freedoms which are trespassed by the government and by the entrepreneurs. To this I must add that revolutionary Marxism is winning ever growing recognition among supporters of socialism, while the opportunism of some left circles, consisting, as their spokesmen put it, of "support for positive elements in the policies of the ruling bourgeoisie and criticism of negative elements," has discredited itself, for it signifies renunciation of a left alternative.

The National Unification Assembly elected a provisional Central Committee and approved the drafts of three basic documents: Declaration of Principles, the Action Program, and the Constitution, thereby laying the foundation for completing the merger of the five organizations at the constituent congress of the new party scheduled for early 1982. In the meantime, amalgamation must proceed in the localities and at the level of primary organizations. The delegates to the constituent congress are elected at state-level congresses.

The National Unification Assembly endorsed the party's new name. Initially, the name was approved and adopted at the 20th congress of the Mexican Communist Party. The need for this stemmed from legal considerations. Of the five political organizations in the USPM, only the MCP is officially registered with the Federal Election Commission. The new party has to be legal from the very beginning so as to enable us to participate in the upcoming general elections.

Further, the National Unification Assembly approved the party's tactics for participation in

the election campaign and by secret ballot elected Arnaldo Martinez Verdugo the USPM presidential candidate.

The USPM program documents record the basic principles underlying its activity. These principles are characteristic of a revolutionary party of the proletariat, of a party guided by the theory of scientific socialism, in other words, the theory founded by Marx and Engels and developed by Lenin and other leaders and theoreticians of the working class. The United Socialist Party of Mexico is defined as the party of the working class fighting for the socialist revolution with the aim of ending exploitation of man by man and building socialism and communism.

This is a party with democracy in the full sense of the word and political power of the working people as its aim. This is a genuinely national party for it will champion the true national interests of the Mexican people and articulate the aspirations of the masses. This is a democratic party, and its internal structure will be based on the tested principle of democratic centralism. This is an internationalist party, for it is to be guided by the principle of solidarity among working people and nations and will promote friendship and cooperation with all the communist, workers', and democratic parties of the world in a spirit of respect and mutual assistance.

The United Socialist Party of Mexico will be devoted to the finest revolutionary traditions of our working class and people, and will hold high the banner of revolutionary Marxism and proletarian internationalism.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESS

DAILY WORLD

Angela Davis speaks about her party

The interview printed in the newspaper of the Communist Party of the USA is not quite of the common run. In it Angela Davis, CC member of the CPUSA, answers questions being asked by Americans wishing to know more about the communists and their work. The most diverse questions are asked, but all are evidence of the rising interest nationwide in the party of the working class. This interest was also shown when the party announced a membership drive. Angela Davis says: "We have reached a point where it is objectively possible to build a mass party."

What kind of people are in the Communist Party? Do you have to have a degree in political science, have studied Marxism-Leninism or

have been involved in political activity for many years? Answering these questions, Angela Davis says that the party does not require new members to have a thorough knowledge of Marxism-Leninism or long experience of political struggle. All this is acquired in the party. Most of its members, she points out, are workers. But there also are professionals, people involved in academia, and cultural workers. The party is multinational and multi-racial. "I think," Angela Davis says, "that our party, more than any other organization in the country, really reflects the population of the United States."

For many people, membership in the Communist Party means remaining without work. For this and other reasons not every party member is an open communist. But that, Angela Davis declares, is not a criterion for membership in the party.

Speaking of her 13-years' experience as a member of the CPUSA, Angela Davis notes that there neither was nor is a place for racism among the communists. "Our party," she says, "has the best record of any organization not only in fighting racism as it is expressed in

society; but in purging the organization itself of the influence of racist attitudes." In fact, it was the communists who were the first to demand the outlawing of the Ku Klux Klan. This has now become the demand of the masses.

Membership in the party, Angela Davis says, has taught her much. Above all, it has helped her to understand the meaning of collective effort: "One learns to struggle in the party, one learns that whereas as individuals we may be absolutely impotent and feel frustrated by what appears to be the insurmountable power of the ruling classes in our country, as a collective we have the decisive power, if we know how to challenge racism, if we know how to challenge the boss on the job." She says that it was because of her participation in the common struggle and because of the collective efforts of comrades that she has been teaching at the San Francisco State University for the last five years, despite the fact that when Ronald Reagan was governor of California he pledged she would never teach in a public institution in that state.

"We", she declares, "can forge the kind of movement that will allow us to triumph."

For the Chilean people's freedom and happiness

ANNALS OF THE STRUGGLE

At the beginning of this year, the Chilean communists marked the 60th anniversary of their party's foundation.

It has its beginnings in the period in which the country's working class emerged and developed. By 1900, the working class numbered 250,000. Under the influence of Marxism, the Chilean proletariat advanced from the initial forms of class organization — mutual assistance groups, and workers' societies and associations — to the establishment of a party whose goal is the struggle for socialism.

In 1912, Luis Emilio Recabarren, an outstanding revolutionary, fiery journalist and organizer of the masses, founded the Socialist Workers' Party, the predecessor of the CP Chile.

Over a decade, the SWP carried on a revolutionary struggle together with the Workers' Federation of Chile, organizing militant strikes and coming out against war and social chauvinism. With enthusiasm and determination, it supported the October Revolution in Russia, "the guiding light of the globe . . . the mightiest

bastion of true democracy," as Recabarren called it.

At the third congress of the SWP in 1920, a decision was taken to transform it into the Communist Party of Chile. A congress held in Rancagua on January 2, 1922, stated that the restructuring of the party was over.

In the subsequent period, working in the hard conditions of the Ibanez dictatorship, the Communist Party went through a number of important stages in its organizational development and ideological growth. At the end of the 1920s, following a struggle of more than five years, it divested itself of the Trotskyist and opportunist elements which had infiltrated its ranks. In an atmosphere of universal protest sparked off by the policy of repression and the country's complete subordination to U.S. imperialism, the party supported with enthusiasm an uprising in the navy in 1931, which was put down but left a deep impression on the people. Under the powerful influence of the seventh congress of the Comintern, in alliance with other forces, it carried out extensive joint

action at every level against the threat of fascism. This was the decisive factor in the establishment of the Popular Front in Chile. In 1938, Pedro Aguirre Cerda, its leader, was elected President of the Republic. The Communist Party's solidarity with the Spanish Republicans in the late 1930s was an important factor in mobilizing the masses and uniting the country's democratic and anti-fascist forces. The communists' struggle in the 1940s was closely bound up with the development of the international situation and the sharpening of the class contradictions within the country. Under the Gabriel Gonzalez Videla government, the party was banned and its leaders and rank-and-file communists were subjected to savage persecution.

Working in clandestine conditions, the Communist Party, in alliance with the left wing of the Socialist Party, nominated for the post of president in 1952 SP Chile leader and Senator Salvador Allende, who was also nominated in

1958 and 1964 by the Popular Action Front (FRAP), a broad political coalition based mainly on the unity of socialists and communists. This solidly-based and consistent policy led to the emergence of Popular Unity, and subsequently to Salvador Allende's election in the autumn of 1970 to the post of President. For the first time in Chile's history, it had before it the prospect of independent and democratic development, an anti-imperialist democratic revolution, and orientation of development toward socialism. The historical accomplishments of the Popular Unity government were deeply analyzed by CP Chile General Secretary Luis Corvalan at the August 1977 plenary meeting of the party's Central Committee.

On September 11, 1973, the fascist dictatorship drowned the democratic regime in blood. The results of its eight-year rule are tens of thousands of killed, over 2,500 persons missing, and a million refugees. By means of weapons and lying propaganda, unemployment and terrorism, and relying on official support from the U.S. government, the regime has pursued a policy of total subordination of the country to the interests of imperialism and the oligarchy.

Working deep in the underground, the CP Chile has built up a strong network of organizations on the scale of the whole country. Despite the fierce repression, its bonds with the masses have been growing stronger from day to day. It is Chile's biggest party, and most of its leaders are working in the country. Its political line is an anti-fascist, proletarian line of the masses, a line of independence, internationalism and the broadest unity of all the anti-fascist and democratic forces.

The communists of Chile keep saying that it would be a mistake to hope for democratization under the fascist regime or for its collapse as a result of some agreement. The only way to put an end to the regime of terrorism is to sharpen the mass struggle with the use of all its forms, including a popular uprising, striving to rally the bulk of the popular forces under that banner.

The Communist Party of Chile, a component part of the international communist movement, voices solidarity with all the forces for peace, independence and social progress. The party believes that mankind's greatest achievement is the way paved by the Great October Socialist Revolution and the establishment of the system of socialist states. It has close ties with the communist and workers' parties of the world and also with other revolutionary movements, especially on the American continent.

Raul Vidal

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Bourgeois prejudices versus the philosophy of Marxism

Daniel Goldstick
University Professor,
Toronto, Canada

To the ordinary bourgeois editorial writer, Marxism-Leninism is either some sort of pathological conspiracy or else just a beautiful utopian dream, totally at odds with contemporary reality. Its academic opponents can still count, to some extent, on prejudices of this sort, but nowadays they are more commonly obliged, if only outwardly, to give more theoretical substantiation to their objections.

Bourgeois historians have traditionally been prone to regard all revolutions as breaks in the course of history occasioned by a few individuals' fanaticism and lust for power (according to the conservative historians), or their vision and high-mindedness (according to the liberals) — or else just by sheer unexplained chance. All three interpretations agree in essentially portraying the masses as being passive and quite powerless to act together rationally to change history on the basis of their collective interests.¹

Many bourgeois and petty-bourgeois intellectuals are thoroughly disenchanted with the capitalist system but by no means ready to merge themselves in a mass movement led by the industrial proletariat. They retain their élitist contempt for the masses' capability of rational self-action.

Those social democrats who are the heirs of the liberal tradition, think that they can gradually ease society into a new way of life without disruptive revolutionary conflict by means of a cumulative series of social reforms accomplished through their own parliamentary cleverness, unsupported by significant extra-parliamentary class struggle. The ultra-leftists, on the other hand, act as though they are set on corroborating the conservative historians' interpretation of history. They try to substitute their own revolutionary belligerence and rhetoric, their penchant for conspiratorial plotting, for the patient agitation, organization and propaganda work among the masses which experience demonstrates are objectively necessary if the peoples are to find their way out of capitalism.

To quote words spoken by William Kashtan,

General Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada, at a CC plenary meeting in June 1981, "monopoly and its governments use very skilful forms of brainwashing the people and misdirect them against their vital interests. The battle of ideas has become sharper . . . We must enter into the battle of ideas . . . We are called upon to explain, explain and explain, clarify, clarify and clarify. Nothing should be taken for granted. To undertake such an effort calls for the involvement of more and more comrades in this battle of ideas." The CPC's Academic Commission, reorganized in 1981, has been assigned the task of advising the party's Central Executive Committee on the conduct of ideological work among intellectuals in the different scholarly and scientific fields of teaching and research.

Today it is impossible for major intellectual currents not to orient themselves, positively or negatively, toward the great ongoing struggle for the revolutionary transition to socialism. That is the case even where people whose job it is to formulate ideas are themselves confused or ignorant about the social role their thought actually plays.

Whatever the particular forms that socialist revolutions led by the industrial working class may take in different countries, from the revolutionaries' point of view one thing is sure: they must involve both careful thought and determined action. This in turn requires an effective conception of the essential relationship between thought and action, theory and practice. However, anti-revolutionary political tendencies can and do find a reflection in philosophical interpretations of problems.

In previous periods of history, when bourgeois ascendancy went largely unchallenged, the dominant intellectual traditions embodied a certain union of theory and practice (in general limited, of course, in such a way as not to undermine capitalist rule). Today, it is just this unity of theory and practice which is under attack. It is argued that to be truly "objective" people must think but not act. On other occasions, the view is put forth, some-

times in the name of overt or covert rightism, sometimes, on the other hand, even in the name of social revolution, that people should not think.² To this day it is seriously urged that thought can and should guide action only if it is completely free of class partisanship in general or of dialectical and historical materialism in particular. In other words, it is suggested that the contemporary scientific world view, which has been proved by the entire development of life and theory, be effectively abandoned. Sometimes viewpoints of these sorts are advanced expressly as anti-socialist positions. Other times, for instance in Canada, they are proposed (sometimes even sincerely) in the name of Marxism. The end result though, is the same. To the extent that people are effectively confused by such viewpoints, successful organization for class struggle and for socialism is all the harder.

If we direct our attention at the more "academic" denials and distortions of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, we can indeed notice continuity and mutual reinforcement between these attacks on the unity of theory and practice and the various practical-political and ideological roadblocks to socialism. Three fundamental features of Marxist-Leninist philosophy which particularly offend bourgeois ideology are its activist orientation (partisanship), its commitment to scientific objectivity, and its theory of historical determinism.

In bourgeois social science there is a deeply entrenched tradition radically opposing partisanship and objectivity to each other. What is the problem?

When we call scientific facts objective we are ascribing to them a reality independent of our will (which does not necessarily deny their future changeability through practical action). But our partisan commitment cannot in any way change what the objective facts are now. A partisan commitment can determine what facts are important (as potential means or obstacles to the ends in view); and it can motivate the whole quest for scientific knowledge (thus, Marxist social science is basically motivated by the desire to further the cause of socialism and communism). But the partisan commitment of the scientific researcher cannot make something an objective fact that otherwise would not be one. Partisanship (or the lack of it) has certainly led researchers often enough to distort reality, consciously or otherwise, and call something a fact which really was not one. But lying and self-deception alike are unscientific. So far, however, we have not contradicted standard bourgeois theoreticians of the social

sciences, at least the more sophisticated ones.

Where Marxist-Leninist philosophy does contradict these theoreticians is in asserting the objective existence of certain facts of such a sort that just to recognize them is thereby to take up a partisan stand. Not that such a fact can owe its existence to this partisanship on the part of those who assert it. Rather, it is objectivity that demands its recognition, even though such recognition is of necessity an act of partisan commitment. Anyone who adopts an anti-capitalist, pro-socialist position in theory, as well as in political practice, has made just such a partisan theoretical commitment, a commitment, in this case, in the realm of what is academically known as "social ethics."³

The partisan commitment of Marxist-Leninist theory involves recognizing the ethical superiority of socialism to capitalism, an objective fact established by capitalism's responsibility for the persistence of exploitation, poverty, war, national oppression, racism, and other forms of human indignity and suffering. Socialism, on the other hand, makes it possible to end national and sexual inequality, progressively develops human potential in both labor and culture to unprecedented levels, enables people generally to become for the first time masters of their own lives, individually and collectively, and thereby opens the door, above all, to that further development of human emancipation known as "communism." According to bourgeois philosophical orthodoxy, not even the full scientific admission of these or any other sociological facts need rationally compel the scientist to acknowledge the ethical superiority of the socialist system to the capitalist. Some "rationality"!

Here is the place to quote Karl Kautsky, not because he was already consistently revisionist in his theorizing in 1906, but because his susceptibility to bourgeois ideology's opposition of objectivity and partisanship to each other does fairly clearly exhibit the tendency to scientific elitism, which was to become so harmful to the working-class movement later on. He wrote: "Social democracy, too, as an organization of the proletariat in its class struggle, cannot dispense with the ethical ideal, the ethical revolt against exploitation and class rule. But this ideal has no business within scientific socialism, the scientific investigation of the laws of development and movement of the social organism for the purpose of knowing the necessary tendencies and aims of the proletarian class struggle . . . Science . . . must decline to establish an ought which cannot be recognized as one of the proven necessities of

the 'world of appearances' . . . Science stands above ethics, its results are just as little ethical or unethical as necessity is ethical or unethical."⁴

Let us consider Kautsky's élitist formulation, "science stands above ethics." In effect it means the scientists standing above the partisans.

Socialism, Kautsky says, is ethically superior to capitalism simply because it is historically inevitable. So, if something else — say, war — were going to be historically inevitable, then that would be ethically desirable.

Other theorists, revolting against such callousness in the name of science, sought to reduce Marxism itself to nothing more than a moral stance.⁵ While utopianism of this sort does correspond well enough to the view of Marxism favored among bourgeois editorial writers, it is absolutely useless, and worse, in the working-class movement. To deprive our movement of the scientific tools of objective Marxist analysis would inevitably doom the working class to historical impotence. In *The German Ideology*, Marx and Engels criticized the proto-anarchist Max Stirner for believing the Young Hegelian Széllig's "assurance that by a mere moral injunction he can without more ado convert the material forces arising from the division of labor into personal forces."⁶ In the same work they wrote: "communism is for us not a *state of affairs* which is to be established, an *ideal* to which reality [will] have to adjust itself. We call communism the *real* movement which abolishes the present state of things."⁷

The reduction of Marxist theory to a mere moralism could appeal psychologically to political reformists, by obscuring the inevitable downfall of capitalism, or to intellectuals attracted toward "left" adventurism, by encouraging them to disregard objective obstacles to the fulfillment of their dreams. To the latter mentality, failure can only be evidence of moral weakness. But revolutionary will alone, however intense, is not enough to bring about real social revolution, and all theories which tend to conceal this fact must actually impede the revolutionary movement and postpone the realization of its goals.

Accordingly, it is not surprising that the most widely diffused bourgeois academic treatments of Marxism, when they get away from total hostility and denial of it, tend to concentrate on interpreting it as a moral vision of a new and more humane way of life in the name of which one Karl Marx long ago criticized the harshness of 19th-century industrial society. Thus, there are those who express the wish to

"defend" Karl Marx's reputation as a moralist against the defamation of being associated with the actual historical reality — messy as it is — of real 20th-century socialist revolutions.

The tendency to reduce Marxist-Leninist social science to a moralism can on occasion make its appearance even in our own movement. But Marxism-Leninism requires more than a moral commitment. The communists' capacity for cohesion is a powerful weapon precisely because their unity is based on a scientific comprehension of reality and collective elaboration of policies designed for a conscious transformation of the world. Substitution of dogmatic phrase-mongering for creative science is flagrant disloyalty to Marxism-Leninism and to the proletarian cause which it serves.

Another "shocking" theoretical offense to most bourgeois thinking is Marxism-Leninism's unabashed combination of historical determinism and political activism. But the alleged philosophical difficulty here is artificial. There is no conflict, Lenin noted, between determinism and ethics, between historical necessity and the significance of the individual. "The idea of determinism, which postulates that human acts are necessitated and rejects the absurd tale about free will," he wrote, "in no way destroys man's reason or conscience, or appraisal of his actions. Quite the contrary, only the determinist view makes a strict and correct appraisal possible instead of attributing everything you please to free will" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 1, p. 159).

There is no reason to regard even the completest historical determinism as militating in the least against the freedom of action or freedom of will either of individuals or of collectives of individuals. Here is a concrete example. As the Vietnamese people's heroic war of liberation against United States imperialism neared its close, knowledgeable observers were able to conclude that by that stage victory for the liberation forces had manifestly become inevitable. This conclusion was based upon, among other things, a forecast of the Vietnamese people's continued political will for victory. In what way was any limitation implied by that on their freedom of action or on their freedom of will? The forecast made did indeed imply a very definite limitation on the freedom of action of the U.S. ruling circles, but that is something else.

It is often said in Marxist circles that the political results of socialists' denying historical determinism is apt to be a "left" deviation of some sort, since such "leftism" does involve a

self-defeating disregard of the objective conditions really existing. But it can in fact just as easily lead to a right deviation instead, since what is not subject to causal determination is humanly uncontrollable, and if large-scale developments in history really are humanly uncontrollable, then the fatalistic attitude toward them is justified. Accordingly, mass movements aimed at radically revolutionizing bourgeois society as a whole must be so much wasted effort. It was in this spirit that the right revisionist Eduard Bernstein attacked historical determinism at the turn of the century and preached open political reformism under the slogan, "The movement is everything, the final aim of socialism nothing." It is in this spirit that the notorious anti-Marxist Karl Popper attacks "historicism" (historical determinism) and advances "piecemeal social engineering" in place of social revolution. In other words, criticism of Marxism from the right coalesces with attacks on historical determinism in the name of "leftism," beginning in the early years of the Communist International and continuing to this day.

A right deviation distortion of the thesis of philosophical determinism turns it into a human-freedom-denying fatalism. To come back again to Karl Kautsky, we find him writing that man's position in this regard is no different from that of animals: "Even these have freedom of will, in the sense that man has, namely, as a subjective, inevitable feeling of freedom, which springs from ignorance of the future and the necessity of exercising a direct influence on it."⁸

If the only sense in which man has "freedom of will" is that he possesses a feeling of freedom, this feeling of his must then be, after all, merely illusory. This attitude has in fact no more necessary basis than the unargued-for bourgeois prejudice that causal determinism must somehow abridge people's freedom. A social-democratic opposition to mass revolutionary propaganda that goes much further to the right than Karl Kautsky ever dreamed of doing, is unfortunately very much alive and well in Canada today. As the CPC Central Committee was compelled to note at its June 1981 plenary meeting, "the right opportunists in the workers' movement help the monopoly capitalists by denying the necessity of imparting socialist consciousness, and by preaching that socialist ideology arises of its own accord out of the spontaneous workers' movement."⁹

Undoubtedly, wrongly interpreted historical determinism sometimes can be found associated with economism and other right-revi-

sionist tendencies to sit passively waiting for the inevitable advent of history's fulfillment. When Marxism called socialist revolution inevitable, of course, it never meant that it was fatalistically inevitable, inevitable regardless of what people did about it. Rather, it was called inevitable because revolutionary action on the part of both the vanguard and the masses was anticipated — on the basis of knowledge of the laws of social development — as the only foreseeable human response, eventually, to the unavoidable internal crises of capitalism.

An unscientific, almost religious faith in "historical inevitability" has led the "Left" into political mistakes throughout the history of the world communist movement. For example, at some points in the early 1930s and the early 1940s, there were unrealistic tendencies in the Communist Party of Canada to see "revolution round the corner" as a result of one-sided focusing on objective conditions of crisis while disregarding the inadequate development of other key conditions in Canada, especially subjective ones. Even if concrete realities are of lasting historical significance from a long-term point of view, while other ones are only going to be historically temporary and transient, it does not follow that the latter cannot predominate in the short run. Here again it is necessary for Marxist-Leninists to be on constant guard against the sort of moralistic emotionalism which can stand in the way of the sober scientific clear-sightedness our movement imperatively needs in order to achieve victory over capitalism.

In the 1960s Canada, as well as other capitalist countries, saw the "New Left" doctrines of Herbert Marcuse spread among student youth and intellectuals. These doctrines tend to reject scientific objectivity and historical determinism in favor of "revolutionary" moralism and vigorous action. However, the blind thrashing about of the "New Left" was doomed to failure because it sought to substitute itself for the superficially "conservative" industrial working class. As early as 1971, William Kashtan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada, was able to declare, "the illusion that Marcuse had replaced Marx, an illusion widely spread among student youth and intellectuals, has . . . been dispelled."¹⁰

Today, under the impact of the economic crisis, the fighting militancy of the Canadian working class is rising visibly. The level of Marxist-Leninist consciousness, though, lags far behind. Although opportunities for the spread of Marxist-Leninist theory, both among the working class and among extensive middle

strata of the population, are in certain respects better than they have ever been before, bourgeois ideology remains potent and combative. It is essential, therefore, that the Marxist-Leninists, in Canada as well, should be combative, preserving without compromise their scientific viewpoint and their intransigent revolutionary class partisanship.

1. This fits in well with the spontaneous fatalism of the masses themselves, bred by their daily experience of powerlessness under capitalism. The large-scale correction of this fallacy, of course, requires not just theoretical counter-propaganda but the mass experience of rational collective struggle on behalf of common class interests actually succeeding in practice.

2. For obvious reasons, it is not characteristic of consistent advocates of thoughtless action to write theoretical treatises about it. However, this philosophical tendency will be recognized as one element, at any rate, in the early 19th century European and American cultural movement known as Romanticism.

As an attitude toward political action, the anti-thought and irrationalism tendency has been quite influential within 20th-century fascism, anarchism and liberalism. Liberals, in particular, sometimes boast of their total lack of any specific political convictions, apart from the importance in general of open-mindedness. However, to thus guard the mind, on principle, against any more specific convictions can scarcely count as open-mindedness.

In the USA and, to a much lesser extent, in English-speaking Canada also, an explicitly obscurantist right-

wing ideological movement is being stirred up which especially directs its fire at the public school system for allegedly promoting "secular humanism" by, for instance, teaching the scientific facts about biological evolution. The Vice-President of the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation Malcolm Buchanan told a *Toronto Globe and Mail* reporter: "They call themselves the Moral Majority and some of them challenge the whole concept of abstract thinking" (*Globe and Mail*, June 23, 1981). In the USA, "Moral Majority" is the actual name of a formally organized rightist pressure group, which actively intervenes in public elections at all levels (WMR, January 1982).

3. Not that the pro-socialist "proletarian morality" of which Marxism-Leninism speaks really does represent the ultimate, absolute objective truth in the realm of ethics. It simply represents the historically highest state of moral evolution short of communism. "That . . . there has, on the whole, been progress in morality, as in all other branches of human knowledge, no one will doubt," wrote Engels (*Anti-Dühring*, Part I, p. 132).

4. Karl Kautsky, *Ethik und materialistische Geschichtsauffassung*, Stuttgart, 1922, pp. 141-142.

5. One protagonist of this idea is Ben Agger in *Western Marxism: An Introduction*, Santa Monica, California, 1979, pp. 80 and following.

6. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, New York, 1976, p. 343.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

8. Kautsky, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

9. *Communist Viewpoint*, Vol. 13, No. 4, July-August, 1981, p. 59.

10. *Toward Socialism. Selected Writings of William Kashtan*, Toronto, 1976, p. 160.

Total surveillance system

Professor Dr. Josef Schleifstein,
Dr. Heinz Jung
(Institute of Marxist Studies, FRG)

THE MONOPOLY-CAPITALIST STATE

The revolutionary forces must, of necessity, devote much attention to the study of the system of power of state-monopoly capitalism if they are to fulfil the tasks facing them. What are the components of this system? What is the substance of the trends in its development? What are the problems facing the trade unions, the most massive organizations of the working class? How does social democracy interpret the power of monopoly capital? Those are some of the questions whose scrutiny could help to obtain an idea of the forms of power of the monopoly bourgeoisie in society, thereby clarifying the main conditions for struggle by the communists and other progressive forces.¹ This also helps to understand the basic social contradictions within the power system of state-monopoly capitalism and consequently,

to define more precisely the current trends in the activity of the anti-monopoly forces.

Detection and suppression machine

The power of the monopolies has naturally gone hand in hand with a decline of democratic rights and the democratic institutions of parliamentarism. This also applies to the FRG, where there are growing tendencies toward authoritarianism, centralization of power and prerogatives in the top organs of power, which in the context of our country means the Federal organs. Everyone has also heard of the extreme anti-communism (even in West European conditions) of these ruling circles, the state apparatus, and the political climate.

The state apparatus, especially its political, armed and repressive organs, in which the state is above all materialized, is the central element

of the power system of state-monopoly capitalism. What are the quantitative characteristics of the apparatus and the trends in their change?²

In 1979/1980 the total number of persons actually employed in the *state apparatus of the FRG* (working a full and partial day, military personnel, employees of state enterprises with a private legal form) totalled 5,569,000, i.e., 25.4 per cent of all wage and salaried workers.

It is important to consider the development of the political and the repressive apparatus as such. In the 1960s, it expanded on the whole by 53 per cent (the total number of persons employed in the state apparatus went up by 22 per cent), and in the 1970s by 19 per cent (the total number of persons employed increased by 15 per cent). In 1979, the political and repressive apparatus employed 1,375,000, i.e., more than six out of every 100 employed persons.

There is no doubt that the *armed agencies and surveillance services* are the central element of this mechanism of power. In 1979, the military and administrative personnel of the *Bundeswehr* numbered 669,290. It has constantly received the most modern and steadily renewed equipment and weapons, and this undoubtedly intensifies the potential of coercion.

The *Federal Border Guard* (26,000 persons) is a special armed formation under the Federal Minister of the Interior designed for use in the event of "internal disorder." There are also other mobile armed forces for internal political purposes, which are quartered in barrack rooms and are subordinate to the ministries of the interior of the Federation and the *Länder*. This is the so-called *readiness police* numbering about 25,000. In addition, the authorities of the *Länder* and the communities have their own police, which in 1975, was said to number roughly 156,000 persons. In the recent period, the government, on the plea of terroristic acts and the growth of crime, and playing on the population's uncertainty about the future has been wildly increasing appropriations for the maintenance of the armed agencies and the surveillance services.

Services and agencies for *politico-social surveillance* have an important role to play in the power system. Their obvious task is to intimidate the existing and potential opposition. An active role here belongs to the *Federal Department for the Protection of the Constitution*, which checks up on opposition organizations and movements, sets up counter-groups and establishments to offset groups and establishments operating in the political arena, and re-

sorts to bribery and the services of provocateurs.

Officially, it is the Federal Chancellor's Office which coordinates and controls the work of the surveillance services. But they are, in effect, broadly autonomous, as will be seen from the facts of breaches of legality and diverse scandals.

Alongside the Federal Department for the Protection of the Constitution, there are similar departments in the *Länder*. The files of the Federal and *Länder* departments are, as a rule, used in the course of trials involving job bans, in check-ups on the loyalty of teachers, postal couriers and locomotive drivers. The use of electronics by the service for the protection of the constitution has made its work much more "efficient" and the further modernization of methods used in processing information will make the system of universal statewide surveillance even more effective.

The FRG secret services engaged in espionage and sabotage in the socialist countries and in the young progressive states have been expanding their activity. The most important of these are the *Federal Intelligence Service* (BND) and the *Military Counter-Intelligence Service* (MAD). The latter operates above all in the military and military-industrial sphere. Within the FRG itself, these services also keep an eye on the democratic and socialist movement.

The *Federal Criminal Department* (BKA) is an important center of surveillance. With the extension of the INPOL system for the electronic processing of information, which was started in 1972, and also the integration of the systems for processing information by the administrations of the criminal police of the *Länder*, the local police agencies, the Federal Automobile Transport Department, and so on, there is ever greater efficiency in detection and identification which are directed above all against democratic, progressive forces. The trend is toward the creation of an integrated system for the processing of information including every sphere of the social services (the registration office, financial departments, social departments, etc.) with the data available on any person to be supplied on demand fully and instantly.³ For all practical purposes, the archives of electric power stations,⁴ banks, concerns, etc., have already been pooled. This has been made on the plea of a need to shape an "early warning system" for the "protection" of the state.

Against this background, there have been unprecedented discussions over the laws re-

lating to the protection of information about the individual. Large enterprises and companies already have their own information systems about personnel for the purpose of surveillance, and this confronts the production councils and the trade unions with totally new problems. The personal data banks naturally also contain information about members of the bourgeoisie itself. That is why there is also support in that class of the critical discussion of this matter. However, the trend toward actual violation of the basic rights of citizens and the establishment of an authoritarian power system of state-monopoly capitalism in the period of the scientific and technological revolution has continued.

There is a legend alive in the mass consciousness about the Federal Republic as a "civil-law state." But in the recent period, the supreme judiciary has ever more flagrantly meddled in political life on the side of the conservative and reactionary strata. This indicates a serious crisis of bourgeois parliamentarism and shows that the government has substantially lost its capability of ensuring, in political practice, the compromise between the various factions of the bourgeoisie and the political camps which is required for the maintenance of the dominance of the system.

Thus, the Federal Constitutional Court has the duty to control the observance of the constitutional norms. But ever more frequently it has taken political decisions, so becoming a center for determining the main strategic lines in the development of monopoly capital in the FRG. The most noticeable fact of this kind is the court's decision on the complaint filed by the employers' unions against the law enacted by the Bundestag on workers' participation in industrial management. While the court has ruled against the employers' union, an attempt was made to put on workers and employees the straight-jacket of "social partnership" so as to deprive them of a say in running industry.

The rulings of the Federal Court on Labor Conflicts also betray an ever more reactionary and pro-monopoly line. Thus, the court has legalized the use of lockouts by the employers' unions.

The current activity of the judiciary and the further "juridical consolidation" of the social relations reflect the weakening of the bourgeois society's capacity for social self-regulation. In 1979, FRG courts initiated nearly 3.5 million new cases. They are overtaxed and the backlog of pending cases tends to grow. The number of criminal cases has been growing steadily. In short, the so-called free democratic system

(even with a relatively tranquil course of developments) is forced to use the huge state potential and apparatus of coercion to ensure its existence. Let us note that political repression is being clearly intensified as will be seen from the growing number of "cases on crimes against the state": 7,580 in 1979 as compared with 2,724 in 1974.

Non-state institutions of the superstructure

The bourgeois parties, the employers' unions, the ideological apparatus and public bodies — all elements of the power system — are involved in the state-monopoly process of socialization. There is a marked tendency toward their interaction with subdivisions of the state apparatus itself.

The Bonn parties (CDU/CSU, SDPG and FDP) have in effect monopolized the political representation within the parliamentary system and regard "outsiders" just as a cartel regards small companies. According to the constitution, there is a "privilege of parties," which is being interpreted and realized in an extremely broad sense. This involves not only the electoral system, which favors the parties which stand up for the interests of capital, not only their financing from the state budget or the interlacing of party work with government tasks, but also the "recruitment" and control of political personnel. At the same time, the Bonn parties have a membership of only 1.9 million persons out of roughly 44 million voters in the FRG, or under five per cent. At best, one-third of them attend party meetings to elect delegates and nominate candidates. Consequently, the actual basis of bourgeois parliamentarism is extremely narrow.

The representatives of the most important working groups and classes are, in effect, kept out of parliamentary politics. Within the district and regional units of the SDPG party apparatus, workers make up only seven per cent of the functionaries. Among those who were elected to local organs of self-administration from the CDU, workers make up 6.7 per cent. From 1976 to 1980, of the 518 Bundestag deputies only 8 represented the workers and 20, rural proprietors.

There is a highly dense network of unions and organizations designed to satisfy the economic interests of state-monopoly capitalism.⁵ They help the monopolies to subordinate and exact service from the rest of capital and the middle strata.

Among the leading organizations of this type run by representatives of the big concerns are

the Federal Alliance of German Industry, the Federal Association of Unions of German Entrepreneurs, the German Congress of Chambers of Commerce and Industry (with chambers of commerce and industry, as its subdivisions), and the Central Association of Unions of German Artisans. Altogether, there are in the FRG roughly 5,000 entrepreneurial unions with 120,000 employees. Their links with the top state bureaucracy have long since transcended the framework of conventional lobbyism. Today even bourgeois political analysts point to the corporate representation of monopoly interests within the power apparatus. In order to realize its plans, the state bureaucracy also needs the help of monopoly alliances, and the knowledge of the market outlook and other information which they have at their disposal.⁶

The mass media, the central ideological apparatus of state-monopoly capitalism, now play an important part in shaping the mass consciousness.⁷ Studies carried out in the 1970s show that the average citizen of the FRG devotes 30-31 hours a week to the mass media, with television ranking first (11.5-12.5 hours), followed by the radio, newspapers, illustrated magazines, books and records. There is a high level of monopolization of the newspaper and magazine publishing business and market in the FRG with a growing concentration of book publishing and record making.⁸ Of course, a definite role belongs to the whole complex of education and upbringing, and also the church, a traditional institution of the dominant superstructure. But the mass media are important for the effective functioning of these institutions as well, because, for instance, in most industrial capitalist countries the church has daily and direct contacts with only a minority of its adherents.

In the FRG, television and radio have what is known as a public-law status. Bourgeois propaganda claims that the pluralistic make-up of their supervisory boards is designed to "balance out" their programs. In actual fact, it is this pluralistic structure that helps state-monopoly capital to assert the supremacy of its ideas and interests.

Of course the manipulation of the public consciousness by the monopolized mass media fails where it is confronted with the working people's mature experience and where the "counter mass media" are in operation. But it is quite clear, for instance, that this experience can hardly have a big part to play in foreign policy issues.

One channel for the spread of information — most frequently in the pre-political and "apolit-

ical" spheres — also consists of the super-structural organizations⁹ which are not readily seen as vehicles of definite class purposes: athletic unions, benevolent societies, fire-fighters associations, motoring, shooting and entertainment clubs, etc. Let us note that the conservatism of such organizations is much more pronounced at the higher stages of their hierarchy.

Trade unions' role

Although trade unions cannot, strictly speaking, be regarded as pure political organizations, because of their massive membership they have an important role to play in the functioning of the social superstructure in the FRG, and this has to be reckoned with by the monopolies and the state. The ruling circles of monopoly capital have repeatedly tried — and not only under governments led by social democrats, but also through the long period of CDU/CSU government — to integrate the trade unions with the state-monopoly system through institutional participation in capitalist firms, social insurance, the boards of state institutions and ministries, and conferences on economic and wage policies held jointly with employers' unions and economic experts. In short, there is clear evidence of an attempt to convert the trade union into a "factor of order" (as bourgeois and right-wing social democratic sociologists put it). Such a policy can, of course, succeed only if there are sufficiently influential forces in the trade unions prepared to tie them to social partnership plans.

The integrated trade unions of the FRG took shape in 1949. It is true that there are within them diverse politico-ideological trends, as a reflection of the political heterogeneity of the working-class movement, stemming above all from the influence exerted by the political parties on the working class generally. The social democrats (80 per cent of salaried trade-union functionaries are members of the SDPG) are predominant in the governing bodies of the trade unions within the Federation of German Trade Unions. Polls show that 65-70 per cent of trade unionists claim to be political adherents of that party.

Nevertheless, it would be wrong to equate the policy of the trade unions (especially in the social and economico-political spheres) and the policies of social democrats. On many issues, the trade unions take a stand farther to the left than does the SDPG, and this both for objective and subjective reasons. Objectively, the trade unions, whose task is to stand up for the elementary social interests of the working

people, are in constant conflict with capital. Subjectively, the trade unions are much closer to the working class than is the SDPG. No wonder there is resistance to the integrationist and social-partnership trend in the trade unions among those of their members and functionaries who are not inclined to forget about the class conflict between labor and capital, and who believe that the trade unions are an independent and militant organization of the working class.¹⁰

The right-wing social-democratic forces have been making special efforts to tie the trade unions to official policy, to moderate their demands on wages and to induce a dampening down of the class struggle. But the contradictions stemming from the deep crisis of capitalism originate new conflicts between trade unions, on the one hand, and employers and state-monopoly system politicians, on the other.

Social democracy and the state today

The right wing of social democracy which dominates the SDPG's theory and practice has carried the traditional reformist view of the state to an extreme. This is, in effect, one of the numerous versions of the bourgeois-liberal conception, according to which the state is regarded as a system of organs of political representation and power standing over and above classes and realizing exclusively or mainly the interests of the society as a whole. According to this conception, the state reflects the diverse interests of various social strata and groups, acts as mediator between these strata and balances out their demands in such a way that the common interest ultimately makes headway (especially, the claim is, when government is in the hands of the social democrats). The core of this conception of the state consists of the class neutrality of the "law-based democratic state" or the "welfare state."

Consequently, the state and its agencies are said to have not merely relative but also absolute independence and autonomy from the fundamental economic relations of property and other social relations. The fact that the economic power of big capital gives it political domination is denied. This thesis is based on idealistic ethical reasoning to the effect that the state is something more than the sum-total of individual and group interests, that it is a "value entity" containing within itself "generally accepted values" which — regardless of classes and group interests — allegedly constitute "binding values" for political action.

Social democracy cannot, of course, ignore

the growing interdependence of the state and the capitalist economy, their interpenetration and the extension of the functions and activity of the state above all in the economic, social and political spheres. But while the SDPG's Godesberg program, adopted in 1959, contained the conclusion that economic power is political power, and that the large-scale economy exerts an influence on state and policy "which is incompatible with democratic principles," social democratic ideologists and politicians now seem to have forgotten that formula. Thus, a document entitled "Economic-Political Orientation for 1975-1985," which is a kind of renewed program of the SDPG, does recognize the growing interdependence of the state and the private entrepreneurial economy, but goes on to assert that the incumbent social democrat and liberal government, together with the parliamentary majority, can operate as an "active and independent factor" with respect to the conditions of economic power.

In asserting this, leading SDPG politicians and ideologists declare that the parliamentary-democratic state, headed by social democracy, can allegedly counter the "economically powerful interests" and take "fundamental decisions" aimed against big capital. It is true that they do not explain why no SDPG-led government has not done so to this very day and why, on the contrary, the power of the monopolies throughout the decades of the SDPG-FDP government coalition has steadily grown (as will be seen from the further concentration of capital, the expansion of the markets and the growth of the profits of the monopolies, their investments, and capital exports).

In face of the current economic crisis, social democracy has proved to be incapable of tackling the problem of unemployment and other grave social problems, because the uniformities of the capitalist system are stronger than the "independent activity" of the state. In the face of this reality, the social democratic Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt has admitted: "The potentialities of exerting influence on the part of the government or the Federal Chancellor ... are infinitesimally smaller than the school textbooks assert."¹¹ To this should be added the fact that under pressure from the monopolies and the conservative-reactionary forces opposing state "dirigisme," the SDPG-led government coalition has not taken any government measures to improve the economic outlook — despite vigorous demands by the trade unions.

Right-wing social democratic theorists and

journalists in the FRG have now for years fiercely argued against the theory of state-monopoly capitalism formulated by Lenin, although social democratic politicians do recognize the existence of a close connection between the monopolies and the state. Thus, Hans Ulrich Klose, a prominent member of the SDPG and a former mayor of Hamburg, has said that the policy of state subsidies pursued by the government led by the social democrats is an expression of the fact that the state quite obviously operates as an enterprise for "the repair of capitalism." An even clearer, a virtually classical definition of the main function of present-day right-wing social-democratic government practice was given by Finance Minister Hans Matthofer, when he said: "Many assume that the CDU is able to run the capitalist state better. But that is not so. We can do it better, and we have not only said so, but have also proved it."¹²

The social democrats have argued that the pluralism of the party system makes for the democratic character of the bourgeois-parliamentary state, providing opportunities for the exertion of influence by various interests and organizations on members of parliament and parliamentary decisions. However, despite the outwardly democratic forms and mechanisms, the interests of monopoly capital tend ultimately to triumph, while its power has been steadily growing even under the social-democratic government. Consequently, political pluralism does not at all help to democratize the society and does not prevent the monopolies from attaining their goals.

When the SDPG established its government in the Federal Republic in the late 1960s, the then Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt put forward, as the programmatic goal, the urge to achieve "greater democracy." Actually, democracy was being further vitiated, parliamentarism was in a state of crisis, and the government and state apparatus were alienated from the people. The GCP program says: "The contradiction between the people's urge for democracy, on the one hand, and the offensive by reaction on democratic rights on the other, is one of the major conflicts of capitalist society in the Federal Republic."

Today, even bourgeois ideologists complain of the wide spread of "irritated discontent with the state and the parties." This will be seen from the mass demonstrations against housing speculation, Bonn's program for nuclear construction and its militaristic measures. In response to such action, the Bonn state has resorted to the police truncheon and extensive

surveillance measures, that is, acts which are of the same order as the prosecution of members of the progressive forces through the "job bans."

While the working people may not yet be aware of the interconnection between the fundamental property relations in production and the relations of political power, they no longer believe that the political representatives they have elected have stood up for the interests and demands of the masses. The overwhelming majority of members of parliament have drawn away from the people, which the constitution declares to be sovereign. The elected representatives do not feel bound to abide by their own electoral program and to honor the promises they gave to their electors. As a result, an ever larger section of the population is inclined to back up its demands through extra-parliamentary movements and action.¹³

This goes to create new conditions for the struggle by all democratic, anti-monopoly forces striving for a radical and progressive transformation of the society, and opposing the power of state-monopoly capitalism.

1. These problems are analyzed in the program of the GCP, adopted at its Mannheim congress (October 20-22, 1978), especially its Section Two.

2. These facts have been taken from *Staatsmonopolistischer Kapitalismus der Bundesrepublik Deutschland in Daten und Fakten*. Herausgegeben vom Institut für Marxistische Studien und Forschungen (IMSF), Frankfurt am Main 1981.

3. One-time president of the Federal Criminal Department, Horst Herold, who must be a competent person, wrote the following: "The immense potentialities for the processing of information would have made it possible to track an individual throughout the whole of his life, successively taking snapshots of him, obtaining a full picture and various profiles of his personality, registering, observing and controlling him in every sphere, in all his manifestations in life and, without any fear of forgetfulness, constantly to have the data so collected at one's disposal. The dangers of Big Brother (the data bank computer. — Ed.) are now no longer a matter of fiction. With the present level of technology, they are a reality" (H. Herold, *Polizeiliche Datenverarbeitung und Menschenrechte*, in: *Recht und Politik*, No. 2/1980, p. 81).

4. Thus, the archives at the disposal of electric power stations were used in the course of major search operations to identify those who rent, but rarely use small flats, and to organize surveillance over them. The authorities have taken every opportunity to collect as much data as possible on every citizen. For instance, in the FRG a person involved in a traffic accident has to fill out a questionnaire containing questions about his relatives, income, etc., although that has nothing to do with the accident.

5. An informative Marxist analysis of this matter for the FRG will be found in the following: W. Simon, *Macht und Herrschaft der Unternehmerverbände*. Köln 1976.

6. For several years now, the Bundestag has had a "list of associations" to register and thereby, in effect, to give accreditation to, the associations based in the capital and having some kind of interests to promote in the govern-

ment. In 1980, the list contained 1,100 such outfits.

7. The latest Marxist analysis of this problem will be found in H. Holzer, *Medien in der BRD*. Köln, 1980.

8. The GCP program, says, in particular, that big capital manipulates public opinion by means of the mass media "so as to disorient people, to obscure the radical difference between their interests and those of big capital, and to get them to reconcile themselves with authoritarian forms of domination." — Ed.

9. Friedhelm Kröll, "Vereine in der Lebensweise der Arbeiterklasse", in: *Marxistische Studien. Jahrbuch des IMSF*, Bd. 3, 1980.

10. For details see: G. Hautsch und K. Pickshaus.

Klassenautonomie und Einheitsgewerkschaft. Zur gewerkschaftlichen Klassenpolitik heute, in: *Marxistische Studien. Jahrbuch des IMSF*, Bd. 3, 1980.

11. *Der Spiegel*, January 15, 1979, p. 40.

12. *Welt der Arbeit*, August 30, 1979.

13. The GCP program says that in the atmosphere of "exacerbating economic crisis there is a growth of political instability. There is ever greater doubt about the capability of bourgeois governments to perform their functions. New conflicts also break out in the ranks of parties whose leadership advocates the capitalist system. Government programs and power conceptions tend to be outdated faster and faster." — Ed.

Nuclear power engineering: a boon or a menace?

John Baruch

Astrophysicist, Secretary of the Science & Technology
Sub-Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain

Political movements seeking to end the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes have sprung up in capitalist countries in recent years. These movements want the cancellation of plans for building new nuclear power stations and the closure of those already in operation.

The pivot of the ideas spread among the participants in these movements is above all the disbelief in the possibility of developing an ecologically safe technology for nuclear power stations. There are fears that power reactors can be used for producing fissionable materials for nuclear weapons, and there is a failure to take into account the fact that it is above all on politics and the scale of the struggle for peace that the use of nuclear power engineering exclusively for peaceful purposes is dependent.

The opponents of the nuclear power engineering development program argue that there is no necessity at all for developing this industry.

The stand of the communists is particularly important in this situation. In their programs for resolving the energy problems of their own countries, including where necessary the peaceful use of nuclear energy, the communist parties take the specific conditions obtaining in their countries into account. These programs put forward as their priorities the need to preserve and strengthen peace and improve the condition of the working people.

The following article analyzes the problems related to the development of nuclear power in the context of the struggle of the communists in Great Britain.

The weapons problem

The first British nuclear power station to produce electricity opened in 1956. Since then the nation's nuclear power facilities have slowly expanded and produce today 14 per cent of Britain's electricity. However, all nuclear power stations produce a certain amount of plutonium which may be used as a nuclear explosive after it is separated from the other chemical elements in the waste of the nuclear energy production process. Nuclear power stations are not the only source of plutonium for nuclear weapons. The will of a state to acquire nuclear weapons is determined by political factors. Today the nuclear arms race is whipped up by the militarist actions of the Reagan administration urged on by the Thatcher Cabinet. Their policies and their statements about the possibility of a "limited" nuclear war, the USA's decision to manufacture even more nuclear weapons and deploy new strategic missile systems are a serious threat to all the nations of the world.

In this situation access to nuclear weapons is sought, above all, by the most reactionary regimes. Here it should be clearly understood that the lack of uranium, plutonium, or energy reactors is a surmountable obstacle to the acquisition of the nuclear bomb. Uranium can be extracted from seawater at less than \$200 a kilo. Uranium is also present in small quantities in most types of granite rock. It is used in industry where small heavy weights or shields from gamma radiation are required. It is also used in golf clubs. It would not be difficult to produce plutonium from uranium with small commer-

cially available accelerators. Plutonium is the easiest route to nuclear explosives but there are others.

Since the principle of nuclear explosive devices and their manufacture has long ago ceased to be a secret, the manufacture of nuclear weapons is not a technological problem for any country that has university level physics and chemistry laboratories.

Consequently, a halt to the building of new nuclear power stations and the closure of operating stations are no guarantee that the world nuclear arsenal will not grow. This issue must be tackled politically.

The international community has tackled this problem and provided a solution. This is indicated in the nuclear non-proliferation treaty signed in 1968. The basis of the treaty lies in the guarantees made by the International Atomic Energy Agency. One of the most important of these guarantees is the obligation of the member-countries to the treaty to prevent "diversion of nuclear energy from peaceful uses to nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices." The treaty thereby provides a distinct dividing line between these two facets of nuclear energy.

At the 25th general conference of the IAEA in September 1981, it was reaffirmed that the system of guarantees was quite reliable, that it had the confidence of non-nuclear nations and conformed to their sovereign rights.

The problems of nuclear power engineering cannot be solved by closing nuclear power stations but by reinforcing the link between the development of peaceful nuclear power engineering and the guarantees against the proliferation of nuclear weapons. This must be campaigned for by the peoples of the world.

It is important to note that opposition by nuclear imperialist states to nuclear disarmament has contributed to the emergence of the movement against the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. The situation is compounded by the mistrust by large bodies of opinion in capitalist countries of their governments. This mistrust confronts their proclaimed use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. It is essential that the further development of nuclear power engineering should be placed under open democratic supervision.

The possibility of "nuclear terrorism" has lately been raised in Britain. Such "terrorists" would manufacture a bomb and use it for the purposes of extortion against governments and organizations. However, it is extremely difficult, if not entirely impossible, to make a bomb on an amateur basis. This is why the talks

about "nuclear terrorism" cannot be accepted. Of course, the problem of terrorism exists in the capitalist world. But, like the problem of access to nuclear weapons it is linked not to scientific and technological breakthroughs but to the social atmosphere, to the specific political situation in one country or another.

Safety aspects

The safety aspects of nuclear facilities are part of the problem of safety in industry. It is part of the larger and perennially pressing political and social problem of creating normal, hazard-free conditions of work and ensuring that industry does not endanger those who live near it.

The struggle for safety in nuclear power stations should be considered in the context of the working people's struggle for safety in all industries. Consider the experience of the British miners. Many years ago they won the right to have their own organization and their own representatives in the management of the old mining companies in order to supervise safety procedures. This experience has been developed by working people in Britain and the 1974 Health and Safety at Work Act was a great advance for the working class. Trade unionists gained the right in law to representation on safety committees and to information about toxic chemicals and processes used in production. The system founded on this act covers nuclear power engineering.

In the mind of the general public, nuclear power engineering is associated with nuclear bombs and many people believe that nuclear reactors can explode like nuclear bombs. They are wrong. Nuclear reactors cannot explode like nuclear bombs. The main danger lies in the accidental release of radioactive material. This would threaten the lives not only of the station personnel but also of the population in the vicinity. The consequences of a very serious accident of this kind at a large nuclear power station could be comparable to the chemical contamination of a locality as a result of an explosion in a large chemical plant.

In the early days of nuclear power, people trusted the scientists. Such trust failed to recognize that the scientists would not necessarily have the same view of what was an acceptable safety level as the people. Nor would scientists necessarily understand the operating pressures in a capitalist environment which would reduce the effectiveness of safety procedures. Every nuclear power station (all are run by the nationalized Central Electricity Generating Board) has a health and safety committee with

representatives from the trade unions. Safety problems are discussed by the management and the trade unions both separately and jointly. The nuclear power engineering industry's safety monitoring system in Britain is far better than in other capitalist countries. Nonetheless, there are many problems. No reliable solution has been proven for the problem of the long-term disposal of nuclear waste. As yet there is only a limited amount of waste and it is either buried in the ground or stored in steel containers. However, as the number of nuclear power stations grows there will be more waste. This problem is of particular importance for small countries with a high population density.

The most serious threats to the safety of the British nuclear power industry are the possible effects of the tough austerity policy pursued by the Tory government. The Three Mile Island accident in the USA could be directly attributable to the lack of maintenance of the back-up equipment and to inexperienced staff operating the reactor because the company had not hired sufficient experienced staff. The Thatcher government is making the same mistake. It has cut the factory inspectorate and does not allow the nuclear inspectorate sufficient money to be adequately staffed. This is making the British working people's struggle against the government's economic policy a struggle for safety in the nuclear power industry.

The British Communist Party holds that the development of the nuclear power industry should include public consultations. This stand was spelled out in the statement of the Communist Party's executive of September 9, 1979. The executive suggests, in particular, a public discussion of the questions of improving safety at nuclear power stations and protecting the environment nationwide. It links the problems generated by the growth of the nuclear power industry with the effects of the use and production of other forms of energy. It insists that the nuclear inspectorate and other services of all nuclear power stations must be adequately staffed with trained personnel.

Against the monopolies, in the interest of the working people

For the British working class the energy problem is to maintain the jobs of workers in the energy industry and ensure that energy in sufficient quantity would be available to a future Left government determined to end unemployment and break the grip of the multinationals on the British economy. The British people also have a direct interest in safe, cheap and appropriate energy supplies now. Energy

is a crippling burden on the budget of most families. The country has large deposits of coal, and there are large deposits of oil and gas in the North Sea.

Nuclear power engineering is a new technology for the production of energy. In capitalist society all new technology presents threats to the living standards of working people. The ruling class uses scientific and technological advances to change working conditions; with the aid of electronic systems it is redetermining the levels of management control; the switch to new, more productive operations undermines job security and increases the level of unemployment. The monopolies are out to smash trade-union power for a new offensive against the living standards of the working class. The programs of the nuclear power industry in the capitalist countries can be used as in Great Britain to attack the power of the coal miners.

The Tory government proposes to build 10 new nuclear power stations. Each one of these will reduce the annual demand for coal by over two million tons. This represents a lot of jobs in coal mining, railways, and other associated industries, with only a handful of new jobs in the nuclear industry.

The Communist Party of Great Britain is opposed to the nuclear industry being used in the interests of the monopolies to attack the strength of the trade unions in the mining industry. We contend that the output of coal should be increased to an annual 200 million tons by the year 2000 if not earlier. The communists maintain that for the next 20 years the generation of electricity in Britain should be based on coal, limited development of nuclear power, and better use of renewable energy sources like the wind, the tides and the waves.

A major hallmark of the use of new technology is the greater centralization of control and decision-making. Management is, as a rule, becoming less democratic and more secretive. The nuclear power industry is no exception. This policy is one more reason for the negative attitude of many people to nuclear power engineering. For instance, British Nuclear Fuels, a subsidiary of the Atomic Energy Authority, is giving workers a reason to be angry. It has banned strikes and vets the workforce for "subversives." This impinges on the democratic rights of the working people. Workers employed at BNF plants have had to struggle for their right to strike.

The Communist Party of Great Britain has worked out an alternative economic strategy aimed at taking the economic initiative from

the multinationals. A Left government adopting this strategy would also wish to end the present situation where the export of North Sea oil allows the multinationals to import goods. Many of these are energy-intensive goods. But the nation has adequate energy resources of its own to produce aluminium, paper, fertilizers and steel. To pay for these goods with oil, means to contribute to the wealth of the monopolies and reduce the population's living standards.

Moreover, oil and coal are not only key fuels. For Britain they are an invaluable chemical raw material. To conserve these resources, use must be made of alternative energy sources, including nuclear energy, which is much more dependable than solar or wind energy. The uranium shortage is not a hindrance to the development of the nuclear power industry. This difficulty can be overcome by building fast neutron reactors which both burn plutonium and convert the non-fissile uranium into plutonium and can be made to produce more nuclear fuel than they burn. These reactors extract considerably more energy than conventional reactors from the mined uranium. In the long-term the energy problem will be solved with the help of thermonuclear installations:

these use water for fuel. Researchers may possibly develop processes allowing electrical energy to be produced directly without steam boilers or radioactive waste.

The main opposition to nuclear power inside the British labor movement comes from the coal miners. Opposition also comes from workers in some other industries, intellectuals and students, who see the nuclear power industry as the "monster of industrialized society" that must be destroyed. Many are socialists and they have a vision of a new society, but they fail to recognize the role of industry in freeing people from want, and they fail to see the essential role of science and new technology to realize their dreams. Nuclear power stations are an important source of energy that will help to achieve that aim more quickly, if they are integrated into a proper energy policy. There must be democratic control of each nuclear power installation including representatives of the local community and trade unions. The output of electricity at nuclear power stations can coexist successfully with the production of electricity at conventional thermal power stations.

It is the communists' view that Britain should help the new nation-states, especially those that are short of oil, coal and currency, to develop modern power-generating processes. This would help to speed up the advancement of these states. The British working class can share its extensive experience of running nuclear power stations.

Conclusions

It is clear that nuclear power in Britain can be considered as a possible energy source; an energy source that can be critically supported by the Left in Britain under certain conditions. The record of the nuclear industry in this country is impressive, its organization of safety is acceptable but there must be concern about the undermapping of the safety and nuclear inspectorates and the limited democratic involvement in the safety procedures.

The Communist Party supports the cautious development of nuclear power while opposing the Tory government's use of nuclear power for political purposes, especially the destruction of miners' jobs. The Communist Party policy is for nuclear power to be used to benefit working people. It is a basis for the unity of those intellectuals concerned about the effects of nuclear power and large scale industry, with the labor movement. Such unity is an important component of the socialist transformation of society.

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Trade unions in revolution

Domingos Abrantes,
CC Political Commission and Secretariat member,
Portuguese CP

An acute political and ideological struggle has been under way over the problems of the Portuguese trade union movement, its orientation, structure and activity virtually since the day of the revolution on April 25, 1974. All the political forces of the country have devoted much attention to these problems. They were brought to the fore in Portugal's political life in January 1975, when an act on a single trade union organization was being discussed.¹

The enactment of the law led to a broad confrontation between those who strove to carry on the revolution and those who sought to slow it down or to reverse it altogether. The latter were trying to divide the working people and to set up a trade union organization coming out against the elimination of the power of the monopolies and latifundists.

The former camp included the Portuguese Communist Party, other democratic organization, the working-class movement and the armed forces movement. The latter camp included the Socialist Party and all the reactionary parties.

The passage of an act on a single trade union center signified an important victory for the working-class movement in the country. The working people, with their integrated, solid and militant class organizations acting in a revolutionary spirit, became the motive force of powerful popular-democratic action. They had the crucial role to play in the transformations which were effected after the April Revolution and in defending freedoms and the democratic regime.

Having started the struggle for economic and social demands and for the immediate improvement of living and working conditions, the working class and all the other working people also set themselves important political goals. Raising their revolutionary vigilance with respect to the capitalists, they exposed and cut short economic sabotage, prevented the closure of enterprises and the winding up of jobs, exposed hotbeds of counter-revolution inspired by monopoly capital, exercised workers' control in practice and took an active part in the

political struggle. All of this led to the creation of conditions for eliminating the power of the monopolies and latifundists.

On April 30, 1974, only six days after the fall of the fascist government, the bank employees union called on its members to keep a close watch on what the bankers were about. The employees, led by their class organization, displayed a high level of consciousness and laid before the Revolutionary Council incontrovertible proof that the owners of banks were weaving a plot against the democratic regime. When the banks were nationalized, after the failure of the counter-revolutionary putsch on March 11, 1975, their activity was, in effect, under the working people's control.

The agricultural workers of Alentejo and Ribatejo, led by their union, took over the abandoned lands, resumed their cultivation and paved the way for an agrarian reform which was enacted later and led to the break-up of the latifundias in the south of the country.

Thus, it was the working people, fighting for concrete goals, that paved the way for the nationalization of the big monopolies and banks, and for the agrarian reform. Many aspects of the new socio-economic reality which emerged because of the revolution originated from revolutionary practice long before they were enacted in various laws or the constitution. Otherwise, the great gains of April 25 would have been impossible under a political power that was frequently hostile to the socio-economic transformations.

In the new situation created by the counter-revolutionary offensive, the working-class movement, resisting the policy of re-establishing capitalism, latifundism and imperialism, has once again shown itself to be the most active and determined force in defending the democratic regime and its accomplishments.

The unitary trade unions — the General Confederation of Portuguese Working People (CGTP-IN),² the trade-union center whose establishment is a historical gain for the working people — has the most important role to play in organizing the working class and popu-

lar movement and in enhancing its militancy. By its class and revolutionary orientation and consistent defense of the interests of the masses and the democratic regime, it has won tremendous prestige and constitutes a solid bulwark for the working people.

Portugal's unitary trade union movement has its roots deep in the history of the long struggle against fascism and is closely bound up with the activity of the communists.

The "old" trade union movement was liquidated in 1933, when the fascist dictatorship suppressed freedom, outlawed the trade unions and decreed the establishment of corporative-fascist outfits. Work in the corporative trade unions, on which the PCP insisted, provided opportunities, despite the fierce repression, to put honest people at the head of many of them and to convert them into an instrument of struggle for the class interests and demands of the working people.

When the fascist dictatorship fell, nearly 40 sectoral trade unions,³ with a membership of hundreds of thousands of working people, were already headed by people who had the confidence of their class, and most of them were communists. These trade unions held meetings attended by thousands of working people (4,000 metallurgists, 5,000 employees in commerce, 7,000 bank employees). They staged demonstrations for higher wages and shorter working hours, abolition of arbitrary laws and re-establishment of trade union rights.

Within a few months before the April 25 Revolution, in a matter of days, almost 36,000 signatures were collected under a demand to abolish the law by means of which fascism tried to eliminate the trade unions it did not control. They had their own mass media and played a key role in exposing the mechanism of capitalist exploitation and in shaping the class consciousness of the working people. A solid core of leaders with a revolutionary spirit, steeled in battles against the dictatorship and with extensive organizational experience was formed. Its existence was of exceptional importance for the development of the trade union movement and the revolution itself.

When fascism collapsed, it was this core that, together with other democrats, got down to reorganizing the movement.

The lackeys of the employers and fascism were expelled from the corporative trade unions; the working people which had, until then, been deprived of the right even to form corporative trade unions (for instance, farm workers, fishermen, employees of the local and

central state apparatus, education system and others) began to set up their class organizations. Intersindical, which was organized clandestinely in October 1970 to coordinate the activity of the trade unions which had escaped from the fascists' control, soon developed into a major force organizing and mobilizing the masses. Eventually, following the great demonstrations in its support, Intersindical was recognized by the Revolutionary Council as the one and only true trade union center of the Portuguese working people.

The movement then went through a stage of radical reorganization. There was a need to rebuild, in the light of the new reality, the corporative structure inherited from fascism. It rested on 325 trade unions, of which 143 were based on the principle of "non-vertical" spheres of activity, and 182 — on trades, with all being deprived of the possibility of having an integrated leadership.

These trade unions, despite their corporativist character and tremendous difficulties and restrictions created by fascism, were large-scale mass associations. They had a larger percentage of unionized working people as compared with any other capitalist country, and this is all the more remarkable considering that they had to operate under the fascist dictatorship.⁴

After the collapse of the fascist dictatorship, in the atmosphere of freedom, the trade union movement, purged of the lackeys of the employers, acquired a new dynamism and actively joined in the revolutionary process. Virtually every major political battle involved the trade unions who carried out explanatory work among the working people and organized and mobilized them for the struggle.

Working people in trades who were earlier unable to set up their class associations (April 25 gave this right to about a million men and women) got down to setting up their own trade unions, with a structure up to democratic standards, and these were soon joined by hundreds of thousands of people. Out of the army of wage-workers numbering 2.3 million, 2.1 million were then unionized.

The trade unions were transformed into profoundly democratic organizations as thousands of working people attended broad trade union meetings to discuss their immediate problems and the problems of the revolution, and as direct and regular ties were established between the leadership and the grass roots.

According to aggregated data for 1980, the country had 338 trade unions with a member-

ship of 1,969,060, out of a total of 2.5 million wage-workers. These figures show that the Portuguese trade union movement remained massive despite all the ups and downs of social development, despite the unemployment (over 300,000 persons), which inflicted the greatest hardship on young people in search of their first job, and in defiance of the stubborn efforts by the enemies of the revolution to wipe out the organized force of the working people.

CGTP-IN, now the country's largest trade union center, has 201 affiliated trade unions with 1.5 million working people, and enjoys tremendous prestige. Together with trade unions which are not affiliated with Inter-sindical, but which are regularly involved in the activity of its various structures, the Confederation represents 77 per cent of the existing trade unions and 85 per cent of the working people.⁵ Its strength, influence and dynamism are due to its consistently revolutionary and class orientation, its genuine democratic structures, its constant and deep-going bonds with the masses, and its ability to stand up for the unitary nature of the trade union movement in the country in extremely difficult conditions. At every level within it, including the central leadership, there are highly diverse political forces (communists, socialists and other left-wingers, and Catholics), that is, people who, regardless of their political and ideological choice, cooperate on a common platform in defense of the working people's unity, of the democratic regime and its gains.

In the extremely fluid and frequently contradictory conditions of a capitalist country in which transformations of a socialist character have taken place, the concrete work of the trade unions has become especially difficult and requires of the revolutionary leaders great ideological firmness and tactical flexibility. They have succeeded in winning the trust of the masses, by fighting for the satisfaction of the working people's vital needs within the framework of the more general interests of the revolutionary movement and rebuffing leftist adventurism and reformist demagoguery. Defense of the long-term interests of the working people is inseparable from the effort to consolidate the gains of the revolution.

The April Revolution has effected deep-going socio-economic transformations. In the key industries (oil, air, ground and marine transport, ferrous metallurgy, petrochemistry, electrical industry, etc.) 254 enterprises have been nationalized. The state is now involved in the operations of roughly 300 other enterprises. The public (nationalized) sector controls 38 per

cent of the registered capital, 14 per cent of the labor force and the key industries, and has become the crucial sector of the economy. An extensive self-managed social sector consisting of workers' producer cooperatives and self-managed enterprises has also taken shape.

As a result of the agrarian reform, 540 producer cooperatives and producer collective farms have emerged in the south, with 20 per cent of the land fit for cultivation withdrawn from the sphere of capitalist exploitation.

Portugal has released itself from the power of the monopolies and the latifundia. In these conditions, the working people's struggle has been given a qualitatively new content. It is characterized not only by the formulation of socio-economic demands. Alongside the diverse action in defense of their rights and for better living conditions, the working people also want to have an active role in solving the country's major problems. They defend the nationalized sector, take part in the rehabilitation of enterprises and in the organization of production, and exercise workers' control. They stand up for the agrarian reform, not only fighting to preserve the right to own land, but also seeking to turn out more produce of a higher quality and to improve the management of cooperatives and collective farms. The CC report to the ninth congress of the PCP in May 1979 says: "For the first time in Portugal's history, labor has become a form of political action and revolutionary struggle."

Revolutionary action by the masses in defense of their social rights is inseparable from defense of the major gains and freedoms enshrined in the constitution. Our party's assumption is that "the re-establishment of the economic power of the monopoly groups and latifundists would signify the re-establishment of their political power, the liquidation of political democracy and the establishment of a new dictatorship." The mass struggle in the most diverse forms (strikes, rallies, large-scale demonstrations), exerting pressure on the organs of power and the entrepreneurs, and the participation by the working people in solving concrete problems at individual enterprises and of the whole population, continue to be crucial in the country's political and social life.

The working class, with its solid organizational basis — the unitary trade unions rallied round the CGTP-IN — is at the center of a broad, powerful and militant movement resisting the offensive of reaction. The forms and content of the demands made by participants in the mass movement are closely bound up with

the general political situation and the concrete character of the government's actions.

Just now, the working people are holding their front against the general offensive of the entrepreneurs and the authorities. The policy of re-establishing the power of capitalism, latifundism and imperialism, launched by the Socialist Party government, and continued and sharply intensified by the "Democratic Alliance" reactionary governments, has seriously infringed the people's freedoms, rights and living conditions.

Repression on the part of the employers has acquired extensive scope. Trade union activists are being victimized through unwarranted lay-offs, harassment and discrimination. Rights and freedoms are violated and curbs and bans are imposed on the activity of the working people's class organizations. The forms of exploitation are being intensified and made more diverse. Unemployment is growing. There is an increase in group lay-offs, especially at the enterprises of the transnational corporations. The government is trying to put a ceiling on wages. One of the main purposes of its policy is to toughen up the exploitation.

The mass resistance to the offensive by reaction is led by the CGTP-IN. Defense of the right to collective bargaining is an important sector of the struggle against the employers and the government. The system of such collective agreements enacts into legislation many of the basic gains won by the working people from their employers by revolutionary means. The latter now want to put an end to this legality.

The trade unions, mobilizing broad masses of people and acting simultaneously in various industries, oppose the "freezing" of collective agreements and the establishment of ceilings for wages, and have been standing up in defense of their gains in social rights and guarantees.⁶

The enterprises have also become bridge-heads of struggle against the arbitrary acts of the employers, economic sabotage and the attempts to invalidate the working people's gains. The following figures show, on the one hand, that the employers have stepped up their offensive and, on the other, that the masses are ever more resolved to resist it. In 1977, there were 318 actions in industry, with 145 taking the form of strikes. In 1978, the figures were, respectively, 980 and 274, in 1979 — 1,347 and 409, in 1980 — 1,036 and 315, and in the first half of 1981 — 839 and 175 (the last two figures are the result of the retention of power by the rightists).

The scope, militancy and success of the mass

movement would have been impossible without the solid organizational base which it has. But then they would have also been impossible without the correct definition of the goals in each given situation, without the rout of leftist dogmatism and reformist opportunism, and their views of the role of the trade union movement in the country's political life.

Portugal is the only country in capitalist Europe in which the power of the monopolies has been liquidated. The leftists, underestimating the importance of the socio-economic transformations effected by the revolution and failing to understand that the broad freedoms enjoyed by the working people are inseparable from these important gains, deny the revolutionary character of workers' control and of the working people's participation in tackling the problems of nationalized enterprises. Although the content of workers' control depends on the political situation and on the character and concrete orientation of the forces in power, in democratic Portugal it remains an important front of struggle in defense of freedom, and against the policy of re-establishing capitalism. In our country, workers' control does not signify class collaboration. Being a revolutionary gain secured and defended by the organized forces of the working people, it has become an important instrument in the fight against the employers.

The reformists, headed by the Socialist Party, are terrified by the mass movement and in their advocacy of the interests of capital preach social peace for the sake of rehabilitating the economy. They say that the goal of the trade union movement is "a policy of accord between labor and capital," a "social pact" or — the latest formula — a "social contract." The reformists seek to solve the hard problems of the Portuguese economy through intensified exploitation of the working people and greater sacrifices on their part.

But all the efforts to impose a "social pact" on the masses — whether through the efforts of the Socialist Party government or the right-wing "Democratic Alliance" government — have failed. The rise of the struggle and its content clearly show that the working-class movement has no intention of sacrificing itself for the sake of so-called national interests. In democratic Portugal, the "social pact" is doomed for the simple reason that its realization implies the existence of a reformist trade-union movement with some kind of basis among the masses, and there is no such movement in the country.

In the course of the revolution, the Portuguese working people provided adequate

proof that they are capable of making tremendous sacrifices, to boost production, working without pay, rehabilitating enterprises which suffered from the employers' sabotage or cultivating waste lands. Developments have confirmed that the level of revolutionary energy, the extent of participation in solving the country's problems and readiness to accept austerity depend directly on the prospects for the development of the political situation.

That is why the unitary trade union movement, resorting to diverse forms of struggle, with emphasis on strikes and street demonstrations, and tying in the immediate economic demands with defense of the freedoms and the great gains of the revolution, regards as its central and primary task the demand for a democratic policy and a government capable of solving the country's serious problems, and ensuring a solid and developing democratic regime.

The militant participation of the working class in political life has an influence on other social strata (peasants, merchants, intelligentsia) which take an ever more active stand in defense of their interests. The mass movement is the dynamic and unifying factor behind a broad alliance of social forces resisting reaction and demanding a democratic alternative.

The collapse of governments which pursued a policy of re-establishing capitalism confirms that in post-April Portugal, it is impossible to tackle any major problem facing the nation without the working people, let alone in defiance of the working people and their class organizations. The unitary trade union movement is organized, dynamic, internally well-knit and exerts an influence on the masses, so having the key role to play in the social alliance which is resisting the offensive of reaction.

The main condition for the victorious struggle of the workers is their class unity, and that is impossible without trade union unity. That is precisely why there has been an increase and intensification of splinter and provocative actions directed against it.

The attempts to split the Portuguese trade union movement are not a novel development: that has been the constant goal of reaction, for the achievement of such a split has always been a part of its plans aimed to hold back the revolutionary process. The enemies of the revolution want to use the division of the democratic forces, and pin great hopes on provocative and splitting actions directed against the working-class movement.

The country's trade unions are engaged in an

intense struggle to maintain their unitary character. They are going through a responsible moment which is of special importance for the destiny of the movement, and for democracy itself and its gains. The defeats inflicted on the splitters should not obscure the real dangers threatening this unity. The enemies of the working class have not put down their arms. Defeated today, they are bound to resume their attack tomorrow. The reformists, internal and external reaction will not be reconciled with the existence of a class trade union movement with a mass basis, united and moved by a revolutionary spirit. Acting in defense of the working people's unity, it has become the main barrier to the restoration of capitalism and latifundism, and liquidation of the gains of the revolution.

The splinter activity in the trade union sphere has entered upon a new phase with the establishment of a so-called General Union of Working People (UGT) and the effort to turn it into a real trade union center. This "yellow center," which emerged outside the ranks of the working people, is the handiwork of the Socialist Party and international reaction. Politically, it relies on the alliance of the socialists with the reactionary forces, especially with the government parties, on the basis of an anti-labor political platform aimed against the main gains of the revolution. The Socialist Party seeks to use this social bloc for further political accords with the parties of big capital, something that it has stubbornly sought.

But in our country's concrete conditions, efforts to split the trade union movement are not easy and can bring no glory. Unitary attitudes have been firmly entrenched in the minds of the working people. The fact that reformism as an ideological trend, has no important support in the working class creates additional difficulties for the splitters. Nor have their hopes of ranging the working people in the sphere of the services against the industrial workers — yet another line of action by the splinter forces — been justified.

Primitive anti-communism, crude speculation on corporative prejudices, demagoguery, intrigues and slanders against the CGTP-IN, which has been tagged with a "totalitarian" label, have not yielded any successes. The influence of the "yellow center" on the working people continues to be extremely weak.

Nevertheless, with the general offensive by reaction against the democratic regime and the working-class movement, it would be a grave mistake to believe that the danger is posed only by those forces which are influenced by the

splitters. They have considerable financial resources coming in above all from the FRG and the United States, and this makes it possible to "fabricate" trade unions. The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and the AFL-CIO have set up their offices in Portugal. They have been training splinter trade union personnel and are actively involved in the formation of a so-called "democratic trade union movement".

The Friedrich Ebert, Friedrich Neumann and Konrad Adenauer Foundations (all West German) provide finances for the funds and institutions connected with the Portuguese parties of the "sacred" anti-trade-union alliances, that is, with the Socialist Party, the Social Democratic Party and the Socialist Democratic Center. In 1980 alone, the Adenauer Foundation (CDU) and the Ebert Foundation (SDPG) remitted to the Social Democratic Center and the Socialist Party, respectively, DM 1.5 million and DM 2.5 million.

Notorious CIA agents, with much experience in fighting the international working-class and trade union movement (M. Boggs, I. Brown, Palladino and others) maintain contacts with the UGT.

The AFL-CIO has started to flood our trade unions with propaganda publications in Portuguese. The bulletin of the international department of AFL-CIO once carried an article by George Meany which said: "The people must know that the AFL-CIO is very active in establishing the necessary ties with the free trade unions of both countries (meaning Portugal and Spain — D.A.) ... In addition, the U.S. labor unions have acted through international secretariats helping to strengthen the positions of unions opposed to communist domination and infiltration."⁷

The coordination of the splitters' activity with the government, begun under the socialists and deepened under the reactionary "Democratic Alliance" governments, has intensified the provocative character of the policy of the "yellow" unions. A minister in the Soares government and a member of the SP National Secretariat, Maldonado Gonelha, insisting on the passing of a labor law (known as the contribution law) clearly stated that his task was to "break the back of Intersindical." Among the primary aims of that law was financial strangulation of the unitary trade union movement and encouragement of withdrawal from trade union membership. That is yet another line of the offensive.

The splitters now hope not so much to spread their influence among the broad masses as to

sow, above all, confusion and disorganization so as to encourage withdrawal from trade union membership. Gonelha clearly explained the meaning of this activity when he said that, as compared with other Western democracies, Portugal had an abnormally broad unionization of working people.

The enemies of the trade union movement have made a number of miscalculations. Despite the dangers and threats, the working people have every reason to look to the future with confidence. With its experience, militancy and revolutionary consciousness, the working class constitutes the main core of the trade union movement. With the great concentration of industry,⁸ when PCP organizations with hundreds of members are active at the major enterprises, and when over 90 per cent of workers are unionized, it is possible to build up a solid bulwark of the revolutionary front at each enterprise.

Only those who carry on a resolute struggle and stand up for the interests of the working people consistently and on principle can hope to win the confidence of the masses and to lead them. In this struggle, victory will belong to the CGTP-IN, in which the crucial role belongs to the communists, who are the most influential and organized force in the unitary trade union movement.

The communists are its vanguard. They have won the confidence of the masses by their selfless struggle against fascism, and their consistent defense of the working people's interests. Portugal's unitary trade union movement is their historical gain. Together with the communists, members of other political trends, above all the socialists who reject the splinter activity of their party's leaders, are also acting in defense of trade union unity.

The profoundly democratic nature of the structures of this movement at every level is the basis for its existence and a guarantee of its strength. The report to the third congress of the CGTP-IN (March 1980) says: "The most real evidence of the atmosphere of unity which has always reigned in the CGTP-IN leadership is the fact that there has never been a need for voting in the Secretariat (35 persons) or in the Executive Committee (9 persons). This means that the natural distinctions in standpoint have always been overcome by the high class-consciousness and loyalty to revolutionary principles by which the CGTP-IN is guided."

The possibility of replacing leaders who lose the working people's confidence at regular and periodical elections, and the fact that the leaders live and act "in the public eye," that they do

not enjoy any privileges, and their close bonds with the masses — all of this helps to strengthen the class spirit of the unitary trade union movement, to enhance its prestige and to increase its influence.

The Portuguese Communist Party insists, without compromise, on respect for the autonomy and independence of the trade unions as the basis for unity and the authority of the movement. When communists who are members of the union and who have won the working people's trust are elected to the leadership of class organs, that is not due to any reference on their part to their membership in the PCP, but to what they have done or are prepared to do in defense of the interests of the working class.

1. It recognized Intersindical as the sole trade union center of the Portuguese working people.

2. CGTP-IN (Genral Confederation of Portuguese Working People—National Intersindical), the new name adopted by Intersindical in 1977. — Ed.

3. Commerce, banking and office employees, metallurgists, electricians, etc.

4. In 1969, trade union membership totalled 841,818 (or about 60 per cent of the 1.4 million wage workers who were able to unionize). Let us bear in mind that the working people of some of the above mentioned categories were not even allowed to set up the corporative-fascist type of trade unions.

5. CGTP-IN has decisive influence in workers' unions (93 per cent) and involves important categories of working people like metallurgists, chemical workers, builders, workers in agriculture, employees of the state apparatus, education, commerce and so on.

6. The following figures show the scale and dynamics of the struggle in this area. In 1979, there were 77 sectoral strikes of various forms in 56 industries. They involved 1.2 million strikers. In 1980, there were 159 strikes in 115 industries, involving over 2 million people. In the first half of 1981 alone, there were 98 strikes affecting 68 industries and involving 1.7 million persons.

7. Here is a curious detail. Sol Chaikin, President of the Ladies' Garment Workers Union, boasted during a visit to the United States by the General Secretary of the Socialist Party Mario Soares in April 1977, that he had been among the first to "finance the Socialist Party's struggle against the communist threat."

8. 2.7 per cent of the enterprises employ 53.4 per cent of the working people; 24 major enterprises alone, employing over 200,000 persons, concentrate 8.3 per cent of the entire economically active population.

The people versus NATO

Santiago Alvarez

CC member, Communist Party of Spain

On November 15, 1981, half a million Spaniards met on the vast campus of Madrid University to say no to their country's entry into NATO.

From 9 a.m. to noon, people streamed from subway stations and nearby streets to the university. Tens of thousands of young men and women, working people, veterans of the struggle for democracy and social rights, women and children, whole families surged on like a huge sea wave over which there swayed countless balloons, national flags, red and white pennants and emblems of the CPS, SSWP¹ and two major trade union organizations — the Workers' Commissions and the General Union of Workers.

The demonstrators carried hundreds of posters and slogans of youth groups (the Communist Youth League and others) and diverse civic associations. The action, sponsored by the SSWP, CPS and labor union centers, drew 200 youth, women's, neighborhood, parents', ecologists' and other organizations and alignments, all of which lent it a truly popular and national character.

It was not the first mass action of Spaniards

against NATO. In October 1981, about 70,000 demonstrators took to the streets in response to the call of the Madrid Committee of the CPS. Tens of thousands joined in numerous demonstrations in provincial capitals. Besides, our party handed the government the first pages of a petition bearing 500,000 signatures. The collection of signatures among the population by members of CPS branches is continuing.

The mass demonstration on November 15, 1981 under the slogan "For peace, disarmament and freedom" owed its scale to its unitary character. It showed that unity means strength and adds enormously to the impact of popular action.

There is no one in Spain who has not come out against nuclear war, against developments likely to culminate in a new world conflict that would threaten to destroy humanity. It is a different matter, however, how many people are ready to fight, to join in specific actions that could help avert catastrophe. Significantly enough, the November demonstration in Madrid went beyond the Left and those who sympathize with it, expressing as it did the civic

will of far larger sections of the people.

The demonstration came several days after the Congress of Deputies had decided by a majority vote to apply for the admission of Spain to NATO. The Senate approved the decision and the Council of Ministers resolved to go ahead with the matter as was to be expected. We do not know whether by the time these lines are published Spain will have joined the military bloc conforming to U.S. imperialism's political objectives and plans, or whether it will still be "at the threshold" because some NATO country will have vetoed Spanish membership. Be that as it may, the struggle is far from being over.

"The Executive Committee," said a statement of the EC CPS analyzing the results of the November demonstration, "congratulates the CPS and SSWP organizations and all other political groups, trade unions and public organizations as well as the intellectuals and artists who on November 15 convened and joined in the demonstration 'For Peace, Disarmament and Freedom' on the great success exemplified by the response of 500,000 people who clearly demonstrated their will for a peaceful and democratic Spain unaligned with any military pact.

"That impressive popular demonstration will undoubtedly find an echo both nationally and internationally along with other anti-war demonstrations taking place all over Europe.

"The EC considers that the demonstration on November 15 should not remain a single action and that such actions should be continued throughout the country in various forms. Accordingly, it calls for the unfolding of similar initiatives at diverse levels, in forms considered more adequate in each locality."²

This approach is entirely in harmony with the overall policy line adopted by the tenth CPS congress. To stave off a nuclear war, safeguard world peace, prevent Spain's entry into NATO from strengthening this alliance and contribute to the effort for the dissolution of military blocs are tasks inseparable from the eurocommunist strategy of the CPS.

As far back as April 1978, theses approved by the ninth CPS congress, the first after the party's emergence from illegality, made the following statement: "The CPS declares clearly and without qualification against the planned entry of our country into NATO. In so doing, we are prompted by the interests of Spain and peaceful coexistence. Entry into NATO would make for strengthening military blocs and stepping up the arms race in Europe, which is detrimental to security and peace. Besides, entry into

NATO would have dire consequences for the economy of the country and seriously prejudice the Spanish armed forces notwithstanding selfish propaganda declarations. A further grave consequence would be the inclusion of the whole of Spain, particularly the Canaries and Baleares, in the strategic control sphere of NATO under the aegis of the United States. Besides, entry into NATO would condition developments from without, a circumstance whose unfavorable effects on the democratic process are evident."³

We communists have always fought against unjust wars. A characteristic of capitalism, they cause untold suffering to the peoples, primarily the working people. "Socialists," Lenin pointed out, "have always condemned wars between nations as barbarous and brutal" (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 21, p. 299). However, Lenin saw the fundamental difference between just and unjust wars. "There have been in the past numerous wars," he wrote, "which, despite all the horrors, atrocities, distress and suffering that inevitably accompany all wars, were progressive, i.e., benefited the development of mankind by helping to destroy most harmful and reactionary institutions (e.g., an autocracy or serfdom) ..." (ibid.). It is well known that in this century two world wars — an expression of the crisis of capitalist domination — also paved the way for revolutionary change contrary to the intentions and will of imperialism. The revolutions that were accomplished transformed the globe.

But now that there are nuclear weapons, including the neutron bomb, and a stockpile of other monstrous means of mass destruction, the situation is entirely different. Some are talking about a limited nuclear war in Europe (a statement to this effect was made recently by U.S. President Reagan, who mentioned the possibility of using the neutron bomb). Experts consider that should a nuclear war break out in Europe, it would devastate the continent in a mere three days. The use of strategic nuclear arms would make any war a world war, a conflict engulfing the whole planet.

Unlike earlier wars, a world war could no longer lead to a new revolutionary advance. The whole of humanity would be sacrificed. Fire and destruction, or the "deluge" to use the biblical term, would not spare the gains of previous revolutions either. Could a Noah's Ark be found to save at least a fraction of humankind from extinction?

The future of our communist ideals, too, depends entirely on the struggle to stave off nuclear war and to preserve and strengthen peace.

It is from this point of view and with due regard to the specific interests of the peoples inhabiting Spain, that we communists approach this acute problem. Even if Spain is dragged into NATO we will never stop fighting against the move. In fact, the need to fight for the prevention of a new world conflagration that would unquestionably assume a nuclear character will be greater than ever if this happens.

The government of the Democratic Center Union (DCU) under Calvo Sotelo secured ample support during the parliamentary debate on the planned entry into NATO. Although the DCU is in a deep crisis and has split,⁴ all of its MPs voted for the plan. The plan was backed not only by the government majority but by the still more rightist Popular Alliance under Fraga Iribarne, as expected. They were joined by MPs representing the views of the nationalist bourgeoisie of Catalonia and Euskadi — from Convergence and Alliance and the Basque Nationalist Party. What happened was a "coincidence of class interests," a "convergence" of views since the DCU and the above political groups differ seriously on other issues, particularly on the powers and prerogatives of the autonomous governments headed by them.⁵

The attitude adopted by parliament is contrary to Spanish public opinion. This was confirmed not only by the Madrid demonstration but by other facts. On October 20, or the eve of the parliamentary debate, the newspaper *Pais* published the results of a poll showing that 52 per cent of Spaniards were in principle against entry into NATO and only 18.1 per cent were for it. The overwhelming majority of the population (69 per cent of the polled) considered it necessary to hold a referendum on the issue. In that case, 44 per cent would be willing to vote against entry and only 13.9 per cent, for it. Only 9.9 per cent of the polled believed that it was for the government to decide whether Spain should join NATO.

Several months earlier the journal *Defensa* specializing in military problems, published the results of another poll showing that over half of the army officers (up to the rank of major) were against entry into NATO. Among officers of higher rank — colonels and generals — this sentiment was expressed by less than 50 per cent of the polled. Even so, these data are most revealing.

It was largely for these reasons that the government tried to give the parliamentary debate an ideological slant. Nor is there any doubt that the people's anti-war sentiments were the main reason for the ruling quarters' stubborn

refusal to settle the issue of entry through a referendum. This was proposed by the CPS, SSWP and groups unconnected with them. But Calvo Sotelo and his government turned a deaf ear to the idea.

Now how do those who advocate entry argue for it and what are the arguments of the communists and other democratic forces to which the SSWP belongs?⁶

The arguments of the advocates of entry vary, but not one of them holds water.

It is claimed, first of all, that Spain's entry into NATO would make our state more secure. Actually the exact opposite would happen, for entry would definitely upset the existing balance of forces in favor of NATO, particularly in Europe. I mean the balance that has existed for more than a quarter of a century, no state having joined NATO or the Warsaw Treaty Organization since 1955. This is precisely why entry would increase military tension and mark a further step toward war whereas our continent needs détente and peace measures. In this way Spain would become the epicenter of a process of stepping up tension and the arms race. We, however, want the logic giving rise to this process to be overcome.

It is likely that membership in a military alliance headed by U.S. imperialism would make Spain the target of a nuclear strike in the event of conflict. The danger would be particularly great for the Canaries, which are part of the Spanish state.

There are no nuclear arms on Spanish soil at the moment. By joining NATO, Spain would invite them in. Those who say that this is debatable are trying to divert public attention from a matter perfectly clear to the United States, which would never accept Spanish membership in NATO if it were made conditional on the "privilege" of having no nuclear weapons on its territory.

The arguments of the partisans of NATO regarding the Canaries are contradictory. Some say that on entering NATO as part of Spain, the Canaries would find themselves defended. Others assert that if Spain joined NATO the bloc would set up no bases on the Canaries in view of their special "status." In reality membership would present a two-fold danger: a threat to Spain itself and the risk of the Canaries becoming a military operational center under U.S. command serving to destabilize the situation in progressive African countries and helping to carry on an aggressive neocolonialist policy.

The arguments of those who affirm that membership would safeguard Spain against a

military coup and ensure the defense of democracy cannot be taken seriously. In Greece the military coup carried out by the "Black Colonels" destroyed a democratic regime. Much the same happened in Turkey not long ago. These facts are sufficient evidence to refute such false arguments. By contrast Portugal, a NATO country, was ruled for decades by a fascist dictatorship that only fell as the result of a military coup, which in this case was progressive and revolutionary and put an end to dictatorial rule.

Those who believe that Spain's entry into NATO would make it easier to recover Gibraltar (a Spanish peninsula seized by the British) and enable our country to join the Common Market are equally wrong. Britain has made no statements in this sense. Besides, the problem of Gibraltar does not at all consist in "taking from one to give to another," for Gibraltar is part of Spanish territory whose return we have a right to demand irrespective of whether Spain joins NATO or not. These are two entirely different things.

Entry into NATO or refusal to join it has no bearing on the admission of Spain to the Common Market either. The two problems are not interconnected. Neither objections to Spanish membership in the EEC, nor support of such a step on the part of certain political forces in Common Market countries and their governments have anything to do with our joining NATO or refusing to do so.

The arguments of the government, which invokes the national interest in an attempt to justify entry into NATO, are ill-founded. In addition to the negative consequences I have listed, entry would oppose us to Third World countries most of which are involved in the non-aligned movement, and secondly, might alienate the rest of Europe from Spain if the existing trend toward a policy independent of the United States gained ground on the continent.

Entry would entail new military expenditures. It is a fact that in 1980, Spain's military spending amounted to 3.3 per cent of the GNP and 20 per cent of the state budget. In other words, Spain has virtually reached the limit of its possibilities.

The United States wants NATO countries to increase their annual military expenditures by three per cent in real terms. This is more than our country or, indeed, other European countries which are against such imposition can afford.

And then, Spain would be unable to draw level with NATO countries in war

materiel or the equipment of military objectives without sharply increasing military expenditures. Yet spending for these purposes swallows 40 per cent of Spain's military budget. Besides, the creation of an ocean-going navy, for example, would require immense allocations.

Add to all this the refusal of major arms monopolies, primarily U.S. monopolies, to sell Spain technology. This means that Spain would have to modernize its armed forces entirely by purchasing the requisite supplies abroad, mainly in the USA.⁷ This would in no way benefit Spain's own arms industry contrary to what the advocates of membership claim.

Lastly, it should be noted that maintenance of the U.S. military bases at Torrejon, Zaragoza, Moron and Rota (exclusive of the pay of personnel and the exploitation of installations) costs an annual 117 million dollars, or 8,200 million pesetas. After Spain joined NATO, these expenditures would have to be borne by the Spanish taxpayer.

Thus every estimation of the economic effects of entry proves negative. It is clear that the decision to join NATO militates against Spain's national interest.

CPS General Secretary Santiago Carrillo dealt with the problem in no uncertain terms during the parliamentary debate. "By raising these questions here," he said, "we are not at all talking about weakening our armed forces. I would prefer it if we spent more on strengthening our armed forces and increasing their capacity for defending independence, sovereignty and peace than membership in NATO will cost us ... When speaking of ideological reasons for joining NATO, you mean really that you want to put Spain under the domination of one of the two great powers, the United States. You are opting for subordinating the independence of our country to one of the great powers."

The actual reason for the decision of the Calvo Sotelo government is the fact that NATO serves U.S. imperialism as an instrument of exercising hegemony over member countries.

U.S. Secretary of State General Haig, once commander-in-chief of the NATO forces, said in 1978 that the purpose of the bloc was to serve as a deterrent to the eventual development of the revolutionary process in Western Europe.

There is no doubt that while the government's decision to take our country into NATO, which is evidence of a drift to the right, meets the interests of the Spanish oligarchy and multinationals and the aims of U.S. imperial-

ism, it runs counter to the interests of the Spanish people.

And so, the CPS declares against Spain's membership in NATO, being prompted by a democratic philosophy, the idea of defending national sovereignty which rejects dependence on either of the two military blocs, and the desire to preserve peace and avert a nuclear war.

1. Spanish Socialist Workers' Party. — Ed.

2. *Mundo Obrero*, November 27-December 3, 1981, p. 4.

3. *Noveno Congreso del Partido Comunista de España*, Barcelona, 1978, pp. 146-147.

4. The social democratic grouping led by Fernandez Ordonez has withdrawn definitively from the DCU, with the Union's youth wing following suit.

5. Catalonia and Euskadi (the Basque Country) are two of the three historical ethnic territories forming part of Spain. They have autonomous status and, accordingly, an autonomous government, parliament and judiciary. — Ed.

6. The SSWP is not entirely at one with the CPS as far as Spanish membership in NATO is concerned. It condemns adherence to the bloc but does not oppose the bloc itself. On the whole, however, the SSWP uses the same arguments against entry as the CPS.

7. To give at least some idea of these expenditures, one example will suffice: the purchase of 144 F-16 and F-18 planes would cost Spain over 250,000 million pesetas.

Fifty thousand assassinated by Duvalier's regime

AGAINST REPRESSION AND PERSECUTION

For a quarter-century, the Haitian people have been suffering under the savage Duvalier despotism, which has become virtually hereditary. Like other terroristic regimes, such as the Somoza tyranny in Nicaragua, Trujillo in the Dominican Republic, and Gairy in Grenada in the past — the Duvalier authorities have barbarously stamped out any expression of protest. Duvalier's throne is stained with the blood of thousands upon thousands of fighters for the country's liberation. More than 50,000 people have already died. The number of "missing persons" defies calculation.

At one time, the U.S. bourgeois press used to talk about liberalization in Haiti. That was a lie, from start to finish, a conscious deception of world opinion. The repressive laws are still in force, and the gangs of cut-throats, known as "tonton-macoutes" still roam the country. The dictator continues to regard them as the mainstay of his power. With the support of U.S. imperialism, new army units designed for punitive operations have been trained. The persecution of members of the opposition, the communists in the first place, has been intensified.

Since November 12 of last year, a new wave of repression has hit the democratic forces of Haiti. In Port-au-Prince wholesale searches and arrests are being carried out by Duvalier's secret

police, who are armed to the teeth. In one such raid, Rock Derosé, a member of the Secretariat of the United Party of Haitian Communists, and other patriots were arrested. Under the anti-communist act of April 28, 1969, they are faced with mortal danger.

Fifteen hundred trade union activists have been thrown into the torture chambers. Sylvio Claude, Chairman of the Christian Democratic Party, has been arrested for the third time. Together with 20 other members of this organization, he has been sentenced to 15 years in prison.

Two members of our party, Rene Hermance and Anselus Noel, who were surrendered to Duvalier by the French police under President Giscard d'Estaing, have been in prison for a long time. Every day the people of Haiti face more humiliation, torture and violent death.

We appeal to the sense of justice and freedom of all progressive people, and urge them to do everything to save the life of our comrades. It is not yet too late. I myself was arrested in 1976. International solidarity worked a miracle, and a Haitian communist was released from the torture chambers of Fort Dimanche.

We can win the battle for the life of political prisoners in Haiti by making use of the power of solidarity!

Max Bourgolly
Member of the Secretariat,
United Party of Haitian Communists

Notes and comments

NEOFASCISM IN THE DOCK

The ringleaders of the neofascist Nationalist Action Party (NAP) are on trial in Ankara. Some extracts from the 945-page indictment brought in by the military prosecutor have already been published in Turkish newspapers. This document is a forceful proof of the neofascists' multifaceted criminal activities. There are 674 NAP members in the dock, with the prosecutor demanding the death sentence for 220 of them, including their ringleader, Alparsalan Türkeş.

Who is Türkeş?

Türkeş was born in 1917 in Cyprus. His real name is Hüseyin Feyzullah. Later he emigrated to Turkey and assumed his present name. In 1944, when he was a young officer in the Turkish army, the nazis already considered him one of the most reliable Gestapo agents in Turkey, according to secret Third Reich documents captured after the war. The early years after the Second World War saw him in Washington as a member of the Turkish military mission. Afterward he studied in West Germany, where he maintained contacts with neonazis and ex-Gestapo men.

Following the coup on May 27, 1960, Türkeş became Permanent Secretary to the Prime Minister, the second most important post in the government. He misused his position to attempt setting up a fascist-type state. For this he was deported six months later. But he returned to the country a few years after. In 1965 he captured the leadership of the small Republican Peasant National Party, which subsequently changed its name to Nationalist Action Party. His followers came to call him *Basbug* (the Fuehrer). It was not long before he began to form nazi-type paramilitary youth squads, known as "commandos" or "the Gray Wolves." By 1980, the neofascists had no less than 200,000 men under arms.

Victims of terror

According to official data, 5,241 people lost their lives and another 14,152 people were crippled in less than two years¹ as a result of neofascist and ultra-left terror of the Maoist type.

The victims of neofascist terror included progressive-minded university professors, teachers, students, workers and activists of

political and other public organizations — in short, people who wanted a democratic, independent and peaceful Turkey. Kemal Türkler, a prominent trade union leader, the founder and first Chairman of the Confederation of Revolutionary Workers' Trade Unions (DISK), and Cevat Yurdakul, Director of the Security Service in Adana, Southern Turkey, were among them. Both were murdered on the personal instructions of Türkeş, according to the evidence produced by the military prosecutor.

Mehmet Ali Ağca, the notorious terrorist who attempted to assassinate Pope John Paul II on May 13, 1981 in Rome, had the direct support of the NAP. Two years before, he murdered Abdi İpekçi, Editor-in-Chief of the bourgeois liberal daily *Milliyet*. After the murder he spent the night at the headquarters of the NAP. In both cases he was aided by Mehmet Sener, a NAP member (Sener was recently arrested by Italian police in Genoa). According to press reports, the gun used by Ağca against the Pope bore the same serial number as the arms used by Spanish right-wingers during the capture of the Central Bank in Barcelona. The military prosecutor read out a letter sent by Ağca to Türkeş after the former's escape from a Munich jail. The letter began with "My dear Fuehrer."

Who supports the neonazis?

The NAP received financial support from businessmen of the Istanbul Chamber of Commerce and Industry as well as from the Association of Industrialists and Businessmen of Turkey, the Sabancı monopoly trust and other financial and industrial corporations. Many Turkish tycoons made lavish contributions to the treasury of the neofascist party. The progressive press reported on more than one occasion that the NAP maintained close ties with the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. The prosecutor's evidence shows that the NAP had ties with neofascist and reactionary parties in Western Europe and elsewhere. For example, a certain Walter Jacob Pfersich, Jr., sent Türkeş American Express money orders in addition to a letter of support from the National Socialist Party of the USA.

Baymirza Hayit, who collaborated with the nazis during the war and is a close friend of Türkeş, works for "Radio Liberty" as a "Sovietologist." There is evidence in the prose-

cutor's file that Hayit had monetary dealings with Türkes through the West German Commerzbank.

The investigation revealed that NAP General Secretary Necati Gültekin had maintained regular contacts with Robert Alexander Peck, First Secretary of the U.S. Embassy in Ankara, a CIA agent. Peck frequently travelled the country. Blood flowed wherever he went, as in Corum and Amasya.

And now for another example. Adolf von Thadden, the notorious former leader of the neofascist National Democratic Party of West Germany, wrote Türkes a letter reading in part as follows: "I enjoy receiving your letters. I am grateful to you for your appreciation of myself and my party. I am even more glad to learn your position concerning the kinship of our parties. There are common basic principles which we share. I am sure you would like to expand and strengthen these friendly relations. I gladly accept the offer to develop relations between our two parties. We have unanimously decided on an exchange of visits by our youth sections. Would you also be kind enough to be my personal guest? It would be excellent to have an exchange of views about our countries and also to review the opportunities and means of mutual assistance."²

Articles published in *IG-Metall*, a newspaper of the West German Metal Workers' Union, show that there exist "unbelievably dark relations" between the NAP and the Franz Joseph Strauss' Christian Social Union (CSU). Strauss and Türkes had a meeting in Munich on April 28, 1978. The meeting was also attended by Murat Bayrak, a rich Turkish industrialist. Bayrak collaborated with the invading nazis during the Second World War in Yugoslavia and was condemned to death in *absentia* by Yugoslav partisans. Later he escaped to Turkey and even became an MP in the late 1960s.

After the meeting between Türkes and Strauss, the press representative of the CSU, Rosenberg, admitted that his party supported the NAP financially.³

The Turkish fascists have also close ties with the British fascists. In 1978, a NAP delegation travelled from Turkey to meet members of the League of St. George, who are rapidly establishing themselves a reputation as the main link between British nazis and the most hardcore nazi terrorists abroad. The delegation also met with leaders of the racist National Front. There have been suggestions that members of the Gray Wolves were invited to attend a British Movement camp in the southwest of England

in summer⁴ (the organizations in question are of a fascist type).

Arms smuggling and narcotics traffic

Turkish neofascists engaged freely in arms smuggling, narcotics traffic and the organization of prostitution. In 1970 Senator Kudret Bayhan (NAP) was arrested by French police in Nice, France, for possessing a considerable amount of cannabis.

In 1978, Türkes openly had a dinner party at the Istanbul Hilton Hotel with Dünder Kilic and Oflu Ismail, two ill-famed ringleaders of the Turkish Mafia.

Türkes was twice appointed Vice-Premier in right-wing coalition governments under Süleyman Demirel. The Turkish National Intelligence Agency was directly controlled by him. He was in charge of the secret service on May Day 1977, when 34 workers were killed. Throughout that period his gangs infiltrated into the army, the secret counter-insurgency organization, the intelligence agency and various ministries. Through the Ministry of Customs and Excise, in which the neofascists held key positions, the NAP received without hindrance enormous amounts of weapons from abroad.

According to *Briefing*, a journal published in Ankara, Türkes and his accomplices attempted a fascist coup just prior to the military takeover on September 12, 1980.

Despite all this ...

... The present military regime in Ankara spearheads its assault against national democrats. Tens of thousands of progressives — democrats and communists who have always rejected extremist violence — are in prison.⁵ In December 1981 the military prosecutor of Ankara charged 205 members of the Communist Party of Turkey with "illegal activity" and "membership in an illegal organization." They may be sentenced to a term in prison ranging from 12 to 20 years. A similar trial — with 230 defendants — has opened in the town of Golcük.

The military prosecutor's indictment of the NAP leaves no room for doubt as to who are the criminals responsible for the political destabilization of Turkey in recent years. They are the Nationalist Action Party and its close associates among influential people, both at home and abroad.

This is an incontrovertible fact.

Kemal Kervan
Representative of the
Communist Party of Turkey
on the journal

1. From early 1979 to September 12, 1980, when the military took over. Measures adopted by the military brought about a visible decline in terroristic activity of this nature. — Ed.

2. *Cumhuriyet*, September 19, 1979.

3. *Milliyet*, September 9, 1978.

4. *Morning Star*, May 21, 1981.

5. *WMR*, November 1981.

DOGS OF WAR

Adventurers from various parts of the globe, they were hired by South Africa to bring down the anti-imperialist government of the Seychelles Republic under France Albert Rene. Each of them was paid 1,000 rand¹ and promised another 10,000 in the event of success.

The mercenaries, who hid their arms in false-bottomed suitcases, landed at the Seychelles' Mahe international airport.² However, they were unable to get any farther, for customs officers discovered the hidden weapons. There came a protracted exchange of fire. Police arrested some of the bandits (they were put on trial). The bulk of the group, 44 altogether, hijacked an Air India jet with 79 passengers and ordered it to South Africa, whose authorities refused to extradite the criminals to the Seychelles government and, indeed, let them go in peace. South Africa's Police Minister, Louis Le Grange, justified the bandits. "You tell me," he said, "what laws they broke in South Africa."³ They only shot out some windows and ran around in the bush."⁴

The Seychelles gamble, which the South African regime says it had nothing to do with, was a fresh reminder of the danger of international terrorism — real terrorism and not the myth readily used by the Reagan administration as a bogey.

The terrorism meant in this case is armed intervention by mercenaries most of whom are recruited privately and by proxy, while those behind the action keep out of the public eye.⁵ Sometimes it is hard or even impossible to ascertain who is financing a terroristic action or who has ordered it. Following is a list of some of these crimes.

In 1977, Benin was raided by international bandits. In 1978, a band of mercenaries reinstated the reactionary regime in the Comoro Islands (Indian Ocean). In 1980, foreign adventurers took part in a rebellion in the New Hebrides, or Vanuatu (Pacific Ocean). And 1981 saw the miscarriages of conspiracies against the government of Dominica. In one of the latter, U.S. Ku Klux Klan mercenaries were involved. It follows that the Seychelles raid was neither the first, nor apparently the last attempt

to effect a reactionary coup through mercenaries.

Small states (whose numbers are growing, with many of them holding a strategic position) are regarded by organizers of terroristic actions as the easiest booty. At the same time reactionary groups and regimes recruit bandits for international crimes of the most diverse types and proportions, such as sabotage, assassination, punitive expeditions or underground, undeclared war. This is a very grave menace and it requires vigilance on the part of liberation movements and the progressive governments of developing countries.

Mercenaries are known in Africa as "dogs of war." The racists tried to surround them with the aura of invincible white killers putting whole armies of Blacks to flight. There is many a tall story about everybody taking cover and shaking with fear when mercenaries march to the cynical refrain: "Long live death, long live war, long live the cursed mercenary." Michael Hoare, an international criminal who led the Seychelles raid, boasted in public some 15 years ago that 30 to 40 well-armed and merciless killers could topple a strong government. He said he had seen this sort of thing in Africa.

But the times are changing. In recent decades fighters for independence and national freedom have gained military experience and young states have formed armed forces that know how to beat off the enemy. In Angola mercenaries operating along with local bands backed by South Africa's racists, the CIA and the Chinese hegemonists suffered a crushing defeat. "Soldiers of fortune" were also routed when operating against the national liberation movement in Rhodesia which has now become the Republic of Zimbabwe.

With mercenaries failing again and again, the capitalist press has begun to comment on their decline, pointing out that they have discredited themselves even with the reactionary regimes of developing countries.⁶ The Seychelles venture suggests, however, that it would be premature to dismiss mercenaries as a thing of the past. Experts in this foul business believe that thousands of men can be hired at any moment to carry out acts of international terrorism. *Time* magazine sheds some light on where these men come from. "Most are young, white Western veterans of their countries' elite armed forces — such as the U.S. Green Berets and Britain's Special Air Service. They are Italians, Germans, former Rhodesians and South Africans . . . The typical mercenary adopts his lethal trade out of boredom, joblessness or rightist political views."⁷ There are recruiting

centers in Western Europe, South Africa and the United States. The U.S. even has a periodical, *Soldier of Fortune*, which serves as a connecting link between mercenaries and those who hire them.

The main reason why mercenaries are still used is that their use is inseparable from the neocolonial policies of imperialism, the principal "employer" of international bandits and terrorists. The rulers of America are the main organizers of international terrorism against developing countries. And there is no sign of their being ready to reject mercenaries as an institution, let alone renounce their services.

In fact, the Seychelles raid showed how painstakingly Pretoria shields international criminals and how carefully it is concealing the strings of the conspiracy, which were pulled in the United States.⁸ But however deep the secrecy surrounding terrorism, all mercenaries and those who pay them will have to account to

the peoples for their crimes. This lent international significance to the trial of the bandits seized at the Seychelles airport. It is an important step toward laying bare imperialist terrorism.

E. Casar

1. \$1,030.
2. On November 25, 1981.
3. Under South African law, hijacking is punishable by five to thirty years' imprisonment.
4. *International Herald Tribune*, December 8, 1981.
5. The men involved in the Seychelles raid were picked by P. Duffy, a Durban press photographer, one-time commander of a band of mercenaries who operated in the Belgian Congo.
6. When mercenaries remembering their misdeeds of the 60s in the Belgian Congo (now Zaire) again offered the Kinshasa regime their services in suppressing a rising, they were turned down (IHT, December 7, 1981).
7. *Time*, December 14, 1981, p. 21.
8. The Seychelles raid was financed out of U.S. funds, according to the *Johannesburg Star*. UPI specified that the money was put up by U.S. and South African businessmen.



Less developed countries: backwardness and problems in overcoming it

Over 1.9 billion out of the approximately 2.7 billion people at the beginning of the final quarter of our century, and an estimated more than 3.5 billion out of 4.5 billion at the turn of the century — 71 per cent and 79 per cent respectively — such is the share of the population of the less developed countries (LDCs) in the total population of the non-socialist world today and tomorrow. The LDCs' socio-economic backwardness, which they inherited from the epoch of colonial empires and which is being reproduced by neocolonial imperialist exploitation, the horrifying poverty of hundreds of millions of people, and the yawning gulf between the centers and the periphery of the world capitalist economy add up to one of the gravest and ever more acute global problems of our day. The survey prepared by the WMR Commission on Problems of Scientific Information and Documentation presents data characterizing the socio-economic conditions of the LDCs, their neocolonial exploitation, and the demands for a restructuring of international economic relations.

Parameters of backwardness

The following data shows the general demographic and economic parameters of the condition of the African, Asian and Latin American states within the framework of the capitalist world.

The LDCs now number 123 (out of 157 UN members) and according to the latest estimates they have 75 per cent of the population and 21 per cent of the capitalist world's aggregate gross product (as compared with the industrial countries' 25 per cent and 79 per cent, respectively). According to the UNCTAD Secretariat, the LDCs' Gross Domestic Product per head in 1979 averaged \$674, the least developed countries¹ — \$183, and the industrial countries — \$8,050. Consequently, for this indicator the centers of world capitalism surpassed the whole periphery 12-fold, and its least developed part 44-fold (as compared with 26-fold in 1960).

Rate of economic growth gives an idea of the trends in this area. In the LDCs, it is, on the whole, much higher than in the industrial countries. However, this advantage is being

markedly reduced, and at times disappears altogether when the GNP per head is considered. This is evident in the following two tables.

GNP Growth from 1966 to 1980(%)

	1966- 1976 (annual average)	1977	1978	1979	1980
All LDCs	6.1	5.8	5.2	5.2	4.6
including the regions:					
Africa south of Sahara	5.0	2.9	3.4	3.3	2.3
East Asia and Oceania	8.1	8.4	9.4	6.6	3.9
Latin America and Caribbean	5.9	4.8	3.9	5.5	5.4
North Africa and Middle East	8.1	10.0	6.0	14.6	7.5
South Asia	3.7	7.1	7.0	-2.6	7.4
Industrial countries	4.2	3.8	4.0	3.5	1.3

Source: World Bank, Annual Report, 1981.

GNP Growth per Head (%)

	1966- 1976 (annual average)	1977	1978	1979	1980
All LDCs	3.6	3.5	2.8	2.7	2.3
Including the regions:					
Africa south of Sahara	2.3	0.3	0.7	0.6	-0.4
East Asia and Oceania	5.5	5.9	6.9	4.3	1.6
Latin America and Caribbean	3.2	2.5	1.6	3.1	3.1
North Africa and Middle East	5.1	6.6	2.7	11.1	4.2
South Asia	1.4	4.9	4.8	-4.9	5.0
Industrial Countries	3.3	3.2	3.3	2.8	0.6

Source: World Bank, Annual Report, 1981.

It may well be that the IBRD data somewhat embellish the situation in favor of the LDCs. At any rate, according to the UNCTAD Secretariat, from 1960 to 1979, the growth of the gross product per head was definitely lower in the LDCs than in the industrial countries (2.9 per cent as compared with 3.4 per cent). In the group of least developed countries, the figure was only 0.7 per cent.²

In the period of independence, many newly liberated countries certainly had some success in socio-economic development and struggle against neocolonial exploitation. From 1960 to 1976, they carried out 1,447 acts of nationalization of foreign property in various sectors of the economy.³ The oil-producing countries have established effective control over their natural resources. The potentialities for deciding their own economic policy are now much greater. The establishment of mutually advantageous ties with the socialist world has

done away with the industrial capitalist countries' monopoly in external economic relations for many states in the national liberation zone. Their economic growth has increased, and definite shifts in the structure of production have begun.

However, all of this has not yet brought about any substantial changes in the character and scale of the LDCs' lag. The overall trend is such that while the absolute economic gap between the centers and the periphery of capitalism may have narrowed, it has been widening in terms of per-head indicators. Thus, the share of the LDCs in the capitalist world's industrial output went up from 10.1 per cent in 1950 to 15.4 per cent in 1979. Agricultural production has also increased.⁴ But when reckoned per head, the gulf between the two groups of countries in terms of material output increased from 8-fold in the early postwar period to 11-fold in the late 1970s.

What do these parameters of backwardness mean for the actual life of broad masses of people in Asia, Africa and Latin America?

It is estimated that today more than 800 million people, or roughly 40 per cent of the LDCs' population, live in "absolute poverty," without the possibility of satisfying the most elementary vital requirements, and if the overall socio-economic conditions do not change, the figure is bound to rise to 1.2 billion by the year 2000. Famine rages over extensive areas: in 1980 it killed 50 million people, including 15 million children.

Partial employment and unemployment have become a true social scourge. ILO experts have estimated that in 1978, 300 million people out of an active population of 800 million people had less than full employment, while the number of fully unemployed was estimated at 40-60 million. Demographic factors (especially the fast growth of the population which tends to double within 20-25 years)⁵ and also the stagnant nature of social relations in the rural areas of many countries further complicate the problem of employment. Prognostications suggest that in the 1980s and 1990s demand for jobs will come from an additional 500-700 million people.

This also entails tremendous difficulties in education, public health, and housing. Illiteracy and chronic disease are widespread in many LDCs. According to the United Nations, 700-800 million adults in Asia, Africa and Latin America are totally illiterate, and 1.5 billion people are deprived of medical care. Masses of people lack anything like decent housing and are forced to huddle in overcrowded shacks or

in decrepit structures without the most elementary conveniences, or even have no roof over their heads at all.

Trade: "might is right"

The problem of overcoming socio-economic backwardness is a complex one. Its effective solution makes it imperative to effect socio-economic transformations helping to mobilize national resources to the utmost for the purposes of development. Such an approach to the problem is, as a rule, displayed by countries which have taken the socialist way of development.

An equally essential aspect of the matter is the LDCs' external economic relations, or to be more precise, their relations with the centers of the world capitalist economy within whose framework they remain.

In the economic life of the former colonies and semi-colonies, these relations are highly important, and usually in inverse proportion to their own potential for economic growth. Suffice it to say that in the late 1970s, the total value of foreign trade (exports plus imports) for the LDCs as a whole came to 40-45 per cent of the gross product (as compared with 30-35 per cent on average for the industrial countries).

The characteristics of the LDCs' position within the world capitalist economy given above, are paralleled by those in the sphere of trade relations.

Quantum of World Capitalist Trade and Share of Various Groups of Countries in Value Terms. 1970-1979

Quantum (1975 = 100)	1970	1975	1977	1979
Export:				
Industrial countries	74	100	116	131
LDCs	82	100	115	129
Import:				
Industrial countries	79	100	117	133
LDCs	67	100	118	130
Share of value(%)				
Export:				
Industrial countries	80.1	73.3	71.6	72.1
LDCs	19.9	26.7	28.4	27.9
OPEC countries	(6.2)	(14.5)	(14.9)	(14.4)
Import:				
Industrial countries	80.7	76.5	75.8	77.2
LDCs	19.3	23.5	24.2	22.8
OPEC countries	(3.4)	(6.6)	(8.2)	(6.7)

Source: *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, April, May 1981.

The quantum of foreign trade reflects the worsening of the LDCs' positions, and this is determined, on the one hand, by the slower growth of their exports as compared with those of the industrial countries and, on the other, by

the faster increase in imports. In value terms, there is a marked growth in the LDCs' share of the capitalist world's exports, but this has resulted almost exclusively from the exports of oil, whose world prices have multiplied nearly 11-fold over the past decade. Without the OPEC countries, however, the LDCs' share remained on the level of 13-14 per cent. The oil-exporting countries also helped to increase (less markedly) the LDCs' share of the capitalist world's imports.

The growth of the quantum of foreign trade which was characteristic for the bulk of the LDCs was compounded by the disadvantageous terms of trade, that is, the balance between the prices of exports and imports. Throughout most of the period from the 1950s to the 1970s, or to be more precise, from 1957 to 1974, when oil prices first soared, the terms of trade index (the ratio of average export prices and the average import prices) remained unfavorable for the LDCs and favorable for the industrial capitalist countries.⁶

Terms of Trade Index (1975=100)

	1961	1964	1967	1970	1973	1976	1979	1980
Industrial capitalist countries	107	107	109	111	110	99	97	91
LDCs	71	71	71	71	79	105	111	124

Source: *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*.

The situation underwent a change in the subsequent period mainly because of the growth of oil prices and, consequently, it affected only the OPEC countries, whereas for the oil-importing countries the terms of trade continued to worsen (from 1978 to 1980, for instance, by 15 per cent, according to OECD estimates). Hence, the bulk of the LDCs had a growing foreign trade deficit, which in the 1970s presented the following picture.

LDCs' Foreign Trade (\$bln, current prices)

	Oil-importing countries			OPEC countries		
	Export	Import	Balance	Export	Import	Balance
1971	38.9	52.2	-13.3	23.1	11.5	+11.6
1973	68.0	78.0	-10.0	41.7	20.5	+21.2
1975	96.1	134.7	-38.6	113.5	52.0	+61.5
1977	136.9	165.0	-28.1	151.3	85.2	+66.1
1979	192.6	236.8	-44.2	208.6	99.5	+109.1

Source: Calculated from *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, December 1980, p. 106.

The growth of oil prices naturally had a considerable negative influence on the external economic positions of the oil-importing LDCs, but there is no doubt that the worsening of their positions was largely caused by the imperialist powers' policy. Making use of their predominant positions in the world capitalist economy, they arranged their trade and other economic relations with the periphery on the might-is-right principle, which is an expression of their neocolonialist urges. They use external economic policy instruments like toughening up credit terms, non-tariff protectionist restrictions, export subsidies, hoisting prices for machinery and equipment, foodstuffs, technical and managerial services, and so on. All of this did much to worsen the oil-importing LDCs' balance on current account, which, according to the OECD, went up from \$6 billion in 1973, to \$70 billion in 1980.

Transnationals and "aid"

Transnational corporations are a key component of the mechanism of present-day neocolonial exploitation. The advocates of the monopolies usually suggest that the transnationals' activity in the LDCs falls just short of selfless aid in overcoming socio-economic backwardness. Actually, however, their main motive is maximization of profits. The Afro-Asian and Latin American world is of special interest for monopoly capital because there the average rate of profit is twice as high as it is in the industrial countries, because of the low wages, minimum expenditures on social and environmental needs, and relatively low taxes.

In broader terms, the securing of a definite level of economic development in the periphery is a necessary condition for the viability of the centers of the world capitalist system, which are faced with ever graver crisis complications. There is also the important strategic consideration of imperialism in fortifying capitalist economic forms so as to prevent the former colonies and semi-colonies from switching to the non-capitalist way.

Claims about the transnationals' "selflessness" are blasted by the fact that within the framework of their activity the outflow of financial resources from the LDCs to the imperialist centers in the form of profits and dividends and also through the mechanism of monopoly prices is constantly larger than the influx of financial resources to these countries. Thus, from 1970 to 1977, the transfer of profits on the transnationals' investments came to \$72.7 billion, or 30 per cent more than the new investments in that period.⁷ In 1979, direct foreign

investments in LDCs totalled \$13.5 billion, while the earnings taken out by the transnationals amounted to \$15 billion.⁸

All of this testifies to the true — neocolonial, exploitive — nature of the transnationals' activity in the countries of the national liberation zone. Its most important consequences are the establishment of control by foreign monopoly capital over the key sectors of the economy (which is a threat to national independence), technological dependence⁹ in addition to financial and economic dependence, and growing sectoral and territorial disproportions in development — all of which will be found in many of these countries.

The widely advertised "aid" to African, Asian and Latin American countries is geared to the strategic goals of imperialism and the transnationals' specific interests. Export of capital is one of the key features of imperialism as characterized by Lenin. Nowadays, it is effected partially in state-monopoly forms, but only one of these forms, so-called official aid — government grants and easy loans and credits through bilateral and multilateral (international organizations) channels — can be classified as aid.¹⁰

The main socio-economic purpose of official aid, which in the 1950s and 1960s made up the bulk of the net influx of financial resources into the LDCs, was to build up the technically necessary base for the intensive exploitation of the former colonies and semi-colonies by transnational corporations (creation of modern transport and other infrastructural facilities, the raising of labor skills, etc.).¹¹ As this basis was built up, the preponderance of official aid within the mass of financial resources going to the LDCs declined and disappeared altogether in 1970, when of the "net" \$15.66 billion received by these countries, official aid totalled \$6.79 billion (just over 43 per cent), as compared with \$6.87 billion of private funds and \$1.14 billion in commercial government capital.¹²

The balance between privileged and non-privileged forms of export of capital, especially private capital, subsequently continued to tilt in favor of the latter (from 1971 to 1981, commercial loans to LDCs increased seven times faster than official aid). The ever greater prevalence of capital imports on commercial terms accelerated the growth of the indebtedness of the LDCs, above all those which do not export oil. According to the OECD, their external debt in 1973 totalled \$97 billion, and by 1980 — seven years later — had gone up to \$456 billion. In 1981 it is expected to exceed \$520 billion.¹³

Consequently, the dwindling share of official aid and the growing share of private capital in the total of financial resources going from the imperialist powers to the LDCs was a reflection of the increasingly neocolonialist character of the economic relations between the two groups. While the governments of some capitalist countries, above all those of Western Europe and Japan, do not openly advocate a reduction of aid, this is due mainly to their greater dependence on the imports of energy and raw materials (the EEC countries have to import 75 per cent of their raw materials; Japan 90 per cent and the United States 15 per cent).¹⁴ However, U.S. ruling circles have made no secret of their preference for private investments. Regan, U.S. Finance Secretary, for instance, made no bones about this neocolonialist attitude when he declared that there was a need for new and constructive ways for increasing the flow of private capital to the LDCs.¹⁵

Restructure international economic relations

In the 1970s, the backwardness and dependence of the vast periphery of the world capitalist economy on its centers, and the neocolonial exploitation of African, Asian and Latin American states, on the one hand, and their growing role in world politics, on the other, led to demands for a restructuring of international economic relations and the establishment of a new international economic order (NIO).

The program for a new economic order formulated by the LDCs contains general and concrete economic provisions. Among the former are principles like the assertion of full and unconditional sovereignty of states over their natural resources and, accordingly, the right to nationalize them; control over the activity of transnational corporations, and regulation of this activity on the basis of national jurisdiction and the right to nationalize the transnationals' property; non-interference in domestic affairs, and prevention of any forms of discrimination; assertion of the sovereign equality of states and the free choice of ways of social development, etc. Translation of these principles into the practice of international economic relations would signify their switch to a new and democratic basis.

In various spheres of economic relations, the NIO program envisages, in particular, the following measures.

International trade: a fundamental restructuring of its entire mechanism through an improvement of the terms of trade for the LDCs and the establishment of fair and advantageous

prices in real terms for raw material exports; greater access to the markets of industrial countries for the LDCs' manufactured products.

Production: improvement of the terms for obtaining modern hardware and technology; consideration of supply of natural products from LDCs when developing production of synthetic goods and substitutes; increase in the LDCs' processing of their products, and participation in their transportation, sale and distribution.

Monetary system: a radical change in the situation which is characterized by the lack of any rational, fair and universal monetary system, the haphazard growth of international liquidity, ceaseless inflation, neglect of the LDCs' needs, and domination of the decision-making mechanism by a handful of states; equality between developed countries and LDCs in the adoption of decisions in international monetary and credit organizations.

Development aid: provision of resources for the needs of development on a guaranteed and non-discriminatory basis; increase in the volume of aid from industrial states to 0.7-1 per cent of their GNP; easing of terms for the repayment of debts and establishment of a link between the state of liquidity and the financing of development.

LDCs' cooperation: in order to establish a new economic order there is a need, says the Economic Declaration of the fifth conference of non-aligned countries, for collective reliance on their own forces. This implies the use of "collective influence" in negotiations with industrial states, "internal discipline" in the process of economic development, and — the main thing — the arrangement of extensive cooperation among the LDCs themselves in the financial, technical, commercial, industrial and other spheres.

Such are the basic provisions of the program for a new international economic order. In view of the great economic and socio-political diversity among the LDCs that elaborated this program, it is not always consistent or concrete.¹⁶ Its principles are not so radical as to effect a change in the nature of international economic relations within the framework of the world capitalist economy. But there is no doubt that implementation of these principles would improve the condition of the LDCs and would substantially limit the "automatic" character and scale of their neocolonial exploitation with the withdrawal of some aspects of trade and financial relations from the sphere of activity of private capital and their transfer to the sphere of direct government regulation. Hence the anti-

imperialist, democratic character of the NIO program, which has become a major sector of contradictions and struggle in the international arena in the past few years.¹⁷

1. 21 states in Africa, 9 in Asia and Oceania, and 1 in Latin America.

2. *Le Monde*, September 3, 1981.

3. *UN Transnational Corporations in World Development. A Re-Examination*. New York, 1978, p. 234.

4. In the 1970s, for instance, its index rose by 29 points (1969-1971=100). See "FAO, Monthly Bulletin of Statistics," November 1980, pp. 13-14.

5. In the 1950s, 1960s, and from 1970 to 1978, population annual growth rates in the LDCs were, respectively, 2.2, 2.5 and 2.6 per cent, as compared with the 1.2, 1.1 and 0.9 per cent for the industrial countries.

6. Whenever the index is greater than 100, the terms of trade are favorable as compared with the base period, and vice versa.

7. Calculated from Document UN TD/B/C, 3/158, May 14, 1979, pp. 35-40.

8. OECD. *Development Cooperation, 1980, Review*. Paris, 1980, pp. 164, 200.

9. According to UNESCO, over 90 per cent of the capitalist world's scientists and engineers are in the industrial countries. The brain drain has inflicted tremendous damage on the LDCs. From 1960 to 1975, more than 300,000 skilled specialists — almost 40 per cent of them scientists, engineers and technicians — emigrated from these countries to the United States, Britain and Canada. The cost of training these personnel is almost equal to the funds allocated to the LDCs by these imperialist powers in that period. The enslaving terms of the purchase of Western patents, licenses and technical documents have

been justly criticized by the LDCs, which demand an end to "technological colonialism" and freer access to scientific and technical information.

10. Another state monopoly form in which capital is exported is government loans and credits on the usual commercial terms, which do not in effect differ from the export of private capital and, consequently, have nothing to do with aid.

11. There was, of course, no time gap between the build-up of this base and the transnationals' activity. The erection of infrastructural, production and other facilities and diverse deliveries within the framework of official aid signified the receipt of profitable orders by these corporations. The "tied" nature of most of the aid, which forced the recipient state to realize the aid only through the donor countries' means, enabled the monopolies concerned to overstate the prices for their goods and services to a point that would have patently been unrealistic in the conditions of competition, open international bidding (according to some estimates, the "tying" of aid increased its costs by roughly 20 per cent).

12. OECD. *Development Cooperation, 1975, Review*. Paris, 1975, p. 217.

13. *International Herald Tribune*, November 4, 1981.

14. Meanwhile, only a few of them followed up the UN recommendation to increase the volume of their aid to 0.7 per cent of their GNP. In 1980, the figures for the seven major countries were: France — 0.62 per cent, FRG — 0.43 per cent, Canada — 0.42 per cent, Britain — 0.34 per cent, Japan — 0.32 per cent, USA — 0.27 per cent, and Italy — 0.17 per cent of the GNP.

15. *Financial Times*, October 1, 1981. In 1980, U.S. direct private investments in LDCs totalled \$52.7 billion as compared with \$7.1 billion worth of official aid.

16. For details see WMR, May 1979.

17. A review of the events connected with this struggle will be given shortly in WMR. — Ed.

Who is helping Peking in its military build-up

One often reads and hears that the Chinese leaders are seeking to "renew" their armed forces fundamentally with assistance from imperialist countries. If that is so, could you cite some facts in support of it?

Alan McLean (Canada)

It is indeed not only a matter of wanting but of specific actions. The steps to reinforce China's military potential and modernize its armed forces are assuming an increasingly real dimension in Peking's relations with imperialist powers, with the USA in the first place.* The

Chinese leadership attaches special significance to this modernization. The build-up of military power with Western aid is proceeding in three main directions.

Peking gives considerable attention to acquiring "double purpose" hardware and technology, which in plain language means purchasing armaments. A start was made in 1972 when the Nixon administration consented to sell China a land-based installation for the receipt and transmission of signals via earth satellites. At the same time the British firm of Rolls-Royce began talks with Peking on the sale of aircraft engines and of licenses for their manufacture. The relevant agreement was signed at the close of 1975. It covered contracts

*China's armed forces today: "Army: 3.9 million. Main force of 40 armies of 45,000 persons each. Local forces include 85 infantry divisions and 130 independent regiments, including border patrol. Navy: 360,000. Forces include 32 major surface combat ships, 800 warplanes, 104 attack submarines and 1 submarine capable of launching ballistic missiles. Air Force: 490,000, including

220,000 air-defense workers. Air Force has 5,300 combat aircraft. Paramilitary forces: 12 million, of whom some 4.3 million are armed."

Source: U.S. News and World Report.

for the delivery of Spay engines with equipment for their manufacture to the tune of £100 million, a license for the manufacture of engines, and technology and equipment for testing them in China. Under this agreement Rolls-Royce undertook to train 200 Chinese engineers in Britain.¹ The British press noted that this was a purely military transaction, for the engines in question could be used for fighter-bombers.²

In the mid-1970s, French firms sold China targetting equipment for intercontinental missiles. The press wrote that this enabled China to speed the testing of missiles with a range of over 10,000 kilometers.³ At approximately the same time China bought in Western Europe a large number of helicopters: 13 heavy Super-Frelons in 1973 and 20 BO-105s in 1976.⁴ It was noted in the media that equipped with anti-tank missiles these helicopters would be suitable for military purposes. According to various sources, by the close of the 1970s Peking had purchased nearly 100 helicopters.

After the visit to China by Harold Brown, former U.S. Defense Secretary, in January 1980, Washington agreed to supply China with "auxiliary military equipment."⁵ Later it was specified that this meant radar early warning systems, trucks, communications equipment, and some types of transport aircraft, including C-130s. Moreover, the USA said it was prepared to sell the latest type of land stations for the receipt of information from artificial satellites. The next step in the question of purchasing this technology was the drawing up of the procedure allowing Peking to deal directly with U.S. firms selling such technology.

According to the National Council for the Promotion of U.S.-Chinese Trade, during the first nine months of 1979 alone, U.S. companies were issued licenses for the export to China of "double purpose" technology amounting to \$249 million, including aerospace technology, aircraft, and spare parts (\$168 million).⁶

The Reagan administration has gone further. In Washington they have prepared a long list of items for sale to China, including high technology computers, various electronic components, laser technology, and so on. More, they specified the types of metal alloys for aircraft with effective flight data, stronger armor, and diesel engines for tanks.⁷

Much of the "double purpose" technology purchased by China consists of computers. The Chinese market has been almost entirely monopolized by the Hitachi firm of Japan, which has lately sold China 2 large and 17 medium computers. Hitachi recently got an

order from China for another computer, an M-180, that may be used for military purposes.⁸

U.S. monopolies are also growing more active in this area. Barrows corporation announced at the close of 1981 that it had sold China a powerful B-7830 computer. The Western press reports that Peking intends to use the loan it recently got from the International Monetary Fund to buy a large number of advanced computers.

Of course, the appetites of the Chinese leaders are not confined to "double purpose" hardware and technology. They are showing heightened interest in buying weapons and military technology proper. It is reported that in 1972-1981 Peking conducted 25 negotiation sessions, in nine of which contracts were signed. Among these were the 1978 contracts on deliveries of West German anti-tank missiles and of French Crotale and Milan anti-aircraft missiles,⁹ and the 1980 contracts with the British Marconi firm for field artillery guidance systems.¹⁰ In addition there are plans to modernize Chinese fighter aircraft with technology and equipment supplied by British firms. Further, the Chinese have signed with Marconi a contract for £40 million worth of military electronic equipment to be delivered over a period of five years. Provision has been made for the manufacture, under license, of some components of this equipment in China and for the training of Chinese personnel.¹¹ Talks are under way with the General Dynamics Corporation on the purchase of electronic equipment for guided missiles.

A new stage in the assistance given by imperialist powers for the build-up of Peking's military potential was the Washington decision to give China access for the purchase of U.S. advanced weaponry and of technology for the manufacture of this weaponry. On the eve of U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig's visit to Peking in the summer of 1981 the White House informed China that it had been given the status of a "friendly developing nation." Drawing conclusions from this, Haig declared that it would be possible to sell China a wide spectrum of advanced military hardware. The talks were continued at the close of October 1981 in Washington by the Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua. The USA declared it was prepared to sell Peking 30 of the 52 types of armaments it wanted. This list includes anti-aircraft missiles, radar, anti-tank weapons, and armored personnel carriers.¹² In view of China's lack of the "extra" billions for the purchase of U.S. armaments (Western experts estimate that the modernization of China's armed forces will cost

roughly \$300 billion¹³), Washington is studying the possibility of supplying military hardware on credit and signing agreements on the joint manufacture of armaments in China in accordance with licenses owned by U.S. firms.¹⁴

Ruling circles in Britain are trying to keep abreast of the USA in developing the Chinese market. The British press reports that a group of military industrialists, who visited Peking in the latter half of 1981, tendered to assist China in modernizing its armored forces, in particular, offering the design of a new turret for the Chinese T-59 tank.¹⁵ At the end of October 1981 this group was followed by a British military delegation led by Edwin Bramall, Chief of the British General Staff. It continued the talks on assistance in modernizing armored forces and discussed questions linked to the training of Chinese military-technical personnel and the supply of large quantities of military hardware.

Almost simultaneously it was reported that a British-Chinese agreement worth £600 million had been signed for the modernization of the Chinese Navy. The British Washer Thorneycraft and British Aerospace Dynamics are to take part in re-equipping eight Chinese Lyuda-class destroyers, which will be armed with anti-aircraft and anti-ship missiles, and will help to modernize the radar and electronic communication systems on warships.¹⁶ Talks are continuing on the purchase by China of some 100 British Harrier vertical take-off and landing jet aircraft and swing-wing Tornado aircraft.

During the past few years Chinese military delegations have been also studying the armaments markets in other West European countries. In France they are negotiating the purchase of Mirage-2000 and Mirage-3000 aircraft, Milan and Haute anti-tank missiles, and the land-to-air Crotale missiles.

As part of its military build-up China is extending scientific and technological links with capitalist countries, especially in strategic space and nuclear research. In the latter half of the 1970s, Peking signed two agreements with the West German MBB firm, one of which provides for the joint designing and manufacture of television communications satellites and the sale of technological blueprints for these designs, and the other for cooperation in the development of aircraft technology.

Upon establishing contact with the French National Space Research Center, Chinese experts displayed an interest, according to press reports, in the building of Arian missile-carriers. Peking has obtained the consent of the

European Nuclear Research Organization for participation in the building of a proton accelerator. The corresponding links were established in early 1980 with the European Space Research Industrial Association. Representatives of this association have had talks on the sale to China of equipment for the receipt of information from artificial satellites.

Peking has taken the first step toward cooperation with the EEC in surveying, extracting and processing nuclear fuel. Being interested in obtaining help in restructuring existing uranium-enrichment plants and in enlarging the output of uranium, the Chinese permitted EEC representatives to visit uranium mines and enrichment plants high on the security list and under the direct jurisdiction of the army.¹⁷

China has established contacts of the same kind — in high energy physics and in space exploration — with the USA. In early 1980, Washington and Peking began consultations on cooperation in nuclear reactors. U.S. assistance in electronic surveillance, reported in the press in mid-1981,¹⁸ is opening for the Chinese military industry considerable opportunities for studying and developing advanced technology. Chinese specialists trained in the USA are manning stations for the surveillance of missile tests in the USSR.¹⁹

The facts thus indicate that the U.S. imperialists and their NATO allies are providing mounting assistance in building up China's military potential in the interests of the Peking ruling clique, which is not concealing its hegemonistic ambitions and aggressive designs. This partnership is fraught with a serious threat to peace and international security.

Vitaly Lomykin

Staff member, Institute for the Far East,
USSR Academy of Sciences

1. *Business China*, February 6, 1976.
2. *The Times*, December 17, 1975.
3. *Canard enchaîné*, August 3, 1977.
4. *Le Matin*, August 29, 1978.
5. *Renmin ribao*, January 27, 1980.
6. *The Washington Post*, January 16, 1980.
7. *Los Angeles Times*, October 11 and 25, 1981.
8. *Nihon Keizai*, September 21, 1981.
9. *Tribune*, November 10, 1978.
10. *Daily Telegraph*, February 14, 1981.
11. *Daily Telegraph*, April 27, 1981.
12. *Los Angeles Times*, October 25, 1981.
13. *Financial Times*, June 23, 1981.
14. *U.S. News and World Report*, November 9, 1981.
15. *Sunday Telegraph*, October 14, 1981.
16. *Daily Telegraph*, October 18, 1981.
17. *The Financial Times*, December 4, 1981.
18. *Daily Express*, June 19, 1981.
19. *Ibid.*



In the service of great ideals

Books by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Leonid Brezhnev's new book, *Reminiscences*,¹ brings to mind his preceding works of the same genre: *Little Land*, *Rebirth* and *The Virgin Lands*. Devoted to epochal events of our recent history — the Great Patriotic War, the restoration of the economy devastated by the fascists, and the development of virgin land — these works have themselves become events of paramount importance in the ideological work of the Communist Party and the cultural life of the Soviet people, enriching us with a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of the road we have traversed and giving a keen insight into the heart of the individual. Brought out in many languages,² Leonid Brezhnev's autobiographical books have given millions of foreign readers an idea of Soviet reality, of the features and character of the Soviet person and his passionate desire to perpetuate the peace won with such pain and suffering. These books are internationalist in spirit and their message is that there should be friendship, brotherhood and mutual assistance among all nations.

In this context mention must be made of Leonid Brezhnev's fundamental eight-volume work *Following Lenin's Course*,³ which is a large contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory, generalizes the practice of building a developed socialist society, and clearly marks out the orientations of the Soviet people's advance toward communism. One of the cardinal themes presented in all eight volumes is that there must be lasting peace in the world. These volumes convincingly show how the Communist Party of the Soviet Union implements the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and is making every effort to deepen détente and bridle the forces of imperialist reaction and militarism seeking to fling humankind into a thermonuclear hell.

"In order to properly understand and value the present, a person should see the past in its

true light," Leonid Brezhnev writes in *Reminiscences* (Novy mir, No. 11, 1981, p. 6). These simple and wise words, it seems to me, express Leonid Brezhnev's main creative conception, which is to be found also in *Little Land*, *Rebirth* and *The Virgin Lands*.

The leader of the CPSU and the Soviet state was born, grew up, and got his labor tempering in a working-class family living in a large workers' township. The factory whistle was one of the earliest and strongest recollections of his childhood. "I remember: dawn only breaking, but my father already in his workclothes and my mother seeing him off at the door. The bass whistle roared and it seemed to me that it was heard throughout the world" (ibid., p. 3).

The chapter "Life By the Factory Whistle" conveys a clear-cut class feeling of the epoch founded on many facts. Here everything is important: the life of the township of Kamenskoye, the genealogy of the proletariat of Russia, the history of the Kamenskoye factory, the everyday life of the Lower Colony where the poor were huddled together, and the story of the activity in these parts by Lenin's followers and associates. One does not remain unresponsive to the emotional words about the life and destiny of prominent revolutionary workers to whom the Yekaterinoslav organization of the RSDLP, which was active in the revolution of 1905 and later, during the flaming period prior to the October Revolution, owed its foundation and Bolshevik orientation.

The narration is appropriately punctuated with references to Lenin's outstanding work, *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*, in which considerable space is devoted to the history of the coal and iron-ore industry of the Donets Basin and to the formation of the proletariat of Russia. *Reminiscences* helps to get a deep understanding of this process through, in particular, excerpts from the Bolshevik leaflets distributed at the Kamenskoye factory and from *Pravda*.

Leonid Brezhnev writes of the incredible hardships of the workers in the days of his youth, at the turn of the epoch, and of the enormous strength of the working class as the

maker of material values. People of labor are described with heartfelt warmth and publicistic ardor.

While showing the terrible plight of the workers in pre-revolutionary Russia, their abject poverty, and the social injustices, Leonid Brezhnev writes eloquently of the great revolutionary potential of the proletariat and its faith in the party of Lenin. One feels Leonid Brezhnev's words are convincing also because they are reinforced with his own experience and with the experience of comrades committed to the same cause. These are esteemed and prestigious members of the working class, and he began working with them at the age of 15: "I shall always remember my mentors and older comrades, with whom I worked at the Dnieprovs'k factory. They gave me my first profession, taught me the complex science of life and showed the great strength and spiritual beauty of the working person" (ibid., p. 13).

"Life by the Factory Whistle" is a magnificent ode to the working person, his or her moral code, revolutionary commitment, glorious traditions, optimism, great pride in what has been accomplished, and delicate modesty. This chapter has much in common with the pages in *Rebirth* and *The Virgin Lands* in which Leonid Brezhnev pays tribute to the labor heroism of the Soviet people. "On literally all sections of the job, the people were working with devotion, talent and initiative," he writes of those who restored the Zaporozhstal iron and steel works after the war. "A spirit appeared which the Regional Committee had been working for all the time — a spirit of universal fervor, vast initiative and boundless faith in their own forces. I realized that a turning point had arrived on the construction site and that the rate of our progress would now steadily increase. Top-notch workers had developed, who could cope with the boldest plans and the tightest of work schedules."⁴

This was said of industrial workers, but here are lines about tillers of the soil: "The heroic manifests itself in various ways . . . There is the heroism of the moment. There is the heroism of grave periods in the life of the people, the war being the example. And there is the heroism of the daily round, when people consciously and voluntarily commit themselves to hardships which they know they could avoid elsewhere. I am of the opinion that the virgin land people showed themselves to be heroes."⁵

The second chapter of *Reminiscences* is entitled "Sense of Motherland." In it Leonid Brezhnev confides his most cherished thoughts to the reader. "The sense of motherland is very

strong in all of us. It is a wonderful feeling. And it is nourished, of course, not only by contemplation of the beauties of our land. A person must grow into the land, as it were, and when that person works on it in the sweat of his brow, growing grain, laying the foundations of a town, building a new road, or digging a trench in that land to defend it — that is when he fully understands the sense of motherland" (Novy mir, No. 11, 1981, p. 14).

The concept of motherland is shown in the book first of all as a moral sense implicit in a person, a patriot and citizen, a builder and defender. It comes from deep in the family, from the labor accomplishments, from the revolutionary assertion of the person as a creator. It is demonstrated in struggle for the lofty ideals of liberty and truth and in the all-absorbing sense of responsibility for the destiny of one's country, of one's people.

This sense is an active element shorn of barren meditation and affectation. Leonid Brezhnev links devotion to the motherland with selfless work in the most important, decisive sectors. He offers a characteristic example — a talk between Vladimir Bonch-Bruyevich and Lenin in 1918, when to the question of what we were fighting for, the proletarian leader replied with one word: "Bread." At that time the struggle for bread was tantamount to the struggle for socialism. Leonid Brezhnev justifiably uses this yardstick to measure his participation in the affairs of the peasantry — in Kursk Region, in Byelorussia, and in the Urals. "During the years I worked on the development of land I felt for the first time that I was a plenipotentiary representative of the Soviet power in the eyes of hundreds of people," he writes in *Reminiscences*. "The peasants judged the party's policy by how the surveyor's level and rod were laid, where a road was being built, and how a person acquitted himself in clashes with kulaks: there, on the fields, it became clear to everybody who the Soviet power was for and against" (ibid., pp. 17-18).

Patriotism, Leonid Brezhnev writes in *Reminiscences*, is also a civil sense of responsibility for the destiny of peace and humankind. True patriotism is never separate from internationalism. Symbolic in this context were the words of Leonid Brezhnev's father, Ilya Yakovlevich, spoken in the 1930s about Hitler, who, he said, should be hanged so that "everywhere people would see what happens to those who plan war." Also symbolic is Leonid Brezhnev's narration of his service in the Red Army at Peschanka, near Chita. The approach of war was already felt in Europe, and

it was precisely then that Leonid Brezhnev acquired the qualities of a political worker that so vividly manifested themselves during the Great Patriotic War and which we felt so distinctly upon reading the book *Little Land*. "A true political worker in the army," Leonid Brezhnev writes, "is a person round whom all others rally, a person with deep knowledge of the soldiers' mood, their needs, hopes and dreams; he inspires them to self-sacrifice and to heroic deeds. If we bear in mind that the fighting spirit of troops has always been considered a very important element of their courage, then the most effective weapon of the war was in the hands of the political workers."⁶

There is profound truth in this: a sense of motherland is neither a privilege nor a gift. It spells out a sense of responsibility for the destiny of the motherland.

The book *Reminiscences* is permeated with the utmost concern for the ideological and moral principles of the Soviet citizen, of the member of the new society, for maintaining an indivisible link between ideological work and the life of the people and the problems they are tackling. Leonid Brezhnev sees this as the principal task of a communist.

Ideological work, he emphasizes, consists of many elements. "It requires a scientific analysis of the processes taking place in society, and constant work on the problems that arise out of these processes.

"It is dangerous to forget, even temporarily, even in individual sectors, about the ideological factor in state and public life, to reconcile oneself to ideological errors. At first glance they are not as conspicuous as, say, technical errors. If some machine is inexpertly designed it will not yield the expected power or will not work at all — this is seen immediately and the loss can be easily calculated. But an error in ideology is usually covered up, camouflaged with glib talk, but that makes the consequences all the more dangerous, for they will inevitably surface and inflict colossal damage if the error is not corrected in time" (*Novy mir*, No. 11, 1981, p. 24).

Leonid Brezhnev says that the main thing in ideological work is truth. One should speak honestly both about achievements and about miscalculations. People will always understand candidness. "Committed, passionate word has been and remains a sharp weapon of the party, and one must take this very seriously" (*ibid.*, p. 25).

Leonid Brezhnev stigmatizes formalism and calls for a creative approach: "I should like to emphasize: the secret of success lies not in a-

droit oratorical devices, to which bourgeois politicians are prone, not in calculated fervor, and not in the strength of vocal chords. Lenin did not have a loud voice, but he was heard throughout the country and the world because in what he said there were ideas and thoughts that were close to the people, and in defense of those ideas he presented irrefutable arguments, was logical, drew profound scientific and daring conclusions, and always set concrete and important tasks" (*ibid.*).

As a writer myself I should like to make the point that Leonid Brezhnev has done very much to assert the principles of the socialist culture of the epoch of developed socialism. This consists of his splendid words that talent is the property of the people, and the specifics of work with the creative intelligentsia spoken of in the book *The Virgin Lands* (pp. 84-87), and, lastly his exacting requirement of and heartfelt thoughts about the significance of the work of writers and artists expressed in many speeches and reports.

In terms of the time of the events described in it, the book *Reminiscences* precedes, as it were, *Little Land*, *Rebirth* and *The Virgin Lands*. Through the lines of these works we see the narrator, a man of keen thought, great erudition, and a sensitive heart open to people, to their thoughts, deeds and achievements, a communist in the true sense of the word.

In writing of his eventful life, Leonid Brezhnev constantly underscores the influence of the Communist Party. "Of course," he writes, "when I sat for my engineering diploma I never thought that I would work on the restoration of the Zaporozhstal plant, and direct the defense industry of the region and then of the nation. Working on land development I never expected that together with my comrades I would be assigned to develop millions of hectares of virgin land, and receiving military training I did not imagine how well it would serve me in the most bitter of wars. Nor did I know that all this taken together would turn in the course of constant association with large numbers of people into an alloy of experience, skills and knowledge that is called by two simple words: party work. Only with the passage of time did I begin to understand that like thousands of other people I was being consciously trained for future big things. This training was given by the Communist Party" (*ibid.*, p. 23).

Leonid Brezhnev's life and work are an example of selfless service to the people and the ideals of communism, to the behests of peace and friendship among nations bequeathed by the great Lenin. Recognition of his dis-

tinguished services was accentuated last December when together with all progressive humankind the Soviet Union marked his 75th birthday.

Permeated with the Leninist spirit and party passion, the works of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee exercise a strong emotional influence on the reader.

One of the salient conclusions to be drawn from *Reminiscences*, *Little Land*, *Rebirth* and *The Virgin Lands* is that the Soviet people are steadfast in their striving for peace, for the assertion of the ideals of freedom and progress. This was our people's goal when they accomplished the Great October Socialist Revolution, fought in the Civil War and then in the Great Patriotic War, restored the ravaged economy, developed virgin land, and set out to explore outer space. To this day the main concern of Soviet people is peace, for without it the grandiose tasks set by the 26th congress of the CPSU cannot be fulfilled.

Optimism is inherent in communists. We believe in the righteousness and inevitable triumph of our ideas. On our side are all the forces of reason, justice and creation, all the forces opposed to war. Certainty that the future of humankind will be a happy one is the keynote of the vivid and distinctive works by

Leonid Brezhnev, outstanding Leninist, tireless toiler, and dedicated champion of peace.

Sergei Baruzdin
Board Secretary of the
Union of Writers of the USSR,
Editor-in-Chief of the journal
Druzhba Narodov

1. *Novy mir*, No. 11, 1981.

2. According to statistics kindly made available to the journal by the USSR Copyright Agency, the books *Little Land*, *Rebirth* and *The Virgin Lands* have been — by agreement only with the agency — translated into many languages and brought out in a total printing of nearly 25 million copies. In addition to the printings in socialist countries, they have been published in the USA, Britain, India, Turkey, Finland, Greece, Sweden, Norway, France, Spain, Portugal, Japan and many other countries. In the USA the trilogy was initially brought out as separate books, but reader demand was so great that International Publishers printed them in a single volume. In India the trilogy has been translated and published in 13 languages.

The book *Reminiscences* has been translated and published in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Mongolia, and is being prepared for publication in, among other countries, the GDR, Hungary, the USA, Japan and Portugal. — Ed.

3. *WMR*, October 1970; January 1973; July 1974; July 1976; April 1978; August 1979, November 1981. — Ed.

4. L.I. Brezhnev, *Rebirth*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, pp. 41-42.

5. L.I. Brezhnev, *The Virgin Lands*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1979, pp. 59-60.

6. L.I. Brezhnev, *Little Land*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, p. 37.

Following current developments

Gus Hall. *Basics: For Peace, Democracy and Social Progress*, New York, International Publishers, 1980, 336 pp.

Basics, by Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party USA, is a selection of over 70 articles he wrote for the weekend magazine section of the *Daily World* from 1973 to April 1980. It is a graphically creative example of the use of Marxism-Leninism for analyzing U.S. and international developments. The articles were written in response to current events but always concerned topical problems confronting the U.S. working class and were basic to a deeper understanding of the revolutionary processes at work in our world.

Basics is rich in ideas reflecting the working-class attitude to the contradictions of a moribund capitalist system. It is a handbook, in a sense, of how not only to be correct in one's analysis but also how to be convincing to others, especially those who do not fully share the philosophy of the communists. . . .

While *Basics* is a serious book, it is also warm

and passionate. It cuts through the ideological spider web of imperialism, clarifies the major aspects of the struggle for détente and against the arms race, unravels the myths and mysteries concocted from the capitalist interpretation of the world revolutionary process, and helps to better understand the complexity and contradictions of U.S. politics.

The articles in *Basics* are grouped under four headings: "Peace," "Democracy," "Social Progress" and "The Communist Movement." While it is beyond the scope of a brief review to adequately summarize the richness and range within each section, an outline of highlights will help communicate the value of the whole.

The struggle for peace and the exposure of the aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism are the subject of such articles as "A Bird of Prey — Never a Dove of Peace," "The Unemployed and the Vietnamese," "Trade — for Jobs and World Peace," and "The Anti-Fascist Coalition and the Struggle for Détente." In the latter the author, reviewing the class forces which took part in the defeat of fascism, says: "Understanding

the motivations of different class interests — how and why these different class interests coincide, without, however, having any illusions about the nature and aims of the capitalist forces at such moments — is of great importance. The United States, England and France fought in an anti-imperialist, anti-racist war. However, this does not make them anti-imperialist or anti-racist. To learn the lessons of the defeat of Hitler fascism is to become a more effective fighter for the policies of peaceful coexistence and détente" (pp. 17-18).

Concern over the world's future also permeates articles like "On Chinese Aggression," "What Really Happened in Afghanistan" and "The Arrogance of Imperialism." Related to these are articles on SALT II and détente, and Hall's reflections on the poem, "The Armaments-Factory Worker" by Pope John Paul II.

The section on democracy defends civil liberties and exposes the nefarious uses of U.S. anti-communism. One article focuses on "human rights" and the history of U.S. capitalism, and is a contribution to the discussion of the bicentennial of the American Revolution. There are clear, instructive answers in regard to racism and its cost to workers.

The section on social progress offers much that is important for U.S. workers and anti-monopoly activists in general. From Marxist-Leninist positions, it highlights the developments from the infamous Watergate period to "Carter-gate" in 1980. Its thoughts and analysis are applicable and useful for the present Reagan scourge.

"May Day Honors the Rank and File" (1974)

is an example of Hall's militant journalism. It is a clear and convincing presentation of the communist position on nuclear energy, inflation and wages. The author puts the responsibility for the failings of the domestic economy not only upon capitalism but at the feet of the rapacious monopoly corporations. . . .

The communist movement section includes articles on the major anniversary occasions of the Communist Party USA, the *Daily World* and the Young Workers Liberation League. There is a lively question-and-answer interview with comrade Hall about the 25th congress of the CPSU, as well as the text of his address at the congress. There are several hard-hitting exposés of U.S. imperialism's lies against socialism everywhere, but particularly aimed at the Soviet Union.

In short, *Basics* is one of those rare books which more than lives up to its publisher's preface: "To understand and clearly to analyze the complex present-day problems is at least half the battle won. But problems need not only clarifying analysis but also workable solutions, and the writings in this book . . . meet both criteria . . . In *Basics* the reader will meet a brilliant working-class intellect combining with a vast store of militant experience to shape solutions in the interests of all the working people of our country."

And, we would add, useful, informative and helpful to all those fighting for genuine working-class interests, for peace and against the war danger.

Betty Smith

Member, Political Bureau, CPUSA

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