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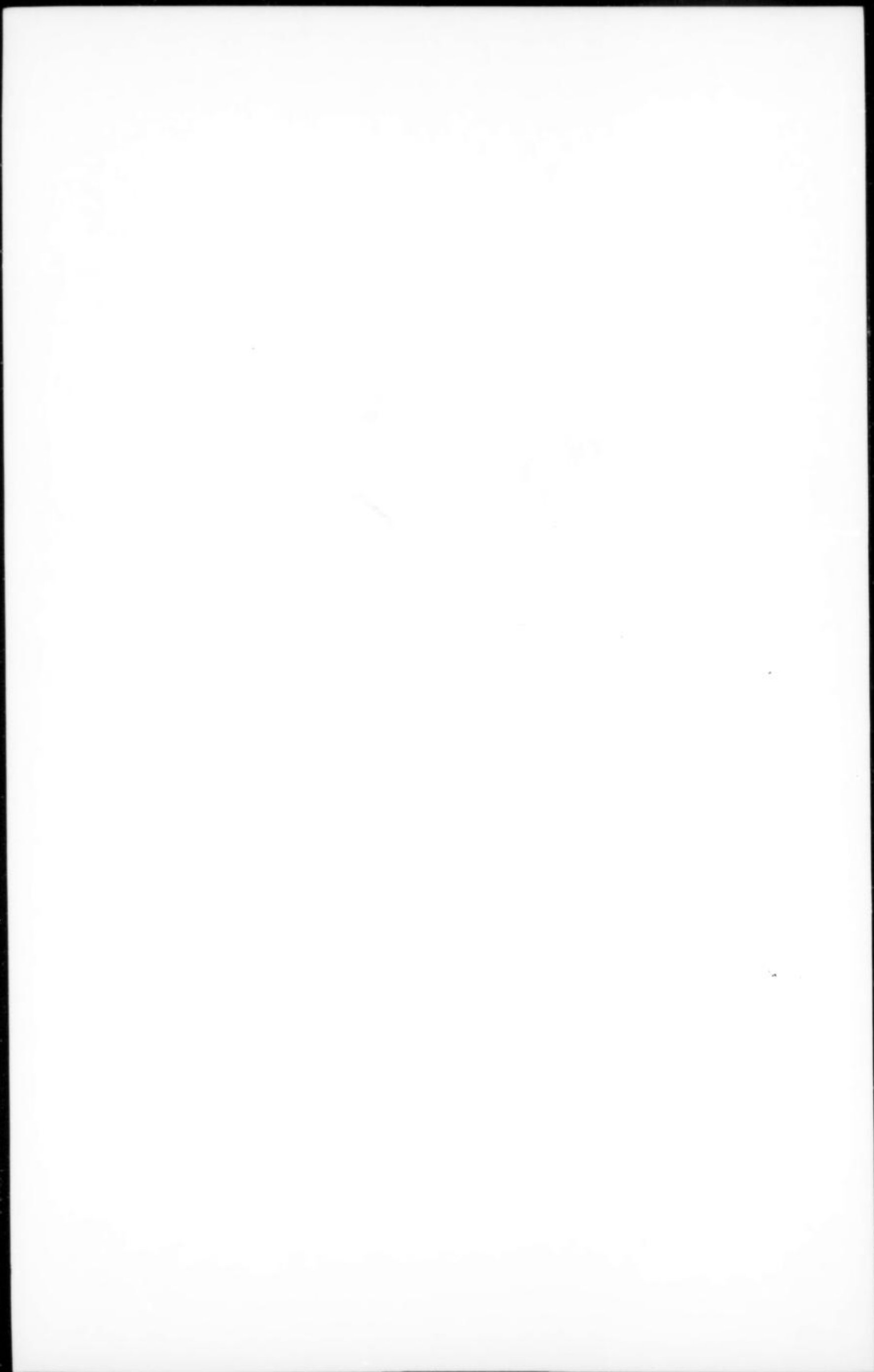
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WORKERS OF ALL LANDS UNITE

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*Theoretical and Information Journal of
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WORKERS OF ALL LANDS UNITE

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features

Internationalism: The Strength Of Our Movement

René Urbany - Chairman,
Communist Party of Luxembourg (PCL)

THE world has become a smaller place. Countries and peoples are drawing closer together and social life is becoming more interdependent; the internationalisation of social life is universal, and under its impact some local problems have become global, among them primarily the problem of war and peace, which no inhabitant of the planet can hope to escape.

The world has, indeed, become smaller, but not a more comfortable place to live in. While stimulating the unitary trends in world development, internationalisation tends to deepen the social contradictions of our epoch, those between socialism and capitalism, between labour and capital, between the international financial oligarchy and the developing countries, between the urges of the most aggressive imperialist circles and the interests of the rest of humanity, which wants peace. We in Luxembourg are perhaps more sensible of these global contradictions, for while the country has a small territory and population, it is deeply integrated in regional and world-wide economic, political and military systems. Our own experience tells us that nowadays no one can remain aloof from the international contest between the forces of progress and reaction, on which the potentialities and prospects for the class battles in each country largely depend.

That being so, how are the Communists to determine their policy as a blend of the national and the international? What effect do these conditions have on international solidarity, notably in the struggle for peace, and on the relation of the class and general democratic factors of its development.

Working Class Creativity

We believe that the answer lies in proletarian internationalism. Why?

First of all because the communist movement is generally inconceivable without internationalism, which cannot be dissociated from its social substance. The Communists, Marx and Engels stressed in their *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, differ from other proletarian parties in that 'in the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality'.¹

Proletarian internationalism is a necessary premise and simultaneously an outcome of the development of the communist movement, which originated, rose and has

continued to develop on the basis of the working people's international solidarity. That is why a group of internationalists left the Socialist Party, declared its adherence to the Third International and founded the Communist Party in our country in January 1921.

For us, proletarian internationalism has always been and continues to be an inexhaustible source of revolutionary thought and revolutionary action, providing us with the right political guidelines, and helping to find the right approaches to internal and international problems. Has not consistent internationalism, solidarity and unity enabled the communist movement to become such an influential political force of the present epoch and the crucial factor of the world revolutionary process?

The Marxist classics kept drawing the attention of the political parties of the working class to the need for utmost efforts in strengthening proletarian internationalism for victory over the exploiters, since the world-wide clash of the class interests of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is historically inevitable. 'Capitalist domination is international. That is why the workers' struggle in all countries for their emancipation is only successful if the workers fight jointly against international capital,'² Lenin wrote at the end of the 19th century.

Since then, the conditions for the existence of the working class and other social strata have substantially changed under the impact of the deep changes in capitalism itself: in its productive forces, social-class structure, political system, and the strategy and tactics of the bourgeoisie and its parties. All these changes, however, ultimately bear out what Lenin said, since neither capital nor the working class has modified its nature in the 20th century; their relations continue to be antagonistic, and the historical mutations of the present epoch merely go to exacerbate them, so—and for that very reason—making each antagonist consolidate the international cooperation of its own and allied socio-political forces.

The internationalisation of the class struggle is nowadays manifested in the development of the two opposed social systems, and in the corresponding forms of their economic integration and foreign-policy coordination; it is also evident in the growing activity of the transnational monopoly corporations (TNCs), which are confronted by the international working class and its organisations. We find that the offensive against the interests of the working people is now no longer being carried on by individual entrepreneurs, but by monopoly capital concentrated as never before in the past. Today one often finds a corporation simultaneously exploiting workers in many countries on different continents. The internationalisation of capitalism is now also seen in the establishment of multilateral, including regional, groupings and commissions, and coordinating, consultative and research institutions. Many of them operate in Luxembourg, such as the various agencies of NATO and the EEC, the Secretariat of the European Parliament, international financial and commercial centres, and so on. Their activity is designed to maximise the profits of the TNCs and to erect additional barriers against the working people's anti-monopoly struggle.

For all the often pronounced contradictions between the imperialist powers and their groupings, for all the efforts of the rival monopoly associations to batten at each other's expense, world imperialism strives to act in a common front when it comes to resisting revolutionary change. The development of these contradictions now depends not only on the internal uniformities of capitalism but also on the dynamic of the social forces balance in the international arena. The ever stronger positions of existing socialism, the rapid development of the anti-imperialist movement, and the internationalisation of the anti-war struggle have all accentuated the tendency of inter-imperialist contradictions to be subordinated to the tasks of preserving capitalism as a social system and to the common objective of the international financial oligarchy.

Imperialism resists progressive change in its efforts to re-establish military

superiority and ever more frequently resorts to violence in the struggle against the working class movement. Counter-revolutionary terrorism is raised to the state level, as will be seen from the aggressive moves against Nicaragua, Afghanistan, Angola and other countries.

In these conditions, proletarian internationalism becomes ever more important, with a growing role in the class struggle and multi-faceted manifestations, so facing us with the need to deepen our theoretical analysis of new problems in the working people's solidarity and the present forms of its development. That is quite natural, because our internationalism is not an armchair doctrine, but a vibrant force of history, embodying the communist parties' practical experience as each fights for 'the utmost possible in one country for the development, support and awakening of the revolution in all countries'.³

Internationalism, a product of the revolutionary creativity of the working class and its parties, is a dynamic system of ideas and principles, being open to all that is progressive in international intercourse and acquiring new features at each historical stage as it is enriched with practical experience. The ambit of internationalism has ranged over ever larger masses not only of the working class but also of other social strata, the number of its supporters increasing with the rising requirements and potentialities of the forces of peace, national liberation and social progress.

The prospects of social development and the solution of the problems of war and peace, among other acute problems, now largely, if not primarily, depend on the trends exerting the prevailing influence in the international arena, and that, for its part, depends on the international cohesion of the communist parties represented in all the streams of the world revolutionary process, and capable—because of their internationalism and wide experience in the struggle for the working people's solidarity—to act as an effective factor in uniting all those who stand for peace and progress.

The International and the National

The Communists have long standing traditions in playing this role. In our party, they are closely connected with its active participation in international solidarity movements; we took an active stand in defence of the first socialist state born of the October Revolution, and subsequently also of the other countries taking the socialist way; we were on the side of Republican Spain and the German anti-fascists; we fought in the ranks of the anti-Hitlerite Resistance in Europe; we protested against the war in Vietnam; we have always supported national liberation in Asia, Africa and Latin America; and we have always given help to the revolutionary fighters incarcerated in the torture-chambers of the anti-democratic regimes.

A historical retrospect will recall that in September 1942 the working people of Luxembourg staged a general strike, the first in Nazi-occupied Europe, with the Communists doing much to organise it. Among the leaders of the strike were foreign workers, among them the German anti-fascist Hans Adams, who sounded the signal for the strike at a metallurgical mill. When the strike was suppressed, he and many of his comrades were executed by the Nazis.

The internationalists have always been hated by reaction, whose attacks are aimed above all at the Communists, branded as an 'anti-national force' hostile to patriotism. No assertion is more false. True internationalists are always true patriots. We have fought consistently for the vital interests of our nation, for strengthening its independence and sovereignty, and we have always respected the traditions of our people, so expressing the vital aspirations of the majority of the population, of the workers by hand and by brain.

Our patriotism is not declarative. It is an active patriotism, as it was under the Nazi occupation, when many Communists gave their lives for the country's liberation. Our

patriotism has nothing in common with nationalism, and it is inseparable from proletarian solidarity. How could we have claimed to be internationalists and how could we have contributed to the liberation of all the oppressed workers and peoples of the world, if we had not daily done our utmost for the progress of our own people? What kind of patriot is he who fails to look beyond the narrow view of national interests and ignores the aspirations of the working people of other countries?

In practice, the Communists' internationalism is determined in accordance with the national specifics, for they have to act in different concrete historical conditions. The acuteness of social contradictions, the level of consciousness of the working people, the scope of the bourgeoisie's ideological impact on them, and the political activity of the masses differ from one capitalist country to another, as do the extent of the organisation of the social forces: the working class, the bourgeoisie and the other social strata. There is also a marked difference in the communist parties' influence on the working class, their numerical strength and role in national life. The actual content of political alliance noticeably differs from country to country. There is the effect of distinctions in the intellectual life and cultures of the peoples, the working people's educational standards, the forms of ideological struggle, and so on.

Internationalisation does, of course, tend to obliterate many of these distinctions, but, simultaneously and in inter-connection with it, there is an enhancement of the national factors in the life of the peoples and a rise of their patriotic aspirations, a process which is often stimulated precisely by internationalisation, as in the activity of the TUCs and EEC and NATO agencies, which tramples on the national interests of Luxembourg and other West European countries and sharpens their sense of patriotism.

As in the past, the PCL works out its stand on the key issues of life in our society and the international situation in the light of the unity of the national and international, the basis on which our party acts inside and outside parliament, against the massive export of capital, and for the necessary investments in the country's economy. Indeed, it is the ruling circles of Luxembourg, with their hamfisted efforts to teach us patriotism, that have set an example in cynically ignoring our people's interests to suit international capital. Nor was this in any way hampered by Gaston Thorn of Luxembourg presiding over the EEC Commission in Brussels. At our 24th Congress in February 1984, we clearly pointed to those who are acting to the nation's detriment: 'They are the politicians now helping to turn our little country into a military base for another 'crusade against Russia', so jeopardising the future of our whole people. They are the politicians who allow the TNCs and the bankers to have their way in the Luxembourg economy and sell off our heavy industry, the basis of our national independence'.⁴

The unity of the national and the international is the key principle of our policy. Neglect of either inevitably makes one lose touch with local realities or ignore international imperatives.

The Communists' consideration of the national specific features of each country ultimately signifies the concrete application of the general uniformities of scientific communism discovered by Marx, Engels and Lenin, and confirmed by practitioners across the world. That is why it would be wrong to consider internal situations only in the light of local specifics, and in abstraction from external conditions and historical experience in tackling similar problems. Far from limiting, a knowledge of the general propositions of theory and consideration of the fraternal parties' experience in effect enlarges the choice of methods of concrete struggle and gives greater freedom of action.

It is a truth that is not confined to the framework of political theory. It embodies one of the key properties of human activity. Scientists, engineers, doctors and other specialists have to keep taking concrete decisions based on more general knowledge

and notions of their business, and everyone knows that the wider one's knowledge and the broader one's notions the more correct a decision or option is likely to be. In other words, a living blend of the general and the particular is a part of any conscious action.

A party's independence and capability of formulating its political line meeting the country's actual conditions are necessary premises for its successful development. Here a simple reiteration of general tenets of the revolutionary doctrine is inadequate, and a mechanical copying of the experience of others, intolerable. Just as are, we believe, the ignoring of the general uniformities of scientific communism and self-isolation from the international tasks of the communist movement. Far from infringing, to say nothing of negating, the sovereignty of the communist parties, proletarian internationalism, on the contrary asserts it as a necessary principle in their life and activity. The parties' independence is inseparable from internationalism, that being one of the rules guaranteeing the voluntary nature—and so the strength—of the Communists' internationalist solidarity. No one—except life itself—has ever compelled us to be internationalists!

One would think that the matter is sufficiently clear. Meanwhile, forces hostile to communism and claiming to be the champions of the communist parties' independence (while presenting the internationalists as its opponents) have kept trying artificially to exacerbate the issue and to start a polemic over it. What do they want? They want to distort proletarian internationalism and to contrast it to the principle of the communist parties' independence, and to force us to accept their—nationalistic—view of the principle. While trying to keep us away from the world revolutionary experience, they would like to make the Communists dependent on bourgeois and reformist ideology and politics which, incidentally, are themselves international and strive in every way to extend and globalise their influence. But the loss of class independence and a weakening of the relations of internationalist solidarity inevitably undermine the Communists' national positions. It is also important to remember that the political authority of a party—of any party—and its role in the life of the nation depend not only on its internal accomplishments, but also on the scale and solidity of its international ties. That is something we have learnt from our own experience.

A comparison of the programmes of Marxist-Leninist parties from various countries and the actual measures taken to implement them will show that loyalty to proletarian internationalism does not in any way curtail sovereignty and does not prevent the pursuit of an independent policy in line with the national specifics. The PLC, acting in the light of consistent internationalism, has solid ties with most communist and workers' parties of the world, including ruling parties, and had always been sensible of solidarity on their part, without any one demanding that we should pay the price of our independence for the support of our struggle, and without anyone dictating to us what we should and should not do, or imposing their 'models' or methods on us.

The current and long-term tasks of policy and the directions and forms of struggle for the working people's interests—in short, every key question of our activity we decide independently, in the light of our analysis of the concrete situation in Luxembourg and with an eye to the local specifics. This is not hampered in any way but is, in fact, promoted by a study of the other parties' experience and creative use of anything within it that could be applied in our country's conditions and that is internationally meaningful.

The complexity of the problems faced by communist parties in their activity, the distinctions in their status and national specifics can, of course, produce different assessments of various situations and developments, and we believe that it is important to clarify, instead of hushing up, these differences, while working to

strengthen the communists' international solidarity.

Common Mission, Common Interests

Throughout its history, the PCL has striven to develop fraternal relations with the CPSU and the other ruling parties of the socialist world. Marxist-Leninists in the capitalist countries are united with these parties by a community of vital interests, and by the common historical mission of the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, even if it is at different stages of its realisation. One has, of course, to tackle dissimilar tasks, but the Communists everywhere rely in their struggle on the same set of uniformities, even if their workings are not everywhere simultaneous or in the same forms.

The Communists of the capitalist world give much attention to the practices of the fraternal parties under existing socialism, striving to learn lessons from the experience they have gained so as to determine for themselves with greater certainty the prospects for social transformations in line with local conditions. They are attracted by the living example of realising the historical mission of the working class, and by the form of social system ruling out class exploitation, and ensuring genuine democracy and the equality of nations and races.

Here the fraternal parties bear in mind that while the socialist countries have already achieved a great deal, they are still at the beginning of a long road, and it would be unfair to regard the new society as being absolutely free of problems, and to contrast existing socialism with its ideal picture. Lenin used to say to the foreign revolutionaries who came to Soviet Russia to find out what was being done: 'It would be absurd to set up our revolution as the ideal for all countries . . .' The founder of the Soviet state, let us add, believed that it was highly important for the foreign comrades 'to see that in our revolution we are not in the least exceeding the bounds of reality'.⁵

The history of world socialism certifies that its development is a constant advance and the tackling of tasks of ever greater proportions, something that at every qualitatively new stage results in a change in the balance of forces in the international arena in favour of socialism, and expands the potentialities for the defence of peace. Accordingly, as early as 1937, the PCL reached the conclusion—and it remains valid to this day: 'every true citizen of Luxembourg, even if he opposes socialism, must be a friend of the Soviet Union'.⁶

We have always been aware that existing socialism is the greatest gain of the international working class that has to be defended against any attacks. Our party believes that it is its internationalist and patriotic duty to keep consolidating and developing internationalist relations with the Soviet people and its Leninist party. The 24th Congress of the PCL stressed: 'When advocating friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union, we act not only as the spokesmen for the interest of our working class, but also as the patriots of our country'.⁷

The Communists of Luxembourg are watching with vivid interest the preparations for the 27th Congress of the CPSU, which is to adopt a new edition of the party's Programme, and to map out great plans for peaceful construction over the immediate and more distant prospects. The positions of all the progressive and peace-loving forces are strengthened as the USSR and other socialist countries advance to new frontiers of development.

True to its internationalist stand, the first thing our party sees is the historical accomplishments and vast creative potentialities of socialism, and comprehends the true scale and nature of the various difficulties by assessing them in the light of history. We respect the sovereign right of the communist parties of the socialist countries to solve the emerging problems for the benefit of their own peoples and believe that they are capable of ensuring the society's continuing and accelerated progress.

With Whom and Against Whom

An objective analysis of the present international situation leaves no doubt that the danger of war hanging over the globe is posed by the most aggressive circles of imperialism stubbornly pushing the world to the brink of a nuclear catastrophe. It shows that the socialist countries have been and continue to be the crucial factor in averting war and the chief guarantor of preserving peace. That was most emphatically reaffirmed by the October Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty's Political Consultative Committee 'For Eliminating the Nuclear Threat and a Turn for the Better in European and World Affairs', which once again shows very well that while imperialism, US imperialism in the first place, is nursing plans for world domination, with a stake on the arms race and armed confrontation, socialism wants an easing of international tensions for its extensive programmes of peaceful construction. The participants in the Sophia meeting called on the governments and peoples of all the countries of Europe and other countries to join in combatting the threat of total annihilation hanging over mankind, and for solving all the international problems, even the sharpest and most intractable ones, by political means, through negotiation and a productive dialogue based on a consideration of the parties' legitimate interests.

We are convinced that internationalist solidarity in the fight against the danger of war can be truly effective only if there is awareness of these truths. Today, with life on our planet itself at stake, this awareness is necessary in order to clearly see the possibilities of averting a nuclear holocaust and the ways to make the fullest use of them. These possibilities are great. The key antagonism of the present epoch—that between socialism and capitalism—is evolving into a global contest between the 'war party', represented by the aggressive monopoly circles, and the peoples, who are committed to preserving peace, and this affords the objective premises for the shaping of a world-wide coalition of anti-war forces. The social and political framework of their international cooperation is being enlarged, and its content and role being essentially determined by one thing: rejection of war and a readiness to fight against it.

We believe that it is a realistic prospect to confront the excessively self-assured and blind forces of war with a coalition of reason uniting all those who want to preserve peace, among them members of the bourgeoisie itself, including a section of monopoly bourgeoisie: after all, the ultimate end of many 'classical' armed conflicts in the past boiled down to creating the conditions for the expanded reproduction of capital, a prospect that cannot even be imagined in the event of a nuclear catastrophe.

Perhaps proletarian internationalism, with its clear class orientation, is at odds with those ideas? Historical practice testifies that it has never been a barrier separating the working class from the other social forces. Marxists have always been able to strengthen international solidarity with their allies, without forgoing class interests. The humanistic and anti-militaristic tenor of the communist ideology has great attractive power for the broad public strata, a feature that was vividly manifested in the period of battles against fascism, when it fully revealed the communist parties' capacity to stand up for the people's national interests and for general human values.

The Communists were among those who started the anti-war movement, and they remain its active participants, consistently conducting the line of uniting all the peace fighters, irrespective of their convictions and political views. The key historical task today is to unite mankind for the sake of its survival, check the aggressive tendencies of imperialism, and the Communists' struggle to do so is a reflection of their broad democratic approach not contrasted to proletarian internationalism, but based on it. There is no contradiction between the general democratic and the class principles of international solidarity, which take shape and develop in the course of their living and dynamic interaction.

It is, of course, not right to underestimate the complexity of the problems produced by the diversity of ideological and political positions among the peace forces, and the specifics of their activity in the capitalist and the socialist countries. They naturally now and again have their differences, especially on issues in determining the sources of the war danger and its culprits, and the priority goals and concrete actions. And that is understandable. But the adversaries of the anti-war movement speculate on such differences in their efforts to divide its participants and to isolate them from common action against the nuclear threat, and from the organisations of peace fighters in the socialist states. Such speculations are clearly aimed to create more favourable conditions for conducting the imperialist policy of aggression and the arms race.

Our party regards resistance to such attempts as a task of fundamental importance. We stand for joint discussion of any issues agitating in the minds of activists in the anti-war movement in the various countries. The main thing is to have the differences overcome in an atmosphere of respect for the independence and equality of all its trends for the sake of averting a thermonuclear catastrophe, and preserving and strengthening world peace.

The mounting aggressiveness of the US reactionary circles, their boundless ambitions, and their lost ability to make a sober assessment of the realities of the nuclear age, all tend to increase friction and call for higher vigilance by the peace forces and fresh efforts for unity. The US plans to militarise space and Washington's implementation of its Star Wars programme are a source of especial alarm. A joint statement issued in the summer of 1985 by the Communist Party of Luxembourg, the Communist Party of Austria and the German Communist Party says: 'This course is a challenge to all democratically-minded and rational champions of peace. We Communists are doing all we can to create a coalition of common sense and goodwill, block the reckless Star Wars plans, secure a ban on the militarisation of outer space and thus eliminate the threat of nuclear catastrophe'.⁸

Elimination of the danger is the key but not the sole problem whose solution requires deeper international solidarity of the progressive forces. The plight of the peoples of the developing countries, whose condition keeps worsening, presents some extremely acute international problems. While supporting their struggle for stronger independence and against the interventionist policy of imperialism, we attach much importance to broadening the involvement of the national liberation potential in the international anti-war front.

* * *

International by nature and character of its development, the Communist movement is more capable than any other social force to unite effectively, in the interests of all the peoples the ranks of those who are working for the consolidation of peace and an end to the arms race, for progressive social development, the wiping out of hunger, poverty and illiteracy, protection of the environment, and solution of other human problems. The Communists' militant spirit and the cohesion of their ranks need to be enhanced if this mission is to be fulfilled. Proletarian internationalism is not a thing of the past; it is the present and the future of our movement.

¹ Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 497.

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 109.

³ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 292.

⁴ 24 Kongress vun der Kommunistescher Partei vu Lëtzebuerg, Esch-Uelzecht, February 4-5, 1984, p. 27.

⁵ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, pp. 191-192.

⁶ D. Urbany, *Pour l'unification du peuple Luxembourgeois*, Luxembourg, 1937.

⁷ 24. Kongress vun der Kommunistescher Partei vu Lëtzebuerg, p. 27.

⁸ *Information Bulletin*, No. 16, 1985.

Socialist Statehood and Social Processes

Egon Krenz - Political Bureau
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THE entire history of the formation and growth of the German Democratic Republic strikingly shows that socialism is the social system most consistent with human dignity. In our country the good of the people is the highest law of political life. The people see this constantly from their own experience and this is what provides the foundation for the unshakable unity of the party, state, and people. This unity is the source of the GDR's political stability.

Life demonstrates that socialist society's development and the realisation of all its potentialities depend to a large extent on a smoothly functioning state dependably defended against class enemies. The workers' and peasants' power has been and remains the cardinal condition of our progress. This was underscored by Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the SUPG Central Committee and Chairman of the State Council of the GDR, at the party's Tenth Congress in 1981: 'Guided by the Marxist-Leninist party, the socialist state power and its prestige and ability to function are the basis and condition of our successful advancement. This has been, is, and will remain the fundamental issue of the socialist revolution. The freedom of the people to create conditions of life worthy of all citizens and the freedom of the individual can only be ensured by the political power of the working class.'

With its establishment the socialist state has opened up entirely new prospects for the preservation of peace and the protection of the creative labour and life of people. By depriving monopoly capital and the landowner class of power it abolished the socio-economic foundation of militarism, uprooted the ideology of aggression, and was able to build new socialist relations of production, in other words, a solid material foundation for the struggle for peace. Liberated from the fetters of imperialism, the people are today not only determining their own way of life, but also influencing the destinies of humankind, working to safeguard peace in the world.

The appearance in East Germany of a workers' and peasants' republic, whose international activity expresses the will of the people for peace, has exercised and is exercising a powerful influence on Europe's historical destinies. For the first time ever, there is in the heartland of our continent a German state that makes no territorial claims whatever on other nations. The highest principle of its policy is to do all in its power to make German soil an everlasting source of peace, not of war.

For the GDR to consolidate peace means to respect the achievements of all nations, big and small, to abide by socialist internationalism, and actively display solidarity with the struggle for national and social liberation by political, moral, and material means. Our policy of peace rests on unbounded respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of every nation, on political dialogue, and on constructive mutually beneficial cooperation in accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence. It rests on compliance with all international treaties and on the defence of the rights of peoples in the spirit of the United Nations Charter and the Helsinki Final Act. This policy is a component of the joint strategy of peace pursued by the socialist states.

The nuclear threat confronts the peoples with the question of 'to be or not to be?'. The reply to it is obvious. From the standpoint of common sense nobody can justify a military conflict. It cannot be the means of settling the dispute over which social system holds out a better future for the human race. After an all-destroying nuclear conflagration nobody will care about how this question is answered. Desolation will be all that will remain. It is only peaceful competition between the two social systems

that will show the credibility of the most progressive system.

The nuclear apocalypse which imperialism's policy may bring about is countered by a policy of peace by the USSR and all the other socialist countries. The Soviet proposals and the initiatives of Mikhail Gorbachyov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, make it clear that this policy is being put into effect perseveringly, constructively, and purposefully. The USSR, the GDR, and all the other socialist countries are guided not by any situation considerations but by an unflagging desire to achieve tangible and dependable progress along the hard road of limiting armaments and achieving disarmament and detente.

We, the Communists, want peaceful competition for we are profoundly convinced that we will win that competition. It is part of our historic mission to deliver humankind from the horrors of war for all time to come. As in every other state with socialist relations of production, in the GDR there is no class or social strata that can benefit from a military confrontation. Of decisive importance for us in the international working class struggle is the motivation to achieve significant labour successes for the good of the people, a high level of labour productivity, political staunchness, and the ability to defend socialist gains dependably at any time.

As a member of the family of states of the new world, our republic is today in a position to attain two strategic objectives simultaneously: to promote socialism's intellectual and material potentialities to a growing extent and strengthen the defence of socialism. The people of the GDR are convinced that these objectives are interrelated: conscious labour for socialism contributes to the consolidation of peace. As the new system's economic potential grows and the advantages inherent in it become increasingly visible, socialism will be able to exercise a mounting influence to bring about a happy future in which humankind will not know wars. The working people thus daily feel the link between their labour and the preservation of peace. They are acting on the principle that the work they do is the clearest evidence of how profoundly they are conscious of the value of peace. This induces every person to respond to our party's call that everything possible must be done now, without delay, for the good of the people and for a life of peace.

We regard the building of a developed socialist society as a historical process in the course of which profound political, economic, social, and cultural changes take place and each person becomes the conscious creator and master of his own destiny and is able and prepared to bear responsibility for the common cause. A central direction of the development of our statehood is hence the further perfection of socialist democracy. Active and massive participation of the people in administration at both the state and local levels is today the determining factor of social progress in the GDR. This is borne out by its results in all areas of life.

The Eighth Congress of the SUPG in 1971 formulated our party's main task, stressing that economic policy must be pursued in close unity with social policy. For the entire people the course steered by the party has become a reality of life. From their own experience millions of people know that conscientious work for society benefits each individual citizens. This knowledge has become a major locomotive of social progress. For the past 15 years we have been consistently working to implement the line laid down by the Eighth Congress aimed at fostering the welfare of the people. It is becoming increasingly evident that as more extensive prospects are put forward the people respond with further achievements. The dynamic growth of the national economy has led to the creation of the material conditions that are at present, in the mid-1980s and in the longer term, making it possible to pursue a policy that has justified itself, to attain the paramount objective set by the party.

Let us glance at some statistics. In 1980-1984 the GDR's national income grew from 187.1 to 222.1 billion marks. The growth rate of labour productivity has risen, averaging 5.7 per cent in 1981-1983 and registering 7.7 per cent last year. To ensure

increments of this dimension without a change in labour productivity would have entailed increasing the number of people employed in material production by one-fifth, in other words, by 1,200,000. But we ensured 90 per cent of this increment in the national income by boosting productivity in the economy, chiefly through the use of scientific and technological breakthroughs. In this context, attention must be drawn to the dimensions reached by the movement of production innovators: the number of innovators grew in 1980-1984 from 1,700,000 to 2,000,000, while the annual returns from the innovations introduced by them during the same period rose from 4,500 million to 5,600 million marks.

In the course of intensive extended reproduction there has been a perceptible decrease in the consumption of energy and raw and other materials—by 6.2 per cent—which in the past four years has yielded an average annual saving of 14,200 million marks. A more efficient organisation of the internal links in the national economy has cut back freight transportation by 145 million tons, or by 13 per cent.

The population's take-home incomes have grown, while the turnover in retail trade increased by over 8,500 million marks in 1980-1984. Simultaneously, annual state subsidies have risen from 16,900 million to 31,800 million marks, and this has permitted keeping consumer goods prices and transportation rates unchanged.

In the period since the Eighth Congress of the SUPG dwelling houses with 2,400,000 apartments have been built or modernised (with account of the plan target for 1985). This means that housing has been improved for more than seven million citizens. Simultaneously public buildings, nursery schools and kindergartens, secondary schools with gymnasiums, medical aid centres, and homes for senior citizens have been built.

Our society's achievements are visible in many areas: the unchangably low rents, free medical care for all citizens and special attention for mothers and children; state benefits for large families, and purposeful concern for young people. Let me illustrate. Rents do not exceed three per cent of the average family budget. At industrial facilities 7,500 canteens annually serve 4,400,000 hot meals at exceedingly low prices which have not changed since 1947, when the law on meals at the workplace was passed. The credits extended to newlyweds rose from 458,600,000 to 486,100,000 marks in 1980-1984. In keeping with an operating law 134,000 families into which babies were born had a debt totalling 172,200,000 marks cancelled last year.

The policy of promoting steady economic growth and social progress has brought to life a nation-wide movement in honour of the upcoming Eleventh Congress of the SUPG. It features unprecedented creative initiatives by the people to ensure the all-round reinforcement of our workers' and peasants' state. It is indicative that on account of this mass movement this year—the year of direct preparations for the congress—promises to be the most productive in the history of the GDR. This is evident from the figures for the first nine months. Through intensive extended reproduction the national income is up 4.4 per cent over the same period last year, this being evidence of continued dynamic economic development. The largest proportion of this increment (80 per cent) came from industry. Its net output has increased by 8.5 per cent, while labour productivity has grown by 7.9 per cent. The republic's socialist agriculture brought in a record harvest of grain—a total of 11,600,000 tons with an average yield of 4.6 tons per hectare.

Never before has there been on German soil such a wide-ranging social programme and such significant advances in public education. And never before has such considerable assistance been extended to young people. It is becoming increasingly obvious that the SUPG is carrying out its political promises. Confidence in the party is inducing the people to aim for new achievements, and in turn these achievements are

still further strengthening this confidence.

In the GDR the people are consciously linking their present and their expectations for the future with the party's programme target of continuing building a developed socialist society and thereby fashioning the basic conditions for a gradual transition to communism.² It may safely be said that the SUPG Programme has become the lodestar for the people.

The comprehensive intensification of production continues to reinforce the material and technical basis for the republic's development, a closer link is shaping between the advantages of socialism and the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution, and socialist production and other social relations are steadfastly improving. This is ushering in a new stage in the country's life.

One of our party's sources of strength is its creative application of the general laws of the socialist revolution and of the building of the new society. We have always been guided by these laws in keeping with our specific national conditions. Power of the working class led by the party, public property in the means of production, the Marxist-Leninist world-view, and the alliance with other countries of the socialist community guarantee our republic's successful progress today and in the future.

The unity between our state policy's national and international features is seen with crystal clarity in the fraternal alliance with the USSR. Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the SUPG Central Committee, and Mikhail Gorbachov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, have jointly reiterated the readiness of the two parties to promote relations on the government and public levels and also to perfect cooperation in tackling economic tasks. This is benefitting both peoples and reinforcing socialism's position in the world. In the spirit of the traditions laid down by Ernst Thaelmann, our party has always been confident that a close alliance with the party of Lenin and the Soviet Union serves the interests of peace and socialism. Consolidation of the unity and cohesion of the socialist community is a historic task in the true sense of the word, a task that includes the unfolding of all of the new social system's intellectual and material potentialities in every fraternal country and their joint fulfilment of their common mission of peace.

It is our firm belief that the most vital aim of the further building of developed socialism is to tap all its potentialities, ensure the welfare and happiness of people, and more fully demonstrate the profound humanist essence of our ideal. Erich Honecker has expressed this as follows: 'All the thoughts of the Communists are centred on people—that people should become people.'³ From this follows the principle of the SUPG to do everything with and for the people. We abide by this stand in our day-to-day work as we advance ever new aims.

The dialectical relationship between state leadership and the initiative of the people grows more and more productive as socialist society progresses. Leadership serves the interests of the people and facilitates the development of the people's constructive cooperation in the settlement of all the problems of social progress. In turn, the people's initiative stimulates the perfection of state leadership. This bears out the importance of both components of the Leninist principle of democratic centralism: democratic participation of the people in administration and centralism in the leadership. In this interrelated unity democratic centralism is a stabilising and mobilising element. Its consistent implementation at all stages of the GDR's history has been a mainspring of the successes of our workers' and peasants' power.

No other concept can convey more accurately the substance of socialist democracy and also the principles of the building, interaction, and functioning of the organs of state power in the new society than democratic centralism, which is an underlying principle of Marxism-Leninism. In a socialist society it is indispensable for the management of the entire course of developments, for the meaningful unfolding of socialism's advantages and motive forces. By linking objectively vital central

leadership with the creative activity of the people—in what is primary, fundamental, essential,⁴ as Lenin put it—we heighten the dependence between the fulfilment of basic social tasks and the extension of responsibility and initiative in the localities. This is one of the most significant lessons of socialist construction in the GDR, a lesson that we shall remember, putting it to ever more efficient use in practice.

In the GDR every citizen has the possibility of directly influencing the course of society's development. Coming into daily contact with state authority, millions of people learn the art of administration and to bear responsibility for the republic's affairs. Knowledge and experience are vital for making actual use of authority for the common good and, at the same time, in one's personal interests. Our socialist state has created conducive conditions for this: of the 8,900,000 working people, 4,600,000 have completed a ten-year general education polytechnical school, and 6,600,000 have received a vocational education (including 78.9 per cent of the working women). Over 90 per cent of the peasants, both men and women, have had specialised training. The national economy employs two million persons with a higher or secondary specialised education. Women comprise 36 per cent of the people with a higher education, 60 per cent of the people with a specialised education, and half of the skilled workers.

A high level of education is a key condition enabling ever larger sections of the population to exercise their democratic rights. It has now become clearer than ever before how important the historic attainment of equal access to education is for socialism's further progress. Skill, knowledge, experience, and people's readiness to work are our country's most precious possession. The SUPG bases its political leadership on this conviction.

The party sees the duty of the state and all public forces in making the most productive use of the people's intellectual potentialities, of the working people's high professional training, and in tirelessly giving them the political motivations to work efficiently. We strive to keep the people as fully informed as possible of the state of affairs and draw ever larger numbers of people into the work of resolving existing problems. This is a large potential for the development of society as a whole and of individuals.

More and more citizens are today exercising their constitutional rights to participate in all areas of the country's political, economic, and intellectual life. Let me give some eloquent statistics. A total of 268,000 deputies and alternate-deputies have been elected to people's representative organs and hundreds of thousands of citizens are members of the standing commissions of these organs; 367,000 persons are members of the committees of the National Front; 2,200,000 trade union activists and functionaries represent the interests of their workmates; there are over 600,000 persons on the parents' councils and bodies of activists helping the socialist school; there are nearly 53,000 elected lay assessors, and some 300,000 persons helping to settle disputes between citizens in conflict commissions and arbitration bodies outside courts of law; the 266,000 members of the commissions and committees of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate monitor the fulfilment of various state and social tasks. In addition, there are many public commissions: housing distribution, maintenance of order and safety at industrial facilities and in urban residential neighbourhoods and rural communities, housing committees, and other democratic organs.

In this context mention must also be made of the annual discussions that precede the drawing up of plans of industrial enterprises and the various offices. According to data for last year these discussions were attended by 2,200,000 persons who submitted 643,000 suggestions. These plans acquire the force of law only after these broad discussions.

By word and deed citizens of the republic support the SUPG in its economic and

social policies and in its strategy of peace on the world scene. A fundamental advantage of socialist democracy is that it has sunk deep roots in the relations between people in the process of material production. In other words, the state and its citizens comply with the lofty constitutional principle, which says: 'In the German Democratic Republic all political power belongs to the working people. Every individual citizen is in the focus of the concern of socialist society and its government.'⁵

The functioning of the German workers' and peasants' state bears out Lenin's conclusion that under socialism the working people set up a government that 'sprang directly from the masses; and was a direct and immediate instrument of the popular masses, of their will'.⁶ This signifies the people's participation in work, planning, and administration, and that at all levels of administration concern is shown to turn democratic imperatives increasingly into social reality.

Strategic significance is now being acquired by state legislation, which in large measure determines the rate of the country's progress. Ever since a new stage began in the republic's life following the SUPG's Eighth Congress, the highest people's representative organ has enacted over 90 laws that serve socialism's further progress. Whatever areas come under the operation of laws, the latter have something in common: in keeping with the achieved level they ensure high rates of social and economic development and contribute to the ever fuller realisation of the common, basic interests of all working people. This is also underscored in the new law on local people's representative organs in the GDR that came into force on September 1, 1985. Its provisions rest on experience accumulated over the recent past, and experience demonstrating that as the socialist state develops a growing role is played by its policy in the localities.

A new quality of social processes is mirrored also by the SUPG's economic strategy. The objectives of this strategy are to intensify all branches of production, ensure a rapid growth of labour productivity, reduce the outlay of energy and materials, and make the utmost use of the country's resources and of all the potentialities in the localities. In order to accelerate economic growth, the party is working to enhance the influence of the scientific and technological revolution on the development of social production and encouraging the introduction of key technologies such as microelectronics, biotechnology, computerised designing and production management, and so on. Special significance is attached to boosting efficiency at industrial combines that constitute the backbone of the republic's planned socialist economy.

All this is creating new conditions for society's life. These conditions are being changed also by other consistent measures: the party has set the aim of resolving the housing question as a social problem by 1990 and believes that cooperation must be deepened in agriculture. It is thus consciously utilising socialism's economic laws as a locomotive of society's progress.

The German Democratic Republic is now a modern industrial state with a developed agriculture and a well-organised system of public education. Its productive forces are growing rapidly. People are developing a new way of thinking, and society is beginning to make greater demands of people's productive capacity, of the subjective factor. Moreover, society is paying more attention to the question of the role played by the locality in which people work, live, and spend their leisure time, and to their links to the factories and offices in that locality. Hence the growing demands made of the work of deputies, notably of the people's local representative organs.

In the interests of the people a new law enhances the responsibility of these organs for complying with the principle of democratic centralism. It sets the course towards the continued consolidation of the workers' and peasants' power. Experience clearly

shows that being part of the state's overall policy, its policy in the localities is of great importance, for it allows making the state apparatus more efficient and enlisting citizens ever more intimately into the fulfilment of the tasks confronting society. Local organs of power are responsible for the all-sided intensification of the economy in the districts administered by them, and the creation there of the best possible conditions for reproduction and for the most comprehensive utilisation of potentialities. With cooperation between industrial facilities and between offices the productivity and efficiency of the economy can be significantly enhanced.

This underscores the importance of continued work with cadres. A special responsibility is borne for communal affairs by the burgomaster or mayor (incidentally, one in every three is a woman). As representatives of the socialist state they act as spokesmen of citizens. On the work of burgomasters and all deputies depends how fully the policy of serving the good of the people is put into effect in the localities, and the extent to which the people can directly influence this policy on their own initiative. From experience we know that more than not every problem boils down to the question of leadership. By drawing citizens into actual administration we reinforce their conviction that each person and his active participation in the common work are vital for the advance of the socialist revolution. This is a major contribution to the future of socialism. From this standpoint, we regard the attitude to suggestions and criticism from citizens as an important element of the socialist state's policy in the localities. People's representative bodies consider such suggestions, pass the relevant decisions, and monitor compliance with these decisions.

As citizens acquire a better understanding of the relationship between political, economic, and social processes, their sense of responsibility deepens and they are able to judge developments more accurately. The enhanced opportunities that have opened up for people generate a loftier sense of civic consciousness. The people are making more exacting demands on how the Marxist-Leninist party directs society's affairs and how the socialist state resolves the tasks confronting it.

It is the job of the party and the socialist state to create the social conditions making it possible to direct the people's initiative towards resolving the key problems of the country's development. This requires political foresight and the ability to take the laws of development into account in order to advance specific aims at the needed moment, to recognise new processes opportunely and, together with the working people, to give scope for the realisation of the advantages of socialism and the operation of its motive forces. This benefits society and each individual provided that 'the people know everything, can form an opinion of everything and do everything consciously'.⁷ This approach reinforces confidence in the political leadership and gives the people a greater incentive to work conscientiously.

The above words by Lenin are mirrored in the SUPG's policy of alliance. From the outset its objective has been to provide every citizen with the opportunity to participate in the building of a socialist society and to satisfy his vital interests. Thanks to this policy it has been possible to combine anti-fascist and democratic reforms with the struggle for socialism, to organise, in the very first months after the war, cooperation among all progressive forces in building the new state, and to establish relations of confidence with them.

During the past decades the social base of the policy of alliance has been enlarged and today our society is developing through the concerted efforts of all classes, strata and generations. The SUPG's constructive cooperation with the Democratic Peasants', National Democratic, and Liberal Democratic parties, the Christian Democratic Union, and public organisations is a major factor of our republic's progress. This cooperation has made a substantial contribution to the building of the GDR. This will be our policy in the future as well.

Permeated with confidence, the relations between the different classes and strata

enhance their political, socio-economic, and intellectual oneness and, at the same time, reveal their distinctions more clearly. This helps to extend socialist democracy, for each class and stratum has its own specifics, traditions, and views, which are manifested in the process of cooperation. From this stem the special tasks confronting the state leadership.

An important duty of the socialist state is to support the rising generation, to draw it with benefit into all forms of democratic participation in administration. The SUPG's policy is based on confidence in young people. The party seeks opportunely to delegate to it a large measure of responsibility for the development of social processes. This is being put into effect consistently, and each new generation exercises its rights and carries out its duties with a sense of civic commitment. It is indicative that the Free German Youth League of the GDR comes forward with important economic initiatives.⁸ For instance, young people are today bearing the responsibility for 110,000 specific economic programmes.

Unity of the people in strengthening and defending the country and comprehensively unfolding our system's advantages is a hallmark of socialist society in the GDR. This unity is the foundation of its political stability and dynamic economic development. Our country grows stronger as the socialist democracy is broadened and as the working people make ever fuller use of their right to democratic participation in the administration of all areas of society's life.

¹ *Protokoll der Verhandlungen des X. Parteitages der SED*, Vol. 1, Berlin, 1981, p. 120.

² See *Programm der SED*, Berlin, 1976, p. 25.

³ Erich Honecker, *Reden und Aufsätze*, Vol. 9, Berlin, 1985, p. 114.

⁴ See V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 413.

⁵ *Verfassung der DDR*, Berlin, 1974, p. 9.

⁶ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 352.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. 26, p. 256.

⁸ For an account of the role played by young people in the GDR see Eberhard Aurich, 'Where Youth Have a Big Goal', *WMR*, No. 6, 1985.—Ed.

Peace: There Is No More Important Aim

Ali Yata - General Secretary,
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ALONG with all other peoples and forces advocating peace and mutual understanding, we in Morocco marked the 40th anniversary of the historic victory over Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism.

Being an event of paramount political importance, the celebrations of this glorious anniversary are of fundamental significance. They underscore the commitment of the Marxist-Leninists of all continents to the determined struggle for peace and concord among peoples and states, against imperialist reaction, which is still reluctant to draw lessons from the terrible calamities of 1939-1945 and once again threatening humanity with the horrors of war.

The people of Morocco, like those of many other countries, contributed to the anti-fascist struggle. Even under the yoke of the colonialist powers they gave it unwavering support. Our people remember the past and together with those who made greater sacrifices and suffered more they are declaring their unshakeable

This is the last of the series of articles on the 40th anniversary of the defeat of fascism and on the history and lessons of the Second World War.

determination to do all in their power to remove the spectre of a world conflagration from the face of the planet once and for all.

The Second World War was the most terrible upheaval in the history of humankind. It was triggered by the aspiration for world supremacy on the part of the most reactionary quarters of the social system that brought the exploitation of man by man to the extremities of slavery. This system is nourished by the ideology of obscuratism and barbarism, sustained by monopoly capital and the big financial bourgeoisie, and guarded by brazen and aggressive militarism.

Had it not been for the unparalleled magnitude of the Resistance and the mighty efforts of the broad anti-Hitlerite front, of the Soviet Union and its heroic people and valiant Red Army in the first place, we would have perhaps to this day been tyrannised by the Nazi 'thousand-year Third Reich'.

May 8, 1945¹ marked the end of the world-wide horror that cost more than 50 million lives (the Soviet Union's loss exceeded 20 million lives) and totally disrupted the economy and international relations.

That is why 40 years later progressive people throughout the world are paying tribute of profound and merited respect to all who made these enormous sacrifices so that freedom and peace could triumph over oppression and war, bowing their heads in memory of those who laid down their lives in the struggle against the fascist monstrosity, and restating their gratitude to the makers of that great Victory.

Of course, here the credit was common—every participant in the anti-fascist coalition played his role and helped to crush the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis. Many nations paid a heavy price for freedom and peace. The list of countries where mothers lost children, wives lost husbands, and children lost fathers is long. But today, 40 years later, one can only reaffirm what is known to all who fought in and survived those tragic years, namely, that the decisive role in the victory over Nazism and its accomplices was played by the Soviet Union.

Imperialist propaganda has lately become very active in its efforts to play down this glorious role, by denying the immense significance of Soviet resistance to the aggressors, a resistance that radically changed the character of the Second World War. It is trying to deceive the rising generations that have no intimate experience of that bloody period. Those who are re-writing history want people to believe that the battle of Moscow, the defence of Leningrad, and the victory at Stalingrad were merely episodes comparable with other minor developments on the battlefields of World War II. They are pretending they remember nothing of the battle of Kursk, the dimensions of the partisan war, the liberation by the Red Army of most of the European countries from the Nazis, and the taking of Berlin by the heroic sons of the Soviet people.

One can see why the reactionary forces are out to re-write history, why they want to conceal the truth. They cannot bring themselves round to acknowledge that the course of the war was changed by the incomparable efforts of the Soviet Union. They ignore objective reality—that which would inescapably compel them to pay the Soviet Union the tribute of earned respect today as well. There is a profound political and class reason for this non-acceptance of facts: May 8, 1945 enables us in full measure to assess the great feat accomplished by the Soviet Union *in the name of socialism, peace and progress*. This is what the bourgeois re-writers of history would like to gloss over and consign to oblivion, since it is not in their interests to remind the people that the most determined efforts to prevent the war were made by the world's first socialist state. They turn a blind eye to the fact that in the USSR there is no place for militarism, and that during the Second World War it used its entire potential to smash the aggressors and create the conditions for a lasting, unbreakable peace.

It is not accidental that the selfsame reactionary quarters that are having recourse to anti-Sovietism in history are inflating it in politics. They are seeking to counter the

Leninist course towards peace and the building of a just and flourishing society which, under the leadership of the Communist Party, the Soviet people have been putting into effect ever since 1917, since the Great October Revolution.

The marking of the anniversary of the Victory over fascism is not only a grateful tribute to the memory of those who won the just battle against the warmongers. It is also a demonstration of the fact that for four decades our planet has been living in peace, without a global and irreparable conflict. These two facts are interrelated, because those who fought fascism most consistently and won did their utmost to enable humanity to preserve its priceless treasure—world peace.

Our party is fully aware of the significance of what has been achieved and is convinced that it is the duty of all true revolutionaries, of all who are acting for progress and social liberation to defend peace, to avert the threat of war. The fundamental social transformation for which we are fighting on the basis of the general principles of scientific socialism and in accordance with the distinctive features of our country would otherwise be unrealistic.

That is why it would be more correct to believe that the struggle of the people against the forces of aggression and enslavement, a struggle crowned with success on May 8, 1945, did not cease then, but is continuing in a different form, under different conditions, and by other means. It is crucial to safeguard humankind against a global catastrophe, to which it is being pushed by the revanchists and militarists, by imperialism's most adventurist elements. Their craving to rule the world is perhaps comparable with that of the Hitlerites. Their hatred for the socialist community and scientific socialism is so deadly that to destroy them they are prepared to kindle a world nuclear conflagration.

It disturbs us that 40 years after the defeat of Nazism the developments on the international scene are in some sense reminiscent of what took place in the years before 1939. Let us put it frankly: it seems as though in its aspiration to dictate its terms to the world, imperialism headed by the USA has supplanted the Axis imperialists. But today the threat of war is dramatically greater because technological advances have produced a terrible weapon, whose use would have irreversible consequences—the total destruction of civilisation.

The nuclear threat is very real indeed, and the Party of Progress and Socialism of Morocco believes that there is no more prior and pressing aim than the constant, unremitting, and determined defence of world peace and stability on the international scene. As we see it, the duty of revolutionaries today is to combat the intrigues of the imperialists together with the other forces working to achieve mutual understanding and cooperation among nations. It is the imperialists who are stepping up insane arms race, seeking military-strategic superiority over socialism, and making preparations for ultimate war in the mad hope of winning it.

The source of the threat is obvious to us—it is enough to cite just one fact. In a period of only five years, from 1985 to 1989, to put the Pentagon's plans into effect the USA intends to spend the astronomical sum of 2,000 billion dollars, a sum equal to the allocation for its military needs during the first 35 postwar years. What Washington is spending this money on is well known: it is going into the MX missiles, the B-1 bombers, cruise missiles, Pershing IIs, new nuclear submarines and, particularly, the notorious Star Wars project. With this project's realisation the Reagan administration links its hopes for attaining decisive superiority over the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries as the principal condition for a nuclear attack.

Needless to say, imperialism cannot entirely ignore the earnest desire of the USSR and the whole socialist community for peace and agreement. It has to reckon with the profound feeling that is moving world opinion to support the policy of detente and peaceful coexistence and oppose the policies of NATO and the adventurist Pentagon strategists. This is to be observed even in the NATO

countries. Under this dual pressure the USA has had to resume the negotiations in Geneva. But everyone can clearly see their cynical manoeuvrings aimed at distorting the actual significance of the preliminary understanding reached at the Gromyko-Shultz meeting in January: this envisaged taking into account the inseparable link between questions related to nuclear and space weapons. We feel that in this situation the further vitalisation of the peace forces all over the world against the escalating arms race, for the elimination of the nuclear threat is especially important.

That is why we are re-emphasising our total and unconditional support for the constructive initiatives of the USSR and the other socialist countries. We are convinced that the Soviet Union's unilaterally adopted just, balanced, and reasonable measures—such as the solemn pledge never to use nuclear weapons first, its decision on a six month's freeze on the deployment of its missiles in Europe and a moratorium on all nuclear explosions—are contributing to a dynamic development of the prerequisites of peace and to a renewal of the process of strengthening detente.

Our party welcomes the CPSU's immutable Leninist policy of conducting a constructive dialogue. This policy was eloquently demonstrated during Mikhail Gorbachov's visit to France. We support his massive initiatives aimed at relaxing international tension and establishing an atmosphere of confidence, cooperation, and mutual understanding between countries with different socio-economic systems.

Forty years ago Hiroshima became the victim of the first atomic explosion. The echo of this explosion appeals to the conscience and mind of every decent person. Each of us must do everything to prevent nuclear weapons from ever being used—either on earth or in outer space—to eliminate them for all time.

The present international situation is characterised by the activities and growth of the aggressiveness of imperialism and of the local and regional forces dependent on it. This is seen in the new armed and other attacks on contingents of the national liberation movement throughout the world, especially where colonialism was predominant in the past.

Take Central America. US imperialism has by no means abandoned its intentions of overthrowing the lawful and sovereign progressive government of democratic Nicaragua, whose heroic people have experienced so much suffering during their struggle to bring down the bloodthirsty Somoza dictatorship. For US imperialism it is not enough that it funds, arms, and trains gangs of counter-revolutionary mercenaries along the frontiers of the country that refuses to accept dictation from Washington. It would like to force the free Nicaraguan people to their knees and impose on them a form of administration that would perpetuate imperialism's interests in the region.

The foul aggression against Grenada, the mining of Nicaraguan ports, and the disregard for the opinion of the International Court and the rejection of its offer of mediation mean that imperialism, flouting the norms of international law and the sovereign rights of the people of revolutionary Nicaragua.

US imperialism feels the threat to its anachronistic domination in Central America. Apart from Nicaragua, which has opted for progressive, anti-imperialist development, we are witnessing a powerful upsurge of revolutionary, progressive, and liberation movements throughout the region. These movements do not want their countries to remain dependent on the USA. The struggle is daily widening against the local oligarchy and the compradore and landowning bourgeoisie. Universal condemnation is the lot of the military dictatorship set up by Washington. We are certain that despite the plotting and the broadening of the USA's massive and direct interference, the forces of national liberation will ultimately be victorious.

In the Middle East, too, imperialism and its allies in the person of Zionism and local reaction are savagely attacking contingents of the Arab national liberation movement. Washington is trying to devise various plans and projects with the aim of imposing upon this region an 'American-style peace' with the connivance of the

Zionist regime in Tel Aviv and the regimes of some Arab states pursuing a capitulatory policy. In parallel, minor disagreements between Middle East countries are escalating and deepening, and uncalled for and dangerous splits are to be observed among the participants in the Palestinian revolution. The USA is out to subordinate the entire Middle East not only with the aid of its strategic alliance with the Zionist state but also by means of the utmost direct encouragement of any capitulatory decision that could enlist a section of the Arabs to its side.

Imperialism's puppets are opposed to convening an international conference on the Middle East with the participation of the Soviet Union and all the interested sides, including the lawful representatives of the Palestinian people. As well as rejecting some of the unanimously adopted and unquestionably positive initiatives such as, for instance, the plan approved by an Arab summit in Fez in 1982, reaction is resisting the realisation of the ideals of the liberation and independence of the Arab peoples. The danger of this line of action is that it magnifies the minor disagreements that have erupted recently in the Arab liberation movement.

Division, polemics, and fratricidal struggles only play into the hands of US imperialism, Zionism, and the local reaction, consolidating their domination in the long run. In our view, the time has come for all the participants in the Arab anti-imperialist and progressive movement to restore understanding and unity on the basis of respect for the right to adopt decisions independently and for the sovereignty of each of these participants. This is the way to liberation of the lands annexed by the Zionists and to the implementation by the Palestinian people of their right to build an independent national state.

We are convinced that only a firm alliance with the socialist community and unity and cohesion in their own ranks will enable the Arabs to secure the final withdrawal of all the Israeli military from Lebanon and return that country to the camp of the adversaries of compromise, capitulation, and collaboration with the imperialists and Zionists.

There is another ongoing fratricidal slaughter that is likewise serving US imperialism as an excuse to reinforce its positions in the Middle East. This is the war between Iran and Iraq. It has sapped the strength of both nations, taken a toll of hundreds of thousands of lives on both sides, and nullified all the gains and efforts at development of both Iraq and Iran. This senseless, tragic war impedes the assertion of a lasting progressive, anti-imperialist orientation in the region, lets the USA maintain a considerable presence, and excludes from the anti-Zionist camp two countries that could contribute significantly to the struggle against those who have seized the lands of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples. As are other progressive forces, our party is of the opinion that it is time Teheran and Baghdad put an end to the war, which is catastrophic and so costly from every point of view. On the basis of respect for the stand of each side, non-interference in internal affairs, and recognition by each side of the other's historical rights it would unquestionably be possible to settle the conflict by negotiation. A settlement is crucial to Iran and Iraq. War between them benefits nobody except imperialism.

Day after day we are getting evidence of the fact that the forces hostile to progress, peace, justice, and socialism see our continent as a realm of their own, where they can continue to oppress nations and dispose of their wealth. That explains the growing number of clashes in which the African peoples and their revolutionary forces, the contingents of the national liberation movement are countering imperialism's myrmidons, reactionary feudals, the compradore bourgeoisie, the repressive military dictatorships, and the racist Pretoria regime.

The developments in Sudan have demonstrated that oppression of the masses in the interests of imperialism and of perpetuating its unchallenged rule result in the overthrow of puppets counting on ruling by force, terror, and antiquated and

retrograde doctrines. The Sudanese people shook off the brutal Nimeiri dictatorship and refused to comply with the orders emanating from the imperialist finance magnates in Washington.

But, regrettably, in Africa there still are other centres of oppression and exploitation that are directly dependent on the USA and other Western powers. The largest of these is the Pretoria regime with its dirty apartheid system under which a bloody dictatorship and loathsome slavery are imposed on the black people. Relying on wide support from the imperialists, the Pretoria racists are hoping to perpetuate the interests and profits of the Western multinationals exploiting the wealth of South Africa. For imperialism South Africa is strategically crucial in the South Atlantic not only on account of its geographical location and position. South Africa is a bulwark and base of aggression against the progressive, anti-imperialist forces and regimes on the continent.

Testimony of this bellicosity, which is dangerous to Africa and a threat to the independence of its peoples, is Pretoria's refusal to comply with the UN resolution on the granting of independence to Namibia and the intention of the imperialists and racists to install in Namibia a government servile to South Africa and the USA in defiance of the rights of the Namibian people, whose interests are in fact championed by the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), which is the sole lawful representative. Pretoria is resorting to ruthless, bloody repression in order to break the black people's struggle for freedom and racial equality. It sustains, arms, finances, and directs counter-revolutionary gangs in Angola and Mozambique, and shows that it is the most dependable flunkey and chief curator of imperialism's interests in the region. The paramount task of all the anti-imperialist, progressive, and revolutionary movements in Africa is to combine forces and wage a determined struggle against the regime in South Africa. This is the continent's imperative of the day.

In the conclusion let me emphasise that world peace is our most treasured achievement and it must be safeguarded. This requires united and coordinated actions by the entire international working class movement and the other forces of progress and national liberation on all continents. The manoeuvring and intrigues of imperialism, which is escalating the arms race, actively preparing for Star Wars, deploying nuclear missiles in Western Europe, and thereby creating a direct threat to world security, can be effectively repulsed only by a broad, solid, and united front of all the advocates of peaceful coexistence, detente, and peace.

To counter imperialism's aggressive plans and its hegemonistic ambitions means, above all, to be a determined fighter for peace and peaceful coexistence. By fighting for an end to the nuclear and conventional arms race, for radical and then complete disarmament a world-wide peace front can assume future generations with a peaceful and dignified life.

¹ The act of the unconditional surrender of Nazi Germany's armed forces was signed on May 8, 1945.—*Ed.*

Engels' Role in Developing the Philosophy of Marxism

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When anti-Marxist and revisionist writers nowadays discuss Engels' philosophical studies, they often contrast him with Karl Marx as a scientist who had allegedly rejected philosophy as an unscientific and historically obsolete mode of thinking. They aver that in Marx's economic, social and historical studies, philosophy was no more than a residue of Hegel's method of thinking. One US Marxologist says: 'Even though Marxism is not a 'philosophy', it is powerfully affected by its philosophic premises; and its dialectic vantage point conditions, even if it does not fully determine, its social perspective.'¹

It is true that bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologists do not always deny that philosophy is a necessary part of Marxism in such a peremptory way. Sartre, for instance, recognised the philosophical content of Marx's doctrine but claimed that he was as far away from materialism as from idealism and strove to overcome the 'one-sidedness' of these theories up until his 'ill-fated meeting with Engels'.² So, according to Sartre, it was Engels who led Marx 'astray' from the 'true way'.

This year we are marking the 165th anniversary of the birth and the 90th anniversary of the death of Engels, and we believe it to be of fundamental importance to make a positive examination of questions which are now so relevant to the development of Marxism, such as the unity of the philosophical views of its founders, and the importance of Engels' works in their elaboration.

Bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologists often assert that Marx's historical materialism is not a philosophical theory at all, and that the dialectical-materialist view of history (which is, in fact, historical materialism) and Engels' world-view, which they call 'dialectical materialism', are antipodes. They then, as a rule, go on to accuse Engels of incorporating within the body of Marxism (mainly after Marx's death) philosophical postulates that are alien to it.

While such claims are obviously absurd, this question inevitably arises: what are the reasons (and motivations) behind the false interpretation of the views of Marx and Engels by bourgeois and revisionist ideologists? The whole point is that Marx's doctrine is, indeed, a negation of philosophy, but only in the old, traditional sense of the word. It is a negation of the philosophy which used to be contrasted, on the one hand, to any non-philosophical cognition of the world, and on the other, to practice, and especially to mass revolutionary struggle. Marx condemned bourgeois philosophy, among others, because it confines itself to a mere explanation of the world, so being inclined to justify the existing system, because that system has its own substantiation, namely, a long history. Marx asserts the scientific, philosophical, historical and economic explanation of the reality and argues the need for a revolutionary transformation of the society in contrast to the supine attitude to the social reality, and the allegedly non-party philosophical spirit which is in the interests of the classes opposing such a revolutionary transformation of the society.

However, the bourgeois and revisionist critics of Marxism not only deny the existence of philosophy as a component part of Marxism, but also try to present its role in their own way. The leaders of the Second International, for instance, preached

This is the second article on the contribution made by Engels to the development of the philosophy of Marxism. See Heinrich Gemkow, "Frederick Engels and the Present-Day Ideological Struggle", *WMR*, No 8, 1985

philosophical indifference and asserted that it was the private business of social democratic party members to evolve their own world-view. Behind the formula that Marx allegedly had no philosophy of his own, the opportunist leaders 'supplemented' Marxism with neo-Kantianism, Machism and other idealistic theories. But Marx's negation of philosophy in the old sense of the word is assertion of a fundamentally new type of philosophy, one that 'has been drawn into the torrent of the struggle'.³

Marx believed that philosophy should put an end to its neglect of practice and knowledge in the various scientific fields; it should cease to be an 'absolute science', and become a science developing and being enriched with new data and conclusions. Unity with practice, on the one hand, and with the particular sciences, on the other, opens up before it the prospect of exerting an active influence on the course of social life. Released from the fetters of dogmatic abstractions, philosophy, says Marx, becomes a 'critical philosophy', an instrument in the revolutionary transformation of the society.

As early as 1844, Marx wrote in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, the journal on which Marx and Engels first began their joint creative revolutionary activity, and also put the finishing touches to their stand of dialectical materialism and scientific communism: 'As philosophy finds its *material* weapons in the proletariat, so the proletariat finds its *spiritual* weapons in philosophy'.⁴ The implication is that the humanistic ideals evolved over the centuries of developing social thought can be realised only through the proletariat's emancipation movement, and it is only through the struggle of the working class that philosophy finds its way to the masses and ceases to be a 'caste' doctrine alien to the interests and world perception of the oppressed and the exploited. It is perfectly obvious that negation of the class and theoretical limitations of the old philosophy in those concrete terms has nothing in common with negativistic or nihilistic attitudes to the philosophical legacy.

The attempts to excommunicate Marx from philosophy and to present him, in contrast to Engels, as a decided opponent of it stem from an obvious failure to understand the fundamental difference between Marxism and all earlier doctrines. Indeed, Marx's main work, *Capital*, is both an economic and a philosophical study, with a comprehensive application and creative development of materialistic dialectics, 'the revolutionary soul of Marxism'.

A basic tenet of dialectical and historical materialism is that, instead of negating the role of philosophical theory, one has to raise it to the level of an actual science to help bring out the laws governing the change and development of the reality.

These same purposes of philosophy—the ideological and the methodological—are emphasised by Engels, who brought out the relation of philosophy and knowledge in particular scientific fields. At this point, philosophy ceases to exist in the old sense, as a closed system of ultimate truths, regarded as independent of any development of knowledge, to become a common theoretical grounding of world-view, 'which has to establish its validity and be applied not in a science of sciences standing apart, but in the positive sciences'.⁵ That shows very well Engels' creative development of Marx's propositions from which he starts.

'To understand what Frederick Engels has done for the proletariat, one must have a clear idea of the significance of Marx's teaching and work for the development of the contemporary working class movement.'⁶ That certainly also applies to the philosophical legacy of the founders of Marxism. Engels says that the negation of the old philosophy is a positive one, bringing out and asserting the true philosophical substance of materialism and dialectics.

We find, therefore, how wrong the critics of Marxism are in asserting that, in contrast to Engels, Marx abandoned philosophy and rejected it as a historical anachronism. Marxism is a great revival of philosophy, a revolution in it, its transformation into a scientific world-view organically linked with progressive social

practice, and the natural and social sciences. In this revival of philosophy and its release from the fetters of metaphysics and idealism, Engels was also Marx's brilliant associate and successor.

Materialist dialectics, whose various aspects Marx and Engels jointly elaborated in all their works, is the most immediate expression of the fundamental unity of their philosophical views. They creatively reworked the old, metaphysical materialism and gave a materialistic reappraisal of Hegel's idealist dialectics, the most outstanding achievement in the history of philosophical thinking before Marx. They came to see dialectics as the theory of development in its fullest form free from any one-sidedness, and as a universally significant method, because development itself is universal, substantial and absolute.

Marx's 1857-1858 MSS, the prelude to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, are among his works which show his materialistic reappraisal of Hegel's dialectics. Hegel's dialectical doctrine of the relation of the abstract and the concrete is the first thing he turns to in those MSS in working out his methodology of the economic analysis of the capitalist mode of production, and says: Hegel is right in suggesting that theoretical thinking is concrete, not because it remains close to sensory perceptions, but because it overcomes the one-sidedness of abstract definitions, exposing their relations to each other and so presenting the analysed phenomena as a unity of diversities. But Hegel's idealistic interpretation of the transition from the abstract to the concrete tended to mystify this real cognitive process, which allegedly ran irrespective of human cognition, in some world reason and absolute idea. Meanwhile, Marx stresses, the fact is that 'the method of ascent from the abstract to the concrete is only a mode by means of which thought assimilates the concrete and reproduces it as spiritually concrete. But that is not at all a process of origination of the concrete itself'.⁷

Engels not only showed the substance of the dialectico-materialist method of analysing the capitalist economy and its radical distinction from the method of bourgeois political economy, but also went on brilliantly to elaborate Marx's method in his philosophical studies.

The first works they co-authored (*The Holy Family*, *The German Ideology*) laid the foundation of the materialist view of history, i.e., of historical materialism. Engels subsequently devoted much attention to substantiating the universal significance of dialectics, but in Marx's own writings dialectics does not in any sense become a 'past stage', for he continues to develop it mainly on the material of political economy and history, while Engels lays emphasis on the problems of natural science, constantly taking counsel with Marx. Let us recall that Marx was directly involved in producing *Anti-Dühring*: he wrote one of the chapters and read the manuscript of the book before it was sent to the printer's. The two men discussed the subject-matter of the *Dialectics of Nature* in their correspondence in the 1850s and 1860s.

It was quite natural for Engels to concentrate on a dialectico-materialist comprehension of the great discoveries of the natural sciences in the 19th century, such as the law of the conservation and transformation of energy; the doctrine of the cell structure of living organism; and Darwin's theory of evolution. These were the most important natural-science premises in shaping the new world-view, while testifying that natural science tended spontaneously to advance from the metaphysical to the dialectico-materialist mode of thought.

Since natural science is the study of nature and its changes, Engels focused his philosophical analysis on the basic forms of matter in motion: mechanical, physical, chemical and biological. When assessing the importance of Medeleev's periodical system of elements, for instance, he says that it effectively shows the law of the transformation of quantity into quality to be a universal one. In his examination of biological processes, he rethinks in materialistic terms Hegel's conception of

dialectical identity and shows that it is not merely a principle of thought but the movement of matter itself. In the biological form of its existence, it is simultaneously an identity and a struggle of opposites in a dynamic process which, in effect, makes life possible: 'The plant, the animal, every cell is at every moment of its life identical with itself and yet becoming distinct from itself, by absorption and excretion of substances, by respiration, by cell formation and death of cells, by the process of circulation taking place, in short, by a sum of incessant molecular changes which make up life'.⁸

A philosophical analysis of the great natural-science discoveries of the mid-19th century shows that the outstanding scientists who made them were not conscious dialecticians and that their philosophical conclusions frequently conflicted with the actual content and significance of their discoveries. Engel's demonstration of the contradiction between the dialectical development of natural science and the far-from-dialectical conclusions drawn from it by natural scientists under the influence of the system of views prevailing in the bourgeois society is of great philosophical significance for an understanding of the development of the natural sciences now and in the past. Present-day natural science brings out the dialectical character of natural processes to a much greater extent than natural science did in the 19th century, but even today scientists neglecting the study of dialectics often interpret advances in the natural sciences contrary to their actual meaning and significance.

Marx criticised Hegel's dialectics, but stressed: 'The mystification which dialectic suffers in Hegel's hands by no means prevents him from being the first to present its general form of working in a comprehensive and conscious manner. With him it is standing on its head. It must be turned right side up again, if you would discover the rational kernel within the mystical shell'.⁹ Together with Marx, Engels gave a creative solution to the problem.

Hegel's system depicts development as a straightforward, linear scheme predetermining the course, successive stages and forms of progress. However, development can be universal only if it is infinitely diverse. Thus, biological development, whose laws were studied by Darwin, differs qualitatively from physical and social development. Dialectics seeks to comprehend not only their universal but also their specific features and shows the transitions from one distinct form of development to another, without substituting for special theories, and so enriches the philosophical concept of development.

In contrast to Hegel, Engels shows the qualitative diversity of development processes and rejects the monotonously uniform picture imposed by Hegel's system: 'The kind of negation is here determined, firstly by the general and, secondly, by the particular nature of the process',¹⁰ he says, and adds: 'Every kind of thing therefore has a peculiar way of being negated in such a manner that it gives rise to a development and it is just the same with every kind of conception or idea'.¹¹ Hegel's concept of the law of negation, 'as the fundamental law for the construction of the whole system',¹² had the disadvantage of being thoroughly schematic because of its idealistic premises. Hegel believed that development proceeded exclusively by means of three-stage cycles, known as triads. By contrast, Engels shows that concrete negation, i.e., negation of the negation, does not necessarily have to be in the form of scientific progress and the undialectical opposition of truth and error. But when criticising Dühring's claims to the establishment of the ultimate truth in each particular case, Engels did not assert that it was generally impossible to attain absolute and ultimate knowledge, for such an assertion would effectively appear as an ultimate truth itself applying to all the results of the cognitive process. Engels insisted on the relativity of knowledge, which is incomplete because it is conditioned both by the concrete circumstances and by the universal process of development, but went on to show that some results of scientific cognition are irrefutable and so constitute

eternal and absolute truths.

The scientific philosophical conception of the relativity of knowledge is closely bound up in his analysis with the substantiation of the objectivity of knowledge and a critique of agnosticism and relativism. He countered agnostic assertions that science merely cognised the individual, the finite, the transient, by explaining that through the finite we come to comprehend the infinite, through the individual, the universal, and through the transient, the intransient. Cognition of the infinite, the universal and the intransient is, of course, always limited by the existing historical conditions and the attained level of knowledge.¹⁴ However, this limitation is overcome by the subsequent advance of scientific cognition.

It is hard to exaggerate the importance of Engels' ideas for a critique of present-day relativistic, i.e., essentially agnostic, conceptions of cognition, especially of such currently fashionable epistemological theories as Karl Popper's 'critical rationalism'. This bourgeois philosopher, extolled by some of his followers as the leading methodologist of our day, asserts that the concept of truth should be altogether excluded from the theory of cognition. Science, he says, can never lay claim to the attainment of truth or of any substitute for the truth, such as probability: 'All theories are hypotheses; *all may be overthrown*'.¹⁵ Popper's assertion exposes the gist of the current ideological crisis in the bourgeois philosophy, which—in contrast to progressive bourgeois philosophical doctrines of the past—denies the antithesis between knowledge and faith, and so also between science and religion. Engels' philosophical works help to understand the unscientific character of such views in our own day.

The build-up of materialism 'to the top', i.e., the development of the materialist view of history and the elaboration of scientific socialism on that basis, was crucial in the shaping of the Marxist world-view. In *The Holy Family*, Marx and Engels analyse the basic contradiction of the capitalist society and show that the proletariat and bourgeoisie 'are both creations of the world of private property. The question is exactly what place each occupies in the antithesis. It is not sufficient to declare them two sides of a single whole'.¹⁶ That remark is directly aimed against the bourgeois ideologists who claim that labour cannot do without capital, just as capital cannot do without labour, but it is also, undoubtedly, of a more general, methodological and ideological significance. On the strength of their analysis of the historical facts, Marx and Engels overcame the one-sided interpretation of the unity of opposites which was favoured by Hegel and the Young Hegelians and which eventually reduced it to an identity, so blunting the sharpness of the contradiction. From the standpoint formulated and substantiated by the founders of Marxism, it is not enough to say that the opposites are in a relation of interdependence; there is a need to analyse the conditions which limit this relation, i.e., which make it transient.

In *The Holy Family*, the founders of Marxism reject the speculative interpretation of dialectical contradiction as being always the same and straightforwardly determined relation of opposites, and provide a concrete historical basis for the central problem of dialectics; they consider the existence of a revolutionary and a conservative side of the contradiction, a new question altogether beyond the ken of idealist dialectics. The proletariat is the revolutionary side of the basic contradiction of the capitalist society, and the bourgeoisie is the conservative side.¹⁷ One will easily realise the great significance of such an approach for a theoretical analysis of the nature of antagonistic contradictions and an understanding of the uniformities of social development.

Their scientific analysis of the mutually conditioned class opposites within the capitalist system enabled Marx and Engels to show the dialectical nature of the socio-historical necessity, which differs qualitatively from the necessary connections between natural phenomena because it is inseparable from human activity. The

bourgeoisie strives to preserve private property in the means of production, and the proletariat to abolish it. The struggle of each of these two classes is determined by the conditions of its existence, which are also factors in the vital activity of the opposite class. That is why the objective necessity in the development of the bourgeois society is not something external or opposed to the existing social relations; it is determined by the interdependence and interaction of the opposite sides, of the classes, by the struggle between them, which does not depend on arbitrary choice, but has an objective economic basis created by human beings in the lifetime of many generations and so independent of each individual generation of men.

The Marxist conception of the objective social necessity excludes both the fatalistic and the voluntaristic interpretation of the socio-historical process. Historical necessity is a subject-object relationship, a relationship between the living, daily activity of men and its objectified forms taking shape in the course of social development. Such a view of objective necessity is the theoretical basis of the Marxist conception of freedom as necessity cognised and practically assimilated.

In his *Anti-Dühring* and several other works, Engels systematically elaborated the problem of human freedom, and of the relation between conscious human activity and the objective reality of nature. In contrast to the idealistic interpretations of freedom as a negation of objective necessity, Engels argued that freedom does not lie in some imaginary independence of the laws of nature, 'but in a knowledge of these laws, and in the possibility this gives of systematically making them work towards definite ends'.¹⁸ In other words, with respect to nature freedom consists in establishing practical control of its elemental forces. Power over nature exercised through the development of the productive forces is profoundly contradictory, says Engels, because while transforming the natural environment, social production does not abolish the laws of its development: 'If man, by dint of his knowledge and inventive genius, has subdued the forces of nature, the latter avenge themselves upon him by subjecting him, in so far as he employs them, to a veritable despotism independent of all social organisation.'¹⁹

That warning of Engels' is even more meaningful today than it was a century ago, for man now has at his disposal millions of kilowatts of electric power, stages flights into outer space, used rockets travelling at fantastic speeds, and develops nuclear energy. It is no exaggeration to say that in a sense Engels anticipated the ecological dysfunctions of our epoch.

The materialist view of history which Engels worked out, together with Marx, was elaborated and given a practical application in the works which he wrote in the last period of his life: *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*, and his letters of the 1890s. These are an integral part of the Marxist classical legacy and show his opposition to any over-simplified interpretation of the Marxist theory of the historical process. He objects to its reduction to some 'economic materialism' which ignores the great significance of the political, juridical and ideological superstructure in social development. He also emphasises that the Marxist theory of social development is not a dogma, but a guide to the concrete analysis of social processes, and that "the materialist method turns into its opposite if it is not taken as one's guiding principle in historical investigation but as a ready pattern according to which one shapes the facts of history to suit oneself".²⁰

These ideas apply to philosophers and sociologists who nowadays claim to be "neo-Marxists", but who have, in fact, surrendered the greatest scientific advances of the Marxist theory on the pretext of their "excessive concreteness". J. Habermas, the most influential spokesman for the Frankfurt School of Social Studies, for instance, has proclaimed (even if in a veiled form) the need to drop the categories of "productive forces" and "relations of production", "classes" and "class struggle",

etc.²¹ He says: "The connection of productive forces and relations of production should be replaced by the more abstract connection of labour and interaction."²² Without going into the altogether unwarranted replacement of the concept of "productive forces", which characterises the historically-framed level of social production, by the concept of labour, i.e., by the individuals' immediate productive activity, let us emphasise the main thing, namely, the fact that Habermas reduces the relations of production to a mere interaction between men, ignoring their relation to the means of production and so taking the very substance out of historical materialism.

Engles censured the superficial, vulgarising approach to the materialist view of history and formulated the principles of analysis which remain valid to this day. One needs to examine history in detail before trying to derive the relevant political, juridical, aesthetic, philosophical, religious and other views. He believed that the model for historico-materialist analysis was provided by Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, comprehensively analysing a relatively short period of history, showing the natural transformation of the French bourgeoisie into a counter-revolutionary class and exposing the historical roots of Bonapartism, and its internal connections with France's specific economic, political and ideological development, with the interests of definite classes, such as the French peasantry and its illusions, and so on.

In his article "Frederick Engels", Lenin emphasised: "The European proletariat may say that its science was created by two scholars and fighters, whose relationship to each other surpasses the most moving stories of the ancients about human friendship."²³ Engels' life and works show that it is quite hopeless to try to contrast him and Marx, or to separate the two great thinkers who worked together in developing and elaborating the scientific socialist ideology, the scientific, Marxist philosophical view of the world. It is equally untenable and unscientific to try to contrast Marx and Engels with Lenin or to set apart the doctrine of the founders of Marxism from its subsequent creative development in the new historical conditions. Marx and Engels' doctrine, creatively developed by Lenin and now being enriched in the light of the experience of existing socialism, and the world communist and working class movement, is a truly scientific and creative doctrine which provides all the fighters for mankind's better future with ideological weapons.

¹ Robert L. Heilbroner, *Marxism: For and Against*, New York—London, 1980, p. 36.

² J.-P. Sartre, *Situations*, III, Paris, 1949, p. 213.

³ Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 142.

⁴ Ibid., p. 187.

⁵ Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Moscow, 1959, p. 191.

⁶ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 19.

⁷ Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Works*, Vol. 12, p. 727 (in Russian).

⁸ Frederick Engels, *Dialectics of Nature*, Moscow, 1972, p. 214.

⁹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 2, p. 98.

¹⁰ See Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, pp. 194-195.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 195.

¹² Frederick Engels, *Dialectics of Nature*, p. 62.

¹³ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 3, p. 363.

¹⁴ See Frederick Engels, *Dialectics of Nature*, pp. 234-235.

¹⁵ K. R. Popper, *Objective Knowledge. An Evolutionary Approach*, Oxford 1981, p. 29.

¹⁶ Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, p. 35.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 36.

¹⁸ Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, p. 157.

¹⁹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 2, p. 377.

²⁰ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1965, p. 413.

²¹ The Frankfurt School, a trend in present-day bourgeois philosophy formed under the substantial influence of the ideas of Hegel, Marx Nietzsche, Heidegger, Spengler and Freud. It originated with the establishment of the Institute of Social Studies at Frankfurt on the Main in 1923, but it was finally established in the 1930s. Its

leading representatives are Horkheimer, Fromm, Marcuse and Adorno. Although Marxism was proclaimed as its official doctrine, its theories from the outset borrowed only Marx's critique of capitalism and some notions of socialism, interpreted in a highly abstract manner, but with an addition of views alien to Marxism. The anti-Marxist orientation of the Frankfurt School is now even more obviously expressed in the works of the members of its new generation, among them J. Habermas and A. Schmidt.—ED.

²² J. Habermas, *Technik und Wissenschaft als "Ideologie"*, Frankfurt on the Main, 1969, p. 92.

²³ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 26.

Bringing Nations Closer Together

Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow - Director
General, United Nations Educational,
Scientific and Cultural Organisation
(UNESCO)

Recent years have been among the most difficult in the almost 40 years of UNESCO's existence. The US withdrawal in late 1984 and attempts to make other nations follow suit, as well as constant political pressure brought to bear on UNESCO leaders posed a challenge to the role, mode of operation and prospects of this universal organisation. At the same time, the discussion that ensued showed that the world community of nations needs UNESCO: acting within its terms of reference, it pools their efforts in the interests of universal progress.

Published at readers' request, Mr. M'Bow's¹ interview to *WMR* highlights the principle aspects of these activities.

—What is UNESCO's role in today's world? How does it contribute to better understanding and cooperation among nations? What would you single out as the principal factor of its influence at the current stage?

As stipulated in its constitution, UNESCO has been established 'for the purpose of advancing, through the educational and scientific and cultural relations of the peoples of the world, the objectives of international peace and of the common welfare of mankind for which the United Nations Organisation was established'.

As it exercised its mandate, UNESCO gradually evolved into a unique channel for contacts and multilateral relations on the global scale, into a crossroads of intellectual intercourse. Becoming increasingly open to the aspirations and experience of its 160 constituent countries, particularly during the past quarter of a century, UNESCO has acquired a tangibly universal character and succeeded in involving virtually all peoples in international cooperation in various spheres of intellectual endeavour.

The influence of UNESCO is rooted in many factors. I would specifically note the democratic character of our organisation where all countries, from the smallest to the biggest, express their views as equals and where the views of each enjoy the same degree of attention.

I would also like to mention the fact that UNESCO promotes cooperation at two levels—that of governments and that of intellectual communities; activities at the latter level make it possible to develop direct and permanent relations with educational, scientific and cultural quarters throughout the world.

At this latter level we rely for support in our activities, on the one hand, on non-governmental organisations. As a result, UNESCO has itself strengthened or established a number of organisations, such as the International Council of Scientific Unions, the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies, the International Council for Adult Education, the International Council of Museums, etc.

On the other hand, national commissions for UNESCO have been set up. These promote involvement in the activities of our organisation on the part of important groups operating at the national level and interested in education, research and culture, as well as on the part of government officials. The commissions serve as advisory bodies to their national delegations to the UNESCO General Conference and to their governments on all matters pertaining to the work of our organisation.

This is how UNESCO maintains contact with the diverse intellectual and creative forces that profoundly influence the future of the world. And this is how UNESCO can play an indispensable part in furthering understanding among the world's peoples and cultures.

—How does UNESCO contribute to disarmament, to the prevention of nuclear war and the strengthening of world peace?

Every effort undertaken by UNESCO since its establishment has contributed, whether directly or indirectly, to the prevention of war and the strengthening of peace. The UNESCO constitution stresses that 'a peace based exclusively upon the political and economic arrangements of governments would not be a peace which could secure the unanimous, lasting and sincere support of the peoples of the world, and that the peace must therefore be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind'.

Therefore, in organising international cooperation to eliminate illiteracy all over the world, to save the monuments of Abou Simbel, Borobudur or Goree,² to protect the environment, implement oceanographic or hydrological projects, or to hold regular meetings and exchanges of experience between men of science and of letters from different countries, UNESCO pursues one global goal, that of bringing nations closer together, helping them understand one another better, establishing concrete links of solidarity among them. All that is in fact the surest guarantee of durable peace.

—What are the objectives of UNESCO's numerous programmes connected, in various ways, with the global problems of our age?

In their totality, all UNESCO projects and programmes are aimed at solving the key problems of our age. Their objectives may be defined as follows:

—to promote better comprehension of the problems facing today's world, and of the common destiny that binds all peoples together;

—to stimulate broader involvement of individuals in the affairs of their societies, and of the world community, by contributing tangibly to the elimination of illiteracy, organising universal primary education and pursuing educational activities among adults;

—to aid in the enlargement of the nations' scientific and technological potential; specifically, by developing the research and educational infrastructures of all countries, and encouraging a free flow of know-how and skills;

—to contribute to the implementation of major global projects—for example, to the advancement of science and technology for the benefit of mankind in general and each nation in particular, to the improvement of the environment and a rational use

of natural resources;

—finally, to promote better understanding among nations, a more durable peace and protection of human rights.

—How does UNESCO respond to the developing countries' efforts to consolidate their positions in international exchanges of information?

That a new international balance is in order in this sphere has been acknowledged widely enough. Today, 80 per cent of the news disseminated across the world comes from the industrialised countries. Their share is even greater—some 90 per cent—as far as international news is concerned.

This imbalance is extremely prejudicial to international understanding and to the way nations appreciate cultures not their own. As emphasised in Resolution 4.19 adopted at the 21st UNESCO General Conference, the mass media, given an increase in their potential and an improvement in their methods, can and must contribute to a positive transformation of international relations and to broader cooperation.

In the case of the developing nations, this concerns not only the generation of information reflecting their views, problems, relations and traditions but also a chance for their voices to be heard better throughout the world, both in developed countries and in other developing nations. Besides, since information is the source of knowledge, its dissemination must assist in providing broader public access to education and culture.

The International Programme for Communication Development, drawn up at the Belgrade Conference in 1980, is UNESCO's specific contribution in this field. The programme is to broaden and enhance cooperation and assistance in the creation of communication infrastructures and to reduce the gap existing in this sphere between different countries.

However, the current level of such assistance is not enough to meet the needs of developing countries. That is why I keep calling on the international community to contribute more to the implementation of this important programme. To be well-informed, and to be able to inform well, is one of the more urgent aspirations of our time.

—With your wealth of experience as educator, scholar and statesman, how do you assess the issue of educating youth in the spirit of peace?

This year—which is International Youth Year with its motto of Peace, Participation, Development—the issue is particularly topical. To me, educating the younger generation in the spirit of peace is part of the complex process of moral education and the shaping of the personality.

It is one of the fields obviously demanding a multidimensional approach. Indeed, one cannot bring up a child in the spirit of peace without enabling it to discover the diversity of modern existence and, at the same time, without inculcating in it respect for others, recognition of others' personal and collective rights, or tolerance of their ideas and beliefs.

In its activities therefore, UNESCO links the question of education in the spirit of peace with the concepts of the rights of man and rights of peoples. The General Conference has adopted numerous recommendations and declarations in this regard.

—The success of UNESCO projects depends to a great degree on the support coming from the member-countries. How would you assess the participation of, say, the socialist countries in UNESCO activities?

The significance of participation by the socialist countries—and by all other countries as well—is rooted in the universal character of our organisation. UNESCO's world-wide prestige and influence are due largely to the fact that it has become one of the rare international forums where different and sometimes contradictory points of view can be expressed in an atmosphere of equality and where a way to a reasonable compromise can be found.

—How justified were the US charges that UNESCO was 'turning political'?

UNESCO is an intergovernmental organisation. When they gathered in London in November 1945, its founders were not acting as independent intellectuals. They were the minister of education of the Allied nations. Of course, many voices were at first raised in favour of making the intellectual dimension the principal sphere of UNESCO activities, and most delegates to the General Conference represented the intellectual community.

However, these ideas were not reflected in the constitution. Members of the delegations to the General Conference are appointed by their governments. And, although Executive Board members are elected as individuals by the General Conference, they, too, represent their governments. In these conditions, how could the views of governments—essentially political views—fail to be reflected in the General Conference and in the Executive Board?

Until recently, all this was taken for granted. Those who today express regret about UNESCO 'turning political' are apparently irked by the fact that our organisation expresses views different from those they hold.

I should, however, specify that while the statements made by delegates in the course of the debate do reflect the positions of governments, they are not binding on our organisation. It is the decisions of the General Conference that are mandatory and, since 1976, they have been taken mostly by consensus.

—How would you assess the pressure certain countries continue to put on UNESCO to lead it away from the path charted at recent General Conferences?

After World War II, the agencies of the United Nations family were entrusted with promotion of an international dialogue which would be aimed at defusing latent conflicts, and lay down the basis of an understanding eventually conducive to the elimination of the very causes of conflict.

Great changes have occurred on the international scene since. The new countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America have succeeded in strengthening their independence, in using a mechanism of effective cooperation, in imparting a more dynamic character to their development and in making their voices heard in world affairs.

Recent sessions of the UNESCO General Conference reflect this evolution and express the new aspirations it gives rise to in the context of the entire international community—aspirations to a world of greater freedom, justice and solidarity in which each people find a path of its own, while respecting others' choice, and make a creative contribution to the common welfare of all mankind.

It appears that certain quarters in certain countries are opposed to the realisation of these democratic aspirations and are trying to deflect our organisation from the road it embarked on firmly during the past decade. But UNESCO will continue to act in accordance with the wishes of the community of nations, pursuing its objectives in the direction chosen and using every means at its disposal to attain positive results.

—How well-founded are these hopes?

The present situation has generated a powerful world-wide movement of solidarity with UNESCO. It is already bearing fruit expressed in two forms—financial assistance as well as moral and political support. Even in the United States, the question of UNESCO's abolition is not raised. I am firmly convinced that as a major element of the United Nations family, it will continue to pursue its activities along the path of peace, cooperation and justice for all.

¹ Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, a Senegalese statesman and public figure, served on the government of Senegal in 1957-1958 and 1966-1970. Director General of UNESCO since November 1974.—*Ed.*

² Abou Simbel is a rock Temple of Ramses II (13th century B.C.) in Nubia, southern Egypt; Borobudur is a historic temple dating back to c. 800 A.D. in Java, Indonesia; Goree is a historic preservation island off the coast of Senegal near Dakar.—*Ed.*

the party

Full-fledged Communists

Janet Jagan - Executive Committee member, Central Committee Secretary, People's Progressive Party of Guyana (PPP)

THE 22nd Congress of the People's Progressive Party of Guyana was held at Annandale, twelve miles from the capital city of Georgetown, from August 3 to 5.

Before the 22nd Congress there was the traditional two-day consultative conference attended by representatives from workers' parties, revolutionary organisations and groups in Trinidad and Tobago, St Vincent and the Grenadines, St Lucia, Barbados, Dominica, Suriname, Nicaragua and Cuba. There were unavoidable absences, due to travel problems, of the communist parties of Guadeloupe and Martinique and the Workers' Party of Jamaica. The consultative meeting discussed the dangerous international situation and the growing threat to world peace posed by aggressive imperialist policies. It condemned the trade embargo imposed against Nicaragua by Washington and the continuing financing and arming of counter-revolutionaries by the US. The issue of Latin America's and the Third World's foreign debt was analysed, with the meeting expressing full support for the Cuban position of cancellation of the debts and the introduction of a New International Economic Order.

As regards the Caribbean, the meeting examined the growing contradictions between the US and the Caribbean over Reagan's Caribbean Basin Initiative¹ and the continuing militarisation of the Eastern Caribbean. It denounced the large-scale war games conducted in the region by the Pentagon, the conference reiterated the Caribbean peoples' aspiration that the region be declared a zone of peace.

The 22nd Congress was held in the year of the 35th anniversary of the party and attention was paid to this event mainly at the opening session. As the Congress opened in the presence of fraternal delegations from communist and workers' parties and other revolutionary organisations from Europe, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean and some 500 delegates and observers (43% of whom were workers and 19% peasants), relay teams of runners from the Progressive Youth Organisation² entered the hall bearing a lighted torch. They had run from the two far ends of the coastal belt of Guyana, each team crossing large rivers and converging at the place of Congress after covering approximately 370 kilometres. They delivered a message of greetings to the party saluting its Jubilee and pledged to carry on the work and policies of the party in the coming years. The Congress paid great attention to this anniversary. The author presented an address outlining the history and achievements

of the party,³ stressing that the PPP had been a positive and essential factor in the life of Guyana all these past years and that it is a vital part of the present effort to solve the nation's severe problems. Special awards were presented to 46 veterans who had been members of the party for over 40 years. Also, a new system of awards within the party was introduced, wherein the best-functioning party group in each region, the best-functioning district bodies within the three counties and the best regional body in the entire country were presented awards.

Additional to the reports of the auditing and control commission and the elections commission was a newly introduced report specially dealing with an analysis of the way in which decisions of the previous congress were implemented.

The theme of the Congress—"Build National Unity for Democracy, Peace and Social Progress"—was a reflection of the main thrust of the work of the party at this stage in its pursuit of a political solution with a democratic content to solve the ever worsening socio-economic problems facing the country.

The Report of the Central Committee was delivered by General Secretary Cheddi Jagan. Stressing that, dedicated to Marxism-Leninism, the party was a resolute and consistent champion of Guyana's working people and of the principles of proletarian internationalism, the General Secretary dealt in detail with the PPP record of the past few years and with the tasks connected with topical political issues and the strengthening of Guyana's anti-imperialist positions.

The Report was divided into several parts—international, economic, political, social and party—which were, prior to the Congress, distributed to party groups for examination and discussion, as well as making suggestions for additions or changes. Forty party members spoke from the floor on the Report in the time allocated for this in three sessions, before it was adopted.

The Report noted that the economic situation in Guyana had considerably deteriorated since the last Congress. This fact is evidenced in the very steep increase in the cost of living, the sharp decline in the standard of living and the collapse of almost every single social infrastructure in the country. The 1983 performance of the economy could at best be described as the worst in the history of Guyana. There was a sharp fall in production in bauxite, sugar and rice,⁴ the three main foreign exchange earners.

At the end of 1984 the economy found itself in an even worse position, with the export value of merchandise and services falling short of targets by 67 million dollars and 114 million dollars respectively; sugar production falling short of target by 40,000 tons; the deficit of public enterprises rising to 161 million dollars against 86 million in 1983, while net foreign assets deteriorated by 630 million dollars. Debt and compensation payments have grown fantastically, sinking Guyana and impoverishing the people. Of the 699 million dollars paid in 1984 for debt charges, interest was 556 million dollars, while principal repayment represent a mere 143 million dollars, or 20 per cent of total payments. This, said the CC Report, is exactly what the debt trap is all about: a country can never stop paying its debts; it pays mainly interest charges.

The regime of the People's National Congress (PNC) followed a reckless borrowing policy leading to huge debt payments which have been compounded by the high interest rate policy of the Reagan administration. It has also built up an overbloated and costly bureaucratic and coercive police/military apparatus. This has increased in cost eleven times since 1964 when the PNC was put into office. In contrast, production has stagnated around levels reached in the early 1960s; and wages have increased less than four times since 1964, failing to offset the runaway price rises. All this has led to a drop in the living standard, massive dismissal of workers and cuts in social spending.

This economic crisis results in continuing balance of payments and budget deficits and ever more crippling debt charges. The declarations of government spokesmen in

1983 to the effect that Guyana is bankrupt are still applicable in 1985. The familiar result of the economic and financial crises is the virtual absence of foreign exchange for the importation of the necessities of life.

Guyana has entered into four arrangements with the IMF. Apart from the first, all the others were suspended due to the government's inability to meet the conditions laid down by the IMF, despite the heavy burden placed on the backs of the people. Note must be taken of some of the strong statements made by government spokesmen as regards the demands of the IMF. 'However,' the Report said, 'we cannot help being suspicious that the on-going devaluations, restructuring of the public corporations, dismantling of the Guyana Rice Board, withdrawal of subsidies, removal of price controls, cuts on imports and other government expenditures are all studied actions of the government to pave the way for a new IMF deal based on modified terms.'⁵

The Congress devoted considerable attention to Guyana's social problems. It deplored the growing emigration which has developed out of the many frustrations, high rate of unemployment (35 per cent), discrimination as well as the various social and economic problems facing the nation. The quality of life has deteriorated considerably over the past few years. Guyana has the highest infant mortality rate and the highest incidence of malnutrition in the English-speaking Caribbean. The minimum daily wage is far below the poverty line. There is a growth of many anti-social tendencies, with crime reaching alarming proportions. Armed robberies have doubled in frequency within a three-year period.

The Congress declared that unless the government moves to implement a minimum programme outlined by the PPP, and return decision-making to the people, Guyana will continue the downward slide, especially depressing to a country that once ranked among the leading nations of the Caribbean.

The roots of the economic crisis go deep into the economic, social and, most of all, political system of the country. We hold that the need for a political solution at this time is of the greatest importance.

The political climate in Guyana has altered considerably since the 21st Congress three years ago. The PPP's role has assumed much greater importance and the balance of forces has shifted significantly in favour of the working people. They have shown a more vibrant attitude to the defence of their living standard. Although a deep atmosphere of fear still exists, the people are showing their potential for more decisive action. Growing working class consciousness, unity and militancy was manifested in the consolidation of the progressive forces in Guyana's TUC. The progressive trade union movement expanded from four unions in 1979 to six with the two bauxite worker's unions joining them during the five weeks' strike of 1983, and to seven when the Guyana Public Service Union joined forces in 1984. There were three major factors which caused the latter to join the six-union movement: rampant inflation, the enactment of the Labour Amendment Act, and the intended payment of only ten per cent in wages for public employees.

The new correlation of forces in the trade union movement was manifested in the development at the TUC Annual Delegates' Conference in September 1984. The seven-union movement was pitted against the 17-union bloc under the control of the ruling PNC. Even the Law Court was used to strengthen the influence of the ruling party; five delegates were seated for the long-defunct Sawmill and Forest Workers' Union, and four delegates of the Guyana Mine Workers' Union were debarred. Certain of victory because of these manoeuvres and its conceived support of 125 delegates from the 17-union bloc as compared with only 88 delegates from the seven-union movement, the PNC-backed unions rejected the latter's proposal for equal representation (Parity) in the new TUC Executive Committee and an independent agreed-on President. However, the PNC suffered a resounding defeat

with the seven-union movement winning the key positions as a result of the fact that under secret voting, about 26 delegates from the 17-union bloc did not support the list of candidates from the PNC-backed unions.

Ever since the 1973 when the government rigged the election results with the help of the army (the military seized the ballot boxes), our party has been calling for a political solution.

This implies replacing the existing government, based on the support of a minority of the population, by a truly representative government through free and fair elections. Such a government can be constituted either by a single party as the PPP governments in the 1950s and 1960s, or by a pre-election alliance or front of political parties and groups as the Popular Unity government of Chile, headed by Salvador Allende, or the Broad Front of Uruguay, or by a postelection coalition.

The PPP has repeatedly stated that although it alone can win a free and fair election, it believes in winner-does-not-take-all politics; namely, that other political and social forces must join in forming the government. This is why the PPP has been calling for a National Patriotic Front and Government for almost ten years now.

Largely because of our party's correct tactics and strategy, patience and persistence, great progress has been made in achieving racial and working class unity. There are still, however, fears of racial insecurity. For this reason, it is all the more important to establish a broad-based National Patriotic Front Government which will not only proclaim racial equality but also, by its very composition, guarantee its being put into practice.

The Congress reiterated that the party would continue to follow this course. Unity is essential, stated the Central Committee Report. 'But we do not want unity only for the sake of unity. Unity must serve the people; therefore, it must have a progressive/revolutionary content. That is why we have stated that our National Patriotic Front must be based on democracy, anti-imperialism and socialist orientation.'⁶

The PPP formula for a National Patriotic Front Government is based on elections. It not only guarantees representative assemblies at the central, regional and district levels, but also copes with the realities of the geopolitical situation.

In the upcoming talks with the PNC, the issue of electoral reforms should have top priority. Democracy is essential for mass mobilisation in defence of independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and for building the foundations of socialism. As V. I. Lenin pointed out, 'whoever wants to reach socialism by any other path than that of political democracy, will inevitably arrive at conclusions that are absurd and reactionary both in the economic and the political sense.'⁷

Having decided to have talks with the PNC, the party must not create any illusions that mere dialogue will bring about a satisfactory solution. At all times it is necessary to keep in mind the essential class nature of the regime and the class character of the state created by the People's National Congress. As stated in a document sent to party groups prior to the Congress, 'the PNC does not want to replace the existing system of bureaucratic/state cooperation and parasitic capitalism either by free-enterprise, dependent and distorted capitalism demanded by the Reagan administration or by a system advocated by the PPP—a programme based on democracy, anti-imperialism and socialist orientation. It is afraid of democracy in the same way that some opposition forces are afraid of, and do not want, anti-imperialism and socialist orientation. It has vested interests to protect and it will not surrender or share power, which will endanger these vested interests. It cannot voluntarily carry the process towards social liberation.'⁸

Realising that talks alone will not move the PNC from its entrenched vested interest position, our party has expressed the view that it must negotiate and struggle at the same time. 'We must negotiate and take common actions with the PNC and others against imperialism while at the same time deepening the content of anti-

imperialism. We must take common action with other forces, political and social, to fight the PNC for a people's revolutionary democracy. This means in practice opposing denationalisation, implementing genuine workers' participation and control, and redistributing the national income in favour of the working people. Unity and struggle or alliance and struggle must be our watchword.⁹

If our reasonable proposals for a democratic political solution are rejected, the ruling party will have to resort to the only option left to it, rig the coming elections, further entrench authoritarian rule, and resort to naked repression. With such a development, the PPP will have to mobilise all possible democratic, progressive and left forces and will, of course, have to find solutions to several urgent political problems. It will have to consider whether it should work, firstly, for a united position on the elections if reforms are not instituted for free and fair elections; secondly, for the establishment of a left front for the defence of socialism and the propagation of scientific socialist ideas; and thirdly, for the establishment of a broad democratic alliance in defence of peace, freedom and democracy.

Despite all difficulties, the people must be imbued with revolutionary confidence. As the PPP General Secretary has stated all the signs of a political solution are maturing in Guyana: 'In this 150th Anniversary of the abolition of slavery the light of liberation has begun to shine in Guyana. Let us fan it into a flame that will devour poverty and injustice and light the way forward to peace, social progress and national prosperity. Let us build a new Guyana to secure the future of all: one people, one nation, one destiny.'¹⁰

Discussing party development, the Congress examined the momentous decision of 1969 on the restructuring of our organisation. The considered view is that this process of transformation is now completed and the PPP is now indeed a Marxist-Leninist party. This conclusion is based on an objective assessment of the norms and principles that guide and govern the party.

In this connection a paper was circulated to all party groups for study. It observed that 'the aforementioned general principles today form the basis and more and more guide the work and activities of our party. Increasingly, they have been adhered to with consistency and firmness. They are the overriding principles which govern the norms of party life.'

During Congress a resolution was unanimously approved which set out these conclusions ending with these words: 'The prestige of our party both locally and internationally has never been higher. We can say with confidence at this 22nd Congress that our party has been transformed into a Communist Party.'¹¹

At the same time, the Congress dealt with the need for a more concentrated and conscious policy for cadre development and to aim at constantly increasing the number of party cadres. To this end a special committee has been set up to make fresh proposals on this task.

The report noted that the period since the last Congress was fraught with many difficulties and that these had their effects on party building. Nevertheless, it was an eventful period marked with major developments. The various aspects of the party's overall activities were regularly evaluated by the Executive and Central Committees and many measures were taken to improve work and correct weaknesses.

Dealing with issues of foreign policy, the Congress fully reiterated the internationalist and anti-imperialist positions of the PPP. It expressed support for the peace policy of the Soviet Union and hailed its major constructive initiatives aimed at ending the arms race and easing international tensions. The Congress denounced the aggressive course of the US administration, including the Star Wars programmes and the deployment of US first-strike nuclear weapons in Western Europe, examined the situation in many of the trouble spots of the world and expressed solidarity with the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Nicaragua, El Salvador, Afghanistan,

Ethiopia, South Africa, Namibia, Palestine and many others.

Special attention was accorded to the situation in the Caribbean. While US imperialism consciously threatens world peace, including peace in our region, it has embarked on a policy of destabilisation of independent countries by actively aiding terrorists, adopting a policy of state terrorism, intervening in the internal affairs of sovereign, independent nations and using its surrogates to undertake armed incursions in countries whose policies it does not accept.

In this connection it was stressed that the PPP wholly condemns US imperialism's designs of aggression and military intervention in Nicaragua and demands an end to the support given to Somoza's 'contras' on the borders of Nicaragua. The Congress urged party members to redouble their efforts to prevent US intervention in Nicaragua and to strengthen the Contadora Peace Plan which is the best means of bringing peace to Nicaragua.

At the same time it was noted that the party continues to support the FMLN/FDR in El Salvador and also demands an end to US military assistance to the puppet regime and intervention in that country. The delegates expressed their confidence that the revolutionaries of El Salvador will certainly free their country from the grip of US imperialism.

In its political resolution the Congress stressed that the world communist movement was growing stronger with every passing year. The achievements of the socialist countries, led by the Soviet Union, have served to strengthen the world socialist community. The successes of the national liberation movement, despite temporary setbacks as in Grenada, and the impact of the peace and democratic forces in the capitalist countries are visible for all to see.

The People's Progressive Party of Guyana, which is part of this vast revolutionary wave for a new and better world free from fear and want, takes inspiration from these achievements and will continue to play its role and discharge its duties with all the strength and vigour at our command.

¹ See Cheddi Jagan, 'The Caribbean Danger Zone', *WMR*, No. 8, 1983.

² The youth arm of the PPP.—*Ed.*

³ Janet Jagan is a founder-member of the PPP.—*Ed.*

⁴ In 1983 production of sugar fell by 36,000 tons (12 per cent) and rice, by 34,000 tons (19 per cent); mining and quarrying declined by 38 per cent.

⁵ *Report of the Central Committee to the 22nd Congress of the People's Progressive Party*, Annandale, 1985, p. 8 (section on Economic Situation).

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 6 (section on Political Situation).

⁷ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 9, p. 29.

⁸ *Report . . .*, p. 25 (section on Political Situation).

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

¹¹ *Resolution on Party Transformation*, Annandale, 1985, p. 2.

new experience

Our Interviews A Growing Interest in Progressive Ideas

Dapo Fatogun - Editor-in-Chief
The New Horizon, CA Nigerian Marxist Journal

The socio-political processes under way in Nigeria, the 'giant of Africa', are of great interest to our readers. How do Nigerian Marxists assess the present situation in your country?

NIGERIA, the biggest African country with a population of some 100 million, is going through a difficult period in its development. A producer and exporter of oil, Nigeria was in a position—unlike many of its neighbours—to channel considerable investment into the infrastructure, industrial construction and education in the 1970s. The modern social classes—the proletariat and the bourgeoisie—were rapidly taking shape. The literacy level rose. The Federal and state governments embarked on overambitious economic development projects. A false sense of material prosperity struck roots in the mentality of many people. Government planners also succumbed to the illusion that prosperity would last forever.

However, the boom was short-lived. The influx of the petro-dollars began to diminish as the situation on the world's markets changed. One after another, enterprises owned by local capital went bankrupt and were shut down. The transnationals were throwing hundreds of thousands of workers out on a limb. Our backward and ignored agriculture was forcing peasants to migrate to the cities, aggravating the food and unemployment problems. As a result, today Nigeria has to import a large share of basic foodstuffs. The huge army of the unemployed—victims of economic 'retrenchment' and layoffs—has grown to well over two million, with the nation's labour force totalling six million people. Add to this the 45,000 graduates from scores of universities and polytechnical institutes and the 500,000 secondary school graduates annually entering the labour market.

On the political plane, the numerous bourgeois parties proved incapable of adequately responding to the nation's burning problems. This was the situation in which the military coup of 1983 took place. The government of General Buhari banned all political parties without exception but promised prompt improvement in the position of working people and of the country as a whole.

Shortly after the military takeover the Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC)¹ called for a new governmental structure based on an alliance of workers, soldiers, youth,

progressive intellectuals and the peasantry. The NLC pointed to the possibility of Nigeria choosing a socialist path of development and urged nationalisation of all means of production and firm measures against neocolonialist manoeuvres in Nigeria and against imperialist conspiracies in Africa. However, the Buhari government moved in the opposite direction. It ignored the demands of working people and flirted with the feudal quarters.

In August 1985 a new coup occurred—the sixth since Nigeria had gained independence two and a half decades ago. Major-General I. Babangida came to lead the ruling Nigerian Armed Forces Council. The coup did not come as a surprise. The profound disillusionment with the record of the previous civilian and military governments, the deterioration of the people's living standard, the concessions to pressures exerted by the transnationals and international capitalist monetary and financial centres—all these combined to promote discontent among workers, peasants, students and part of the bourgeoisie and the middle strata. The illusion of prosperity is now forgotten, and people of different social strata are asking what will come next and where Nigeria is headed.

In this situation what is the role of Nigeria's Marxist-Leninist forces in the efforts to involve the masses in political struggle and to disseminate progressive ideas?

The country is currently debating what went wrong and how Nigeria can find a way out. Two positions are emerging with regard to these questions. One is the position of that section of the bourgeoisie which was supported by the Buhari military government. This school of thought holds that it was all the fault of a handful of people who mismanaged the economy and looted the treasury; the way out is to jail the culprits. The other position, held by the Marxist-Leninists and the working class, is that what went wrong with Nigeria was, essentially, the wrong choice of development path—the capitalist path.

The New Horizon and the steadily growing body of Nigeria's Marxists-Leninists are aware of their role as champions of working people's rights and alive to our vows of absolute loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and to our pledge of upholding the banner of working class solidarity.

Our journal keeps its readers informed of the ideas and experience of the working class movement all over the world. For example, in our August issue we published Comrade Fidel Castro's statement on the problem of Latin America's external debt. All available copies were sold out in three days. We believe that the reason is not so much the issue of the debt itself as the sharp anti-imperialist thrust of the Cuban leader's speech, something that is increasingly welcomed in Nigeria.

It follows that exposure of imperialism and its predatory policy vis-a-vis the developing countries is one of the most important issues of concern to our people, something to which Nigeria's Marxists accord priority attention. In our journal, we emphasise that it is imperialism which is responsible for the difficulties currently experienced by Africa and the entire Third World. It is imperialism which plunders our nations while wastefully spending billions of dollars on the insane arms race.

Politically conscious Nigerians take pride in their nationality as citizens of a country that is ready and able to become an essential factor in the all-African struggle against apartheid, for the total liberation of South Africa and Namibia. This struggle is also spearheaded against imperialism which is led by Washington, the main source of support for the South African racists and for their insolent moves. Thanks to the efforts undertaken by the Marxists-Leninists among workers, students and other strata, the anti-imperialist forces of our country are growing stronger with each

passing day.

Let me repeat that the choice of our future development path is a very acute problem in Nigeria. The Marxists are striving for maximum clarity and credibility in showing the great and fruitful nature of socialist ideas; they highlight the experience accumulated by the countries that are building socialism in Europe, Asia, Latin America and, today in several parts of Africa too. Revolutionary democratic regimes are gaining strength on our continent; they have proclaimed a just society free from exploitation of man by man as their goal.

Africa has long secured a firm place for itself in world politics. Everything that happens on the world scene is of interest and concern to us. It is no accident that great activity is shown by the All-Nigeria Peace and Solidarity Organisation. In Lagos, Kano and Ibadan powerful peace rallies are being mounted, and there are growing expressions of solidarity with the peoples of Chile, El Salvador, Cuba, Nicaragua, Lebanon, Syria, Afghanistan and Kampuchea—with all those who are subjected to and who rebuff imperialist pressure and direct or indirect aggression. The National Committee Against Apartheid wields particularly great influence with Nigerians.

The New Horizon features on peace and anti-imperialist solidarity generate an enthusiastic response in our country.

***The New Horizon* was founded and first delivered to its readers ten years ago. How do you evaluate its record and what do you think about its immediate prospects?**

The launching of our journal broke a long silence in the progressive sector of the Nigerian press. The *Advance* weekly² ceased to exist in 1969. But it had performed an important role in the ideological struggle by explaining the Marxist-Leninist positions on the Nigerian civil war³ and, specifically, on the right of nations to self-determination, an issue distorted by the Biafran separatists. The weekly fought vigorously against imperialist propaganda.

The New Horizon appeared in 1975, when there were signs that the then military regime was about to permit a degree of freedom of expression in the country. The bourgeois press immediately mounted an anti-communist campaign. Our journal rose to the challenge and was quite effective: it even organised a theoretical conference on the question of a vanguard party. However, the inflationary rise in the publishing costs priced us out of the print shop less than five years later.

The New Horizon was revived this year, in response to the crying need to puncture the ongoing political debates in Nigeria with Marxist-Leninist ideas and presentations. Our journal is very well received in trade union circles, by students among whom radical sentiment is strong, and by a large body of progressive national intellectuals. It is read avidly by those who want to add to their experience and knowledge through a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the realities.

We are entering with optimism the second decade of our struggle. Social contradictions are sharpening in our country. The working class is gaining experience in the class struggle; the rising level of literacy is improving its political consciousness. It is now clear that the reactionary forces cannot hold back the growth of progressive ideas and the social movements inspired by them. Increasingly resolute demands of a socialist option for Nigeria are being raised. What is most important of all is that the working people of Nigeria are united on this fundamental issue.

¹ The national trade union centre uniting 44 biggest unions with a total membership of over four million. *The New Horizon* ensures broad coverage of NLC activities and positions.—Ed.

² The *Advance* weekly was launched in 1965 by the Socialist Workers' and Farmers' Party of Nigeria, banned in 1966.—Ed.

³ The war of 1967-1970 which followed an attempt at the secession of Eastern Nigeria and the proclamation of the so-called Republic of Biafra there.—Ed.

Documents

PAKISTAN

A COURSE OF ACTION CHARTED

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Pakistan has adopted a document analysing the domestic political situation and identifying the party's major tasks in the current period. These tasks are formulated as follows:

1. To create the broadest possible single front around the slogan urging the lifting of martial law and restoration of democracy. The front is to comprise the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy, as well as unaffiliated political parties that are ready to fight against the reactionary dictatorship of the top brass.

2. To enhance the unity of the anti-imperialist, democratic forces and, as far as it proves possible, to unite them around a common platform. To continue the unitary process already under way.

3. To help in the intensification of the struggle waged by the working class in alliance with other sections of working people and, in the process, to consolidate the positions and preserve the independence of the Communist Party.

Only a successful struggle against imperialism can create conditions for change in Pakistan. The Communist Party will therefore do all it can to foster consolidation of an anti-imperialist, democratic front. This means that it is extremely important to attain unity of the working class and ensure its socio-political cooperation with other sections of working people; this will make it possible to rally the masses to the struggle against the regime of Zia ul-Haq and to put an end to the vacillation of the bourgeois opposition leaders. Led by the Communist Party, the working class will play an active role in the national democratic revolution, creating alliances at each stage and never losing sight of its own class interests.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Pakistan has called on all anti-imperialist and democratic forces of the nation to take joint action against imperialist domination, for democracy and fundamental human rights.

In the Mirror of the Press

Pravda

THE DISCUSSION OF PROGRAMME DOCUMENTS HAS COMMENCED

Under the heading 'For People and Life on Earth' this newspaper of the CPSU Central Committee carried an editorial on the results of the CC plenary meeting held in October. This meeting considered the drafts of a new edition of the Party Programme, of amendments to its Rules and of the Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and for the Period Up to the Year 2000—the documents to be submitted to the 27th Congress of the CPSU.

All three documents, *Pravda* writes, are aimed at speeding up the country's social and economic development and, on that basis, taking Soviet society into a

qualitatively new phase. This acceleration, the editorial underscores, is an imperative of the times. It is dictated inexorably by the domestic and external political situation. This is the only way to satisfy the people's growing material and cultural requirements, win the historic contest with capitalism in all areas, strengthen the country's defence, prevent nuclear war, and attain the summits of communist society towards which the course is firmly steered by the Party of Lenin.

The article notes that the basic tendencies of world-wide development are quite substantively reflected in the new edition of the CPSU Programme. In it are formulated the fundamental principles of the party's foreign policy, principles that remain immutable. Moreover, the Programme demonstrates the breadth of the party's approach to international affairs and its ability to take the specifics of the situation into account opportunely and respond flexibly to the requirements of the day for the benefit of peace and socialism.

In accordance with a plenary meeting decision the draft documents approved by the CPSU Central Committee have been submitted for broad discussion in party organisations and work collectives. This discussion, *Pravda* writes, will contribute to the drafting of scientifically substantiated recommendations enriched by the experience of the party and the entire people, and to the further promotion of the people's creative initiatives in the drive to carry out the 1985 state plans successfully, set the new five-year plan off to a vigorous start, and fittingly honour the opening of the 27th Congress of the CPSU.

Borba

A PRECONGRESS PLATFORM

Borba, a major Yugoslav newspaper has published a commentary on the preparations for the 13th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, to be convened in June 1986. The article says that the highest forum of Yugoslavia's Communists is to tackle three issues of paramount significance.

The first and the most important is that of strengthening the ideological and organisational unity of the League. Ideologically weakened and lacking an adequate degree of concerted action, it cannot withstand the increasingly open trends advocating federalisation of the party. This situation calls above all for the strengthening of democratic centralism as the foremost principle of party work; this effort should be based on comprehensively expanding the dialogue within the party, on conducting a democratic discussion and on displaying greater consistency and resolve in the implementation of the decisions taken.

The second task concerns the functioning of the federal system and efforts to ensure the stability of Yugoslavia as a state. The LCY Central Committee holds that the drawing up of a mid-term plan of socio-economic development is of decisive importance in this regard. The party insists on a more consistent responsibility of the republics and regions for the situation in the federation as a whole.

The third task is that of improving the operation of individual elements of the political system, primarily so as to ensure further progress of socialist self-government. The LCY pre-congress platform¹ refers to the need for the soonest possible settlement of differences existing among the Communists.

Borba notes that the first problem—relations within the League—is of key importance to the 13th Congress, to all LCY members and to society as a whole because the vanguard of the Yugoslav working class is responsible for the future of the country. The party must realise that its old methods of work are obsolete, and new ones are yet to be developed.

¹ The document approved at the LCY Central Committee plenary meeting of July 30, 1985.—Ed.

A Personal Impression

A CENTRE OF PARTY RESEARCH

Academic research and the training of their cadres in theory have always been a matter of importance to the fraternal parties. Today it is particularly clear that for their struggle to be successful, they should set up special groups, institutes and other bodies that can prepare theoretically substantiated recommendations for the party leadership. This is why it pays to examine the record of the first establishment of this type in Latin America—the Victorio Codovilla Centre for Marxist-Leninist Studies operating under the Communist Party of Argentina Central Committee.

The first thing that catches your eye when you approach a small two-storey building is an old-fashioned bronze plaque cleaned till it shines and reading 'Centre for Social Research'. The long years of clandestine work have taught the staff of this Buenos Aires-based centre not to advertise the true nature of their work or their Communist Party affiliation.

From our talks with Paulino González Alberti, an economist and president of the centre, with Maurice Lebedinsky, a prominent sociologist and member of the CPA Central Committee who has been working continuously as CMLS secretary, and with other veteran leaders of the centre we received firsthand information about the origins, history, tasks, structure, plans and prospects of the CMLS, the biggest creative association of Marxist scholars in Latin America (aside from Cuba).

The Victorio Codovilla Centre for Marxist-Leninist Studies was founded in difficult conditions of the underground in December 1969, when the then dictator of Argentina was 'rooting out communism'. At first, the tasks that the centre tackled were mostly connected with propaganda and education. Oreste Ghioldi, the Argentine Communist leader who founded the centre and was its first president, held that the CMLS was to coordinate the party's ideological struggle, mark the principal anniversaries of the international communist movement and, most importantly, help train a new generation of revolutionaries not only well-grounded in fundamental Marxist theory but also capable of creatively applying its principles in Argentina's conditions.

The CMLS began its work by organising a seminar to mark the 100th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth and by publishing a book entitled *The Vibrant Power of Leninism and Argentina Today* (Buenos Aires, 1970). Ever since, it has followed the course of linking the classical revolutionary heritage with the exigencies of contemporary struggle.

From the very first years, the centre continuously conducted courses to train the party cadre² in Marxist-Leninist philosophy, political economy and theory of revolution; these courses were usually clandestine (depending on the regime currently in power). With the country under a dictatorship, the true nature of the courses was carefully camouflaged: the principal components of Marxism were disguised as 'general sociology'. Still, despite all these unavoidable security measures and camouflage, the centre never ceased its publishing, educational or research activities even during the hardest years.

As the CPA grew and gained strength and as its tasks became increasingly complex, the centre shifted accents in its work and adopted a more specific definition of its functions. Today, the focus is on concrete research into various aspects of Argentine and Latin American realities and of the world communist movement; these studies are to be of direct assistance to the party leadership. It is no accident that structurally, the CMLS operates under the CPA Central Committee.

Numerous commissions have been set up at the centre, some of them on an ad hoc

basis. The Commission for Economic Studies, the biggest of them all, comprises dozens of prominent experts, has its works published and regularly organises national and regional meetings that reflect the territorial diversity of the Argentine economy.

Recommendations with regard to the party's policy are, we were told, tackled by two more commissions that were set up comparatively recently and that include many promising young members. One of the commissions studies the political structure of society—the parties, the church, the armed forces, the state apparatus, etc. The other—the commission on the working class movement—devotes particular attention to the changes under way in the composition of the Argentine proletariat and in its different strata and to the processes occurring in the consciousness of different categories of working people.

The international department of the centre is made up of several research groups. The Argentina-US group traces the mechanics of US infiltration in all spheres of the nation's life, especially in its economy which is struggling against a huge external debt. The Argentina-Latin group deals with the issues of continental cooperation and Latin American unity. Relevant commissions were promptly established to respond to acute international problems such as the border dispute with Chile over the Biagle Channel or the British occupation of the Malvinas. Experts from the section on the party's external ties also render considerable services to the CPA leadership.

Several important commissions study different aspects of Argentina's relations with the socialist countries, above all with the USSR: Argentine-Soviet contacts in the commercial, scientific, cultural and other fields have expanded considerably in recent years. Of great assistance to this commission are graduates of the Patrice Lumumba Friendship University who, with their good command of Russian, translate and regularly analyse articles from the Soviet press.

The restoration of democratic forms of government in Argentina has helped the Victorio Codovilla Centre to tangibly broaden its business contacts with similar research centres.

"The party is interested in exchanges of information with all local research organisations and institutes which number almost 100 in Buenos Aires alone," Lebedinsky told us. "We are also striving to expand our international contacts. For example, working together with the Institute of Latin American Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences, we held, for the third time, a theoretical seminar in October—this time on the external debt of Latin American countries. We maintain contacts with academic institutes in the GDR and Cuba, as well as with several research centres of West European communist parties. We have been cooperating long and closely with *World Marxist Review*."

Lack of sufficient funds so far prevent the CMLS from acquiring a publishing infrastructure of its own. It does have mimeographs and a small printing press to take care of day-to-day requirements. The centre's more important papers are brought out by Cartago and Anteo, the two biggest progressive publishers. In 1985 several monographs have been prepared for publication and sent to the printers, including books on Argentine agriculture, on social democracy on Latin America and on the middle strata, as well as summaries of recent seminars and conferences.

We asked about the centre's plans and prospects for the immediate future.

"We are working to increase the number of our activists and to improve their skills," the CMLS secretary told us. "Some 150 people are collaborating with us in Buenos Aires alone. Note that they do it free of charge, in their spare time. We are planning to move into a new, more spacious and better equipped building and to increase the body of our activists to about 250. Our dream is a modern, computer-equipped clearing house for information (and we are already working in this direction). We shall, in all probability, resume publication of our own academic bulletin, tentatively entitled *Research Papers*, to replace the *Annals* journal

suspended under the dictatorship."

In the evening, the rooms of the centre were gradually filling with people. The doorbell signalled the arrival of more and more participants in a theoretical symposium on the subject of the Argentine working class. Communists and people without any party affiliation, experts and ordinary workers, older and young people were gathering in a modestly furnished hall after a day of hard work to begin a discussion of topical issues of concern to them. After the opening ceremony, the floor was given to Comrade Athos Fava, General Secretary of the CPA.

The centre of party research, vibrantly alive, continues its work.

Stepan Mamontov
WMR staff member

¹ Aside from those trained at the Party School.

In Brief

NEWSPAPER FESTIVALS

The traditional festival of the Communist press—the *Drapeau rouge* newspaper and the *Rode vann* weekly—was held in the Belgian capital and lasted for two days. The fact that aside from Communists, representatives of other left parties and movements and of different sections of the public took part in it reflected the commitment of Belgians to radical transformations in the interests of the working masses and to more durable peace, security and cooperation in Europe.

* * *

"Hope, Progress and Security" was the theme of this year's annual autumn festival of *Voix ouvrière*, the newspaper of the Swiss Party of Labour. The participants expressed their resolve to step up the resistance to the anti-popular policy of the ruling quarters and to fight for the progress of science to serve man and peace and for the younger generation to feel no fear of the future.

* * *

The Press, Radio and Television Day is truly a national holiday in Czechoslovakia. This year its themes included the 65th anniversary of *Rudé právo*, the newspaper of the CPCz Central Committee, the 40th anniversary of the Victory over fascism and of Czechoslovakia's liberation by the Soviet Army, and preparations for the 17th party Congress to be held in April 1986.

ACADEMIC COOPERATION

Leaders of research establishments maintained by the central committee of communist and workers' parties and heads of other centres for Marxist studies from 19 countries of Europe, Asia and Latin America held a meeting in Hungary. The participants reiterated their commitment to broader cooperation, a more militant struggle for the triumph of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and more vigorous mass action for peace and international security.

BENIN

'The October Revolution and the Benin Revolution Experience' was the theme of a seminar held in Cotonou. The speakers noted that the historical record of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries prompted the people of Benin to choose Marxism-Leninism as the ideological basis of their nation's development.

FRANCE

Some 8,500 new members were admitted to the French Communist Party in the course of the traditional festival of *l'Humanité* (September 1985)—an increase of over 1,000 compared to a similar drive a year ago. Almost 2,500 people joined the Communist Youth Movement.

GDR

Heading the study circles and seminars in the network of party education maintained by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany are 108,000 experts. The Communists of the GDR have made preparations for the Eleventh SED Congress to be convened in April 1986 the theme of the current school year that began in September.

IRELAND

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ireland has decided at a plenary meeting to convene the 19th regular party Congress from January 31 to February 2, 1986.

KAMPUCHEA

Pracheachun (The People) is a new newspaper launched by the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea in Pnom Penh. The first issue appeared on October 13, 1985—the day the Fifth Congress of the PRPK opened.

POLAND

Thirty-five thousand people were admitted to the PUPW from January to July 1985—almost as many as the whole of 1984. The downward trend in the numerical strength of the party has been essentially arrested, and its ranks are gradually beginning to grow. As of the beginning of 1985 the membership total exceeded 2.1 million people, with workers making up 38.5 per cent; peasants, 9.1 per cent; intellectuals, 51 per cent; and representatives of other social strata, 1.4 per cent.

SAN MARINO

The Great and General Council (Parliament) of the republic has elected two captains-regent to serve another six months as heads of state. They are members of the Communist Party and of the Socialist Unity Party, both representing the ruling coalition of left forces.

exchange of views, discussion

Scientific and Technical Cooperation: The Key to Developing Socialist Integration

The economic strategy of the countries which are members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) is designed to intensify the national economy by accelerating scientific and technical progress and raising social-labour productivity and so to give greater scope to all-round economic and social development and the growth of the people's well-being.

Deepening socialist economic integration, especially its scientific and technical element, is one of the most important ways of fulfilling these historical tasks. Accordingly, the CMEA's 1984 Moscow Economic Summit decided on the joint drafting—in the light of these countries' national programmes—of a 15-20 year Complex Programme of Scientific and Technical Progress as the groundwork for working out an agreed scientific and technical policy, and a common one in some fields. It is a step forward in their internationalist cooperation for joint efforts in more rapidly solving the problems in the socialist society's continued progress.

An international round-table on 'The Role of Scientific and Technical Cooperation in Deepening Socialist Economic Integration of the CMEA Member-Countries' was held in Poland by *WMR* together with the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party. Among those who took part in the discussion were: Bulgaria—Professor **Marin Petrov**, Dr.Sc. (Econ.), deputy chairman of the Committee for Science and Technology under Bulgaria's Council of Ministers; Hungary—**Károly Tábori**, deputy department head, State Committee for Technical Development; Vietnam—Professor **Dang Hu'u**, alternate member, CP Vietnam CC, chairman of the Committee for Science and Technology; GDR—**Willi Kunz**, corresponding member of the GDR Academy of Sciences, deputy director of the Central Institute of Socialist Economic Administration under the SED CC; Cuba—**Raúl Valdés Vivó**, CC member, CP Cuba, the party's representative on *WMR*; Mongolia—**Puntsagdashin Luvsandorzh**, corresponding member of Mongolia's Academy of Sciences, deputy director of the Academy's Institute of Economics; **Tsagan Uvguni Sedzhav**, MPRP CC staff member; Poland—**Henryk Pucilowski**, economic department deputy head, PUWP CC; Professor **Wiesław Iskra**, prorector of the PUWP Academy of Social Sciences; Professor **Leszek Pasieczny**, deputy director, Institute of Social Policy of the PUWP's Academy of Social Sciences; Romania—Professor **Constantin Moisuc**, Dr.Sc. (Econ.), department head, Stefan Gheorghiu Academy under the RCP CC; USSR—

Yuri Shiryaev, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, director of the International Institute of Economic Problems of the World Socialist System; Professor **Aleksandr Bykov**, Dr.Sc. (Econ.), sector head, Institute of Economics of the World Socialist System, USSR Academy of Sciences; Czechoslovakia—**Ladislav Ryha**, Dr.Sc. (Econ.), senior lecturer, deputy chairman, Czech Commission for Scientific and Technical Progress and Capital Investments.

Among those who took part in the round-table was **Yuri Sklyarov**, alternate member, CPSU CC and Editor-in-Chief of *WMR*.

* * *

THE frontal technical revolution now under way in the world is historically comparable with the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century, even if the scale and quality of production have since then changed out of all recognition. The scientific and technical revolution is evolving into a science-and-production revolution, as new hardware and technology break into the existing production structures and relentlessly cause their renewal.

It is an intricate process calling for in-depth study by the Marxist economic science, above all from the standpoint of how socialism can use its advantages to master the new pace of scientific and technical progress and the process in which science and technology are integrated with production. Among these advantages is the CMEA fraternal countries' immense possibilities for pooling their forces and advancing to scientific and technical integration, a qualitatively new type of cooperation.

Discussion at the round-table was focused on five problems:

- 1) the internal and external conditions for the CMEA countries' advancing to scientific and technical integration;
- 2) scientific and technical integration as a new stage in the CMEA countries' economic cooperation;
- 3) forms, methods and instruments of scientific and technical integration at the present stage;
- 4) the role of cooperation in speeding scientific and technical development in Vietnam, Cuba and Mongolia;
- 5) scientific and technical cooperation with third countries in present-day conditions.

The following survey ranges over these five problems.

IN THE CHANGING CONDITIONS

External conditions for economic development are among the factors dictating the need to raise CMEA scientific and technical cooperation to a higher stage, since the current technological revolution is a global one and has an effect on the economy of all countries in one way or another. The pace of scientific and technical progress tends, therefore, to become an explicitly political problem; it now largely determines the strengthening of socialism's international position.

It is of fundamental importance that in terms of sources the technological revolution is likewise global, for it would be a bad mistake to credit the industrialised capitalist countries alone with all the major technical innovations of the past two or three decades, which would have been inconceivable without the involvement of the whole world. It is worth recalling that these emerged in a period of monopoly-low prices for raw materials and fuels, when the imperialist powers were long able to obtain the most valuable resources at throwaway prices and so set aside sizeable funds for financing fundamental and applied research, so that their contribution to the scientific and technical revolution, was largely funded by the less developed countries

via the relations of redistribution. In addition to its direct—and highly significant—contribution to the advance of world science and technology, the socialist community also exerted an influence on this advance by its peaceful foreign policy, because it is to the socialist community's active stand that mankind primarily owes the long period of peace, which helped the technological revolution to ripen.

Over the past several years, said **Yuri Shiryayev**, technical and technological development in the industrialised countries ceased to be linear and a break in gradual development came to a head, heralding a qualitative leap, as the following example shows. For some time after their invention, electric motors had the same transmission system as steam engines, and the steep and swift change in production came only with the discovery of how the electric motor could be fitted into the working machine. We find something similar in the latter half of the twentieth century. Following the invention of the electronic computer it also took a fairly long 'incubation period' to link it up with the working machine which lasted until the development of the microprocessor, a system of minicomputers, i.e., a series of new 'drive belts'. That is when it became possible to introduce electronics into social production on a broad scale. It is, in fact, the above-mentioned leap, when time is 'condensed', and when any delay in the technical re-equipment of the national economy, however short, may develop into a serious qualitative lag in terms of world standards.

It is at just such a turning point that the West has clearly issued a technological challenge to socialism, said **Aleksandr Bykov**. It is not that either the United States or Japan are now ahead here and there, for the USSR and other socialist countries are abreast of them here, and are even in advance of them there. The gist of the challenge is that imperialism, notably US imperialism, assumes that the present stage of the scientific and technical revolution and the restructuring of the national economies it has caused make it possible to reduce the destructive force of cyclical and structural crises, to regain the dynamism of the 1950s and 1960s, to consolidate the positions of capitalism in the developing world and decidedly to bolster them in the competition with socialism.

The US administration, backed by the ultra-reactionary grouping of the present US establishment, which is patently interlocked with the military-industrial complex and supported by the major corporations in the high-tech industries, expects to push the competition between the two systems out of its normal conditions into extreme ones. It hopes to make us the losing side by imposing on the socialist states an arms race with new qualitative parameters and by artificially isolating our community from the world high-tech market. These reactionary strategists hope that in these conditions the fraternal countries will not be able to cope either with the dynamic development of science and technology, or with the build-up of defence capability, on the assumption that scientific and technical achievements can be made available by market competition, but not by the planned economy. In other words, capitalism is trying to demonstrate that the banner of the scientific and technical revolution is not ours, but its very own.

Imperialist politicians are inclined greatly to exaggerate their potentialities, he said. Let us recall that in the latter half of the 1940s attempts were already made to mount a technological blockade against us. At that time, the democratic people's states, rallied round the USSR, successfully withstood the blockade and proved that economic war was ultimately not the best option for capitalism in its relations with the other social system. Nor are such methods likely to succeed under the present balance of forces.

What is the underlying assumption of the brazen challenge? For their class purposes, those who are conducting this tough international line assume that socialism has a huge shortfall in science and technology, allegedly its vulnerable spot.

Imperialist reaction has, therefore, issued a challenge to the socialist community in

a vital field. The leadership of the communist and workers' parties and the governments of the fraternal states have always regarded the competition between the two world systems with the greatest attention, and they have now also met the class adversary's challenge by acting to improve the functioning of their national economies, and uniting their ranks so as to join forces in accelerating their advance, consolidating their technical and economic independence, and making any attempts at political pressure futile.

However, for the socialist countries, the technological challenge of our day is mostly internal, speakers stressed, for it is the internal requirements of the socialist society's development that provide the strongest impetus for deepening scientific and technical cooperation in the CMEA. The fraternal communist and workers' parties strive to accelerate economic growth in their countries through consistent and comprehensive intensification both of the national economies and of their integrative cooperation, above all for the fulfilment of major social tasks, Willi Kunz said. It is these tasks, and not some absolute shortage of resources in some socialist-community countries that induce us to blend our efforts and to manage our economies with greater thrift. Intensification of production by various means, such as deepening the international division of labour is a characteristic feature of expanded reproduction in the developed socialist society and its material and technical conditions.

The new stage of cooperation calls for joint efforts in making economic growth proceed with a relative or absolute reduction in the inputs of labour-power, the objects of labour, raw and other materials, fuels, energy and fixed assets, speakers said. However, the potentialities for making production more efficient tend to be quite rapidly worked out without a radical change of technology. Just as the key to the deep-lying layers of the national-economic intensification is provided only by the latest hardware and technology, the emphasis in the fraternal countries' international economic cooperation is ever more evidently shifting into the scientific and technical sphere.

All the members of the socialist community—whether those working up large volumes of fuels and raw materials (for themselves and for their partners), or, and mainly, those processing imported mineral resources—have an equal stake in switching to the new technologies and introducing on a large scale the latest-generation hardware, since scientific and technical progress helps sharply to reduce the requirements in resources generally, as will be seen from the following example cited in the discussion: it has been estimated that if we had enough high-quality corrosion-proof metal, we could do with roughly one-half of the pig-iron now being produced. The same applies to primary energy sources, where the new technologies are very much more economical. A sizable part of the existing machine stock will eventually also become unnecessary as traditional machine-tools give way to flexible production systems and robotics.

Considering that collective efforts to master the scientific and technical revolution can yield sizable time and cost benefits, the leaders of the communist workers' parties and heads of government of the CMEA countries have agreed on joint elaboration of a complex programme for scientific and technical progress over the next 15-20 years. It was decided to give priority to five lines of cooperation:

- electronisation of the national economy through the massive introduction of computers and microchip technology;
- complex automation, including the development of flexible automated production systems;
- development of new materials (polymer, ceramic and composite) and technologies (powder metallurgy, laser devices, and so on);
- broad use of nuclear energy in the national economy;
- and development of biotechnology.

Each such priority line (subprogramme) is translated into a phased pyramid of concrete acts entailing a radical change in the existing national economic structures, production apparatus, technologies, products and working conditions.

The link between intensification within the national framework and the development of the CMEA countries' scientific and technical cooperation is twofold: the switch of the national economies to intensification requires closer cooperation in science and technology, while the effectiveness of the latter, for its part, largely depends on full and skilful use of the individual countries' scientific and technical potential.

The participants in the round-table identified three problems whose solution could markedly help to increase the returns from international scientific and technical cooperation: first, build-up of the material basis of research, development and engineering projects within the national framework; second, improvement of managerial methods in the scientific and technical fields; and third, faster application of the results.

On the first problem, Yuri Shiryayev recalled that the socialist community has at its disposal a vast scientific and technical potential: a total of 5 million persons, one-third of them researchers, are engaged in the field of science. Such a large army of well-trained specialists is an outstanding asset, but the point now is no longer to go on increasing their numbers, but to install modern equipment at scientific institutions and rapidly to develop experimental-research and application facilities, because nowadays the researcher's labour productivity is directly proportional to the technical facilities at his disposal.

Round-table participants from the GDR and Poland considered the connection between the efficiency of the national mechanisms in managing scientific and technical progress, and the effectiveness of the international cooperation of the fraternal countries.

Willi Kunz said that the improvement of economic management and administration in the GDR over the past few years has entailed the establishment and consolidation of combines, powerful economic units whose ambit encompasses the whole reproduction cycle from beginning to end. It was decided to concentrate a large part of the GDR's scientific and technical potential at these combines in order to establish an organic connection between research, development, engineering, production and merchandising. They are entitled to establish direct ties with partners in other CMEA countries. Bilateral and multilateral long-term programmes for international cooperation are now proceeding not only on the state level but also directly between the economic units, and this makes it possible to decide on practical matters more promptly and with expert knowledge and with an eye to the interests of the enterprises, so making the joint projects highly effective.

In the latter half of the 1970s, there was an idea in Poland to speed scientific and technical progress by advancing it mainly through the efforts of the enterprises instead of the state, it was said in a report by Wiesław Iskra and Leszek Pasieczny. But neither at that time, nor since, in the course of the economic reform, has it proved possible to get the economic units to take sufficient interest in the technical renovation of production and their products. They preferred to manipulate prices and the product mix, and took up technical projects only when there was no special risk and when the effect was not national-economic, but local and short-term. As a result, the scientific and technical facilities in industry were run down, and the individual plant programmes scattered.

That is why the improvement of the managerial mechanism in scientific and technical progress in Poland is now being tackled along two lines. First, much is still being done to awaken a spirit of socialist enterprise, initiative and innovation among the work collectives through the use of price-formation, fiscal and credit instruments.

Second, much importance is attached to the long-term state structural policy in the field of science and technology. Among other things, a centralised technical progress fund is to be set up to finance central research programmes and state orders for applied and basic research. These two lines should also have a positive effect over the long term on Poland's participation in the international cooperation of the CMEA countries.

Organising the application of research, development and engineering results is an important element in managing scientific and technical progress, and underachievement in this sector tends to slow down the pace of our advance, including a decrease in returns on the fraternal countries' cooperation in science and technology, said the Bulgarian, Polish and Soviet scientists who attended the round-table.

Generally speaking, socialism eliminates the objective obstacles to any diffusion of inventions and, in fact, creates favourable social conditions for it, **Leszek Pasiieczny** emphasised, but paradoxically, that is where we are still weak. Polish statistics indicate, for instance, that a good Polish invention is, as a rule, applied only at one enterprise, as compared with an average of three for the world.

This kind of local application may explain the large gaps in labour productivity, and not only between enterprises in different countries, but also within one and the same national economy. **L. Pasiieczny** cited the example of the Polish steel industry (35 to 1 gap) and the textile industry (26 to 1). **Willi Kunz** referred to the data of a similar study in the GDR, where the gap comes to 3 to 1 or even 4 to 1. That, despite the fact that in a small country, it is not much of a problem to exchange experience without delay and to spread technical innovations tried out at advanced enterprises.

Why is the application of scientific and technical achievements such a pressing problem in some socialist countries? Why has the process of renewing production as a whole not yet acquired the desired scope in our community? One of the reasons was that no effective motivation for scientific and technical progress had in due time been built into the economic mechanism of some CMEA countries, notably the USSR, the Soviet participants said. That is precisely one of the flaws of which CPSU CC General Secretary **Mikhail Gorbachov** spoke when he said: 'We do not always work well, we have not yet learnt to carry on economic management as the modern economy requires and our vast potentialities allow.'¹ Production needs to be renewed at a fast pace if we are to win the competition with capitalism, and that is the orientation of the large complex of measures taken in the recent period by the CPSU and the Soviet government. The party's plans and programmes lay emphasis on a transfusion of the most progressive ideas, discoveries and inventions from science to industry and agriculture.

The state of application of scientific and technical achievements in Bulgaria has been subjected to sharp criticism in the recent period. BCP CC General Secretary **Todor Zhivkov** said this was a 'no man's land', a sector for which no one was directly responsible. The party called on managerial personnel to solve the long-standing problem. National-economic planning procedures, **Marin Petrov** said, are to be so modified as to include application; new specialised funds are to be set up at enterprises to meet the higher costs of starting new lines of production. Successful application is now to be rewarded from a Wages and Technical Progress Stimulation Fund, together with other measures, including price adjustment.

Some 100 small and medium-size research, development and engineering enterprises are to be set up in Poland to master the production of new items and technologies and to spread technical and organisational ideas throughout the national economy. Similar firms have already been set up in Hungary.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) now also attaches primary significance to the rapid application of scientific and technical novelties. Last year, 18 per cent of the products turned out in the GDR were renewed, and the 1985 plan set

the target at 21 per cent; over the long term the figure is to be raised to an average of 30 per cent a year for all products, and even higher for consumer goods. The party believes that one of the important ways of attaining these fairly challenging targets is utmost development of serious analytical work, constant comparison of the economic results of combines, factories, shops and teams, and emulation of the front-rankers. That is an effective and virtually free instrument for intensifying production. Such comparisons, **Willi Kunz** said, would be useful on the scale of the community as a whole.

We find, therefore, that attention everywhere—at home and abroad—is focused on the exceptional speed of scientific and technical development in our day. The Communists regard scientific and technical progress as the crucial link, a grip on which can help to pull along the whole chain of other important problems facing existing socialism.

TO A HIGHER STAGE

The CMEA countries' scientific and technical cooperation at the present stage is closely bound up with production: it is not only evolving into the basis for socialist economic integration and the starting point for coordinating economic strategy and shaping structural and investment policy, but is gradually changing its quality as it develops into scientific and technical integration.

Its substance is the gradual formation of an integrated scientific and technical potential of the whole community. As the structure of the fraternal countries' potentials changes, it is optimised both within the national and international framework, said **Marin Petrov**. No state alone is capable of keeping abreast of scientific and technical progress along the whole front, which is why they can all complement each other effectively by applying the principle of selection, i.e., specialisation. We still have much duplication and the division of labour is not yet deep enough. Substantial benefits are to be had from a more rational balance between research within the national framework, participation in the community's international projects, and the import of foreign technologies.

It is very important, said **Willi Kunz**, to choose the priority lines of cooperation in the light of the requirements of one's own national-economic structure, and to correct such specialisation as the need arises, for only then is it possible to make fuller and more purposeful use of one's own scientific and technical potential, which in the GDR comes to roughly 1.5-2 per cent of the world's. Solid ties with CMEA partners help to concentrate resources and efforts on the most important lines, to build up a scientific reserve, win time and obtain greater economic benefits. More than 80 per cent of the items in the GDR's state plan for science and technology are already being tackled in cooperation with allied institutions in other fraternal countries. The development of plasma smelters, highly productive forging presses and automated weavers, and micro-lithography are among the major successes in such cooperation.

Scientists in the GDR have no intention of resting on their laurels, especially when it comes to dealing with the key high technologies. Of the more than 200 agreements on economic, scientific and technical cooperation concluded by the GDR and the USSR, 114 relate to the development, production and use of the latest computers, robots, means of automation, efficient technologies for the production of plastics and chemical fibres and modern production plant. Consequently, producer specialisation and cooperation now already start from the solution of basic scientific and technical problems.

Engineering in Poland is capable of turning out more than one-half of all the world's range of items in this industry, said a report by the Polish participants in the round-table. That is too much from the standpoint of the potentialities of an average-size country, and it simply lacks the resources and manpower for radically raising the

technical standards of the products, reducing its energy-intensiveness and material-intensiveness, and making production more efficient over such a broad range of items. Nor can the situation be changed by a radical improvement of the management in scientific and technical progress, so that the only way out is more active selection of the items and a reduction of the product mix through the international socialist division of labour.

Apart from direct economic benefits, its deepening helps our community to enhance its technological independence from the West and blocks the ways for pressure and discrimination. In the recent period, the CMEA countries have been satisfying almost 30-35 per cent of their import requirements in machinery and plant through transactions with the capitalist states. Science-and-production cooperation will enable the fraternal countries to turn out a wider range of the world's product mix, and consolidate their collective positions in international technical exchange.

The round-table dealt with the important methodological question of indicators more precisely reflecting the efficiency of the partners' cooperation and the extent to which it meets the new conditions and the demands of the period.

The CMEA now has a ramified system of bilateral and multilateral scientific and technical cooperation. The reports by **Marin Petrov** and **Ladislav Ryha** cited data to show what has been done up to now. The members of the community have signed a total of nearly 300 multilateral agreements and treaties on the collective solution of scientific and technical problems through a division of labour. More than 3,000 research institutions are involved in their cooperation. Since 1971, they have completed over 20,000 theoretical and applied projects. Every year roughly 200-300 new or improved models of machines, instruments and equipment are produced, about 100-150 technological processes developed and perfected, and 100-200 types of materials and preparations turned out. It has been estimated that the economic effect obtained by the CMEA countries over the past ten years from the use of joint projects comes to 5 billion roubles. That is certainly a considerable result, and it was duly appreciated by the Moscow Economic Summit.

It was a common view at the round-table, however, that the methods and the indicators used to assess the results of cooperation need to be improved, for citing the number of institutions and collective projects cannot in itself express the actual value of the international scientific and technical contacts and their national-economic returns.

The novelty of projects, the time and resources they help to economise, the practical use of innovations and the various forms in which they are multiplied give a better idea of the effectiveness of cooperation, said **Károly Tábori**. He was seconded by **M. Petrov**, who said that the impact of cooperation on national economy, the raising of labour productivity and product quality, product competitiveness on the world markets, and economies in fuel, raw materials and energy, among other things, provide a true measure of the usefulness of cooperation. It is also important to what extent such cooperation helps to intensify economic ties, to develop producer specialisation and cooperation, and to shape a new type of international socialist division of labour.

Cooperation in science and technology would be more intensive with an integrated scientific and technical infrastructure, said **Aleksandr Bykov**. That is a concept which consists of several elements. First, a common approach to the training and retraining of scientific personnel and common proficiency standards. Mutual settlements on cooperation, including an assessment of participants' contribution, will be scientifically based when the criteria for awarding scientific degrees and titles are agreed, for otherwise it is also hard to arrange for the necessary migration of specialists. Second, more should be done to standardise and unify the adopted technical parameters and technologies used, since their incompatibility often tends to

hamper cooperation. Third, it is high time to set up a common technology bank to show what the community has and what it does not have, and so to reduce duplication to a minimum.

Computers already make it possible to set up such a common CMEA information system, said **Willi Kunz**. It will yield great benefits in terms of time, funds and manpower resources, for, according to some estimates 70 per cent of the information required for any new project is already available in science and technology. Because of the shortcomings in information exchange we now frequently look to the capitalist countries for licences which are available in our own community, **Marin Petrov** added. A special decree issued in Bulgaria now makes it necessary to prove that what is required is not available either in the USSR or in other fraternal countries, before negotiations start in the West.

An integrated scientific and technical infrastructure, speakers said, could also include a common fund of scarce instruments, equipment and materials. It is hardly right for each country to have a full range of the scientific instruments existing in the world, especially those which are little or rarely used. A good way out is to build up a common pool and to arrange the leasing of instruments and other appliances within the community framework—naturally, for a fee.

It is of fundamental importance to have purposeful and well-considered work in the build-up of a common scientific and technical infrastructure, instead of haphazard and individual measures.

The introduction and spread of jointly obtained results are the final phase of international scientific and technical cooperation, and for the time being that, speakers said, is a bottleneck on the scale of the individual countries and the CMEA as a whole. It is, of course, impossible to use all the available inventions, said **Károly Tábori**. Nor is that at all necessary. World practice shows that if production is to have a choice of the best ideas, science and technology must have faster development and build up a reserve, but even so the share of applied joint projects is small and this tends to reduce the returns from international cooperation. That is even truer of the spread of applied results. The problem of multiplying high technology is a pressing one both economically and politically. No wonder the United States, which turns out 80 per cent of the world's microelectronic elements, has toughened up its embargo in order to hamper a spread of information and electronic novelties in the socialist states.

The establishment of joint firms for realising the most important scientific and technical achievements in which all the partners have an interest could help to produce a constructive solution to the problem. Such services could also be provided in the community by national organisations which have successfully applied some inventions at home. Such firms already operate in Bulgaria, Hungary and Poland.

What is the distinctive feature of the present stage of scientific and technical cooperation as compared with the past? Whereas coordination and mutual consultations prevailed, while the structure of the scientific and technical potentials of the individual CMEA countries did not essentially change, in the recent period there has been evidence of new elements: specialisation and cooperation and division of labour between national organisations. A growing tendency towards integration is manifested in the most diverse forms.

The old model, when scientific, technical and producer cooperation depended little on each other, if at all, has ceased to meet the objectives of the community, and is giving way to a new system based on the socialist internationalisation of the whole science—technology—production—realisation cycle, speakers said. As the Complex Programme is realised, efforts need to be made to mesh the individual phases of cooperation and to turn it into an integral system.

NEW TASKS: NEW FORMS AND METHODS

The methods and organisational forms of cooperation was a prominent matter under discussion. It is all very well to have good plans, a fine strategy and thoroughly considered programmes, speakers said, but the desired effect will not be produced without an efficient economic mechanism.

Marin Petrov pointed out various flaws in CMEA practices. Agreements between countries are, as a rule, applied only to research and development, and do not include the actual use of the results. Cooperation is hampered by the differences in national systems in managing scientific and technical progress, notably the differences in the competence of the cooperating organisations, a fact which tends to slow down the establishment of direct ties between them. So long as these remain juridically and organisationally unadjusted, and not duly tested in practice, operational contacts between specialists and the enterprises and institutions concerned face difficulties in tackling current technical production, financial and other matters. There is not quite enough clarity on how the costs of jointly financed projects are to be allocated. All of these are problems that need to be solved as the Complex Programme is worked out and fulfilled.

The Polish participants held that the above-mentioned five subprogrammes would best be managed on a principle known throughout the world as 'major project management' and successfully applied in the USSR in the exploration of space. It involves the establishment of a special executive body vested with due powers and supplied with the necessary funds. That is not a method which should be used in every case, but our countries are capable of setting up 'enclaves' with special economic management methods, for projects which are truly of prime importance. That would also require a clear statement of the objectives of cooperation, an indication of the participants, and the extension of credits through the International Investment Bank.

The goal-oriented programmes, the Soviet participants said was the best one of all the known methods in managing a fragmented system without vertical subordination, but some elements require further adjustment in the context of international cooperation, such as the management principle in the Complex Programme. Its realisation requires a structure ensuring unhampered advance from research to the end product and its servicing on the market, i.e., through planning and contractual regulation to cement the subprogrammes organisationally from inside; besides, there has to be an 'overlord' for each subprogramme in the country with due authority for all the departments, institutions and organisations involved in the project.

That means a more correct application of the goal-oriented method which has already been well adjusted in the socialist countries, and laying more emphasis on the managerial principle in it. The development and production of the Ryad computer system is one of the successful essays in international scientific and technical cooperation. But it involved the coordination of technical policy alone. Individual assignments were therefore allocated among the states, and these arranged the production of the various elements of the system according to their own lights and then supplied them to each other in the traditional form of foreign trade. That was, in effect, only the embryo of a real international programme. As the Complex Programme of Scientific and Technical Progress is realised, a step forward is to be taken forward for its actual management not only in the initial phase, but in all the others as well.

Speakers said that integration in science and technology implies above all methods and forms of cooperation leading to a deeper division of research, development and engineering labour and also to its cooperation. Organisation can be improved through the shaping of international science-and-production systems, i.e., various forms of internationally organised production, involving participation by partners from various countries in the overall process with direct and feed-back ties arranged

between institutions and enterprises. As solid cooperation ties are gradually shaped between them, such complexes will be switched to operating in an integral organisational, planning, economic, and technological regime. Wherever necessary, research, development, application, service, merchandising and producer organisations can be involved in cooperation of national institutions and enterprises. Such complexes would be an adequate form for tackling the basic problems of the scientific and technical socialisation of production.

Participants in the discussion drew the conclusion that there were no special difficulties in setting up temporary international research organisations, laboratories, departments or design offices. However, the founding of major international institutions, the Hungarian economist said, required time, produced unnecessary duplication and could divert efforts from concrete work on the basis of direct contacts between national research institutions and enterprises. Fulfilment of the Complex Programme will benefit from the use of simple solutions, at the initial stage, at any rate.

The economic problems of scientific and technical cooperation among CMEA countries drew serious attention in the course of the discussion. If we want economic calculus truly to operate in this field, it should be consistently practised in every link of the reproduction chain, speakers said. Joint projects imply through economic management, including through prices and through consideration of material interests. Here many 'white spots' remain to be eliminated and the necessary approaches and methodologies found.

One difficulty springs from the fact that economic calculus in science and technology is used with varying consistency in the socialist countries. One of the possible solutions for the problem is to have the projects assessed at the final, producer phase of cooperation, when it is clear what kind of increment in labour productivity it has yielded, how product quality has been raised, and so on, for otherwise one would have to operate with artificial indicators that are not sufficiently well grounded economically.

Speakers made a number of other proposals for improving the economic management of joint projects. Thus, special funds (in transferable roubles and convertible currency) could have a useful role to play. No electronic brain, however perfect, is capable of anticipating and including in the plan all the possible upsets or failures, which are avoidable in the course of research and organisation of new production. Considering that funds in each CMEA country are allocated for a five-year period in advance, any more or less major unplanned outlay threatens to put off the solution of the problem into the following planning period. International reserve funds would make cooperation more flexible.

It would also be useful to set up special joint incentives funds for rewarding high scientific and technical results and their application. Such funds could be used to pay bonuses, additional rewards to collectives and individual researchers and developers, and so make the managements of international programmes more flexible and effective.

The need for integration, therefore, entails the need to perfect methods and forms of the socialist countries' scientific and technical cooperation. The intersectoral approach in elaborating programmes, through management at every stage of their fulfilment, the shaping of international science-and-production systems and individual joint economic organisations, all of these are signs of the new stage of the CMEA countries' cooperation in the field of science and technology.

INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE

The problem of perfecting the scientific and technical cooperation of the European CMEA countries with Vietnam, Cuba and Mongolia as an important means of

gradually evening out economic development levels within the framework of the community was also discussed at the round-table.

This problem is now especially pressing, because the acceleration of scientific and technical progress has become a sector of acute class struggle for the developing world, said **Dang Hu'u**. Some imperialist powers are seeking ways of increasing their influence on the newly liberated countries and to convince their influential circles that capitalism alone can provide truly effective technical aid, and so also a more promising alternative for advance.

Imperialist politicians are fully aware that most young national states are faced with a choice of strategy and tactics for economic, scientific and technical development, said **Puntsagdashin Luvsandorzh**. There are different standpoints, and, considering the present state of these nations, some doubt that they are capable of assimilating the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution. Some say that the use of the latest hardware and technology should be abandoned. But that would merely widen the gap between the leaders of the industrial civilisation and the tyros. The example of Vietnam, Cuba and Mongolia gives the peoples now at the crossroads a real prospect and tells them that while it is difficult to give an impetus to technical progress and to overcome the inertia of the past, it is not at all hopeless.

How fast a guerrilla contingent marches, Che Guevara once said, depends on the weakest man, **Raúl Valdés Vivó** recalled. In the socialist countries' economic community, the strong help those who lag behind to march faster, and millions of eyes throughout the world are watching how fast they advance, because Cuba, for instance, is not just the Isle of Liberty, but is, in a sense, Latin America's future, the prospects that lie before it.

The evening out of economic development levels has been one of the CMEA's statutory purposes and a focal point for its members, **Yuri Shiryayev** declared. Extensive methods prevailed at the initial stage, while active cooperation in science and technology was embryonic. Now it is a different matter: the objective today is not simply to raise the economic level in Vietnam, Cuba and Mongolia to that of their European partners; it is important, first, to help these three countries to give their national economic complexes a technical underpinning that is not yesterday's or today's, but tomorrow's; second, cooperation should be oriented towards an eventual switch to the principles of mutual advantage and maximum efficiency both from the national and from the community standpoints.

The countries for whom the evening out problem is an especially pressing one differ from each other in many respects. How are their specific features to be used not only for successfully solving their internal problems, but also for making a contribution to the community's common endeavour? A special, optimal solution evidently needs to be found in each case. Thus, low-manned and unmanned technologies are more suitable for Mongolia, which has extremely liquid manpower resources, while Vietnam's make it possible to develop production with the latest technologies that continue to be fairly labour-intensive. This allows for a territorial manoeuvre that could become an essential element of the programme for evening out the economic development levels.

While catching up on the past, we also want to march in step with the present, said **Dang Hu'u**. There are various difficulties in mastering the latest technology, but if one decides to opt for technology of medium novelty, instead of speeding up, the evening out process will actually be protracted. The CP Vietnam believes that the way out is to take the selective approach to scientific and technical cooperation. Vietnam is building up its own scientific and technical potential in such a way as to be able to adopt imported technologies and to develop others which are specifically adapted to our own conditions. When introducing scientific and technical innovations, we give preference to those which enable us to solve the most acute problems of the national

economy. As an active participant in working out the Complex Programme, Vietnam intends to concentrate its efforts and resources on developing biotechnology, technologies for the fabrication and treatment of new materials, and micro-electronics, with less emphasis on energy and automation, an approach that could help to create the conditions for successful scientific and technical cooperation with other fraternal countries much faster.

The discussion also dealt with the principles and methods of cooperation between the socialist states with different economic levels.

The cooperation between the CMEA countries, the Vietnamese representative said, is based on mutual assistance, equality and mutual advantage. However, the developing countries, especially those who build socialism bypassing the capitalist formation are in a specific situation: they have to carry on primary industrialisation parallel to the assimilation of modern scientific and technical development. That is why Vietnam, Cuba and Mongolia face some pressing problems which belong to the past for their European partners. If cooperation is focussed exclusively on matters that are of interest to all the CMEA countries, the less developed countries will be in a quandry. Vietnam believes that each people must develop above all through its own efforts and that maximum independence helps to make the best use of fraternal assistance, but it still looks to internationalist support which helps to accelerate scientific and technical progress.

When Czechoslovakia was rehabilitating its economy in the postwar period, **Ladislav Ryha** recalled, about 300 projects were built on the basis of Soviet scientific and technical documentation made available free of charge. Mindful of that, we, for our part, shall make available to Vietnam, Cuba and Mongolia our experience and knowledge in a spirit of disinterested performance of our internationalist duty.

Gratuitous mutual assistance has always been an important element of the socialist countries' scientific and technical cooperation, **Wieslaw Iskra** recalled. In his *Capital*, Marx described how the traditional commodity-money mechanism tends to differentiate the participants in market relations, and that not only on the national but also on the international scale. Even without extra-economic factors like colonialism, invasion and plunder, international commodity-money relations of themselves inevitably lead to a polarisation within the world capitalist system. In order to move the other way, towards an evening out of economic development levels the commodity-money mechanism in the relations between states had to be modified. That is what our community has done: the important sphere of exchange of scientific and technical documentation was initially excluded from the sphere of commodity-money relations, so giving gratuitous access to everything the fraternal countries had at their disposal in this area. Commodity-money relations were programmed in such a way as to promote a faster change in the economic structure of the less developed countries and their scientific and technical progress.

As a package with economic cooperation, scientific and technical cooperation with Vietnam, Cuba and Mongolia is most effective. Given the sizable gaps in development levels, speakers said, it is not right to confine oneself to a mere transfer of progressive technology and scientific knowledge, for these can be used to the best effect in production only with a supply of credits, plant, specialists, and so on. That is why it is so important to draft collective and agreed programmes for such assistance by the members of the community, and this can be done in the light of the available experience in combining multilateral and bilateral scientific and technical cooperation. A team of CMEA specialists went to Mongolia in 1971, for instance, to study the state and potential for developing the country's scientific and technical infrastructure. A programme for assistance was subsequently approved and fulfilled through bilateral cooperation between Mongolia and fraternal European countries: 12 research institutes were built and fitted with equipment. The CMEA acted similarly

with respect to Vietnam and Cuba.

The success of international cooperation largely depends on the state of the national economic mechanisms of the recipients. **Puntsagdashin Luvsandorzh** and **Tsagan-Uvguni Sedzhav** stressed that since the technical level of their economy is raised mainly through the import of progressive hardware and technology, a specific correlation tends to take shape in their country between the individual elements of the 'science—technology—production' cycle. When setting up the national system for managing scientific and technical progress, it is highly important, therefore, to form a mechanism of adaptation and accelerated use of new elements in production, holding out incentives to economic units for doing so.

For Equitable and Mutually Advantageous Exchanges

Since the socialist system has one-third of the world's scientific and technical potential, many scientists, businessmen and politicians in the West are aware that it is impossible simply to fence oneself off from the socialist world, speakers said. Nor does our community seek self-isolation. It would be unwise to abandon the additional advantages to be had from scientific and technical ties with non-socialist countries based on the principles of mutual advantage. The CMEA Economic Summit in Moscow unanimously came out for improving international exchanges and for equitable and mutually advantageous cooperation.

In the complicated conditions of the new stage of the scientific and technical revolution the past practices in mutual relations must not be simply reproduced. When the world was moving from the cold war to detente, some countries, Poland in particular, laid too much emphasis on the import of Western technology, said **Wieslaw Iskra**, and psychologically that could be explained: a kind of "postponed demand" has to be met. But some of our economic executives were inclined to regard borrowing as the main source of scientific and technical progress. From 1971 to 1980, Poland purchased a total of 428 licences (worth more than 2 billion foreign-exchange zlotys). And while many modern productive facilities were erected, the country's technical development was not accelerated to any great extent in that way. Meanwhile, the excessive debt disrupted internal and external ties in the economy, the market equilibrium was profoundly upset, and the imperialist powers' discriminatory measures caused losses running into millions of zlotys. Poland found itself hurled far back in its development. It was possible gradually to right the situation only with the support of the fraternal countries.

That suggests a number of lessons, the Polish participants said, the chief one being that it is impossible either to export or import the scientific and technical revolution unless the necessary internal conditions are there. What is more, it is not right to reduce the role of the socialist state in scientific and technical development or to give up the centralised conduct of scientific and technical policy.

Cooperation with the capitalist countries, the Soviet participants said, is double-edged: it can yield benefits, but one wrong step and the unstable and deceptive state of the world market poses a grave threat to the national economy. Too much emphasis on such ties on a separate basis, without considering the potentialities of socialist economic integration, tends to narrow down the possibilities for cooperation within the CMEA. The unagreed and ill-considered acquisitions of various assorted technologies later makes it impossible to mesh it with common projects, creating unnecessary duplication, causing unwarranted outlays, and often even competition with similar products.

Capitalist states and companies sell us only those technologies which they believe to be harmless for competition between the two systems and which are in general commerce, while keeping the high technology for themselves, **Constantin Moisuc** added. If there is, besides, any delay with the application of the licences, which are

already outdated by the time they are purchased, the import of technology yields nothing. It is an instrument that calls for skilful use.

Drawing the conclusions from some of the mistakes made in some countries in the 1970s, speakers said, does not mean abandoning ties with the West. The important thing is to avoid unfavourable situations. Since imperialism is intent on making its challenge a global one, involving NATO and even neutral countries in its technological blockage of the socialist world, it is all the more necessary for us to resist any forms of discrimination in a collective and concerted manner. The best way of enhancing the community's economic, technical and technological independence does not lie through separate action by individual countries, but through joint action.

The elaboration of the Complex Programme provide an opportunity to 'adapt' technical and technological imports to the CMEA dimension as a whole through a common effort so as to determine what we can produce ourselves and what it is advisable, by common agreement, to buy in the West. The buying should above all be done for the purpose of making better and fuller use of our own potentialities. This approach involves the need for a clear establishment of priorities on which efforts and material resources are to be concentrated. Acting in accordance with their own, socialist principles, the fraternal countries will gradually increase their participation in the international division of labour and improve the structure of their external economic ties.

The participants in the round-table also drew a number of conclusions on the community's relations with the Third World countries, technological exchange and cooperation ties with which are becoming mutually advantageous for the socialist community. Moreover, such ties tend to weaken the effect of the imperialist blockade and of scientific and technical neocolonialism. If bilateral technological exchanges with this type of country are based on a collective strategy and collectively established mechanism, they will help to solve many important problems, to say nothing of the political importance of such an approach.

The round-table discussion drew the following main conclusion: a radical improvement of cooperation within the CMEA framework and resolute efforts to switch it to the intensive way will help substantially to enhance the efficiency of the vast aggregated scientific and technical potential of existing socialism, and to integrate and balance it out along the key lines and elements. Each socialist state will find its place within that framework in the light of its producer specialisation, and national peculiarities and traditions. The scientific and technical progress of the less developed countries will simultaneously be accelerated, so making it easier for them to join in the common effort, whose purpose is to carry the socialist community to new frontiers of economic and social development.

¹ *Pravda*, September 2, 1985.

The Vitality of Lenin's Revolutionary Tactics

Marking the 80th anniversary of Lenin's book *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*, the WMR Commission of General Theoretical Problems discussed the topical significance of the ideas formulated in this work. The results of the discussion were summed up by an international study group which included **David Moraes**, Political Commission member, Central Committee, Communist Party of Bolivia; **Luciano Barreira**, Central Committee alternate member, Brazilian Communist Party; **Orel Visiani**, Communist Party of Chile representative on the WMR; **Donald Ramotar**, Executive Committee member, Central Committee, People's Progressive Party of Guyana; **Elean Thomas**, Central Committee member, Workers' Party of Jamaica; **Sémou Pathé Gueye**, Political Bureau member, Central Committee, Senegal Party of Independence and Labour; **Ali Ileri**, Central Committee member, Communist Party of Turkey; and **Alexander Sovokin**, Doctor of History (USSR).

The revolution of 1905-1907, brought about by the specific conditions of Russia's historical development in the early twentieth century, was no doubt unique. For all its unique character however, some of its features recurred later many times. The experience of this revolution and its analysis in *Two Tactics* have a significance which is not confined to early twentieth-century Russia. An examination of the ideas set forth in this book makes it possible to get a better grasp of the processes currently under way and to work out the tactics of the struggle waged by the working class, the tactics aimed at organising its strength and militancy to practically solve topical social tasks.

The participants in the discussion considered the following questions in the light of Lenin's ideas and of the experience of the relevant parties: the content of the democratic process today; the motive forces of democratic transformations and the role of the working class; democratic transformations and the bourgeoisie; the tactics of the working class and the problem of participation in the government; and the social prospect opened by the struggle for democracy.

Following this is a summary of the key questions raised in the exchange of views.

A Consistently Democratic Course

The Russian revolution of 1905-1907, the first social battle in the era of imperialism, was bourgeois-democratic as far as its content is concerned. Brilliantly analysed by Lenin, it went down in history as popular in terms of its motive forces and proletarian in terms of its methods and forms of struggle and the vanguard role the working class and Lenin's party played in it.¹ Its developments were an expression of an important law of the revolutionary process that operates to this day: the working class and its revolutionary party are the most consistent champions of democracy.

Abstract theorising is alien to Marxism. It has always developed with due regard for social change and specific conditions. This is fully true of *Two Tactics* which skilfully applies materialist dialectics to grasp the dynamics of social change. Viewed from this angle, it is not only the theoretical precepts of the book but also Lenin's methodological guidelines that are important for a concrete examination of today's democratic movements and for determining the Communist attitude to them.

In drawing up their tactics in the revolutionary struggle, the Communists strive above all to grasp the objective content of the historical development currently under way, to understand the distinctive features of the current stage, 'to realise . . . the movement of *which* class is the mainspring of the progress possible in concrete conditions'.² In analysing the essence of the current stage in the world's development

from this angle, attention should be paid above all to the fact that today, the very *concept of the democratic process* has acquired a richer meaning. What does it mean in practical terms?

First and foremost; it means that the *struggle for peace* has become truly popular not only in terms of its social composition but also as far as its objectives and character are concerned. The increasingly acute contradictions of the capitalist system, the obsession with winning back the ground lost to the working class and the national liberation movement in many social battles, as well as failure in the ideological resistance to socialism are prompting the more reactionary quarters of the imperialist powers to look for ever more brutal and barbarous forms of self-assertion. Hatching their plans of nuclear and star wars, they threaten the very survival of mankind and hamper social progress. It is therefore perfectly logical for very different sections of the population to be interested today in peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, in a return to detente. The defence of peace is a general democratic task, and factors essential for its solution include the powerful peace forces of our age—the world socialist system, the international working class, the national liberation movement and the mass peace movements.

Broad social forces are becoming increasingly convinced that today, it is unthinkable to uphold democracy without fighting to prevent war. Realistically assessing the possibilities of ensuring world peace, the Communists have every reason to put this task above everything else in their struggle. Mikhail Gorbachov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, had this to say during his recent visit to France: "There can be no victors in a nuclear war; all responsible political figures appear to share this view. It is now time to draw a practical conclusion from this—to end the nuclear arms race. We believe that supporting this demand will be all honest and realistic political forces and civic leaders, all those who cherish their countries, their lives and the lives of their children and grandchildren."³

The right to life, the foremost right of nations, is what the struggle for peace is about. The Communists stress the importance of actually guaranteeing this right. This is the field in which the specifically democratic tasks assume their full scope and acuteness in capitalist society—the tasks connected with the exercise of real human rights and freedoms there.

The involvement of huge masses of people in former colonies and semi-colonies who are defending their national independence is another substantive feature of today's democratic process. Democratisation has become a global problem. It embraces not only questions of domestic politics but also international relations. Their restructuring on the basis of peaceful coexistence—these principles were advanced by socialism—is receiving an additional impetus from the demands for a new international economic order and a new information order. Attainment of genuine economic, political and cultural independence, no more subjugation to the interests of the imperialist powers and defeat of the neocolonialism practised by the transnational monopolies are both an essential condition and a result of the democratic transformations under way in the developing countries that have won political independence. Their peoples contribute much that is new to the democratic process; often, they do not follow or duplicate the paths traversed by the bourgeois democracy of Europe and North America in the past. From the outset, this process acquired an anti-imperialist character and is connected with the tackling of issues relating to the economic and social progress of individual countries and the international community as a whole. The creative contribution to history on the part of the peoples of several developing countries is giving rise to a new socialist-oriented type of democratisation.

The *upsurge of mass democratic movements* in the non-socialist world is a salient feature of our age. The antagonism between the monopolies and the great majority of

the population is becoming increasingly acute in capitalist countries. Intellectuals, office workers, farmers, the urban petty bourgeoisie, national minorities, youth and students are ever more vigorously joining the struggle against the sway of the monopolies and against the reactionary policies of the ruling classes.

The sway of imperialism in many developed and developing capitalist countries has created such a great body of unsolved democratic problems that without solving the most urgent and pressing issues, the working class and working people in general will hardly be able to make progress in overcoming any other obstacles to their social emancipation. In this connection a further elaboration of the concept of democratisation that covers not only the political superstructures of modern capitalist society but also its basis is a major aspect of the policy search conducted by the Communist. Pursued in the interests of working people, such a democratisation could be a prologue, an essential stage on the way to socialist transformations. The record of revolutionary struggle has borne out Lenin's words to the effect that "whoever wants to reach socialism by any other path than that of political democracy, will inevitably arrive at conclusions that are absurd and reactionary both in the economic and in the political sense".⁴

In those countries where conventional forms of suppressing working people fail to produce the desired effect, imperialism installs and supports tyrannical dictatorships to thwart the progressive forces by brute force of arms. There, political renovation of the social fabric through the winning of elementary democratic rights for the people is at the forefront of all problems to be solved. In these cases, the working class and its struggle benefit more than the monopoly bourgeoisie from bourgeois democracy.

The democratic gains of working people are an indispensable basis from which an offensive against imperialism and big capital can be launched. They make it possible to accumulate the superior strength of the people that is necessary for progress in the class struggle.

The Methodological Significance of the Category of "the People"

Describing the First Russian Revolution as truly popular, Lenin highlighted the concrete and strictly scientific nature of the Marxist concept of the people. It was a scientific and concrete approach that enabled him to conduct a precise analysis of the motive forces in the democratic revolution and to substantiate its popular nature. He stressed in *Two Tactics* that "the only force capable of gaining 'a decisive victory over tsarism', is the *people*, i.e., the proletariat and the peasantry, if we take the main, big forces, and distribute the rural and urban petty bourgeoisie (also part of 'the people') between the two".⁵

"The people" is by no means an immutable category given once and for all. Connected with a definite historical process at a definite stage of social transformations, it embraces broad sections of the population whose objective positions and interests place them among the supporters of socio-economic, political, intellectual and ethical progress. In the broadest sense of the term, "the people" is thus the *bearer of democratic aspirations*. However, not all its sections play an equally vigorous and significant role. For example, even if the working class is not the direct leader of this or that undertaking, this does not mean that it is *objectively* excluded from the democratic process. On the contrary, the fate of this process depends to a decisive degree on the political position of the working class. At the same time, the initiative of democratic transformations may come from peasants and other non-proletarian strata. The task of a Marxist tactic is to pay due attention to this initiative, to support and organise it, imparting efficiency and consistency to it.

The category of "the people" expresses not only the broad social composition of the participants in the democratic movement but also their common basic concern to which other concerns are subordinated at a given stage. It is this concern that makes it

possible to rally forces of diverse class affiliation around a pressing social problem against a common enemy. Here, priority emphasis on the distinctive interests of this or that class may distort the perspective, foster illusions and result in unrealistic programmes.

The fluid nature of the category of "the people" implies a concrete differentiated study of the motive forces behind democratic transformations. For example, broad sections of the population, including the bourgeoisie, may participate in national liberation revolutions. However, the principal social base is made up of the working class, the middle strata and the peasants. *It is the alliance of these forces that creates a firm basis of popular unity.*

However, one should also remember that the question of the alliance between the working class and the peasants in the implementation of democratic transformations assumes a distinctive quality depending on specific historical conditions. For example, in Chile—and in several other countries—the proportion of the peasants has declined compared to the ratio of other non-proletarian sections (mostly the middle strata) capable of becoming allies of the working class. The interests, the strength and the democratic potential of the urban middle strata make it incumbent on the working class to establish a long-term strategic alliance with them. Nevertheless, given the entire complex history of Chile, now suffering under the tyranny of Pinochet, this task does not at all rule out but, on the contrary, directly calls for, cooperation between the working class and the peasants. Alliance between the two, irrespective of the numerical strength of the latter, remains an important factor of success in the democratic struggle.

At the present stage, the peoples of developing countries are not fighting for the immediate advent of socialism, although socialism is often viewed as a feasible historical prospect. They are fighting primarily for deliverance from the yoke of neocolonialism and from dependence on imperialism; in many of these countries, elimination of holdovers of precapitalist social systems is an urgent task. Sometimes, the peasants and the urban middle strata are the main motive force in the struggle. At the same time, the working class is growing and increasing its influence. In countries where communist and workers' parties correctly combine the tasks of the class struggle and those of national liberation, their prestige and influence are growing rapidly, and opportunities for social change are expanding. Life itself belies the view that national liberation should be postponed until the socialist revolution. This concept only leads to inaction, to isolation from the masses of the people.

The analysis of the motive forces in a democratic revolution during the imperialist era enabled Lenin to formulate an idea that, today, is of fundamental importance—the idea of the *hegemony of the working class* in such a revolution as an essential condition of its genuine depth and consistency. As emphasised in *Two Tactics*, the proletariat and its party must lead the democratic revolution so as to carry it to its conclusion.

This imparts great significance to Lenin's ideas about *the role of the Marxist vanguard* of the working class in the democratic movement. A Marxist party cannot dissociate itself from the struggle for democracy without risking to lose its contacts with other sections of the people. The paramount task of such a party is to arm the masses of the people with a tactic of the struggle for immediate and long-term objectives. It strives to advance the demands of the necessary transformations with greater boldness and more broadly, to put forward slogans that anticipate the democratic spontaneous action of the masses, showing them "our democratic and socialist ideal in all its magnitude and splendour, and the shortest and most direct route to complete, absolute, and decisive victory".⁶

Democracy as the Battleground of the Class Struggle

The polemic aspects of *Two Tactics* are very topical in the present general democratic struggle. For example, today's advocates of the leftist sectarian concept of "class vs. class" argue that under dictatorships, the working class must fight uncompromisingly against all of the bourgeoisie, proceeding from its own programme which envisages a radical undermining of capitalist society. The adherents of this concept claim that no part of the bourgeoisie is capable of promoting democracy even in these conditions. The demand of the bourgeois opposition are allegedly nothing but demagoguery and merely deceive working people.

However, if some part of the bourgeoisie opposes the dictatorship and demands democracy, that is not only rhetoric but also a distinctive expression of its class interests in the given specific conditions. One should also take into account the contradictions among the various strata of the bourgeoisie itself and the differences in their attitude to the working class, to the big money monopoly bourgeoisie, to the existing political institutions, to foreign monopolies, etc. The interests of the bourgeoisie as a class make up a very complex and contradictory picture of economic, social and political priorities. All should be taken into account when dealing with the issue of democratic transformations. In drawing up a platform of action, it would be a mistake to formulate objectives that are currently unattainable.

The right-wing opportunists demand that the proletariat and its party be fully subordinate to the interests of a broad democratic front, give up their identity and class-rooted independence. The argument is that since the objectives of destroying reactionary dictatorships are bourgeois-democratic goals, political leadership should allegedly be exercised by the bourgeois opposition parties.

Refuting these views, Lenin armed the Communists with a principled Marxist solution to this problem: if the working class is still unable to go beyond the framework of the struggle for bourgeois-democratic transformations in this or that country, this does not mean that it cannot and must not fight for its rights and interests as far as this framework allows, expanding and deepening it as conditions for this ripen. "Marxism teaches the proletariat," Lenin wrote, "not to keep aloof from the bourgeois revolution, not to be indifferent to it, not to allow the leadership of the revolution to be assumed by the bourgeoisie but, on the contrary, to take a most energetic part in it, to fight most resolutely for consistent proletarian democracy, for the revolution to be carried to its conclusion."⁷ Identifying their tasks today, the Communists are aware that *even restricted by the framework of the bourgeois political system, democratic gains improve the position of the working class and expand the scope of its struggle.*

The record shows that in those countries where the working class failed to fully display its revolutionary energy and to secure sufficiently broad support, the imperialist forces succeeded in forestalling a decisive victory of the national liberation movement. In a number of cases (for example, in Guyana), independence was attained as a result of negotiations between the local bourgeoisie and the colonial powers. Progressive social change is extremely slow and deformed in countries where the former colonial rulers managed to install proimperialist or reformist governments.

The issue of the *dialogue and joint action of the Communists and other participants in the democratic struggle* is very important. For example, in Turkey the Communists are fighting together with all opponents of the dictatorship, joining the struggle for democracy without setting preconditions and supporting any step in this direction. At the same time they explain to the people that the democratic transformations achieved can only be safeguarded if they are deepened further in a process that leads to the establishment of anti-imperialist governments of the people. The opposition to the dictatorship is rallying around two main groups in today's Turkey. First, there is the

Left Unity of Turkey and of Turkish Kurdistan. Second, there are the legal bourgeois opposition parties. The Communists are striving for a dialogue between these two groups because the attainment of national democracy has emerged as the priority issue for most of the masses of the people.

Brazil's Communists are conducting a different dialogue with the democratic, anti-imperialist forces. They are working to find some common ground with those representatives of the local bourgeoisie who are interested in the development of a national economy independent of imperialism, in the growth of the democratic market. For example, when one of the employers came out against the repayment of the external debt and against the diktat of the International Monetary Fund, the two principal causes of the plight of the people, the Communists welcomed his position. Nevertheless, the Communists later supported the striking workers at his enterprise who demanded higher wages. In this case the Communists explained that the country's problems should be tackled and solved through independent economic development to benefit working people and society as a whole, not through wage freezes.

No regime, not even the most corrupt, can fall by itself, solely due to its own mistakes or weaknesses. It will always find a way out of a crisis. In our age, it is vigorous political struggle of the working class that gives bourgeois democracy its content. Lenin writes that one cannot passively expect democratisation from the bourgeoisie. The activity and consciousness of the masses have always been and will always remain the motive force behind democratic change. The bourgeoisie is afraid, Lenin noted, that the working people may shift the rifle to the other shoulder. It always prefers solutions that are attained at the expense of the people, not those that the masses demand. At critical junctures, bourgeois ideologists strive to deceive the masses by claiming that the quieter and more diffident the people, the more the chance that the "upper strata" will agree to concessions.

Turning Marxism Into Action

Lenin held that the choice of this or that form of struggle by the working class and its party was a tactical issue of paramount importance. This question cannot be answered by theorising in advance. The answer can be given only by following the development of the movement itself, by taking into account the experience accumulated by the masses and the specific national conditions. Summing up the practice of revolutionary battles, Lenin said to William Paul, one of the founders of the Communist Party of Great Britain, that the 'field of battle is the best place to test our theoretical views. For the Communist the true test is his understanding of (how), where and when to turn his Marxism into action.'⁸

Today, such transformation into action is no doubt furthered by Lenin's approach to the *participation of a Marxist party in a provisional revolutionary government*. This participation is viewed as one of the possible means of developing and deepening a democratic revolution. Examining the possibilities of Communist participation in a provisional revolutionary government, Lenin wrote that after the Paris Commune, the winning of power 'from below' was seen as the only way. In the new conditions, the proletariat can act 'from above' by joining democratic governments.

Lenin's book offers criteria for judging the *effectiveness of Communist participation* in a government. The foremost and essential condition is to determine the position vis-a-vis the government (provisional government, if we take the prospect of the revolution into account) created in the course of the struggle—whether or not to join it.

Another criterion is to know and observe the conditions that make participation possible. Participation is possible if the existing alignment of forces enables the party to effectively defend the interests of the proletariat. The positive (as well as

negative) record of the Communist shows that the question of participation in the government should be solved depending on whether this participation will bring the movement closer to the completion of the first stage of the democratic revolution and speed up preparations for the second stage.

Finally, it is important to master the dialectics of the struggle "at the top" and "at the bottom". Both forms are different by their very nature and in terms of the conditions in which they can be applied. While the struggle "at the top" determines the content of Communist participation in the government, the struggle "at the bottom" expresses the need to mobilise the masses to retain sufficient pressure for the activities "at the top" to bring the desired results.

These ideas expressed by Lenin are particularly topical today, when the Communists who have already participated in governments are taking stock of their experience and when the prospect of such participation is taking shape in a number of countries. Here one can draw on the experience of, say, the Bolivian and the Brazilian Communists.

In Bolivia, political representatives of the working class, the peasants, the middle strata and the democratic quarters of the bourgeoisie joined the government on the basis of a popular, anti-imperialist programme. Two Communists secured cabinet posts. During that period, the Communist Party of Bolivia acquired important experience of participation in government together with other democratic forces. However, this experience was in part negative too: the Communists failed to bring the government to implement the agreed programme consistently, first and foremost to overcome the severe economic crisis. This forced the Communists to quit the government and continue the struggle for the programme's implementation relying on the support of the masses.

Brazil's Communists are developing a distinctive practice of critical support "from the bottom" for a government representing the interests of the national bourgeoisie. The current Brazilian government opposes unconditional repayment of the external debt to the detriment of national development, advocates national self-determination, condemns imperialist pressure and armed interference, denounces apartheid and expresses solidarity with the peoples of former Portuguese colonies, above all Angola. It has launched an agrarian reform which, although carried out very cautiously, is nevertheless the first official move against the land monopoly. President Sarney's government is expanding contacts with the socialist countries and has declared its intention of restoring relations with Cuba, severed after the 1964 military coup in Brazil. The Communists support the democratic position of the government on some issues and work to promote it further. They accept alliance with all those interested in the anti-imperialist struggle, including bourgeois quarters. The confidence of the Communists rests on a clear understanding of the laws of history and of the role played in it by the working class.

The Social Prospect

The First Russian Revolution enabled Lenin to raise the issue of the *development of a democratic revolution into a socialist one*. He regarded this evolution as a continuous process directly dependent on the political consciousness and organisation of the working class, its principle motive force and hegemon. The experience of the October Revolution and of subsequent revolutions in Central and Southeastern Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America has shown that only a revolution establishing the power of the working class in an alliance with all other working people guarantees the fullest and most comprehensive development of the democratic process. Otherwise the bourgeoisie may seize the fruits of democratisation, and do it at the expense of the masses. As the twentieth century is drawing to a close the idea Lenin expressed on the eve of the October Revolution sounds particularly topical. He said that you cannot

advance having lost sight of the prospect of socialism, without taking the necessary steps towards it, steps determined by the entire record of economic, scientific and cultural development.

The question of the evolution of a democratic revolution into a socialist one is currently assuming a much more multi-faceted character than in the past, demanding a strictly specific analysis in each case. For example, the Communist Party of Turkey is fighting for the establishment of a political army of an integral revolutionary process consisting of two main stages, one evolving into the other—the democratic and the socialist stage. These stages, in turn, comprise several substages of a revolutionary as well as evolutionary character. At the present juncture of the struggle for national democracy, Turkey's Communists are conducting a dialogue and cooperating with forces which include those that cannot be called revolutionary. In some Latin American countries, the stages of democratic and socialist transformation are so close together, that it is legitimate to speak not only of a succession but also of a combination of democratic and socialist demands. As early as at the first stage the issue is not simply that of clearing the ground for the development of capitalism but that of undermining its very foundations. The programme drawn up by Communists in other conditions outline the prospect of socialism or of socialist orientation that does not imply a direct transition to socialism. Finally, in a number of cases, Communists proceed from a specific analysis and identify the political system to be established after the victory of a democratic revolution as a renovated, advanced democracy that creates the necessary conditions for taking up socialist transformations.

The opportunists reject the possibility of a democratic revolution evolving into a socialist one. Lenin has shown that their dogmatic thinking at best merely registers the alignment of class forces existing at the democratic stage and gets stuck, tied to arbitrarily registered opposites. Viewed in dialectical terms however, a democratic revolution is an acceleration of the historical process, the crucible in which the working class and its allies develop and grow stronger. The progress of a democratic revolution works much faster than decades of social evolution to convince the masses that the Marxist party is right to explain the need to deepen the social content of democracy through socialist transformations.

Give the exacerbation of the contradictions typical of the imperialist stage of capitalism, *democratic and socialist transformations become links in the same chain—in the struggle of the working class and its allies for economic and social emancipation.* The attainment of democracy by these forces is an integral part of the struggle for socialism. A truly Marxist policy means to steer—taking not only the difference between a democratic and a socialist revolution but also the unity and sequece of their tasks into careful consideration—a course towards carrying the former to its definitive conclusion, thus opening the way for a transition to the latter.

Lenin's *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution* remains a vital source of creative Marxism to this day. This book not only reflected the truly popular essence of the First Russian Revolution but also brilliantly anticipated the subsequent course of history in Russia and othe countries. This is why it has become a working manual of all fighters for peace, democracy and socialism.

This fundamental work is topical because it helps to find answers to major questions raised by democratic revolutions in countries drawn into the orbit of imperialist domination. The laws of the class struggle indentified by Lenin have been borne out by successful people's democratic and national liberation revolutions in many countries. Lenin's theoretical guidelines have become the platform for the emergence and operation of many communist and workers' parties armed with scientifically substantiated strategies and tactics. His theory has placed them in the forefront of the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

History tends to change the significance of this or that event with the passage of time. Some remain wholly in the past. The importance of others for new generations increases instead of diminishing. It all depends on how profoundly they express the essence of this or that socio-political development. The historical significance of the events whose 80th anniversary was marked by the world's progressive forces this year—the beginning of the First Russian Revolution and the publication of Lenin's *Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*—is no doubt growing.

¹ See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, pp 238-239.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. 21, p. 143.

³ *Pravda*, October 4, 1985.

⁴ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 9, p. 29.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

⁸ *Lenin Miscellany XXXVII*, Moscow, 1970, p. 249 (in Russian).

viewpoints

The Socialist Sector: The Mainstay of the Economy

The Lao People's Democratic Republic was established in place of the Kingdom of Laos ten years ago, in December 1975. The building of a new social system began in that retarded semi-feudal country under the leadership of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party (LPRP), and its socialist sector, based on state and cooperative property, is confidently gathering strength, despite the fact that some of the old structures remain in the Laotian economy. The following *WMR* interview in Vientiane describes the problems in the formation of the socialist sector.

The Future Belongs to the People's Enterprises

*Saly Vongkhamsoo - LPRP CC
secretary; Deputy Chairman of the Council of
Ministers; Chairman of the State Planning
Committee*

Q. What is peculiar about the political situation in Laos just now?

A. We were able to get down to laying the foundations of socialism after the people's democratic revolution. Our party, which recently marked its 30th anniversary, proceeded from the theory of transition to socialism, bypassing the capitalist formation which Lenin first substantiated and which the fraternal parties subsequently developed and confirmed. The socialist revolution line, which fully meets the interests of the 3.5 million Laotian people, was clearly formulated by the Third Congress of the LPRP in 1982.

The party's strategy naturally takes account of the unique historical, national and economic aspects of life in the country. The Kingdom of Laos was among the 20 most backward countries of the world. Its population consists of many, some very

different, ethnic groups which constitute three main ones, and national consolidation is a process that is still under way.

An extensive agriculture is our main legacy in the economy. Rice-growing, its core, used to have low yields even on irrigated lands. It still involves dry-farming on large areas of land and the use of slash-and-burn, which means that a strip of forest is put to the flame and the resulting field is worked by primitive implements for several years until it is depleted and then left to the mercy of the jungle. That takes much work but yields little rice: less than a ton per hectare a year.

Industry is embryonic, and consists of small enterprises for processing the farm raw materials and precious timbers in which Laos is rich, and for extracting some minerals, and also handicraft shops. It is true that our power industry has had some success and is worth looking into.

The communications network linking the provinces, districts, towns and villages is sparse and a far cry from modern standards, and this goes to conserve the economic and national separateness, small-scale production and the subsistence economy.

Laos suffered heavily from the war: the United States dropped 3 million tons of bombs on its territory, or almost a ton of death per head. The people had to leave their homes, and roughly 800,000 were turned into homeless refugees. The irrigation systems were destroyed and a third of the farmland was abandoned. The mining of tin had to be stopped, and the bombings ploughed up many of the country's roads.

Nevertheless, we trusted in the success of our socialist construction and were aware that we had to advance along what was a special and largely untrodden path. The substance of the transformations was summarised by Kaysone Phomvihane, LPRP CC General Secretary and Chairman of the Laos Council of Ministers, when he said: "The party always bears in mind that the transition directly to socialism, bypassing the capitalist stage of development, from small-scale production with elements of the subsistence economy is an altogether new and, one could say, unprecedented way. Advance along this way must pass through several transitional stages on the basis of two processes: the restructuring of the subsistence economy and the transition from petty-commodity production to large-scale socialist production. In our country we have to build up everything: the productive forces and the relations of production, the basis and the superstructure."¹

In Laos, the transformations are going forward in the form of three simultaneous revolutions: in the relations of production, in science and technology and in culture and ideology. Their successful advance is determined by these political premises: the development of the dictatorship of the proletariat; the cohesion of the Laotian ethnic groups in the common endeavour; the education among our people of the ability to act as collective master of their state; the strengthening of the republic's defence capability; the deepening of its alliance with the fraternal countries notably Vietnam, Kampuchea and the Soviet Union; and an increase of Laos's contribution to the preservation of peace, and the conversion of Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, stability and cooperation.

Political stabilisation both in our country and on the Indochinese Peninsula as a whole is moving in the right direction, although the forces trying to frustrate it are still very active.

Q. Could you tell us in greater detail how the LPRP's political strategy determines the country's economic development?

A. Our economic policy can be called the party's second programme. Its basic principles are embodied in the First Five-Year Plan for the National Economic Development of Laos (1981-1985). Our economy has been gathering strength with the fulfilment of the plan, and we pin our hopes on the development of the two chief

production sectors: agriculture and forestry, a fundamental condition for raising our people's living standards at the present stage. Enterprises in the socialist sector have the key role to play in restructuring the leading economic sectors on new principles, and progress in the one is closely bound up with progress in the other. For instance, by improving farming techniques in rice-growing we are able to reduce the area of slash-and-burn agriculture and so to preserve our unique forests, which yield raw materials for the manufacture of valuable products and many useful substances, including expensive export goods.

In our conditions, the division of social labour depends above all on agricultural production, which helps to lay in state stocks of food and to supply food to working people in other industries. To do so, agriculture has to turn out a sufficient mass of commodity produce. Small producer units cannot cope with such a task, for they mainly feed themselves, and not always to their own fill. However, the capitalist forms of enlarging production do not suit a country building socialism, because they are based on the exploitation of the peasants.

Our way is to set up large state farms and to unite the tillers of the soil in cooperatives, a way meeting the interests of the state and of the peasants themselves. The state is able to supply socialist agricultural enterprises with high-grade seed, productive breeds of livestock, machines, fertilisers, and water from the irrigation systems. The state farms and cooperatives make it easier to introduce modern farming techniques and machinery, to arrange the organised procurement of farm produce at prices advantageous to the farmers and the state, and to lay in national food stocks, thereby realising the most important prerequisite for the social division of labour and progress in every sector of the economy.

The party's economic policy is being realised, and we feel optimistic about the results achieved. The peasants are being won for cooperatives strictly on voluntary lines,² and it is no easy matter to convince them to accept our proposals. Still, we already have more than 2,500 agricultural cooperatives bringing together 41 per cent of the peasant families, that is, a sizable part of the population. The cooperatives now cultivate about one-half of the farmland, whose area has been steadily growing.

There are altogether 30 agricultural state farms in Laos, and they have the important role of acting as forward bases in spreading modern farming techniques and new methods of labour organisation. Here we are being helped by specialists from the fraternal countries. Thus, Soviet comrades are helping the livestock-breeding state farm Latsene, in the province of Xieng Khouang, which has 5,000 hectares of farmland and has high yields from mechanised operations.

Rice yields have nearly doubled over the past ten years to 2.5 tons per hectare a year mainly to the cooperatives and the state farms. In 1984, we had a rice crop of 1.3 million tons, a record for the whole history of Laos. We hope that despite the vagaries of the weather we shall be able to go on increasing the crop by several hundred thousand tons a year. So we are already producing more than 350 kilogrammes of rice per head a year; there has also been a large increase in the cattle population, which now comes to 1.5 million head.

Such are the beginnings of the great endeavour in restructuring agriculture. Some of the achievements in industry are also impressive, although the main effort still lies ahead. The state sector consists of more than 200 enterprises employing over 15,000; it turns out 35 per cent of the gross national product, and accounts for something like 40 per cent of the state budget revenue, which is several times more than that of the private sector (a sizable part of the revenues are received in the form of foreign assistance). We are aware, however, that the profits in the private sector bypassing state channels and going into unreported hoards or abroad are still very high, and their owners are in no hurry to invest their money in the development of national production. That seems to be the result of shortcomings in our fiscal policy and in

involving private entrepreneurs in the fulfilment of national tasks.

Q. How do the various sectors take part in the common effort of economic construction?

A. Let me emphasise once again that state and cooperative enterprises constitute the foundation of the republic's future economy, and we give priority to their development. But we also believe that in the present conditions in Laos other sectors can have something to contribute. Up to now the private sector has concentrated its efforts in trade and the services, and this helps to satisfy the wants of the population, but we also want private business to put some of their money into production, naturally under the control of the state. The party and the government have recently taken some important measures to promote such a process.

In trade, the party has set a twofold task: first, to consolidate the positions of the state and the cooperatives in every possible way; and second, to have private commerce likewise serve the social interest to a greater extent. The number of state and cooperative shops and enterprises in the services has been growing, and the range of the goods and services they offer is being gradually enlarged. People prefer to take their custom to the state and cooperative shops and enterprises because their prices are lower than those of the private establishments. This sphere, on the whole, shows well the ongoing economic struggle between the private and the socialist sectors, with *economic* being the operative word. The socialist sector has to prove its advantages in fact, and it is doing so.

Q. You have dealt with matters relating to economic administration. What other pressing problems are there in this area?

A. The current five-year period is one in which our republic is building up a new economic-administration structure and developing a modern style of work. This is a difficult task, and in our country especially. Our workers are short of experience and knowledge. At first, some state organisations did not yet have any clear plans, they were not aware of the need to make their operations pay, and relied overmuch on receiving subsidies from the state budget to back up their production. A system of wage-levelling was widespread and failed to produce the incentive for economic development.

The Sixth Plenary Meeting of the LPRPCC which was held in mid-1984 and the first national conference on state planning in early 1985 threw a sharp light on the problems in improving the whole system of administration, extensive introduction of economic calculus at the enterprises and efforts to make them profitable. The preference now is for planning "from the bottom to the top", an approach which makes plans more realistic and effective. Much attention is being given to balancing out revenues and expenditures. Distribution of wages according to labour is being more widely introduced. Important measures in financing and price-forming make for better planning and economic efficiency. The system of administration is now in general more clearly demarcated into three levels: the central, the provincial and the district. We are working to have all the elements running in smooth cooperation.

The concern for improving administration is having a beneficial effect on annual growth: the gross national product has gone up at nine per cent, and national income at six per cent a year.

Q. These achievements are evidently promoted by the growing cooperation between Laos and the CMEA countries?

A. The fraternal countries have always give the Laotian people assistance and support, and we are deeply grateful to them. We have especially close ties, as I have said, with Vietnam and the Soviet Union. Cooperation with Vietnam involves 200 projects; one-half of the credits it has given us are grants. The Soviet Union has undertaken the formidable task of developing our basic industries: timber working, building, and transit; Soviet participation in developing the industrial infrastructure, such as roads and communications, is also great; our friends are helping us to develop our natural resources; economic cooperation between the USSR and Laos involves more than 100 projects.

All the friendly states are helping us to develop our public health and education. Ten years ago, 65 per cent of the population could not read or write; illiteracy has now been virtually wiped out. Over 3,000 Laotians are enrolled at higher schools, technical colleges and industrial trades schools in the Soviet Union.

It is not so easy even to list all the projects being erected in Laos with the assistance of the fraternal states of the socialist community. The GDR is taking part in modernising our printing industry and in planting coffee; Czechoslovakia is supplying transport machines, equipment for a small hydroelectric power plant and helping to set up pig farms; Bulgaria is helping to develop vegetable growing and the processing of food raw materials; Hungary, poultry farming, and it is building a hospital; Mongolia is building another hospital and also organising a sheep farm; Cuba, a pedigree milk-cow station; Poland is working to improve our transit. In short, all our friends are helping to make the socialist sector the backbone of the Laotian national economy.

We for our part seek to make cooperation ever more advantageous for all parties by coordinating our national economic plans with those of the CMEA countries, which provide a reliable and stable market for our products.

The fraternal cooperation with our friends and the steady improvement of our economy on socialist lines are helping the republic more fully to satisfy the people's diverse wants and to do its utmost in helping to strengthen socialism in the world.

¹ K. Phomvihane, "Thirty Years of Struggle for National Independence and Socialism", *Kommunist*, No. 5, 1985, p. 81 (in Russian).

² For details on the policy of agricultural cooperation in Laos see Vitali Moyev, "Laos: New Cooperative Development", *WMR*, No. 1, 1983.

The Key Role of Electric Power

Sisophet Simuong - Director-General of the Electricité du Laos state company

Houmphone Bulyaphol - Director, Namngum Hydroelectric Power Plant

Q. Could you tell us about your company?

A. Electricité du Laos runs the country's entire electric-power grid. Before the establishment of the republic, it also belonged to the state, but it was a feudal royal state, and served to enrich the ruling classes. Its workers repeatedly staged strikes in defence of their rights and were in the front ranks of fighters against the old regime. beneficial effect on its operation, and on the conditions of the working people, who feel beneficial effect on its operation, and on the condition of the working people, who feel that they are masters of the enterprises. Before liberation, the country generated about 150,000 kWh a year, and now—over 900,000. The main contribution to the generation of electric power comes from the Namngum hydroelectric power plant, where the third section has just been completed raising the station's capacity to 150,000 kW. That is highly important to Laos.

Q. The Namngum hydropalant was built mainly as gratuitous assistance from othe states. What are the further prospects for international cooperation in developing the Laotian electric-power industry?

A. The plant was built over a period of years under an international programme for transforming the wate resources of the lower reaches of the Mekong River and its tributaries. The programme is directed by the Mekong Committee, which is within the UN ambit. As in the past, so today, we are prepared to cooperate with any states, regardless of their political system, if the underlying principles are non-interference in our internal affairs and a sincere desire to help a country retarded in its development.

Laos has fairly large hydropower resources: it has been estimated that 60 plants with a capacity of 13 million kW can be built on Mekong's tributaries alone. We are planning to go on developing our power industry as an important and effective segment of the socialist sector of the economy.

Q. Some people abroad have expressed doubts about the Laotians themselves being able to operate the Namngum hydro-electric power plant rationally? Is there any ground for such doubts?

A. The inventions on this score have, indeed, been many. The plant is, of course, a sophisticated facility and there is some difficulty in the supply of spare parts because the electric machines have been supplied to us from different countries at various times. The old equipment is soon to be gradually replaced, but now only with the help of our socialist partners. The collective of the hydropower plant, consisting of 190 Laotians, including engineers and technicians, has on the whole done its job well. We have fulfilled all our plans and have been cutting unit-power costs. The storage lake is supplying water to the irrigation system. We also handle all the repairs ourselves.

Q. How is Namungum energy used?

A. Laos is not yet capable of using all the power being generated, for its industry is not sufficiently developed, the technical level of agriculture is not high, and the electric-power transmission network is small. For the time being, a large part of the electric power is being exported to Thailand, earning much foreign exchange for our republic. However, we intend steadily to develop the internal consumption of electric power, and the demand at industrial and agricultural enterprises for it is growing. New power transmission lines are already under construction. The power industry is the basis for the country's further technical progress and continues to be developed: dams are being built and new power plants designed.

What has been said, I think, shows that the advantages of the new system give scope for the use of machinery and resources in countries that had once lagged hopelessly behind and are now rising to their coveted heights.

Roads Also Serve Social Change

Bouaxi Lovanxay - first deputy minister of communications and transport of Laos

Sommad Phonexena - deputy head of Highway No. 9 construction

Q. We were told that ways of communication in Laos are an important condition for social transformations. Is that so?

A. It is. Our country lies in a region with a rugged terrain: river valleys and mountain highlands are separated from each other by impassable mountain ranges and forests, with narrow passways running across some of them. Let us bear in mind that social transformations need to be backed up with growing productive forces and culture, and this calls for new machinery, modern consumer goods, and much else. All of this can reach the outlying areas only along good highways. For the time being, these are few. Some may be marked on the map, but they are not up to the modern standards and were also heavily wrecked during the US aggression.

Laos is a land-locked state, which means it has no outlet to the sea. For years our foreign trade ties ran across Thailand and the Mekong, but the unfriendly Thai authorities have repeatedly tried to use their control over these key communication lines to put pressure on Laos, delaying freights and so trying to hamper our socialist transformations. This made our difficulties with external transport communications a sharp political problem, but we are tackling it swiftly and effectively with the help of the fraternal countries.

This year, for instance, we shall have in full operation Highway No. 9, which links Laos with Vietnam's major port of Da Nang, and via it with the rest of the world and the states of the socialist community.

Q. What is it like?

A. The first narrow track was laid by the colonialists back in 1911, and by now it is virtually unfit for use. Its renewal was projected with the help of specialists from the

fraternal countries: 200 kilometres of the way runs across Laotian territory, and 44 across Vietnamese; the Laotian section alone has 28 bridges, five of them major ones. They were built with the the help of Soviet, Czechoslovak and Hungarian engineers and technicians. It is now to be a two-lane highway for speeds of up to 80 km an hour. Because of the significance it has for our republic it is called the Laotian BAM,¹ although the scale of the two is, of course, incomparable.

In the past ten years, the length of the roads of Laos has increased by more than 3,000 kilometres, and there are now many more hard-top highways. This is to be extended.

Q. What about the transport vehicles for which the highways are being built?

A. The state sector now owns up to 70 per cent of all the transport vehicles, and most of the lorries, which are operated by the state transport organisation which the Soviet Union helped to set up. It has roughly 700 vehicles three-quarters of them of Soviet make. It is working with increasing efficiency, but we are not quite satisfied with its economic indicators.

Q. Are there any other types of transit besides the highways?

A. Small ships ply the Mekong and its tributaries. Unfortunately, through traffic along it is possible only in the rainy season. Nevertheless, we have been increasing the fleet of state-owned river vessels, are remodelling the port of Vientiane and building a new one in the South.

Air transport is also being developed, and there are more internal flights, and direct flights from the capital of Laos to Hanoi and Moscow.

Communications are the true arteries of life, and their pulse is beating ever more strongly. That is a sure sign that our country's young organism, with the socialist sector of the economy as its basis, is growing and gaining strength.

¹ Baikal-Amur Railway Line in the USSR across rugged terrain in Eastern Siberia and the Far East.—Ed.

Can That Be Called Neutrality?

Luis Orlando Corrales -

CC Political Commission member, People's
Vanguard Party of Costa Rica

A Latin American newspaper reported that farsighted domestic businessmen prefer to make their deals in the weeks when the CIA remits a further batch of dollars to their country.¹ This information might seem at first sight to be joke or a picturesque journalistic exaggeration. But since the head of state where the paper is published has said outright that his country 'has become one the the CIA's strongpoints',² one must admit surprise that these words are neither a piece of humour nor a figment of the imagination. Even more surprisingly, the country in question is Costa Rica, which has proclaimed 'perpetual, active and non-armed neutrality'.

The world community had been accustomed to regarding Costa Rica as a-

democratic peaceful republic with long-standing civil traditions, a country capable of operating as an active factor for the preservation of peace and the elimination of the war danger in our subregion. Alas, José Figueres Ferrer, ex-president of the republic, Chairman of the ruling National Liberation Party (quoted at the beginning of this article), and Luis Alberto Monge Alavarez, the President now in office who echoes him, as well as numerous testimonies of the foreign press, tell a different story.

Who has turned Costa Rica into a CIA strongpoint from where neighbouring Nicaragua is attacked? How did it happen?

Books on Central America often note that politically Costa Rica differs greatly from its neighbours. Sometimes they emphasise this so strongly as if they wanted to contrast my country with other republics of the subregion. "The past thirty years," writes Mario Solórzano Martínez, a Guatemalan analyst and politician with social democratic leanings, "have seen important changes in Central America. In Guatemala the conservatives staged a comeback in 1954 (when US mercenaries invaded it.—*Ed.*); they promoted the establishment of an anti-communist order and tried to reverse the reforms of the previous period. Much the same occurred in all the other countries except Costa Rica."³

Actually there is no reason to affirm that the situation in Costa Rica is distinctive. If the development of that country has differed from that of neighbouring republics, the difference is not so striking as the Guatemalan analyst will have it. He discounts many essential factors of our history, such as the 1948 civil war started by domestic reaction and imperialism, the persecution of Communists, the banning of their activity under the Constitution for 27 years, and so on. As for the reforms mentioned by Solórzano Martínez,⁴ while they were not "reversed" (and, indeed, were carried forward in some respects), while there is no doubt that with the establishment of a legal system which raised countless barriers to popular actions and provided conditions for their suppression, the democratisation process was used for developing capitalism at a relatively fast pace. A regroupment took place in the oligarchic and imperialist bloc, with the result that the domination of the bloc was strengthened and the country became more dependent on imperialism than before. True, these changes in Costa Rica did not take drastic and unconstitutional forms as in a number of other countries of the subregion.

The widespread if groundless myth about the "exclusiveness" of the Costa Rican political model is an ideological postulate of bourgeois and imperialist rule. It is advertised and imposed so persistently as to have made inroads even among the left. As a result, those who have succumbed to it imagine that democracy in Costa Rica is in all circumstances an obstacle to imperialist domination and that the struggle to preserve it is the chief task of the popular movement.

This approach obscures the class limitations of bourgeois democracy in our country and ignores the fact that, for all its positive aspects, it also serves to increase the privileges of the ruling class. By saying so, we are not at all minimising the significance of this democracy or denying the imperative need to defend it. We wish to point out, however, that the struggle for democracy has meaning and is complete only if carried on from a class position.

An in-depth analysis of the problem of democracy in Costa Rica would go beyond the framework of this article. However, I would like to re-emphasise that imperialism benefits from the prevailing notion about Costa Rica as a democratic country; the regime existing here is no impediment to US plans and the USA does not want to alter it immediately. But the administration now in office in Washington, like any other US administration, would not hesitate to stamp out democracy if Washington's political interests and aims required it. However, the same interests and aims may dictate the preservation of democratic forms of government on condition that repression and ideological control will be more rigorous. "We like the political model existing here,

but we have great fears about its future," Curtin Winsor, former US ambassador to Costa Rica, told *La Nación*, known as the mouthpiece of the Costa Rican oligarchy.

Costa Rica unquestionably holds an important place in US strategy towards Central America. It began to play its role in this strategy when the situation in the subregion was compounded by an upsurge in the liberation fight and the resultant worsening of contradictions with imperialism, the victory of the Sandinist revolution, and the growth of the Salvadoran people's patriotic armed movement. This is why we cannot agree with the opinion expressed by José Miguel Insulza, a Latin American sociologist, in 1982. "While concerned about the political difficulties encountered by Costa Rica and about the emergence of incipient forms of terrorism there," he wrote, "Washington did not try to include that country in the regional policy of containment. The Costa Rican government's flat rejection of the military aid publicly offered by Ambassador Jean Kirkpatrick, and the fundamentally different position of Costa Rica on the Salvadoran conflict as compared with its attitude to Nicaragua (it backed the Sandinist forces at one time) seem to have convinced the Reagan administration that unless the conflict became regionalised, it would be more expedient not to put pressure on Costa Rica."⁵

However, the facts attested to the opposite even then. This was confirmed by a remark which Winsor, already mentioned, made with the outspoken cynicism typical of him telling *La Nación* that after the victory of the Nicaraguan revolution the USA had decided to build up considerably its presence in Costa Rica.

The place held by our country in the Central American crisis can only be defined with due regard to the actual state of affairs. As soon as the oligarchic and imperialist bloc in Costa Rica was formed, it set out to assist Reagan's policy of aggression in spite of existing differences between its diverse groups over secondary questions and regardless of future difficulties.

After the Nicaraguan revolution had triumphed, Washington began to attribute aggressiveness and expansionism to the Sandinists in a bid to secure a plausible pretext for open intervention, hasten the militarisation of Central America republics and involve them still further in armed intervention against the Nicaraguan people. As for "peaceful" and "defenceless" Costa Rica, whose Constitution forbids it to have an army, it allowed wide scope for political manoeuvre provided it was made out to be under attack.

The White House realised that for as long as the situation did not force it to do otherwise, it would be preferable to use the "good" name of Costa Rica for isolating Nicaragua and subsequently for invading it. Some spokesmen of the left often underestimate this aspect of relations between our country and US imperialism, as I have noted. They see in Costa Rica democracy the main obstacle to the designs of Washington, said the be planning to impose fascist-like regime on our country at all costs. Yet the imperialists are not seeking this at the moment, since establishing a dictatorship in Costa Rica now would neither make it easier for them to keep the problems which they encountered under firm control, nor help reassure international opinion, which declares more and more emphatically for a political settlement of the conflict in the region. Besides, the present Costa Rican government shows allegiance to Reagan's policy so often that the White House does not regard the stand-by alternative of imposing a tyrannical regime here as an urgent priority.

It is more profitable to Washington, as I have said, to declare Costa Rica to be an innocent victim of "Sandinist aggressors". This can earn it greater political capital, as a secret document of the US State Department indicates. "Our advantages," it says, "will be limited and potential political support uncertain for as long as Nicaragua succeeds in representing the activities of the DRA⁶ as an anti-Sandinist provocation. From the point of view of public relations, it is important to neutralise this factor. The question must be Nicaragua versus Costa Rica and not Nicaragua versus its armed

opposition."⁷

There is another circumstance to be taken into account. A component of US policy is the effort to slightly "make up" the ugly face of reactionary dictatorships, to give them a more "respectable" look in their own countries and in the eyes of world opinion. Even the "new conservatives" entrenched in the White House can hardly disregard the fact that tyrannies hated by the people can neither help win the struggle against 'totalitarianism' (alleged by Reagan to have set in in Nicaragua), nor prevent the patriot's victory in El Salvador and Guatemala. Of course, imperialism does not at all want to do away with regimes of this sort; it merely wants to give them a glossy look. This explains the US support for Napoléon Duarte, "lawfully elected" in El Salvador, and attempts to hold "free" elections in Guatemala. The White House is content with the fact that the Honduran government under Robert Suazo Córdoba retains a semblance of 'democracy'. This context also leads a sheen of respectability to the present Costa Rican regime, which benefits from the democratic reputation of the country.

For the time being, Washington seems to prefer the Costa Rican government of the National Liberation Party (affiliated to the Socialist International), which takes its cue from US policy, to the regimes of certain other countries of the sub-region. The Monge cabinet coordinates its position with that of the rulers of El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala to frustrate the efforts of the Contadora Group, isolate Nicaragua and facilitate aggression against it. It is pursuing a policy geared to confrontation with Sandino's country and not to mutual understanding, and seizes on the slightest opportunity to portray Costa Rica as a "victim".

The political and ideological predisposition of the ruling quarters of Costa Rica to follow in the footsteps of the US administration has been growing with hopes of ending the economic crisis of the country by clinging to the USA as to a lifebelt. With reference to the struggles and victories of the liberation movement, described by the United States as plots of 'international communism', the Costa Rican regime is talking about a mythical threat to the republic to beg extraordinary emergency aid from Uncle Sam under this false pretext.

Speaking to the first World Conference on free elections (Washington, November 1982) in Reagan's presence, Monge claimed that the "expansionist offensive of communism" in the region "has taken Costa Rica by surprise, for the country is caught in the worst socio-economic crisis in its history. This has endangered our freedom and our peace more than ever before . . . Parties and trade unions advocating the communist ideology are operating in common with their coreligionists of the Third International by mounting attacks on the constitutional government elected by a majority and trying to destabilise it; they boycott the efforts of the people and the government towards reactivating production sources and overcoming the crisis. Really, in view of the crisis, it is harder to combat communist totalitarianism. This is why we urgently need active solidarity and effective assistance from democratic nations."⁸

To exert pressure on Costa Rica and hitch our country to its cart, the USA resorts to promises and handouts. The result is there—the Costa Rican regime not only sings in unison with the regimes fighting against the popular movement in Central America but readily performs, if necessary, as a soloist in this chorus.

Meanwhile militarisation in Costa Rica itself, encouraged by the USA in various ways, is gaining momentum. According to data released by the London International Institute for Strategic Studies, the strength of Costa Rica's Civil and Rural Guards, charged with maintaining public order, as well as the strength of other paramilitary formations, has more than doubled over the past five years. More than 12,500 men are under arms today. Washington is considerably increasing aid in equipping and re-training these forces. It granted 358,000 dollars in 1981, 2.1 million dollars in 1984

and as much as 18 million in 1985.⁹

The "schooling" of Costa Rican personnel by Pentagon and Israeli experts and advisers is becoming an everyday practice. In the first half of this year, a contingent of US Green Berets arrived in our country to form special counter-insurgency units. They are using Somoza's one-time estate in the immediate vicinity of the Nicaraguan frontier: 800 Civil Guardsmen are being trained there at the moment. Last April 45 Civil Guard officers led by US instructors completed a ten-month course of training in the Honduran regional military training centre. There are many other examples of this nature.

But how does this policy square with Costa Rica's 'neutrality'?

The decision on permanent, active and non-armed neutrality, formally proclaimed in November 1983, was hailed both at home and abroad, and aroused big hopes. International progressive opinion assessed it as a contribution to the lessening of tensions and to the search for a road to peace at the negotiating table. This is why Vice-President Sergio Ramírez Mercado of Nicaragua stated that the Nicaraguans had received President Monge's proclamation of the doctrine of neutrality as a further indication of the traditional good sense shown by Costa Rica in difficult situations.¹⁰

However, it gradually transpired that neutrality, far from being respected, served as a smokescreen for Costa Rican involvement in Reagan's plans for aggression. The People's Vanguard Party saw this from the outset. What is more, disillusionment with nominal neutrality spread to large sections of the Costa Rican population, to democratic organisations, and even to a number of Latin American and West European governments. And so, to exonerate himself and his cabinet, Monge holds forth endlessly about non-existent "vicious international campaigns" against Costa Rica. With view to counteracting these imaginary campaigns, he toured many West European countries in the first half of 1984. However, all the signs are that his tour fell short of expectations. In October of that year, *Inforpress Centroamericana*, an international bulletin which is anything but sympathetic to Nicaragua or hostile to Costa Rica, described the visit paid to our country by the Chairman of the Socialist International, Will Brandt, as a "tacit censure"¹¹ of official Costa Rican policy.

"Neutrality" has been a stillborn child ever since it was proclaimed. The government has not made a single attempt to break with the inter-American treaty on mutual assistance or to stop its class collaboration with rightist regimes which will not hear of neutrality; it has helped Central American dictatorships and anti-Nicaraguan counter-revolutionary bands formed by the CIA. On the other hand, neutrality could not be put into practice from the first, being attended by manifestations of extreme ideological and political bellicosity. There is certainly no "pure" neutrality. It is not at all imperative for neutrality in the military sphere to be combined with ideological and political neutrality. But neutrality in the case of Costa Rica was bound to become fictitious. What are we to make of an allegedly neutral government which backed the imperialist invasion of Grenada?

This kind of "neutrality" now performs, in effect, a twofold function by covering the operations of Nicaraguan contras and by representing Costa Rica as an innocent victim of "Sandinist aggression". The counter-revolutionaries have turned my country into a base from which they raid Nicaragua. They are not merely abetted by our authorities; they also have the facilities—camps, hospitals, secret addresses, means of communication, airfields—needed for their criminal activities. The contras are operating with greater impunity than anywhere else in the northern border area of the country, including the San Carlos, Los Chiles and Guatuzo cantons. It is there that Pastora has stationed his cutthroats, who are using the area as their main base in the rear where they come back to after raiding Nicaragua. They are quartered in so-called refugee camps, which have virtually become rallying centres for

mercenaries. They move freely about the area. In fact, DRA bandits engage in marauding and vandalism, commit outrages and terrorise the population. They often help big landowners suppress peasants who refuse to resign themselves to arbitrary practices.¹² All this is well known thanks in particular to the Western 'big press'. The French weekly *Le Monde Diplomatique*, for one, wrote that up to 5,000 contras were massed on Costa Rican territory.¹³

Political and other public organisations of our country and MPs of different political trends, as well as Nicaraguan leaders, have repeatedly cited incontrovertible proof of intensive contra activity from Costa Rican territory. Rodríguez Solórzano, an independent member of the Legislative Assembly, has published specific data on the places where bands of mercenaries in the CIA's pay are stationed.¹⁴ Even Danilo Chaverri, leader of the parliamentary group of the right-wing Social Christian Unity Party, had to admit that the free hand given to the contras injures Costa Rica's international prestige. However, the regime denies these facts, offering confused explanations while at the same time stepping up its ideological war against the neighbouring country.

The charges of "aggressiveness and expansionism" towards Costa Rica which the media have been flinging at the Sandinists in sustained propaganda campaigns on a common pattern are utterly groundless. After all, it is on *our* soil that the contras have entrenched themselves, and it is they who constantly raid Nicaragua and provoke incidents to foment anti-Sandinist sentiments.

How can Sandino's country be an aggressor? Isn't it forced to concentrate all its energies and resources on defending itself, even at the expense of badly needed economic growth?

Wouldn't it be sheer madness in the circumstances to become involved in armed intervention against neighbours, primarily Costa Rica? "Neither the number of its population, nor the quantity and quality of its armaments," wrote the Spanish daily *El País*, 'would enable Nicaragua to occupy the territory of other countries strongly protected, moreover, by the powerful Northern ally.'¹⁵

However, those who are set on crushing the struggle of Central American peoples at all costs ignore all these convincing considerations.

It will be seen that Costa Rican neutrality is a mere facade used in the interests of oligarchic and imperialist forces. As for those who believe in it, they are simply denied a voice. In August 1984, even cabinet ministers who wanted neutrality to serve its true purpose rather than providing a cover for contra activity had to resign.

The attitude to the Contadora Group is a further indication of the spuriousness of Costa Rican "neutrality". Objectively, the rise of this group, whose significance has gone far beyond the boundaries of the subregion, was a tacit reproach to Costa Rica. The fact is that had Costa Rica lived up to its reputation as a "champion of peace, equilibrium and good relations", the Contadora Group could have become a natural sphere of vigorous peace-making activity for our country. But Costa Rica has kept out of the Contadora process. Isn't this revealing? Doesn't it show that our government has badly discredited itself by taking a doubtful stand detrimental to national sovereignty, which it is supposed to be concerned with?

Originally, when the four countries made the highly commendable proposal for a political settlement of the Central American conflict, the Monge government expressed satisfaction and readiness to support it. However, the work of the group had hardly begun to take concrete shape when the Costa Rican regime, having entered into collusion with its Salvadoran and Honduran counterparts, set about raising hurdles to the adoption of the "Act of Peace" in Central America. At a certain juncture this attitude entitled the Reagan administration to congratulate itself on 'blocking' the Contadora peace treaty, as a secret memorandum prepared by the US National Security Council and subsequently published by *The Washington Post*

showed.¹⁶

The foregoing does not imply that in Costa Rica the forces which we might call truly neutralist and which sincerely want to apply the principles they cherish failed to play a positive role or are unable to do so. It is a pressing task for revolutionaries to take these forces into account and to search for common ground with them.

Large sections of the people, as well as certain groups in the National Liberation Party and some other parties, have openly declared for real neutrality. A powerful demonstration held in San Jose in May 1984 demanded an active peace policy and good-neighbour relations with Nicaragua. Speaking to the demonstrators, Dr Fernando Durán Ayanegui, Rector of the University of Costa Rica, expressed concern about the identity of his country. "It is high time," he said, "for the President to remove those of his associates who do not hesitate to push the people to the abyss of war." And he added that it would depend on the President himself whether he went down in history as a man who championed peace in the name of a happy future for the nation or as an irresponsible leader who "did not dare to stop in time dealers in death at the gate of the republic".¹⁷ To be sure, utterances of this nature are not devoid of a measure of wishful thinking. It is important, however, that he who expresses an opinion such as this wants peace and sees neutrality as a means of achieving it.

The revolutionary force of Costa Rica cannot confine themselves to the assertion that what is going on in the country is merely a result of abuses by petty officials or a section of the command of the Civil and Rural Guards, which would mean whitewashing the Monge cabinet. The irrefutable fact is, as the CC of the People's Vanguard Party has stated, that the "policy of the Costa Rican government is an important part of the policy of aggression which imperialism is pursuing in the region".¹⁸

Our party considers it necessary to expose this policy, to call a spade a spade. It is organising and mobilising the people to resist the anti-patriotic policy which the regime is pursuing. We see this not only a moral and political duty to the working people of Nicaragua and other countries, but also as an important stand for winning the support of diverse political currents in Costa Rica, including fair-minded partisans of neutrality who can hold their own against warmongers and aggressors.

¹ See *La Nación*, San Jose, May 15, 1984.

² *Le Monde*, May 22, 1984.

³ Mario Solórzano Martínez. "Centroamérica: democracias de fachada", *Polémica*, San Jose, No. 12, 1983, p. 44.

⁴ The reference is to a series of progressive social, economic and political measures effected in the 1940s under popular pressure.—Ed.

⁵ *La política de Reagan y la crisis en Centroamérica*, San Jose, 1982, p. 252.

⁶ The DRA (Democratic Revolutionary Alliance) is a counter-revolutionary group operating from Costa Rican territory. One of its leaders is Edén Pastora, a traitor to the Nicaraguan people.—Ed.

⁷ *La Nación*, May 11, 1984.

⁸ S. Ricardo, *El reto democrático en Centroamérica*, San Jose, 1985, p. 354.

⁹ *Libertad Revolucionaria*, July 12-18, 1985.

¹⁰ *La Nación*, May 11, 1984.

¹¹ *Infopress Centroamericana*, No. 614, 1984, p. 6.

¹² *Libertad Revolucionaria*, June 7-13, 1985. For details, see 'The Contras: A Tool for Imperialism', *WMR*, No. 11, 1985.

¹³ *Le Monde Diplomatique*, June 1985, p. 11.

¹⁴ *Libertad Revolucionaria*, October 13-20, 1984.

¹⁵ *El País*, Edición Internacional, November 26, 1984.

¹⁶ *El País*, Edición Internacional, November 12, 1984.

¹⁷ *La Nación*, May 16, 1984.

¹⁸ *Libertad Revolucionaria*, January 18-24, 1984.

Asserting the Scientific View of the World

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The intelligentsia, which made a great contribution to the Senegalese people's anti-colonial struggle, continues to play a particularly important role in the political and social spheres. The latest Congress of the SPIL recognised that our erstwhile, "narrowly ouvrieriste" view of the intelligentsia's place in the society prevented the party from taking the full measure of the importance of this stratum in Senegal and so also from giving due attention to its specific interests. Our party now believes that one of the fundamental lines of its activity is to win over an even larger segment of the intelligentsia for the ideology of Marxism-Leninism and for the revolutionary objectives of the working class.

Winning over the intelligentsia does not at all imply either pandering to it or adapting to its whims, let alone changing our party's class nature to make it more acceptable to intellectuals. The first thing to do is to enable them above all to find their own place in our common struggle by helping them to see that it is in their own vital interests to take part in it. It is equally important to help the intelligentsia to sort out the reasons behind the contradictions and ambiguities of its own position which prevent it from consistently taking a stand for genuine national independence, democracy and socialism.

We are aware of the difficulties of the task. After all, the ruling classes have been using all the political, economic and ideological means at their disposal in their efforts to win over the intelligentsia, or, failing that, to prevent most of its members from joining us. Anti-communist, anti-Sovietism, nationalistic and chauvinistic attitudes and religious feelings are only a part of the arsenal used by the ruling classes in their efforts to prevent the intelligentsia from uniting with the revolutionary working class movement.

Attempts to get intellectuals to put on unscientific blinkers and adopt unscientific attitudes are among the techniques most often used lately by the ruling classes. We believe, therefore, that the struggle for mastering the spreading the scientific culture is and will continue to be a fundamental aspect of the class struggle.

In practice, mastering and spreading the scientific culture means resisting any attempts by the ruling classes to implant in the minds of our people ideological views that are alien to the interests of the liberation struggle itself. The originations of the rudiments of the scientific world-view in the Senegalese society enables us to concentrate attention on the key aspects of its independent national development, on social and cultural progress.

Colonialism and the neocolonialism that followed upon it have left a deep impression on the consciousness of the Senegalese intelligentsia, largely owing to the system of education through which its views were moulded. It was a system designed to train a body of simple subordinates and docile executives in the service of the colonial and then of the neocolonial authorities. Instead of producing men and women capable of understanding and solving the country's numerous problems, it turned out a minority elite out of touch with the realities of the country and culturally alienated from the people.

The technical sciences were neglected, with emphasis on the humanities which were, it was alleged, alone suitable for the African's mentality. Besides, the embryonic science and research infrastructure in Senegal was entirely in the hands of the French. It was natural, therefore, that in those conditions scientific and technical

knowledge appeared to be a foreign element for the social reality of the colonised and retarded peoples, with a slight influence on the thinking of local intellectuals. Many of them regarded science and technology not so much as a universal means for cognising and mastering the surrounding world, as something that was peculiar to the West and that expressed its 'genius'. That is ultimately the meaning of the well-known maxim coined by former President of Senegal Léopold Senghor, the chief theoretician of 'Negritude'¹ { 'Emotion is Negro, reason is Hellenic.'

The harm of such an approach was realised even in colonial times by the most conscious and organised section of the intelligentsia,² which insisted on the need to train African scientific and technical personnel without which it believed the winning of true national independence to be impossible.

But there is no radical change in this field even after Senegal rose to political independence. Despite the marked development of education in the early years of sovereignty, the neocolonial school proved itself incapable of training adequate numbers of scientific and technical personnel capable of making a decisive contribution to the country's independence and social progress. There is still a shortage of research organisations and institutions. Poorly equipped and scantily provided with personnel, they depend on France for both, which leaves the former colonial power in control of the orientation of research under way in the country. The great possibilities offered by scientific and cultural cooperation with the socialist countries are being scarcely used, principally in order not to hamper the neocolonialist tutelage of scientific and technical research.

Alongside the half-starved national scientific organisations there are prosperous foreign ones (French, in the first place), among them the Office for Scientific Research in Overseas Territories (ORSTOM), the Bureau of Geological and Mining Research (BRGM), and the Pasteur Institute, which have a modern relatively improved infrastructure and large numbers of foreign specialists. Their research is beyond national control and serves mainly the purposes and interests of foreign states, while local personnel at Senegal's research institutions is effectively deprived of incentives for research because of the policy of the authorities, which prefer to have foreign outfits handle the research work, a practice which tends to stimulate the brain drain: many highly-skilled national scientific and technical personnel are enticed by foreign research centres at home and abroad. As a result of so-called technical assistance, French citizens—a quarter-century after Senegal's rise to independence, continue to hold responsible posts and take crucial decisions in applying scientific and technical advances, while the number of unemployed Senegalese with a higher education has continued to grow.

This state of affairs undoubtedly leaves a stamp on the thinking and mentality of our intellectuals, who have a sense of frustration and impotence and come to doubt their own capabilities. Besides, the rank-and-file intellectual, harassed by the vicissitudes of daily life and constantly in a state of uncertainty about the morrow, can hardly expect to raise his professional standards. He finds it even harder to keep abreast of scientific and technical progress, which calls for a constant increase and exchange of ideas and experience. The number of documentation centres (such as public or departmental libraries) is clearly inadequate and access to them is limited. Their material is often outdated and provides no encouragement to the serious student.

Apart from these objective factors hampering the developments of scientific culture, one also has to note the negative influence exerted on the minds of Third World intellectuals by bourgeois scholars who present in a distorted light and give a twisted interpretations to such a fundamental phenomenon as the disappointment of millions of people with the application of science and technology: they will give any reason except putting the blame on the capitalist system. But it is precisely the

capitalist system—and many are coming to realise the fact—that is the root cause of science and technology often failing to be synonymous with human happiness despite the prodigious heights to which they have risen. Indeed, famine, illiteracy and lack of housing continue to be the lot of the majority under capitalism, while the menace of a thermonuclear conflict and the ecological crisis threaten the very survival of the planet.

In the exploitive society, science and scientists are bent on carrying on research for capitalist profit. Reactionary ideologists resort to “sociobiology” and argue “from scientific positions” in justifying the general decline in living standards, the worsening of the condition of the masses, racism and genocide against entire peoples. The profoundly humanistic and liberatory purposes of science and technology are thus being distorted. Meanwhile the true causes of this anomalous state of affairs, which bourgeois philosophy seeks to camouflage by blaming the negative and allegedly fatal developments in science and technology themselves, are rooted in the nature of the capitalist relations. And while some intellectuals accept the idea, others who have a knowledge of Marxism are not at all surprised at the inhuman aspects of scientific and technical development under capitalism.

Marx says: “Machinery, gifted with the wonderful power of shortening and fructifying human labour, we behold starving and overworking it . . . Even the pure light of science seems unable to shine but on the dark background of ignorance. All our invention and progress seem to result in endowing material forces with intellectual life, and in stultifying human life into a material force. This antagonism between modern industry and science, on the one hand, modern misery and dissolution, on the other hand; this antagonism between the productive powers, and the social relations of our epoch is a fact, palpable, overwhelming, and not to be controverted.”³

While such a situation is explicable under a capitalist regime, it leaves some intellectuals in a state of ideological disarray and makes them doubt scientific progress as such, a frame of mind which, for its part, provides favourable soil for the revival and spread of diverse unscientific views and conceptions.

As the crisis of neocolonialism deepens, the intelligentsia is being increasingly marginalised, once again reinforcing these unscientific trends, which range from a simple rejection of any scientific idea to attempts to reconcile materialism and idealism or even to bend scientific conclusions to theology.

This is translated into what is sometimes contradictory behaviour among the intellectuals concerned: some keep vacillating between the past and the present, between the traditional and modern ideology and culture. Even being aware that the steady development of science and technology is an objective factor, these intellectuals nevertheless continue to have numerous bonds (social, ideological, etc.) with the traditional values in which they seek to find a way of resolving the contradictions of the present. Others lapse into religious mysticism.

There is an ever wider spread of this trend in Senegal, as will be seen from the active spread of Islam, whose votaries regard it as the shortest cut to realising their own political ambitions. And while such a “solution” may appear to be attractive for some intellectuals, especially the “young cadres”, its limitations are soon made evident, because it fails to eliminate the main contradictions that are at the root of the country’s present difficulties. Some lessons are also to be drawn from the experience of other states in Africa and Asia. Let us recall that the introduction of Shariat law as the basis of legislation failed to solve the most acute problems either in Iran or in the Sudan under Nimeiri, and merely went to complicate the internal political situation. That is why it is so important to explain to these intellectuals who, consciously or unconsciously, fall victim to the mystico-religious depression, that there is ultimately no real alternative to the organised struggle for the building of a society in line with

our people's ideals and aspirations, although it is a struggle that may now and again appear to be turbulent, disconcerting and even thankless.

They are prevented from realising the fact by the activity of conservative forces who do not hesitate to attain their objectives by exploiting the aura of prestige of some titled university professors, as will be seen from the line of reasoning presented by Professor Hamet Seydi, Director of the Mathematics Department of the faculty of Natural Sciences at Dakar University. Writing in the official newspaper of the ruling circles, *Le Soleil*, he gave an esoteric view of mathematics in connection with the "mystical qualities" of names and numbers. Here is how he "analysed" the name of the Islamic prophet "Mohamed" whose mystic number is 92. The visionary professor drew the conclusion that the mystery of the number lay "in the fact that Mohamed had the role of transmitting to humanity the message of the Creator through the Koran", a claim he backed up with the two following examples: first, $4 \times 23 = 92$, while the number 23 was "the innate Word of God", and also, "the number of chromosomes which man and woman each give up for creation"; second, Seydi claimed that the number 92 corresponded to the 92 "stable" elements of the Mendeleyev system "while symbolising the name of Mohamed, which is at the basis of the creation".

The above was given in detail expressly to show the absurdities to which pseudo-scientific charlatans will go in mocking science in order to make it serve their mystico-religious chimeras in the absence of objective proof. One would like to know when the "Moslem mathematicians" elaborated these "theories", since the Mendeleyev table and Morgan's chromosome theory of heredity date, respectively, to the 19th and 20th centuries.

But Seydi's arguments are not as naive as they may appear at first sight, and in suggesting them the professor has some far-reaching aims. He says: "The hour may perhaps to be at hand when mathematicians will create the models of a society, a discovery that could result in the unification of the human race and the prevention of social tensions and wars."⁴

There we have a perfect specimen of idealism! Can one hope to see the settlement of class conflicts on a national and international scale with the help of mathematical models, when there is such an objective reality as the struggle between the exploiter minority profiting from the aggravation of those problems, and the overwhelming majority of those who suffer from them?

Indeed, should one expect the mathematicians to come up with miraculous formulas for the solution of the grave social problems which now confront the masses of our own or any other underdeveloped country oppressed by neocolonialism and a bureaucratic bourgeoisie? That is, in effect, yet another version of the utopian view of the world designed to convince people that social contradictions can be eliminated without the class struggle. The mantle of pseudo-science is used to mislead the Senegalese intelligentsia with a medieval view of the reality by manipulating elements of modern knowledge.

It is perfectly obvious that such unscientific ideological attitudes are ultimately dangerous for the future of Senegal. It is no secret that imperialism and the rulers of reactionary Islamic regimes are now trying to use religion as a weapon in the fight against democratic and progressive ideas. Thus, the authorities of Saudi Arabia, not very forthcoming in giving aid for economic development projects, display much generosity when it comes to helping the expansion of Islamic activists in our country. It is also well known that the CIA and similar other imperialist services have been trying to influence the intellectuals and young people in the Third World for their own purposes under the demagogic slogans of defeding 'humanism', arranging colloquiums, tours of other countries, etc., for these purposes. Outfits like 'Moral Rearmament', 'Congress for Freedom and Culture', and the 'Moon Sect', among

others, have been trying to do the same thing. In other words, everything is being done to divert the national intelligentsia from the right way and from the position of the scientific world-view. This is also being done by the slogans of 'Negritude', 'Africanism', 'national exclusiveness', etc., which their advocates have put forward to counter Marxism as a 'doctrine' brought in from 'outside'.

No true intellectual who cherishes his people's happiness and liberty can agree to imperialism, with its ideological and political tricks and dodges, remaining master in Senegal. The intelligentsia needs to work out a scientific view of the world if it is to take an effective part in resisting the neocolonialists and their internal agents.

The origination and development of Marxism are intimately connected with the evolution of science. Marxism-Leninism has brought about the unity of mankind's knowledge and the revolutionary practice of the masses. Vanguard science develops through relentless struggle against all manner of myths and superstitions which are used by the ruling classes in order to keep the masses in ignorance and to exploit them. It is hardly accidental that the conservative forces seeking to implant unscientific ideas into the minds of intellectuals are hostile to Marxism.

Emergent capitalism gave a considerable impetus to scientific and technical progress by releasing thought from the fetters of mythical notions. But once progress in every field of human knowledge, notably in the social sciences, began to shake the foundations of the exploitive system, bourgeois ideologists rushed in to discredit it. The bourgeoisie is not, of course, opposed to research which helps to increase its profits, but it does its utmost to block research which could undermine the domination of capital in the long term, or which demonstrates its inevitable collapse or helps to strengthen the oppressed peoples' independence and sovereignty. That is why neocolonialisation so fiercely attacks the idea of setting up national scientific and technical facilities in the underdeveloped countries. That is also why the ideologists of capitalism seek to present Marxism, the scientific and revolutionary world-view, as being "alien" to the African realities.

In the context of these problems, the specific features of the situation in Senegal and other countries of our continent lie, perhaps, in that the local bureaucratic bourgeoisie did not pass through a "phase of upswing" in its development, as the European bourgeoisie did in carrying out the industrial revolution and sweeping away the ideological hotchpoch of the precapitalist societies in order to take and keep power. The Senegalese bureaucratic bourgeoisie has no revolutionary past behind it and so has need of anachronistic—traditionalist and religious—ideas to maintain its power over the society. But even it has to adapt to the principles of modern rational government, and make use of at least a minimum of science and technology. This is the gist of the contradictions now faced by the local ruling elite and its mercenary ideologists in assessing the role of science in the country's development.

In the exploitive society, the results of scientific activity serve the interests of the ruling elite. The revolutionary class, which has no egoistical purposes, and wants to see the harmonious development of one and all, is alone capable of giving science free scope for boundless progress. Engels says: "...The more ruthlessly and disinterestedly science proceeds the more it finds itself in harmony with the interests and aspirations of the workers."⁵ Indeed, the rise of science involves the revolutionary transformation of the society. Consequently, in our country as well, the desire to master and spread scientific knowledge requires the intelligentsia's direct involvement in the struggle both against the established economic and social order, and against the neocolonial system of power which is an impediment to the formation of scientific knowledge.

The ruling classes are angered by the participation of intellectuals and scientists in the movement for a revolutionary transformation of the society. Official ideology has been trying to implant the idea in Senegal that the true intellectual and the

scientist worthy of that name must be "neutral", that is, standing on the sidelines of the political battles. The bourgeois mass media discriminate in every way against workers in science and culture who stand up for the interests of the working class, and access to the results of their research is made difficult for the masses. Some intellectuals trying to avoid difficulties take up a neutral stand, and indeed "wash their hands" of the problems. In an effort to vindicate their views, others invoke the "objectivity" of science allegedly standing over and above classes.

For our part, we side with the oppressed as a matter of principle, and this means getting the scientific and technical achievements of our day to serve all the members of the society. It is an approach that is highly important for Senegal, because the present level of world scientific progress opens up wide prospects for the solution of our country's acute economic and social problems. Here is one ready example: if the grave famine devastating the continent is to be halted, it is vitally important for Africans to improve the state of their agriculture, something that cannot be done without mechanisation, the intensive use of mineral fertilizers, precise knowledge of each crop's vegetation cycles, selection of species adapted to local climates and having the greatest yields, and many other things. Nothing of that can be done without the application of scientific and technical progress, alongside with the need to develop our own scientific and technical facilities so as to transform our retarded agriculture.

Here is another example. Everyone has heard of the great losses suffered by the developing countries, including Senegal, from the energy crisis. World science is looking for new energy sources and technologies to develop substitutes in the foreseeable future for the dwindling stocks of combustible fossils (coal and oil), so paving the way for the extensive use of solar energy, geothermal energy, and the optional use of water resources in our backward countries as well. That makes our own research and scientific cooperation on the international level of exceptional importance.

Science opens up new horizons for mankind, and so we believe that involvement in it and the mastering of knowledge in the technical sciences and the humanities in a key line of struggle against neocolonialism. It must become a weapon for our future victory. Since scientific achievements are jeopardised by the unfair and inhuman capitalist system, the intelligentsia's growing urge to gain scientific knowledge is inseparable from its active participation in the struggle for justice, democracy and social progress.

The example of the Soviet Union, which took only a few decades to rise to the summits of world science, and of other socialist countries provides striking evidence that the economic and social system for which we are working is a reliable guarantee of scientific and technical progress for the benefit of the people. Only a society without divisions into antagonistic classes removes all the impediments to the free and full expression of man's creative potential.

That is another reason why the struggle for building a new society should be made the intelligentsia's own struggle for the development of scientific knowledge. Lenin warned the Communists against underestimating the role of scientific knowledge on the ground that it is bourgeois knowledge, and added: "... It would mean falling into a grave error for you to try to draw the conclusion that one can become a Communist without assimilating the wealth of knowledge amassed by mankind. It would be mistaken to think it sufficient to learn communist slogans and the conclusions of communist science, without acquiring that sum of knowledge of which communism itself is a result."⁶ He went on: "You can become a Communist only when you enrich your mind with a knowledge of all the treasures created by mankind."⁷

In the light of Lenin's fundamental approach, we attach key importance to asserting the ideals of the scientific cognition of the world, the need for which in

connection with transformations in our country was emphasised in the Communists' political platform, in that part of it which deals with culture. It says that the necessary conditions for raising our culture are: the building of a democratic national system of scientific education; the creation of a basis for the development of modern science and technology; the extension of scientific and cultural cooperation with the socialist countries for attaining independence from the imperialist states in this field; the training of national personnel and the organisation of material and social conditions to enable them to make an effective contribution to the country's scientific and cultural progress; and the orientation of all scientific activity towards the national interest and the amelioration of the people's living standards.

¹ An idealistic conception claiming Africa to have an exclusive destiny because of the Africans' peculiar spiritual and psychological make-up.—*Ed.*

² After the Second World War, African students in France set up the Federation of Students of Black Africa in France (FEANF) and in Dakar, the General Union of Students of West Africa (UGEA) and fought against colonial policy in education. The political vanguard of these two bodies consisted of members of the Movement of Students of the African Party of Independence (MEPAI), set up by the Communists, and many of them subsequently became African revolutionaries. The United Trade Union of Teachers (SUEL) set up in Senegal also had an important part to play. The invaluable contribution of the French CP to our movement, not only in France, but also in the colonies, needs to be emphasised.

³ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 1, pp. 500-501.

⁴ *Le Soleil*, Dakar, May 9 1984.

⁵ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 3, p. 376.

⁶ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 286.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 287.

Culture Against the Diktat of Profit

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Communist Party of Austria

OUR country owes much of its world-wide fame to its cultural heritage. Today however, it is generally viewed in Austria as a sort of aggregate of museum pieces. The way these treasures are used is connected mostly with foreign tourism, an important sphere of the Austrian economy. Consequently, the quarters dominating Austria's politics and economy regard as valuable only those cultural activities that either adapt traditional art to the demands of the market in the case of the government-run theatre, opera or concerts or, are aimed at the creation of "cultural souvenirs" in matters of contemporary art.

However, most of the Austrian cultural community rejects this approach because the demands of the fine arts, literature, music, etc. as distinctive forms of response to reality preclude serious artists from creating stereotypes with no links to everyday life and work, from uncritically following old canons. A polarisation of forces is therefore in evidence in Austrian culture: opposing a handful of well-paid "stars" of the traditional "high art" is the overwhelming majority of those working in the field of culture who, although shaping its current image and discharging socially indispensable functions, are dragging out what could well be described as a miserable existence.

The CPA Programme (adopted in 1982) states that the "overwhelming majority of those working in the field of culture have no access to the necessary means of the creation and diffusion of cultural values. Even more rapidly than in the economy, these means are concentrating in the hands of the monopolies with their practices of regimentation, high-handedness and discrimination. Spiritual and intellectual values are turning into objects of sale and purchasing; their educational, moral and aesthetic aspects are the last to be taken into account, if at all."¹

The programme goes on to note that increased labour productivity as well as new methods of production and reproduction have opened unprecedented vistas for the advancement of culture. But these opportunities are restricted by the too narrow limitations of capitalism, the system that still circumscribes the access of most people to many cultural values. At the same time, people are forced to pay for the ostentatious luxury in which an insignificant minority lives, while mass consciousness is deformed by the state and the monopolies that control the mass media.

Can One Live in an "Ivory Tower"?

The social position of those engaged in cultural pursuits can be glimpsed from some striking facts reported by competent sources. In late 1984 *The Austrian Artistic Community*, a detailed report on the living and working conditions of composers, artists and writers, was published. It was commissioned by the so-called Conference of Provincial Experts on Culture—the people in charge of these questions in Austria's nine provinces. The picture painted in the report speaks for itself.

The authors quote figures representing the numerical strength of the Austrian artistic community, although they do make a reservation and say that it is difficult to take an exact census of writers, composers and artists. The reason is that for many, artistic pursuits are a sideline, not the main occupation. The figure of 3,000 is a relatively accurate estimate of the number of writers. Of the approximately 5,000 painters, graphic artists and sculptors only some 1,200 are such by profession. There are also about 1,300 composers. One can therefore conclude that we are dealing with a social and professional group of up to 10,000 people. Women make up roughly one-third of the writers, artists and sculptors and less than one-tenth of the composers.

While the statistics showing the numerical strength of the professions are approximate, the results of selective surveys are a straightforward indication of how little they earn. The report admits that "compared to Austria's average per capita income, the average income of all groups comprising the artistic community is very low . . . The incomes derived by most professionals from their creative activities as such are either very small or below the subsistence level."

Too spell it out, the incomes earned by freelance writing in 1976 were lower than the subsistence level in 84 per cent of the cases surveyed and lower than the average industrial wage in the next ten per cent of the cases. It is doubtful that the situation has improved since then because literary incomes lag behind the rising prices. For most authors, writing is a sideline. The picture is similar among composers and artists. The plight of young and especially older people who make a living by engaging in creative pursuits is particularly severe.

The report also discusses the place of these professionals in the social hierarchy—a place dependent primarily on their financial position. The authors of the paper note that the "image of an independent creative professional answerable to his conscience alone has taken firm root in the system of our social values. Even the tax laws regard the individual working in the sphere of culture as a free 'entrepreneur'. However, it looks like the number of economically independent members of the artistic community keeps diminishing, as seen from the analysis of the 1951, 1961 and 1971

census returns." This trend, the report says, is expected to continue. The number of artistic professionals offering their services for hire is growing steadily. Freelancers regularly working under contract to publishers, radio stations and the like are essentially hired workers too. The authors of the report remark that the "general trend of development indicates erosion of the ideal concept of artistic autonomy".

This is a cautious way of saying that most members of the Austrian artistic community have long ceased to consider themselves 'ivory tower dwellers'. As far back as the early 1970s a Working Group of Austrian Authors was set up. Its members concluded that in terms of their financial position, they neither differed from other working people nor constituted a separate social layer. This conclusion was then fully accepted by the Congress of Austrian writers.

The lamentable financial position of Austria's artistic professionals is connected with certain distinctive features in the operation of the network of our cultural establishments. On the one hand, there are the generous subsidies to the so-called high art of the stage—the National Opera, the People's Opera, other government-run theatres, the Symphony Orchestra, etc. On the other hand, the opportunities for the advancement of several other types of art are very small and the financial resources open to them are extremely limited. It is estimated that some 95 per cent of the allocations for cultural purposes from the national budget are used to maintain the bureaucratic apparatus and only five per cent go to those actually creating cultural values.

Within the framework of the centralised monopoly of the ORF (Austrian radio), radio and television programmes do little to popularise contemporary literature, music or painting. The conservative tastes of the potential buyers of paintings reduce the artistic scope of this field too.

Austria's relatively low population total helps to make it clear why people representing all facets of the artistic community strive for recognition abroad, mostly in German-speaking countries, so that they could make at least some impression at home. There is little in the ideals of the ruling class that appeals to members of the cultural community. In a sense, they are a marginal group driven to the periphery of society, and their political views play a minor part in the dominant body of opinion.

What Does Art Reflect?

Nevertheless, Austria's role in the cultural life of the German-speaking countries is remarkable. This refers both to literature and to the fine arts and music. After liberation from fascism, most newcomers to the artistic professions were people with a petty-bourgeois background and salary earners. The typical thing about them was that while lacking a profound knowledge of traditions, they were close to the day-to-day problems of life and work.

As far as the last two decades of the country's cultural life is concerned, one can—discounting the right-wing, conservative elements that are practically unnoticeable—single out two major currents whose exponents display a skeptical and even critical attitude to the existing order: on the one hand, the enthusiasts of all sorts of formalistic experiments and on the other, the young writers turning vigorously to social problems.

The development of contemporary Austrian literature in particular and of all facets of culture in general concentrates around these two poles. The striving to a high level of skills and technique is often accompanied by attempts at a critical assessment of certain social phenomena. The works that currently appear highlight the instability of human existence in the conditions created by the development of state-monopoly capitalism and often turn to past events (the struggle against fascism, the history of the Resistance).

The Austrian artistic community plays a noticeable part in the peace movement. Many prominent authors, performers, singers, musicians, composers and artists have joined the Artists for Peace action group. They have contributed perceptibly to the mobilisation of public opinion and to the success of several major demonstrations organised by the Austrian peace movement. Over one hundred artists and sculptors displayed their works at an exhibition devoted to a single theme—that of peace.

“Social partnership”, particularly developed in Austria, as well as the Socialist influence in the working class movement account for the fact that the scope of open class clashes between hired labour and capital is insignificant. The reserve shown by the working class despite the crisis, wage cuts and attacks on social gains prompts many members of the artistic community to question the vanguard historical role of this class. And while reality and day-to-day life are often reflected with accuracy by writers and artists, they fail to show the possibilities of social change or the prospects of social development.

It was typical of many Austrian artists, performers and writers to pin great political hopes on the 1970s advent of the Socialist government of the SPA. However, aside from increased financial assistance (awards and subsidies) to publishing houses, periodicals, small theatres and art galleries, the network of cultural establishments remains in a sorry state. Today, the appeal of social democracy to those working in the sphere of culture is about to disappear. But their skeptical attitude to the “political establishment” has so far failed to drive them closer to the revolutionary working class movement—although one must say that a number of figures in the world of culture are either members of, or very close to, the CPA. Thanks to the party’s statements on questions of culture and to its practical activities in this field, the revolutionary working class movement exerts a visible influence on many artists and writers—an influence that appears to have a greater effect on them than on other middle strata.

Conditions of Genuine Artistic Freedom

The CPA Programme has this to say about the situation in the sphere of culture: “Under the impact of the class struggle and the glaring contradictions of the state-monopoly system, here, too, elements of a new militant humanism, of a new society that is to come are being born. The Communists are doing all they can to support these elements. They see themselves as heirs to everything that served social progress in culture, for they need this heritage. They consider it their duty to explain that bringing the people’s creative energy into the open, freeing the masses and those working in the field of culture from tutelage, ending the situation in which their consciousness is manipulated by the factories of public opinion and monopoly domination of culture—all this calls for an end to the diktat of profit.”²

Our party champions the freedom of cultural and artistic activity which is currently suffering great damage, above all from manipulation of the art market. As a class system of domination by the privileged, capitalism closes or complicates mass access to cultural achievements. At the same time, it uses means of culture, particularly the mass media, to influence working people in the interests of capital.

This is why the CPA advocates comprehensive efforts to facilitate and expand the access of working people to the accomplishments and heritage of progressive Austrian culture. The Communist Party deems it important to promote cultural self-expression by working people, protect the people’s creative and artistic pursuits and steadily encourage democratic trends in this field. Cultural and mass media centres should be set up on the basis of self-management; the activities of the self-education centres should be made more democratic. The Communists advocate fair social security for those working in the field of art and culture, and financial incentives to

fruitful cultural activity freed from administrative tutelage. They support the action groups and associations that have been set up by artists, performers and writers and that that can contribute to the promotion of democracy in communities, districts and provinces. The Austrian Federation of Trade Unions must help to advance the democratic content of culture and aid in its diffusion.

Our party is fighting against disdain of the fundamental interests of creative activity and subservience to "representative" art. The CPA is doing its utmost to secure support from the working class movement for the democratic social demands of artists, performers and writers and to involve as many of them as possible in the workers' struggle for a new society in which there would be no privileges in the field of culture and education.

These policy demands stem from the experience of party work among progressive members of the artistic community. Meetings with them are a regular feature of the annual *Volksstimme* festival. At these festivals, people can meet with writers from the Left Word association and with painters from the Red Point gallery, or hear singers and musicians. Cultural programmes are a prominent element of major events organised by the party. Its national newspaper publishes works of fiction and covers cultural events. To mark the 40th anniversary of liberation from fascism Globus Publishers produced an important book—an anthology entitled *Left Word for Austria* offering a representative selection of works by well-known contemporary authors.

Several years ago the party organised what we call the Culture and Politics Forum. Greeting its participants, Comrade Franz Muhri, CPA Chairman, stressed: "The working class has been and remains the leading force in the struggle for socialism even though subjectively, its majority in Austria is not yet aware of its position and historical mission. The left artists and workers in the field of culture who are Communists are facing an important task: acting together with the party and all progressive forces but in their own way and using their own means and methods, to contribute to the struggle against the manipulation of people's minds, to the shaping of social consciousness and to the mobilisation of working class and intellectuals' support for the anti-monopoly alternatives."

The two main reports delivered at the forum dealt with the mission of progressive culture and the issues of resisting the incorporation of its workers into the system of state-monopoly capitalism. Comrade Ernst Wimmer, Political Bureau member of the CPA Central Committee, spoke, specifically about the culture whose representatives had allied themselves consciously with the aspirations of the revolutionary working class. Their activities are essential to help the working class put a socialist revolution into effect. This, Comrade Wimmer said, calls for every effort that would promote an upsurge of the working class movement, make it more militant, steadfast and flexible and its participants, selfless and ready to take action. Socialism demands a transition to a new level of culture, a mastering of everything valuable that has been produced by human history.

Different Forms of Grasping the Meaning of Reality

Party documents and our press note that the development of state-monopoly capitalism has an impact on culture too. Only a relatively small part of the Austrian artistic community belongs to those who profit from "cultural production"; its victims are much more numerous. The "public at large" still entertains the illusion that all is well in this sphere. But mercantilism in culture and the establishment of profit-oriented cultural enterprises increasingly highlight their capitalist essence. People are being divided into exploiters and exploited; the incomes and profits of the former are growing, and so is the dependence and social insecurity of the latter. The price of

artistic labour is becoming increasingly tied to its "market value".

The Communist Party of Austria has succeeded in overcoming, to a considerable degree, the wary attitude of the artistic community of the working class movement, in reducing the distance between them and in rolling back anti-communism. I have already noted that many artists, performers and writers are either members of or close to our party; their interest and participation in CPA-sponsored events is growing.

These developments were facilitated by the operation of objective factors, specifically by the rapid deterioration of the living and working conditions in the field of culture. Given its limited numerical strength, the CPA cannot use every opportunity resulting from the changes that are under way. Nevertheless, we are stepping up our work in the field of culture and among the artistic community. This work is not divorced from other types of CPA activities, and the party views it as an important component of its overall effort.

The struggle on the 'cultural front' is also emerging as an indispensable element of the policy of alliances—alliances necessary for rebuffing the onslaught of state-monopoly capitalism which, not content with robbing the working class, strives to intensify the exploitation of other sections of working people too. Besides, of great importance for the working class movement are all forms of capturing the meaning of reality—the increase of knowledge both through a rational, scientific analysis of social interrelationships and through artistic penetration of the laws governing the development of nature and society. Each step forward along this path adds to the potential of our movement and enhances its power to transform.

¹ *Sozialismus in Österreichs Farben. Programm der Kommunistischen Partei Österreichs*, Weing, 1982, p. 36.

² *Ibid.*, p. 36.

Notes and Comments

THE FLAMES OF WAR ARE NOT DYING DOWN

THE devastating armed conflict between Iran and Iraq entered its sixth year last September. There is no encouraging sign of an end to the tragedy. We are witnessing a protracted, bloody war of attrition, one of the biggest and worst armed clashes between two countries since World War II.

More and more troops and military hardware are being drawn into the fighting. The theatre of war is expanding. Air and naval operations (such as the 'tanker war') are gradually going beyond the territories of the belligerents and spreading to their inland areas as mutual air raids on civilian objectives in cities and other communities are carried out. Modern, highly destructive weapons, including chemical ones banned by international law, have been brought into play. Their use in March 1985 alone claimed nearly 30,000 lives on both sides.

The war has caused untold suffering to the peoples of Iran and Iraq. The number of killed, wounded and crippled has topped one million. Millions more have become homeless refugees. Tens of thousands have deserted from the army and emigrated. Some 250,000 Iraqis have been deported merely because they were Iranian subjects before.

The loss of property is estimated at hundreds of billions of dollars. Numerous

economic facilities and whole economic areas have been destroyed and once-fertile lands laid waste. The fruits of the labour of several generations of Iranians and Iraqis have been lost. Production of oil and derivatives, the main source of revenue in both countries, shows a sharp drop. Yet the war is insatiable. Iraq spends 60 per cent of budget appropriations on it and Iran, over 43 per cent, according to official data for 1984. The Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic admits, however, that this figure is much bigger if account is taken of the war-imposed expenditures of various ministries and other agencies. **The foreign exchange reserves of both countries are exhausted; in Iraq they have fallen off by 95 per cent since 1980 while its foreign debts soared to 80 billion dollars.**

To keep the war going, the authorities demand more and more sacrifices of the people, making them contribute heavily to the war fund. The devices used include forced 'donations' in cash or gold articles, deductions from wages and salaries, and additional taxes. Subsidies in support of the prices of necessities have been abolished or drastically slashed; the population is hit by a high cost of living and inflation. The Iraqi dinar is only worth one dollar today, or less than one-third of the official rate. With the war still on, some three million Iranians are jobless and lack a secure livelihood. 'The absolute majority of our people, who belong to the needy class of workers, office employees and pensioners,' wrote *Jomhuri Islami*, newspaper of the Islamic Republican Party, 'are crushed by the burden of a high cost of living, inflation, dizzy leaps in the prices of necessities and rents.'²

One has only to look into the sources of the Iran-Iraq war, which is draining both sides of their manpower, material and spiritual potential, to see that it did not break out of itself or in a vacuum. The explosion came in the atmosphere of tension and war danger created in the Middle East by acts of aggression on the part of world imperialism, primarily the US imperialists and the Zionist leadership of Israel. It is they who have a stake in subverting the national liberation movement under way in the region, perpetuating the occupation of the Arab lands seized by Israel and turning the region into a US military bridgehead.

Nor was it accidental that the conflict started shortly after the February 1979 revolution in Iran, which badly shook Washington's positions there and imperilled US interests. Aiming to stamp out the Iranian revolution, the United States set about hatching plots both in and outside Iran. The biggest of them was the Iran-Iraq war, triggered just when international reaction needed it. The Baghdad reactionary dictatorship opted recklessly for a conflict in the interests of forces intent on defusing the anti-imperialist struggle in the region.

Following the establishment of Islamic rule, Iran's political, economic and military **machinery found itself in a state of disruption. In the early post-revolutionary months**, the inner political situation worsened due to the fiercely chauvinistic approach of the new regime to the legitimate national demands of the Kurdish people. Baghdad took advantage of all this to start hostilities by invading its neighbour's territory. The Iraqi regime expected that the weakening of the central authority in Iran would make it possible to win an easy victory and thus to divert its own people's attention from internal difficulties, shore up its authoritarian rule and proceed to impose its political **hegemony on other Persian Gulf countries.**

The People's Party of Iran served earnest warning from the outset that the **imperialists and their underlings would be only too happy to set the two neighbours upon each other**, to involve them in an exhausting war. To defeat this scheme, they noted, it was necessary to lean on the revolutionary progressive and patriotic forces in both countries and on friendship, cooperation and alliance with all countries and socio-political movements opposed to imperialism.

The Iraqi CP emphatically condemned the war as soon as it was unleashed. It stressed that the war was unacceptable as a means of settling international disputes

and only served the interests of imperialism, Zionism and home reaction. The Communists insisted on calling the initiators of the conflict to account, ending hostilities at once, withdrawing all troops from the Iranian territories overrun by them and negotiating a settlement. Nor did the ICP hesitate to denounce the Iranian invasion of Iraq, which came after the war had reached a turning point, and to demand that the invaders should immediately pull out of the occupied areas. **The party rejected all interference in the internal affairs of the country as injuring its national independence and sovereignty.** It firmly declared that none but the patriotic forces of the Iraqi people themselves could decide on the fate of the regime and implement a democratic alternative.

After the Iranian army had freed Khorramshahr and the area around it and forced the invading Iraqi troops to withdraw, the PPI, for its part, demanded an end to what was a bloodshed benefitting the imperialists. But the ruling quarters of the Islamic Republic interpreted this stand, motivated by a desire to defend national interests, vindicate the anti-imperialist aspirations of both peoples and prevent a further weakening of the two neighbouring countries, as national betrayal and subsequently used it as a pretext for savage attacks on the PPI. As for the PPI, it is convinced that to continue the war after the liberation of Khorramshahr (June 1982), carry hostilities into inland Iraq and reject proposals and other initiatives from various sources calling for an end to fighting and for talks,³ **is to daily aggravate the responsibility of the leadership of the Iranian theocratic regime for the inexorably rising toll of life and property that is enormous already.**

President Khamenei of the Islamic Republic has made the approach of today's top Iranian leaders to the war clear by stating: '**... For us, the war means national unity; it means stability and consolidation of the Islamic regime on the soil of Iran.**'⁴ Nor is that all. The war also means 'export of the Islamic revolution'.

The communist and workers' parties of Arab countries which met in June 1985 pointed out that the conflict between Iran and Iraq has been 'accompanied by growing signs of retrogression in the policies of both countries, ever stronger reactionary, chauvinistic, racist, religious and confessional trends, and an unprecedented escalation of repressive, despotic policies'.

In an effort to distract the people's attention from acute social and economic problems, the leaders of the Islamic Republic and Iraq take advantage, now as in the past, of external friction and conflicts, including the war between the two countries. They regard the war as a safety-valve and a dependable instrument enabling them to hold the people down.

The Iranian people fought with selfless courage when they had to expel the invaders from their native soil. But they no longer show enthusiasm; indeed, they protest against the war and condemn those who are trying to drag it out. Increasingly frequent and large anti-war demonstrations, which have assumed particularly noteworthy proportions in recent months, are evidence of widespread protest against the persisting carnage. The suffering being caused to the people opens their eyes to the man-hating nature of a regime that is hostile to all democracy, has sent many of the finest sons and daughters of Iran to prison, and tortures and kills patriots on an unprecedented scale as it tries to firmly establish despotic rule and medieval religious fanaticism.

The Iraqi people, for their part, have repeatedly and emphatically protested against the war and condemned those responsible for it. Mention may be made of evasions of military service, the anti-war demonstrations held in Iraqi Kurdistan in the spring of 1983 and 1984, and numerous other forms of struggle used by patriots and democrats.

The fanning and expansion of the Iran-Iraq war is a result of joint efforts and close collusion on the part of imperialism, Zionism and reaction. There is every reason to

call US imperialism the biggest winner. The USA does not at all relish the prospect of crisis-free development in the Middle East, such as would enable the countries situated there to cooperate among themselves on the principles of peace, good-neighbourliness and mutual benefit. Washington's policy towards the region in the recent period has been an unbroken series of attempts to assert its military presence in the strategic area near the Soviet frontier, impose a neocolonialist yoke on the peoples who have won freedom and establish control over their natural resources, primarily oil.

From this point of view, the Iran-Iraq conflict offers the United States considerable opportunities. Using it as a pretext, Washington is stepping up its military activity in the region, building new bases there and expanding those set up earlier. Contrary to international law, it has declared the Persian Gulf an area of 'vital US interests'. Under cover of allegations about a 'threat' to uninterrupted oil deliveries, Washington has included the Gulf states in the sphere of action of its so-called Central Command, pressed forward with the formation of 'rapid deployment force' and sent an armada to the Gulf area.

Keeping up military and political tensions over the Iran-Iraq conflict, imperialism is drawing countries of the region deeper and deeper into a costly arms race. Needless to say, it is least of all concerned with helping them strengthen their defences and wants above all else to harness them to its war machine and secure facilities for eventual major operations using 'rapid deployment force'.

In connection with the Iran-Iraq war, the Pentagon has worked out several scenarios of armed intervention in the Gulf. In 1983 a directive was issued to build up supplies in the area that would be enough for combat operations over a period of 60 days. Obviously, the higher passions run, the easier it is to create an excuse for armed intervention.

This is why the imperialists do not allow the flames of war to die down but fan them, especially by delivering arms to the belligerents directly or through intermediaries. But one cannot expect to receive more and more batches of arms without enjoying political support. Imperialist dealers in death only favour those who allow themselves to be made more and more dependent militarily and politically. The Iraqi regime has restored diplomatic relations with the USA, which it severed following the 1967 Israeli aggression, and is promoting close cooperation on military and 'security' matters with Turkey, a NATO member, to the point of calling in Turkish troops to conduct punitive operations against Iraq's national patriotic forces.⁵ Baghdad is reported to have signed an arms purchase contract with South Africa's racists and the Chilean military junta.⁶ As for the regime of the Islamic Republic, Iranian MP Nadi has said that it 'finds itself tied to foreign markets and made a source of enrichment for go-betweens and factory owners, who, in turn, are dependent on the Zionists'.⁷

The disastrous impact of the Iran-Iraq war is sending dangerous shock waves all over the Middle East and the world. It has introduced notable modifications into the balance of regional forces, added to serious friction and increased division among the Arab countries, which take differing stands on the belligerents. The formation of diverse axes and blocs is going on faster now, injuring Arab unity and cohesion and undermining efforts to resist the aggressive and expansionist policy of Israel, which its Washington patrons aid and support in every way. By also diverting major forces, the conflict gives the US imperialists and Israeli Zionists free rein to implement their strategic plans which imply flouting the national rights of Arab peoples, primarily the Palestinians, interfering in their affairs and blocking a comprehensive, just and lasting Middle East settlement. Characteristically, whereas Washington beats about the bush and shows hypocrisy in defining its attitude to the conflict, its closest ally in the region, Israel, does not find it necessary to conceal its satisfaction and declares outright that it wants the Iran-Iraq war to continue.

The war, which tends to make an already tense international situation still worse, may be described as a means of including the Middle East in the vast zone of instability which US imperialism is deliberately creating. This zone stretches from North Africa eastwards, passing through Lebanon, the Persian Gulf, Afghanistan and Pakistan to the seats of conflict in Southeast Asia. Our vast region has become a source of serious threat to world peace due to unending conspiracies, acts of subversion and aggression, declared and undeclared wars, behind all of which are imperialism and Zionism aided by home reaction, including Islamic Fundamentalists.

The People's Party of Iran and the Iraqi Communist Party put the blame for the continuing bloodshed, not only on imperialism and Zionism, but on the ruling quarters of both sides. Our parties demand that hostilities be ended immediately and that steps be taken to settle all disputes by peaceful means guaranteeing the legitimate rights and interests of both neighbouring peoples and ruling out all curtailment of their national independence and sovereignty, all interference in their affairs. Condemning any "export of the Islamic revolution", we Communists stress that the struggle against authoritarian regimes and for democracy and social progress in both countries is a task of their peoples themselves, of their national patriotic forces. This is the only way to break today's cruel impasse and eliminate the dangerous seat of war which imperialism, Zionism and reaction are capitalising on.

Mahmoud Azad

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Iran on the WMR

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ICP representative on the WMR

¹ *Ettela'at*, August 6, 1984.

² *Jomhuri Islami*, August 19, 1984.

³ The reference is to proposals from the UN, the non-aligned movement, the Organisation of the Islamic Conference, many countries and noted statesmen.

⁴ *Ettela'at*, July 23, 1985.

⁵ For details, see "What Lies Behind an Anti-People Conspiracy", WMR, No. 4, 1985.—Ed.

⁶ *Morning Star*, June 22, 1985.

⁷ *Kayhan*, August 14, 1984.

WHENCE THE SINISTER TREAD OF WAR

E. P. Thompson is known in the West European peace movement mainly for his claim to being its ideologist, and that is how he presents himself in his new book.¹ The bulk of it consists of speeches which, as the introduction says, "have had a sensationally bad press in the past two years on both sides", i.e., NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation.

The author lays emphasis on the "malice" of critics from inside the peace movements, who "would prefer to drive us out, even at the cost of splitting these movements", which looks like being too high a price for a Thompson. But what is at issue?

The author asserts that asking questions about why there is a nuclear threat and which way the peace fighters are to direct their protest is allegedly under an ideological taboo in the peace movements. He exclaims:

"When we attempt to extend the agenda from the symptoms of militarism to its causes, . . . we are told that such questions are 'ideological intrusions' which have 'nothing in common' with the purpose of the anti-war movement."

At first sight, Thompson's approach is not unattractive, for, after all, what he proposes is that the energy should be directed not only against the "symptoms" of militarism, i.e., the preparation of war, but also against the causes. But the unfortunate thing is that the accent here has been shifted from the accord to eradicate militarism and war to discord about where their roots in the modern civilisation lie. He refuses to accept the peace movement such as it is, with divergent views among its participants concerning the causes of the war danger. He seeks to impose his own views on the movement, so betraying his inability to reckon with its ideological pluralism.

Let us clarify at this point that awareness of the causes of the war danger is in no sense an impediment to action for peace. On the contrary, it helps to make such action more purposeful. What is at issue here is why his answers to these questions will not do.

Thompson's view of the nature of the nuclear threat have for their theoretical prop a category which he has invented and which he calls "exterminism". It naturally brings to mind the verb "to exterminate", and it has the key role to play in his interpretation of the course of modern history. He says that at some point after 1945 mankind entered upon a new, and possibly last, historical epoch, which, for that reason, requires a new category for analysis because there is now "something . . . which cannot be explained within the categories of 'imperialism' or 'international class struggle'".

But he does not entirely discard the last two concepts and allows that "imperialism and class struggle . . . may continue to dominate this historical episode or that", a reservation which does little to modify his theoretical construct, since towering over and above all "episodes" is another epochal "something", namely, "exterminism".

In spelling out the category of "exterminism", he says that the distinctive features of the "epoch" which he has proclaimed are determined by a "non-dialectical contradiction between two military blocs whose competition, at every stage, reinforces their mutual hostility and their extermination resources". Thompson's shunning of dialectics has a role to play in this case: in contrast to the dialectical contradiction, a non-dialectical one is insoluble, and keeps reproducing itself on an ever wider basis as armaments are built up and improved, up to the point at which it has swallowed up all the resources of the society or has annihilated it.

We have here a notion of the military-technological determinism of the historical process: the nuclear arsenals are said to dominate those who are in possession of them and to prescribe a suicidal mode of action. Such ideas tend to induce a mood of pessimism. Behind the category of "exterminism" lurks the idea that war is fatally inevitable. And, for that reason alone, such a "category" cannot provide a basis for the strategy of resisting the danger of war.

While claiming to spotlight the causes of the nuclear threat, Thompson effectively obscures them. The substance of his approach is to view "the contemporary opposed militarist structures as historical consequences". In other words, ignoring the causes. From the standpoint of cause and effect, he reasons, it may be true that the West has the "prior responsibility" for the nuclear threat, but "historical blame is beside the point". The essential thing, he says, is on what the further movement of these "historical consequences", taken as such, depends. And it allegedly depends on their interaction in the course of which the "rival antagonists, like wrestlers locked in each other's nuclear arms, have been growing more alike". So the category of "exterminism" echoes the false theory of the "convergence" of the two social systems, as adapted to the nuclear confrontation.

The reality on which Thompson speculates is the tendency of the military-industrial complex to keep enlarging the sphere of its influence in politics, ideology, economics and social life in the imperialist countries. His attempt to spread the tendency to socialism is a failure: there is no such complex in the socialist countries. They have none of the "very powerful material interests" which propel the spiralling of the arms race and which Thompson tries to find "in each bloc".

This ideologist likewise refuses to see that the two opposite social systems exert a very different qualitative influence on each other: while imperialism is forcing socialism to divert for the needs of defence a sizeable part of its resources from its main objectives of construction and the raising of the people's well-being—though it is incapable of having an impact on the peaceable nature of the socialist social system—the influence exerted by socialism on imperialism consists in its making it possible to keep in check the manifestations of imperialism's aggressive nature, to destroy the main device for stepping up the exploitation of the masses—the arms build-up—and ward off the nuclear threat hanging over mankind.

Thompson's ideological credo is total identification of socialism and imperialism on the problems of war and peace, from the standpoint not only of "military-industrial structures" but also of political line and ideologies, an approach which stands out in bold relief in his researches into the objectives of the peace movement.

"They are attempting to rebaptise us as an 'anti-war movement'," he complains, on the plea that the purpose for changing the name is to limit the activity of the peace fighters to a mere demand of "No!" to nuclear and other weapons. But, he insists, the movement "must concern itself not only with material disarmament but also with political and ideological disarmament". What does he mean?

Peace fighters in the West, says Thompson, have suffered a defeat in their efforts to prevent NATO from modernising, and the lesson is that the movement should formulate its priorities more precisely, since "there can be no prospect of peace until we overcome the division of Europe", meaning the postwar order in the world as determined by the members of the anti-Hitlerite coalition at Yalta and Potsdam. History has shown that their decisions were far-sighted: for more than 40 years now, these decisions, reinforced with the Helsinki accords, are factors helping to stabilise interstate relations in Europe. Thompson takes the opposite view: the postwar world order "was a betrayal of all this: of democracy, of internationalism, of personal sacrifice".

He assures his readers that he has no wish "to 'revise' the frontiers of 'Yalta' . . . but to throw these frontiers more open . . . to commence to act as if these arbitrary frontiers did not exist", since such is the "realistic way in which 'Yalta' can be superseded".

We find therefore, that the problem which is of true concern to peace fighters is replaced by an invented one: an effort is made to involve them in a crusade against the international law foundations of European peace. Is there anyone who does not know that the division of Europe into opposed military blocs was brought about by the cold war? It was started by Winston Churchill and his followers who refused to go the way of "Yalta", the way of peace and broad interstate cooperation on the continent. The split is being widened by the policy of confrontation, once again conducted in defiance of "Yalta", from Washington and some of the West European capitals.

Thompson's answer to the question "What would we discover, on the other side of 'Yalta'?" is indicative, for there he shows the truly narrow sectarian objectives in which he hopes to involve the peace fighters: he holds forth about a "greater autonomy both as individual nations and of Europe as a whole", hinting at the separation of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe from the socialist community and suggesting a "historic compromise between the hostile politics and

ideologies". The essence of this "compromise" will be seen from the following statement:

"Socialist democracy, in some sense, might be the vocabulary of change in both worlds. But it would have to be more sharply anti-statist and libertarian than anything in the dominant Communist or social democratic traditions, or in Marxist theoretical orthodoxy . . . It is not that the Second International will make it up and enter a marriage with the Third. New forces and new forms will replace them both."

This pseudo-socialist rhetoric could mean the following: in the world projected "beyond Yalta" there is no place either for the Communists or the Social Democrats, as political parties.

Thompson addresses the demand for "ideological disarmament" mainly to the socialist community, and what he says shows the latest metamorphoses of the notorious idea of some "equal responsibility" of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty for international tensions. According to Thompson, the United States and other NATO countries bear "the greatest blame" for the escalation of nuclear armaments, i.e., for the material preparation of war, while the Warsaw Treaty countries bear "the greatest blame" for the "ideological confrontation". However, the sharing out of the "blame" does not end there. Thompson stresses, indentifying socialist and imperialist ideologies: "It is ideology, even more than military-industrial pressures, which is the driving-motor of Cold War II," the current exacerbation of international tensions.

So, in their attacks on the socialist countries, the advocates of a "shared blame" concept lay emphasis on ideology, instead of armaments, claiming "ideological confrontation", or the confrontation of ideas, to be the main source of the growing international tensions, and so baldly stating or insinuating the idea that the very existence of socialism is an impediment to peace. But one should bear in mind that the socialist countries do not transfer the confrontation and struggle of ideologies to relations between states, and have not announced any "crusades" against capitalism as a social system existing in the other part of the world. On the contrary they advocate peaceful coexistence.

While Thompson seems to say that he wants to see the cold war structures eliminated, a closer look shows that he is, in fact, joining the chorus of its sponsors. The socialist countries' "ideological disarmament", he says, could help to create in them "some congruent movement of opinion", that is, one that coincides with the attacks on the policy of socialism. At this point, he latches on the "human rights" issue, which for him means encouraging attacks on the constitutional foundations of the socialist states.

Thompson believes that his task is to work out some "third" perception, "one which would bring into a single coalition the forces of peace and democracy in the First, Second and Third Worlds". The gist of that ambitious scheme is that the peace movement should not only be "independent of the blocs" and "equidistant" from them, but should also oppose the policy and ideology of socialism. Such a call is a misleading one, despite the fact that it intermingles with some common sense advice to resist the NATO countries' militarism.

The heavy tread of war, wrote the US poet Thomas McGrath, is heard from the Pentagon, where generals and bankers are dancing their war dance like ancient witch-doctors. For the title of his book Thompson borrowed the simile of the heavy dancers preparing their tribe for war, but in contrast to the poet he has failed to discover from which direction the sinister tread comes. It would be truer to say that he has refused to turn his ear in the right direction, because the purpose of his ideological exercises is to undermine the growing unity of the ranks of the peace movements.

Eugene Yorgen

¹ E. P. Thompson, *The Heavy Dancers*, Merlin Press, London, 1985, 340 pp.

surveys, information and mail

Pages of History Sixty Years of the Communist Party of India

SIXTY years have passed since the Communist Party of India (CPI), the vanguard party of the Indian working class, was founded at the All-India Conference on December 26, 1925. Since then, the party has gone through many trials, achieving unique successes and overcoming serious obstacles. With the imperialist threat of a nuclear holocaust hanging over the head of humanity, very grave responsibilities rest on India and the CPI today. Our party is fully aware of the interconnection between the struggle for world peace and the struggle for overcoming the misery and suffering of the masses of the Indian people as a result of the growing crisis of the capitalist path of development. By rallying all patriotic sections of the population in this struggle, the party is slowly but steadily increasing its mass support and influence among the people.

The impact of the Great October Revolution was widely felt in India. It was immediately welcomed by the radicals among the nationalists. The Russian revolution was hailed in the articles written by Bal Gangadhar Tilak in *Kesari* of Poona, and by Bipin Chandra Pal in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of Calcutta and in the songs sung by Subramanya Bharati in Tamil. Somewhat later, Mahatma Gandhi also spoke in praise of its achievements. The October Revolution changed the thinking of many Indian intellectuals, giving them a new confidence in the ultimate victory of the struggle against British imperialist rule and a new insight into the kind of free India they yearned for. The developments in Russia gave them strength and courage and inspired them to take up actively the organisation of workers, peasants and other oppressed masses who were steeped in ignorance and all kinds of religious superstitions. This brought about a new turn in the life of the nation.

The Communist Party of India was born at a particular stage of the liberation movement. It was the section of revolutionary youth strongly attracted to the ideals of the October Revolution that took the initiative to form the party. At first, only small Communist groups appeared in India and abroad; they were subjected to fierce repression by the British imperialists (in three anti-communist "conspiracy" trials, over 60 young revolutionaries were sentenced to long prison terms by the colonial authorities), but survived to gradually form a unified party.

The first 25 years of the CPI were mostly spent underground. Communist journals of that period played an important role at that time. Propagating the ideas of

Marxism-Leninism, discussing questions of the national liberation struggle and helping workers and peasants to set up revolutionary class organisations, the Communist press filled a great chapter in the history of Indian journalism. Newspapers such as *The Socialist*, which came out from Bombay in 1923-1924, the *Labour Union Gazette* of Madras in 1925, the *Ganavani* (Voice of the People) and *Langal* (the Plough), published in Calcutta in 1925-1928, the *Kirti* (Worker) which came out in Punjabi in 1928 and the *Kranti* (Revolution) which came out in Bombay that same year, all deserve to be mentioned in this context.

No historian can deny the role played by the CPI, together with other national revolutionaries, in transforming the freedom struggle into a full-fledged anti-imperialist struggle. At a time when the nationalist leaders were only asking for Swaraj (home rule), it was the Communist Party of India which declared that nothing short of complete independence could be the aim of the struggle.

The CPI, together with the left nationalists, fought relentlessly and uncompromisingly for deepening and broadening the anti-imperialist struggle. It was the greatest contribution of the party to the freedom struggle of that period. While building up workers' and peasants' parties in the late 1920s, joining hands with the Congress Socialist Party in 1934 and, later, working in close cooperation with Jawaharlal Nehru and others of the Congress Left, this was the aim the party kept before itself. The Communist Party strove hard to rally the masses of workers and peasants in the anti-imperialist freedom struggle, rousing class consciousness and explaining to them the objective of complete economic and political independence. The All-India Trade Union Congress stood in the forefront of the struggle, leading and organising workers in their battles to raise their living standard. The peasants' struggle was led by the All-India Kisan Sabha. The Communists were in the leadership of both these organisations. The emergence of strong revolutionary trade unions in big industrial centres like Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and Cawnpore and the long drawn out strikes which they led deserve special mention.

Big peasant struggles were fought in many states; the main aims were lower rent, fixed tenure and an end to feudal oppression by the landlords. The no-rent struggle of the peasantry of North Kerala during 1936-1941 and the Tebhaga¹ struggle of Bengal fought during 1940-1947 (involving over 1.2 million and about five million peasants respectively) inspired peasants throughout the nation. These figures are a graphic indication of the sweep of the national liberation movement in those days.

The CPI played an active role in organising the students, youth and intellectuals in the struggle for a new system of education and for cultural advancement. The activities of the Progressive Writers' organisation and People's Theatre movement in several states, in both of which Communists played key roles, brought innumerable young artists and writers into the forefront of the movement for a new national front. Many of them were drawn into the anti-imperialist struggle. By the time the Second World War broke out, this struggle had risen very high in India and become a mighty force in the life of the people.

During the Second World War, integrating its national and international tasks, the Communist Party of India rallied the Indian people behind the Soviet Union's heroic struggle against fascism and organised a nation-wide movement of Indo-Soviet friendship. Towards the end of the war, following the Quit India² struggle, a big mass upsurge began to develop throughout the country. The CPI played a big role in this upsurge, which continued in the first postwar years, and even the army and the police of the British colonial rulers were not exempt from it. The country was on the verge of a mass revolt and, on August 15, 1947, India's independence was declared.

In this period our party played a truly heroic part in the drive to forge national unity, defeat the manoeuvres of imperialism and foil the attempts of the feudal rulers in the then princely states of India to cling to their power with British support. Forced

to leave the country, the colonialists were plotting to divide India into many "independent" states ruled by their princely puppets. In particular, the rulers of the two former states of Travancore and Hyderabad and their reactionary supporters had drawn up plans to proclaim "independence", putting into effect the imperialists' schemes. The Punnapra-Vayalar uprising in Travancore and the Telengana armed uprising in Hyderabad were both national struggles which were fought in this context to defeat the imperialist-feudal conspiracy, and both were led by the Communist Party of India under the key slogans of defence of India's unity and implementation of anti-feudal agrarian reforms. Though they were suppressed, both Travancore and Hyderabad were incorporated into India; to that extent, the threat to national unity was averted. The CPI is proud of its role in this national task.

Since the attainment of independence, the Communists have been fighting, together with other patriotic forces, for the interests of working people, for a stable democratic system, for a strong and independent economy and for higher living standards of the masses. The party has been a firm advocate of a policy of peace, anti-imperialism and friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, of active support for the national liberation movement. It has consistently upheld India's policy of non-alignment and acted vigorously inside and outside Parliament to raise the nation's voice for disarmament and against the imperialist policy of escalating the threat of nuclear war. In this context, the CPI has consistently drawn the attention of our people to the danger posed by the US rearming of Pakistan and by the US military activities in the Indian Ocean. The numerous actions launched by our party to ensure an independent foreign policy of peace and non-alignment and to build up a strong, self-reliant economy have undoubtedly yielded results.

Internally, the capitalist path of development followed by the ruling class has led to increasing hardship for the people and blocked the country's progress in several spheres. Hence the party's relentless efforts to rally the masses for the rejection of this course and for the adoption of a non-capitalist path of development leading to the fulfilment of the national democratic revolution. We are fully conscious of the fact that this task can be achieved only step by step and in stages and needs continuous ideological, political and economic struggle to win over the masses.

The party is only too conscious of the dangers posed by the conspiracies of the imperialist powers, primarily US imperialism, to the unity and integrity of India. The CPI also holds that to permit the big transnational corporations to penetrate India's economy and to allow the free-market play of foreign private capital in the country's development, even in the name of seeking advanced technology, is fraught with dangerous consequences. We place a strong emphasis on a policy of independent development and national progress, of strengthening and expanding the public sector, of resisting all forms of neocolonial exploitation and dictates. The reactionary rightist forces inside the country are trying to exploit the people's discontent born out of the sufferings imposed on them by the crisis-ridden capitalist path of development and seeking to divide them and make them fight against each other. Caste, communal and other differences are fanned and exploited skilfully for this purpose. Against this background, the party is fighting to build up the unity of left and democratic forces and to save the people and the economy from the effects of the crisis. As always, the Communists see it as their most important task to stand in the forefront of the mass struggle for the most urgent demands of the working class and the entire people.

From its very inception, the CPI has been loyal to the ideals of the international communist movement and has maintained close and friendly relations with the CPSU and other fraternal parties all over the world. Our party has remained ever faithful to the principles of proletarian internationalism and ideologically fought against anti-Leninist and other harmful trends, such as Maoism, against all kinds of disruption.

Our party has extended whatever help and support it can to the working class and national liberation movements in all parts of the globe. Today the CPI is vigorously rallying the Indian people in the supreme task of defending world peace and opposing the US imperialist plans to step up the nuclear arms race through the so-called Star Wars programme.

While we are naturally proud of our party's many achievements in the 60 years of its service to the working class and people of India, we do not overlook the setbacks we have suffered and the mistakes we have sometimes committed. These mistakes have been corrected, and our party has been able to go forward in the fulfilment of its tasks with confidence, enriched by its experience and inspired by the great teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Celebrating the 60th anniversary of its founding, the Communist Party of India rededicates itself to serve the masses of our people, leading their struggles for a better life and a better future, for peace and socialism.

N. E. Balaram

Secretary, National Council,
Communist Party of India

¹ Tebhaga: the struggle for reduction of rent to one-third of the produce.—Ed.

² The "Quit India" struggle was initiated by the Indian National Congress in 1942.—Ed.

A Peace Initiative The Soviet Programme: A Novel Approach

The major peace proposals of the Soviet Union, put forward by Mikhail Gorbachov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, during his visit to France in early October 1985, immediately attracted world public attention. Subsequent weeks have confirmed their tremendous appeal. All those truly concerned about peace regard them as offering a very real opportunity of bringing about a radical shift of today's complicated situation from confrontation to detente, a shift aimed at ending the nuclear arms race.

We have asked **Oleg Kharkhardin**, first deputy chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee, to comment on this realistic thrust of the new Soviet proposals.

The postwar record proves that there have been periods when radical steps to ensure universal peace became possible. But if the chance was forfeited, it was very difficult to make up. Today, the massive numbers and the destructive power of the existing nuclear weapons pose a threat to mankind's very survival. It is therefore time to decisively check the dangerous accumulation of these deadly weapons, begin a reduction of their stockpiles and prevent implementation of the US plans for militarising outer space and thus launching a new round of the arms race. That is the main thrust of the Soviet initiatives.

These proposals can be summed up as follows:

First, that the USSR and the United States negotiate a complete bilateral ban on attack space weapons and a truly radical 50-per cent reduction of the nuclear weapons

capable of reaching each other's territory.

Second, that the USSR and the United States conclude a relevant agreement on medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe separately, without linking it directly with the problem of space and strategic armaments, and that the Soviet Union begin a direct dialogue with France and Britain on the place of their nuclear capability in the European balance.

Third, the USSR had demonstrated its goodwill: by October 1985 it had unilaterally reduced the number of its SS-20 medium-range missiles in its European zone to 243—precisely the level of June 1984, when we began to deploy additional missiles to counter the stationing of US medium-range missiles in Europe. The SS-20 missiles that were deployed were taken off the combat-ready status, and their stationary launchers were dismantled in October and November (the term "European zone" denotes the area from which the missiles are capable of striking targets in Western Europe). Besides, the old and very powerful Soviet SS-5 missiles have been completely phased out, and the SS-4 missiles are in the process of being decommissioned. As a result, the total number of medium-range carrier missiles in the European zone of the Soviet Union is now much smaller than ten or even fifteen years ago.

In combination with previous Soviet steps (the unilateral moratoriums on the development of medium-range missiles in Europe and on all types of nuclear explosions being the most recent), the new proposals are a package of constructive and realistic steps aimed at bringing a genuine breakthrough in favour of peace, security and international cooperation. Mikhail Gorbachov called them our programme for improving the explosive international situation that threatens peace.¹ The meeting of the Warsaw Treaty countries' Political Consultative Committee held in Sofia in October 1985 set great store by the unilateral steps taken by the Soviet Union to prove its goodwill. In the Declaration adopted at the meeting these countries stress that elimination of the nuclear war threat, a lower level of military confrontation and development of international relations in the spirit of peaceful coexistence and the detente have been and remain their principal goal.²

One can easily see that the Soviet initiatives are timely moves designed to be of practical assistance in the solution of the highly important tasks set in January 1985 before the Soviet-US talks in Geneva—not only of stopping the arms race but also of drastically reducing the level of armaments and, simultaneously, preventing militarisation of outer space.

Progressive public opinion has justly noted that the new Soviet proposals are consonant with everyone's interests and do not at all infringe on anyone's security. I would like to single out two key aspects. First, the proposal on preventing the arms race from spreading to outer space. This is an issue of paramount importance; its solution demands that the United States abandon implementation of its Star Wars programme. Otherwise, a point of no return could be reached beyond which uncontrollable processes may begin. To think that space weapons can give one any advantages in international affairs is an extremely dangerous illusion.

Second, West European countries have been invited to conduct a direct dialogue with the USSR. The proposal excludes the issue of the British and French nuclear capabilities from the agenda of the talks with the United States and is accompanied by a unilateral reduction in the number of Soviet medium-range missiles. This approach to the problem imparts a powerful impetus to the assertion of the West Europeans' identity and enables them to join the arms limitation process.

Notably, official quarters in the United States and other NATO countries also admit—verbally—the significance of the Soviet proposals. At the same time, Washington claims, for example, that Moscow has put them forward to build up its already substantial superiority over the United States in strategic first-strike

weapons. But the Soviet Union has long pledged not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, so this rules out the possibility of a first strike. Moreover, in accordance with the Soviet-proposed pattern of reductions in nuclear weapons capable of reaching each other's territory, our country would even agree to a US *superiority* in the number of the delivery vehicles: as a result, the two sides would have 1,250 and 1,680 such vehicles respectively. Besides, the objective is for the USSR and the United States to have 6,000 nuclear warheads each after a 50 per cent cut in the total number of carriers. This would ensure approximate strategic parity and strengthen stability:

It is also alleged that the new Soviet initiatives are designed to "drive a wedge" between Western Europe and the United States. But the Soviet Union is improving its relations with West European countries without trying to provoke any quarrel between them and anyone else. First, we do not pursue a policy of setting one country against another; we want to have good relations not only with Western Europe but also with the United States, and with other countries. Second, we take a realistic view of things and are aware what firm ties—historical, political and economic—link the United States and Western Europe.

The Soviet proposals are designed to preserve parity of forces in the European region too, to ensure equality and equal security for all. It is the United States which is working to upset this parity by its continued deployment of Pershing II and Cruise missiles in the Old World. The Soviet position is to retain, in its European zone, as many missiles as the NATO countries possess (in terms of warheads), and *not a single* missile more.

Broad considerations of European and world security have prompted the Soviet Union to impose considerable restrictions upon itself. Our country has thus set before the United States and other imperialist powers an example of a profound and innovative reappraisal of many traditional concepts and attitudes with regard to issues of international politics, inviting these nations to follow suit. A cardinal reshaping of the international situation is impossible without such a reappraisal, without adjusting one's thinking to the rapidly changing realities of our world. True, overcoming the mutual suspicion, prejudice and mistrust that have accumulated over the decades is a long-term and arduous effort, but some starting point simply has to be found. There is no other way, if we want to survive.

Bold and novel in approach and scope, the Soviet proposals have essentially created a new situation in the field of international affairs. These proposals are within the mainstream of the demands raised by people dedicated to peace. Political parties, parliaments, statesmen, civic leaders and all anti-war organisations and movements working to end the arms race and attain disarmament have now acquired specific arguments they can use to demand that the United States respond constructively to the Soviet moves, and not let slip the historic chance to erect an insurmountable obstacle to war. These demands were articulated in the course of the action for peace that swept across the world this autumn, proved that the peace struggle was clearly on the rise and that peace champions were now aware of their responsibility for the future of man.

Soviet champions of peace will continue to contribute increasingly to the noble cause of averting the war threat and strengthening universal security. They fully support the peace initiatives advanced by our party and government. The Soviet people's attitude to an end of the arms race and to disarmament is that they are not a castle in the air, not a utopia but an objective that can in fact be reached. We are convinced that common sense will, in the final analysis, block the path of those who are pushing mankind to the brink of the abyss.

¹ *Pravda*, October 4, 1985.

² *Pravda*, October 24, 1985.

The Socialist Way of Life When Administration is the Right of Every Citizen

"Under socialism," Lenin wrote shortly before the October Revolution, "for the first time in the history of civilised society, the *mass* of the population will rise to taking an *independent* part, not only in voting and elections, *but also in the everyday administration of the state.*"¹ Our survey shows how this prevision is coming true where socialism has become or is becoming a reality.

Many forms of public activity by the people have been developed by the practice of building socialism in various countries. The most significant of these is participation in election campaigns and the discussion of state draft laws and decisions. A paramount question here is: What is the extent of this participation?

In the Soviet Union 50.8 per cent of the electorate took part in the elections of local organs of authority in 1926, in 1934 the percentage rose to 85, and since 1939 the turnout has consistently exceeded 99 per cent. During the latest elections to the supreme bodies of power the proportion of the electorate that went to the polls was 99.5 per cent in Czechoslovakia (1981), 99.2 per cent in the GDR (1982), and 93.9 per cent in Hungary (1985). Over 99 per cent of the electorate voted in all the ten elections to the People's Great Khural of Mongolia. Many more examples can be cited.

Let us now glance at some statistics on referendums and public discussions of drafts of key acts of legislation in the socialist world. In Cuba the referendum on the Constitution in 1976 drew the participation of 98 per cent of the people eligible to vote (i.e., persons over the age of 16). The Constitutions of Bulgaria and the GDR were adopted as a result of referendums in which practically the entire adult population took part. The public discussion of the draft Fundamental Law (Constitution) of the USSR in 1977 was noteworthy not only because it involved over 140 million persons (or over 80 per cent of the adult population) but also because the resultant suggestions led the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to introduce amendments that affected 118 of the 173 articles, and add a new article to the initial draft. More than 140,000 suggestions and recommendations were introduced during the public discussion of Bulgaria's new Labour Code (1983) in which more than a million people participated.

Statistics indicate that the *mass* of the population does indeed take part in elections and in discussions. Unable to refute the fact, socialism's critics try to cast doubt on the independent and voluntary character of this participation, to prove that there is some sort of "subordination" of people to the will of the ruling communist parties. However, the only explanation of this high level of public activity during political campaigns is that the policy of the party and the socialist state is endorsed and supported by the entire people. The unity displayed by the people in these campaigns is based on their full confidence in the ruling party, on their sense of commitment, and on the harmony between the interests of society, the collective, and the individual.

This high level of public political activity does not signify, of course, that all of the majority of the able-bodied citizens of socialist countries are directly involved in the day-to-day administration of affairs of state and that the extent and efficacy of this participation are entirely consistent with the tasks facing socialist society. The development and deepening of genuinely mass participation in day-to-day

administration are a long and complex process and this was noted on many occasions by Lenin. Nevertheless, the present scale on which the working people are involved in day-to-day and direct administrative processes, the multiformity of this involvement and, above all, its results permit speaking of its steady widening, of its being one of the key hallmarks of the socialist way of life.

The following statistics give an idea of such activity in the GDR today. Nearly 203,000 citizens of the republic are deputies to local organs of authority, and more than 458,000 others are members of the commissions of these organs or cooperate with them. More than a million citizens are working voluntarily in the committees of the National Front, which unites political parties and public organisations, in organs of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate, in comradesly courts, commissions monitoring the work of distributive outlets and public catering establishments, and in parents' committees and activist bodies helping schools. These are impressive statistics for a country with a population of nearly 17 million people.²

As regards the social composition of the people enlisted into administration, under socialism there are no groups or strata of the population that are denied this right. Let us consider, for example, the composition of Hungary's supreme organ of power, the State Assembly, elected in June 1985. Of its 386 deputies 149 are factory workers or peasants, 58 are white-collar workers, and 179 are intellectuals. There are 81 women, and 20 deputies are under 30. Of the total number, 244 deputies were elected for the first time. Take another example, illustrating the social structure of local organs of authority—the national committee in Czechoslovakia. Of the almost 200,000 deputies of these committees 42.9 per cent are factory workers, 17 per cent are peasants, 22.5 per cent are intellectuals, and 17.6 per cent come from other strata of the population. Women comprise 30.9 per cent of the deputies, and people under age 35 make up 38.1 per cent.

This large proportion of workers among the deputies in organs of people's authority is a feature of all socialist countries. In the GDR workers make up half of the deputies in the local people's representative bodies, and in the USSR their number in the local Soviets doubled in the period from 1961 to 1982. There is a relatively high proportion of workers' deputies also in countries with a young working class: over 20 per cent in the National Assembly of Vietnam, and 22.5 per cent in the municipal councils of Cuba.

Representative organs of administration do not spell out "formal democracy", as is alleged by critics of socialism, who go on making the allegation that all administration functions and decision-making in a socialist state are the prerogative of the ruling party. They signify functioning democracy, as may be seen in the work of the deputies of the local Soviets in the USSR.

In 1984 the Soviets considered an aggregate of over 900,000 questions, of which nearly one-third related to the fulfilment of social and economic development plans. More than 2,000,000 deputies, or 97.8 per cent, reported twice to their constituencies. Of the almost 750,000 mandates from the electorate nearly 693,000, or over 92 per cent, were carried out. Fulfilment of mandates was considered regularly at sessions of the Soviets and at sittings of their executive committees and standing commissions. Over 500,000 meetings of working people were held to discuss the reports of executive bodies. These meetings were attended by 77 million persons. Standing commissions prepared or helped to prepare 70 per cent of the items on the agenda of the sessions.

The following gives an idea of the content and efficacy of the working of public inspection bodies in the USSR, which are yet another important form of administrative activity by the people. During the past few years every second check by public inspectors was related to the fulfilment of production plans and contractual commitments, and also to the organisation of labour. Over 7,500 officials were

dismissed from their jobs last year and during the initial months of the current year for mismanagement, wastefulness, and abuse of office.

Public inspection is used as an effective form of the people's participation in the affairs of the state also in other socialist countries. This work is conducted by 330,000 people in Bulgaria, by over 38,000 in Mongolia, and by more than 35,000 in Hungary. Nearly 18,000 public inspectors, of whom 48 per cent are factory workers, are members of the recently formed Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate in Poland.

Special mention must be made of the work of public organisations, chiefly of the trade unions, which in socialist countries unite between 90 and 98 per cent of the working people. The trade unions have and make wide use of extensive rights to influence legislative and current administration. For instance, during the sixth five-year plan period (1976-1980) the Central Council of Mongolian Trade Unions took part in drawing up 150 legislative acts related to improving working conditions and protecting the interests of working people. In the GDR the suggestions and recommendations offered by trade unions during the discussions of economic development and production plans are in most cases incorporated in the final variant of these plans. In the GDR the trade unions have their own faction in the People's Chamber. The role played by it is demonstrated by the fact that it was the trade unions that submitted the Code of Labour Laws to the People's Chamber in 1977 after it was discussed by millions of citizens. This resulted in the enactment of a law drawn up not only in the interests of working people but also with their direct participation.

The following illustrates the managerial work of the Bulgarian trade unions. In 1984, in conjunction with labour protection commissions, they conducted some 156,000 checks, which resulted in 74,500 recommendations of which 67,200 were put into effect. During that same year the nation's trade unions cut short or annulled over a thousand management decisions, helped to settle nearly 36,000 labour disputes, and took part in adopting decisions on 53,000 signals, complaints, and suggestions received by trade union organisations from the working people.

The trade unions are usually the main organising element of democratic institutions in production such as personnel meetings, production conferences, economic councils, and so on ensuring the direct participation of the people in management. They participate in practically every management decision related to the interests of the personnel, whether these are planning, material incentives, wages, or matters concerning everyday life.

In some socialist countries workers' self-management bodies have the authority to adopt legally binding acts that are mandatory for fulfilment by the management. In Bulgaria, for instance, this right is exercised by the general meeting of workers (meeting of authorised representatives) and the collective management body—the economic council. Under Article 21 of the USSR Law on Labour Collectives, a decision passed by a meeting (conference) of the personnel of a factory, office, or organisation in accordance with its powers and with operating legislation is mandatory for the collective's rank-and-file members and for the management.

The following gives an idea of the extent working people take part in managing production under socialism. Analysts have found that in Czechoslovakia almost one-third of the entire workforce is engaged in some form of public activity at the place of work. In Poland 130,000 persons are members of the basic units of workers' self-management, the workers' councils, that have been set up at 87 per cent of the nation's industrial facilities. In the USSR a paramount form of production democracy—standing factory and department production conferences—embrace 6,500,000 people of whom two-thirds are factory workers. A survey conducted by trade unions in the Soviet Union shows that of every 100 employees 64 are members of some management body at the workplace.

Let us re-emphasise that in the socialist world the managerial functions of working people at the workplace are not confined to purely production matters. In addition, they cover decisions on the distribution of funds and allocations for socio-cultural requirements, housing construction, and so forth.

The exercise in fact by each citizen of the right to participate in administration and to be the actual master of the facility he is working at and of his country is socialism's compelling reply to those who cast doubt on human rights and freedoms under the new system.

**Working Group of the WMR Commission on Scientific
Information and Documentation**

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, pp. 487-488.

² For more information see in this issue Egon Krenz, "Socialist Statehood and Social Processes".

Diary

At the invitation of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea a *WMR* delegation attended the Fifth Congress of the PRPK (October 13 to 16, 1985).

* * *

Romesh Chandra, President of the World Peace Council, has visited the *WMR* office. At a meeting with the journal's leading staff members he spoke about the urgent tasks of the peace movement in the struggle against the nuclear threat, for disarmament and detente.

* * *

Books comprising collections of *World Marxist Review* features and produced by Peace and Socialism International Publishers were displayed at the 37th International Publishers were displayed at the 37th International Book Fair, held in Frankfurt on the Main in October 1985.

the book scene

The Road to the Goal

Erich Honecker, *Arbeitermacht zum Wohle des Volkes*. (Working Class Power for the Good of the People), Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1984, 406 pp.

THIS selection of speeches and articles by Erich Honecker, CC General Secretary, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Chairman, State Council of the German Democratic Republic, may be described as an action programme of the party and a progress report on it. The material included in the book dates from the 1971-1984 period, when the Socialist German state scored big achievements. It reflected the results and experience gained by the GDR, as well as Erich Honecker's fruitful theoretical work on the strategy which the Eighth SUPG Congress (1971) approved, thereby opening a new stage in the history of the republic, the stage of building a developed socialist society.

Social development in those years showed that the republic was making a substantial contribution to peace and that the construction of developed socialism is a historical process of deep-going political, economic, social and cultural changes. The collection both illustrates the effort of the party and the working class state to ensure the people's well-being and indicates, in terms of both theory and practice, concrete ways of attaining this goal.

The dominant theme of the book is that there is no problem more acute today than that of safeguarding world peace. Our party and government see this task of vital importance to humanity as the centrepiece of their activity. In the foreign policy sphere, the GDR consistently advocates, in common with the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries, disarmament on the principles of equality, equal security, a return to detente, peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, and international cooperation. The author, stressing that there is no reasonable alternative to peaceful coexistence or political dialogue, points out the special responsibility of the GDR in this connection. "As soon as it was founded, the GDR as a first socialist state on German soil pledged to do all in its power to ensure that no war started from German territory ever again. This unshakable principle determines its active socialist peace policy on the extremely sensitive dividing line between the two most powerful military coalitions in history" (p. 393).

The author defines as an imperative of our times the need for cooperation among all the political and social forces striving sincerely for peace, irrespective of distinctions between political programmes, ideological positions or religious convictions, irrespective of class barriers or whatever else divides them, in the name

of saving the peoples from the catastrophe of nuclear war (see p. 385). This strategic goal is expressed in the idea of forming a world "coalition of reason".

The general line of the SUPG, formulated by the Eighth Party Congress provides for the unity of economic and social policy, an inseparable interconnection of economic, scientific, technological and social progress with a view to attaining a still higher standard of living for the people; it runs through the SUPG Programme, the decisions of the Ninth and Tenth Congresses and all CC plenums. This long-term concept rests on the solid foundations of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of socialism and is in keeping with the fundamental law of the new society, intended to meet the people's material and cultural requirements more and more fully.

The political power of the working class is of exceptional importance for the people's destiny. It is what "our friends set great store by and what our opponents all over the world are hostile to. This is precisely why we will cherish the power and leading position of the working class as the apple of our eye and accentuate them more and more as we continue building socialist society" (p. 24).

The collection furnishes evidence of the might and inexhaustible creative potential of our working class and the SUPG, a party of revolutionary action, the leading force of socialist society and its state. It calls attention to the intimate connection between the class character of the state and its fundamental objectives: the struggle for peace and the people's increasing well-being, the consolidation of the alliance with the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries, and the promotion of anti-imperialist solidarity and friendship among peoples.

The formation and development of the GDR were made possible by the fact that the party proved equal to its role as militant vanguard of the working class. It evolved a comprehensive policy of alliances that contributed new ample experience to the theory and practice of the socialist revolution. In the article "On the Right Path" dedicated to the 30th anniversary of the foundation of the SUPG, we read: "The unity of the working class has served as a solid basis for a broad alliance with other classes and social strata, with the peasants, intellectuals, urban middle strata, and even sections of the petty and middle bourgeoisie. Lenin's doctrine of the hegemony of the proletariat in the democratic revolution was put into practice in our specific conditions through a bloc with anti-fascist democratic parties. This policy alliances of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany had nothing to do with either the Social Democrats' coalition policy, or political 'pluralism' of the bourgeois variety. At its basis lay Lenin's conclusion that the revolutionary party of the working class needs a policy of alliance to establish socialism for all time and to consolidate it" (p. 152).

The collection is an illustration of the considerable theoretical work which the General Secretary of the SUPG CC has been carrying on to help solve key problems of socialist state power, perfect the forms of socialist democracy, and foster confidence between the party and the people. "What we wanted and achieved was to draw all the working people into the discussion and decision of all fundamental questions relating to social development, to bring directly . . . into the guidance of the state, the economy, education and culture" (p. 296).

These principles underlie relations between the SUPG and the trade unions, particularly in regard to promoting the socialist emulation movement, the Free German Youth League, and other mass organisations. It is together with the working people that the party discusses and solves all the key problems of maintaining unity between economic and social policy. The book shows the great opportunities of strengthening the socialist political and social system which the working people's numerous valuable initiatives and constructive proposals and their keen sense of civic responsibility provide.

Like the Party Programme, the laws of the republic enacted after the Eighth Party Congress were truly written by the people. Millions of citizens belonging to diverse

classes and social strata took part in their discussion, making comments and proposals. This means realising Marx's profoundly humanist idea that it is not man who exists for the law but vice versa.

Erich Honecker's insistence on constantly "doing all that is necessary for the people to really and effectively exercise at all times the power vested in them" (p. 299), and the consistency with which he as a party leader, a member of the People's Chamber and Chairman of the State Council of the GDR, comes out against every manifestation of callousness, narrow-mindedness, red tape and formalism in work among the population are a yardstick of the activity of members of people's representative bodies. The everyday experience of millions of people in the GDR shows that, by contrast with imperialist states, power and democracy in our republic are inseparable.

The author points out that it is not enough to take power, for it is also necessary to constantly strengthen and defend it. All citizens must defend their country, since this means in the final analysis defending their freedom and peaceful labour from all encroachments by imperialist forces of aggression and safeguarding the independence and territorial integrity of their socialist country.

The collection deals in detail with the party's theoretical and practical work in shaping and implementing the economic policy of the republic in the period of building a developed socialist society. In line with Lenin's thesis that "in the last analysis, productivity of labour is the most important, the principle thing for the victory of the new social system",¹ the author focuses attention on methods which in today's conditions can help bring about the requisite increase in labour productivity. "We must now quicken the pace of intensification and achieve results of national economic significance faster than before. Qualitative factors are decisive for growth. Our economic policy is aimed at increasing the national income, in particular by saving more materials and making more effective use of working time and production capacities" (pp. 265-266).

The party line is reflected in the ten-point economic strategy for the eighties which Erich Honecker submitted to the Tenth Party Congress and which creatively applies the Marxist-Leninist theory of reproduction. Taking a "new step towards combining the advantages of socialism with the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution" (p. 334) is now seen as a top priority.

This task is particularly important at the new stage which the country is entering in implementing its economic strategy. It consists in making production intensification as widespread as possible and, furthermore, maintaining it. This calls for a qualitatively new development of the creative forces of the working class and other working people. Personal commitment is now gaining in importance and so is the responsibility of every work collective and every worker. The working people's political consciousness, discipline and attitude to socialist property, as well as sound political knowledge and professional competence are decisive for further progress (see p. 372).

The book presents the impressive achievements of party policy in culture and education. It shows how deeply the party trusts and how it takes care of writers and artists, most of whom have become conscious associates of the working class and contribute notably to the construction of socialist society. This trust is coupled with high demands as regards the standards of literary productions and works of art, of ideological efficiency in cultural work.

The confident progress and clear prospects of the GDR, the author stresses, would have been unthinkable without inseparable ties with Lenin's country, the Soviet Union. The idea which Erich Honecker expressed at the Eighth Congress, saying that the alliance with the Soviet Union and firm membership of the socialist community are the main prerequisites for realising the vital interests of the workers

and other citizens of the GDR, is the quintessence of theoretical and practical assessment of the experience of the socialist revolution, as well as a clear strategic guideline for the subsequent development of the republic. The fraternal alliance between the SUPG and the CPSU and friendship between our states and peoples are growing stronger from year to year. We have begun the joint solution of historically urgent problems of building and perfecting developed socialism and preserving peace. With the signing of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the GDR and the USSR (October 7, 1975), which will carry over into the next century, relations between our two countries rose to a higher plane in every sphere.

Describing the Great October Socialist Revolution as the beginning of a new era, the era of the "world-wide transition from capitalism to socialism" (p. 377), and speaking highly of its international significance, the author shows the class connection between this event—the chief landmark of our century—the victory of the Soviet Union over Hitler fascism, and the founding and successful development of the GDR.

The book gives conclusive answers to many key questions of today and allows a deeper insight into the home and foreign policy of the German Democratic Republic today, when it is building a developed socialist society.

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¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 427.

The Shadow of a Greedy Neighbour

Cheddi Jagan, *The Caribbean—Whose Backyard?*, 1985, 374 pp.

The book under review, whose author is General Secretary of the People's Progressive Party of Guyana, has been published at an important juncture in the life and struggles of the peoples of the Latin American continent, particularly Central America and the Caribbean. Its principle merit is that it not only depicts in detail the situation in the region and the difficulties encountered by the population but exposes those responsible for them.

After a brief historical survey of the activity of the colonial powers which dominated this part of the globe for centuries, the author concentrates on laying bare the imperialist policy of the United States, the main force of world neo-colonialism. He shows that after the defeat of Spain at the close of the last century, the USA took on the role of Latin America's policeman. Invariably disregarding the needs and aspirations of the peoples of the region, the USA views it as a source of raw materials and cheap labour to be exploited at will. Its attitudes to Latin America is exemplified by the fact that it has repeatedly and arrogantly described the region as its "backyard". The powerful and greedy northern neighbour rules out the very idea that

other peoples have a right to manage their affairs as they see fit and has often resorted to outright military intervention.

This was also the case when, two years ago, the United States moved its troops into tiny Grenada. The book testifies that the invasion was planned long before October 1983. **The actual reason for the bandit-like action flouting elementary standards of international law had nothing to do with the aggressor's false excuse to the effect that it was needed to safeguard the security of US citizens on the island (although nobody was threatening them).** The point is that "Grenada was posing an alternative socio-economic-political system, which was based not on dependent, distorted capitalism but on grassroots democracy, anti-imperialism and socialist orientation" (pp. 325-326).

Grenada was not the last target of US imperialism. For several years the White House has been waging an undeclared war against Nicaragua. As well as arming Somocist cutthroats, infiltrating them into a sovereign state and violating Nicaragua's air space and frontiers, the USA has concentrated thousands of its troops in neighbouring Honduras and constantly threatens to mount a large-scale invasion. Its objective is to overthrow the Sandinist revolutionary government and replace it by a willing tool of the US transnational corporations (like Somoza).

Washington makes no secret of its intentions. On February 21, 1985, President Reagan, speaking to a group of editors, admitted that his policy in Central America was "to remove the present structure of the Sandinist government".¹ He made this statement despite the fact that his administration maintains diplomatic relations with Nicaragua.

The US military also interfere directly in the affairs of El Salvador. In an effort to crush the liberation movement there, it gives air cover to punitive operations carried out by the puppet regime against patriots and uses Honduran troops as mercenaries.

The hostile reaction of the White House to the peace proposals of the Nicaraguan government and the US effort to frustrate the initiatives of the Contadora Group make it only too obvious that the Reagan administration wants no peaceful, democratic settlement in Central America. Why? For the simple reason, the author points out, that Washington regards Latin America and the Caribbean as its private domain. Direct private investments by US capitalists in the region in 1979 amounted to 82 per cent of all US investments in developing countries (see p. 173). The northern neighbour's monopolies control 40 per cent of industrial production in the region, including 90 per cent of chemical products and 80 per cent of the output of metal-working and mechanical engineering plants (see p. 241).

Speaking of the Caribbean, Cheddi Jagan stresses that this region is of strategic importance to the Pentagon. It supplies the USA with oil, bauxite, nickel, sugar, coconuts, bananas, coffee, spices and tropical wood.

The book mentions the burning issue of the "debt crisis". It draws on an abundance of facts and figures to demonstrate that the heavy financial burden of Latin American countries is a result of plunder by the transnational corporations and banks, mainly of US origin. Operating through its financial arms, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, imperialism forces developing countries to create favourable conditions for foreign capitalist investments, including tax holidays, duty-free concessions, cheap prices for land and anti-labour measures discouraging the growth of strong, democratically-run trade unions, e.g., anti-strike laws. "Developmental" measures imposed by foreign capital make for greater poverty and unemployment and tighten the noose of foreign debts.

Considerable space is given to the most pressing problem of today, the struggle to preserve peace. The author writes that were the arms race ended, enormous funds would be released for the solution of urgent global problems in the interest of all mankind. He stresses that one Trident nuclear submarine costs as much as the

construction of 416 schools or the education of 16 million children for over a period of one year (see p. 319).

There is a dialectical link between the struggle for world peace and the movement for social progress, Cheddi Jagan notes. Detente is a requisite for social progress, which, in turn, is an important factor for lasting peace. Indeed, "the first moves in the English-speaking Caribbean towards progressive political development were made in the favourable international climate brought about by detente" (p. 168). It was in the seventies that many typically neocolonial regimes in power in the majority of Caribbean countries began to show a measure of independence. The governments of Guyana and Jamaica took, even though half-heartedly and haltingly, what was to a degree an anti-imperialist stand. Developments were also positive in other parts of the region. Changes for the better occurred in Dominica and St Lucia. The victorious revolutions in Grenada and Nicaragua, where oppressive and bloody dictatorships were removed, were the greatest achievement of this process. They raised the class consciousness of the working people of Central America and the Caribbean more than any other since the triumph of the Cuban revolution and gave a powerful impetus to the fight for peace and social progress.

The more aggressive imperialist forces have opposed detente from the outset. Expressing their interests, the Reagan administration, which took office in 1981, openly set out to do away with all the favourable changes that had come about on the world scene in the 1970s. Caspar Weinberger, appointed Secretary of Defense as a man of the military-industrial complex, said that "if the movement from 'cold war' to detente is progress", then the USA "cannot afford such progress" (p. 193). It is in this context that we have to see the causes of the difficult and extremely dangerous situation which now exists in Central America, the Caribbean and the world at large.

However, the forces for peace and international detente, the author underlines, are stronger than at any other time and the peoples can defeat the Pentagon's insane plans. The book shows the leading role of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in the struggle to end the arms race and eliminate the danger of nuclear conflict. "The struggle for peace and social progress is gaining momentum. Increasingly, millions of people, cutting across the entire political spectrum, are realising that peace, liberation and development are inter-linked . . ." (p. 262).

This trend will make itself felt more and more in our region as well. "*Nicaragua and Cuba*," Cheddi Jagan writes in conclusion, "*stand out as beacons of hope and provide an inspiration to the oppressed and exploited peoples of the Caribbean and Latin America. The Caribbean is nobody's backyard. It must become a region of peace and social progress.*"

Donald Ramotar
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¹ *The Economist*, March 2-8, 1985.

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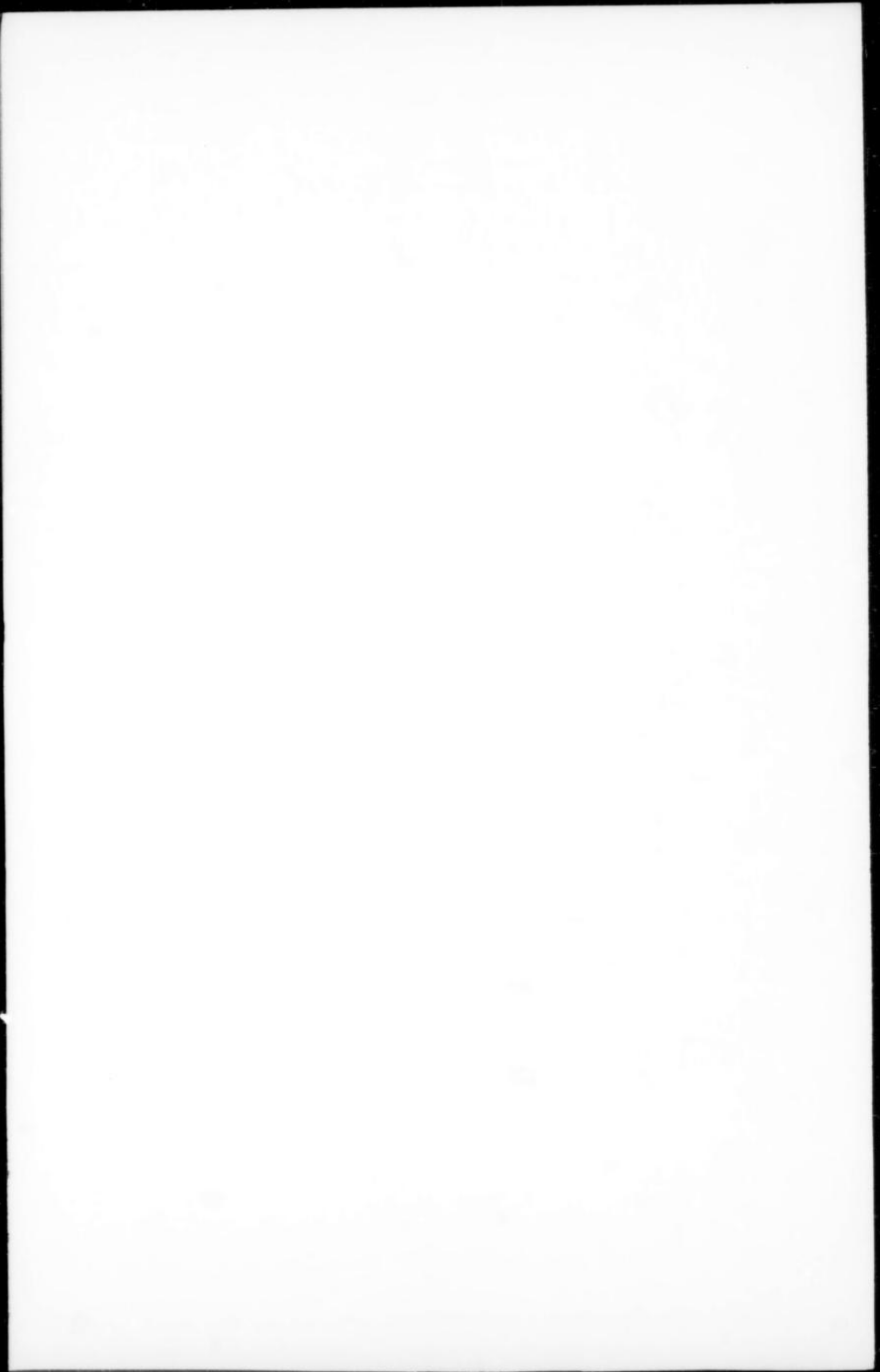
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