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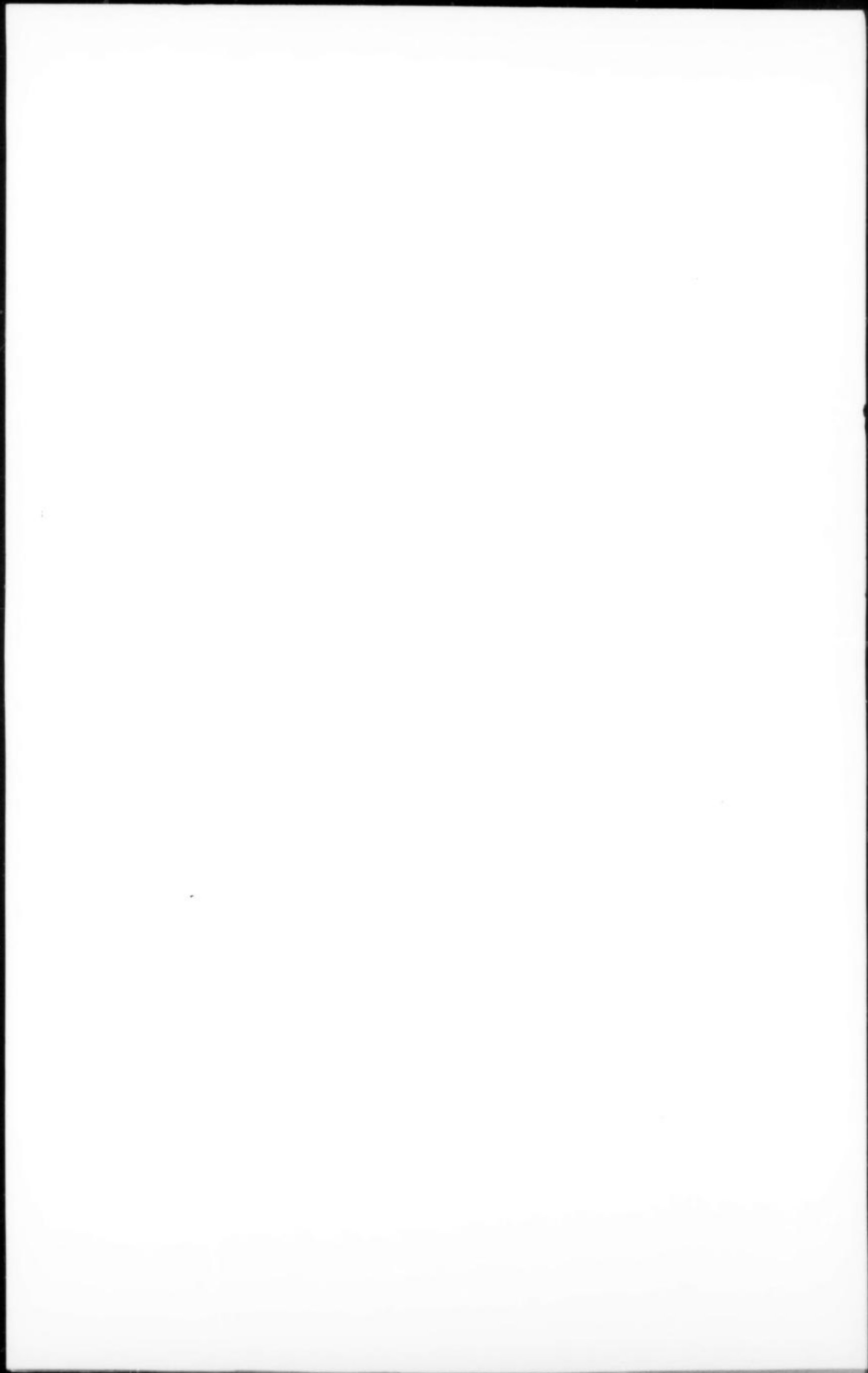
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New Questions of the Class Struggle

Gus Hall – General Secretary,
Communist Party USA

AS capitalist crises intensify and multiply, the corporate world feels compelled to convene more and more gatherings of 'think tanks' and all kinds of 'seminars and conferences'.

The unstated and underlying theme of all their deliberations is how the class struggle looks from the corporate side of the class line.

The working-class world should not lag behind the corporate world in convening such think tanks, seminars and conferences, to think through the solutions to the new and complex problems faced by the working-class movement. Because of the new, complex and interlinked global developments such gatherings have become an urgent necessity.

It is only natural that all of us are influenced by and tend to reflect on world developments, each from our own national frames of reference. There is nothing wrong with that.

However, by itself such a national frame of reference is often limited and can lead to an indistinctive, undefined and even distorted view of the world.

Such a frame of reference also tends to lead to a kind of national nearsightedness, a political myopia.

Thus, an open, honest exchange of experiences and assessments, and even the expression of differences, will broaden, deepen and round out all of our perceptions.

With the class struggle in the United States as the frame of reference, and without nearsightedness to the extent possible, I want to deal with some of the new and developing questions which are all in one way or another impacting on the class struggle in the United States and in the capitalist world.

Obsessive Dream of 'The American Century'

There are overall, general factors that cast their shadow on developments in the United States and the world.

US imperialism has never given up on the realisation of its obsessive dream of 'The American Century', a projected century of US economic, political, military and

Gus Hall (B. 1910) is a prominent figure of the US and international working-class movement. A miner's son, he got his first job at 14 and became a steelworker. Joined the US Communist Party in 1927. Worked as organiser of the strike movement and of the unemployed. General Secretary of the CP USA since 1959. Author of *Imperialism Today*, *The Only Choice: Peaceful Coexistence*, *Fighting Racism*, *The Energy Rip-Off*, *Cause and Cure*, *Ecology*, *Can We Survive Under Capitalism?* and other books.—Ed.

financial world domination. The timetable and tactics have changed, but not the ultimate goal.

The ultimate aim of the Reagan Doctrine is to turn back the clock of history, to undo all the anti-imperialist and socialist victories of the postwar period.

The US imperialists' dream of 'The American Century' has taken on new meaning and magnitude with the frantic drive to build Star Wars weaponry for world domination from outer space, to extend the nuclear arms race into space. They clearly see the Soviet Union as the main obstacle to their drive for world domination.

Added to the potentially catastrophic consequences of nuclear weapons, their astronomical cost is also beginning to cast its own shadow, affecting all US economic developments.

According to the Labor Research Center, the US federal government debt is now over two trillion dollars. The interest payments to the banks take 15 per cent of the annual budget. And the debt grows at the rate of 238 billion dollars per year.

Related to the cost is the fact that the negative US trade balance now runs 170 billion dollars per year.

In addition to the majority of the American people who are now against nuclear and Star Wars programmes, many on Wall Street are also raising questions not only about the aims, but whether the policy is—in their Wall Street lexicon—'cost effective', whether the cost is now getting out of control.

On these and other foreign policy issues, there is a split in the Reagan Cabinet and a split between Reagan and the US Congress. Thus, the Congressional resolutions on ending nuclear testing, the House and Senate overrides on South Africa, and especially the October 'interim Summit' in Reykjavik were greeted by the realists and scorned and feared by the nuclear maniacs, including the Weinbergers, Kissingers and Brzezinskis.

By refusing to accept peace initiatives put forward by Mikhail Gorbachov in Reykjavik, Reagan has betrayed the national interest and the interests of the American people. The opportunity to end the armaments race has been made hostage of the Star Wars programme which, far from being defensive, is aimed at creating a strategic first nuclear strike capability.

The Biggest of All Big Business

A growing factor that intensifies and aggravates all the crises areas is the unprecedented scope of the US military budget, military production and military science—the militarisation of US society.

Production of military goods has now become the biggest of all US big business. The Pentagon signs corporate military contracts worth billions of dollars each year for the production of military goods.

Although over 30,000 corporations are involved in war production, the hog-share goes to a handful of a new kind of corporation—the military monopoly corporation.

The out-of-control military budgets have given rise to this new sector of monopoly capital. The new billion-dollar military monopoly corporations are among the biggest of all the mega-monopolies.

Seventy-five per cent or more of the production and profits of Boeing, Lockheed, General Dynamics and others come from the Pentagon war contracts.

They are the thieving, corrupt core of the military monopoly complex, the political shock troops for funding the trillion-dollar Star Wars projects. They employ most of the nuclear maniacs, including scientists, politicians and propagandists.

These military monopolies are the political and financial support base for the ultra-right and fascist movements. They know very well that if the nuclear arms race comes to an end their sector of the military monopoly complex would collapse.

For them, the Star Wars projects are the means of survival. For this section of

monopoly capital, military orders serve as a prop and a form of economic pump priming, an economic lifeline.

Doctrine of Global Pillage

The Reagan Doctrine is global pillage by banks. Financial imperialism has become the newest and biggest form of plunder of the developing countries, which are treated as neocolonies by US banks and the US Government.

One hundred billion dollars per year is squeezed out of the developing countries to pay just the interest on the trillion-dollar debt, one-half of which is paid by Latin American countries.

In ten years this debt has multiplied five times, and the interest burden has multiplied ten times. Thus, the original loans have been collected many times over through the interest payments. This squeeze play has a paralysing impact on the economies of the developing countries.

The demand for a total cancellation of both the principal and the interest payments emerges as the only realistic end to this imperialist extortion.

On this demand, the US working class and the peoples of the developing countries can mount a united campaign.

Also because of the growing transnational character of production; a finance capital class that recognises no national boundaries; the ability of the multinational corporations to use their production facilities in one country against the workers in other countries; and the ability of the multinationals to manipulate tariffs, taxes, prices and interest rates, as well as wages and working conditions in the capitalist sector, there are new and difficult problems for the working class of all capitalist countries.

Era of Crises

The most striking feature of the present moment is that the capitalist world has lapsed into an era of crises, of stagnation and decline. It is unusually volatile and unstable. Most of the tremors are centred in the United States.

The backdrop for the myriad of crises is of course the general crisis of world capitalism, which continues to gnaw at the foundations of the corporate system.

It is characteristic of the era of crises that in the United States the last economic cycle never fully reached its boom phase and the economy is now in the first stages of a new cyclical crisis. Back-to-back cyclical crises are becoming a 'common feature'.

For the past ten years, the structural crisis—which is the dislocation, relocation and destruction of the basic industrial structure—has been carving a path of havoc and devastation. It has destroyed industries, turned industrial cities into ghost towns, closed thousands of industrial plants, left millions homeless and hungry.

The structural crisis has added a new dimension to the process of pauperisation of the working class.

Because of the structural crisis and automation, as well as the arrival of robots and microchips, the jobs profile of the workforce has shifted.

The manufacturing industries now employ five million fewer workers than the wholesale and retail trades. And, while new technology is creeping into the labour-intensive basic industries, still 60 per cent of the workforce in these countries is in blue-collar jobs.

The Changing Working Class

The working class is changing. But it is not disappearing or declining. In the last five years, the US working class has grown by 10 million.

However, it is estimated that 75 per cent of the US workforce is now in the service, communications and other clerical, white-collar industries.

In the last 10-year period, the United States has dropped from being the world's biggest and technologically most advanced steel producer to one of the more backward, and is in the process of closing the last of the basic steel producing facilities.

And, just 10 years ago, the United States was the world's most technologically advanced and biggest producer of automobiles. Today no automobiles are completely US manufactured.

Besides closing basic industrial facilities, the new technology makes it possible to disperse the manufacturing facilities by moving them into non-industrial, non-union sectors of the country. The result is a decline and deterioration of the industrial centres and a dispersal of the basic working-class sectors.

As we know, the trend is also for transnational corporations to move the labour-intensive production facilities to areas of the world with the most exploitable, low-wage workforce, where corporations are not forced to provide health or safety protection, unemployment benefits, economic or social security. And, in most cases, where these corporations do not pay taxes.

Thus, fewer manufacturing facilities in the United States are in the production process, and are increasingly becoming only the assembly and distribution points for imported parts.

In the era of crises, the overall tendency is for industry to stagnate or decline. The decline is sharpest in labour-intensive industries.

Lenin was right when he surmised that 'the *tendency* to stagnation and decay, which is characteristic of monopoly, continues to operate, and in some branches of industry, in some countries, for certain periods of time, it gains the upper hand'.¹

To a large extent this is the result of a 'capital investment strike' by monopoly capital, a pattern of refusing to make capital investments in new technology to modernise basic, mass employment industries, but instead to transfer production to lower-cost, higher-profit areas of the world.

Another feature of the era of crises is the unprecedented growth in the number of long-term and permanently unemployed in the United States. Even during the up side of the economic cycle the rate of unemployment stays above 10 per cent.

Because of the new technology, what is also new is that the number of long-term unemployed has continued to increase even in the boom phase of the economic cycle. Fifty per cent of the unemployed are victims of plant closings and structural decay, with no hope of ever getting a job.

In the United States today there are 20 million unemployed.² Twenty-five per cent of the total workforce is now 'on call'—called when needed for a few days at the lowest wage. This is a new and growing trend. These on-call workers receive no unemployment benefits, health insurance or Social Security, no pensions, life insurance, vacation pay, sick leave or prospects for full-time work.

There is a displacement of workers by robots and automation. And there is not enough growth in the industries producing automated equipment, or in the high-tech industries, to provide for the employment of more than a fraction of the workers displaced by new methods.

The section of the displaced millions who do find jobs in the service and communications industry are usually paid below the legal minimum wage, which is about a 60 per cent cut in wages. This group is part of the 35 million Americans who live below the official poverty level. This describes graphically what is called downward mobility into poverty.

Any idea that some model of capitalism may not result in an increase in long-term unemployment is a sad illusion. We must keep in mind that the application of cybernetics is only in its initial stages. Therefore we must begin to think how to respond to the new generation of robots and computerised machines—machines

that will communicate and respond to each other by way of sound, light, touch and smell—and microchips that use light rays. They are on the drawing boards even today.

This new generation of high technology will replace human hands at the rate of 20 for every one being replaced by the present generation.

The Reagan-Monopoly Offensive

All this has created a situation in which the US monopoly capital and the Reagan Administration have been able to take the offensive in an unprecedented anti-working-class, anti-union, racist drive. This has forced the working class and the trade unions to retreat in many cases, to make concessions and to fight defensive battles.

This has been the trend of the last few years. However, that period is coming to an end. More and more of the struggles and strikes take on an offensive character. In the last six months alone almost a million workers have participated in militant strike struggles, some of which lasted for months.

It is true that after the Second World War the working class won important victories.

But today US capitalism is back on the old track, which Marx correctly projected would have the tendency of increasing both relative and absolute impoverishment of the working class.

Thus, in the past 10 years, the real wages of the US working class have declined over 16 per cent, while labour productivity has increased 65 per cent.

All this is also related to Marx's concept of the rising rate of surplus value. In the period 1950-1985, the rate of surplus value rose from 150 per cent to 300 per cent. US workers now work two hours to produce the value of their wages or labour power and six hours for the 300 per cent rate of surplus value. One of the characteristics is that in the period of decline and stagnation, in the era of crises, corporate profits and the rate of surplus value continue to increase.

A new feature of the era of crises in the United States is the catastrophic farm crisis. US farmers now owe the banks 260 billion dollars. The interest on the loans each year is larger than the total farm income. Over 2,000 farmers go bankrupt every week and are forced off the land.

Racism continues to be an instrument of super-profits. The income of Afro-American families is 40 per cent below the average family income. Sixty per cent of the younger Afro-Americans are unemployed. Thirty per cent of all Spanish-speaking people in the United States live in poverty.

Another shift in the workforce profile is the fact that women now constitute half of the US workforce. Fifty-five per cent of all women with children work in industry. The rate of exploitation of women is higher because their wages are 60 per cent of male workers' wages. Sixty-one per cent of those living below the poverty level are women.

Hard New Look Needed

The new objective framework is giving rise to new modes of thinking in many areas.

The structural crisis, new technology, robots, automation, the shift in the division of labour worldwide and the nuclear Sword of Damocles hanging ominously over humanity are all changing the objective battleground for the class struggle.

The structural crisis not only destroys industries and jobs but, in the process, destroys trade unions.

The conglomerates and the transnational octopi have become protective bunkers for these corporate monsters.

Because of the new objective scene, the working class and the trade union

movement are forced to take a new, hard look at their strategic and tactical approaches.

The internationalisation of production has on the one hand made it more difficult to strike a whole company, but on the other has made transnationals interdependent and thus more vulnerable. Both aspects call for closer international working-class unity in action.

Also, under the new circumstances, it is not possible to conduct a corporate-wide strike in our country alone. At the present moment in the United States 45,000 steelworkers are locked out, in a fierce life and death struggle against the largest of the steel corporations. What makes this struggle so much more difficult is that USX Corporation is only part of a worldwide steel operation, which is only part of a huge conglomerate, including other industries.

In the United States the new challenges are bringing about some significant changes in the class struggle and in the trade union movement. This new situation does not provide fertile soil for the old policies of class collaboration. Thus, there is a shift to more militant policies of class struggle trade unionism.

It is necessary to differentiate between policies of class collaboration based on opportunism and situations in which the working class is forced to retreat and fight defensive struggles. In content, the defensive struggles are more anti-corporate and more militant.

The US trade union movement has taken the lead in the struggle against the reactionary policies of Reaganism. It has become the strongest and politically best organised independent force in the electoral arena. The elections of November 1986 have changed the balance of forces in the US Congress.

The US trade union movement has become the most consistent anti-monopoly, anti-ultra-right, anti-fascist and anti-racist force.

It is an active contingent in the struggle against the US imperialist policies of working with and supporting the reactionary, fascist, racist regimes in South Africa and Chile.

It has a strong position against the US policies of aggression in Nicaragua and El Salvador.

Most of the largest US trade unions have joined the movement to freeze all nuclear weapons production.

At its recent convention, the AFL-CIO declared that it 'welcomes the resumption of the Geneva negotiations between the USSR and the US and endorses the objective of a balanced reduction of nuclear arms within a system of verification guaranteeing collective security.

These shifts in working-class thought patterns and trade union policies constitute the beginnings of a fundamental, spontaneous response to the new challenges. What is needed are new, creative tactics that motivate and activate the new mood and the new mode of thinking.

What Kind of Response?

There is a growing understanding that the old tactics and solutions do not work in the present situation, that more basic and radical solutions are necessary.

Concepts which are new for the United States—like public takeover, nationalisation of industries and banks—are increasingly discussed on all levels of the trade union movement and considered as realistic solutions.

There is a new understanding of the need for class unity and thus the need to struggle against racism, which is an obstacle to such unity.

There is a growing class oneness of our multiracial, multinational, male-female working class. There is a growing unity in action on the picket lines, shop floors, in mass demonstrations against apartheid and in the electoral arena.

There is a new awareness of the need for labour to take the lead in building broader coalitions with other sectors and especially with people who are victims of racial and nationality oppression.

The new atmosphere of the class struggle accelerates the process of radicalisation, of class self-confidence and, most important, the maturing of class consciousness. And, as the reality grows that the options for basic solutions under capitalism are ever more limited, interest in socialism grows accordingly.

The new challenges give rise to new modes of thinking. The dead-end crisis nature of capitalism forces workers to think about their living standards not only in terms of wages, but also taxes, rents, inflation, imports and exports, the environment, toxic waste, tariffs, job security, unemployment benefits, Social Security and the role of the state.

The overall deterioration of the infrastructure of US cities, the all-pervasive corruption on all levels of government—in the corporate structure and society in general—the crime and drugs that have become a national emergency, the crisis in education and the growing illiteracy rate, all add to a general decline in the overall quality of life for the working class of the United States.

But, of course, more than anything else, what is influencing the thought patterns is the growing realisation that we now work, sleep and play surrounded and threatened by nuclear weapons which, if triggered for any reason, would set in motion a nuclear chain reaction a second after the launching of the first missile. A nuclear winter, bringing with it the end of all nature and human existence, would begin one second after the first explosion.

Thus, in today's world the class struggle increasingly becomes involved in more than the struggles over economic issues. In the era of crises the monopoly capital drive for maximum profits increasingly comes more and more in conflict with national interests. This gives the class struggle a new dimension.

Community and Nation

The role of the working class is expanding to include the issues of community and nation. The new mode of thinking moves in two parallel lines: faster maturing of class consciousness, and a growing concern with the broader issues of the people related to community and nation. Thus, the working class moves to take its place in the front ranks of the struggle for human progress in general. A direct result of this is that in every public opinion poll many Americans now express their concern about the Reagan Administration policies of nuclear superiority and Star Wars.

Proof of the nature of the new thought patterns and the deep concern about the nuclear danger is the spontaneous response by the millions to the Great Peace March that, after covering more than 3,000 miles, ended in Washington, DC, on November 14, 1986, in a mass demonstration against Reagan's nuclear war policy.

The new mode of thinking among a great majority of Americans also includes how they see the role of the Soviet Union.

In the US, the comparison is glaring between the Reagan Administration's refusal to accept Soviet proposals in Reykjavik and to join the Soviet moratorium, the wrecking of the ABM Treaty, the continued nuclear testing and the destruction of SALT I and SALT II and the Soviet Union's concrete actions, such as the 18-month moratorium on nuclear testing, and proposals for cutbacks and elimination of all nuclear weapons.

Because of this now unavoidable comparison, there is a dramatic increase in anti-Sovietism among the American people.

International Unity in Action

In the realities of today's world the old slogan 'Workers of all countries and oppressed peoples, unite' takes on a new meaning.

For example, as we all know, there is a coordinated, concentrated anti-working-class, anti-trade union attack in all the major capitalist countries.

The coordination is by the state, by the transnational conglomerates, corporations and banks that have their tentacles in the economy and politics of every capitalist country. Their aim is to destroy the trade union movement.

What we are seeing today are the initial stages of these kinds of coordinated attacks. This forces the working class to think in new terms about international class relationships.

The new mode of thinking includes new thought patterns about international class unity. These thought patterns move from unity as an idea, toward unity in action. These new developing modes of thought were expressed in a resolution passed by the recent United Steelworkers of America convention:

'The time has come for the labour movement to form a strong united front worldwide in dealing with the multinational corporations. To meet the challenge our union calls for coordination of company-wide or, where appropriate, industry-wide bargaining activities on an international basis.'

In the capitalist world, much of the new mood and new mode of thinking is still in the initial stage and largely spontaneous.

We are convinced that we must accept the responsibility not only to help deepen this understanding, but in our mass work to tap these widespread new patterns of thought.

We must master the art of tapping this broad new thought spectrum, of influencing and guiding, mobilising and organising this new mass phenomenon.

But we must also keep in mind that because the class struggle is law-governed and thus inevitable, the changes in the objective conditions, the changes in the workforce profile, do not in any way eliminate the class essence of exploitation and thus do not negate the class struggle. And, they do not change the inner nature of capitalism or the historic necessity and inevitability of socialism.

All Struggles Interrelated

Without a doubt, the problems and questions faced by the working class have become more complex and more interrelated. For us in the United States all the struggles are more closely interrelated.

The struggle for peace and to end the nuclear arms race is a struggle against the basic policies of US imperialist aggression.

The struggle to stop Star Wars is a struggle against US designs for world domination.

The struggle against the trillion-dollar war budgets is a struggle against policies that lead to 35 million below the poverty level, three million hungry and homeless, and one of every four children hungry in the United States.

The interrelation of struggles and the interconnection of issues is the basis for building the broadest unity of all forces in the struggle against the Reagan-corporate offensive.

On an international level, we feel that it is our responsibility to look for the ways that minimise the contradictions and disagreements and to place emphasis on the issues and ways that unify the working-class movement. This is especially necessary for tactics that can tap the broad spontaneous changes in mass thought patterns.

For example, when correctly placed, there can be a unity of action based on unity of class self-interest between the US working class and the peoples of the developing countries for the demand to cancel the debts owed to US banks.

There are important beginnings of unity of action in the struggles against US imperialism and the policies of the Reagan Administration.

There is a growing unity of action between the US working class and the liberation

struggles in South Africa, Chile, El Salvador, and Haiti, the struggles of the peoples of Angola, Nicaragua and other countries. There can be unity of action to end the blockade of aggression against Cuba.

There is the basis for unity of action between the US working class and the Palestinian and other Arab liberation forces and the people of Israel in the struggle against the policies of US imperialism, Zionism and Israel's policies of aggression and annexation in the Middle East.

There can be unity in the struggle against the transnational corporate empires.

There can be unity in the struggle to remove the Pershing and cruise missiles from Europe.

There can be unity in the struggle to achieve a disarmament treaty and an end to the nuclear arms race.

The emergence of the new mode of thinking has become the centrepiece in the ideological struggle.

The new objective developments are being used by the ideologues of monopoly capital to revive old anti-working-class themes.

Increasingly, we read ideological quackery like "The very concepts of class struggle and revolutions are today no more than echoes of a great, age-old myth." Or, another professor writes, "The scientific revolution has made the exploitation of nature so effective that the exploitation of man by man has become unprofitable and obsolete."

Out of these conjured-up theories one is supposed to draw the real-life conclusion that the class struggle itself has become obsolete, has, in fact, disappeared.

But the class struggle is in the very centre of the law-governed process of socio-economic development. And this law-governed process of history moves irrevocably in a progressive direction. The propellant is the working class.

To deny or to cover up the centrality of the class struggle is to deny the very existence of the main mover of history.

Denying the centrality of the class struggle is denying the root cause of all forms of capitalist exploitation and oppression.

The line of demarcation, the dividing line in all fields of thought, including philosophy, has its source in the class struggle.

The companion theme to this detour around the class struggle is that the working class has lost its place and role in history, that it is no longer 'the only truly revolutionary force in society'.

The truth is that the new objective developments, including the necessity to preserve the human race and nature from a nuclear end, have greatly enhanced the role and responsibility of the working class as the only truly revolutionary force.

It is more evident today than ever before that in order to emancipate itself, the working class must emancipate all of humanity.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 276.

² Including those who are employed only part of the work-week and those who, having lost all hope of finding a job, no longer register as unemployed.—Ed.

Our Principles of Economic Management Today

Gunter Mittag – Political Bureau member
and Central Committee Secretary, SUPG

IT was noted at the 11th Congress of the SUPG in April 1986 that a 'smoothly functioning planned socialist economic system that has tangibly demonstrated its effectiveness, dynamism and flexibility has developed in the GDR'.¹ Life proves that this system is fully consonant with the tasks our country is facing in its efforts to continue building a developed socialist society. The system has been set up thanks to a creative application of Marxist-Leninist theory by the SUPG. We are constantly improving management, planning and cost effectiveness techniques with due regard for the fact that in the course of their advancement, the productive forces (in the broad sense of the term) are interacting with and making new demands on socialist relations of production.

The planned economy of our republic is developing steadily; its principal elements have long ensured effective economic performance. These include above all *centralised planning and balancing which identifies the more important ratios and national economic ties* with due regard for the unity between consumer value and value. The planned quotas have the force of a law and are compulsory for all management elements, down to integrated enterprises and factories; preparations and implementation of the state plan are controlled uniformly at all levels.

The autonomy of integrated enterprises and factories which, in their fields, are responsible for the greatest possible efficiency of intensive extended reproduction, is another salient feature of our socialist planned economy. This efficiency is served by the application of cost effectiveness methods, their categories including costs, profits, prices, credits and rates, as well as by the principle of self-financing. Our goal is to put the work of all integrated enterprises and factories, all elements of the socialist economy at the service of society, to clearly delineate the areas of these economic units' responsibilities and to supply them with material incentives for the highest possible efficiency in the accomplishment of the planned tasks.

Such are the principal lines along which national economic management, planning and cost effectiveness techniques are being perfected according to the decisions of the 11th SUPG Congress.

Thanks to the tried and tested system of planned socialist economic management, we have been, since 1971, tackling successfully the priority task formulated by the party, while preserving the unity of economic and social policy and working for a transition to intensive production. The results of the GDR's socio-economic development over the past 15 years, summed up by the recent congress, are impressive. Numerous facts prove that the planned socialist economy of our republic serves the people.

The policy of the SUPG and its strategic goals which are based on a scientific analysis of social development, including intensive extended reproduction, and which are implemented in the day-to-day efforts to fulfil the plans are of great importance here. It is only working daily to upgrade productivity and bring qualitative growth factors into play, primarily through mastering advanced technologies, that one can ensure a dynamic development of the production capacities of

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integrated enterprises and factories. This is the policy of consistently tackling the principal task—that of integrating economic and social policy—which has enabled the GDR to advance, under the leadership of our party, so far since the Eighth Congress of the SUPG (1971), and to win widespread international recognition of the country's commitment to peace. The 11th Congress of the SUPG took a responsible decision: we must continue advancing in the same direction and remember that we Communists have an obligation to strengthen socialism and preserve peace.

These noble objectives are served by close cooperation between the GDR and the Soviet Union in several dimensions—economic, scientific, technological and socio-political. Millions of people in the two countries are working daily to solve common tasks, exchanging advice and becoming true friends. Such is the day-by-day reality of our people, of our integrated enterprises and factories, a reality permeated with the spirit of joint fraternal labour aimed at strengthening peace and socialism.

Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachov, the general secretaries of the SUPG and CPSU central committees, have agreed to continue consolidating this cooperation. The GDR is contributing vigorously to the implementation of the CMEA member-countries' Comprehensive Programme for Scientific and Technological Progress. This programme helps to combine the advantages of socialism more closely with the advances of the scientific and technological revolution—not only within individual countries but also throughout the entire socialist community of nations. We are fully resolved to work together with the USSR and do all we can to enhance the unity of the fraternal peoples.

The Greatest Accomplishment of the People

Public property is the socio-economic basis of the planned economy of the GDR. The socialist sector accounts for 96.7 per cent of the country's net output; in individual branches the percentage is as follows: 100 per cent in industry, 94.1 per cent in construction, 96.3 per cent in agriculture and forestry, and 98.3 per cent in transport and communications. In other words, socialist property almost completely dominates the national economy. Private handicrafts, commercial enterprises and retail trade on commission are an integral part of the economic mechanism. They play a prominent role primarily in providing the population with a broad range of consumer goods, with repair and other services. Besides, handicrafts make it possible to preserve the traditional working skills our people value.

The fact that power in the GDR is exercised by the SUPG-led working class and its allies, and that the overwhelming share of the products of the national economy is produced and appropriated in the socialist form plays the decisive role in the implementation of the policy designed to benefit the people.

The management of the GDR's socialist economy is based on *democratic centralism*. This principle organically combines centralised leadership and management with the autonomy and creative initiative of integrated enterprises and factories, with the activities of cooperatives and local bodies in cities and rural communities; it also makes it possible to direct the work of these elements to benefit all society. The dialectical coupling of mandatory tasks formulated by the government with the initiative of the masses to help accomplish these tasks has proven its worth in practical terms; it will continue to be a powerful source of progress in the economy and in other areas of the social fabric.

The planned socialist economy is a major accomplishment of our people. It proves that *economic laws no longer operate as blind forces in production, the decisive sphere of the social fabric, that we can grasp these laws, act consciously in accordance with them and use them on a planned basis to the advantage of the people*. This is a situation which differs radically from the social forms based on private property in the means of production and on exploitation of man by man.

At a New Stage

As Erich Honecker emphasised at the 11th Congress, the SUPG responds promptly to the problems that arise and keeps pace with the march of history. The Communists do not cling to old habits but are searching vigorously and creatively for new solutions. 'This approach to the further implementation of our party's economic strategy, to new steps in perfecting management, planning and the cost efficiency mechanism also reflects our creative attitude to Marxist-Leninist theory and its development. We shall continue shaping socialist relations of production so that they will contribute to a dynamic development of the productive forces in the interests of consolidating socialism.'²

The economic strategy the party has drawn up for the next 15 years accords priority to the task of *placing the advances of the new stage of the scientific and technological revolution at the services of socialism*. Typical of this new stage are a number of advanced technologies that pervade the entire cycle of production; this is why we regard them as key technologies. They are microelectronics, modern computers, automated industrial design and management of production, flexible automated industrial systems, new materials and manufacturing techniques, biotechnology, nuclear power and laser technologies. Their advent has made it possible to promptly renovate production, improve product quality and reduce costs, and all that on an unprecedented scale. As it was stated at the 11th Congress of the SUPG, 'these are the areas in which we are tackling the issue of the labour productivity growth rates; this issue is central to the ability of our economy to meet the requirements of the people, to cope with the multifaceted demands arising in the course of our country's development and to consolidate our positions on the international scene'.³

It is particularly important that the broad transition of our entire national economy to advanced technologies makes it possible *to radically improve renovation of production and dramatically enhance its economic efficiency*. The essential thing is not only the quantity of the new products or the ratio of renovation but also, and primarily, a situation in which the high rate of the process would improve product quality, ensure a more thorough and effective use of raw and other materials, reduce costs and raise labour productivity—both in the manufacture and in the application of new products. This is the approach we have adopted in our effort to restructure and modernise production; the aim is for the economic effects of this process to outstrip the speed at which it is to develop.

After formulating the production renovation policy a few years ago, the SUPG has taken due note of the objective laws governing the development of modern productive forces and has already ensured a tangible change for the better. For example, the average industrial renovation rate was 27.5 per cent in 1985. This figure is a result of a considerable and successful effort. Here, one might recall that as recently as 1983 we could only reach the 20.9 per cent mark. Today we have every reason to speak of important changes in the technological level of production, of a more flexible response to the needs of the population and to the requirements of our exports and our national economy, and of the readiness of our working people to strive for the effective implementation of party policy.

In order to improve the economic effect of modernisation, it is important to find fundamentally new solutions going beyond that which is well known and therefore yielding good results. The drive to effectively renew the range of products, to gear them to demand and to the requirements of the national economy, and to solve export tasks is above all aimed at reaching the highest international standards. Only then will our new products be able to withstand competition on the world market and be profitable.

The SUPG is closely monitoring the efforts to ensure prompt marketing of new products for which a demand exists. This means that there must be no complacency or

interruptions in the development of high-quality products. Having finished the research and development stage for the manufacture of one product, it is imperative to immediately and vigorously take up another item which, after a while, will replace what is new today on the market. Those who begin this work when the period of the most effective marketing is drawing to a close are doomed to constantly catch up and suffer losses in profits. By the time demand for this or that product begins to decline, we must have a successor, but of a better quality.

Such is the inexorable way the world market works. But the most important thing is that the same inexorable demands stem from the need to consolidate socialism, and we strive to make this the objective of every integrated enterprise.

We must not fall prey to illusions about these requirements. An analysis of the facts shows that renovation of production is continuing to accelerate world-wide. Generations of products succeed one another faster and faster in the key industries. These questions cannot be discounted and, having the dynamic growth of our economy at heart, we strive to work steadily for their solution. The current effort to accelerate the introduction of automated industrial design and production preparation systems in the GDR is not accidental. It is not just one of many options: without such solutions, one cannot really control the increasingly rapid process of intensive extended reproduction.

The introduction of key technologies makes it possible to retain the comprehensive nature of this reproduction and to use it as a reliable basis of economic growth. As the main object of management, planning and cost efficiency methods, the qualitatively new stage of intensive extended reproduction makes it incumbent on us to draw far-reaching conclusions about the ways a socialist planned economy is to be perfected. We hold that intensive extended reproduction is an integral process occurring simultaneously throughout the economy and at individual integrated enterprises. Our experience prompts us to work for closing most of the production cycle at the level of these enterprises. It must be organised to include essentially all stages—from the handling of raw materials to the final stages of processing. At the level of integrated enterprises, unified management of all phases of reproduction, including foreign trade transactions, is ensured.⁴

This approach creates favourable conditions for developing and applying advanced and highly effective technologies. The objective of the party is to forge an organic link between science and production by giving integrated enterprises research sections of their own which must be able to lay the groundwork for the restructuring of production and to take care of industrial design. This is also the reason for the establishment of special sections which will draw on their own resources to produce the necessary means of streamlining. Cooperation of integrated enterprises with various divisions of the GDR Academy of Sciences and with institutions of higher learning (on a contractual basis) is to play an important role too. In this way researchers and faculty members will be able to contribute to the raising of industry's scientific level and economic efficiency. We have already embarked on this path successfully.

The record has shown that the right thing is not only to base research and technological work on economic criteria but also to perfect the cost efficiency relations in this sphere. Our goal is to incorporate this work economically into the reproduction process at integrated enterprises and factories—from the viewpoint of costs and, most importantly, of results. The aim is to correctly evaluate the necessary scientific and technological input and to establish prices at which 'non-material' services could be bought and sold. If the researchers meet or exceed the targets specified in their contract, the research establishments should receive a profit, and even a superprofit. Only then will science and technology be really cost effective.

The record has also shown that it pays to make integrated enterprises themselves

launch the manufacture of components on which product quality depends. This refers particularly to the introduction of microchips. The components that determine the technical characteristics of the products are manufactured at enterprises which take care of the final stages of the production cycle. This is the only way to keep up with the required rate of industrial renovation and to raise product quality to the world's top standards. The profile of our integrated enterprises will inevitably change to sharply upgrade efficiency and to respond more promptly to changes in demand.

The SUPG regards the future development of integrated enterprises as a *major step in the perfection of socialist relations of production making it possible to bring them into conformity with the current level achieved in the development of the productive forces*. Amid a conscious and planned effort to socialise labour, as the founders of Marxism-Leninism foresaw, we strive to create conditions essential for a dynamic and integrated application of key technologies.

Microelectronic devices have been introduced throughout the national economy. Microchips are being used in finished products and in the technology of manufacturing. The image of whole industries, including electronic and electrical engineering, is changing. Without microchips, none of the products in question could meet international standards in terms of consumer appeal, cost and returns. More than half of the total output of machine tools, textile, printing and other types of equipment is produced with the help of microelectronic devices. Not only the way the products meet the growing consumer demand for precision tooling, through workmanship and compatibility of parts and components, but also the economical and reliable operation of these products depend on the quality of the microchips used. Besides, the character of the products is changing drastically. The dominant role is no longer played by individual pieces of machinery and equipment but by automated numerically controlled machine tools and flexible automated lines. This is an area where a great deal also depends on how advances of science and technology materialise, and that includes the necessary software. We are witnessing what Engels referred to, albeit in completely different historical circumstances: "The mental element certainly belongs among the elements of production and will find its place, too, in economics among the costs of production."⁵

We hold that the production of software is first and foremost the responsibility of those who use it. All integrated enterprises where automated systems operate have set up special programming groups, by analogy with the previous practice of creating groups that were in charge of producing means of streamlining or introducing microelectronic devices. This is linked with effective solutions in the sphere of the economic aspects and organisation of production, and with preparatory work to design and develop technologies. Tens of thousands of skilled experts in the GDR are ready and eager to work in this field because high-tech software is a crucial factor of productivity. Naturally, it is important to organise the production of software as efficiently as possible and to ensure its re-usability. Steps will also be taken to attain maximum compatibility of the hardware and to unify programming. Here I would like to note that in terms of economics, the production of software is a value-creating process. Software has a price, and can be bought and sold as a product (but with due regard for its distinctive properties).

Future economic growth will be influenced by qualitative factors, and this growth cannot be divorced from the use of key technologies. A direct relationship is arising between their introduction and the accelerated drive to raise the productivity of social labour which is now the only way to expand our industrial production. The same is true of efforts to reduce specific energy and material consumption, of efficiently using

capital assets and, not least, of improving working and living conditions of people involved in this process. *To us, the introduction of key technologies is not an end in itself; we put them at the service of man so as to attain valuable economic results and thus continue to pursue an integral socio-economic policy.*

Implementing Congress Decisions

All this leads up to the need to improve management, planning and the application of economic incentives. The GDR will continue to judge the performance of enterprises with the help of four tried and tested basic yardsticks—relative net output, profit, exports, and production of finished consumer goods. These categories reflect both the expansion of production and the results of its intensification; besides, they help to ensure the unity of value and consumer value in planning. This approach allows to orient integrated enterprises and factories on the main objectives from the very start—*on rapid growth of the national income and the biggest possible volume of the final national economic product to be distributed.*

In keeping with the decisions of the 11th Congress of the SUPG, specific measures have been devised to continue perfecting the economic mechanism. These measures are based on what we have accomplished, but they go further in developing and consolidating the socialist planned economy on the basis of democratic centralism. We have noted the new demands arising in connection with the implementation of the SUPG economic strategy—on the one hand, the need to consolidate centralised state management and planning, and on the other the need to broaden the responsibility of integrated enterprises and factories for intensive extended reproduction.

In proceeding with these new steps, we have taken it into account that during preparations for the 11th Congress and during the implementation of its decisions, the initiative of the working people—scientists, researchers, engineers, experts in technology, industrial designers, workers, economists and all those dealing with management—was and is growing; the responsibility of the leading cadre is increasing. This is clear from the results of the socialist emulation drive.

Great opportunities have opened before integrated enterprises and factories for raising productivity and reducing the costs with the help of qualitative growth factors. Above all, this concerns self-financing: integrated enterprises must themselves earn the resources that will enable them to fulfil the plan more efficiently. This means an even closer interrelationship between cost effectiveness and the cycle of intensive extended reproduction. Integrated enterprises have been given a serious responsibility for securing and using resources for the modernisation and restructuring of the production mechanism. With this end in view a certain part of depreciation charges and net profits is used to form special development funds. The size of this share is determined by the state in the form of a planned quota which depends on the distinctive conditions in which every integrated enterprise operates. Each can use the investment fund as it sees fit. This makes the volume of the modernisation and reconstruction assets and the consequent opportunities for the expansion of the capacities directly dependent on the performance of the integrated enterprise, provided it copes with the targets set by the state.

We also intend to put credits and interest rates to better use so as to make investment more effective. In certain cases a discount can be applied to the basic interest rate used in the national economy for credits designed to pay for the necessary fixed and working assets. This is an incentive to investment, especially investment connected with the accelerated introduction of key technologies. An

instrument thus appears to interest economic units in meeting and even bettering the deadlines for the use of investments aimed at improving the structure of the national economy.

Economic incentives are being introduced for the main and principal contractors to launch projects into operation ahead of schedule, and more attention is being paid to ensure the unity of material and financial planning of investment. The plan and the cost effectiveness provisions will increasingly prompt integrated enterprises to look to the future, to modernise and redesign production, and to work for a steady expansion of their capacities. They already have certain prerequisites for that—for example, sections that manufacture tools for streamlining which the enterprises can use themselves. By providing economic incentives that encourage integrated enterprises and factories to spend as little of their assets as possible while securing returns as fast as possible, we emphatically orient these economic units on retooling.

The responsibility of integrated enterprises and factories for the economy and organisation of production is promoted by a new practice of planning production costs. Central economic management bodies have set four major categories in this field:

- the volume of the costs per 100 marks' worth of the product and the percentage rate at which these costs are declining;
- the consumption of raw and other materials per 100 marks' worth of the product;
- the fund of wages and salaries;
- the resources earmarked for the social and cultural fund.

Costs are therefore regarded as a stable element of the national economic plan. Proceeding from this plan, integrated enterprises and factories are free to differentiate the costs depending on the dynamics and flexibility of the economic reproduction process.

In early 1985 an initiative was born in the GDR—that of *returning to the state the material and financial assets made redundant by the cuts in production costs, so that the state could make better use of public property*. Over the first year alone, valuable raw materials and equipment worth 1.6 billion marks were returned to the state. From now on, we shall apply financial incentives to encourage this transfer, particularly if the savings have been achieved through the application of science and technology and if this leads to an additional reduction in costs: two per cent of the sum is handed over to the integrated enterprise. This money can be spent to pay bonuses to those teams which contributed more than others to make the return possible. These decisions will increase the stake of integrated enterprises, factories and their workers in being more economical with the labour input into the products.

Large-scale application of computers is raising the economic balancing activities to a radically new level. Some of our ministries have already accumulated experience in this field, and the 11th Congress of the SUPG set the task of large-scale transition to automated balancing at all levels—from the State Planning Commission to integrated enterprises. This year, the transition will cover the entire sector of production; this will make better qualified, flexible and uniform decision-making possible at all levels.

That is how our country is tackling a task set by the 11th Congress of the SUPG—the task of linking more closely the consolidation of centralised state planning with the economic autonomy of integrated enterprises by shaping the production process in greater detail within their framework and by reaching deeper into economic interrelationships; the latter effort to be assisted by ensuring the unity of value and consumer value in all types of balancing. *Profits, costs, prices, foreign exchange, credits and rates will increase the economic stake of integrated enterprises in the production of high-quality items geared to market demand, in raising productivity and efficiency. This is the way to ensure the implementation of our strategy.*

The 1970-1985 Record of the German Democratic Republic:

—national income almost doubled from 117.4 billion to 232.8 billion marks;

—net industrial output grew 117 per cent from 80.5 billion to 174.5 billion marks;

—capital assets in the production sphere of the national economy were worth 820 billion marks—121 per cent more than what we had 15 years ago (370.7 billion marks).

—there are now 6,650,000 workers who have completed an occupational training course (against 3,900,000 in 1970); their share in the workforce (which grew from 7,800,000 to 8,500,000 people) increased from 58.7 per cent to 85 per cent;

—it now takes an industrial worker 11.5 hours (not 23 hours, as three five-year periods ago) to produce 1,000 marks' worth of gross output;

—wage and salary earners' net average monthly family income increased from 1,032 to 1,746 marks;

—212,222 apartments were built in 1985 (against 76,088 in 1970);

—2,700,000 apprentices completed a course of training; each either has a job or has gone on to study at secondary or higher educational establishments, whose graduates, numbering 1,064,000, have joined the workforce. Full employment has been and remains a salient feature of the republic's socio-economic development;

—the principle of stable prices for essential consumer goods continues to operate; the level of rent and communal services costs remains unchanged.

¹ *Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den XI. Parteitag der SED. Berichtstatter: Genosse Erich Honecker*, Berlin, 1986, p. 44.

² *Ibid.*, p. 27.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁴ Integrated enterprises comprise foreign trade organisations and agencies simultaneously controlled by the Foreign Trade Ministry.

⁵ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 428.

For Broad Interaction Among Democratic Forces

Alonso Ojeda Olachea – CC General
Secretary, Communist Party of Venezuela
(CPV)

IMPELLED by the world oil boom, capitalism developed quite rapidly in Venezuela and registered some unmistakable successes in the course of a little over three decades following the termination of World War II. Industrialisation was started and led to a numerical growth of the working class and some notable social changes. As a result, the majority of the population was urbanised.

We find that propositions in Lenin's *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* are applicable to present-day Venezuela. Among these are: "The export of capital influences and greatly accelerates the development of capitalism in those countries to which it is exported."¹ And further: "Capitalism is growing with the greatest rapidity in the colonies and in overseas countries."²

These were the factors that, after long authoritarian rule based on latifundism, brought a bourgeois-democratic bipartisan political system into being as a product, on the one hand, of the profound changes in society brought about by oil revenues and, on the other, of the lengthy anti-dictatorship struggle of the masses and progressive intellectuals.

Today Venezuela has distinctions not to be found in other Latin American states. After fascist regimes were established in some of these states, Venezuela continued to have a bourgeois democratic administration. Of course this is a special rather than real democracy, and as in any Caribbean and Latin American republic, it is unquestionably dependent on US transnational corporations. In any case, even this democracy has for almost 30 years unfailingly ensured the operation of the electoral mechanism and the fulfilment of all the political aspirations of the Venezuelan bourgeoisie with links to imperialism. Elections and a 'change of the guard' take place every five years. In effect this is an exact, Venezuelan style replica of the model created in the USA. On our political scene there are *adecos* and *copeyanos*.³

The incumbent president, Jaime Lusinchi, is a member of the *adeco* team brought to power by the elections of December 1983. Lusinchi's adversary in that elections was ex-president Rafael Caldera. The latter had not vindicated the 'performance' of his outgoing fellow-*copeyano* Luis Herrera Campins, who had thoroughly discredited himself in his management of the economy.

It should be recalled here that the Seventh Congress of the CPV (October 1985) had noted that Lusinchi's economic policy was an unalloyed continuation of the preceding administration's policy that brought our country to the brink of catastrophe. As his predecessor had before him, the incumbent president speaks much of categorically refusing to accept dictation from the International Monetary Fund. But this is no more than rhetoric. In fact, the Caracas administration persists in servilely accepting the IMF's recipes that are inflicting enormous damage on Latin American states.

Because of its special political significance I should like to accentuate a distinctive feature of the government's economic policy in the period between our party's two

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last congresses. In August 1980 (Sixth Congress) there were signs that a financial crisis was imminent.⁴ The growing foreign debt burden, which was close to 25 billion dollars at the time, was the thundercloud heralding a storm. Indeed, Venezuela was soon shaken by an unanticipated decree devaluing the bolivar that had hitherto been regarded as invulnerable and a sort of guarantee against any possibility of a crisis.

A qualitatively new stage began in the life and political climate of our society. The more realistic quarters had repeatedly warned of the danger of an unbridled growth of the debt. But the magnitude of the crisis exceeded the most pessimistic estimates on account of the subsequent decline in the price of oil.

In line with the resolutions passed by the Seventh Congress, CPV Central Committee, Political Bureau, and Secretariat regularly consider economic, political, and social problems of everyday life and also the ways and means of strengthening our party.

In view of the crisis gripping our country the CC's Third Plenary Meeting (May 1986) highlighted the implementation of the *line towards broad interaction between the democratic, popular, and progressive forces. The basis of this interaction must be the consistent unity of all sections of population, social and people's organisations, the uncommitted masses, Marxists and Christians, believers and atheists, progressive-thinking and revolutionary-minded independent civic figures and patriots in a movement pursuing a common aim.* In the class context this interaction must embrace all strata of society—from the proletariat to the non-monopoly bourgeoisie. Under the banner of a common minimum programme this movement would enable us to fight jointly for the establishment of people's power. In turn, this would help to foster a democratic and revolutionary process in Venezuela.

At the Third Plenary Meeting it was noted that the international relations and the economic, social, and political situation in the country were, on account of the deteriorating conditions of the working people's life and their lack of confidence in the future, prompting people to protest and join in the social struggle. On the basis of its assessment of the prevailing situation and the prospects being opened up by it, the plenary meeting set the task of developing *practical, concrete forms of work that could help to reinforce and enlarge the party and increase the efficacy of its policy of achieving broad interaction among the democratic forces.*

The Communists believe that by making a common minimum programme the instrument rallying the largest possible sections of the population interested in putting an end to the notorious bipartisan system of power it would be possible to replace that system with a popular, democratic, and truly independent government capable of taking the country out of the crisis.

Such are the prospects. The stumbling-block lies in the weakness of the left-wing forces, in the disunity and low militancy of the masses. We are aware that the emergent prospects can be turned into reality only if these difficulties are overcome.

A few words about the common minimum programme. The following points are being put forward as the basis for a collective discussion of this programme:

- use of the funds designated for the payment of the external debt to resolve acute social problems affecting huge numbers of people;

- retention of the main industrial facilities in the public sector;

- an independent 'oil policy' within the OPEC and efforts to plan this policy so as to protect non-renewable oil resources;

- struggle for a new international economic order, general and complete disarmament, for peace, against war;

- promotion of agriculture in the interests of the peasantry, and small and medium producers and entrepreneurs, which would eliminate middlemen and the influence of trade monopolies and in the long term, make the country self-sufficient as regards food. All this must be done with account of the living and working conditions of

agricultural workers;

—effective democratisation of state and public institutions; struggle to ensure respect for the working people's right to strike; restoration of trade union democracy; attainment of working-class unity; a change of the electoral system with the purpose of ensuring actual equality of the rights and opportunities of all the democratic forces;

—creation of a dependable system of weeding out corruption and preventing transgressions of the law, a system that would solve the problem of child vagrancy and draw the people into efforts to eliminate the dangerous crime wave sweeping across the country;

—a genuinely sovereign foreign policy based on active solidarity with all the peoples fighting for freedom, especially in Central America; condemnation of apartheid and Zionism, and an extension of relations with socialist countries;

—protection of natural environment, cessation of wanton deforestation, an end to the pollution of the atmosphere and to the accumulation of production waste, a drive for urban noise control, against the pollution of rivers and seas, and the depletion of wildlife; solution of the problems of neglected land and the inhuman conditions of life in city slums.

We will unite with all who are prepared to fight these blemishes and ulcers of society, understanding what obstacles will be raised by the private property system, the drive for profits, and corruption.

These, in general outline, are the basic points of the minimum programme being proposed by the Communists. But we are prepared to hear and discuss other issues so as to draw up a definitive platform that would unite all who want the changes that are vital for the nation. The Venezuelan Communists are aware that this is no easy task but that it has to be carried out with the utmost vigour. The party has already established contact with other left-wing organisations and independent personalities in order to define points of agreement. Developments will show to what extent all the forces, including our party, participating in this process are prepared to advance along the chosen path. Naturally, to achieve our strategic aim, we shall have to reinforce the party and its links to the masses.

In line with the resolutions of the party's Seventh Congress, the CC is according special attention to the ideological and political training of party cadres, for which purpose it has set up a party school. The historical dates widely marked last year included the 55th anniversary of the founding of the CPV (March 5, 1931), International Women's Day, the centenary of May Day, and August 8, our party's national day (the anniversary of the First National Conference, which was held in 1937). Hundreds of discussions explaining the significance of these anniversaries were organised in grassroots cells. Steps are being taken to change for the better the party's newspaper *Tribuna Popular*; this, too, will help to draw attention to our policy towards unity for ending the crisis. The CC's ideological department has resumed the publication of *Cantaclaro*, the monthly supplement to *Tribuna Popular*.

The party's orientation towards a larger membership requires a special focus on the nation's industrial zones, where it should be able to draw new members from among the workers. This would reinforce the CPV's links to the masses, chiefly to the proletariat. However, we are not ignoring rural workers.

At its Fourth Plenary Meeting (July 1986), the CC formed a commission to produce a more searching study of national realities. With the cooperation and help of the party's specialists and friends, the relevant subcommissions are beginning to research the structure of the working class, the causes and effects of the crisis, the external debt problem, the role of the state, education, the health services, and the condition of the middle strata and the indian population. This is serious work requiring time, effort, and perseverance, but it is vital to the cause of our revolution.

It must be noted that the Communists have on several occasions analysed the

present situation, underlying which are such interrelated factors as the capitalist world crisis, the class policy of the capitalist ruling elite, and the irresponsibility of capitalist governments. We have drawn the following conclusions about the causes of the continuing crisis: its mainspring is that the local and foreign monopolies are not inclined to discontinue exporting capital and accumulating huge dollar deposits abroad for currency speculation. A contributing factor has been the fall in the price of oil. Official statistics indicate that of the 13-billion-dollar revenue planned for the current fiscal year the exchequer did not receive five billion dollars. The shortfall may prove to be much larger. Another underlying cause of the crisis is that imperialism is using the nation's foreign debt as a new instrument for exploiting Venezuela and forcing it deeper into dependence. In fact, the government is repaying the debt at the expense of the working people with the resultant growing unemployment, rising prices, falling wages, poverty, undernourishment and a sharp decline of the people's purchasing power.

Apart from its other repercussions, the crisis has already resulted in 1,200,000 of the country's four million able-bodied citizens being unable to find jobs, while the population's incomes have shrunk by 80 per cent from the 1979 level. The current economic policy has a 70 per cent disapproval rating. People are saying openly that life has grown worse and that even more bitter times lie ahead. On the political level the crisis has damaged the credibility of both the *adecos* and the *copeyanos*, discredited the judiciary, bred corruption in the administrative apparatus, prompted more repressions, and stepped up the country's militarisation.

The Herrera Campins government instituted a 'cooling of the economy'. Subsidies were halted and price controls were lifted. As a result, there was a sharp rise of the prices of staple foodstuffs because the lack of subsidies was covered at the expense of consumers. This allowed businessmen to make more profits than ever. Such policy stimulated inflation and aggravated the people's plight. The working class responded with demonstrations of protest and the parliament had to pass a law raising wages. But because the government had not frozen prices, as was demanded by the CPV, they continued to soar and this has nullified the new wage-rise act.

For its part, the Lusinchi government has proclaimed a policy of 'reinvigorating the economy'. Businessmen now have the opportunity of buying the dollar at a very low rate of exchange and obtain new credits. The state-owned Development Corporation, sugar mills, utility companies, and the management of motor highways have been turned over to them. There has been yet another hike of the price of meat, milk, bread, coffee, sugar, medicines and petrol. Housing has grown dearer and rents have risen. The crisis situation has compelled the government to introduce a new exchange rate for the repayment of private foreign debts amounting to 6,500 billion dollars. This has brought the exchequer considerable sums of money.

Venezuela's total foreign debt now amounts to roughly 35 billion dollars. Half of the state debt consists of loans received by illegal means, in violation of the decree on public credits, and in circumvention of the Constitution. The president has declared repeatedly that this astronomical sum will be repaid down to the last cent. This stand is hurting Latin American unity, which is vital in the approach to the debt problem. Nor should it be forgotten that the fall in the price of oil has made Lusinchi's intention hard if not impossible to fulfil. The only realistic facet in this situation is debt rescheduling.

The policies of the *adecos* and the *copeyanos* are thus identical in that both parties want the people to shoulder the burden of the crisis and of the repayment of the foreign debt on the IMF's terms. This line only serves the interests and appetites of the monopoly bourgeoisie.

United in the Federation of Chambers of Trade and Industry, the Venezuelan big bourgeoisie is constantly pressuring the government for more and more privileges

and obstructing any, even the most timid, measures that could benefit the working people. In the past ten years members of this federation received credits and government promissory notes amounting to over 272 billion bolivars (which have not been repaid) and were exempted from taxes on rent, social insurance dues, and so on.

It should be noted that the CPV has always been categorically opposed to internal debts, whose growth comes under fire from the communist press. Every time the parliament considered draft laws on such credits, our representatives in the parliament voted against these laws. However, the Communists were usually in the minority in the parliament.

The government's anti-people policies are breeding nationwide discontent. But this discontent is being neutralised by the reformist leadership of the trade unions and other organisations with all sorts of promises, and also statements and requests to the government to take measures to compensate for the crisis. For example, to provide workers with season-tickets for the use of transport, free lunches at large industrial facilities, and so on. The Communists support even these modest requests despite the fact that they concern only a section of the working people and a hard fight has to be conducted to have them implemented.

In January 1986 the president signed a decree authorising some rise of tariffs and wages, but simultaneously sanctioned a further steep rise of the price of milk, bread, coffee, and other products. Manoeuvres of this kind, which partially meet the interests of by no means all categories of the population, give the people the illusion that the government is concerned about their needs. If one bears in mind that people are constantly preoccupied with the fear of losing their jobs, one will appreciate how complicated the struggle of the working class is against the crisis.

The Confederation of Working People of Venezuela, which is controlled by the government, demagogically denounces the present situation but does nothing to get the people to protest against the government's policy.

A class stand in the true sense of the word has been adopted by the Unitary Centre of the Working People of Venezuela. But its weakness does not permit it to organise massive campaigns, although for a number of years attempts have been made to bolster its influence among the working people by coordinating its actions with those of other trade union organisations. This line was reiterated at the UCWPV Congress in November 1986.

But for the time being very few strikes are being staged, and even those that take place are usually declared unlawful. Exposures published in the press and broadcast by radio, and also demonstrations and picketing at factory gates remain the most widespread forms of struggle. Most of these actions are planned by the Unitary Centre. Our party supports such actions as it did in January and February last year, when workers protested against economic measures instituted by the government. The Communists spoke out in the parliament, in municipal councils, and in mass organisations in defence of the working people's interests.

We see the need for rallying the people and it is our aim to bring them out into the streets and join in the struggle for specific aims: higher wages; the reduction of some particularly exorbitant prices and the freezing of others; the transfer of land to the peasants and the extension of financial and technical aid to them; constraints on the activities of the middlemen, who are bleeding them white; a better system of health services and free hospital services; abolition of entrance fees at institutions of higher learning and of other ways of getting unjustified payments out of students; and, of course, an end to repressions and mass police round-ups in the streets and in workers' neighbourhoods conducted on the pretext of 'protecting individuals' while in fact trimming the rights of tens of thousands of honest people far removed from crime. We protest against the increase of rents in old houses. Because of official connivance rents are not regulated. We demand cheaper and better services.

These aims can only be achieved if the people are organised and wage a struggle—even if it begins with actions that at first glance may seem to be insignificant but help to enhance the general morale—and then move on the mass campaigns attracting public opinion throughout the nation. It is important to act in agreement, to coordinate actions and demonstrations in each particular case so as to show the width and strength of this movement. Our party stands shoulder to shoulder with the people seeking the satisfaction of their socio-economic grievances. We are explaining to the working people that a conclusive solution of their problems depends on political and social changes, on the establishment of a people's government capable of coming to grips with the crisis.

The Venezuelan Communists seek participation in all mass actions. These may be purely economic when, for instance, the working people demand no more than an improvement of a public utility; others may be in defence of national sovereignty or undertaken as part of an election campaign. For us it is important to expose the bipartisan system that brought the nation to its present predicament and get the people to realise that they have to fight for their basic aims.

In the modern world the link between internal and external factors, between distinctive features of the national situation and elements of the international situation, and between the particular and the general is coming more and more into the open. Taken as a whole this interaction predicates the strategy of the revolutionary forces. That this is true was shown not only by our own experience of the 1960s but also by the lessons of the anti-imperialist struggle in our entire region.

In a statement issued recently the CPV Central Committee emphasised the enormous significance of analysing the international situation when the party's political line is worked out: *'World politics and economics are today directly influencing the destiny of every nation.'*⁵

US imperialism and monopolies are the main obstacle to ending the backwardness of the Caribbean and Latin American peoples. The continued exploitation of our national economies by these vultures explains why Washington supports anti-democratic governments that accept dictation from it. In other words, an external factor interacts with negative internal factors such as a low development level and an absence of patriotism among the ruling classes, which in fact leads to bondage of a colonial type.

Moreover, the Reagan policies are seriously hurting the living standard of the continent's working people. Most of the USA's mammoth military expenditures are covered by the super-profits made in the countries of the so-called 'third world', notably Latin American, countries. Financial mechanisms are used to escalate this robbery. These include the international institutions in Washington's service such as the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and the Inter-American Development Bank, which closely coordinate their operations with those of private financial groups in the main capitalist powers. The astronomical foreign debt is the most significant and effective part of the mechanism for exploiting developing nations. On account of this debt Venezuela has found that it is more heavily dependent than ever before, and that its sovereignty is often seriously restricted.

On the international scene Venezuela officially pursues a policy of peace, disarmament, and detente, and acts against the threat of nuclear war. In itself, this is creditable. But today, in view of imperialism's increased aggressiveness, it is not enough. A clear indication of this is given by the Venezuelan government's actions in the Contadora Group, in which it formally supports the line towards dialogue and the quest for a peaceful way out of the situation created over Nicaragua, condemns Reagan's assistance to the 'contras', champions the self-determination of nations, and takes a stand against intervention. But it does all this without the determination

and perseverance needed to make a tangible contribution to a cause of this magnitude and to prevent, as most Venezuelans are demanding, an invasion in Central America by North American troops.

Venezuela's foreign policy changes with the vacillations of the price of oil in the world market. Generally speaking, one can say without exaggeration that on the international scene it is pursuing what is in effect an 'oil policy'. The high oil prices of the 1970s stimulated the trend towards some independence, but their decline in the present decade has led to the opposite. Venezuela's Foreign Ministry began trailing along in the wake of the US State Department. This is further evidence of the influence of external factors such as international trade on the government's decisions.

There is no logic in Venezuela's muddled actions in the face of North American acts of aggression against small and defenceless nations, although our republic's leaders are growing increasingly apprehensive about the developments in the Caribbean. It is becoming more and more difficult for the government in Caracas to close its eyes to the war in Central America, the 'local conflict' started and sustained by the USA. It has already cost many thousands of lives and played havoc with the economy of a number of countries that traditionally provide a market for Venezuelan exports.

The CPV Central Committee noted at its Third Plenary Meeting that Mikhail Gorbachov's initiative to enable humankind to enter the year 2000 in a world delivered from nuclear weapons had won broad acclaim. 'Indisputable evidence of this in our country is the stand adopted on these issues by ex-presidents Caldera and Carlos Andres Perez . . . and other leading personalities who can hardly be suspected of sympathy for the cause of revolution. Indeed, large numbers of people are also beginning to be conscious of the reality of the nuclear threat and the significance of the policy of peace pursued by the socialist countries.'⁶

In its analysis of the international situation, the plenary meeting stressed the enormous significance of the 27th Congress of the CPSU and the congresses of the Communists of Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, and Bulgaria, highlighting the importance of their decisions to accelerate the economic development of their countries in the interests of their peoples and world peace. We should like to make special note of the peace offensive launched by the USSR, which has extended its unilateral nuclear test ban four times, while the USA has conducted more than 20 such tests, and of the Soviet 15-year plan for a phased abolition of nuclear weapons.

The USSR and the other countries of the socialist community have advanced a series of important initiatives aimed at creating a system of international security, ending the arms race, and achieving disarmament.

This active policy of peace has won the approval not only of peoples but also of the leaders of many states with different political and economic systems.

The paramount event of the past year was the Soviet-US meeting in Iceland. Unlike the US President, who made nothing to ensure a successful outcome, the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee displayed the maximum flexibility and, at the same time, firmness in questions of principle. One can say with certainty that *today many more people are aware of who is in fact urging peace and of who is out to escalate the arms race while hypocritically talking of peace.*

The stories spread by Western media about the summit having been a 'dismal flop' at first confused a section of Latin American opinion. But the pile of fabrications began to fall apart virtually before people's eyes as soon as Mikhail Gorbachov's statement at his press conference and his TV speeches were made public. In the time that has elapsed since Reykjavik it has become obvious to every unbiased person that the efforts of the Soviet leadership have not been in vain. On the contrary, it has comprehensively substantiated and set in motion a large series of new initiatives that

have already won broad international support.

Despite all the barriers and relapses into cold war, the Soviet Union is continuing its meaningful policy of peace. This is making people of goodwill optimistic about the future.

The Communist Party of Venezuela thinks highly of Soviet foreign policy and is giving it the utmost publicity. A special resolution adopted at the Third Plenary Meeting declares: "The world revolutionary movement can draw much that is useful to it from the resolutions of the 27th Congress of the CPSU: It is vital for the Venezuelan Communists to study these documents, which are a living embodiment of Marxism-Leninism in action today so as to reinforce our party as well with a profound, objective confidence that humanity's march towards communism is inexorable. We call upon all members of the Communist Party of Venezuela not only to go through but analyse, in particular, the new edition of the Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It explains the most crucial problems of the world of today and, at the same time, shows the theoretical justification for the struggle of all peoples for social progress, for socialism, against the crimes of imperialism."⁷

There is no doubt that in the new year of 1987, when the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution is marked throughout the world, the USSR will be enjoying unprecedented prestige and the impact of the ideals spelled out by the 27th Congress of the CPSU will be greater than ever. This congress, we noted in our resolution, 'was of exceptional historic significance from all points of view. But, above all, it showed the world the intellectual and moral strength of Soviet society that was built through the heroic efforts of the people led by the glorious party of Lenin.'⁸

Inspired by their militant traditions and the resolutions of their own Seventh Congress, the Venezuelan Communists are doing all in their power to promote the spread of Marxist-Leninist theory and foster a further upswing of the anti-imperialist struggle. We shall act with perseverance to consolidate the positive trends in international relations and take a more active part in the various peace movements that mirror the hopes of the Venezuelan people. In fulfilment of its internationalist duty, the CPV is ensuring more effective solidarity of the working people and all progressives of Venezuela with the patriots of Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Puerto Rico, and Chile, as with the fighters for the freedom of other peoples. *But the most important contribution of the Venezuelan Communists will unquestionably be their effective implementation of their party's policy of wide-ranging interaction among the forces of peace and democracy, a policy that opens up new horizons for our country.*

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 243.

² *Ibid.*, p. 274.

³ In Venezuela members of the bourgeois-reformist Democratic Action Party, which is affiliated to the Socialist International, are called *adecos*, while members of the Social Christian Party are called *copeyanos*.—*Ed.*

⁴ For details, see *WMR*, No. 12, 1980, pp. 26-27.—*Ed.*

⁵ 'Declaración Internacional del III Pleno del CC del PCV', *Revista Internacional*, Venezuelan edition, No. 4, 1986.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ 'En torno al XXVII Congreso del PCUS', *Revista Internacional*, Venezuelan edition, No. 4, 1986.

⁸ *Ibid.*

The Destiny of Capitalism and the Prospect before the Developing World

Amath Dansokho – CC General Secretary, Senegal Party of Independence and Labour (SPIL)

IN the latter half of this century, all contradictions of capitalism have been growing deeper, its social development has been increasingly unstable both in its centres and in the periphery, and the ills and impasses of bourgeois society have been as apparent as never before. The reactionary character of this moribund social system is epitomised in the attempts of international capital to survive by resorting to the nuclear sword. Ignoring the will of the peoples and even the instinct of self-preservation shown by a part of the bourgeois class which sees that the policy of nuclear brinkmanship can ultimately lead to a catastrophe, the more reactionary circles of capitalism are prepared to risk the life of mankind, making it hostage to their selfish interests. All adversities the world has had to face are rooted today in capitalism with its drive for domination and class exploitation.

The events of the past decades have reaffirmed that the anti-capitalist tendencies in world development are viable indeed. They are maturing today both in capitalist society and in the newly independent countries where a usually feeble bourgeois structure coexists with precapitalist forms of economy. The existence of the socialist system, no doubt, has had a decisive effect on the spread of socialist consciousness world-wide. Contributing greatly to this have been the Communists and the working class movement as a whole.

However, it is not only the example of existing socialism, and not only the mastering of scientific socialism by the progressive quarters that has made the anti-capitalist tendencies in the liberation movement zone so powerful and large-scale as they are today. Growing acceptance of scientific socialism by this movement and its socialist orientation have been determined by objective internal factors—the collapse of colonialism, the crisis of dependent capitalism, the rotting of the neo-colonialist order, and impossibility to resolve by bourgeois methods the key social and economic problems, such as underdevelopment, poverty and dependence on imperialism. The fact that more than a dozen states in Africa have opted for the non-capitalist path speaks for itself. For all the difficulties the revolutionaries have had to go through, and despite the fierce resistance of reaction at home and abroad, liberation processes have reached our continent, too, though later than other parts of the world. These processes are occurring within the mainstream of the historical transition from capitalism to socialism, and they are shaped by the profound national and social aspirations of African peoples. As we intend to show below, these processes worry the imperialist quarters a great deal.

We believe this question can well be examined in a broader context. More often than not, the bourgeois scale of values is increasingly rejected today by numerous social forces in the capitalist world itself. The policy of monopolies and bourgeois rule are no longer exposed only by the advanced section of the working class and by the Communists. Today, the crisis and the new tough measures taken by 'neoconservative' governments against the working people prompt the democratic forces to act

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on many problems which cannot be solved in bourgeois society.

Diverse sections of society—intellectuals, office employees, farmers, young people, students, the urban petty bourgeoisie, and ethnic minorities—are joining class battles and the anti-monopoly and anti-war actions closely interrelated with them. The demand is that the arms race be curbed, the threat of mankind's destruction staved off, and the social causes of war eliminated. These forces press for consistent democratisation of the political regime and demand a solution to major global problems. Democratic mass movements of this kind are usually characterised by spontaneous anti-capitalist tendencies as well. At present these movements are going through the initial stage in their development—the *accumulation of experience*. It is their practical experience that invariably brings them into conflict with the state run by the monopoly bourgeoisie, making them gradually realise that the interests of this state clash with those of the overwhelming majority of the people.

I

The future of capitalism worries the 'captains' of the bourgeois world today not less than it did almost seven decades ago, when the socialist revolution in Russia won the first victory over the old regime and opened before mankind an epoch of transition to socialism. They keep on trying to find 'recipes' for prolonging the social status quo, resorting now to neoliberal 'therapy', now the strong-arm methods of 'neoconservatism'. International capitalism seeks a means of rejuvenating itself in the developing countries as well. Of late, Washington, London and Bonn have come up with an initiative, much lauded by bourgeois propaganda, on effecting 'reforms' in the peripheral area of the world capitalist economy.

Addressing a special session of the UN General Assembly on the critical economic situation in Africa (May 1986), US Secretary of State George Shultz spoke of the need for 'historic change' in the economic policy of African countries, and for new 'priorities' in that policy. The Reagan Administration believes that here, too, a success can be achieved by providing 'individual economic opportunities': the only thing to be done is to renounce state principles in favour of private capitalist ones. According to Shultz, 'governmental dirigism' can aggravate economic problems the way natural disasters do.¹ William Ryrie of Britain, the head of the International Finance Corporation (IFC) affiliated to the World Bank (IBRD), also complains about the weakness of the private capitalist sector in Africa as compared with other regions of the Third World. It is the IFC's mission, he says, to overcome this 'drawback' by appropriating staggering sums for reviving private capitalist activity on our continent.²

There is a relatively new factor behind these statements: this time the champions of free enterprise see it as a *key element* of the strategy of combating economic difficulties in newly liberated, above all African countries. Free enterprise is posed as an alternative to socialist 'experiments', to any state regulation of the economy. To a certain extent, the bourgeois press is euphoric: a proper ideological reply to the class adversaries has allegedly been found. One of the ardent advocates of 'changing priorities' puts it straight in the *International Herald Tribune*: 'Private enterprise and the market economy are far better tools for economic growth than state socialism, . . . virtually every socialist attempt at economic progress in the Third World has failed conspicuously. *The ultimate triumph of market-oriented capitalism may be near*,' he concludes (emphasis added—A.D.).³

The author's vision of so complex problems is either too naive or had been inspired by someone else—let it be on his conscience. A quarter of a century back, similar upbeat forecasts were made by former colonialists with regard to the African states which had opted for private enterprise (Nigeria, Kenya, Liberia, and others). But they never became an African showcase of capitalism. On the contrary, the

dependent capitalist path proved to be fraught with economic trouble and social instability and tensions, as was the case in Cote-d'Ivoire.⁴ And the charges levelled against 'state socialism' are either unfounded—for no one can deny its leading role, as, for instance, in independent India—or misdirected. It is imperialism which has bent every effort to turn the state sector in Senegal, and in many other African and Asian countries, into a kind of breeding-ground of a corrupt bourgeoisie and its bureaucratic stratum making up the 'national basis' of neocolonial rule.

But it is not sufficient, in our view, merely to criticise the propaganda rhetoric of the votaries of 'individual opportunity'. The propaganda is nothing more than an ideological cover for serious phenomena and processes. The attacks on the economic policy pursued hitherto by the newly independent states, including those in Africa, are designed not only for repudiating the charges against the imperialist powers themselves, whose actions have produced an intolerable situation with regard to the Third World's debts and caused many other ills of underdeveloped economies. What is more important is that, while complaining about the 'weakness of indigenous enterprise' in our countries, the monopolists and their companies and banks are trying to devise *a long-term strategy to provide stronger props for capitalism in the Third World.*

II

An appraisal of development along the capitalist path, especially in Africa, produces a picture that is hardly encouraging. There are quite a few reasons for that.

From the beginning capitalism lacked an adequate social basis in a number of regions in the Third World. The African bourgeoisie was still a toddler at the time African countries won national sovereignty. The domination of foreign capital, which remained undisturbed, gave slim chances for the growth of the bourgeoisie. Local business was inclined not so much to promote enterprise than to use illegal ways of accumulation (corruption, etc.), or accepted the humiliating role of a toady of imperialist companies. As they came to power, the bourgeois and pro-bourgeois circles proved unable to revolutionise the means of production or to promote the development of progressive relations of production.

The activities of African businessmen, based on corruption and humiliating transactions with former colonialists, profoundly discredited in the eyes of the population not only champions of capitalist orientation, but capitalist orientation itself, the path followed by many countries on our continent in the 1960s and 1970s.

The objective factors which surfaced later made the formation of the local capitalist class extremely difficult. With rare exceptions, the nascent bourgeois elements did nothing to abolish the former feudal methods of exploitation and were bound up with the reactionary forms of capital, primarily with the commercial and above all trading and usury forms. The bourgeoisie failed to become what it had been in the former historical epoch of transition from feudalism to capitalism—a transforming force in society.

Besides, the transformative functions of capitalism proved limited where relatively advanced bourgeois structures were taking shape in agriculture and industry (as in India and some other countries) due to the interplay of domestic and external factors (local private enterprise plus the introduction of appropriate stimulants by foreign capital). But even this kind of development was quite rare. Various backward and inefficient economic structures remained virtually unchanged.

Yet another feature of the social evolution in that part of the world is that development has been increasingly uneven, which is typical of capitalism in general; this produced imbalances on a national, regional or continental scale. Compared with the stagnation of capitalism in a number of backward African countries whose economies showed zero or even negative growth at the turn of the decade, the

economies of some Asian countries were comparatively well off. By contrast, the phenomenon of 'new industrialising countries', or technological changes adequate to the present level of scientific and technological progress was alien to Africa south of the Sahara. The selective imperialist strategy of creating entirely new industries in South Korea and Taiwan, and to some extent in a few other countries of the ASEAN economic group, bypassed the African continent. As before, Africa is assigned the traditional role of agricultural and raw-material supplier.

But even where the development rate of capitalism has been comparatively high in the last twenty five years, the social outcome of the growth stimulated from the outside has not been very comforting. The ASEAN countries are an example of this. The abrupt slow-down of their growth rate, caused by the drop in the prices of oil and some other export commodities, very soon laid bare the negative aspect of the 'Asian miracle'. In Indonesia, at the beginning of the 1980s ten million people, or 17 per cent of the country's workforce, lost their jobs. Among them were not only workers but also engineers, physicians, and others.⁵ The devaluation of the national currency by 45 per cent in relation to the US dollar provoked new outbreaks of popular discontent in the country.

Capitalist development in the Afro-Asian region proved incapable of a radical transformation of society, the state and the economy. On rare occasions advancement along this path produced some economic growth. Pauperisation, disorientation of society, and destabilisation of social structures—these are the aftermaths of the dominance of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and prevalence of some other forms of bourgeois rule, not to mention that local capitalism has failed to solve any significant national problem. The reactionary neocolonialist order, anti-popular dictatorial rule, and vestiges of the feudal and pre-feudal past have produced a recrudescence of social conflicts. All this led to revolutionary outbreaks in Congo, Benin, Ethiopia and Madagascar, and later in Ghana and Burkina Faso.

The revolutionary popular struggle in the Portuguese colonies, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa against colonialism, racism and apartheid, and revolutionary battles in other parts of the world, especially in Vietnam, other countries of Indochina and Cuba, had an immense impact on the situation in the whole of Africa. Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and some other African countries which had freed themselves from colonial oppression, made a progressive choice and effected far-reaching social reforms. It would not be an overstatement to say that the peoples of Africa *have arrived at socialist orientation after a great deal of sufferings and have embarked on a path of independent progressive development which offers an alternative to their colonial and neocolonial past, although the time of trial is not yet over.*

In this context, the motives behind the large-scale ideological campaign launched by imperialism in the first half of the 1980s to compromise the revolutionary choice made by many African states become clearer. This campaign is part of the imperialist course of social revenge and a policy of 'rolling back' socialism and communism. In the case of Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, this course took the form of aggressive and subversive acts directed and implemented by racist South Africa. The attacks on the non-capitalist path, on socialist orientation reached their peak at the time of a grave disaster—the recent drought which hit hard many countries of our continent. Most of the attacks were levelled at revolutionary Ethiopia.

But socialist Ethiopia has reliable friends above all in the socialist countries and in developing and capitalist nations as well. They showed sympathy for the path of transformations chosen by the Ethiopian people. The campaign of attacks and slander against that country, just like previous imperialist attacks on other progressive states, has shown that strategically, this time it was something far greater than a series of acts of ideological sabotage. *The future of capitalist development in*

Africa has become a source of concern for the Western governments. They want to make this irreversible by expanding the base of reproduction of capitalist relations, this time at the grassroots level.

These plans are not new. A few years back the World Bank formulated a recipe of producing 'solid' farmers from bourgeois elements in the African countryside and small proprietors. The Bank recommended, among other things, that private enterprise be stimulated by increasing the prices of farm produce, lifting 'bureaucratic barriers and control', devaluating national currencies and disseminating agronomic knowledge.⁶ Some of the measures are in themselves quite reasonable. But these recommendations cannot be viewed outside of the class context: what has been suggested is transforming *capitalist* farming into a major instrument of stabilising a bourgeois or pro-bourgeois order. This is borne out by recent events, while the IBRD and the IMF have been getting steadily tougher with young states.

Setting niceties aside, George Shultz laid down a number of conditions before Africa. From now on US aid would be rendered to the countries which adopt 'historical changes' encouraging an all-round promotion of private capitalist principles in the economy. He said that such aid should now 'increase self-reliance and discourage dependency'.⁷ Nonetheless it is a fact that in practice the dependence of capitalist-oriented states has been growing, rather than decreasing. It is obvious that in our country, in Cote-d'Ivoire, Zaire and some other states the development of capitalism is directed by the World Bank and the IMF, and not in the least by the sovereign governments. The imperialist financial agencies act as managers while the neocolonialist state merely follows their instructions. More often than not, government officials merely play the role of functionaries planted by the two financial organisations.

In our view, a situation has been created in which the imperialist bosses, fearing for the future of peripheral capitalism, *are compelled to take the matter of ensuring its survival and stabilisation entirely into their hands*. The bankruptcy of the African bourgeoisie's rule and attempts to direct the development of capitalism by fiat prompts one to recall Kwame Nkrumah's book *Consciencism* (1964) in which he prophetically emphasised the serious obstacles this mode of production would encounter in Africa.

III

The anti-capitalist tendency manifested itself on our continent way back in the colonial epoch. Already at that time radical and anti-bourgeois circles moved to the forefront in the anti-imperialist liberation movement in Ghana, Guinea, Mali and some other countries. The popular masses invariably associated capitalism and capitalist orientation with foreign rule and exploitation. This explains why, in the first decade after liberation (the 1960s), the forces which had proclaimed socialism as their goal came to power in a number of African countries. The anti-capitalist course continued to force its way, notwithstanding occasional setbacks in Mali and Ghana.

The setbacks, however, merely strengthened the resolve of the patriots and revolutionaries. Initial socialist and reformist illusions were gradually being overcome, and the anti-scientific 'African socialism' theories were fading. The new generation of fighters against imperialism raised the question of the destiny of the national liberation revolution in Africa with more clarity and determination. They refused to retreat in the face of difficulties, believing it was necessary to *enhance the social purpose of this revolution*. This process reached its peak in the 1970s, when vanguard revolutionary-democratic parties adhering to scientific socialism appeared in Africa.

It is not the purpose of this article to give a detailed analysis of the movement's experience on the path of socialist orientation. *World Marxist Review* has published

many articles by outstanding figures of African ruling vanguard parties, who cited specific facts to show the political, social and ideological aspects of this *present-day form of non-capitalist development*, the concept which had been advanced by the founders of scientific socialism, elaborated by Lenin and later enriched by the practical efforts of building socialism in many countries.

In the present epoch, the non-capitalist path, the path of socialist orientation opens before developing countries a way to social progress. It meets the genuine interests and aspirations of the working masses, reflects their striving for a fair social order, and lies within the main stream of human history. Ruling revolutionary democracy pursues a course of radical change: solution of the agrarian problem and cooperation of the peasantry, reinforcement of the state sector in the economy, and enhancement of the working people's role in the life of the state and society. Socialist orientation means relentless struggle against internal and external reaction and is aimed at eliminating the domination of foreign monopolies, feudal lords, the tribal mobility, and the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie.

It must be emphasised here that the dismantling of the positions and influence of the *pro-imperialist* bourgeoisie is a key task of national democratic revolution in general. In Africa, this kind of bourgeoisie is personified by the corrupt and parasitic bureaucratic bourgeoisie which is in power in several countries ruled by neocolonialist regimes. It and its key element, the ruling elite, are the foremost targets of the patriotic forces. Blows struck at these targets are essential for democratic reform. (The 1983 developments in Burkina Faso are a recent example of this.)

The record shows that after coming to power, revolutionary-democratic forces should adopt a differentiated approach to dissimilar layers of the nascent local bourgeoisie. The private capitalist structure (or structures) inherited from the past is yet to coexist for a long time with the new, nascent forms of economic activity. Therefore it is important to determine, from positions of scientific theory, the place and the role of capitalism within framework of non-capitalist development.

It is appropriate to recall here Lenin's words to the effect that ' "We" continue saying now and again that "capitalism is a bane and socialism is a boon". But such an argument is wrong, because it fails to take into account *the aggregate of the existing economic forms* (emphasis added—A.D.) and singles out only two of them.

'Capitalism is a bane compared with socialism. Capitalism is a boon compared with medievalism, small production, and the evils of bureaucracy which spring from the dispersal of the small producers.'⁸

We believe that given the realities in the countries with multi-structural economies, that is, in most Third World countries, this approach is as timely as ever, which is seen, in particular, from the position of the Communists and revolutionary democrats with regard to the prospects of a number of local capitalist economic structures. 'Since capitalism and petty commodity production based on private ownership holds a significant share in the national economy,' says the Programme of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia, 'the WPE's economic policy will give due attention to this sector.'⁹ The party and the state, the Programme says, intend to use capitalist activity as far as it fits into the national plan, exercising control over it. The WPE Programme allows a degree of private capitalist activity in trade, the hotel industry and in some other spheres during the transition period.

It is fitting to quote a statement on this issue by Robert Mugabe, leader of ZANU-PF, the ruling revolutionary-democratic party in Zimbabwe: 'Though we adhere to socialist ideology, we understand that at present we have a capitalist economy, and it will take time to effect social reforms. But for the time being, the private sector should continue to fulfil its mission.'¹⁰

The above quotations show in what ways the question concerning indigenous

capitalism can and must be solved in practical terms in progressive states. As we see it, it is possible and necessary to allow its activity to a certain extent but this does not mean, however, that one may ignore the concomitant danger. Lenin repeatedly warned revolutionaries about the pernicious and pervasive effect of private capitalist operations on society, the process in which a part of the state machinery and the party cadres may go bourgeois. In the countries we have mentioned, and in many others that have chosen socialism, these negative phenomena are combated, and control has been established over indigenous capitalist businesses. *The concentration of power in the hands of genuine spokesmen of the people is essential for success and guarantees that the prerevolutionary order will not be restored.*

Our party is aware that a change of course will pose similar problems before Senegal too. This is why it is important to rally our forces now to fight the reactionary and bureaucratic bourgeoisie. The anti-capitalist orientation defended by the SPIL cannot be the voice of one class only. And indigenous entrepreneurs, too, will not survive if they are left alone, slighted by the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and by imperialism. The goals of the national democratic revolution meet the interests of several sections of society. The Communists are for a broad-based unity of all patriots in a democratic front of struggle against imperialism and the neocolonialism. Unity is needed by the working class, the peasants, and other population groups, and, doubtlessly, by a part of national capital. 'The national bourgeoisie is called upon to play a role that would be useful for the whole nation in the private economic sector which, not holding dominating positions, will contribute to providing conditions required for making the economy reliable and profitable.'¹¹ Experience has shown that, as the anti-imperialist movement is gaining strength and the opportunities for joint struggle against foreign domination increase, indigenous entrepreneurs tend to ally themselves with those who back a consistent anti-imperialist course.

The Senegalese Communists now concentrate on mobilising the working people to accomplish anti-imperialist, democratic tasks. It is symptomatic that the part of the working class which until recently supported the ruling party now gravitates towards unity. Some time ago, its trade union centre, the National Confederation of the Working People of Senegal, indignant at the authorities grovelling before the IBRD and the IMF, openly came out for a democratic alternative, for overcoming the social and economic crisis, and thus called in question the government's ability to effect due changes. The confederation has called on the leaders of *all* political forces to search jointly for a way out of the impasse. We and other patriotic forces backed up this proposal by including it in the opposition's programme now being discussed in most diverse sections of society. The alternative programme advanced by Communists and other democratic forces in opposition focuses on the key problems: the destiny of country and the character of its relations with international financial institutions.

Our party considers that the defeat of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie is inevitable. After that neocolonialist structures and mechanisms would collapse. *The end of domination by the reactionary bourgeoisie will mark the start of a transition period which will prompt the patriotic forces to choose a new orientation of social and economic development.* Since the bureaucratic bourgeoisie is backed by imperialism, long and severe battles are ahead.

The Communists and revolutionary democrats have a similar approach to the fate of capitalism, as has already been shown here. Under certain circumstances of the historical transition to a new social system, capitalist elements can, to a degree, play a positive role: they can stimulate economic activity by promoting cooperation with the state sector and doing business on their own. In this sense it is safe to say that capitalism still has definite potential and possibilities in the Third World.

But the picture would be all too different if the destiny of capitalism is viewed in a broader historical context. The remaining potentialities of international capital

cannot make up for the main thing—the loss by the bourgeois system of positive goals and historical prospects. *The strategy of social revenge employed by imperialism is nothing but a sensitive response to the past reverses which had narrowed down the scope of its political and economic domination.* The stagnation and disintegration of peripheral dependable capitalism also indicates the deepening of the general crisis of this socio-economic system. The contradictions between imperialism and the developing countries have never been more acute. The political, economic and social strategy of imperialism has created a dangerously explosive situation in the developing world. This has been aptly described in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress: 'The bags of money are liable to become kegs of gunpowder. Sooner or later, in this area too, capitalism will have to choose between the policy of force and shameless plunder, on the one hand, and the opportunity of cooperation, on the other. The solutions must be radical—in the interests of the peoples of the developing states.'¹²

In conclusion, I should like to stress that the tendency of social emancipation has struck deep roots in the Third World. It reveals itself in diverse forms, spreading all through the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples, and has an increasing influence on national democratic revolutions. Although historical changes towards national liberation and social emancipation have been effected in a large group of developing nations, and the trail-blazers of the movement for progress have gained a wealth of experience in solving major national problems on the path of non-capitalist development, one should not underrate the potential of the forces led by imperialism which are hostile to this development. It is most important therefore to resolutely counter imperialist schemes and manoeuvres in future as well, to find convincing answers to the burning social and economic problems of our time, and to comprehensively propagate all that is positive, all that makes the basic difference between socialist orientation, the non-capitalist path and dependent capitalist development in the neocolonialist framework.

¹ *Le Monde*, May 29, 1986.

² *South*, December 1984, p. 66.

³ Pramay Gupte, 'Development Works in the Third World', *International Herald Tribune*, November 8, 1985.

⁴ For details, see Ibrahima Sene, 'The Blind Alleys of Capitalist Orientation', *WMR*, No. 9, 1986.

⁵ *Far Eastern Economic Review*, December 8, 1983, p. 57.

⁶ *The Economist*, October 10, 1981, pp. 90-91.

⁷ *International Herald Tribune*, May 29, 1986.

⁸ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 350.

⁹ *The Workers' Party of Ethiopia Programme*, September 1984, Addis Ababa, p. 79.

¹⁰ *Afrique-Asie*, August 24, 1986, p. 16.

¹¹ Daan Doole, special issue, July 1984.

¹² *Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress*, Moscow, 1986, p. 20.

After Reykjavik and Copenhagen (The Peace Offensive Continues)

Anker Schjerning – CC Secretary,
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THE growth of the peace movement is heartening all peace fighters. This growth is today exceedingly fast. Every week brings reports of new anti-war actions by the peace forces involving ever larger sections of society.

Spreading in all the continents, the movement grew visibly stronger last year, which was the International Year of Peace. The continuing tension on the world scene has been a contributing factor. It is making people more anxious about their own destiny and the future of the planet, and prevailing upon them to take a stand against the nuclear threat, the imperialist confrontational policy, and the whipping up of the arms race.

It is highly significant that the International Year of Peace was proclaimed by the UN and that the anti-war actions during that year were held under its aegis. Not a single government took objection to this. Many declared their desire to facilitate the success of this UN initiative and the consolidation of peace and worldwide security. Although the peace movement did not have governmental support everywhere—in fact, there was obstruction from the governments of many Western states—the official declarations in favour of peace and detente created an atmosphere conducive for the expansion of this movement, for an enhancement of its prestige among the people.

Public consciousness was given a substantial boost by grassroots peace initiatives and actions. Each such action mirrored the eagerness and readiness of millions of people to take part in resolving vital issues of their life, notably the problem of peace, and make their own contribution to preventing a nuclear war.

Of course, a particularly large role was played by the peace initiatives and actions of the socialist and other peace-loving states. They introduced clarity and explicitness into the debates on the ways and means of removing the nuclear threat and advancing towards disarmament.

Let us recall how much talk there has been about the urgency of deliverance from nuclear weapons. When a year ago the USSR advanced a plan for destroying the stockpiles of such weapons in three stages by the close of the present century, this plan at once commanded the attention of the international community. There was much argument about how to stop the arms race. Now we know the answer—a general moratorium on nuclear tests. This would be a barrier to the perfection of mass destruction weapons, the development of new types of such weapons, and the deployment of strike systems in outer space.

The problem of verification was seen for a long time as a bone of contention. The initiative put forward by the six countries of the five continents calling for an international system of verifying the silence of nuclear testing sites, the Soviet Union's support for this initiative, and the successful cooperation between Soviet and American seismologists showed that the problem lay in something else—in political will.

Anker Schjerning (b. 1944) became involved in socio-political activities in 1961 as a member of Denmark's Social Democratic Youth organisation. He joined the Communist Youth League in 1962 and the Communist Party of Denmark in 1968. A member of the Central Committee since 1980 and a CPD Central Committee Secretary since 1983, Anker Schjerning leads the CPD Peace Commission and has served on the governing body of the Danish Liaison Committee for Peace and Security since 1974.

As a matter of fact, here too the question was posed clearly and concretely. The whole world saw who lacked the political will to adopt a decision consistent with common interests.

Naturally, this has influenced the public frame of mind, and fostered the development and enlargement of the social base of the peace movement wherever it was active. We are seeing changes in our own country. Throughout the whole of the past year there has been a growth and strengthening of support from various sections of the Danish people for the call of the peace fighters for an end to nuclear tests. What, it may be asked, is new about this? This call had been made before and it had a similarly wide response from the population. The new element is that people have come to realise that it is not a utopia, that it is feasible if the Soviet moratorium is joined by other nuclear powers, by the USA in the first place. This is a simple but very important fact.

It is essential that every person joining the struggle for lofty, morally justified aims should know whether his or her efforts can bring tangible results. *All the more is this an imperative for a mass movement such as that of the peace fighters. The strength of the moral protest against war preparations is giving people the confidence that there will most certainly be results.*

Precisely this confidence in the peace movement was strengthened significantly after the Soviet-US meeting at Reykjavik, which signalled clearly that nuclear disarmament was possible. The sides were close to important accords on the abolition of their intermediate-range missiles in Europe, a simultaneous reduction of the number of such missiles in Asia and on American territory, and a deep, 50 per cent cutback of strategic armaments with the prospect that these armaments would be eliminated altogether within ten years. No agreement was reached on account of the US Administration's reluctance to reinforce the ABM Treaty and limit SDI research to laboratory experimentation. The aggressive policy behind Washington's commitment to its 'star wars' programme has thus become the principal obstacle to progress in nuclear and general disarmament. Instead of halting the arms race, this programme is taking it to a new, qualitatively higher level. Peace will become correspondingly less secure. That this conclusion is being arrived at by almost all the forces in the peace movement was shown by the *debates at the Copenhagen World Congress (October 15-19, 1986) devoted to the International Year of Peace.*

This congress took place less than a week after the Reykjavik summit. Delegates to it came from more than 130 countries and they represented a wide spectrum of international public opinion: political and religious circles, academic and cultural communities, women's, youth, and various anti-war organisations and groups. People of different persuasions and political views gathered in Copenhagen for a dialogue on ensuring peace on our planet. The discussions were unconstrained and open to every participant in the congress.¹ Many conflicting opinions were articulated about regional conflicts, compliance with human rights in various countries, the sources of the threat to humanity, the measures for building confidence in the world community, and the role of traditional mass organisations and new social groups in the struggle for peace. Reykjavik was in the focus of the debates. In the minds of the participants final assessments were not possible within so few days after the summit, but it was clear for almost everybody that the Soviet proposals and initiatives had opened great perspectives and possibilities of getting disarmament off the ground with sweeping reductions of Soviet and American nuclear forces. There was a strong feeling among the participants in the congress that common action from the peoples of the world is needed here and now in order not to miss the historical opportunity of removing the nuclear threat and reversing the arms race. In the time that has passed since the congress this spirit has grown even stronger in the Danish peace movement.

It will be recalled that the International Preparatory Committee had decided that

the congress would not issue a concluding document. However, the desire of the participants to unite in common action to prevent a nuclear war and eliminate all nuclear weapons proved to be a strong cementing factor. Representatives of the peace forces from the six countries of the five continents drew up the Copenhagen Appeal and called upon the delegates to sign it. This is a terse and clear-cut document: *'To halt the nuclear arms race on Earth and to prevent it in outer space, to eliminate all nuclear weapons, we demand as urgent practical steps: Stop all nuclear weapon tests immediately! No to star wars!'* The vast majority of the participants wanted to sign this appeal. A signature-canvassing drive is now being conducted in all continents, and this is symbolic of the congress's close affinity to the worldwide movement for peace. In Denmark representatives of a broad spectrum of peace forces gathered at a peace conference on December 6-7, 1986, to launch a vigorous campaign in favour of the goals of the Copenhagen Appeal.

This demonstration of unity is likewise vital. To appreciate this it would be enough to follow the development of the situation and the ongoing debates in the USA. There are indications that the Reagan Administration is in effect abandoning its attempts to depict the Soviet disarmament proposals as unacceptable and the difficulties of nuclear verification as insuperable. Of course, assertions to the contrary have not vanished altogether; they are merely not being repeated as often as they used to be. By and large, the US propaganda machine directed by the White House has switched to a 'charge' of a different kind. It is claiming that the Soviet Union cannot be taken at its word, alleging that freedom of the press and freedom of opinion do not exist in the USSR and for that reason it may at any moment resort to deception. This, it is asserted, makes SDI an indispensable guarantee against possible 'cheating'.

Obviously, this stand puts everything on its head. If you wish to come to an agreement on disarmament, distrust of your partner or disapproval of the social system in his country would not be conducive to success. If an agreement is not desired a pretext will always be found to justify hypocrisy. The trouble is that the hypocrisy of the Reagan Administration may cost all humankind dear.

We have already heard something of the kind now being asserted by American propaganda. There have been statements of distrust during the run-up to the World Congress in Copenhagen. Taking its cue from Washington, the press, including the Danish media, rained attacks on the organisers of the congress, casting doubt on the very idea of holding it. They suggested discussing not the main issues worrying humanity—the banning of nuclear tests, the proposals made by Mikhail Gorbachov at Reykjavik, or the SDI—but the alleged impossibility of conducting a realistic dialogue with the Soviet Union. They maintained that the Soviet Union would impose its views on the congress, that it would use the peace movement in its own interests. But today, after the congress, it is obvious that the attempts to hinder the dialogue among the peace forces and provoke ideological bickering in the peace movement to the detriment of what is most important have not succeeded. The congress unequivocally declared that there was no excuse for continuing the arms race and the SDI programme, and underscored the significance of the mass actions demanding the abolition of nuclear weapons. The immediate tasks include the broad campaign peace champions are to launch to explain the danger inherent in the apologia of aggression and confrontation and in the anti-Soviet propaganda and slander used by the militarist forces to prevent the development of dialogue involving representatives of peace movements in different countries.

The growing influence of these movements, as I have already noted, is unquestionably an outcome of the vigorous actions of the socialist and other peace-loving nations in favour of detente and disarmament. Despite the slander campaign by the right-wing press, the peace initiatives of these nations are getting an ever wider

response from international opinion. The non-aligned movement is playing an ever larger role in world affairs, and the six countries of the five continents are winning increasing prestige. The Social Democrats and other political forces in Western Europe are demanding that the European countries find their own approach to disarmament regardless of the Reagan line. It is indicative that at a peace rally held in Copenhagen after the congress completed its work, the secretary of the Danish social democratic parliamentary group, Jytte Andersen, quoted Mikhail Gorbachov's words at the conclusion of her speech: "... What will be the need for defence against nuclear missiles if there will no longer be missiles. This would be absolutely senseless."

A broad, vigorous offensive by the peace forces is thus unfolding. In the course of the anti-war struggle the peace forces are modifying their assessment of international developments. In this context significant changes are taking place in the West European peace movement, and for us in Denmark this is of considerable importance.

In the early 1980s, during the struggle against the deployment of US nuclear missiles in Western Europe, the then spontaneous mass peace movement saw no difference between the policies of the USSR and the USA. Many adversaries of the nuclear build-up, who had earlier taken no part in the anti-war struggle and were far removed from political activity, believed that the two great powers were using Europe as a hostage. For their part, the social democratic and bourgeois forces did all they could to encourage this belief. West European public opinion was seen as the only force capable of changing the situation in the region and influencing world developments. This broad spontaneous movement was in most cases opposed to both great powers.

In recent years the situation has changed. *The new Soviet peace initiatives which are opening the way to disarmament and the Soviet moratorium on nuclear tests, announced in August 1985 and extended several times, compellingly indicate which of the two powers is championing peace and which is raising obstacles.* Almost every person in the peace movement can see the Soviet Union's impressive efforts on behalf of peace.

Of course, far from everybody has been able to shed prejudices and false impressions about Soviet foreign policy. In Denmark, for example, the Social Democrats and many left-wing forces are only now beginning to develop a new mentality. Many of their leaders are now acknowledging the importance of the Soviet peace initiatives and actions, but so far they have not got down to mobilising public opinion in support of these initiatives. It is very important to involve these forces in the activities of the popular mass movement for peace, to change their wait-and-see attitude.

The Copenhagen Congress took place against the background of a visible ferment in thinking. During the preparations and at the congress itself there were two schools of thought among influential socio-political forces not only in Denmark but also in many other West European countries. Some contended that the Soviet Union had gone far to meet the wishes of the West European peace fighters, instituting a number of unilateral actions and advancing major peace initiatives. Others preferred to temporise. These were chiefly people who called in question the organisational principles for holding international meetings of peace fighters and the possibility of a constructive dialogue between them.

The former helped to organise the congress, while the latter held aloof out of an apprehension that it would be a 'pro-Soviet exercise'. But during the run-up period many of these apprehensions were dispersed as a result of the open, sincere stand of representatives of the Soviet Peace Committee and analogous organisations in other socialist countries, as a result of their readiness to facilitate a broad representation of

peace forces at the Copenhagen Congress.

Consequently, *the congress became a landmark on the road that we Communists will have to travel together with our allies in the common struggle for peace.* We now have considerable positive experience of contacts at different levels of the peace movements with social democratic parties. A common stand has been adopted on issues such as non-acceptance of the SDI, the creation of nuclear-free zones, a treaty banning nuclear tests and ending the arms race, detente, and so on. The leading spokesman of the Social Democratic Party of Denmark held aloof from the congress, but some of them are now coming round to seeing that to create nuclear-free zones it is necessary to support the peace forces and mobilise large sections of the people. Prominent personalities of this party are attending the rallies and conferences held mainly on the initiative of the Danish Liaison Committee for Peace and Security and the Trade Unionists for Peace, where the Communists are very actively involved. This is giving shape to the requisites for promoting cooperation with the Social Democrats.

As regards our party, it has acquired extensive experience of organisational work. On the Congress Preparatory Committee there were representatives of more than 400 different organisations, including four Danish political parties, a number of trade union, women's, youth, and religious associations, solidarity groups, and practically all the national peace movements. In the course of our work with them we were able to establish new wide-ranging contacts and ensure a significant measure of understanding for the attitudes of the new political forces that actively joined in the struggle to remove the nuclear threat and halt the arms race. Of course, time is needed to consolidate cooperation and generalise the experience of interaction. I am sure that these contacts are useful for our partners as well: they have had the opportunity of acquainting themselves with the principled line of the Communists in ensuring peace and security.

The Communist Party of Denmark advocates an extension and deepening of concerted actions by the working class, the trade unions, and the peace movement. The prevention of war has always been a cardinal aim of our activity. Since the outset of the 1980s, when large sections of people in Denmark felt that the threat of nuclear war had grown very real and distinctly demonstrated their desire to do something about it, we began to realise that new conditions had taken shape for the work of the Communists. Security and the preservation of peace were given priority because these issues affected the vital interests of the working people and all other strata of the population.

In pursuing a policy of joint actions with the masses and broad participation in the peace movement, the party seeks to understand its partners and is always prepared to share its experience of organisational work. The Communists vigorously support the peace initiatives of the various anti-war groups, trade unions, and associations. The Communist Party has displayed restraint, refraining from trying to impose its point of view and seeking to conduct a realistic dialogue. In the course of this dialogue many people responded to our arguments, and for our part we learned the views of the other forces in the peace movement.

Traditions and new forms of interaction with the partners and allies in the anti-war struggle are taking shape gradually. Twice a year—on Easter (Palm Sunday) and during the UN-sponsored Disarmament Week (October 24-31)—mass actions are organised in support of the demand for the abolition of nuclear weapons. Each of these actions is preceded by consultations and lively discussions between representatives of parties, organisations, and groups in the peace movement, and widely representative coordinating committees are set up in which every member enjoys equal rights and has the opportunity to give an account of himself or herself in a specific common cause.

We note with gratification that many of the CPD's initiatives are supported by our partners. For instance, jointly with activists of the anti-war movement—members of the Social Democratic Party—we have been able to persuade the leadership of the trade unions to proclaim symbolic nation-wide 'peace strikes' under the slogan 'The Time Is Five Minutes to Twelve' on UN-Day (October 24). These begin at five minutes to midday and problems of peace and disarmament are discussed during these five-minute stoppages. Such strikes took place in 1983, 1984, and 1986. In cooperation with many other peace forces the Communists all over the country have raised the question of proclaiming the municipalities nuclear weapon-free zones.

Today, after the Copenhagen Congress, we are working to bring the ideas of the peace forum home to all strata of the country's population. Central to this work is the effort to foster a mass struggle to ban nuclear tests, abolish nuclear weapons, promote nuclear weapon-free zones, and halt the SDI programme. Currently some 85 per cent of the Danish people are supporting the demand for a treaty that would put an end to all nuclear tests. This force must be moved to pressure the government, induce it to take concrete steps in keeping with the analogous initiative of the six countries of the five continents calling for a ban on nuclear tests. Moreover, it is vital to ensure support at governmental level for the striving of members of parliament representing a majority in all eight parliaments in the five Nordic countries and three autonomous areas (Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden, Greenland, Faroe Islands, and the Aaland Islands) to contribute to the creation of a nuclear weapon-free zone in the North. This would enable countries to act with more determination individually and collectively to secure nuclear disarmament and a halt to the development of the 'star wars' programme in the interests of easing international tension and promoting peaceful cooperation. This is precisely the direction of the efforts being made by our party and its partners in the struggle for peace.

The peace movement is a sort of barometer of present-day international life—of the feelings, sentiments, opinion, and actions of millions of people in different countries. The protest against the nuclear threat and the desire to remove that threat are the common aspiration uniting and rallying the people joining the struggle. *The Copenhagen Congress vividly showed what the peoples want, while Reykjavik corroborated that their aspirations are not unfounded. In this sense the pointer of the socio-political barometer is nearing the 'fair weather' mark, presaging a further upswing of the peace movement.*

¹ Every delegate had the opportunity of joining in the work of any of the congress's seven topic centres—'Peace and Justice', 'Disarmament', 'Peace and Liberation', 'Peace and Human Rights', 'Peace and Human Needs', 'Living for Peace', and 'Peace and Trust'—as well as eight fora on concrete ways and means to strengthen the struggle to prevent nuclear war and many workshops and get-togethers on the strategy and work of the peace movement. In addition there were a Women's Centre, a Trade Union Forum, a Youth Club, and special interest groups: scientists and physicians, grassroots peace activists, religious activists, media workers, educators and peace researchers, members of parliament and other elected officials, artists, writers and other cultural workers.

the party

Restructuring — A Revolutionary Course

Gennady Bashtanyuk — Central
Committee member, CPSU, factory worker

IN ACCEPTING the journal's offer to write about the momentous changes taking place in our party and country under the impact of what was decided upon at the 27th CPSU Congress, I knew that my task would not be an easy one. The programme of changes — acceleration of the country's socio-economic development and raising society to a qualitatively new level — ranges so far beyond the usual notions of the content, character, and rates of possible changes that it is hard even for us, Soviet people, to grasp their full implication.

When I returned from the congress, to which I was delegated by the 12,000-strong party organisation of the Kama Automobile Plant, or KamAZ,¹ my team-mates, with whom I have worked for many years, asked why we were again raising the question of a revolutionary restructuring of all aspects of our life, of a radical change, of the need to fight uncompromisingly for every line of the congress resolution almost seven decades after the October Revolution.

Indeed, had we been moving along the wrong road? Had instances of mass selfless labour and impressive achievements been few and far between in the history of our country? Take if only our Kama Automobile Plant, a project whose fame has spread far and wide. But what I am talking about outweighs even achievements of this magnitude. Let me give some facts from my own experience. This experience is not all that extensive, but there is no doubt in my mind that we had travelled along the right road. I was born in 1949, went to a secondary school then switched to a vocational school, which I completed, did my stint in the Armed Forces, and returned home with the For Military Valour medal. In 1972 I took a job at the construction site of the Kama Automobile Plant, then I was an ordinary worker at the plant itself and helped to assemble the first heavy-duty truck, and last October I saw the 750,000th truck off the assembly line. Not long ago on the nomination of my work-mates I was elected to a public office, that of Chairman of the Tatar Republican Council of Trade Unions.

For those who built the plant and are working in it today, KamAZ is more than a manufacturer's logo. It stands for hard and, at the same time, fascinating years of life. I remember the American engineers who came to the project site saying that neither Ford, nor Chrysler, nor General Motors would have coped with a job of this magnitude and within the time-limits we had set ourselves.

Nor was it a pushover for us to build a mammoth plant and a new town near it in bare steppeland. People travelled in un-heated railway carriages, lived in crowded vans, and waded through sticky mud, but there were only a few who took fright and failed the test of hard work. It is undeniable that most of the plant's workers are people who helped to build it. They are carrying on with what was started, and are putting their hearts into their work. Some people may say I am using a high-flown language, but I know what I am talking about when I say that the KamAZ is an affirmation of the Soviet Union's production, scientific and technical potentialities and an embodiment of the Soviet people's inexhaustible creative capabilities.

I'll not say that everything went smoothly. Many obstacles slowed down the work, but we did not for a moment forget that the whole country believed the plant would become operational by the set deadline. The economy badly needed a powerful heavy-

duty truck. And it is now ten years since trucks with the KamAZ logo started speeding along our roads. For me and my comrades this is more than a result of our work — it is a lesson that says no objective is unattainable and no obstacle is insuperable if you have been entrusted with something vitally important to the people.

My own experience and that of my comrades shows that the programme charted by the 27th Congress of the CPSU did not emerge in a vacuum, that we are not pushing our way over new terrain. The Communists and all Soviet people have extensive experience of socialist construction, experience of hard work, of preparing the soil for new seeds that must bring a rich harvest. Having projected bold goals, our party has no doubts about its own ability and believes in the people's commitment to the ideals and principles of socialism.

Then why are we saying that the character of the restructuring process now started is revolutionary? Why is such emphasis placed on devoting all our energies to implement the planned transformations that meet the vital interests of the people and should, if for no other reason, have universal and unconditional support. It means that in our socialist reality there are factors hindering progress; it means that there are persons, Communists among them, who are wittingly or unwittingly impeding the economy's intensive growth, a radical renewal of our life, and its cleansing of all expressions of window-dressing, stagnation, inertness, and indifference.

In my country nobody denies that such people and such things exist. The mechanism of economic management that was built up in the preceding years cannot now ensure the needed rates of socio-economic advancement and does not easily lend itself to restructuring. Many industrial facilities are still making poor use of scientific and technological breakthroughs. Some executives still cling to old, outgrown principles and methods of management, are apprehensive or, in some cases, take a hidebound view of the demands for upgrading production, for assessing work not according to reported figures but according to end results.

In our Tatar Autonomous Republic, for instance, this came to light when targets of the plan for the current five-year period were worked out. Hostage to obsolete habits, many executives did not take the trouble to look for additional potentials or make it their business to introduce new technologies. They acted with accordance with long established and extremely tenacious rule: they used the method of planning "from what has been achieved", in other words, they merely upgraded the targets of the annual plan by a tiny percentage designating a growth of quantitative indicators, and let their minds rest easy. But what came of it? When their plan recommendations were analysed it was found that instead of the necessary acceleration they proposed the same tortoise pace — only a 16 per cent rise of labour productivity in the current five-year period, in other words 33 per cent less than was called for in the resolution of the 27th Congress on the guidelines for the nation's economic development.

Of course, the Communists of the republic refused to accept this state of affairs. They joined in the drive to carry out the tightly scheduled plan, make effective use of the production potential, and minimise the outlay of material and labour resources. A comprehensive special-purpose programme was drawn up thanks to the militancy and perseverance of party organisations. This programme specified all-sidedly substantiated projects that would make it possible to raise the republic's industry to a higher level. The Communists took over control of the programme's implementation.

The work that has been done gave further confirmation that in the past not only executives but also some production collectives had grown accustomed and adapted themselves to a lax work regime, to enervating corrections of plan assignments requiring little effort and ensuring honours and material encouragement for fictitious achievements. Of course, the renewal process has gone against the grain of those whom this situation suited. This is why in some instances party organisations have to take stern measures in respect of people who obstruct the restructuring process or by their behaviour discredit the name of Communist. In 1985 and in the first half of 1986 strict

party disciplinary penalties were imposed on 227 Communist executives in our republic: many were relieved of their posts as failing to justify the trust placed in them, and 39 were expelled from the party. This shows that a real battle has to be fought for genuine renewal against resistance from obsolete production structures and time — servers often masquerading as innovators.

I'll say frankly that I am pained and distressed whenever I hear or read of people — highly-placed executives or rank-and-file Communists — who have set themselves apart from our advance and become ballast, a hinderance to the changes that have been started. All these people had come into our midst neither accidentally nor suddenly. Their present conservatism was generated, without them noticing it, by gradually emerging factors that inhibited the socialist system's dynamic development and prevented it from effectively utilising its huge potentialities.

That is why as early as at the April 1985 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee and then at the 27th CPSU Congress it was stressed that the revolutionary dialectics of the planned restructuring consisted primarily in uprooting the conditions that had generated negative, stagnant phenomena and tendencies. These were the factors that made us begin to lose our once keen perception of errors, shortcomings, and blunders and become more tolerant of the violations of Leninist norms of party life, deviations from the principles of social justice, and manifestations of knavery, conceit, complacency and irresponsibility.

It would be wrong to say that the virus of these harmful sentiments has infected the whole of the party and of society. I know many Communists and non-party people who never reconciled themselves to things that clouded our life. The years I have lived and worked at the automobile plant, where I got my workingman's and ideological and political tempering, allow me to say with confidence: the backbone of the party has remained healthy. It was not through anybody's prompting that the party found in itself the strength to reassess critically the experience of the past, to assess courageously, with guts, the mistakes that have been made in the past. It was the first to show that it was able to restructure profoundly its own political thinking and its work, to openly and honestly raise the question of the need to renounce the former attitudes that have fallen behind the imperatives of life. Not only was the party able to give a stern, principled estimate of negative phenomena but, in keeping with the Leninist traditions, it took upon itself the initiatives and all the responsibility for carrying out a revolutionary restructuring. Mikhail Gorbachov noted that what had been earmarked in the country would be first started in the party itself.

The beginning of this extensive work has been laid. And it is a good and vigorous beginning. In my present status of CPSU Central Committee member, who was not very long ago a member of a factory party group of seven persons. I can see very distinctly how the entire party has been stirred, how the distance between its leading bodies and the rank-and-file Communists has begun to shorten drastically. We have been set new complex goals and all of us have to make the maximum effort to put the resolutions of the 27th Congress into effect.

In the first place, in any case as I see it, this means closing the ranks of the Communists, making the interests, cares, and day-to-day concerns of the people high priorities of all party work. We have grown accustomed to the slogan: "The Party and the People are United". But today it has a significance that is different from what it meant formerly — life is giving it a new concrete content.

As a trade union official I now have to visit different work collectives in the republic almost every day. My talks with workers have shown that it is not necessary to use high-flown language to show the essence of the party's present policy. They have wholeheartedly accepted this policy and lauded the creative atmosphere that reigned at the congress and the innovatory spirit of its proceedings. They are saying that they would be dismayed if there were a return to complacency, to the former practice of turning a blind eye to the actual state of affairs, of papering over unresolved problems.

But we Communists are confident that there will not and cannot be a return to the old, that the process of renewal is irreversible.

Of course, the volume of the work to be done is enormous, and it is not to be ruled out that some of the things started today may have to be redone. Far from all questions have ready-made answers, and we have to search and test, and perhaps even make mistakes of which we are at present unaware. But there is no doubt about the main thing, which is that the correct course has been set.

The deep-lying, strategic potentials that have to come into operation so that the country can reach the goals defined by the 27th Congress for the year 2000 have not yet, I would say, been set in motion. The fly-wheel of extensive economic development continues to turn and we are only at the stage of weighing how to switch the economy to the intensive course so that it would develop not off the mainstream of the scientific and technological revolution. Besides, not all the levers of economic management are at present in the correct, effective position.

Changes are already visible. For example, the principal targets for 1986 in the 12th five-year plan have been achieved mainly not through technical reconstruction or an organisational restructuring. They were attained chiefly on account of the changed attitude of people to their work: the workforce is showing more activity and a higher sense of discipline, responsibility, and organisation. There is now more order, exactingness, and intolerance of hack-work and mismanagement in production and in our life generally.

What does this indicate? First and foremost that the main factor of restructuring and acceleration — the *human factor* — has come into operation. A situation is taking place in which concepts such as party conscience, workingman's honour, responsibility of the Communist, and duty of the citizen have retrieved their lofty, true value. Had this not happened, the decisions of our last congress would not have acquired their present all-embracing, all-pervasive power.

The party has not only outlined for the Soviet people the impressive prospects for the future, but said it would require immense, unceasing efforts to achieve the set goals. It would be necessary not only to surmount somebody else's shortcomings and errors, but also to win mastery over one's ownself. In our society today there is hardly a person who would declare that he or she stands in no need of readjustment, or claim that he or she is in all respects prepared to assimilate the new. Even if anybody ventures to do this it will only be evidence that that person has failed to ponder over the logic of the problems generated by the restructuring process and does not understand the intricate contradictions of present-day reality.

I started out as a worker, and will in my heart remain one to the end of my days because I have always believed that a working person is, above all, responsible for the affairs of the society he lives in and of his country. This is all the more the case if he is a Communist. Such is the angle from which I perceive the changes taking place in the country. The spirit of democracy and meticulous exactingness, criticism and self-criticism, wide openness and publicity and ceaseless concern for compliance with the principles of social justice are steadily and increasingly becoming part and parcel of our life.

If we were to speak only of this, the overwhelming majority of the Communists and the whole people would assent. They would be in favour of exactingness, of criticism, of openness and publicity, and of social justice. But very often we still forget that one has to begin with one's ownself.

Take the high degree of exactingness required of Communist leaders — this is necessary and important. More has to be demanded of those in whom more trust is placed. That is as it should be. And it is my belief that the demands made of rank-and-file officials and of all Communists should not be smaller. Factory workers and collective farmers constitute about 75 per cent of our party membership. This is our party's base. For that reason no matter how severely we criticise these or those leading

comrades, the destiny of restructuring will be decided in the primary party organisations, at every workplace. The restructuring — I judge from my own experience — has not yet reached the level we would have liked. Not all the Communists have as yet become imbued with a profound sense of their personal responsibility for everything taking place in the country.

Let me illustrate. In an article carried recently in the journal *Kommunist Tatarii* I read: "Most Communists are in the vanguard of the emulation movement, setting an example of innovation, initiative, and dedication in work, and vigorous social activity. It is noteworthy that of the more than 29,000 working people who have come forward with various initiatives and innovations, one-third are Communists." This is indeed a noteworthy fact, but let us look at it from another angle. Of the almost 30,000 people with the highest work achievements in the republic, only one in three is a Communist. Is not this much too few for the vanguard role of the Communist in production and for the personal example of that innovatory initiative we are talking about? I would say that the above is illustrative more of a measure of passiveness, of insufficient exactingness to themselves on the part of a section of the Communists.

I cannot recall any other time when Soviet people were so fully informed as today of affairs of national importance up to the biggest problems of international politics — suffice it to mention the television address directly to the people by Mikhail Gorbachov following the meeting in Reykjavik. Openness and publicity are major sources of our strength. A country, Lenin wrote, is strong only when the people know everything, can form an opinion of everything, and do everything consciously.²

It seems to me that far from all of us have fully appreciated the wisdom of this Leninist maxim. Openness and publicity are worthless if from day to day they castigate violations, abuse of office, and other scourges and do nothing to help extirpate these vices. This openness and publicity are not an end in themselves but, above all, a means of ensuring effective criticism, of promoting organisation and unity in society, of fostering the healthy principles of socialist morality. The weapon of openness and publicity must be used not only against what hinders but also to clear the road for what helps or should help people to live and work in the socialist way. The receipt of comprehensive information and the opportunity to take part in discussions and decision-making facilitate the growth of consciousness, which induces people to act in the interests of society.

I feel that our Tatar Republican Committee of the CPSU took a correct approach to ensuring openness and publicity in resolving one of the key issues of party work, the issue of personnel. In beginning its preparations for a plenary meeting on personnel policy, the republican committee used its newspaper to call upon all Communists, upon all the people of the republic to state their comments and suggestions on ways of upgrading this policy in the light of the requirements marked out by the party's 27th Congress. Have all senior officials thoroughly appreciated the need for restructuring? In promoting or posting executives is account taken in all cases of their professional qualifications, ability, prior performance, and attitude to people? In what way has the practice of party committees and organisations in this field been enriched? Is full use being made of the large arsenal of forms and methods for selecting, placing, and training personnel? This was how the whole issue was put for an open and frank discussion in the party press.

This approach is extremely important, for it makes openness and publicity effective. People are not simply informed, not simply notified, but drawn into truly responsible work, into deciding perhaps the most pressing issues. To turn restructuring into a reality one and all are called upon to tackle this work.

I have written what I think, without concealing my hopes and apprehensions, about what is today the main thing for us the Soviet Communists — the renewal of the life of the party and the country.

¹ This is one of the largest Soviet plants manufacturing heavy-duty trucks. KamAZ was built in the 1970s in the Tatar Autonomous Socialist Republic on the banks of the Kama River. This republic has a territory of 68,000 square kilometres and a population of 3,500,000. Its industries annually manufacture 13 billion roubles' worth of goods. The republican party organisation has 220,000 members. — *Ed.*

² See V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 256.

Communists in Trade Unions

Alignment of Strength is the Crucial Factor

Benjamin Gonen — CC Political Bureau member, Communist Party of Israel (CPI), Faction Chairman, Democratic Front for Peace and Equality in the General Federation of Labour (Histadrut)¹

How does the Communist Party assess the character of the Histadrut and its role in Israeli society?

The Histadrut, a trade union federation, unites 90 per cent of the Israeli working people — 1,500,000 persons, or more than half of the country's adult population. It runs many industrial enterprises and also banks and insurance companies. At its last congress in December 1985 the CPI looked deeply into the Histadrut's activities and the processes taking place in it. It was emphasised that the Histadrut is an enormous political force. The CPI rates the elections to the executive bodies of the Histadrut as being of no lesser importance than the elections to the Knesset.

The Histadrut's leadership maintains an undisguisedly nationalistic, Zionist orientation. This became clear as early as at its first, constituent congress in Haifa in 1920. Over the objections of the Communists present at the congress, that forum passed a resolution confining membership of the Federation to Jewish workers. This provision was unchanged even after the State of Israel was proclaimed in 1948 and remained in force until 1960, when the Histadrut leadership has no option to admitting Arab working people to membership in the Federation.

Ever since it was founded the histadrut pursued a "class peace" policy, time and again urging the workers to bear with the actions of entrepreneurs and the authorities to bring down the working population's standard of living. The ruling circles have always looked to the Histadrut to win mass support for their aggressive policies relative to neighbouring countries. With the passage of time the Histadrut leadership deprived the Federation of all its traditional features as a workers' organisation, cancelling, among other traditions, the celebration of May Day.

This also was the Histadrut's policy in 1977-1984, when the right-wing Likud bloc was in power despite the latter's systematic drive to limit the powers of the trade unions and abolish elected workers' committees. The first step was to disband these committees at El-Al, the state-owned airline company, where the Histadrut support the authorities compelled the workers to drop their grievances with the threat that otherwise the company would be closed. Subsequently as well, instead of acting as an opposition force, the Histadrut leadership itself sought to cut back the dimensions of the strike actions.

A coalition "national unity" government was formed in Israel in September 1984 on the basis of an agreement between Likud and the Maarakh bloc headed by the Israel Labour Party. Under the guise of "saving the economy" it launched an unprecedented assault on the working people's rights: emergency legislation was enacted, banning

wage rises, among other things; the collective bargaining agreements signed earlier were annulled; arbitrary amendments were unilaterally made in the agreements on cost-of-living adjustments to workers' wages.

"Economic austerity" regime, announced on July 1, 1985, led to a steep decline of real wages (at the close of 1985 they were 25 per cent down from 1984), to unemployment becoming a mass phenomenon (for the first time in 20 years), and to the dismantling of state-owned public utilities. The coalition government continued the Likud line of scaling down state financing for the Histadrut's Workers' Sick Fund. Government subsidies to the fund have diminished from 30 per cent of its budget in 1978-1979 to 3 per cent.

Massive grassroots-initiated actions were started in protest against lay-offs and plant closures and to demand compensation for the fall in real wages. However, the Histadrut leadership, in which the majority of the votes is controlled by the Israel Labour Party and the United Workers' Party (MAPAM), is continuing its collaboration with the government, thereby eroding the strength of the trade unions. The Labour Party leader Shimon Peres, who was prime minister until October 1986,² had good reason to declare that the so-called new economic project i.e., a set of emergency measures) was put into effect because the government had the collaboration of the Histadrut and the industrialists. Histadrut support for the project was "a great thing", he said. Our party, which has no interests save those of the country's working class and the broad masses, is trying to compel a modification of the policy being pursued by the Histadrut leadership.

What work are the Communists doing in the trade union movement?

Because of the Histadrut's conciliatory attitudes and Zionist credo we have to work under extremely complex conditions. Nevertheless, the CPI-headed Democratic Front for Peace and Equality became the third largest force in the Histadrut after the Labour Party-MAPAM bloc got two-thirds of the votes in the last elections to the Histadrut in May 1985 and Likud, 22 per cent of the votes.

For us these were extremely successful elections. There was a significant increase in the number of people voting for Democratic Front candidates. The front won new seats on the Executive Council of the Histadrut and is now represented on 13 local worker's councils (up from 10 in 1985). It scored its biggest success in Nazareth, where its faction became the largest on the workers' council for the first time (ten deputies out of the total 21).

Our party attributes these successes mainly to its political line in the trade union movement. We are rallying the working people for actions to safeguard their political and economic rights and counter the Histadrut leadership's conciliatory policies. We expose the social demagoguery of right-wing elements, bring to light the actual causes of the economic crisis, unemployment, and inflation, and show that these ills are due to the capitalist system and Israel's policy of aggression in the Middle East.

The Communists often hear themselves charged by their adversaries of talking politics all the time instead of confining themselves to problems of the wages and working conditions. These "charges" do not intimidate us. We are indeed constantly telling the workers that the establishment of a just, all-embracing, and lasting peace in the Middle East by creating an independent Palestinian state alongside Israel and respecting the rights of all the peoples inhabiting the region is an indispensable condition for reshaping the character of the state budget, reducing the nation's subservient dependence on the USA, and improving the prospects for the economy. The party is determined to promote the class consciousness of the workers and persuade them of the need to fight for a just, region-wide peace and far-reaching social reforms.

In the trade unions our comrades are countering the nationalistic, fascist

propaganda that depicts Arab working people (those coming from occupied territories and those who have Israeli citizenship) as being responsible for the growth of unemployment among the Jewish population. We are fighting racism relative to Arabs and job and wage discrimination against them.

A priority aim of the CPI is that in trade union actions there should be cohesion among working people supporting various parties. The Communists cooperated with all the other forces in the trade unions during the big strikes of 1984-1986. These were staged in protest against the closure of a number of textile mills and metal-working plants, the lay-off of a large number of teachers and services industry personnel, and the abolition of small agricultural production units. Moreover, we support the formation of initiative groups at workers' committees that have not only spelled out specific trade union demands but were organisers of the above-mentioned actions.

The CPI is doing much to pave the way for cooperation in the trade unions with Zionist parties with a social democratic slant — the Labour Party and MAPAM. We are making common cause with them at some industrial units and in individual industries. Regrettably, the dimension of this interaction has not grown and this is, as a matter of fact, not surprising. The leaders of these parties are, essentially speaking, themselves trying to restrict the rights of the trade unions and worker's committees, urging the working people to accept lower wages and dismissals, and proclaiming 70-80 per cent of the strikes as "barbarous" on the grounds that they are staged in contravention of the Histadrut's official stand. In this situation the Communists see their objective in creating a new political foundation for worker unity in the Histadrut.

You mentioned the economic activity of the Histadrut. What does it consist of and what is the attitude of the Communists to it?

Because of the distinctive historical conditions of Israel's development and the broad collaboration between the Histadrut's private capital, and Zionist quarters, the Histadrut's economic institutions hold a very important place in the country's economy.

One of these is the Hevrat Ha'ovdim (Working People's Company). It operates more than 2,000 enterprises that account for roughly 75 per cent of the country's agricultural output and 25 per cent of its manufactured goods. This company owns 45 per cent of the transport vehicles and controls two-thirds of the insurance agencies and banks. Its enterprises employ nearly 25 per cent of the workforce.

However, despite the company's economic strength and pretentious name, it has no influence whatever on the capitalist character of the relations of production in Israel. Moreover, it is entirely integrated with the existing system, having become a unit of the military-industrial complex supplying armaments to fascist and racist regimes. Its enterprises are capitalist in all respects, and the workers employed at these enterprises are exploited to the same extent as in the private and public sectors of the economy.

Hevrat Ha'ovdim is currently encountering considerable difficulties on account of the grave crisis in industry and agriculture and also of the cutback of state subsidies to manufacturing industries. This is, our party believes, what placed the following question on the agenda: will this company remain an active economic body belonging to Histadrut or will it be dismantled with some of its enterprises turned over to foreign and Israeli monopolies?

While it has no illusions about this company's character, the CPI is trying to prevent its dismantling and privatisation. We are suggesting a radical transformation by changing the alignment of strength in the Histadrut's leadership and ensuring that its enterprises pay the highest wages and have the best working conditions in the Israeli economy and thereby serve as the orientation for all of the country's working people in their struggle to improve their condition.

What tendencies in the Histadrut are giving the party grounds for raising the question of changing the alignment of strength in this trade union centre?

Some new elements have surfaced in the Israeli trade union movement. As was noted at the 20th Congress of the CPI, working class actions continued during the period of aggression in Lebanon. This never happened during any of the previous wars (in 1982, the year Lebanon was invaded, there were 112 strikes involving 840,000 persons). Slogans advanced by the Communists — "Money for the Poor Neighbourhoods not for Colonial Settlements" and "Food, Jobs, Peace!" — were widely accepted. There were cases of working people taking over plants. Pressured by the people, the Histadrut leadership has in recent years been compelled to declare national strikes on two occasions.

As four years earlier, only 56 per cent of the members took part in the election of delegates to the 15th Histadrut Congress in 1985. This is evidence of the disenchantment of many working people with the activities of the Histadrut's leadership. Lately matters have reached a point where autonomous workers' organisations have been set up and these are acting independently of the Histadrut.

Under these conditions our party is calling for a struggle to change the Histadrut's policies and class character. Here the main thing is to reinforce opposition to the traditional Histadrut leadership and the right-wing elements, and consolidate the influence of the Democratic Front in the trade unions and the workers' committees. This is one of the objectives named by the latest CPI Congress.

¹ In the executive bodies of the Histadrut the various political organisations in the country are represented by factions. The Democratic Front, founded in 1977 on the initiative of the CPI, likewise has its faction. — *Ed.*

² In accordance with the agreement on a coalition government, Itzhak Shamir, leader of the Likud bloc, took over as prime minister from Shimon Peres in October 1986. — *Ed.*

Experience of Political Campaigns

A Powerful Blow to the Bipolar System

Zenon Zorzovilis — Central Committee member, Communist Party of Greece (CPG)

The Greek Communists had to fight against great odds in the municipal elections in October 1986. Although the ruling Panhellenic Socialist Movement Party (PASOK) and the New Democracy (ND), the right-wing opposition party, had promised not to politicise the elections, the campaign was waged on a narrowly partisan basis. Both the PASOK and the ND tried to reduce the elections to a two-party rivalry and to oust the candidates of the CPG-led coalition of left and progressive forces. From the very outset it was clear that although the question of national government was not an issue in the elections, their outcome would be very important for the development of the political situation in the country.

What objectives did the participants pursue? The PASOK wanted the people to reaffirm their support for government policy. The New Democracy wanted to defeat the PASOK and use the victories of its candidates as proof that the Greeks saw the right wing as the only alternative to the present government. Significantly, in Athens, Piraeus, Salonika and several other cities, the ND nominated prominent politicians — former cabinet ministers, members of parliament and others — as mayoral candidates.

The Communists began direct preparations for the elections in the early months of

1986. Grassroots committees were set up on a most representative political basis. They undertook to formulate programmes for tackling local issues and to mobilise forces. The party was striving to link specific questions of municipal self-government with the broader issues of concern to the masses — steadily growing unemployment currently affecting several hundred thousand people; the rise in prices, rent and the cost of the services; the deterioration of health care and education; and environmental pollution.

The extreme aggravation of these and other problems is connected above all with the policy of the government which wants to shift the entire burden of the economic crisis onto the shoulders of the working people. The overall rightward swing in PASOK policies and the authoritarian and high-handed ways of its government produced strong popular discontent. People saw the elections as an effective way of expressing disapproval of this course. There were also traditional supporters of the PASOK who wanted to 'bring their party to reason' by refusing to vote for its candidates.

The foremost tactic of the CPG in the municipal elections was to create a coalition of left and progressive forces. The aim was much broader than merely scoring an electoral success — it was to make the elections a major and concrete step to the creation of a coalition which, in the words of Comrade Florakis, General Secretary of the CPG Central Committee, was to unite all social groups, parties and civic monuments anxious to see real change, advocating the nation's deliverance from dependence on the United States and NATO, stronger national sovereignty, a thorough democratisation of the state institutions, an end to the arbitrary action of the monopolies, and independent development for Greece.

Another purpose was to deal a blow to the prevailing two-party system and to destroy the over-used dilemma of "either the PASOK or the right-wingers", advanced by the ruling party each time the Greeks went to cast their ballots. In the present conditions, this slogan was used to blackmail left-orientated voters with the threat of the rightists return to power.

Acting in accordance with its tactic, our coalition nominated candidates for 298 out of the 303 mayoralities. Aside from the CPG, the main forces represented on the local tickets included the "Interior" party, the United Socialist Alliance of Greece, the currents that dissociated themselves from the PASOK — the Socialist United Trade Union Movement and the People's Militant Unity — as well as numerous left and progressive figures. In 22 municipalities, the coalition acted together with the PASOK.

The first round, in which a candidate had to win an absolute majority of votes, objectively had a more pronounced political character because all parties were supporting their own candidates. The two tickets that did better than others were allowed to compete in the second round.

The results of the elections showed a marked *decline in the influence of the ruling party*, with only a tiny percentage of losses going to the New Democracy. *The bulk of the votes lost by the PASOK was won by the coalition of left and progressive forces.* Another, and quite sizeable group of voters expressed its mistrust of government policy by either staying away from the polls or casting invalid ballots. Here are some of the figures: the PASOK won 135 mayoral contests instead of 167 in the previous elections; and the coalition secured 72 offices compared to the 46 the CPG had in the past. This figure includes the 15 mayoralities which it won in cooperation with the PASOK.

The elections confirmed the strength of CPG and left positions in the "red belts" around the nation's three major cities — that is, in densely populated, mostly working class areas. Out of the 61 mayoralities of Attica which included the suburbs of Athens and Piraeus, the coalition won 23 instead of the previous 16. In the Salonika district, coalition candidates secured eight offices out of 15.

In the second round of the elections, the coalition received support not only from many voters who had previously backed the PASOK but also from large numbers of people who, having overcome prejudiced notions of the past, saw the Communists and

the Left in general as reliable champions of their interests. CPG policy was another factor which contributed to this shift. While fighting consistently against the ND as the main pro-imperialist force serving the monopolies as big capital, the Communists have always treated with attention the ordinary voters who supported that party.

In order to clarify the CPG tactic in the municipal elections, let us discuss some elements of the struggle in the second round, when mayors were elected in the overwhelming majority of the densely populated areas. In 37 cities, the coalition vied with ND candidates for victory; in 135 municipalities the ND was opposed by the PASOK, and in 21 constituencies the coalition competed against the PASOK in the second round.

The CPG Central Committee decided — and the decision was supported by our allies in the coalition — to support the PASOK in those districts where it confronted the ND, with due regard for the fact that on the basis of reciprocity the PASOK, too, was to support the ticket of the coalition in municipalities where the latter fought right-wing candidates. The exception was the mayor's office in downtown Athens for which the PASOK and the ND vied in the second round. We did not call on our voters to follow the general rule; they themselves were to decide their attitude to the candidate of the ruling party.

The party took this responsible step because it had long warned that it would no longer accept the "PASOK or the rightists" dilemma based on legislation which discriminated against the Communists.

During our talks with the PASOK leadership after the first round, we insisted on minimal political concessions on its part, primarily on firm guarantees that direct, proportional representation be introduced. However, the ruling party refused to undertake any specific obligations and reaffirmed its intention of continuing with the policy of "self-reliance".

The refusal of the PASOK leadership to agree to a mutually acceptable solution tied the hands of the democratic forces. Had there been more unity, it would have been possible to block the rightists in at least two major cities — Pireaus and Salonika. Still, the CPG's and the coalition's policy of supporting the PASOK ticket on a reciprocal basis did bring results. Despite their legitimate discontent and indignation with the course of the ruling party, the left electorate voted for PASOK candidates, and this enabled them to defeat the ND with our help in 110 municipalities out of 135.

And now a few words about the "Interior" party. In spite of the negative position assumed by a strong group within its leadership, the party joined the coalition in many municipalities. But, yielding to pressure from this group and ignoring the views of its own local cadre, the "Interior" CPG decided to go it alone in two districts — downtown Athens and downtown Piraeus — and thus hampered the efforts of the coalition.

In summing up the outcome of the elections, one must stress that *the success of the progressive forces dealt a powerful blow to the bipolar system sponsored by the PASOK and the ND*. The attempts of these two advocates of the two-party system to check the coalition and above all the CPG, failed. This does not mean that the Communists equate the two parties. We merely expose the dishonest game played to confuse the electorate and to prevent voters from joining the left front.

The Communist Party has always welcomed and supported the positive foreign policy of the Papandreou government, particularly its efforts to promote peace, nuclear disarmament and an easing of European tensions, as well as its activities within the framework of the Delhi Six. As a plenary meeting of the CPG Central Committee held after the elections noted in its decision, we will keep up the struggle for new Greek initiatives in these spheres. Viewed in general terms however, the difference between the PASOK and the ND relates mainly to the choice of the forms and methods to be used in administering the affairs of state-monopoly capitalism.

A new political situation developed in Greece after the October elections. An obvious

trend leading to a change in the balance of forces has emerged. The grave losses suffered by the ruling party are a warning from the popular masses, and the PASOK will have to reflect on that. It is clear that the right-wingers refuse to lay down their arms. If the government keeps insisting on its present course, if it rejects dialogue and equitable cooperation and attacks the Communists and others on the left in a bid to isolate them, the existing electoral system may enable the reactionaries and retrogrades to return to power.

A change in the policy of the PASOK — above all, a change in the electoral legislation adopted with ND consent and the introduction of direct, proportional representation — is a sure way to prevent such a turn of events.

In the wake of the elections the PASOK leadership announced that it got the voters' message and would take their attitude into account. However, there have been no signs yet that the ruling party has drawn any definite conclusions. The PASOK — just as the ND — remains committed to two-party rivalry and cannot understand that from now on, the CPG and the Left present a third, independent pole; as the expression of the popular will has shown, this will influence Greek politics.

The government is not ready to heed the voice of the people, and this is confirmed by the statements made by PASOK leaders to the effect that the party's political policy will remain "unchanged" and that its "thrust will be the same". This position, the cosmetic reshuffling of the cabinet and no change in the overall course have produced a new wave of disillusionment which is felt even by supporters of the ruling party.

In an effort to make the political climate in Greece less unfavourable to him, Andreas Papandreou has revived his appeal to the CPG and other left, progressive forces for dialogue and co-operation and expressed his readiness to discuss a revision of electoral legislation. It is not the first time the PASOK, finding itself in a difficult position, has advanced such initiatives. As soon as the situation improves, these proposals are forgotten.

The CPG holds that *the importance of dialogue lies not in short-term advantages but in its ability to really benefit the people, to advance the cause of change and to promote solutions to burning problems*. Comrade Florakis proceeded from this position when, meeting with the Prime Minister ten days after the elections, he raised four categories of urgent issues — a package of measures to raise the living standard of low-paid workers, including higher wages and housing and tax privileges; settlement of the difficult situation in the trade union movement brought on by interference in its affairs by government officials; the introduction of a system of direct proportional representation in elections; and equal access to national radio and television.

Strengthened by the recent elections, the CPG will advance such initiatives ever more insistently. Continued consolidation of the left and progressive coalition — and the Communist Party, the biggest party pursuing the most consistent policy, is the mainstay of this coalition — presents promising opportunities for Greek society to overcome the crisis and for advancing along the path of independence, democracy, genuine change and social progress.

INFORMATION

The Communist Movement Today Meeting in Moscow

On November 10 and 11, 1986 a working meeting was held in Moscow, attended by the leaders of the fraternal parties from the CMEA socialist countries — the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Communist Party of Cuba, the Communist Party of

Czechoslovakia, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the Polish United Workers' Party, the Romanian Communist Party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Vietnam.

The meeting was conducted in an atmosphere of heartfelt frankness, understanding and unity on all issues under discussion.

The leading bodies of the fraternal parties' central committees have expressed satisfaction with the results of the meeting, noting their exceptional importance for the sister countries' accelerated progress and closer cooperation in all fields. The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee has expressed appreciation of the fraternal countries' support for the principled Soviet position at Reykjavik and considers it important to step up joint efforts of the socialist countries in the struggle to eliminate nuclear weapons, reduce conventional armaments and strengthen peace and international security.

TRADITIONAL TIES

The fraternal relations linking the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Greece are rooted in the traditions of the two peoples. Complete understanding and identity of views concerning all complex issues of international relations were reaffirmed in the course of a meeting between Mikhail Gorbachov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Harilaos Florakis, General Secretary of the CPG Central Committee, in Moscow in November 1986. The questions discussed included the role and the responsibility of the international communist movement for the current and future state of the world, and the opportunities for enhancing the movement's unity through a lively and comradely exchange of views among equal and independent fraternal parties.

FOR JOINT ACTION

Meeting in Budapest in October 1986, Janos Kadar, General Secretary of the HSWP, and Gerardo Iglesias, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain, exchanged their views on issues of the international communist and workers' movement. They stressed that the present situation called for joint efforts on the part of all communist parties and other peace-loving, anti-imperialist and progressive forces. The participants in the meeting noted that closer cooperation between the two parties would serve the interests of the Hungarian and Spanish peoples, the cause of peace and international security.

A FORUM SLATED

A series of consultations has been held to follow up on the idea discussed at the 19th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and related to the convening of a consultative meeting of Asian and Pacific communist and workers' parties. The participants in the consultations have approved the idea and entrusted the MPRP with coordinating preparations for such a forum. The understanding is that the meeting will be open to all fraternal parties of the region. It has been agreed that the forum will be convened in Ulan Bator in the summer of 1987.

ROUND TABLE

Representatives of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Socialist Party (Flemish) of Belgium, the Social Democratic Party of Denmark and the Dutch Labour Party have held a round table in Budapest to discuss the struggle for durable peace and international cooperation. The participants stressed the need for further efforts to promote Soviet-US dialogue and work out mutually acceptable agreements. It was

noted that the governments, peoples and peace forces of the smaller nations could play a constructive role in this endeavour.

RELATIONS RESTORED

Recalling the finest traditions of cooperation between the communist parties of Czechoslovakia and Spain during the struggle against fascism, the two parties have reached agreement on the resumption of their ties, unilaterally severed by the CPS in 1969. Readiness has been expressed to develop these relations on the basis of mutual respect, equality and international solidarity. The two parties' representatives who met in Prague in late October 1986 stated unanimously that today's complex international situation made it even more imperative to ensure closer cooperation of all progressive and peace forces, particularly communist parties, in the struggle to prevent nuclear catastrophe, consolidate peace, secure social progress and attain socialism.

Documents

Switzerland

BLUEPRINT FOR RENOVATION

In connection with the forthcoming 13th Congress of the Swiss Party of Labour, to be held in late February and early March 1987, the SPL newspaper *VO réalité* has published a document to be discussed by the Communists and all those interested in SPL policy. The document analyses the current situation in the world and in Switzerland, and the policy the authorities pursue to undermine the interests and gains of the working people.

The document notes that the large-scale offensive from the right has put the progressive forces in a difficult position. The three decades of favourable economic conditions and the policy of class collaboration the trade unions have been conducting for almost fifty years have led to a situation in which the working people are unprepared for the struggle that must now be fought. Their social activity and interest in civic affairs have declined noticeably. The dissatisfaction typical of many sections of the population is reflected above all in distrust of the traditional political parties, refusal to vote or electoral support of environmentalist movements and nationalist organisations.

This makes it necessary for the party to perform a dispassionate analysis of its own activities over the past decade. It has been waging its struggle primarily over economic matters and issues of taxes, defended social subsidies and opposed wage cuts; some headway has been made into these spheres. But, forced to go on the defensive, the Communists have failed to put forward political, economic or social proposals of a new type, or to organise their action in a way that would be consonant with the realities of Swiss society today and take into account the far-reaching changes in its structure brought on by the scientific and technological revolution.

The SPL has suffered painful electoral losses. Its representation in the national and cantonal parliaments declined drastically, and its appeal to the younger generation diminished. The party lost too much time, the document stresses, before it began to implement a policy it had elaborated in its theoretical documents. Because of the desire to win more electoral votes, the Communists mostly championed traditional demands and failed to advance their own alternative to the policy of the authorities.

The party is to work out a political platform and a programme of action that could help to rally the working people to the struggle, to interest them, and primarily young people, in a communist blueprint of social development, and to specify platforms and

programmes that can serve as a basis for unitary movements. The party aims to promote its contacts with all forces with a potential for joining the struggle for a democratic alternative.

The notion of self-government is central to the SPL concept of socialism. This self-government will make it possible to combine mutual assistance and the development of the personality, a market economy and planning, local initiative and centralism, direct and representative types of democracy. The SPL will continue to champion workers' participation in management, political democracy, freedom, justice, solidarity and socialist values. The document stresses that the struggle for these goals is essential for a democratic solution to the crisis and for laying a basis which will underlie economic and social development of a new type.

On the international scene, the SPL advocates solidarity and fruitful relations with all communist parties, national liberation movements and forces of peace and progress. The SPL Central Committee document says in conclusion that this internationalist solidarity calls for a critical analysis of the state of the workers', socialist and communist movement both in Switzerland and throughout the world, for a frank discussion of the problems that arise in the course of the struggle for our common goals.

In the Mirror of the Press

Unsere Zeit

RECRUITING NEW MEMBERS

The paper of the Board of the German Communist Party (GCP) has published a communique containing an analysis of the party's organisational problems and ways of solving them.

The paper says that the GCP has scored significant successes in its alliance policy, which is in no sense an ideological one-way street. The Communists' Marxist-Leninist approach is having an influence on their allies, but sometimes the allies' ideological and organisational attitudes also have an influence on the Communists. When working in the alliances, they use the tactics of compromise, but often also carry it over to relations within their own party, so ignoring the fundamental distinction between a patchwork association and the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working class.

Many party members come from the ranks of its allies and their thinking and behaviour bears the stamp of what is known as the new social movements. At the same time, the paper says, there is a change in the social make-up of the GCP. It is certainly a positive fact that it has reached broad social strata among which its authority has been growing, and some of whose members join the ranks of the party. Still, it is not right to forget that most of the new members lack what the workers acquire in fighting for their rights at enterprises and in the trade unions, namely, the conscious need for organised and collective action.

What then are the prerequisites for successful work in recruiting new members for the GCP? The paper says that with the ever more vigorous struggle for peace and disarmament, against mass unemployment, and the right-wing offensive on the working people's gains, there are broader opportunities for widening the ranks of the party. Good results came from the Thaelmann membership drive from September 1, 1985 to April 16, 1986, but one cautionary fact is that there has been no simultaneous increase in the number of subscribers to the party press and of its readers. The GCP has set itself a 7-10 per cent target in annual recruitment of members, and a ten per cent

target in the growth of party press subscribers. In addition, the Communists have to distribute 800,000 copies of *Unsere Zeit* a year. New primary organisations are to be set up at the enterprises, in the neighbourhoods and in the higher schools, so as to cover all the enterprises in the sphere of material production with over 3,000 employees by 1991. Special attention needs to be given to such a party reserve as the Union of German Socialist Working Youth and the Spartacus Marxist Union of Students.

The GCP's capacity to mobilise the masses for the struggle for their vital interests and rights, and for democracy, peace and social progress ultimately depends on the solution of these concrete problems, the paper says.

In Brief

CONGRESSES SCHEDULED

The Central Committee of the *Lebanese Communist Party* has decided to convene the Fifth Congress of the LCP on February 3-5, 1987.

The 12th Congress of the *Communist party of Greece* will be held in May 1987. This was announced in Athens in the autumn of 1986, after a plenary meeting of the CPG Central Committee.

A plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the *Party of Progress and Socialism of Morocco* held in late October 1986 confirmed the party's decision to convene its Fourth National Congress this spring.

The November 1986 plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the *Communist Party of Sri Lanka* held in Colombo decided that the 13th Congress of the CPSL would open in late March 1987.

ALBANIA

The Albanian Party of Labour numbers almost 147,000 members. Some 6,000 candidate members were annually admitted to the APL between its Eighth and Ninth Congresses (1981-1986). Industrial workers made up about 80 per cent of those admitted; the share of youth is more than 70 per cent and of women, 40 per cent. Over the five years in question, the number of party members who completed a course of secondary or higher education increased 53 per cent. These figures were quoted in the report of the APL Central Committee to the Ninth Congress of the party which was held in Tirana in November 1986.

ITALY

A three-year plan of efforts to renovate and consolidate the ICP was presented at a national organisational assembly of the Italian Communist Party in November 1986. The membership total was announced to be 1,545,000 — 98 per cent of the 1985 figure. There are 413,000 women in the ICP. During and after the 17th Congress (held in April 1986) 50,000 new members joined the party. As many as 15 million people attended the 8,000 festivals and similar events *l'Unità* staged across the nation last year.

LUXEMBOURG

In late October 1986 the Communist Party of Luxembourg released a statement denying the reports in the local right-wing press that the CPL intended to form a coalition with the Green Party at the forthcoming communal elections. The positions of the CPL and the Greens differ widely on many issues. Therefore, the Communists will nominate their own candidates whose programme will be in line with the social and economic needs of the working masses.

SWEDEN

Jorn Svensson, member of parliament representing the Left Party — Communists of Sweden, submitted a report on "The Political Motives Behind the Assassination of Olof Palme" to the November 1986 session of the Riksdag, the country's supreme legislative body. The report substantiates the conclusion that the US Central Intelligence Agency is responsible for this villainous terrorist act.

exchange of views, discussion

Democracy in Production as a Factor of Development

An International Symposium on Working People's Participation in the Management of Socialist Enterprises

The involvement of the working people in production management is a programme goal of the fraternal parties of socialist countries. Considerable headway has been made in this direction. Questions related to upgrading socialist production relations, enlisting the human factor, and the economic realisation of socialist property by the working people have in some cases been raised in a new way at the latest congresses of these parties.

Jointly with the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, *World Marxist Review* sponsored an international theoretical seminar in Budapest on the participation of working people in the management of socialist enterprises. It was attended: from the Bulgarian Communist Party by Professor *Lyuben Nikolov*, department head of Sofia University, and *Kristo Petkov*, senior lecturer and director of the Institute for Trade Union Studies of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions; from the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party by Professor *Jozsef Szabo*, rector of the HSWP Higher Party School, Professor *Sandor Lakos*, member of the HSWP Central Committee, Academician *Kalman Szabo*, department head of the Karl Marx University of Economic Sciences, Professor *Karoly Lipkovics*, vice-rector of the HSWP Higher Party School, Professor *Laszlo Kahulits*, deputy department head of the HSWP Higher Party School, Professor *Tibor Halay*, deputy director of the Institute of Social Sciences of the HSWP Central Committee, *Aladar Pongracz*, deputy head of the Council of Hungarian Agricultural Cooperatives, *Tamas Rozgonyi*, deputy department head of the HSWP Higher Party School, and *Gyula Lakatos*, senior lecturer at the HSWP Higher Party School; from the Communist Party of Vietnam by *Nguyen Kuang Due*, staff member of the CPV Central Committee; from the Socialist Unity Party of Germany by Professor *Willy Land*, associate of the Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management of the SUPG Central Committee, and Doctor of

Economics *Hilmar Schmidt*, associate of the Academy of Social Sciences of the SUPG Central Committee; from the Communist Party of Cuba by *Antonio Diaz Ruis*, the party's representative on *WMR*; from the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party by *Tsendijin Adyao*, department head of the MPRP Central Committee's Higher Party School; from the Polish United Workers' Party by Professor *Kazimierz Doktor*, director of the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, and *Pawel Zawadski*, First Secretary of the PUWP Widzew District Committee (Lodz); from the Romanian Communist Party by Professor *Dumitru Ghise*, RCP Central Committee member and vice-rector of the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy, and *Konstantin Florea*, deputy editor-in-chief of the journal *Era socialista*; from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Professor *Rudolf Yanovsky*, rector of the Academy of Social Sciences of the CPSU Central Committee, and *Mikhail Boiko*, deputy general director of the BelavtoMAZ Production Amalgamation; from the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia by Professor *Antonin Nesvadba*, deputy department head of the CPCz Central Committee's Higher Party School, and the journalist *Karvel Pavel*; from the Communist Party of Austria by *Lutz Holzinger*, editor of the newspaper *Volksstimme*; from the Communist Party of Great Britain by *Bert Ramelson*; from the Communist Party of Greece by *Yannis Tolios*, associate of the Centre of Marxist Studies; from the Workers Party of Jamaica by *Elean Thomas*, CC Political Bureau member; and a *WMR* delegation.

The following summary of the discussion is presented by *WMR* staff member *Marina Pavlova-Sylvanskaya*.

The founders of Marxism-Leninism held that as soon as the working class comes to power the cardinal goal confronting it is to ensure to the working people access to economic management and the right and actual possibility of working out, discussing, adopting, and implementing socio-economic decisions. Marx and Engels foresaw that in the new society there would be a reverse conversion of capital into property of associated workers.¹

In all the countries building socialism the socialisation of the basic means of production and their transfer to the ownership of the whole people were a dramatic advance towards putting an end to the crisis of wage labour and surmounting the alienation of this labour. Beginning with the establishment of workers' control of enterprises the working people of the fraternal states have built up national systems of planned economies and evolved the ways and means of drawing the masses into management, including the management of enterprises.

There have been many new developments in this area during the past three or four years, debates led to experiments, and these experiments generated new institutions of production democracy. These institutions have still to sink firm roots and it would perhaps be premature to make a judgement of their effectiveness. But initial observations and comparisons have posed academics with new problems requiring answers. Precisely this was considered at the Budapest symposium.

Diversity of New Forms

In *Bulgaria*, said *Kristo Petkov*, there is every reason to speak of a new phase in the establishment of production democracy, for in that country a transition is being made from the people's indirect participation in the management of enterprises (chiefly through the trade unions) to direct, explicit democracy: elements of self-administration are burgeoning.

The new Labour Code that came into operation in Bulgaria this year provides for the formation of workers' self-management bodies at two levels: in primary and in basic work units, i.e., in teams and at enterprises. General meetings of the personnel (where there are more than 300-meetings of representatives) elect members of the economic council and the general manager (and can, consequently, revoke the mandates). The council submits draft production plans, collective agreements, rules for internal cost

accounting and remuneration for labour, strategic questions related to the technical promotion of production, social programmes, and so forth for discussion and endorsement by the meeting. The team meeting has similar powers and, in addition every month it decides the size of the earnings of each of its members on the basis of the share of their labour contribution.

Last autumn elections of leaders of all levels (team-leaders, heads of individual units, and general managers of industrial enterprises and complexes in material production) were held throughout Bulgaria, while the practice of filling posts with trained specialists, engineers, technicians, economists, and others on a competitive basis was started at the beginning of this year. The selection commissions consist of representatives of the work collective concerned and public organisations.

The system of employee participation in the management of enterprises now in operation in *Hungary* was introduced by the economic reform of 1966-1968, which extended the rights of enterprises and gave their personnel incentives, said *Jozsef Szabo*. The consensus at the time was that the economic mechanism was not simply an apparatus bringing economic policy to the notice of the worker but a specific system of production relations requiring constant improvement. If this is ignored, the relations of production will begin to lag behind and then slow down the growth of the productive forces, and may ultimately even aggravate contradictions or even trigger a social crisis.

New forms of management were worked out and put into effect in the course of the further work of giving shape to the economic mechanism, especially after 1985. Enterprises were divided into three groups.

The first (25 per cent of the total) remains under the direct control of the state. These include the entire extracting industry, the power engineering industry, the metallurgical industry, transport, communications, and public utilities, as well as economically important facilities that run at a built-in loss.

The second group, which is the most numerous (roughly 45 per cent of the total) is managed by the councils of the enterprises concerned (half of their members are management representatives and the other half are workers). Once every five years the council of each enterprise elects the general manager to provide effective one-man guidance. Strategic matters also lie within the competence of the councils.

The third group (30 per cent) consists of small and medium enterprises employing not more than 300 persons. These, as the producers' cooperatives, which also come within this category, are headed by the general meeting of personnel (or the conference of representatives) and an elected general manager. We feel, said *Jozsef Szabo*, that everything that has justified itself in the cooperatives can and should be adopted at state enterprises of an analogous size and, also, the other way round.

The measures introduced by the HSWP do not change the relations of property, because the plan targets and indicators established at the centre concern all three groups to an equal extent. What expectations are linked to the innovations? First, *Jozsef Szabo* said in reply, there will be a lesser degree of direct dependence of economic units on state administrative bodies, and with it less red-tape. Second, in transferring most of the rights of property to workers' self-management bodies we hope that the latter will become truly independent in economic matters. For the time being their potentialities are limited: in 1985, for example, 70 per cent (by some estimates, up to 94 per cent) of the net income went indirectly into centralised state funds.

The democratisation of economic management makes sense only if it boosts production efficiency, *Jozsef Szabo* noted. If this does not take place, democratisation becomes an end in itself and obstructs further development. The creation of new forms of management has only begun. It is necessary to analyse initial experience and see what results of these experiments have or have not justified themselves. It can now be said, for instance, that weaknesses in the system of economic regulation are affecting self-management. From the very outset the Hungarian reform only produced short-

term incentives for enterprises that sought to make more profits quickly and gave inadequate attention to building up their basic funds. Yet long term interests are what constitutes the basis of intensification, of an intelligent regrouping of funds (capital) among enterprises, and a rational migration of labour.

Regrettably, in this respect the new forms of management have not led to a radical change: some collectives did not make wise use of the rights granted to them, giving priority to current consumption over the given enterprise's long-term interests. But here and there we can, already now, note the birth of judicious attitude to public wealth, thrift, efficiency, and resourcefulness.

The broad enlistment of working people into economic management and planning is one of the key democratic traditions of our party and state, stressed *Willy Land* and *Hilmar Schmidt*. Distinctive forms and methods of personnel participation in the management of enterprises have taken shape in the course of the four decades of the existence of the *German Democratic Republic*. These have, naturally, undergone changes, because the tasks confronting society have not remained immutable. The new elements that have appeared in recent years are linked to the formation of combines in industry and construction. These are modern forms of organising large-scale socialist production and they allow going over to intensification. The SUPG regards them as a significant advance in upgrading relations of production that cement the link between central economic leadership and planning, on the one hand, and the creative initiatives of the people, on the other.

Willy Land drew attention to an important form of production democracy in the GDR — the annual discussion of plans. Formerly these were discussed at the level of individual enterprises, now they are discussed at the level of combines. In order to draw the work collectives more actively into these discussions, the trade unions are conducting purposeful explanatory work, acquainting each and every member of the collectives with the specific targets of the plan and the returns expected of their day-to-day work. The discussions highlight the indicators which the personnel can actually influence.

For instance, 735,000 suggestions were offered in the discussion of the plan for 1986; two-thirds of these concerned production, and one-third were on ways and means of improving working conditions and everyday life. These suggestions and the commitments to fulfil or overfulfil assignments are taken into account in the further work on the plan, including the compilation of balance sheets. The general manager is obliged to stand by the specified variant of the plan at the general meeting of representatives of the trade union organisation concerned, indicating what consideration had been given to the recommendations made during the discussion. If the meeting endorses this variant, the arguments in favour of this variant are presented to the minister concerned; if not the discussion is repeated.

Because combines were formed of enterprises located, in many instances, in different parts of the country, said *Willy Land*, this gave rise to a new problem, namely, how to establish a mechanism of cooperation between the many primary party, trade union, youth, and other public organisations functioning within each combine. Overall guidance of party work is provided by the council of secretaries of party organisations headed by the CC party organiser of the combine's head enterprise. The trade unions influence economic management and planning through the chairmen of trade union committees. On major issues affecting the interests of the personnel of individual enterprises, they work out a common stand and put it to the general manager, devoting special attention to improving the personnel's working conditions and everyday life, organising the socialist emulation movement, framing guidelines for the discussion of annual plans, and so on. Moreover, this body has the power to influence the formation and spending of the combine's centralised funds.

On the basis of this experience, *Willy Land* added, we have not in recent years set up new institutions of production democracy, instead we have increased the efficiency of

existing institutions.

The cardinal aim upgrading the relations of production in our society, including the extension of the people's participation in managing enterprises and in planning, said *Hilmar Schmidt*, is to keep in step with the scientific and technological revolution and speed up the economic development rate of the GDR. Automation and robotisation are currently gathering momentum in the country, and automated systems of designing and preparing production are being installed along a wide front. In this situation many workers find that the skills they have acquired are obsolete and no longer meet requirements. They can work at modern enterprises and participate in managing them only if they understand the ongoing processes and learn to operate advanced machinery and technology. This means that in view of the present dramatic changes in the productive forces production democracy requires raising the expertise of every individual worker and creating a "stockpile" in education and professional training.

The participation of the people in management is now conceivable without their active, conscious, and creative participation in modernising and reconstructing the production apparatus. That is why it is so important to enlist into socialist rationalisation those whom it most directly affects, to prepare them for the imminent changes, and together with them resolve many problems related to the new work regime, to improving skills, to everyday life and so on. The SUPG considers, *Hilmar Schmidt* said, that in renewing technical production it is particularly important to keep the social aspects of this process in mind and give the working people social confidence.

In the GDR traditional forms of the people's participation in management such as socialist emulation, the movement for innovation and rationalisation, and diverse youth initiatives are used by the SPG and the trade unions to accelerate technical progress, as a powerful impetus for the development of the productive forces.

In summing up the experience accumulated in recent years the 11th Congress of the SUPG recorded in its resolutions that the further expansion of socialist democracy at enterprises and in work collectives will proceed chiefly through the extension of the rights and responsibility of the trade unions. The party considers that trade union bodies and public commissions, innovators, workers' control, dispute commissions, and general meetings of work collectives and representatives can function more effectively. In particular, it is planned to give the working people more influence over the drawing up and signing of work agreements.

The Communist Party of Cuba regards the participation of the working people of Cuba in economic management a mandatory condition of the socialist society's further progress, said *Antonio Diaz Ruis*. This was stated at congresses of the Communist Party of Cuba and institutionalised in the nation's Constitution.

An article of the Law on State Enterprises obliges managers to consider production processes at conferences with the personnel or their representatives, keep the personnel informed of the plan targets and of progress in fulfilling the plan, of the prospects for the development of the enterprise concerned, of progress in socialist emulation, and what is being done to improve the working conditions and the personnel's everyday life. Production conferences allow discussing the plan from all angles, find the optimal variant for it, tighten the schedule for the plan, and make more rational use of resources. In endorsing such a plan, the working people regard it as the product of collective thought, a commitment, and an expression of their responsibility for its fulfilment.

Councils, which are elected collective management bodies, function at enterprises in Cuba. The creative energies of the personnel are directed also along other channels to promote the welfare of the people — through socialist emulation the movement for innovation, and so forth. The working people's democratic participation in adopting economic decisions is contributing the development of the individual and gives people a sense of involvement in the common work.

In *Mongolia*, said Tsendijin Adyao, the Communists hold that it is vital to develop effective ways and means of enlisting working people into economic management. This opens up considerable potentials in production, promotes efficiency, and helps to activate the human factor to the fullest extent. There is no other way of attaining the programme targets for socialist construction.

A lesson of the experience of other socialist countries is that the independence of enterprises and economic organisations is the condition for reinforcing production democracy in the true sense of the word.

At the 19th Congress of the MPRP it was noted that in recent years there has been a downgrading of democracy in agricultural associations: the Ministry of Agriculture and local bodies interfered in their affairs and transgressed laws. The congress made it clear that this harmful practice had to be cut short without delay, that petty tutelage of enterprises and associations had to be prevented, and that wider use had to be made of economic methods of management.

During the preceding five-year plan period an experiment was started in Mongolian industry to extend the rights of enterprises and confer a larger measure of responsibility upon them. The first results of this experiment are encouraging: it can be seen already now that more people are taking part in drawing up plans and that there has been an activation of other forms of production democracy. This new practice has this year spread to the nation's entire industry and also to construction, transport, and communications.

The potentials held out by the team method of organising and stimulating work as a form of workers' self-management have been fully appreciated lately, Tsendijin Adyao noted. The MPRP Central Committee recently passed a resolution calling for the dissemination of this advanced experience.

Self-management bodies of the personnel of state enterprises have been set up and begun to function in *Poland*, said *Pawel Zawadski*. The concept underlying the formation of these bodies was marked out in the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party in 1981 and then formalised by and specified in a special law. The PUWP regards the measures that have been introduced as a further advance on promoting socialist production relations and is seeking to exercise an active influence on the character of self-management by work collectives. The PUWP Central Committee has instructed all party organisations to explain the provisions of the new legislation to the people and create a climate at enterprises making it possible to enlist the support of the working people for the economic reform and for workers' self-management.

Currently there are workers' self-management bodies at 7,000 enterprises, i.e., at 95 per cent of the country's industrial facilities where the law permits self-management (or in approximately the same industries — as in Hungary). In Poland the highest organs of these bodies are the general meetings of the personnel (at enterprises employing more than 300 persons these are meetings of representatives) and the workers' councils elected by them.

For the PUWP it is of fundamental importance that the core of the self-management bodies consists of workers: 75 per cent of the representatives and 55 per cent of the workers' councils members are workers. These bodies concern themselves mainly with economic problems but they have the authority to raise other issues related to all aspects of the work of enterprises, state their opinion on these issues, submit recommendations, and perform control functions relative to the management. General meetings and councils take part in the adoption of annual plans, the establishment of wage rates, the distribution of profits to the various special-purpose funds, the rationalisation of employment, the institution of measures to save fuel and energy, and the acceleration of technological progress at enterprises.

The ruling that the working people of *Romania* have the right to and should take part in the administration of society's affairs is a cornerstone of the Romanian Communist

Party's policy, said *Dimitru Ghise*. Workers' self-management is the fullest expression of such participation and its most productive form making it possible to release the energy and creative initiatives of the working people.

The general meeting of the personnel (or at particularly large enterprises — the meeting of representatives) is the highest organ. It is empowered to discuss and adopt plans and also programmes for upgrading the technical level of production and the quality of the output, sanction collective agreements, and annually endorse the appointment of the general manager and the heads of functional units (or revoke their endorsement, approve or disapprove) changes in each in each given enterprise's production profile and its organisational structure, distribute profits, and so on. The general meeting is presided over by the chairman of the given trade union organisation, thus emphasising the union's important role. In the interim between sittings of the general meeting collective leadership is provided by an elected workers' council, which includes representatives of public organisations and the management (it is mandatory that 75 per cent of its members are production workers). The councils of industrial centrals² are formed in the same way.

The Romanian system of workers' self-management includes the collective bodies of ministries and the congresses of workers' councils of industry, construction, transportation, trade, and financial institutions. In turn, these elect the National Workers' Council.

Dumitru Ghise said that this system is based on the independence of industrial units and the principle of self-financing. A plenary meeting of the RCP Central Committee in April 1986 introduced changes in the country's financial-economic mechanism, and set the guideline for the consistent implementation of this principle and for streamlining the system of distribution according to work. This will unquestionably increase the working people's participation in management.

In the *Soviet Union* the question of promoting democratic principles in production management and, after the April 1985 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, the question of establishing production self-management has been given particular close attention, said *Rudolf Yanovsky* in characterising the 1983 Law on Work Collectives and Enhancing Their Role in the Management of Enterprises.

While hitherto under Soviet legislation the work collective could function only through the legislatively established form of juridical person or the competence of the management of the given enterprise, and was itself identified with the trade union organisation, it is now given an independent role. The rights of working people have been significantly extended. For instance, the procedure of approving draft plans has been modified. The discussion of these plans begins at the lowest level, by the team, and they are then considered by the personnel of departments and workshops, following which they are as a whole adopted at conferences of the entire work collective. Workers' meetings now have a larger role to play, and there is growing participation by the working people in deciding questions linked to improving working conditions and enhancing safety engineering, and to other social and everyday concerns. Money cannot be taken from the given enterprise's incentive, socio-cultural, and housing funds without the consent of the work collective.

But when the CPSU Central Committee authorised verification of compliance with this law it was found that the results were below expectations. In the Political Report to the 27th CPSU Congress mention was made of many work collectives that were not invoking all the rights granted to them, while the envisaged sanctions, benefits, and moral and material incentives were applied only episodically. Some managements regard the discussions at workers' meetings or their report to the personnel as an optional matter, forgetting that it is a question of compliance with the law. The congress decreed an extension of the range of issues on which the decision of a general meeting is final and instructed that some provisions of the law should be specified.

A key factor giving the working people more influence on production and

promoting workers' self-management is that team-methods of organising labour have been worked out and introduced in the Soviet Union. This approach is in the spirit laid down by Lenin, who recognised "only one road — changes from below"³ so that the workers themselves should develop from below new, basic economic principles.

It is precisely at this grass roots level, in teams of the new type (large, composite teams receiving remuneration under a single contract for the end result and distributing this remuneration in accordance with the amount of work done), that workers' self-management is tested. Its substance is that it promotes collective forms of organising labour and distribution. The team itself controls its joint earnings and in many cases selects its members. This is a grassroots association of working people regulating the actual linkage of personnel to the means of production and distribution according to work, i.e., to key economic processes.

The evolution of team self-management to higher forms is connected chiefly with changes in planning and management in primary units of the socialist economy. Following the 27th Congress of the CPSU a steadily growing number of councils of team-leaders, councils of shop foremen and councils of work collectives have begun to be set up at enterprises throughout the country. The practice of electing shop foremen and shift superintendents has been started as an experiment; the spread of this practice to heads of production lines and of other production units is envisaged in the Programme of the CPSU.

The ongoing nation-wide restructuring of the economic mechanism is bound to give a powerful impetus to the promotion of production democracy in the USSR and impart a renewed virility to many of its long-established forms and channels. This concerns extending the economic independence of enterprises, the switch to a fuller use of economic levers of the management, and the provision of more material incentives. In this context, an important role is played by the promotion of openness and a general animation of political life in the country.

Speakers at the seminar dealt in detail with the forms and methods of involving large numbers of people in production management and showed why the measures that have been adopted are justified. This is quite understandable because most of the new institutions are at the formative stage and the experience gained has yet to be theoretically analysed. In the socialist countries social scientists will have to make a close study of a large spectrum of those problems. Some fraternal parties, for example, the CPSU, have already posed science with this task.

The Importance of Specifying Concepts

In the new society the means of production belong to associations of producers; there are no other owners. Why then do we speak of the working people's *participation* in management? Does this concept imply some belittlement of the role of working people?

The answer lies in how socialist property is realised in economic terms. In order to judge its character, *Jozsef Szabo* noted, it is not enough to see solely its juridical form. The practice of economic management is of the utmost importance.

At the present stage of socialism's development the rights emanating from public property are realised by the state, in the first place. The work collective of an enterprise and association is by itself neither the absolute nor partial owner of the means of production, and no "division" of property takes place. But management from a single centre presupposes drawing all the property owners into this process, in other words, all the members of socialist society. Their participation in managing and increasing public property proves that they are indeed its owners and that they have put an end to the alienation of the fruits of labour from their producer.

Hungarian representatives drew attention to the fact that in the prevailing conditions individual workers (or groups of workers) do not have one and the same status at the enterprise employing them and, consequently, they have unequal access to

the management of public property and to the decision of economic problems, and an unequal relation to the means allowing them to realise their interests. Hungarian scientists see the goal of further upgrading production relations in bridging these distinctions and extending the opportunities for managing and directing production.

In the consciousness and behaviour of people this link between the interests of the collective and those of individual workers arises exclusively from inner motivations. This means that since we want to accelerate the formation of a responsible attitude to the common cause, Jozsef Szabo said, we have to create mechanisms giving the individual the sense that his or her personal intervention, personal actions will in fact help to satisfy his or her requirements and influence the state of affairs.

The working people's involvement in production management (Lenin wrote of the involvement of all the people) is an essential distinction of socialism and hence merits the closest attention and analysis. What is meant by participation in management and what serves as the relevant criterion?

In socio-political literature there is no hard and fast opinion about how "participation in management" and "self-management" relate to each other. Nor was this question discussed at the symposium, but some related points were raised. Because functional management and self-management are relative, *Kazimierz Doktor* regarded one and the same phenomenon at an enterprise as self-management, while relative to management on the scale of society — as participation.

The term "self-management" has still not entered the political vocabulary of all socialist countries in equal measure. This term was not used at all by, for example, the symposium participants from the GDR, while *Jozsef Szabo* accompanied his use of it with the reservation "in its Marxist understanding". *Bert Ramelson* expressed doubt about whether it was at all expedient to use it on account of its anarcho-syndicalist associations.

Jozsef Szabo defined participation in management as proceeding from the phases of the managerial cycle:⁴ "By the working people's participation in production management we understand mainly their enlistment into the *decision-making* process, which gives them certain realistic new possibilities (chiefly in matters profoundly affecting the interests of individual workers or groups of workers, i.e., defining strategy for the development of the enterprise concerned, remuneration for work, election of persons to fill top posts, and so on)." However, he noted, some managers are inclined to reduce the working people's participation to *fulfilling* decisions adopted earlier, subordinating production democracy to the task of providing an enterprise with optimal management. In this case the concrete realisation of socialist property relations and the possibility of making decisions in keeping with specific collective or group interests are relegated to the background. True participation in management presupposes constantly harmonising optimal economic decisions with various interests within the enterprise and the collective.⁵

Mikhail Boiko distinguished the participation of the working people in management in the broad and narrow senses of the word. In the broad sense it means membership of a public organisation, from which it follows that already today in the socialist countries all or practically all working people have been drawn into management. In the narrow sense it means "active, systematic performance of managerial functions in a social management body". *Mikhail Boiko* believes that by repairing equipment that has broken down a worker effectively intervenes in production process and by removing obstructions he or she carries out specific managerial functions. Participation is expressed by the worker releasing the relevant managerial body from one of its functions, taking over part of its duties.

Would it, therefore, be correct to regard a worker's actions that ensure the normal functioning of the production apparatus or an improvement of technology and the organisation of production (if these actions are not combined with participation in the decision of key issues of production and distribution) as a manifestation of his or her

ownership functions?

There are three levels to the managerial process. The first: organisational-technical relations, i.e., the operation of machines, machine aggregates, and technological processes. The second: organisational-economic relations "coupling" the productive forces to property relations. And the third, at which are decided key questions such as defining the aims of production, the distribution of the product, and so on. This clearly shows the type of production relations and the character of property. From the methodological standpoint would it be correct to regard the working people's participation in the fulfilment of the tasks of these three levels as being in one and the same category?

The lack of clarity on this problem led, in particular, to an exchange between *Josze Szabo* and *Bert Ramelson*. The Hungarian academic sought to explain why, despite fundamental distinctions in the socio-economic and political system of socialist and capitalist countries, the working people's participation in managing and controlling enterprises has become a global phenomenon. Making the reservation that under the different social systems this phenomenon serves different purposes, that capitalism uses it as a means of manipulating the minds of the people in order to maintain "social peace" and preserve the capitalist system, he said that constant consultation between management and workers and the open processes of "bargaining" between them facilitate the functioning of present-day productive forces.

Bert Ramelson objected: "Whatever elements of industrial democracy exist in the capitalist world they are the outcome of struggle between the organised workers and the management, and indicate no more than to what extent the latter has to make concessions under the pressure brought to bear by the workers. These concessions are reclaimed from the working people as soon as the situation changes. Take Britain. In the 1950s and 1960s, when the trade unions were powerful and unemployment was practically non-existent, we were able to achieve quite a lot. But now? There are four million jobless in the country and on account of this mass unemployment favours the management, not the workers. Many democratic gains have been clawed back, and an autocratic, unilateral procedure of decision-making is being attempted and in some enterprises imposed. And yet the productive forces have not ceased to develop."

Analogous considerations were put forward by *Lutz Holzinger*: "Structural changes in the economy and the rapid growth of the productive forces generate mass unemployment. The workers are fighting defensive battles for their social rights and the institutions of 'participation'. The printers of Central and Western Europe, who were the first to fight back, have managed to conclude some agreements and preserve, for the time being, technologically obsolete workplaces. But the operation of these agreements will soon expire, and this means that in Austria an entire group of conscious proletarians with rich traditions will disappear and the sphere of participation will diminish."

This argument over whether the growth of the productive forces affects production democracy would most likely have taken a different turn had the levels of management concerned been specified from the outset. If these were levels of organisational-technical and organisational-economic relations, worker participation would only be welcomed by the capitalist. He uses the intellectual abilities of wage workers to extract surplus value. Let us recall the American "zero defects" groups, the Japanese "quality control circles", and their analogues in other countries. Little wonder that Thomas Peters and Robert Waterman, American management pundits, offered the view that an exemplary company regards its rank-and-file personnel as the principal source of achievements in quality and productivity.⁶ This sort of "participation" probably reflects some objective tendencies and changes in the technological base of present-day production. As regards the third level, everything is predetermined by the alignment of strength in the class struggle.

But relative to socialist society one can in all likelihood draw the conclusion from

this view that the involvement of workers in coping with organisational-technical and organisational-economic problems taken by themselves, outside the broader socio-political context, in isolation from the working people's active participation in deciding basic issues of production and distribution, is still not evidence that workers are indeed the true masters of production.

The Long Process of Accumulating Expertise and Knowledge

At the Budapest symposium many of the speakers said that there should be no illusions about the working people's participation becoming a reality automatically. The formation of socialist property in the means of production and the assumption of power by the working class and its party do not signify the simultaneous appearance of developed forms of production democracy. This requires time and effort.

After 1968, *Kalman Szabo* said, the HSWP at first saw the way to extend worker participation in management by drawing the trade unions into decision-making not only on day-to-day but also on strategic matters related to the development of production. The attitude of the trade unions carried considerable weight in the charting of social policy, in questions of remuneration for work, and so on. The party believed at the time that material incentives and the growth of consumption were the principal means encouraging the working people to be more active in their function of owners. However, during the first half of the 1970s the Hungarian economy came up against serious problems resulting from the rise of world prices for fuel and energy. Obviously it would be impossible to raise living standards as high as it was desired. Still, the pressing need for rationalising, restructuring the national economy, and making Hungarian products competitive in the world's markets required mobilising the people's creative potentials and giving them an incentive to make effective use of the means of production, of the country's entire wealth. This had to be an incentive not only to bolster interest in the results of current economic activity and receiving higher pay but also in the solution of long-term problems. It was then that work was started on elaborating the ways of regularising the people's participation in management, of setting up the institutions of production democracy that are now in operation.

The rise of workers' self-management in *Poland* was dealt with by *Kazimierz Doktor*. Although a law on self-management at industrial enterprises has been enacted, there still are objective and subjective roadblocks that create quite a few difficulties in methodising workers' participation in production management. A fairly large body of trained, professionally skilled specialists and managers inclined towards volitional decisions had taken shape in Polish industry. Even now, after all the upheavals experienced by the country, there still are people advocating a dynamic development of the socialist economy on the basis of a tight concentration of the means of production and economic decision-making with the minimum participation of the masses in management. These proponents of socialism with a centralised economy and political autocracy advocate dangerous views. Under this form of management the requirements of the working people as consumers inevitably recede into a place secondary to the output of means of production, while the worker does not have the sense that he is the true master at his enterprise. A technocratic style in the relations between managers and specialists, on the one hand, and workers, on the other, ultimately causes relapses into alienation.

In its ideological declarations the Polish United Workers' Party has always called for the democratisation of the country's political and economic life. In recent years the Polish Communists have done much to change the economic mechanism and extend the working people's participation in management so as to counter technocratic tendencies. However, in actual practice, despite the principles underlying the economic reform, more and more instances are to be observed of ministries placing constraints on the independence and self-management of enterprises. Work collectives performing poorly in economic terms sometimes prefer the old management system because it

enables them to avoid bankruptcy with production running at a low level of efficiency.

Kristo Petkov likewise noted that the extension of production democracy is not a smooth and problem-free process. One of the obstacles is that some people would like to give the old system no more than the trappings of self-management, to dissolve the new in the old. Adversaries of a steady restructuring of the management system are seeking to reduce the democratic process to formalities, to manipulate collective bodies: for all appearances, these have been set up and yet nothing has changed. In this way the idea of self-management can be discredited.

The promulgation of laws opening up new potentialities for the people's participation in management is only the initial step, speakers noted. It is much more important that the people should implement their rights in practice.

Democratic Style and the Desire to Manage

An outcome of difficult times in Polish history, especially of the demands made by mass social movements during moments of political strain, *Kazimierz Doktor* said, is the firm conviction in the people's social consciousness that social relations must be democratised. This is seen as a panacea for all evils: management must be conducted democratically, industrial production must be developed democratically, the barriers to economic growth must be surmounted democratically, social consumption must be formed democratically, and so forth. However, it can be noted that axiology sometimes comes into conflict with reality, and that behaviour in everyday life clashes with value guidelines. Personal participation in self-management consumes considerable time and energy. Sociological studies have shown that after they had elected representatives to a council some workers do nothing more, preferring to spend their leisure time on themselves and to bear no responsibility for their enterprise or their collective. In order to create economic conditions conducive for the development of the work collective it is necessary to go into matters related to finance, book-keeping, discipline, and production efficiency in real earnest. This is not easy, and often dampens the ardour and energy of members of workers' self-management bodies. From this it follows that it is important to analyse how the right of participation in management accorded to the working people by legislation is invoked in practice.

The main condition for successfully extending real, not formal worker participation in the management of production speakers said, is that there should be a mechanism giving economic units adequate freedom of choice and action, in short, relative economic independence. Red tape (the experience of some socialist countries has shown that the struggle to weed it out is hard and long) and the tendency to impose excessive regulation on the operation of enterprises and the work of their personnel emasculate the vital content of production democracy, make it formal, discourage workers, and debilitate their interests in the results of collective work.

The other side of this coin is mismanagement, which, it was said in, for instance, the resolutions of the June 1986 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, is today "not only intolerable but crippling". However, even where economic mechanism has been adjusted to the requirements of intensive extended reproduction, experience must be accumulated in order to find the actual measure for an enterprise's independence that would open up the possibility of real self-management.

Openness and information were also named as important conditions for enlisting the working people into management. Without quick, objective, and full information, *Mikhail Boiko* said, the collective cannot make or even prepare workable decisions. For that reason, in the USSR the heads of enterprises and functional services have the duty to keep the personnel informed of current and long-term problems of production, and on matters related to economic, technical and social development. But it is hardly justified to unconditionally equate the flow of information to the personnel with control over management, as Mikhail Boiko did. This has been shown compellingly by

Soviet sociological studies which indicate that the knowledge the workers on a job get about what decisions have been made differs strikingly depending on what level of the managerial hierarchy this knowledge concerns. The reasons motivating the decisions of a team-leader are usually known to the entire team; 80 per cent of the personnel know the motivations of their work superintendent and foreman; only about half know the motivation of the engineering departments.

Information helps to bring working people into management only if it is combined with other forms of their activity, if it is given in a particular socio-economic context. *Elean Thomas* cited an interesting example concerning the models of working people's participation in the management of state-run enterprises worked out by the Communists and revolutionary democrats of Jamaica. "We realised very quickly," she said, "that it is much harder to implement the principle of democratic centralism than to organise an information flow to workers. If they are merely notified of what is taking place and given instructions, the same alienation will soon inevitably arise as at private capitalist enterprises."

The discussion showed how much the socio-political and economic context means for the destiny of workers' self-management. Under different circumstances the same institutions and methods sometimes have the opposite effect. The complexity of social and psychological relations in this area leads to the important conclusion that workers' participation in production management will grow if there is well-considered leadership.

Efficient Guidance

Sandor Lakos used the example of Hungary to show that the formation of collective management bodies at enterprises has reinforced the HSWP's position, giving it yet another responsible function. The councils at enterprises, he said, are not political bodies and do not in any way supplant the party. Most of their members (usually 70-80 per cent, and in some cases as many as 90 per cent) are Communists, and this in itself shows how much prestige is enjoyed by the party. *Sandor Lakos* offered the view that the success of self-management bodies depends chiefly on how competent the members of these bodies are. For that reason the HSWP primary organisations help Communists who are members of councils of enterprises, particularly if they are manual workers, to carry out their new functions. Party organisations substantively discuss questions of strategy in the promotion of industry, working out their line in this context as far as possible before these questions are put before the council. Here the purpose is to provide the Communists on the council with clear-cut guidelines and arguments.

Similar tasks confront the PUWP primary organisations, although they have less influence on self-management bodies: according to figures quoted by *Pawel Zawadski*, roughly 36 per cent of the latter's members are Communists and 56 per cent are trade unionists.

Kristo Petkov drew attention to the fact that the reorganisation of the system of workers' participation in production management places the role of the trade unions on the agenda. In Bulgaria, he said, some people are asserting that direct democracy and self-management reduce the sphere of trade union operation. Needless to say, the role of the trade union operation. Needless to say, the role of the trade unions will undergo changes as the new economic mechanism grows stronger, direct democracy is extended at enterprises, and self-administration bodies begin to pass decisions on production and social matters. The view in Bulgaria is that along with party organisations, the trade unions have to undertake to serve these bodies: provide them with information, suggest alternative options, explain the trade union point of view, and organise the fulfilment of adopted decisions and verification of this fulfilment.

Since under the present system of economic management there may be situations in which state interests clash with group interests, the trade unions, as a national

organisation, should protect public interests in such situations. In some cases they will take the side of work collectives and in others — the side of the state, proceeding from the interests of the entire working class in the broad sense.

As it develops, self-management will allow the trade unions to represent the working people's interests at a level higher than enterprises. They retain their task of organising and coordinating the activities of work collectives, and carrying on a dialogue with the state on the targets of the state plan and other economic requirements established for a year or a five-year period.

Bert Ramelson took exception to this view of the function of trade unions. The trade union movement, he said, evolved out of a recognition that there was a conflict between labour and capital and between various groups of workers. It exists because it acknowledges the existence of conflicting interests and acts on behalf of its members to resolve the conflict in their favour. The working class built trade unions to defend its interests and this basic function is also performed by trade unions in a socialist society. If we are to speak of self-management bodies in which trade unions, the party, the state, and the administration participate without recognising that each has its own perceptions of things, its interests, and its specific reasons and aims for participation in these bodies, no solution will be found to the problem. The trade unions have to adopt an independent position and be able to convey the opinions of working people to the administration and, if necessary, to the state. "I believe it is quite right, for example," Bert Ramelson added, "that in the Hungarian factory councils there are no representatives of the trade union committee as such. If you are a member of the council how can you argue with it in defence of the interests of workers. One cannot represent both sides simultaneously."

"Even under capitalism, let alone under socialism, the working class has sufficiently experienced, knowledgeable, and skilled cadres. For that reason there is no necessity for the chairman of the trade union committee to be a member of a self-management body. The trade unions have many opportunities to speak up through their rank-and-file members elected to these bodies."

A conclusion reached at the symposium is that the extension of the working people's participation in production management and the appearance of shoots of workers' self-management are one of the key directions for the development of socialist society, for bringing its motive forces and distinctions to light. The independence of work collectives and the collective method of economic management make it possible to really link productive work with the work of managing the national economy and administering national wealth. Expanding production democracy is the path towards conclusively surmounting the former alienation of the worker from the means of production, coordinating society's interests with those of the collective and the individual, providing greater incentives for raising the level of labour productivity, promoting social production, and applying the achievements of science and technology. Experience will show what forms and methods are the most effective at socialist enterprises.

¹ See Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1959, p. 428.

² These are intermediate industrial management bodies in Romania. — *Ed.*

³ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 468.

⁴ This cycle has four phases: preparing and adopting decisions; organising fulfilment; correction; account and control. — *Ed.*

⁵ Soviet academics voiced an analogous view, but they stressed the significance of correcting an adopted decision. Worker participation in these two key phases of the managerial cycle is seen as the highest form of production democracy, i.e., as self-management (See *Voprosy ekonomiki*, No. 2, 1986, p. 61).

⁶ See Thomas J. Peters and Robert H. Waterman, Jr., *In Search of Excellence*, New York, 1982.

Space Age Research: For Peace or For War?

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EUREKA is an acronym for "European Research Cooperation Agency", a West European research coordination project. The letter "C" which should have been there has been deliberately replaced with "K" to coincide with the famous exclamation "eureka" ("I have found it") Archimedes is said to have uttered upon discovering the principle of specific gravity. The transparent hint at the great discovery of the mathematician from ancient Greece insinuates that a long sought-after solution has been found to the issue of how Western Europe — torn by rivalries, national egoism and pressure from its US and Japanese competitors, concerned over the US Strategic Defence Initiative programme, half dragged into SDI already and half resisting it — can retain access to the latest, high technology or become involved in its development. However, how specific is EUREKA? Is it really more than a vision, a castle in the air? Whose interests are behind it? What objectives do its architects pursue? How should the peace movement approach it?

The emergence of the EUREKA project is, on the one hand, a result of reflections on the need for Western Europe's greater degree of independence in economic, political and particularly, strategic military fields. These reflections came to the surface when US medium-range nuclear missiles began to be deployed and gained ground with the announcement of SDI. Washington's strategy of nuclear deterrence adopted in 1945 does not at all proceed from the principle that war must be prevented; it has always been aimed at military superiority, at advantages for one side, at a capability to limit — and therefore fight — nuclear war. So far the Soviet Union has been able to prevent realisation of such schemes. SDI is designed to return nuclear deterrence to the original stage of nuclear blackmail, to give the United States an exclusive capability to win a nuclear war. This signals a radical change for the worse in the strategic position of the West European NATO countries.

At the same time, EUREKA was a product of fundamentally new stage in the scientific and technological revolution. Large-scale transfer of information processing, regulation and control functions until now performed by man to computers and automatic devices is the main distinguishing feature of this stage.

The first project, conceived in 1983 to give an impetus to the too slow process of West European integration within the EEC framework, was called ESPRIT (European Strategic Programme on Research and Development in Information Technology); it was followed by BRITE (Basic Research on Industrial Technologies for Europe) and RACE (Research and Development in Advanced Communications Technologies in Europe). However, in April 1985 the French government seized the initiative from the EEC by proposing the EUREKA project as a follow-up on its earlier efforts to step up cooperation with the FRG. Initially, EUREKA was the French response to SDI — not as an alternative to SDI but as a way to complement it.

Paris had dual reasons for taking this step. On the one hand, the technological competition with the United States would endanger the advanced positions of Western Europe, particularly France, if the FRG joined SDI. On the other, SDI undermines the role of the French nuclear capability, although it is excessive even now. Therefore, presented as a mostly civilian project, EUREKA was supposed to enhance the West European high-tech effort while benefiting France militarily by promoting cooperation in arms manufacture (perhaps within the framework of the Western European Union) and playing on the West German desire to carry greater weight in matters involving nuclear weapons. But the French and the US projects essentially deal with the same technologies. Whether these are used for civilian or military purposes

depends on the socio-political situation.

The ruling coalition in Bonn did not welcome the French initiative at once. Having officially joined SDI despite strong domestic pressure to the contrary and having concluded a secret agreement with the United States, Bonn identified its priorities clearly. The EUREKA project is being conducted on a different basis.

In July 1985 representatives of 17 West European countries and of the Commission of European Communities gathered in Paris on an invitation from President Mitterrand and gave the official seal of approval to EUREKA. In November 1985 the second conference of interested governments was convened in Hannover. Everything looked impressive enough at the preparatory stage. France proposed various projects in the fields of informatics, biotechnology and electronics. Other countries also submitted proposals which totalled more than 300. These, however, mostly remained on paper. Ten projects were approved for launching, and a small, "flexible" secretariat was established to act as a coordinating body.

Specifically, the projects envisage joint development and manufacture of a standard minicomputer for student and personal use; a compact vector computer; a robot for processing textiles; a high efficiency laser (Eurolaser); technologies for the manufacture of liquid silicon crystals and membrane filters and for neutralising environmentally harmful substances in the troposphere over Europe (EUROTRAC); a West European research network, that is, an international data processing network comprising institutions of higher learning, as well as government and private research centres; diagnostic techniques for AIDS-type diseases; and a flexible manufacturing system based on the application of optoelectronics (an automated factory).

The next conference held in London in June 1986 approved about 60 more projects of different scope and nature: these will cost a total of 2.1 billion dollars.

Not yet fully drawn up in detail, EUREKA presents a motley picture. There is something in it for everyone. Participation in it is perfectly compatible with different concepts of hegemony and with different types of policy. The French aims have already been mentioned. Bonn's right-wing coalition sees EUREKA compromise solutions as yet another effort to speed up integration and to assert distinctive West European interests — side by side with profound loyalty to Washington and support of SDI. The aim is to improve the ability of the West European centre of imperialism to uphold its political, economic and military interests while staying under the protective umbrella of US hegemony.

Acting in accordance with this approach, the government of the FRG, quite logically, accords priority to SDI and does *not* support those elements of the French project which impart or can be construed as imparting an excessively independent West European slant to it. Participation in EUREKA is regarded as secondary; today it is a smokescreen which is to conceal the frightening scope of West German submission to Washington.

Opinions within the right-wing coalition differ widely on how EUREKA and SDI should be approached. While Chancellor Kohl, an open and fervent advocate of the US project, began by obstructing the French initiative and thus provoked a certain deterioration in French-West German relations, Foreign Minister Genscher announced his support for EUREKA. He responded coolly to SDI, although was ready for a compromise. The right wing got the upper hand. Genscher's concept of a large-scale and concerted EEC policy on research remained unfulfilled.

The ruling quarters of the FRG interpret EUREKA not so much as a means of asserting greater West European independence as a clearing-house for projects, to be considered among the miscellaneous items of the agenda. Kohl defines it as an undertaking which, while capable of strengthening the hand of Western Europe, must not be allowed to confront the United States with a bloc in opposition: "We do not want a technological bloc. This is a matter of considerable political, not only economic

importance. For the goal is to consolidate our European alliance with the West, not to break it apart."¹ And while the March 1986 agreement on SDI between the FRG and the United States regulates political and military aspects of bilateral relations, the Bonn cabinet holds that this must not be the case with EUREKA. It is no accident that space projects have been excluded from its framework. By constantly stressing the civilian character of EUREKA, the West German government brings the military aspects of SDI into bolder relief.

That is why the FRG does not earmark too much money for EUREKA. While Mitterrand has announced the French intention of allocating one billion francs (although through a redistribution of resources), the chief of the West German budgetary agency blocked an attempt by the Research Ministry to appropriate an additional 60 million marks for EUREKA. The rumour that another billion marks would be allocated from the national budget over the next few years remains unconfirmed. The intention is to finance the project mostly from the private funds of the participating companies. According to Research and Technology Minister Riesenhuber, EUREKA must not "use money to attract participants"; the state should perform only coordinating functions. Kohl was even more straightforward: "We maintain that in principle, the enterprise themselves should finance the EUREKA projects they wish to undertake."² Thus, in accordance with the right-wing views of encouraging private monopoly enterprise, the lucrative contracts will be shared among big and powerful enterprises, and medium and small businesses will get nothing. This is also true of smaller countries with less developed state-monopoly structures.

The ruling coalition considers EUREKA as part of an aggressive strategy to corner the world market. These intentions are, of course, obscured and embellished in the Declaration on the EUREKA principles: "The purpose of EUREKA... is to enhance the productivity and competitiveness of European/West European — *J.R./* industries and national economies on world markets."³ The increasingly acute rivalry involving Western Europe and the two other imperialist centres, the United States and Japan, will produce not so much new jobs as a new wave of streamlining and growing structural unemployment.

The so far civilian character of EUREKA does not mean that it will necessarily benefit society. Some of the projects may bring benefits — for example, EUROTRAC or medical diagnostic techniques. Still, the degree to which research results will be applied depends, in the final analysis, not on their technological aspects or interests of society, but on the big concerns with their unbridled pursuit of profit.

Even if one does regard EUREKA as a civilian project, one cannot rule out the possibility of the technologies developed being put to military uses. That is obvious, as is the fact that France has military plans for EUREKA. Of the ten projects approved in Hannover, at least five can be used directly for military purposes: compact vector computers (in military aircraft and tanks); liquid silicon crystals used in sensor technologies; fabric-processing robots (to produce fabrics for the armed forces); powerful lasers (in anti-missile and anti-aircraft weapons); and the automated factory (for the manufacture of chemical and biological toxic agents and high-tech types of weapons). Virtually all new technologies can be used, directly or indirectly, for similar purposes. Whether this will really be the case is above all a socio-political question. Conditions being what they are, it is very difficult to prevent such abuse.

Aside from joining SDI, the government of the Federal Republic is considering the possibility of creating a West European ABM system. A relevant project has already been drawn up. It consists of three components — a West European ABM system called "European Defence Initiative" (EDI); "smart weapons" developed within the framework of the NATO "follow-on force attack" concept; and a multisensor surveillance satellite for military (and also, allegedly, civilian) purposes, to be coproduced by France and the FRG. All these components are technically compatible with SDI and other military programmes. This is all the more true of projects not yet

approved but slated for the future. The companies that are to develop these projects are already participating in EUREKA — for example, the Messerschmitt-Bolkow-Blohm concern, an arms manufacturer, or Siemens. One cannot therefore seriously accept EUREKA as a purely civilian project.

The fact that EUREKA is limited to Western Europe is another flaw of this project. Participation of Third World or socialist countries is virtually ruled out. The government of the Federal Republic rejected a relevant proposal of the GDR at once, although Chairman Mischnick of the FDP faction in the Bundestag did raise the question of possible involvement of European socialist countries in some of the projects.

The general impression is that in terms of foreign policy and defence, EUREKA reflects the contradiction between West European independence (although deformed in the military field) and submission to US diktat. Under the conditions that prevail, it can also be used as a West European contribution to NATO capabilities.

Those are the reasons why democratic movements and left forces cannot regard EUREKA in its present form as an alternative to SDI or unconditionally accept its positive essence. Rather, it gives the reactionaries an opportunity to step up the confrontation, the arms race and the offensive against social gains. At the same time, the project reflects the aggravation of interimperialist contradictions between Western Europe and the United States, a factor which must not be ignored. Democratic forces, above all the peace movement, should use the contradictions inherent in EUREKA to dissociate Western Europe more resolutely from the US policy of confrontation.

However, saying a simple "yes" or "no" is not enough. It would be politically pointless with regard to EUREKA. For, even having said "no", one cannot block the implementation of the project which is moving ahead, although slowly and running into numerous difficulties. Rather, the question is whether EUREKA creates a basis for a more realistic policy than today's aggressive private monopoly course. Can it help Western Europe to steer clear of the aggressive US stand and to pursue a broadly European peace policy which would also cover the economic and social spheres? On what conditions and in what areas should one work to secure this objective?

West Germany's Social Democrats reject SDI and welcome EUREKA, criticising the government approach to it. The position of the SDP (and of the Socialist Parties' Union of the EEC countries) is that if EUREKA is made into a civilian project, it can become an alternative to SDI; the government should allocate resources to it, and countries unaffiliated in the Common Market should be given flexible access to it. Several socially useful technological projects are also envisaged in the fields of environmental protection, energy, health care and food production. Other wishes expressed in the course of a relevant discussion within the SDP included arguments in favour of government-sponsored coordination and planning of research and development, involvement of the Commission of the European Communities in this process, and more extensive participation by universities and small and medium businesses. The Left demands disarmament, conversion and nationalisation of the arms manufacturing concerns.

These SDP views are, of course, better than the stand of the right-wing bloc, but they cannot fully satisfy peace champions. The social democratic proposals proceed from a belief in a type of government which, in contrast to the conservative system, can be described as statist and social integrationist. It is oriented on the state playing a bigger role in capitalist modernisation. In terms of foreign policy, the preference is for ties with the EEC and for methods of collective imperialist domination, although the policy of detente with the socialist countries is also upheld.

However, this whole concept is not aimed at disarmament; there is no clear line of demarcation separating it from the conservative pseudo-solutions suggesting the establishment of a relatively autonomous West European deterrent capability on the basis of the military-industrial complex. The concept in question indicates no readiness

to confront Washington. It fails to explain what the response should be to US reprisals. On the contrary, it pins its hopes on the allies' ability to "get on well with one another". The goal is to restore the internal consensus in NATO on a reformed basis.

Still, this policy option opens much greater opportunities for the democratic forces to bring pressure to bear on the government in favour of disarmament. If EUREKA is implemented within the context of this type of policy, the working class and trade union movement and the peace champions should, taking the project's contradictory nature into account, advance an anti-monopoly socio-political alternative.

One must admit that for all its inherent contradictions, the attempt to enhance the role of Western Europe with the help of EUREKA does feature certain progressive elements. Objectively, they are rooted in the clash between the interests of the United States and Western Europe over issues of security, external economic policy and attitude to the Third World. The United States would like to replace the joint (at least with regard to trends) system of domination by the three major imperialist centres with its own exclusive hegemony. The US strategy of using military superiority to undermine the positions of Western Europe is coming increasingly into conflict not only with the latter's economic interests but also with its efforts to survive in the nuclear age.

For reasons of Western Europe's geographical position, traditions, distinctive aspects of economic and political development and widespread recognition of the positive significance of detente, our continent has a much greater stake in political normalisation and economic cooperation with the socialist countries, and this is precisely what Washington refuses to accept. The so-called community of values shared by the United States and Western Europe is not questioned when the future is considered. However, West European interests are becoming ever more pronounced within the framework of this community. These interests can serve as a basis for switching to a more realistic policy that would keep clear of the US course aimed at confrontation.

These trends arise inevitably even in imperialist alliances such as the EEC. But since the right-wing pro-Atlantic Forces are dominant in it, the EEC can hardly be expected to encourage independence from the United States. In contrast to the US pursuit of hegemony, West European countries would prefer collective forms of domination; therefore, the EEC can become a forum in which Western Europe's own interests can be identified and asserted in contrast to US objectives. Projects such as EUREKA can enhance or weaken this process depending on which policy option prevails.

Although hard to discern, the West European interests potentially built into EUREKA should be oriented on the creation of new "consumer values", democratisation of society and assistance to disarmament and comprehensive security.

We hold that EUREKA should also include socially useful civilian projects that would be environmentally safe, lead to greater employment and be consonant with the interests of working people in capitalist, socialist and Third World countries. Such projects could be undertaken to ensure environmental protection, develop environmentally safe energy sources, improve urban transport and the distribution of food, and combat disease.

EUREKA would thus serve society, not make the monopolies more competitive on international markets or accelerate the monopoly-sponsored "technology race". The capitalist logic of profit and the modernisation and flexibility of production it dictates should be countered with the use of technology for the benefit of man, and this approach should determine the organisation of labour and the division of functions between man and machinery. In that case EUREKA would be oriented more on the tackling of domestic economic problems, on job creation and on government support of technological development. Besides, the project should also include humanitarian and economic research. Why not raise the issue of what social phenomena breed neofascism in Western Europe? All this would make technological policy part of an

alternative economic and social policy.

This restructuring of EUREKA to make it socially useful would inevitably and soon come into conflict with the constraints imposed by the capitalist relations of power and ownership. Therefore, it is important to advance demands for democratisation not only at the level of individual enterprises or projects. What we need is a change of the entire social background, an expansion of direct democracy, worker participation in economic management, democratic control and planning, socialisation, etc. One must not allow EUREKA to serve the monopolies' pursuit of profit and the expansion of their foreign trade. The programme must be controlled and coordinated by national and international parliamentary and political bodies; simultaneously, they must be profoundly democratised.

It is very important to link EUREKA with a consistent and long-term disarmament effort and with the strategy of comprehensive security. As far as our country is concerned, this would imply above all a gradual and tangible reduction of the military budget, including the concealed arms expenditures. Besides, the FRG should refuse to participate in SDI and in West European projects that complement it, such as the European Defence Initiative (EDI). Only then will all the essential basis be laid for preventing the abuse of EUREKA for military purposes. Projects like EDI push the FRG deeper into the "star wars" programme, turning our country into a West European supervisor of the new NATO strategy which, according to Washington, is to be aimed at military superiority. The implementation of such plans may destroy all elements of a more realistic West European policy inherent in EUREKA. Moreover, EUREKA itself will turn into a catalyst of the arms race. It follows that EUREKA must not be handed over to the monopolies that take part in SDI.

The task is to draw up a long-term concept for the socialisation of the military industry and of the big concerns as such and for their conversion to civilian production. Militarisation of science must give way to civilian research and development, including studies on the maintenance of peace.

West European military dependence on the United States must be countered not with pseudo-independence within the framework of the Western European Union which is now being revived, but with a system of economic, political, cultural and other ties *throughout Europe*, including the USSR. A gradual development of such ties will render the opposing military capabilities useless because relations of interdependence and mutual benefit will displace mistrust and suspicion. Instead, the principle of collective security will assert itself, and this principle includes the dissolution of military blocs. Naturally, this raises the issue of NATO. If, despite the United States, we are to uphold the West European striving for detente, open the way to an all-European order of peace and eliminate blocs, we must consider a weakening of the FRG's presently close ties with NATO. This would give Bonn greater freedom of political action, allow it to advance its own disarmament initiatives, and thus consolidate peace in Europe.

An invitation to neutral, socialist and developing countries to take part in EUREKA on an equitable basis would be in keeping with the principles of all-European cooperation. On the other hand, this would reduce the chances of it being used to further great-power imperialist ambitions, whether under the hegemony of France or the FRG.

Should it prove possible to influence the organisational forms and the activities of EUREKA, to orient it on civic, socially useful and environmentally safe efforts, it can become a valuable additional instrument of social change for the better. Science and technology would then be used for social progress and serve a democratic all-European policy of peace and security aimed at arms reductions and detente.

¹ "Rede des Bundeskanzlers auf der zweiten EUREKA-Minister-konferenz in Hannover", *Bulletin, Presse-und Informationsamt der Bundesregierung*, No. 121, 1985, p. 1054.

² Ibid.

³ *EUREKA-Grundsatzerklärung*, Bonn, 1985, p. 11.

viewpoints

Technological Progress and French Society

Rene Le Guen – Political Bureau member, French Communist Party

On day-to-day life we encounter very different assessments of technological advances. For ideological reasons, studies and analyses in this field usually present excessively sweeping generalisations of the role played by the new technologies. Technological progress is therefore treated as something self-contained, independent of man and possessing a magic power one can only bow to. But in actual fact, the important thing is to ascertain whether the formidable advances of science and technology, a result of human labour, can play the role of a lever in the emancipation of man. Will the society of tomorrow be a world of domination and oppression or of freedom and prosperity? To answer these questions, one must begin by properly assessing the nature, scope, swiftness and areas of application of scientific and technological advances.

If we reduce the development of science and technology throughout human history to the span of a single year, we will find that it took nine months to pass from the discovery of fire to the development of the first flint tools, while the latest advances — nuclear power, microelectronics and lasers — succeeded one another within seconds.

Also within seconds, metalworking plants and biotechnology laboratories will spring up on satellites and residential quarters on the ocean floor, and informatics will extend to all aspects of life and of the social fabric.

Currently, scientific output doubles within less than a decade; 90 per cent of the knowledge that is being applied has been acquired within the lifetime of the present generation.

However, man's attitude to technological change is becoming truly revolutionary, and a new quality of these relations is taking shape. The means of production not only require man to exert physical efforts but also increasingly imply the command of relatively new skills referred to as intellectual abilities.

Going beyond the framework of production itself, this evolution permeates all aspects of society and of personal life, be that communications, transport, health care, leisure or culture.

Rene Le Guen, an engineer by training, joined the FCP in 1944. Earlier, in 1943, he became a member of the General Confederation of Labour (GCL) which at that time, during the Nazi occupation of France, operated underground. Rene Le Guen has worked extensively in the trade unions. Elected to the FCP Central Committee in 1970 and, in May 1979, to its Political Bureau.—Ed.

This reality does not entitle us to ascribe unlimited virtues to technological advances per se or to believe that they are capable of answering all questions and applicable everywhere, always and under any circumstances. In order to ascertain the potential of technological progress and the conditions in which it can ensure a new socio-economic efficiency, technology must be evaluated with due regard for the mode of production and the evolutions of society. This is the best way to avoid the trap of technological fetishism.

Science and technology are therefore not neutral either in essence or in objectives. At the same time, they bear no responsibility for the crisis — just as it is impossible to overcome the latter relying solely on the development of technology. A durable solution to the problem demands that the working people, the individuals who make up the nation master these new means. Their use can in no way be predetermined.

The position of women offers a significant example. New technology offers women great opportunities and access to all occupations and posts; it becomes a means of attaining equality. However, in the absence of vocational training, democracy and militancy, this technology may become a source of deterioration in skills and in living and working conditions.

The development of science and technology raises new problems connected with vocational training, with the content of labour, with the evolution of the interdependence between employment and skills, and with social relations. The tasks to be tackled in these different spheres are inseparable from the need to revise the criteria of economic profitability and to enhance collective participation by the workers in the management of production.

More effective socio-economic management is our demand. Here, too, it is important to rely on the potential of the technological revolution and on the fullest possible use of its opportunities for the benefit of the masses. It follows that the choice of technological solutions becomes very important. Organisation of work born of technologies oriented on savings, the type of the end oproduct — in short, the very essence and purpose of new technologies — may, if not resisted, increase man's alienation. In that case, the principal goal of the Communists — a better life and a society suited to the new material requirements of all — will not be attained. To discuss the choice of technological solutions means, besides, to influence the essence of the technologies introduced. This implies a search for criteria applicable to new management forms.

This is what determines our attitude to the abuse of the concepts of "modernisation" and "modernity". Although we have general economic regression, some sectors are developing — but at what price and for what purposes?

Accelerated introduction of new technologies may be used as a means of enhancing financial profitability. On the one hand, this approach leads to short-term decisions that hamper long-term projects and the investments they require; on the other hand, it reduces man's role in production to functions that machinery cannot discharge yet. In this case, technological progress undermines employment, increases the labour surplus which results from an end to economic growth, and gives rise to new forms of exploitation of labour. It is proceeding from this approach that the seminar on "Prospects for 2005", organised by the General Planning Authority and France's National Research Centre in November 1985, concluded that it was necessary to use manpower flexibly.

Another approach is possible, implying that accelerated technological progress would be accompanied not only by a desire to save the means of production but also by increased expenditure on man, on his education and development. This would lead to a new economic upsurge, making it possible to influence the duration and content of labour and living conditions.

This second approach relies on the already available possibility to develop flexible technological systems centred on human intelligence.

We see that modernisation is far from neutral. But, although both poles of the alternative are quite clear, our position should not be converted into an absolute. The question is not that of supporting or opposing modernisation, or of invariably equating capitalism with decline and paying no attention to the development underway in certain sectors. The question is more profound: *room for socio-economic efficiency must be wrested from the employers, and an alignment of forces essential for attacking the crisis of the capitalist system must be created.*

In the course of this struggle between two concept of society (one focusing on money and the other, on man), a large-scale ideological campaign is being conducted, its architect trying to prove that the rapid growth of technological progress allegedly erodes the social base of France's revolutionary party.

This claim prompts us to make at least three remarks.

First, nothing is predetermined in this sphere. The forms of production are changing, but this change is a product of human activity. It does not develop by itself but is connected with the evolution of society, and this evolution cannot be regarded simply as a consequence of technological change.

The second remark concerns the opportunities this very evolution presents for uniting the working people. In an age of rapid technological advances, the conditions on which manpower can be used demand a considerable improvement in the skills of each worker. The workers of today are different from the workers of yesterday. Among the skilled workers aged 45 to 54, only 25 per cent have a diploma or vocational training certificate. But they are two and half times more numerous among those aged 15 to 24.

The importance of intellectual work in human activity is growing steadily, as is the role of highly skilled workers. There will soon come a time when all workers have to be better skilled and able to work in several occupations. Aside from the new occupations that arise, the scope of the knowledge applied in the existing trades is expanding. Functions calling for the application of abstract thinking, logic and an analytical approach are assuming decisive importance in the activities of industrial workers, engineers, ordinary employees and managers. A time is coming in which not so much work by hand as work by brain will be necessary to master new technologies.

On a more general level, one cannot assert that what is happening affects only this or that occupational group whose numerical growth would give it primary or central importance. The process in question is affecting all types of human activity. It is a salient feature of the evolutions of the productive forces that intellectual work is increasingly involved in production. These dynamics contribute to the emergence of a new "collective labourer" and call for cooperation, initiative and personal responsibility, challenging the existing social relations and the practice of delegating authority.

This collective labourer comprises all individuals directly cooperating in the same type of production and goes beyond the limits of a single shop, enterprise or industrial group. The expansion of subcontracted research, production and services; the application of informatics that tends to bring closer together and to unify previously disunited occupations; the increasingly close ties between research and production; and the need for pooling the efforts of those representing different types of labour within a single enterprise or group of enterprises — all this encourages contacts, exchange of experience and cooperation among hired workers with different skills and different approaches to many problems.

Such is the meaning of the evolution that is taking place. The important thing is to grasp all its opportunities in order to use them better in practical terms. However, it is perfectly clear that so far, this collective labourer is in the embryonic stage at many enterprises and in many sectors. Our "dual" society¹ is hampering a harmonious development of this collective labourer. The fragmentation in the world of labour is even increasing; specifically, the introduction of informatics into the services often

creates "new" unskilled jobs.

These realities do not undermine the large-scale and effective unity we are striving for but, on the contrary, make it even more imperative. Due regard for the realities is the only thing that can ensure its effectiveness.

The third consideration concerns the role and the place of the working class in the changes under way. This class is obviously the object of particular attention. Some hold that social evolution leads to gradual disappearance of the working class. Others maintain that it is "disintegrating and becoming difficult to discern"; they deny its role as history's conscious and central agent.

Those who subscribe to this view either ignore or refuse to acknowledge the fact that the existence of the working class is connected with the decisive role of production and with the social phenomenon of capitalist exploitation. Science and technology have now become basic to material production. Under these circumstances, to claim that the improvement of skills and the growing role of intellectual work lead to the disappearance of the working class means to link this class solely with physical work, not with production. Either the adherents of this viewpoint have themselves been deceived or they are deceiving others by denying a dialectical interdependence between the evolution of society and the changes in the working class. However, these changes are occurring continuously, their scope and depth proportionate to the scope of progress in knowledge.

Just as the working class is not disappearing, one cannot speak of the emergence of a "new" working class. Today, as in the past, this class comprises all who produce material wealth, who constitute collectives of workers creating value and possessing no means of production. Naturally, the forms of production, the nature of the wealth produced and the collectives of workers have changed, but this change was accompanied and made possible by the change that occurred in human beings.

Acquiring an intellectual content, the labour of workers is assuming new productive functions. The role and the place of the working class in the life of the nation are expanding, and the old hierarchical frameworks are changing. The components of the working class are diversifying and the opportunities of each are increasing.

The boundaries separating spheres of production and circulation are being displaced; conditions are being created under which the activities of certain categories of employees are becoming linked directly with industrial processes.

Thus the working class includes unskilled, low-skilled and high-skilled workers, the overwhelming majority of technicians, a part of engineers, and hired salary earners.

Today, it is no longer possible to reduce the working class to industrial workers only — not only for numerical reasons but also simply because this is no longer true.

A working class more diversified and richer in composition is better placed to promote the unification of all social strata adversely affected, albeit to different degrees, by capitalist management and the crisis. The more fully the working class becomes aware of its essence as a class despite its diversity, the more vigorously it will be able to discharge this function.

This brings us to an important problem. A mere statement of the fact that the boundaries, significance and role of the working class are expanding and diversifying does not mean that the problem of class consciousness has been solved.

Indeed, on the one hand, the so-called traditional functions, occupations and social relations will persist for a long time to come. On the other hand, many technicians and engineers, while forming part of the working class, are not aware of it and even deny this status — let alone have any concept of what the class struggle is. This stand stems mostly from the refusal of the social group of managerial workers to identify itself with the working class. A feeling of belonging to a special and influential group is also fostered by the numerical growth of this category and by the fact that France is the only European country where administrative and managerial workers make up such a clearly defined and homogenous social group.

The feature common to the work of technicians, foreman and engineers is that it combines intellectual efforts, know-how and participation in production. These workers apply and develop the advances of science as a productive force. The evolution of their role reflects the rapid expansion of each of these functions, confirming that they make up a special category of intellectual workers.

The diversity of this group is connected with the growing role of intellectual activity in all spheres of production, with the rapid change in the nature of occupations and in the knowledge they require and with the increasing difference among and within the relevant functions. The numerical growth of these workers has been spectacular. Today the nation has 900,000 technicians, about one million engineers and persons of a similar status, and some 600,000 foremen.

The technicians have registered the greater increment. This numerical explosion reflects the emergence of a function that is useful and essential in modern production. The employers try to denigrate its role, but recognition of its autonomous functions which is neither transitional nor transient should be regarded as one of our society's major questions.

The number of engineers and professional technicians doubles every fifteen years. This growth is accompanied by a vigorous diversification of their functions brought about by the changes in the system of production and by the employers' desire to restructure it and to accelerate the concentration of technical facilities and industrial capacities. This is why the partial replacement of workers with engineers and technicians is an in-depth process underway within the workforce. The crisis merely serves to accelerate it, reducing the demand for the labour of workers more swiftly against the background of falling employment.

The number of foremen has stabilised over the past 15 years. The introduction of new technologies has changed their traditional role drastically. The employers' ideological pressure on the foremen remains very strong, but the results are not commensurate with the effort exerted.

Employees and professional managers have also become more numerous in industry, services and government agencies.

There are now 4.2 million employees performing diverse functions. They include 1,600,000 public servants, two million administrative employees at enterprises, and 600,000 people employed in trade. The unity of the group rests on their common work and common identity. They are chiefly young people, most of them women who are the first to suffer from exploitation and oppression.

Managerial workers number more than two million. The increase in their ranks, as in the case of employees, is rooted in two factors. In industry, construction and transport it stems from the fact that the growth and increased complexity of production enhance the role of management and marketing; in banking and the insurance business it is caused by the rapid expansion in the volume and variety of the services provided by government agencies.

Aside from the great size and diversity of the professional managers' group, they also share another distinctive feature: they operate at a distance from production. Hence their abstract and distorted ideas about and lack of understanding of the working class and its struggle. Dealing mostly with questions related to the circulation of capital, management and supply, this cadre views issues of improving and changing labour processes only from the angle of distribution. Still, whatever their category, all working people are affected by the crisis, and the managerial cadre as a whole is no exception. From January 1985 to January 1986 the unemployment rate among managers increased 9.2 per cent, while the figure for technicians was 4.6 per cent. Young people make up 40 per cent of the jobless managerial workers.

A recent study by the Bureau of Economic Information and Forecasts has shown that net family incomes have been diminishing rapidly in all social categories since 1982. This decline has reached five per cent among the middle-level managerial staff.

The Social Security Code has been fully revised, the social security market has been opened to the insurance companies, and accumulations formed by additional contributions from citizens and used increasingly in the field of retirement pensions. The system of pay rates and its connection with the recognition of the workers' skills are being challenged either directly or with the help of highly personalised wages and salaries.

The frontal attack against the rights and freedoms of the working people is being waged in the form of large-scale or individual reprisals, dismissals for disciplinary reasons, and obstacles to trade union activities. All this questions the social usefulness of workers and affects their desire to perform their functions effectively.

Occupational motives and social concerns lead workers, as a whole and individually, in their efforts to secure a new approach to the efficiency of enterprises and an economic policy that would guarantee their jobs and decent wages and salaries. They are striving to acquire new opportunities for applying their abilities in production and in society and for displaying their initiative; they want a new ethical content for their work and a different development path for our country.

The 200,000 administrative workers the media refer to as managers do not keep aloof from this process, although their occupational tasks prompt them to view it in a different way. All the activities they perform as managers serving capital are determined by motives of financial profitability. However, the place of the managerial personnel in society and in production implies a certain autonomy of thinking and enables them to perceive the limitations of the system.

Taken together, the social changes that occur show that we are dealing with a diverse reality. On the one hand, objective conditions help to bring the different components of the working class closer together and promote their unity. On the other, the action taken by the employers and the diversity of the workers' functions and ways of life foster disunity.

This dual process has raised a decisive question: *how can the new unity of the working class be asserted with due regard for the existing diversity in human behaviour and mentality?*

The reality of capitalist exploitation and the existence of our class adversary remain an important argument in favour of mobilising all those who constitute the working class to the struggle for changing their position and transforming society. At the same time, the working class not only holds a special place in production but also displays a distinctive way of consumption and a distinctive way of life. Therefore, class consciousness is being forged not only on the shop floor but also in all other spheres of life.

There is thus *a dialectical connection between our efforts to unify the working class and our striving to create a new unity comprising most of the people.* The unity of the working class and the creation of an appropriate political prospect will be brought about by unitary efforts which will take the experience of our alliances into account and overcome the stagnation that has developed. An alliance interpreted merely as an appeal to join the working class or as a search for a compromise that will delay the resolution of contradictions and principal problems is totally at variance with the communist strategy which, even today, aimed at the creation of a different society.

Efforts to ensure the deepest possible analysis of the changes occurring in society and, consequently, in the working class are by no means linked with some sort of dogma. These efforts make it possible to affirm and enrich our strategy and to better refute those who strive to perpetuate a system that generates crises, who want the French to live in a society in which expertise and knowledge would, under cover of liberalism, develop the country "at two speeds".

The resolution of the 25th FCP Congress has this to say on the matter in question: *"The crisis exerts a contradictory influence on the evolution of society and on the aspirations and struggle of the working people. Giving rise to difficulties and aggravating*

numerous social contradictions, the crisis impedes the development of the struggle, but at the same time makes the demands for fundamental change more imperative."

This assessment, which was the subject of a broad discussion, needs to be explained in depth because it is essential for grasping the character of the condition necessary to create a united popular majority and to gauge the content and the intensity of the struggle to come.

A striving to take the distinctive features of our society into account cannot be reduced to a registration of only the more apparent phenomena typical of human aspirations, requirements and conduct. An approach like that would be a mechanistic description of the evolution of society without an analysis of its structural elements. It would ignore the data that, while being more abstract, are essential for explaining the day-to-day difficulties and contradictions.

It appears that three groups of data are of decisive importance here. First, there is a need to uncover the roots of the crisis and to identify its consequences, including its impact on human behaviour and the spiralling processes of decline induced by the crisis. Second, there must be an analysis of the technological evolution which, causing breakthroughs in production, encourages the working people to work and live in a new way and stresses the need for a truly social revolution, for transforming society so that it would develop and serve man. Finally the struggle for greater democracy, for broader participation of workers in decision-making and for better skills highlights the limitations inherent in the capitalist system and in the crisis.

Taking these limitations into account, the employers do not remain idle. They try to secure advantages for themselves by using the development of technology, the growing role of intellectual labour in production, and the human aspiration for independence.

These moves are now facilitated by a rightward shift in politics and by a capital's effort to regroup in response to the crisis. By altering the social structure in line with the "dual socio-economic concept", capital is trying to influence human thinking and behaviour and to take the edge off the demands that are being advanced.

We are witnessing essentially opposite processes. One must not confuse the development of the crisis, the evolution of society and — all the more so — technological change. Only then will it be possible to find solutions to the crisis.

Society evolves as a result of this change and of the struggle waged by the working people. While displaying a degree of independence, the processes in question interpenetrate and influence one another. The situation in the country is shaped by complex and contradictory phenomena, and our analysis is aimed at grasping and explaining them better.

The temptation to regard these processes and shifts as elements of socialism merely produce an incorrect assessment of the tasks to be tackled. The anti-crisis content of the objectives is ignored, there appears a feeling of complacency about alliances, and the need for the Communist Party's independent analysis and action is underrated.

This would draw us away from the objectives of transforming society — objectives dictated by the character of the crisis and by the extremely important technological change — and result in support for the idea of a "difficult but necessary stage" in the development of the nation.

This view, widespread among engineers, administrative personnel and technicians, cannot be explained solely by their belief that the crisis is inescapable or that the solutions imposed by scientific and technological progress are foreordained. With some people, this view also implies a confused search for a way out of the crisis. To ignore this would be to underestimate the possibility of identifying common objectives connected with this search.

A comparison of the way administrative and managerial workers voted in the elections of 1981, 1984 and 1986 appears to confirm this conclusion. In the elections to the European Parliament they "punished" the Socialist Party for its failure to use all the opportunities it had or could have had for accelerating the nation's development,

promoting economic growth and creating jobs.

In 1981 many voters in this category withdrew their support from the right-wingers, specifically, from Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, for the same reason. In 1986, their attitude was not a defection to the right-wing camp but largely a return to the Socialist Party: voting for it were 38 per cent of the middle-level administrative cadre and 32 per cent of the professionals.

Naturally, a desire to cast a "useful" ballot largely shaped the choice of those who preferred to support the Socialists. Convinced that a "dual" society was a stage the nation simply had to go through, they held that the Socialist Party was more capable of combining modernisation and humanism, of providing the "social management" of this "necessary stage". But, while acting in this way, they often had a feeling of profound dissatisfaction and uneasiness.

The success of the General Union of Engineers, Technicians and Administrative Workers and of the GCL in the elections of union representatives confirms the deep-rooted striving for change, although this does not mean that the people concerned have found the political options which are consonant with their expectations.

This produces numerous opportunities (which the outcome of the March 16, 1986 general elections cannot obscure) for the involvement of administrative and managerial workers in the alliance of the working people and in the struggle against the crisis.

One should not, however, underrate the distance separating their readiness to act from their understanding of the Communists' proposals which are mostly either denied coverage or distorted. Turning towards the future, the two sides do not always give the same answers to the same problems that stem from specific realities.

Nevertheless, the aspirations and the very reason for existence of administrative and managerial workers make it possible to believe that *there is a certain closeness between their professional mission and the political prospects advocated by the Communists*. I refer to the need to create a society based on the principles of initiative, responsibility and freedom and consonant with the desire of people to put their knowledge and work at the service of society, not of a privileged handful.

We are not forcing this convergence; it is dictated by reality and by the needs of society. But it is yet to be given a vibrant and concrete form.

The aim of the Communists is not to win technicians, engineers, administrative workers and scientists over to our side but to discuss, together with them, the real problems of our crisis-ridden society, to search for solutions together and to build socialism together. We do not ignore the difficulties of such an approach, nor do we try to assume a patronising attitude. Our party is embarking on this road with a sense of responsibility — not because the number of these workers keeps growing but because their role is indispensable in today's society and will be even more essential under socialism built the French way.

¹ Georges Marchais said at the 25th Congress of the FCP that "the forces of capital have their own social blueprint. They call it a dual society, a society advancing at two different speeds. On the one hand, there are those who will have sufficient incomes. On the other hand, there are those who have no chance of making it, who can lose their jobs, who are saddled with low wages and a weak system of social protection, who will be in constant need of assistance" (*Cahiers du communisme*, March-April 1985, No. 3-4, p. 42). — Ed.

² (*Cahiers du communisme*, March-April 1985, No. 3-4, p. 371).

Any US - Orchestrated Settlement would be Illusory

Naim Ashhab – CC Political Bureau member, Palestinian Communist Party

IT is no secret that following the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in the summer of 1982 the Palestine Liberation Organisation's influence and standing began to decline steadily. The point is not only that the PLO had withdrawn from that country where until then the Palestinian Resistance Movement had most of its forces, considerable freedom of action, and independence in decision-making. The invasion gave the US-Israeli alliance an opportunity which it at once seized to intensify pressure and extend the range of its nefarious activities in the region. The outcome was a breakdown of the alliance between Syria, the Palestinian revolution, and Lebanese national-patriotic forces that had, since Egypt's defection from the front of the anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist struggle, been the pillar of resistance to the conspiracies of enemies of the Arab peoples. This development greatly encouraged the opposing side to step up the efforts to deal summarily with the alliance participants one by one.

As regards the Palestinian national movement, personified by the PLO, an attempt was made to destroy it physically during the siege of Beirut. When this attempt failed, the accent was shifted to drawing this movement on to the slippery road of capitulatory decisions by taking advantage of some new developments that were negatively affecting it. Among these were, first, that following the fighting in Beirut the PLO combat units and establishments were dispersed among various Arab countries, while the bureaucracy in these establishments began scheming to preserve their own positions and comfortable life. Second, the deterioration of the situation in the Arab world hurt the Palestinian national movement generally and the PLO in particular—various Arab forces stepped up their attempts to bring the latter under their influence. Third, the Palestinian people were negatively affected by the helplessness shown by Arab states during the aggression against Lebanon, particularly during the heroic defence of Beirut.

As soon as the last Palestinian fighter left the Lebanese capital, Washington advanced its notorious 'Reagan plan'. It must be surmised that when the plan was concocted and the moment for announcing it was chosen, account was taken of the class character of the Palestinian national movement's leadership and also the extent to which it had been influenced by the above-mentioned developments. Representing mainly privileged social strata, this leadership made it clear that it would accept any deal protecting its economic interests and privileges. One can even say that the American plan was addressed chiefly to these strata, especially on occupied territory, where their staunchness was eroded by years of oppressive Israeli occupation. A highlight of this occupation is the intention of the invaders not only to ruin the Palestinian propertied circles but also to expel them together with the remaining indigenous population from their native land and turn it over to Zionist settlers.

To put it in a nutshell, the 'Reagan plan' was an attempt to sow the illusion that the lands seized by the Israelis could be returned provided this was done through Jordan. It rejected out of hand any hope for the creation of an independent Palestinian state.

In the complicated situation following the Israeli aggression against Lebanon, privileged segments of Palestinians and their political spokesmen rose to the bail of an American-backed 'settlement'. The conflict between their desire to end the occupation and their readiness to abandon the aim of creating a Palestinian state began to have repercussions. This conflict took the shape of a split in the Palestinian national movement and gave an impetus to an early political demarcation. Recourse to some of the means that were used in an attempt to settle differences and the

interference by various, notably reactionary, Arab forces only aggravated these differences.

The substance of our divergences with those who are inclined to accept the American blueprint for a settlement is that our experience indicates that since everything is made dependent on the will of the USA, any renunciation of the idea of creating a Palestinian state will not lead to a return of the occupied lands, even if they are placed under Jordanian rule. That it is an illusion to hope the problem of the occupied territories can be settled on the basis of the blueprint suggested by Washington becomes all the more obvious if it is borne in mind that the main factors that could compel the US-Israeli alliance to make concessions are at present non-existent. First and foremost, these are an atmosphere of detente in international relations and a favourable alignment of strength in the region.

Enemies of the Palestinian people were quick to note the ominous changes in the Palestinian national movement. Persistent efforts were started to exacerbate the differences that had surfaced and let them evolve into an irreparable split. Pressure was brought to bear in order to promote a total political division with the argument that a settlement required the PLO to be formed of 'moderates' and the expulsion of the 'extremists'.

The Palestinian National Council was convened in Amman at the close of 1984 with the purpose of finalising this perilous and malignant division. For the first time since 1968, when it embraced partisan organisations and acquired the nature of a national front, the PLO began to lose this significant attribute. Most of those who attended the Amman session belonged to one and the same political wing. The logical continuation of this session was the signing, in February 1985, of the Amman agreement on so-called joint actions by the Jordanian Government and the PLO leadership.

It must be noted that in opening the PNC session in Amman, King Hussein advanced the slogan 'Land in Exchange for Peace' as though the question of war and peace in the Middle East was being resolved solely by the Arab side. This slogan later defined the content of the Amman agreement as the culmination of a tendency to use the American blueprint for a settlement. The most dangerous thing about it was not the renunciation of the idea of an independent Palestinian state in favour of a confederation with Jordan, nor Jordan's enlistment into the mission of representing the Palestinian people, but the investment of the USA with the exclusive authority to consider and settle the Palestinian problem.

Our belief that this is a dangerous course stems not only from the fact that the USA sides definitively with Israel and that the alliance between them grows steadily closer. Let us recall the bitter experience of Egypt, whose rulers agreed to make Washington the sole arbiter of the Egyptian-Israeli conflict. This experience is incontrovertible evidence of the sorry plight that may overtake our just cause if it is placed at the arbitrary mercies of the US ruling elite. Egypt, the largest of the Arab states, had to mortgage its independence to the USA indefinitely, open its doors wide to Israeli penetration and, on top of that, pay the remaining part of its onerous promissory note at the expense of the rights of the Palestinian people.

In the infamous Camp David accords Egypt pledged to help push through a settlement of the Palestinian problem that would at best be limited to giving the occupied territories administrative autonomy and thereby denying to our people the possibility of creating an independent state of their own. And all this for nothing more than the return of the Sinai, a diminished (witness the still ongoing arguments over the Taba region) demilitarised desert dotted with US and NATO spy installations and military units. Such has been the result of giving the USA the exclusive authority to 'settle' the relations between Egypt and Israel in isolation from the Arab-Israeli conflict as a whole. What payment would be required of our people for the

restoration of their rights if their just cause were again farmed out to the USA?

A year after the Amman agreement was signed the course hinging on accords blueprinted by the USA entered an impasse. It became evident that the sole intention of the US Administration—which publicly gave its blessing to the agreement—as that of Jordan's rulers, was to destroy the PLO and effectively remove it from the arena of struggle.

Here a key element was that the PLO leadership should unconditionally recognise the UN Security Council Resolution No. 242 of November 22, 1967. This resolution only concerns the question of Israeli's seizure of Arab lands as a result of the aggression of June 1967, in other words, it depicts the conflict exclusively as a territorial dispute. One hardly needs to point out that in this approach there is no room for the right of the Arab people of Palestine—the principal participant in the Middle East conflict—to self-determination and the creation of their own independent national state following the liberation of their homeland. Nor is there room for the PLO, which is now a symbol of international recognition of this right enshrined in many UN General Assembly resolutions, beginning with the resolution of November 29, 1947.¹

During the year that the Amman agreement was in operation, the USA clung, as it had earlier, to its line of making no commitment that would in one way or another signal recognition at least of the fact that, whether in or outside occupied territory, this is a single people fighting for a common cause, to say nothing of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination. Subsequent developments beg the question of why Washington acted with such astonishing haste to take the manoeuvres over the Amman agreement into a blind alley. It may be surmised that there were several reasons, of which let us take note of the most important.

First, the Middle East conflict has shown that of all the regional crisis situations it is most heavily dependent on the overall international situation.² The Reagan Administration is now openly seeking to stir up further tension and trigger another spiral of the arms race. The USA is actively seeking to set up new military blocs and bases in different parts of the world to serve the aims of its global strategy. The Middle East, a neuralgic zone with its strategic location and oil resources, holds a special place in the USA's plans. These plans snugly accommodate the intention to make an end of the Palestinian problem as quickly as possible in order to clear the way for a regional bloc consisting of Israel and Arab states on the basis of what is called a 'strategic consensus'.

Second, the growing revolutionary strength of the people of South Africa is bringing the inevitable collapse of the racist colonial regime nearer, making this only a question of time. The rulers of the USA and Israel are aware that after that happens world public opinion will be focused more closely than ever on the Palestinian problem—the last explosive conflict generated by the Zionist colonial regime, which is denounced by international community. Hence their mounting anxiety, their desire to dispose of this problem before it is too late.

Third, there is reason to expect eruptions of socio-economic crises in the Arab world in the immediate future. Their accelerated maturing is fostered by the drastic fall of oil revenues, which were used during the oil boom years for cultivating consumerism rather than for building a production capacity. The principal outcome of this was that in countries of the region there was an unmistakable consolidation of capitalist development with its inherent distinctive features—class differentiation and a glaring polarisation of wealth and poverty.

In this situation there is a growing certainty of a social eruption taking place in one Arab country or another, or even in a group of countries. The first harbinger was Sudan. Similarly, the mutiny of Egyptian security forces, as a consequence of which there was a period of anarchy, was compelling evidence of the objective conditions

maturing for an analogous eruption. In this context, the efforts to put the Palestinian problem out of the way have been undertaken because it is a factor stirring the national sentiments of the Arab masses, making them resent the actions of the US-Israeli alliance. On the other hand, the influence of the Palestinian factor, currently muted on account of the deterioration of the overall situation in the Arab world, will be revived and it will then be harder to bring it under control in the event positive changes take place in some Arab countries.

Fourth, there is a correspondingly growing concern in Washington for the destiny of the positions won by the Americans in our region, including for the future of the Camp David agreements. Although more than eight years have passed since these accords were signed, the efforts to extend the Camp David framework, to bring some other Arab state into this framework have proved to be futile. It must be taken into account that to achieve success this time it will be necessary to crack a much harder nut—the Palestinian problem.

Fifth, the ruling circles of the USA and Israel are finding themselves in an increasingly sticky situation on account of the Soviet Union's consistent peace initiatives, particularly its proposal that the five permanent members of the UN Security Council should form a preparatory committee with the purpose of convening an international conference on a Middle East settlement with the participation of all interested parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

A year after the Amman agreement was signed, King Hussein announced that he would no longer be guided by it because he had lost confidence in the PLO leadership. The main target of the present campaign has in effect become the right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination. Matters have reached a point where this is alleged to be an obstacle to the liberation of the occupied territories.

Hussein's declaration that he would no longer cooperate with the PLO leadership ushered in the beginning of a new phase, that of a transition to open total assault with the purpose of destroying the PLO and creating a replacement. The assault is being conducted in several directions. The relative benefits enjoyed by the PLO after the agreement was signed have been annulled. In particular, many of its offices have been closed and some leading personalities and officials have been expelled from Jordan. An assault on the PLO by corrupt bureaucratic elements was orchestrated and there were attempts to rally Palestinians, especially those resident in Jordan, around these elements. (It should be noted that these questionable elements were supported not only by the ruling circles of Jordan but also of some other reactionary Arab states.) The joint Palestinian-Jordanian commission to sustain the staunchness of the population of occupied territories has been disbanded (it was set up by decision of the Baghdad summit in 1978) and its functions have been taken over by a Jordanian agency).

Acting in coordination and collaboration with the Israeli government, the Jordanian regime has started a wide-ranging attack on the PLO's position in the occupied territories as well. In this strike it is using all the advantages of its position, notably the possibility of controlling the movement of people and goods from the occupied territories across Jordan, the authority to issue passports to these people, and so on. The Jordanian rulers are instigating all sorts of provocations in the occupied territories by Palestinian bureaucratic elements dependent upon them—these elements had been paid a regular salary throughout the period of occupation. Efforts are being made to revive the 'rural leagues'. These sprang up on the initiative of the Israeli invaders and acted as their servitors until, finding themselves in total isolation, they fell into oblivion. Pains are now being taken to galvanise and enlist them in the attack on the PLO with a change of name so as to camouflage their actual purpose.

But the accomplices of the anti-Palestinian conspiracy are evidently not content

with what has been done. King Hussein's visit to Washington some months ago produced a 12-point plan with the blessing of both sides. It envisages the formation, in the first place, of a social base for the latest American blueprint for a settlement providing for an Israeli-Jordanian 'power-sharing arrangement' (or condominium) in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. This is a rehash of the Israeli interpretation of the autonomy figuring in the Camp David agreements.³ In line with that plan Israel would annex the occupied territories without being committed to granting citizenship rights to the inhabitants, who, as in the period prior to 1967, would remain citizens of Jordan. The racist essence of Israel will thus be made inviolable and there will no longer be any prospect of it becoming a bi-national state—this problem has been confronting the Zionist elite since 1967 when it seized the rest of the Palestinian lands. Although there are some disparities in the attitudes of the various groups among the Israeli ruling quarters, they are unanimous in the view that these lands cannot be relinquished.

For its part, the Jordanian government has enacted legislation to integrate the Palestinian mission with Jordanian state agencies. This concerns agencies representing Palestinians living not only in Jordan but in the occupied territories as well.

It is now being openly declared that 'King Hussein of Jordan has entered into an unspoken agreement with Israel to share rule over the 1,400,000 Palestinians in the occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza Strip'.⁴ Facts are cited to corroborate the existence of a conspiracy to establish a kind of *de facto* Israeli-Jordanian condominium in these areas. For instance, after the elected mayors were dismissed, Palestine mayors were appointed in three West Bank municipalities—Hebron, Ramallah, and El-Bireh—to replace the military administration. An understanding has been reached to re-open the Cairo-Amman Bank (Arab banks have not functioned in the occupied territories since the 1967 aggression). This is the first official document signed by representatives of Israel and Jordan since the Arab-Israeli war of 1948. And, lastly, a five-year plan for the development of the occupied territories has been announced in Jordan. This plan envisages the allocation of about a quarter of a billion dollars annually to provide 'better living conditions' for the population, with half of this sum to be provided by the USA.

Of late in Amman, Tel Aviv, and Washington they have begun to speak in one voice about the importance of and need for such 'better living conditions'. The sense of this unexpected zeal on the part of the US-Israeli-Jordanian triad is revealed in a statement by a senior aide of the US Department of State. He said the development plan proposed by Jordan for Israeli-occupied lands is in keeping with the aims of the USA that is trying to get 'moderates' rather than PLO 'extremists' to represent the Palestinian people.⁵ It is suggestive that the Americans now regard the leaders of that organisation as 'extremists', although only recently, when the Amman agreement was signed, they were seen as 'moderates' and those who refused to countenance the agreement were called 'extremists'.

Judging by media reports, the funds allocated under the plan 'to provide better living conditions' will be used to nurture and stimulate private business instead of being made available to urban and rural public—municipal or cooperative—organisations. The obvious reason for this is that the main goal is to create a social stratum lined up in support of the policies of those who throw sops to them.

A noteworthy point is that this time special attention is being given to rural communities. The Jordanian authorities speak of a readiness to draw up detailed plans for the development of all the 430 villages in the West Bank, with the 10,500,000 dinars⁶ needed for this project to be allocated in equal shares by Jordan and Israel.⁷ This is evidence that Amman has no objections to collaborating with the Israeli invaders. It amounts to an attempt to win the support of the Palestinian rural

population by playing on its concern for the destiny of its land. These people are told that deliverance from occupation is possible but that it is obstructed by the intransigence of the PLO, which is insisting on linking the problem of land to the right to self-determination. Moreover, use is made of errors by the PLO leadership that had concentrated most of its efforts and funds to gain the loyalty of the urban bourgeoisie while ignoring the rural population.

The design to create a social base in the occupied territories to support a US-engineered settlement is only one aspect of the conspiracy. The other, which has begun to get increasing attention from the US-Israeli alliance, is to put an end once and for all to the problem of Palestinian refugees. They count on achieving this through the naturalisation of the refugees in the countries they are compelled to live in, and thereby irreversibly separating the exiles from the destiny of the inhabitants of the occupied territories and reducing the Palestinian problem to an issue affecting solely the latter.

We are talking not only of the drive started long ago by the Israeli invaders to dismantle the refugee camps in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Analogous actions have lately been started by the Jordanian authorities as well. On the pretext of 'upgrading communal services' the Al-Husein and Al-Wahdat camps in Jordan have been placed under the jurisdiction of the Amman Municipal Council, and control of the Al-Bak's camp has been transferred to the Es-Salt Municipal Council. These camps have been in existence since 1948, when the tragedy of expulsion overtook the Palestinian people; the status of these camps has remained unchanged throughout this time. In parallel, the functions of the UNRWA are being increasingly cut back.

Although it would be premature to say that they have been entirely dispelled, the illusions about any effective US-orchestrated settlement are evaporating in the flames kindled by the ramified conspiracy to crush the just cause of the Palestinian people. The sense of imminent danger is helping to create a more favourable atmosphere for preliminary contacts with the purpose of restoring the PLO's unity on a platform of struggle against imperialism and Israeli occupation. A new impulse has been given to this process by Algerian President Chadli Benjedid's call for a dialogue between the various contingents of the Palestinian national movement.

Our party is, as it has always been, active in all efforts to bridge the division in the PLO and defend the gains that the Palestinian people have won at the price of enormous sacrifice. *Guided by its inherent sense of national responsibility, especially in the present uneasy period, it advocates a return to strict compliance with decisions adopted on the basis of a patriotic consensus as the political foundation for restoring unity.* I am referring to, above all, the decisions passed at the 16th session of the Palestinian National Council held in Algeria in early 1983 and to the underlying provisions of the Aden-Algiers agreement that was signed by the al-Fatah organisation and representatives of the Democratic Alliance⁸ in the summer of 1984. Of these provisions the most significant are those that concern the formation of a collegial leadership of the PLO with the mission to make the organisation equal to the bigger tasks and shed all illusions about an American-sponsored settlement and its embodiment—the Amman agreement.

I am sure that when the Palestinian national movement reacquires cohesion, those who are today frantically trying to bury it at all costs will realise that the 'Palestinian nut' is too hard for them to crack. Bitter battles have tempered the Palestinians, and they have dependable allies, the Soviet Union in the first place, who are ceaselessly reiterating their steadfast support for our people's legitimate national rights and their sincere striving and readiness to facilitate the restoration of PLO unity on a platform of an anti-imperialist struggle for liberation.

I have already noted that because the Palestinians are dispersed in various Arab countries, the deteriorating situation in the Arab world has had and is still having a

negative effect on the Palestinian national movement and is the factor largely responsible for the emergence and deepening of the crisis in the PLO. And yet there is every reason to believe that the restoration of unity will prompt the development of a revolutionary situation in the region, for the Palestinian national movement has always played a prominent role in the general Arab national liberation, anti-imperialist struggle.

Similarly, if cohesion is reasserted in the alliance of Syria, the Palestinian revolution, and the Lebanese national-patriotic forces it will allow taking the initiative out of the hands of reaction, the right-wing circles, and halt the dangerous depletion of the potential of all the alliance's members. In the present situation the only reasonable way out for them is to return to the path that life has proved is both correct and effective.

¹ This resolution calls for the formation of two states—a Jewish and an Arab state—on the territory of the former mandated territory of Palestine, and for the conversion of Jerusalem and its environs into an international zone.—*Ed.*

² It is significant that the first indications of the turn in US policy from detente to fuelling tension and confrontation was seen precisely in the US attitude to the Middle East problem. Virtually within a few days after the Soviet Union and the USA signed a joint statement in the autumn of 1977 on convening an international conference before the end of that year to settle the Middle East crisis, Washington dissociated itself from this coordinated stand. Instead, Sadat was prompted to make his sensational visit to Israel and this led to Camp David, which in fact ultimately aggravated rather than resolved the Middle East crisis.

³ In May of last year the then Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres declared: "When two peoples live on one territory two variants are possible: division of either the land or of authority—a territorial or functional settlement. . . . I believe that the real opportunity lies in the functional sphere, and the first step is autonomy." *Al-Safir* (Lebanon), May 17, 1986 (in Arabic).

⁴ *International Herald Tribune*, October 20, 1986.

⁵ *Ad Dustour* (London), August 11, 1986 (in Arabic).

⁶ One Jordanian dinar is worth about US\$3.

⁷ *Al-Awda* (occupied East Jerusalem), June 19, 1986 (in Arabic).

⁸ Set up in early 1984 by four Palestinian organisations, including the Communist Party.

Special for WMR

Zimbabwe's Revolutionary Path

Nathan M. Shamuyarira – Politburo member, secretary for information and publicity, Zimbabwe African National Union—Patriotic Front (ZANU/PF)

WMR has asked Nathan M. Shamuyarira, a high-level member of Zimbabwe's ruling ZANU(PF) party and the Minister of Information, Post and Telecommunications, to acquaint our readers with the principle landmarks of the revolutionary path the people of Zimbabwe have traversed. This is what he told us.

OUR fight was a long and bitter one. The armed struggle itself lasted for a period of 16 years,¹ while preparations for it had been started earlier. We traversed an arduous path, from the battle of Sinoia in April 1966² to independence in 1980. But the struggle for independence has been going on longer than that in our country.

The reason is that the type of colonialism we had was different from the colonialism in other African countries. In the case of Zimbabwe, the colonisation was done by settlers from South Africa led by the archimperialist Cecil John Rhodes.³ The settlers

came to rob our people of their land, to look for gold and to establish a government which would permanently guarantee the rights of the white minority. This was different from other African countries which were colonised directly by Britain, France or Belgium. These colonies were governed from the metropolitan country, and there was a colonial secretary who could be questioned in parliament about colonial policy.

As the social forces became increasingly active in the colonial powers, especially after the defeat of Hitler in Europe, pressures against colonial policy increased in the parliaments of Britain, France and other West European countries. Suffice it to recall the response of the left wing of Britain's Labour Party to the atrocities and reprisals launched against the Mau-Mau⁴ fighters in Kenya: the questions asked in the British parliament embarrassed the government. However, Zimbabwe was governed by the white settlers and we could not count on the pressure of public opinion in Britain. The brutal treatment of our people by the settlers' regime went unpunished. However, this helped us in the sense that it convinced the masses of the need to fight against the oppressors and against the very system of settler colonialism and capitalism.

The efforts of the patriots raised the level of our people's consciousness a great deal. In 1964, after ZANU was established, it was decided to launch an armed struggle for independence. Begun by a few fighters, this struggle developed and became nation-wide.

The peasants were the principal social base of armed resistance. Deprived of their land by the settler community which seized the more fertile half of the country's arable land area, they were the first to rise to the struggle and continued fighting right up to independence. There was another social force behind the liberation movement: the workers who had come into the cities from rural areas and suffered many privations (no adequate housing, no water or electricity in their homes, etc.). They were being politicised, especially after World War II, when we formed the first African National Congress; other congresses followed, later banned by the authorities.⁵ Nevertheless, politicisation continued in the cities, and by the early 1960s the struggle of the peasants and the workers merged into a single patriotic movement, and we were then able to fight decisively for our independence.

International solidarity helped a great deal. Without it, we could not have won our freedom. First and foremost, we relied on the frontline states. They enabled us to operate from Mozambique, Zambia and even Botswana. This helped the patriots of Zimbabwe to conduct military operations within their country.

We were supported by many African countries. The role of the Organisation of African Unity should be mentioned in particular: it provided us with military and financial aid through the Liberation Committee in Dar es Salaam. We had bilateral relations with some of the OAU member-countries, such as Algeria and Egypt. Egypt under Nasser gave us very strong assistance. We were also supported by the socialist countries in Europe and Asia, by the Cuban people. We had support from the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia. Romania and Yugoslavia sent us the weapons we needed in our struggle. India and Pakistan also assisted our fighters for independence. Therefore, international solidarity was very important.

I must add that we also had a lot of support from the West—witness the considerable financial support we received from the Scandinavian countries. The Swedish government voted to earmark financial assistance to us from the national budget. We had a lot of progressive organisations in America and Britain assisting us; the churches helped with clothes, medicines and food. The World Health Organisation and the FAO also gave us medicines and food. There were many solidarity organisations in the Netherlands, France, Belgium and other West European countries which not only sent us material assistance. They mobilised the

independence have been the years of such transformation. By restructuring the government and the institutions, we are making the transformation of society possible. Such is our programme.

¹ ZANU(PF) traces the beginning of the armed struggle to 1964.—Ed.

² Sinoia was a town near which guerillas of ZANU/ZANU(PF) since 1980/ fought a heroic 28-hour battle against superior Rhodesian police forces.—Ed.

³ A British 'empire builder' notorious for his particular zeal in the colonial annexation of vast territories in Southern and Central Africa.—Ed.

⁴ Kenya's liberation movement which led a powerful anti-colonial uprising in 1952-1956.—Ed.

⁵ The ANC of Southern Rhodesia opposed racism, advocated equal rights for all and was repeatedly re-established by the fighters against colonialism despite the reprisals of the authorities.—Ed.

⁶ Together with ZANU, ZAPU (the Zimbabwe African People's Union) formed the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe which was established in 1976.—Ed.

Our Interviews In Healing Wounds, Do Not Heal Memory Reflections on Life, Politics and Literature

Graham Greene – English writer

Graham Greene, a major contemporary author often referred to as 'the last of the giants' writing in English, of the same stature as Hemingway, Faulkner and Maugham, hardly needs a special introduction. Still, let us recall that at 82, Graham Greene is the author of more than 50 novels, long short stories, screenplays, plays and essays. His books *The Power and the Glory*, *The Quiet American*, *Our Man in Havana*, *The Comedians*, *The Honorary Consul*, *Getting to Know the General*, *Dr Fischer of Geneva or the Bomb Party* and many others have won him world-wide fame.

WMR asked Alexander Sabov, a Soviet journalist, to interview Graham Greene after his return from revolutionary Nicaragua. Following is the transcript of the talk in which the celebrated writer shared his impressions of the country of Sandino, reflected on his work and discussed many topical international developments.

This has been your third visit to Nicaragua. What is it that attracts you to that country so much? Is it a novel you are planning to write?

No, it's not that. I always look at people, cities and countries, sizing them up for a possible book. But the background is one thing and the plot quite another. The plot of a novel is not necessarily born during travel, although this has happened with me several times. Actually, I never set myself the definite objective of returning with a novel: that would tie my hands, I would be forced to kind of fictionalise the events I saw and the people I met. I prefer to jot things down in my diary and then use them in newspaper reports about my trip.

One easily notices that the Latin American theme is particularly prominent in your work. Your interest in it can be traced back, I believe, to the late 1930s: after a trip to Mexico you wrote *The Power and the Glory*. They say the exception proves the rule: you turned to Vietnam for the story of *The Quiet*

American, but that seems to be your only tribute to Asia. The fact that you toured Liberia on foot in the mid-1930s and the war years you spent in Sierra Leone brought an African theme into your work. But even Europe where you live and write features less prominently in your books and articles than Latin America. Why?

I'd say this interest subconsciously emerged in my young years, as a result of my frequent trips to Spain. *Rumour at Nightfall* was set in Spain, and I returned there later many times in my books. Spain was the 'end' of Europe and the 'beginning' of another, unknown continent across the ocean, the continent I discovered for myself on my trip to Mexico. That was how my literary preferences took shape—Spain in terms of countries and Latin America in terms of continents.

In your writing career, there is a span of almost 50 years between Mexico and Nicaragua. Which book in your 'Latin American series' do you regard as your greatest success and which do you see as a failure?

That is a matter for my readers to judge, although I make no secret of my views as the author. I think that *The Honorary Consul* is my best book. I'm least happy with *Getting to know the General*, and for a reason. My four trips to Panama not just 'blessed' me with a plot; I came completely under its sway. But at 80 you cannot help asking yourself if you still have enough strength and time for a big novel, and I didn't want it to remain unfinished. And so I used a trick: I chose the genre of a documentary, biographical story and described how a literary plot matured gradually within me. The book is a bit of a memoir, a bit of travel notes—not at all in my line and, of course, by no means a novel, even though it cost me two years of work. This is why, all the more so, I don't dare anticipate anything in the case of Nicaragua. I've come to love that country, to know its people and the way they live, and I've taken their struggle to heart. And I believe it is my duty to produce above all a journalistic testimony of what I saw—not necessarily a novel, but by all means a report reflecting a clear position, a clear commitment.

While you are almost never present at conferences, in demonstrations or on podiums, your voice rings loud and clear wherever a struggle is on. It was not accidental that General Omar Torrijos included you—and Gabriel Garcia Marquez—in the Panamanian delegation to attend the signing of the treaty with the United States on the transfer of the canal to Panama. Governments of countries that have overthrown dictatorships, as well as the national liberation forces fighting against dictatorships address appeals to you. Do you regard yourself as an observer of Central and South American developments, an observer acting on behalf of Europe?

Why of Europe? Rather, on behalf of world public opinion. Of course, the title is not important—and the title can be justly shared by many people. But all titles aside, I hold that the rights of nations must be respected—above all, their right to national freedom, to the choice of that political system which would guarantee respect of their national dignity.

Invited by General Torrijos, I first visited Panama in 1976, and, incidentally, he was the one who introduced me to some of the Sandinist leaders who were then in exile. The general's death in an air crash in 1981 was a profound shock to me. Can one really doubt that this was a criminal, engineered act? I do not hesitate to describe Torrijos as a genuine socialist. Today we can only guess at what his subsequent political evolution would have been like, but it obviously did not suit the domestic

reactionaries or US imperialism. In fact, General Torrijos was becoming perhaps the second most important figure of Latin American calibre after Fidel Castro. The socio-economic change initiated in Panama under Torrijos reverberated throughout the continent. Essentially, this change posed an even greater threat to the domination of US monopolies than did the loss of control over the 'Canal of the Americas'.

The Treaties Have Been Signed, But . . .

In September 1977 Jimmy Carter, President of the United States, and General Torrijos, President of Panama, signed treaties on the gradual transfer of the canal to Panamanian jurisdiction. After a period of joint management which was to end in 1999, Panama was to exercise complete control of the canal. However, after the death of Torrijos, the United States unilaterally amended one of the treaties, stipulating that the mixed canal management commission should be formed under US legislation. The headquarters of the US Southern Command is still in Panama. The troops concentrated at six US bases can be sent at a moment's notice to any part of Central America or the Caribbean to suppress national liberation movements.

The history of Latin America is full of the names of dictators who were usually placed in power as a result of a coup. Latin American national liberation movements produced leaders of a different type—Fidel Castro, Che Guevara, Salvador Allende and Omar Torrijos. The attitudes of US imperialism to the former and the latter are poles apart: a shower of gold for the dictators, and conspiracies, putsches and assassinations for the true popular leaders. But are domestic and external reactionaries really capable of putting an end to the tradition of Bolivar in the Latin American region?

They can only slow it down or suppress it for a time, but not destroy it, of course. The extremely tense political and social confrontation in the region gives rise to a distinctive environment which cannot but produce progressive leaders. But I would like to take a closer look at these people; this may offer me a glimpse into the future. Che Guevara I would call a twentieth-century Byron. Allende, who invited me for a visit during the second year of his presidential term, was, I believe, an even more romantic figure than Che Guevara. Alas, the Popular Unity government underrated the danger posed by the domestic reactionaries who received unlimited financial support from the CIA. Conversely, Fidel Castro and Omar Torrijos showed a far greater degree of political realism as they moved vigorously to transform the socio-economic basis in their countries. Developments in Nicaragua and Haiti also prompt interesting conclusions.

In 1970 a broad alliance of political and social forces opposed to Somoza took power in Nicaragua. The alliance was led by the Sandinist National Liberation Front which consolidated the victory at the November 1984 elections. Nine members of the SNLF National Leadership represented democratic, progressive quarters which proved capable of attaining unity. Daniel Ortega, the Front's coordinator, became president of the republic. This proves the consolidation of the anti-imperialist front in Nicaragua. Naturally, one must not discount the personal evolution of Daniel Ortega as a revolutionary leader. When I first met him, he hadn't got over his imprisonment and torture yet, and he looked constrained and even hesitant. Today, he is a confident leader aware of his strength, open to dialogue and able to convince and persuade. The revolution itself is moulding its leaders.

Haiti presents a different pattern of developments. There, the storm that had long been brewing finally broke and forced Baby Doc the dictator to flee the country in great haste. But the progressive forces behind this storm have not yet crystallised fully and proved not quite able to consolidate their forces. One might say that so far, the only change in the island has been General Henri Namphy's order to dye the national flag in different colours. There is Duvalierism without Duvalier. New comedians have taken the place of old ones. Dissociating itself from odious regimes, US imperialism is implanting new dictatorships and trying to present them as democracies.

The Comedians' 'Refutation'

"The intelligence service of the Haitian Government warned that Graham Greene was coming to Port-au-Prince on an important mission that had nothing to do with culture. Presented to the authorities by the then British charge d'affaires, he was received with the Haitians' usual politeness, but with undertones usually reserved for people with the tongue of a serpent and a tarbrush ready to be used. . . .

"Greene! This name can now be confidently added to the list of the most despicable advocates of racial superiority. . . . Firmly committed to the cause of truth and to unflagging and vigilant protection of the values of the so-called underdeveloped ethnic groups, we are sounding the alarm. Greene's *Comedians* is a reactionary, barbarous and racist novel. . . .

"Graham Greene cannot pretend not to know that Haiti has always been a shining light of liberty in the New World. . . . This was what US President Harry Truman referred to when he spoke about Haiti in the following terms: 'At international forums, the voice of Haiti is always raised for peace and international concord.' "

These quotations are from a book published in Haiti to denounce *The Comedians*. On Papa Doc's orders, Haitian embassies distributed it throughout the world. Only when it became clear that the 'refutation' produced an effect that was opposite to the desired result did the mailing campaign cease.

Note the source and the object of the praise and the rhetoric used. Truman dropped atomic bombs on cities full of civilians. Papa Doc tortured his own nation. Both are presented as 'champions of democracy', and the praise is mutual. There are comedians for you.

Early this year *The Sunday Telegraph* charged that together with the Catholic Church, you and your struggle for peace in fact 'play into the Communists' hands'. Specifically, you are censured for your support of the Sandinist revolution in Nicaragua.

I replied by sending a letter to *The Sunday Telegraph*, expressing my complete disagreement with these allegations. The letter was published. Such are the rules of the game: Western pluralism makes it possible to publish one thing today and another thing tomorrow, even if the two are mutually exclusive. This same pluralism will make it possible to renew the attacks launched to malign me and my stand.

The bourgeois press, primarily the press in the United States, keeps claiming that there are no political freedoms or civil liberties in Nicaragua, that there is no religious freedom. What are your personal conclusions after three trips to that country?

That's nonsense, on a par with Washington's charges that Nicaragua is sending weapons to El Salvador. The Salvadorian insurgents themselves capture weapons from government troops, and the weapons are all US-made. The distinctive thing about the Nicaraguan revolution is that it follows three principles—a mixed economy, political pluralism and non-alignment. The matter of transforming the revolution into a socialist one is not raised, but the anti-capitalist nature of the revolution is emphasised constantly. Suffice it to say that two-thirds of the Nicaraguans voted for the SNLF in the elections held in the autumn of 1984. Nicaragua's economy is young, it has to reckon with the threat of external intervention and to repel the incessant attacks of the contras. Nevertheless, it has already asserted the will of the people in a democratic way that has no analogy in all of US history.

Do the contras receive support within the country?

Of course they do—among the bourgeoisie whose economic domination the revolution has undermined. It would be strange if the reverse were true. Nicaragua's mixed economy and political pluralism leave enough room for the bourgeoisie to act and publicise its views, but not to a degree at which it could hope to win back its ideological and economic domination. That would be the end of the Nicaraguan revolution. The elections have shown that the people are resolved to defend it.

How great is the danger of external intervention?

First of all, let us eschew euphemisms. The United States is using mercenaries to wage an undeclared war against Nicaragua. If this term is for some reason unacceptable, US interference should be described as state terrorism. Even if the US President dislikes the Nicaraguan revolution and Nicaraguan democracy, this is no reason to finance and train the contras and to use them as pawns in acts of piracy against the young republic. You remember that last spring the Western leaders adopted, at a traditional meeting of the Big Seven, a declaration denouncing 'international terrorism'. It was obviously an attempt to justify the bombing of Libya and the sending of punitive troops into Nicaragua. The objective was to equate national liberation movements with terrorism. In response to the Tokyo statement of the Big Seven I sent a letter to *The Times*, objecting to the idea of 'selective terrorism'. But my letter was not published. (See facing page.)

How did the editor of *The Times* explain his refusal to publish this letter?

He gave no explanation. He wrote that the letter was 'interesting and distressing' but he couldn't publish it! Of course, I found a way to have this letter published elsewhere. There you have a case of two principles violated at the same time—human rights and freedom of the press. This happens every time the rights of nations are violated. That is why one must not remain silent about terrorism, about the so-called little wars. That is why I have recently joined the British Association of Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People.

A Fact That They Refused to Publish

The Editor
The Times
Pennington Street
London E1 9DD

28th April, 1986

Sir,

Most people, I imagine, will approve of the strongest measures possible against terrorism, but surely not against selective terrorists. Here is one of the latest reports of terrorism which one hopes may be considered at Tokyo. It has been made by an American nun, Sandra Price, who is working in a country diocese in Nicaragua.

"On March 25 a group of contras took one of our Catholic catechists, Donato Mendoza, from his home, gouged out his eyes, pulled out his fingernails, cut the flesh from his legs, broke every bone in his body, and shot him.

"Three days later, on Good Friday, his naked, mutilated body was found. Donato had always worn a chain and cross as a distinctive mark of his position in the Church. He said he had lost the cross a few days before, while working. It was this chain without a cross which identified his dead body."

Yours truly,
Graham Greene

Coexistence of Sandinism and Christianity is another salient feature of the Nicaraguan revolution. And since the readers regard you as a Catholic writer . . .

Oh no, please! I am a Catholic writer, that's true, but I am an agnostic Catholic.

Nevertheless, *The Power and the Glory* was the first novel that brought you both a certain power over the minds of men and the reputation of a seeker after the truth.

For 30 years this novel remained on the list of books banned by the Roman Curia. When Pope Paul VI, who knew nothing about it, received me, he told me that *The Power and the Glory* was one of the literary works of mine he liked. I told him about the condemnation. He said that some of my books would always offend some Catholics, but I should not worry about that!

All this leads one to conclude that you are actually a godfather to 'liberation theology', although you expounded it in literary, not theological form. More than 40 years ago your book was banned by the Church. In a similar development, the Vatican denounced the doctrine of the Brazilian theologian Leonardo Boff in the 1980s. You and he also approach the social role of the Church in a similar way: you hold that it is to serve the poor and the oppressed, to care after them on Earth, not in the next world. This makes your testimony about the position of the Church in Nicaragua particularly weighty.

In Nicaragua, I talked with a number of priests. You know that Archbishop Obando of Managua is sharply opposed to the Sandinist government and to 'liberation theology'. This has already earned him the gratitude of the Vatican—a red hat. It might be worth noting that previously the archbishop was fully behind Somoza, and only when the dictatorship was about to fall did he begin to 'condemn' it—verbally, of course.

Let me tell you about one of the conflicts between the current authorities and the Church in Nicaragua. Mass celebrated by the archbishop himself was broadcast on national television on Sundays, from the Managua Cathedral. The authorities believed it would be only just to broadcast at least three services a month from the cathedrals of other cities—Leon, Granada and Esteli—and reserve only one for the Archbishop of Managua. I find that this decision is perfectly justified, and so do most of the people I discussed it with. And the reason why the archbishop is displeased is clear: he is no longer able to denounce the Sandinist revolution as often as he used to and has to make do with his share of the pluralism—religious pluralism this time.

True, 'liberation theology' is so far shared by an absolute minority of believers and clergymen in Latin America. But it would be a grave mistake to reduce the issue merely to figures and percentages. The important thing is that 'liberation theology', essentially rejected by the Vatican, is actually spreading throughout the continent at an unheard-of rate. The brakes the Vatican is applying can no longer stop it. This is why the Roman Curia has recently issued a document on 'liberation theology' acknowledging not only the fact that it is spreading but also its right to exist.

The Church in Chile supported the Allende government and, despite a change of archbishops, remains in opposition to the Pinochet regime to this day. The Church in Haiti has assumed a progressive stand. The reactionaries assassinated archbishop Romero of San Salvador because he actively embraced 'liberation theology'. The Cuban Government has the most constructive relationship with the local Church. Apart from everything else, Nicaragua is now a political and religious front too—a just and true faith is in conflict with an official, dominant creed. Incidentally, Monsignor Obando has been recently awarded a medal of the Religion and Democracy Institute. Ask me where this institute is headquartered and I'll tell you: in Washington. Is everything clear? Some people would love to make the Church in Nicaragua into a symbol of ideological resistance to the revolution. This is another reason why the Vatican hastens to condemn the political activities of the priests who support the revolution while silently encouraging those who reject it. But that's politics too! There are many prominent Catholic priests in the Sandinist government, and that's a significant fact.

Let's go back to Europe. Jean-Claude Duvalier, the 'political exile' known as Baby Doc, is now living in France's Côte d'Azur, not far from your place. I was struck by the comments of some of the locals as reported in the French press. Let me quote a few: "He doesn't bother us, and none of us have ever seen him yet"—that's from a lady who owns a local café. "What's wrong with rich people coming to live here? The richer they are, the richer we'll get too: their money trickles down to us too." Or this comment: "I think it's common knowledge that our Côte d'Azur is like a picture postcard—a glossy surface and dung underneath. If only this Duvalier were the only one. What about those old Nazis and former OAS members? They are all sunning their hides here on Côte d'Azur." Do you recognise these voices? Can you guess where they are coming from?

Of course, the côte is the breeding ground of the Milieu which I attacked in 'J'Accuse'.¹

Almost simultaneously you wrote and published *Monsignor Quixote*, a novel set in Spain, and then *Dr Fischer of Geneva or The Bomb Party*, set in Switzerland, as is clear from the title. Are you returning to European themes?

You see, I've never actually abandoned them. Problems with European roots are in fact an undercurrent of my Latin American books. Let me explain. My young years were the years when Europe was at peace, and this peace was more serene than ever before in its history—at least from 1919 to 1933. My first books were not successful—perhaps that was why I gave up European themes. I developed a taste for travel, for far-off, exotic countries. But there came a time when I realised that Europe, which brought forth Nazism and paid with millions of lives to defeat it, had shared its contaminated blood with the rest of the world. Today's terrorism is nothing but Hitler's legacy. If the world is no longer shocked by the slaughter of Palestinians at Sabra and Shatila, that's because it has had Dachau and Belsen.

The poison has seeped particularly far into the bloodstream of Latin America: first, this was where most Nazi criminals fled and second, this entire region is a zone where US imperialism has its 'vital interests'. It was difficult for me to 'return' to the new, tidy and well-kept Europe which had healed both its wounds and its memory. I was more attracted to countries where the political situation itself was playing a game of life and death. And still, I simply could not fail to return, could not fail to discover the mafia operating next door or the Dr Fischers² living peacefully in neutral Switzerland. In short, the geography of my subjects seems quite clear, but geographic boundaries are very relative in literature, and one wonders whether they exist at all.

* * *

Without a 'European dimension', Graham Green's profile would have been incomplete: the political philosophy of his work would have remained closed to us. This European who has wandered and toured maybe half the world's surface and whose pen has probed three dozen countries eventually always returns to his European home. He returns to think over and commit to paper what he saw in far-off lands. For, despite an artistic preference for some countries and continents, the world as seen by Graham Greene is indivisible.

¹ A biting political pamphlet against the Milieu, a mafia-type criminal organisation. Its publication in 1982 was suppressed in France.—Ed.

² Dr Fischer, the main protagonist of *Dr Fischer of Geneva or The Bomb Party*, is one of the powers-that-be, a millionaire who made his fortune by inventing a toothpaste. The author portrays him as an arrogant, cynical and cruel person.—Ed.

Against Repression and Persecution

Stop the Campaign of Terror in Bahrain

THE repressive services of Bahrain have committed another foul crime: Dr Hashim al-Alawi, a physician with the Ministry of Health until July 1986, has died under torture in prison. Together with scores of people of different ages and occupations, including many women, he was arrested several months ago in yet another hysterical campaign launched by the authorities to suppress dissent. The only thing these people are guilty of is that they disagree with the anti-democratic policy of the government, fight for civil rights and liberties, demand a return to the suspended 1973 Constitution

and condemn reprisals and terror against patriots.

The list of the victims is growing. The fate of Hashim al-Alawi has befallen another political prisoner—Radhi Mahdi Ibrahim. His body was not returned to his family but was secretly buried by the police. After inhuman torture which undermined their health, some political prisoners have been transferred to a military hospital. But they are still in danger of dying. The authorities have no intention of ending their brutal crimes against honest citizens and true patriots.

The National Liberation Front of Bahrain (NLFB) has called on all parties, organisations and activists in the Arab region and in the world, on international public opinion to raise their voice against the savage campaign of repression in Bahrain and to denounce the murder of Hashim al-Alawi and his comrades. An end must be put to the butchery, all political prisoners must be released and basic human rights restored. These are the legitimate demands the NLFB has been fighting tirelessly to promote for years.

International support for the patriots will eventually force the authorities to heed the voice of protest and solidarity and to end the terror.

Said Ali

surveys, information and mail

The Reader Wants to Know

The Young Generation Under Socialism: Rights, Opportunities, Prospects

YOUNG people under capitalism are hardest hit by unemployment, poverty, and lack of rights, all of which are social ills organic to the capitalist society. *Time* magazine says, for instance, that the number of unemployed under the age of 25 in the countries of the European Economic Community has increased in the 1980s from 2.9 million to 4.4 million, or to 37 per cent of all the unemployed in the region. Young people in the West in the 1980s are often called the 'lost' generation living in ever greater apathy, drug addiction, alcoholism, crime and sexual dissipation.

This is why young workers—among them Volker Spitz (FRG), Maria Kaliva (Greece) and Fouad Khater (Lebanon)—and other readers of our journal ask the following questions in their letters: How are the rights of young citizens to work and social security realised in the socialist countries? How democratic is the system of occupational training? They want to know about the opportunities for the young people's full employment, about their working and living conditions, recreation facilities, and spiritual and moral aspirations under socialism.

Below are some facts and figures on these and similar other matters.

ACQUIRING AN INDUSTRIAL TRADE

Eighty per cent of young men and women in the Soviet Union go to work in production after completing a course at one of the numerous technical trades schools. The state system of technical trades education is now made up of 7,800 schools, with an enrolment of 4 million; every year these schools graduate 2.5 million skilled workers in more than 1,600 trades.

The new edition of the CPSU Programme, which was adopted by the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, sets the task of gradually advancing to universal technical trades education, along with the secondary education, which all young people in the Soviet Union are given as a right. For that purpose, new technical trades schools, with at least 810,000 places, will be opened in the period from 1986 to 1990.

In the course of the ongoing school reform in the country, the various types of technical trades schools are to be consolidated into a single type: secondary technical trades school (STTS). After completing an eight-year secondary school course, graduates will go on to these STTSs for another three years of study to complete their general secondary education and acquire an industrial trade. The reform provides for a gradual increase (and for an eventual doubling) of the enrolment in the STTSs. Young people who have completed a ten-year secondary school course—and so already have a complete secondary education—are offered a one-year course at the STTSs.

One such school—STTS No. 27—is located in the city of Podolsk, not far from Moscow. For a quarter-century it has been training skilled workers for the Ordzhonikidze Engineering Works, the city's largest enterprise, and of its 10,000 workers more than one-half are graduates of STTS No. 27.

It now has a student body of 900, and every year enrolls and graduates some 300 young men and women. Roughly two-thirds of them come from working-class families, but there has been a recent influx of young people from the families of engineers, economists, doctors, lawyers, teachers and workers in the arts. When Vadim Krasnoryadtsev, an outstanding secondary school pupil, decided to enrol at the STTS after completing his eighth year, many, including his parents, were surprised. His father is a researcher and his mother an engineer at a plant, and both wanted their son to go into science or management, but the young lad insisted on training as an installer of electromechanical and radio-technical instruments and systems. It so happened, therefore, that in his second year at the STTS, Vadim was a trainee at the plant, where his mother is an engineer, and also at the research institute, where his father works. His parents were finally convinced that he was doing the right thing.

Young people from the countryside also study at the Podolsk STTS, although the children of collective farmers and state-farm workers, as a rule, prefer to enrol at rural trades schools. There are no limitations to education in the Soviet Union for reasons of social origin, nationality, party membership or religious creed, and medical reasons are the only ones for which a young person may be barred from entering a chosen field.

Tuition at the STTSs is free of charge. Those who are enrolled at the STTSs after completing the eight-year secondary school course (and they are in the majority) receive full maintenance from the state in the course of the three years. They are provided with hot meals, uniforms, hostel accommodation, when required, and various articles for personal hygiene. Textbooks and study aids, group viewing of films and plays, and excursions are also free of charge.

Many students are also given grants, either by the state or the enterprise, in order to encourage the training of workers in trades that are most shorthanded. The

Ordzhonikidze Works, for instance, offers grants to young people training as lathe and milling-machine operators, fitters, maintenance workers and electricians. Finally, the students are paid wages for their work in the STTS workshops while studying and while undergoing production training at the enterprises. That gives them enough pocket money to spend.

While the material aspects are fairly important for the young people, the main thing for them is their urge to master a trade and stand on their own two feet as soon as possible. Scientific and technical progress keeps spinning off more and more new trades, so that their range is continuously renewed and extended. Young people are, as a rule, most eager to work in some high-technology line, and that also meets the needs of modern production. Machine operator, for instance, was not too popular a trade at the Podolsk STTS until recently, but the situation underwent a change when the Works installed more numerically controlled machine tools, while the STTS began to train operators for them.

Both the trades and the STTSs rank differently for the young people on the scale of prestige. The Podolsk STTS is among the best and most popular in the country: last year, there were 450 applications for its 300 places. There are no entrance examinations here, and decisions on enrolment are taken on the strength of school certificate marks and personal interviews with members of the selection committee, which, incidentally, always includes members of the Works management and representatives of the party organisation and other special bodies. The overflow of applications is enrolled at other STTSs in Podolsk. The city authorities see to it that the necessary number of places is always available in the light of the requirements of production and the wishes of the young people.

Let us bear in mind that the young men and women opting for industrial training are simultaneously given a full-fledged secondary education, as the curricula for general knowledge subjects and the textbooks are the same as those in conventional secondary schools. Thus, at the Podolsk STTS, the future workers study mathematics, physics, chemistry, social subjects and the humanities, including the Russian language and literature, history, aesthetics and a foreign language. In addition to the school programme, there are special subjects, like the recently introduced courses on 'The Fundamentals of Informatics and Computer Techniques'. Use is made of modern study aids and technical facilities, including television, tape recorders, film projectors, and remote-control instruments, while the informatics and computing laboratory is fitted out with a dialogue computer system and micro-computers.

Roughly half the study time is devoted to production training in the STTS workshops and in industry. The atmosphere in the workshops is as similar to that on the shopfloor as it can be, involving the use of the most modern equipment, such as numerically controlled machine tools and robots. While learning to master their trade, the future workers turn out full-value products, such as water-heating boilers for small boiler-rooms, which are in great demand, and even some components for electric-power plants. There are both moral satisfaction and material rewards to be had from such work.

However, the students of the Podolsk STTS are also provided with various facilities for recreation, including two gyms: one for track and field, volleyball, basketball, and general physical training, and the other for weight-lifting and gymnastics. A swimming pool and a shooting gallery are housed in separate buildings. Near the STTS stands a sprawling mansion, once the seat of a rich landowner family. It has been restored—much of it by the young people themselves—and turned into a youth club, where there are dance, folksong and other groups of amateur dramatics, a showroom of the young people's technical inventions, and hobby groups.

What happens upon graduation? The young people have no problem in finding

jobs, because the STTS trains personnel for the Works according to plan, and according to the law its management provides graduates with jobs according to their trade and skill grade.

Young men and women who do honest work have the brightest prospects before them. Consider the case of Nina Ryzhova, who graduated from the Podolsk STTS fourteen years ago as an electric welder. She displayed an aptitude for her trade and became a high-class specialist. She was also active in doing social work in the Young Communist League organisation, the shop trade union, and the women's council, and was thrice elected deputy to the City Soviet. She is now a deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the country's highest legislative body, and is a member of its Presidium. "I shall always remember my school with gratitude," she says. "It not only gave me a trade, but also helped to decide on my way in life." Her husband was also trained as a lathe operator at the Podolsk STTS.

Graduates who want to advance in education or to try their hand at something else can go on to study at higher schools and technical colleges. That is exactly what about ten per cent of the Podolsk STTS graduates do. Some of them have become engineers, teachers, army officers, or workers in the arts.

The Podolsk STTS is one of the best in the country. Not every school within the technical trades education system is still run as well as the Podolsk STTS, which sets an example for the others to follow in developing and improving the training of working-class personnel.

Moscow

V. Krestyaninov
journalist

WHAT IS THE BASIS OF THE SENSE OF SECURITY?

One popular slogan in the GDR, 'Trust and Responsibility for the Young', is an expression of the attitude taken by the state and the ruling party to the rising generation. But what does this mean in practical terms? Below is an interview with **Andre Karutz**, Cand.Sc. (Nat.) and a member of the youth commission of the SUPG Berlin regional committee.

Can all young people in the GDR find work?

Indeed, all can do so. There is no unemployment in our republic, there has never been any unemployment, and there never will be. More than three million young men and women between the ages of 14 and 25 years now living in the GDR either study or work. Consider, for instance, what happened in 1985 to those who were graduated from general knowledge secondary schools: of the 264,300 young people who completed 10-year and 12-year courses, 186,000 went on to enrol at technical trades schools, and 77,500 at higher schools and technical colleges. The state guarantees to everyone the opportunity to go on studying, to obtain the necessary skills and then to fill a job.

Is it perhaps possible that the modernisation of production is artificially slowed down in order to create additional workplaces?

No, not at all. Modernisation is an important part of our economic strategy, for it is the main way of raising labour productivity. Over the past ten years, 445 million working hours have been saved at industrial, building and transport enterprises in the country through the application of scientific and technical achievements; over the next five years, this figure is to go up to 500-600 million working hours, which means that the pace is to more than double.

That means that the workers are made redundant. What do they do then?

They take up other jobs, usually at the same enterprise and in the same industry, but jobs that are more exciting and with better working conditions. They are also welcomed in growing high-technology industries like microelectronics, robots, and also in the manufacture of consumer goods and provision of services. Modernisation of production last year, for instance, made 77,000 persons available for other jobs, while 260,000 new workplaces were simultaneously created and modernised. The state covered all the costs of retraining and raising skills for those who moved to new jobs.

What is the attitude to this matter on the part of the young men and women and their youth organisation, the Union of Free German Youth?

To say that it is a positive one is to tell only half the story. They are eager to promote this process to the utmost. Here are a few facts. Over the past three years, young engineers designed 10,000 industrial robots and helped to install them in production. Last year, over a million persons took an active part in campaigns to review new scientific and technical innovations put forward by young people. Over the past five years, the Union's initiatives helped to save material resources worth 10.5 billion marks, and concentrated and coarse feeds for livestock breeding worth 300 million marks; they also led to a reduction of 45,000 workplaces.

It is a well-known fact that every other young working person in industry, one in three in building, and every other industrial trainee is an innovator. Sixty per cent of the country's young men and women (and even 72 per cent in Berlin) take part in campaigns to review scientific and technical innovations. This suggests a massive urge among the 'young masters of tomorrow' to tackle scientific and technical problems actively and imaginatively, and to help modernise and intensify production.

How do you explain this enthusiasm?

There is, first of all, a natural urge on the part of youth for self-expression in practice, together with their confidence in the future, and their lack of fear of losing their jobs, their livelihood and social benefits. The working people are well aware that the SUPG's economic policy and social policy constitute an integral whole, so that the better and more efficiently everyone works, the greater the state's capacity to appropriate more for further raising their material and cultural level. That is how we intend to solve the housing problem—as a social problem—by the year 1990, when every family, including every young family or newly married couples, will have an apartment with all modern conveniences there.

How does the Union of Free German Youth protect the interests of the young?

The Union of Free German Youth has 2.3 million members irrespective of their social origin or world outlook. The Union's potentialities for protecting the interests of the young and ensuring their democratic participation in all undertakings are sufficiently ample above all because the Union has the right to be represented on state bodies: it has its own group of 40 deputies in the People's Chamber (the GDR parliament), and has the right of initiating legislation. Altogether, almost 33,000 young deputies, that is, 16 per cent of the total, have been elected to people's representative bodies of every level. The Union's voice is heard and heeded in every work collective.

Annual plans for work with young people are drawn up at the enterprises, in the cooperatives and offices, and also on the scale of towns and villages, listing the

concrete measures to be put through. That includes, in part, scientific and technical assignments for young men and women to fulfil; ways of raising skills, with a precise indication of who is to be involved and in what form, what kind of assistance will be available, who will be sent by the enterprise to study at technical colleges and higher schools; assistance to newly-weds, arrangements for recreation are also provided. At least once a year, management has to give an account of how the plan is being fulfilled. That is usually done within the framework of 'Youth and Athletes Week', in the course of which conversations and exchanges of opinion between young people and government leaders and managers take place all over the GDR.

In other words, one task of the Union is to protect the interests of the young. Another is to educate them and to involve them in active labour activity.

Any concrete examples?

There are 45,000 voluntary youth teams in the country, and they set an example of conscientious work; more than 4,000 young researcher collectives are also blazing trails in the key high technologies, while 48,000 young innovators help to speed up scientific and technical progress.

Our capital could not have been brought to its present state of renewal so fast without the participation of young men and women. There are now over 20,000 members of the Union from other parts of the country working in Berlin on its renewal within the framework of a movement we call 'Berlin: The Union's Prime Project!' Numerous youth collectives are making a crucial contribution to the electrification of railways, intensifying the production of chemical fibres, and developing livestock farming. Tens of thousands of young people obtained the Union's recommendations and put in excellent work at key economic projects in our country and abroad, in fraternal socialist and less developed countries, where they proved to be genuine internationalists.

Do young members of the SUPG and the Union of Free German Youth enjoy any social privileges?

No, they do not. No privileges are to be had for being a member either of our party or of the Union. However, at school most children eagerly join the Young Pioneers organisation, and as they grow up they apply for membership in the Union (senior grade pupils with poor academic progress may be denied membership for educational reasons). Roughly three-quarters of the young workers are members of the Union, in which membership, as a rule, continues until the age of 25. When they begin to work, young men and women join a trade union, and the best of them become members of the SUPG. Thus, only in the run-up to the 11th Congress of the SUPG (April 1986), 107,000 Union members became SUPG candidate members on the recommendation of their Union.

All the social benefits and privileges legislatively enacted for young people are available to one and all, regardless of membership of the SUPG, the Union or any other organisation. But if anyone feels that his rights have been infringed, he can, of course, apply either to the management or to the Union, which displays concern not only for its own members.

When you mentioned benefits and privileges, what did you mean?

To describe them all I would have to give you a digest of volume upon volume of laws and decrees. Here are only a few examples. First of all, there are three types of interest-free credit available to newly-weds under the age of 30. Each comes to 7,000

marks (in 1985, real income per head of the population was 970 marks a month). The first credit is for buying furniture for the home; the second is to pay an instalment into a house-building cooperative, and the third, for building one's own home. Since 1972, the first year such credits were made available, their number has totalled 1.1 million to a total amount of 6.5 billion marks. The credits are repaid in monthly instalments over a period of 11 years. If children are born in that period, the young family has a part or even the whole of its debt written off. Such cuts now total 1.7 billion marks.

Large funds are appropriated for assistance to mother and child. Fully paid maternity leave is 26 weeks. After a second child is born, the mother can opt for a paid leave until the child is one year old; in the case of a third and every subsequent child this leave is extended until the child is 18 months old. In all cases, the mother receives a lump sum of 1,000 marks from the government.

Until they enter school, children can stay free of charge at day care centres for the entire duration of the workday. The parents only pay part of the board costs.

From May 1, 1987, the monthly benefits for a first child are to go up from 20 to 50 marks, for a second, from 20 to 100, and for every subsequent child—from 100 to 150 marks a month. This will markedly reduce the differential in the per capita income of families with children as compared with that of childless families. These economic and social measures are being backed up with two billion marks.

What if a young man or woman falls ill?

In the course of the first six weeks, those who are temporarily unable to work are, as a rule, paid 90 per cent of their net wages, and from then on—50 to 90 per cent. Trainees in production are paid their full grants throughout the period of illness until they are well again.

Disease prevention and the development of physical training and sports are important elements of the health protection system for young people, and relevant provisions have also been written into the Youth Act, which puts the duty on managerial personnel to display concern for creating sound conditions for the young people's study, work and everyday life, and ensuring steady improvement of protection for their health and labour-power.

And now, yet another question, this time about any negative phenomena among youth. Everyone has heard about the wide spread of drug addiction and hard drinking in the West. Are there any such problems in the GDR?

There is no drug addiction as a social phenomenon in the GDR. Any attempt, however insignificant, to spread drugs is immediately and sternly put down by the public and by the state authorities: the police and the customs.

Our young people have no sense of hopelessness, of being unwanted in the society. The problems of the young are perfectly natural ones: difficulties with studies or work, problems of the lovelorn, or desire to be fashionably dressed. But none of that creates a sense of social uncertainty or leads to the spread of drug addiction.

As everywhere else, we do have young people who are alcoholism-prone or inclined to drink more than is good for them, but their number is very much smaller than that in the industrialised capitalist countries. Here again, the young people's social condition is of positive and crucial significance. The problem, as we see it, does not consist in the existence of an insignificant number of pathological drinkers, but in that there is a category of young people who tend to lose control of themselves after having had a few drinks, for over one-half of all the crimes in the country are committed in a state of alcoholic intoxication. Such people are in full view of the

public, the work collectives and the state authorities, which help them to stay on the right path.

FATHERS AND SONS: CONFLICTS OR CONTINUITY?

Like most of their parents, Bulgaria's young people have grown up under socialism. But as the society develops and one generation succeeds another, people's views and assessments of social phenomena tend to change. That is a normal and natural process. What then are the differences between the two generations under socialism? Professor **Petr-Emil Mitev**, director of the Youth Research Institute under the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Young Communist League, considers the problem at the request of *WMR*.

THE studies carried out by our institute should provide an answer to this question: is there more similarity or difference in the attitudes of the two generations of Bulgarian citizens? There is clearly evidence of continuity and similarity on the fundamental problems of our day. Young people, like their parents, are unanimous in their urge to live in peace and to fight for it. They support, in particular, the Bulgarian Government's proposal to turn the Balkans into a zone free from nuclear and chemical weapons, and to reach agreement with our neighbours on environmental protection. All the generations take a positive view of the Bulgarian Communist Party's long-term foreign-policy line of continued development of cooperation with the USSR and the other socialist states, stronger alliance with the forces of social progress and national liberation, and maintenance of mutually advantageous relations with the capitalist countries on the principle of peaceful coexistence.

When it comes to internal affairs, both young and old believe that Bulgaria's future is linked to socialism. They have given full approval to the strategy of accelerating economic and social development, which was worked out by the BCP's 13th Congress, and whose main element is carrying on the scientific and technical revolution. The attitudes of the generations are also identical to the party's efforts to assert the principle of social justice and to combat negative phenomena.

However, the generations are not always as unanimous on every point: there are some aspects on which there is evidence of differences, even if the attitudes are akin.

The sociologist I. Hadjiysky has analysed the Bulgarians' way of life half a century ago in his book *Our People's Everyday Life and Spiritual Tenor*, and his conclusion is that at that time the main aspirations in life of workers and peasants, including the young, were primarily determined by this motto: 'Work Hard and Save'. On the whole, this motto is still regarded as being the right one, but there has been a gradual change in its content.

Earlier generations mainly regarded work as manual and monotonous activity not requiring any profound knowledge, intellectual effort or imagination, and when they kept saying that one has to 'work, work and work again', they had in mind just that kind of work. Under the scientific and technical revolution, which puts such a high value on skill, and deep and diverse knowledge, young people now tend to formulate their credo in a different way and offer mottoes that may not perhaps be all that exhaustive: 'Work is joy and satisfaction', 'The individual asserts himself in the process of work', and 'I want to do what I like'.

Now and again, the second part of their motto in life comes to something like this: 'Life must be enjoyable'. As studies have made it quite evident, the joy implies creative work in one's working time, and the pursuit of one's inclinations in time of leisure, with new experience in contacts with one's friends, a broadening of one's mental horizon, and entertainment.

The opportunities for civilised recreation are now fairly ample. Cars or motorcycles put one in touch with the country's scenic beauties, there are sports competitions, films and plays on television, and modern music on the radio. Household appliances make household chores easier and different. A comparison with what their parents, to say nothing of their grandparents, had to contend with, makes it clear that leisure nowadays is largely a new social phenomenon which has become a normal element of the everyday life. And the attitude to leisure tends to differ markedly in different age brackets. The older people still seek to spend their leisure time in some kind of work, such as work in the home, even if it falls short of being socially useful. The young usually try to avoid it, and to devote their leisure hours to cultural or spiritual activity, to meeting each other, and enjoying entertainment.

Can such changes in the life ethic be regarded as entirely positive? On the whole, it is a positive and progressive process, but too steep a change in the lifestyle and moral consciousness of the young tends to produce contradictory and now and again even negative side-effects.

The urge for creative work is, for instance, in itself quite admirable, but the society is still unable to provide every young person with work according to his or her preference. Many still have to do manual and often purely mechanical labour, for it is still here with us. For their part, young people whose preferences do not coincide with the social potentialities tend to be disappointed, take a passive attitude or insist: 'Give me what I want or make no claims on me at all.' The way out here possibly lies, on the one hand, in renewing production to the utmost in accordance with the decisions of the BCP's 13th Congress and, on the other, in educating young people in taking a more realistic attitude to life, in understanding the social requirements, and in learning to blend what has to be done with what they want to do.

Now about such a trait of the national character as thrift. It is, certainly, a positive quality, as far as principles go, but its content has not remained unchanged. In the old days, saving for the bulk of the population meant putting something away for a rainy day, for the year of crop failure, for one's old age; it meant saving to buy a piece of property, to make one's way in the world, that is, to become a person of some means. The socialist state has undertaken to provide for people in their old age, while health care and education are available free of charge. The real incomes of the population have multiplied over and over again. The polls indicate that the present generation, which knows nothing of want, unemployment or deprivation, most often prefers the good life to a life of thrift.

That seems to be a change for the better. But here again one finds that the positive qualities tend to develop into their opposites: the release from thrift tends to develop into extravagance. What would be desirable is a golden mean, without thrift, being transformed into narrow-mindedness and meanness, or the large-handed attitude to life into foolhardiness, flippancy or a squandering of material values.

Our studies covered a fairly wide range of problems, and they all revealed one common element: there was no steep watershed in the similarity and difference of views held by the different generations. Thus, in trying to find out to what extent people felt themselves to be involved in the system of social administration of the society, we asked 5,000 persons of different ages to answer this question: do they feel that the solution of problems in social life and production depends personally on them? The answer was 'yes' from 72.2 per cent of the young, and 77.7 per cent from the older people on social affairs, and 84.6 and 86.2 per cent, respectively, on production matters.

These figures indicate above all that working people of every age are quite broadly involved in running a society in which the bourgeois slogan—'Everyone for himself, and the devil take the hindmost'—has given way to the socialist slogan: 'Man is

responsible for everything'.

The slight difference in these answers is due to the fact that, after all, the generations have a different place in the administrative structure: the more experienced find themselves on the higher rungs. But the difference is not all that great, which means that our society is run by fairly efficient mechanisms enabling all the categories of the able-bodied population to voice their views and to influence the adoption of administrative decisions.

Other facts provide similar evidence. Young people (under the age of 30) make up 8.2 per cent of the total number of deputies in the National Assembly, 24.1 per cent in the regional people's councils, 23.4 per cent in the community councils, and 19.7 per cent in the district councils. Young people have also been elected to Bulgaria's State Council, to all other government bodies and to administrative and executive organs of the people's councils.

Let us now consider the attitudes of the various generations to general human phenomena, including ontogenetic ones.¹ At the top of the list for all the generations was the birth of one's first child, and for the elderly, the birth of one's first grandchild. That was followed by marriage, i.e., the establishment of solid ties by the individual with the life of another. There appeared to be, at first sight, no differences between the generations, but a closer look shows that the young tend to invest these events with a somewhat more different meaning than do the older people.

Young people strive for more harmonious relations between the spouses, and young men and women regard each other as equal partners seeking to help each other to attain the fullest possible self-expression. Young families tend to give more attention to bringing up children with a wider range of interests and general culture than to their economic security. The child is regarded as a potential friend, and as the heir of the individual's spiritual, rather than material, wealth. Things used to be somewhat different in the past when people defined priorities for their children as follows: first, the ethics of behaviour; second, material welfare; third, education and occupational training. The young people now range the tasks in a different order: education and occupational training, the ethics of behaviour, the development of general culture and interests, and lastly concern for material security. This change of priorities has an important message: the greater material security, higher standards of education, and the young generation's active striving for the individual's all-round self-expression.

Linked to these factors appears to be a tendency for parental influence to decline in the young people's choice of way in life, their greater independence, and freedom in moral options. Parents do, of course, have the decisive say in a child's enrolment at secondary school, but young people now tend to take advice less frequently than before when choosing an occupation; they take even less advice when deciding to go to a higher school, and hardly ever when deciding to marry. So the mentor relationship tends to give way to the dialogue relationship.

In other words, from the moral standpoint, the young generation is brought up to years in greater freedom. But we must insist that the process is not a positive one through and through. Thus, the urge for independence may turn out to be disrespect for others and older people, and release from sexual preconceptions—abuse of this new 'freedom' and licence.

This makes it important to regularly study the processes and phenomena occurring in the sphere of ethics, to spot new, nascent things that distinguish today's youth, including young workers, from the older generations. The conclusions this analysis produces should be used in practical terms to create the working and living conditions young men and women need, to organise their leisure and recreation rationally, to improve the educational activities of families, schools, work collectives and civic organisations.

What conclusion does all that suggest? I think it is that there is no conflict of

generations as such in socialist Bulgaria, while the differences are perfectly natural and do not result in any serious sharpening of relations between them. I believe that in the long run—as our society is perfected—there will be a growing understanding between people of the different generations, but the natural contradictions between the generations will never quite disappear, as otherwise there would be no progressive development.

* * *

We hope that the facts and figures taken from life under socialism today will give readers who have written to us a picture of the actual condition of young people in the socialist society.

¹ Meaning the milestones in a person's life: start and finish of course at secondary and higher school, first job, first wage, first product of one's own creative effort, membership in the YCL, receipt of passport, accrual of full civil rights, army service, first election, first sexual intercourse, marriage, birth of first child, one's own first flat, etc.—Ed.

The Explosions Conducted and the 'Arguments' Marshalled. A Chronicle of Facts

A Documentary Survey

The Reykjavik meeting between Mikhail Gorbachov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Ronald Reagan, President of the United States, has again highlighted the role the issue of nuclear testing plays in the efforts to end the arms race. A ban on nuclear tests would prevent the advent of the so-called third generation weapons which are now being developed; consequently, a ban would make it possible to avert a new spiral of the arms race. The Soviet leadership is a firm advocate of precisely this solution to the problem. The Washington administration expounds a different view. US officials argue that further perfection of nuclear arsenals and the implementation of SDI will make peace more stable.

The following survey, prepared by the WMR Commission on Scientific Information and Documentation, cites facts and figures illustrating the positions of both sides.

ON July 30, 1985 news agencies carried a statement made by Mikhail Gorbachov. "In an effort to facilitate a halt to the dangerous competition in nuclear stockpiling and wishing to set a good example," he said, "the Soviet Union has decided unilaterally to stop all nuclear explosions from August 6 this year. We call on the government of the United States to stop its nuclear explosions as of that date which is observed world-wide as the day of the Hiroshima tragedy."

The Soviet initiative attracted universal attention. The press and prominent statesmen and political figures in many countries welcomed this step, seeing it as a tangible contribution to the struggle for limiting and ending the arms race, for greater trust. However, the US administration reacted negatively to the Soviet moratorium. Despite the fact that the idea of an end to all nuclear tests found support in the US peace movement, within the churches, trade unions and even in Congress, White House officials kept claiming that this would be contrary to US interests.

Nevertheless, on August 6, 1985 the Soviet moratorium entered into force. What was the US response?

August 18, 1985. The United States exploded a nuclear device at the Nevada test site. Official figures put the yield at 20 kilotons, about the same as the bomb dropped on Hiroshima.

September 27. A new explosion of the same yield was detected.

October 10. The United States conducted an underground test of two nuclear devices. An Energy Department spokesman announced that the yield was again 20 kilotons. UPI reported that the test was connected with the programme to develop space strike weapons.

October 16. Another nuclear explosion.

December 5. A nuclear device of up to 150 kilotons exploded, the test prepared jointly by the United States and Great Britain.

December 28. A 150-kiloton explosion for testing SDI lasers.

The First Extension of the Soviet Moratorium

On January 15, 1986 the Soviet Union announced an extension of its unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions for another three months.

The US position remained unchanged. The main argument the United States marshalled at the time was that *the introduction of a mutual moratorium was pointless because neither side could reliably verify compliance with it.*

This argument was challenged not only in the Soviet Union but also in the United States itself. Most US experts believed it was contrived. *The New York Times* wrote that scientists had no doubt verification of a ban on nuclear explosions could be guaranteed.

The issue of monitoring nuclear explosions has a long history. At the dawn of the Pugwash Movement in the latter half of the 1950s, Soviet and US scientists jointly advanced the idea of 'blackboxes'—seismographs that would register underground tremors. The sensitivity and the reliability of the equipment—and consequently, of verification—have since increased immensely, particularly with the advent of high-frequency instruments. The United States not only possesses the latest technical means of verification but even enjoys a measure of advantage in this field: it receives seismic data from almost 200 monitoring stations scattered all over the world, some of them located along the perimeter of Soviet borders and covering all of Soviet territory. Competent US scientists hold that the threshold at which these stations can detect underground nuclear explosions conducted in the Soviet Union is well below the one-kiloton yield. Moscow has also removed all doubt about on-site inspection. US scientists have been invited to monitor a Soviet test site.

The Second Extension

On March 14, 1986 the world learned that the Soviet Union would not explode nuclear devices even after March 31—until the first nuclear explosion in the United States. The unilateral Soviet pledge to continue observing the moratorium was contained in Mikhail Gorbachov's reply to a message from the Delhi Six—the leaders of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and Tanzania. The world was waiting for the United States to respond.

March 22, 1986. Within the framework of developing a new warhead, the United States detonated a device of about 150 kilotons, dealing a blow to the hopes of people throughout the world and in the United States itself: the test was conducted in the closing days of the Soviet moratorium.

Nevertheless, *on March 29 the USSR reiterated that its pledge to refrain from conducting nuclear explosions would remain in force even after March 31, 1986 if the United States followed suit.*

April 10. Another device exploded at the Nevada test range to ascertain the effects of radiation on military hardware.

April 22. Another nuclear test, this time connected with work on third-generation weapons—X-ray and optical lasers, electro-magnetic rail guns, etc.

A new 'argument' accompanied these explosions: it was alleged that *in terms of many major nuclear weapon systems, the United States was lagging behind the Soviet Union and was therefore forced to continue nuclear testing.* The inference was that there was also a lag in the number of tests.

The actual facts are as follows. From 1963, when the Moscow Treaty Banning Nuclear Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water came into force, through 1985, the United States conducted 470 underground explosions and the Soviet Union, 399. Besides, the US total should include the 16 British tests also conducted in Nevada. As for the overall 'lag', it is common knowledge that all elements of the US strategic triad (land-based ICBMs, submarine-launched missiles and nuclear-capable long-range bombers) are armed with well-tested warheads, and the same is true of the medium-range nuclear weapons (cruise and Pershing II Missiles) deployed in some of NATO's European member-countries. Moreover, the warhead for the Midgetman missile has already been developed and tested. If there is anything the Americans have not tested yet, it is the next generation of weapons designed for the 'star wars' programme.

The Third Extension

On May 14, 1986 Mikhail Gorbachov announced that, after weighing all considerations connected with the security of its people and of all mankind, the Soviet leadership decided to extend the unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests to August 6, 1986.

But the explosions in Nevada continued according to the following schedule:

May 21. A nuclear device for a new generation of weapons was tested.

June 5. A 'routine' nuclear test.

June 25. A British nuclear device of about 150 kilotons detonated.

July 17. An explosion of the same yield.

July 24. A 20-kiloton explosion.

This series of tests was backed by another 'argument'—that *the United States must continue the explosions in Nevada to regularly verify the effectiveness of the available nuclear arsenals.*

Tom Wicker, a *New York Times* arms control expert, had this to say about this 'argument': "Forget the recently devised propaganda claim that America needs to keep testing in order to make sure that its warheads remain reliable. The United States has never conducted a statistically significant number of explosive proof tests, and non-explosive means of testing weapons reliability have long been considered efficient."¹

The question of whether explosions are at all necessary to test the available nuclear arsenals for reliability was raised in the United States back in 1983 when Glenn Seaborg, a prominent American scientist who had chaired the US Atomic Energy Commission for many years, published an article calling for a comprehensive ban on nuclear explosions. He argued that the nuclear weapon types developed in the 1960s and 1970s did not require explosive proof testing.

Seaborg's view is shared by many figures in the US academic community. For example, David Brenner of Columbia University stressed that the Livermore and the Los Alamos laboratories constituted a huge supercomputer facility for simulating the explosion of a nuclear device without actually detonating it. The explosions in Nevada, he wrote, were 'a political, not a scientific act'.²

On August 6, 1986 the Soviet unilateral moratorium had been in effect for a full year.

Over this period, the United States conducted 15 officially announced explosions. Add to that another three unannounced tests Soviet experts detected with the help of national verification means—seismic stations and satellites. (The US press subsequently reported that these devices were detonated in Nevada on August 15, 1985, in late October 1985 and on April 20, 1986). Summing up this 'response' of the US administration to the Soviet unilateral moratorium, many observers noted that certain quarters in the United States were doing their utmost to force the Soviet Union into forgoing its unilateral obligations.

The Fourth Extension

On August 18, 1986, affirming its commitment to peace, its goodwill and dedication to curb the arms race, the Soviet leadership decided to extend, yet again, the unilateral moratorium imposed more than a year before. The explosions in Nevada continued.

September 4. The United States conducted another nuclear test. Although the US Energy Department made no official announcement, the American Peace Test, an anti-war organisation, reported that according to its sources, the device was detonated under a classified military research programme conducted by the Los Alamos nuclear laboratory.

William Broad, a leading US arms control expert, has repeatedly pointed to the interconnection between research carried on under the programme to develop third-generation weapons and the growing number of nuclear tests: "Senior officials of the Los Alamos National Laboratory said . . . that in the past about six underground nuclear tests have usually been required in developing a new weapon. But the amount is rising, they said, as scientists try to create more complex nuclear arms. Perfecting one of these new designs could require 100 or 200 explosions."

September 11. Another nuclear device, with a yield of up to 20 kilotons, detonated in the United States.

September 30. An explosion of about 150 kilotons.

October 17. A blast of the same yield.

November 14. Another nuclear warhead tested.

All this shows that the position of the US Administration on nuclear testing has remained absolutely unchanged since the Soviet moratorium was imposed. And while Moscow is still searching for ways to solve this highly important problem of disarmament, the Soviet Union, as Mikhail Gorbachov has noted, 'cannot indefinitely exercise unilateral restraint with regard to nuclear tests'.

Why continue testing? This is what Tom Wicker thinks: "Actually, continued nuclear testing can have no purpose other than to develop more, 'improved' nuclear weapons. Yet such weapons are needed not to improve deterrence but only if one side or the other seeks decisive superiority, which the history of the arms race shows to be a costly and dangerous illusion; or pursues an enhanced 'war-fighting' capacity—the supposed ability to fight and win a limited nuclear war.

"But no matter how 'surgical' or 'clean' the weapons that one side might launch in an effort at limited war, there would be no guarantee that the responding weapons would not be more destructive, and no way to stop the nuclear escalation that strategic experts on both sides believe would follow. Continued testing only makes that terrible scenario more likely to become reality."

Essentially, the answer is correct. This view is shared by all reasonable people, by all those who are dedicated to peace and who are stepping up the struggle for the complete cessation of nuclear testing.

¹ *International Herald Tribune*, April 3, 1986.

² *International Herald Tribune*, April 12-13, 1986.

Memorable Dates of 1987

As usual, our first issue carries a brief reminder of some memorable dates of the year 1987, tracing the history of world developments, the international communist and working-class movement, the revolutionary liberation struggle, and the peoples' actions for peace.

THIS year will be hallmarked by the *70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution*, a grand event in the history of mankind. The downfall of the Provisional government and seizure of power by workers and peasants on *November 7, 1917* (October 25 by the old style then in force in tsarist Russia) signalled a watershed in human history. The October Revolution has had a tremendous influence on the entire course of world history.

Other memorable dates of this year also relate to the revolutionary events in Russia. *November* will celebrate the *70th anniversary of the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets*, which formed the first-ever Soviet government headed by V. I. Lenin and passed the Decree on Peace and the Decree on Land.

Ninety eighty-seven has eventful dates bearing on the *ideological heritage of V. I. Lenin, founder of the Bolshevik Party and the world's first socialist state*. In *March* we will mark 70 years of the *Letters from Afar*, which provided a Marxist analysis of the nature and motive forces of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia and laid bare the essence of the dual power which emerged in the country after the fall of tsarist rule. Seventy years ago in *April* V. I. Lenin made the report, *The Tasks of the Proletariat in the Present Revolution* (April Theses), in which he rationalised the need for transition from the first stage of the revolution, which gave power to the bourgeoisie, to the second stage, which culminated in the victory of the October Revolution and foundation of the first state of workers and peasants. Seventy years ago, too, in *August-September 1917*, V. I. Lenin wrote the book, *The State and Revolution*, expounding the Marxist theory of the state and setting forth the goals of the proletariat in a socialist revolution.

This coming *June* will honour the *140th anniversary of the founding of the Communist League*, the first international revolutionary party of the working class started by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels back in 1847. As democratic revolution was taking a clearer shape in many European states of the time, forward-looking members of the working class, influenced by the revolutionary intelligentsia, determined there was a need for an international revolutionary party of the proletariat. Two constituent congresses of the Communist League in *June* and *November-December 1847* filled this momentous need.

Another occasion to remember related to the ideological legacy of the founders of scientific communism was the appearance 120 years ago, in *September 1867*, of the first volume of Karl Marx's *Capital*, an omnipotent theoretical weapon of the working class.

The new year has many milestones in the history of the *international communist and working-class movement*.

The month of *March* 70 years ago set the stage for the victorious February bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia, which toppled tsarist rule and prepared the ground for transition to the socialist revolution.

September will mark the 115th anniversary of the opening of the Fifth Congress of the First International in the Hague and 75 years since the opening of the Ninth Congress of the Second International in Basel in *November*.

Thirty years ago, in *November 1957*, the Conference of Representatives of the

Communist and Workers' Parties of the Socialist Countries published the Declaration and the Peace Manifesto, signed by representatives from 64 countries.

Another important occasion is the 40th anniversary of the proclamation in *December* 1947 of the Romanian People's Republic, renamed the Socialist Republic of Romania in 1965.

The new year is a jubilee one for several communist and workers' parties. The *May* of 1917 saw the emergence of the Left Party—Communists of Sweden (before 1964—the Communist Party of Sweden). The Martinique Communist Party came into being 30 years ago in *September*, as did the African Party for the Independence of Senegal (the Senegal Party of Independence and Labour from 1981).

The world communist press will also be celebrating several glorious events in its history. Sixty years ago, in *March* 1927, the Bulgarian Communist Party CC put out the first issue of its *Rabotnichesko Delo* newspaper. The *Pravda* newspaper published by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will mark its 75th anniversary in *May*. Founded in 1947, the *Ash-Shyui* (Communist) theoretical journal of the Sudanese Communist Party has been going strong for 40 years now. The first issue of the *Voz* (Voice) weekly published by the Colombian Communist Party, rolled off the press 30 years ago.

Thirty years ago, too, the *Soviet Union* put its first artificial satellite in space. Its lift-off on *October 4*, 1957, signalled a new stage in human history—one of research and peaceful use of outer space.

Forty years ago this *July* the *First World Youth Festival* was held in Prague.

December will mark the 30th anniversary of the *First Asian and African People's Solidarity Conference* in Cairo.

Many of the memorable dates and events of the 1987 calendar will be spotlighted in upcoming issues of *World Marxist Review*.

WMR Ties

A meeting with Comrade Jose Xavier Garaycoa, Executive Committee member of the Communist Party of Ecuador Central Committee and director of the Institute for Socio-Economic Studies, has been held in the *WMR* offices. At a session of the *WMR* Commission on Latin America and the Caribbean, the visitor spoke about the struggle of the Ecuadoran Communists for the interests of working people, for peace and social progress in the region.

* * *

Comrade Manuel Cepeda Vargas, Central Executive Committee and Secretariat member of the Central Committee of the Colombian Communist Party and editor-in-chief of the *Voz* weekly, and Comrade Nicolas Buenaventura, CCP Central Committee member and national director of the Centre for Social Studies, have visited the *WMR* offices. A talk was held to discuss the development of the ties between the party and the journal and the ways of using new opportunities for this cooperation.

the book scene

Fidel Castro Reflects on Religion

Fidel y la religion. Conversaciones con Frei Betto (Fidel and Religion. Conversations with Frei Betto), Oficina de Publicaciones del Consejo de Estado, Havana, 1985. 382 pp.

IN Latin America, with nearly half of the world's Catholics living there, millions of believers have joined the liberation struggle in the past decades. Meanwhile, large-scale renovation processes are under way within the Church. A reader interested in the dialogue between Marxists and Christians need not be explained why precisely Comrade Fidel Castro has contributed a great deal to the study of the role the religious factor has to play in revolutionary theory and practice today.

Since the early 1970s the Cuban leader has been calling for closer cooperation of Communists with progressives among the believers and the clergy in many of his speeches (for instance, in 1971 in Chile, 1977 in Jamaica, 1980 in Nicaragua). The book *Fidel and Religion*, which appeared late in 1985 in the bookshops of Cuba and later in other countries of Latin America and Europe, summarised, as it were, Fidel Castro's reflections on these problems. The book was written by Frei (Brother) Betto, a well-known Brazilian specialist in the theology of liberation,¹ on the basis of four-day conversations with Fidel Castro.

Betto's book is devoted to one of the most important problems in Latin America and is meant primarily for Latin Americans. But its significance, as we see it, exceeds these limits. In this troubled world of ours, in which the unity of many millions of atheists and believers working together to save mankind from a nuclear holocaust is far more important than their disputes over the existence of God, the utterances by the leader of the Cuban revolution recorded in the book are most timely and reflect new political thinking.

Fidel and Religion has become a bestseller in Latin America, even in such major publishing centres as Buenos Aires and Mexico City. In Brazil it ran into 19 editions, and the Brazilian Writers' Union praised Frei Betto as a most popular 'intellectual of the year'.

In the foreword to the mass edition put out in Havana, Armando Hart, Political Bureau member of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Cuba, and Minister of Culture, has this to say on the significance of the book: "Christianity and Marxism, the two major trends of human thought and sentiment in history, presented by the adversaries of the progress of mankind as two irreconcilable antipodes, find new and unanticipated ways to mutual understanding" (p. 12).

The book covers a broad range of issues. Its first part ('The Chronicle of the Visit') and most chapters in the second part ('Interviews') give the reader an idea of the historical paths traversed by Cuba and Latin America and of the present day of this fragile world, in which religion continues to influence the thinking of millions of people, especially in the developing countries. The analysis of the revolutionary process in Cuba, blended harmoniously with Fidel Castro's story of his life and the shaping of his moral code; the assessment of the economic, political and social situation on the continent and of the class struggles there; the problem of foreign debt and the new international economic order; bourgeois democracy and the notorious

'export of revolution'; the relationships of the Cuban state and the Church under socialism; the role of the 'rebel' clergy and religious working people in the liberation struggle in Latin America; the theology of liberation and Christian grassroots communities—these and many other issues worrying atheists and believers alike are examined in the book in most expressive and clear terms.

It is not our intention to cover all the problems discussed in the book, so we shall confine ourselves to the main ideas concerning religion, above all, the fresh elements introduced by Fidel Castro in the approach to their study. Some of the propositions formulated by him during the talks with Frei Betto sound non-traditional, because they are based on the specific Latin American experience and because the Cuban leader regards such a social phenomenon as religion with understanding, without a shade of dogmatism, and his attitude to believers is that of great respect. On the one hand, he is guided by Lenin's well-known observation that 'political protests in religious guise are common to all nations at a certain stage of their development',² and on the other, he is faithful to the Marxist theoretical imperative that any social question be examined 'within *definite* historical limits, and, if it refers to a particular country . . . , account be taken of the specific features distinguishing that country from others in the same historical epoch'.³

Therefore the Church, religion and the revolutionary potential of believers are examined mainly within the span of the last few decades and in the Latin American context. Besides, Fidel Castro always draws on the well-known precept of Frederick Engels: "The history of early Christianity has notable points of resemblance with the modern working-class movement."⁴ The book shows the similarity between the present-day struggle of the working people, led by the Communists, against capitalist exploiters and the struggle of early Christians against Roman oppressors. "The word 'Communist' is now most hated by the reactionaries," Fidel Castro observes, "whereas at that time the word 'Christian' was hated as much" (p. 329).

Fidel Castro elaborates on the thesis, which he formulated way back during his visit to Chile in 1971, that between revolutionary Marxists and the progressive segment of the believers and the clergy in Latin America not only tactical, but a consistent 'strategic alliance for effecting social changes needed by our peoples' is possible and necessary (p. 274). As is known, in practical terms the policy of alliances, dialogues and cooperation between Marxists and Christians is pursued by the communist parties in Latin America on a fairly large scale in political and socio-economic spheres. In the former this is seen, for instance, from the fact that believers are admitted to Latin American communist parties, not to mention cooperation of communist and religious organisations in the struggle for peace, human rights and environmental protection, and against local dictatorial regimes (Chile, Paraguay and El Salvador). In the socio-economic sphere, there operates, for instance, the movement of Christians for socialism; believers take part in building a new life in Cuba and Nicaragua; and there is the collectivist experience of Christian grassroots communities.

In a broader context, the strategic alliance between the revolutionary forces of Latin America and the progressive part of the clergy, including parishioners, the Catholic grassroots and some members of the episcopate, is most essential because the believers make up the overwhelming majority of the Latin American population, and there can be no radical changes at all without their participation. These changes are intended for the popular masses, and an attempt to artificially turn millions of believers into atheists within a brief span of time is impracticable and immoral, for it would mean coercion. Fidel Castro warns: "Under no circumstances should one think that deep-going social changes, socialism and communism, involve interference into the inner life of man and deny the right of any human being to independent thinking and religious beliefs" (p. 277).

It is easy to see that the call of the Cuban leader for a strategic alliance with believers on the basis of utmost respect for their religious views rests on Lenin's well-known proposition: "No number of pamphlets and no amount of preaching can enlighten the proletariat, if it is not enlightened by its own struggle against the dark forces of capitalism. Unity in this really revolutionary struggle of the oppressed class for the creation of a paradise on earth is more important to us than unity of proletarian opinion on paradise in heaven."⁵

For all the importance of cooperation between Marxists and religious people in the political and economic fields, it is in the moral and ethical sphere, Fidel Castro says, that a strategic alliance with renovating religious movements would be most effective. Reviewing the original ideals of early Christianity and most general norms of Marxism and the socialist way of life, the Cuban leader arrives at the conclusion that they are close to each other, but are diametrically opposite to the false values of capitalist society: "Christianity coincides with communism ten thousand times as much as with capitalism" (pp. 17-18). Stressing repeatedly that Christianity at the outset appealed to the oppressed and disinherited, was directed against injustice and abuses, which is clearly obvious from the Sermon on the Mount, Fidel Castro remarks: "I think Karl Marx could well have subscribed to the Sermon on the Mount" (p. 326).

The approach of the Cuban leader to Marx's classical formula, 'Religion is opium of the people', is consonant with the idea of strategic alliance with progressive Christians. As is known, the true meaning of this formula was for a long time inaccurately translated into other languages, as 'Religion is opium *for* the people'. Luckily, this distortion has been corrected, but debate over this expressive phrase of Marx continues to this day.

In October 1980, the leadership of the Sandinist National Liberation Front of Nicaragua, drawing on the experience of the victorious revolution, said in a special document on religious matters that the formula should be viewed dialectically, with due regard for the conditions and needs of a concrete historical process: 'Our experience proves that when Christians, guided by their religion, are capable of responding to the needs of the people and history, then religion itself leads them on to the path of revolutionary struggle' (p. 331).

Fidel Castro, for his part, remembering the lessons of the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions, as well as the developments in many other Latin American countries, says that, in his opinion "religion, from a political point of view, is in itself not an opium, nor can it work wonders. It can be made opium or work wonders, depending on how it is used: either for protecting the oppressors and exploiters or the oppressed and exploited, that is, depending on the approach to the solution of political, social or material problems of man who is born in this world and has to live in it, notwithstanding theology or his religious beliefs. In strictly political terms, and I believe I know something about politics," Fidel Castro goes on, "it even seems to me that one can be a Marxist while remaining a Christian and work together with Marxists who are Communists to transform the world" (p. 333).

In view of the need to build up the strategic alliance between Marxists and revolutionary-minded parishioners and the grassroots clergy, the book examines from a new angle the propaganda of atheism and crude techniques which are sometimes used to this end and which provoke disunity among the working people. It is well known that from the beginning of the revolution in Cuba its leaders saw to it that the revolution should in no event be looked upon by the people as an enemy of religion. "If that had happened," Fidel Castro once remarked, "we would indeed, have done a service to reaction, to the exploiters, and not only in Cuba but, above all, in Latin America."⁶ This is why one should "avoid at any cost doctrinaire rhetoric which offends the religious feelings of the population including workers, peasants and

the middle strata, which would only benefit the exploiter system. I should say," Fidel Castro remarks, "that in the face of the new realities the approach to this problem and its treatment by the Left should be changed" (p. 290).

The call of the Cuban leader for strategic alliance and mutual understanding among all who cherish the ideals of peace and humanism works for cooperation even now, wherever the questions of religion and the relations between the clergy and society produce social tensions. Thus, among the first European countries in which the book was published was Poland (July 1986), where its appearance, according to Pax, a progressive Christian association, was expected to promote dialogue between the Church and the state. Zenon Komender, Deputy Chairman of Poland's State Council and also president of Pax, who introduced the book to the Polish reader, emphasised that "unity which Fidel Castro calls for is very important not only today; it will be of decisive significance in the twenty-first century as well".⁷

These words are worth close attention for it is impossible to safeguard peace and build a more perfect world community unless all people of goodwill unite, no matter what is behind their striving for a life in peace and social justice—the Marxist understanding of history or unselfish and sincere religious belief.

Esteban Ona

¹ For details on the theology of liberation see Alvaro Oviedo, Stepan Mamontov, 'Theology of Liberation: A New Heresy?', *WMR*, No. 3, 1986. Frei Betto (b. 1944) joined the left Catholic movement at an early age; he was arrested twice, organised grassroots Christian communities in Brazil, has written 16 books and is a member of the International Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians. He visited Cuba many times and has a good knowledge of the country's achievements.—Ed.

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, p. 243.

³ Ibid., Vol. 20, pp. 400-401.

⁴ K. Marx and F. Engels, *On Religion*, Moscow, 1957, p. 313.

⁵ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 10, pp. 86-87.

⁶ 'Fidel Castro y los cristianos revolucionarios. Folletos monográficos', *Rutilio Grande*, No. 6, p. 22.

⁷ *Granma*, July 11, 1986.

Forms of Property

THIS book by Professor Laszlo Kahulits, Doctor of Economics, published in Budapest, is attracting widespread attention.

It opens with a survey of general problems of property, and of the historical character and main stages of its development. The author notes that 'Marxist political economy sees neither property, nor its forms, nor its relations as a separate element of objective economic relations. Socialist property is expressive also of the *entire spectrum* of actual economic relations' (p. 13).

This work is mainly an analysis of diverse forms of property that take shape in the course of socialist construction: state, cooperative, personal, and private.

Showing the content and character of *state* property Professor Laszlo Kahulits writes that the socialist state enterprise is not only the '*basic organisational unit of society, in which the productive forces operate effectively* (i.e., where the framework for technical and economic relations is created), and the *pre-eminent form of the direct link between the means of production and labour power* (in other words, it establishes socio-economic relations), *but brings the political, ideological, judicial, and cultural relations to view* (i.e., it is likewise an element of the integral mechanism of the proletarian dictatorship)' (p. 46).

The author examines the question of production democracy, seeing it as a historically indispensable form of realising the property status of the working people and expressing the relations between the work collective and the management and, at the same time, the complex system of relations between the working people of

diverse levels within the given enterprise. Production democracy is thus indicative of the actual economic predominance of the working people and the mode of implementation of their power (see p. 109).

The author shows that production democracy is largely dependent on the extent of the given enterprises's independence, on the extent to which the needed subjective conditions prevail in it, and on how far the management and the various forms and mechanisms of this democracy harmonise with the economic reality of the given branch of production.

Further, he examines *cooperative* property. In Hungary it accounts for almost 75 per cent of the output in agriculture, six per cent in industry, ten per cent in construction, and 35 per cent of the turnover in retail trade, and hotel services. 'In the agricultural cooperative, participation and appropriation by the state are essential although the scale, methods, and form of this participation at present fall short of existing potentials. From this it follows that the cooperative is *not an entity of absolute group property*, that it contains elements of appropriation by the whole of society' (p. 127). At the 11th Congress of the HSWP it was found necessary to stress that state and cooperative property are of one and the same type, i.e., of the socialist type, and that this has to be brought home to those who see the cooperative as property of a lower order.

Within the framework of the relations of this property, the relationship between the collective producers' cooperative and the personal holdings of its members is of special interest for many socialist countries. The author makes the point that personal holdings are vital at the present level of the productive forces. The role played by them hinges on the overall economic development level. In Hungary, for instance, they initially existed as separate entities. Then followed the stage at which they were linked to the cooperative on the basis of a division of labour. At present these holdings are being increasingly integrated with the production activity of the cooperatives. Professor Laszlo Kahulits believes that a rationally organised division of labour holds out a viable future for the personal holding, that takes care of areas of production in which it is unprofitable and often impossible to use highly productive technology and machinery and where on account of the need for considerable manual work large-scale production cannot be organised.

Cooperative democracy and self-management are closely scrutinised. Their significance stems from the group character of cooperative property. Treating this problem dialectically, Professor Laszlo Kahulits notes that in agricultural cooperatives there has never been and never could have been the 'total self-management' advocated by some academic quarters because the socialist state participates, as it has always done, in economic management. Further, during the two decades that have passed since the formation of cooperatives in Hungary the objective (means of production) and subjective (labour force) conditions have undergone a change: there has been a concentration and diversification of property in land; the collective farms have 'opened up', in other words, they have begun to enter into more vigorous and varied relations with commodity production; and, lastly, there is now a new reality, namely, a larger number of white-collar workers (averaging 22-23 per cent of the workforce) in the cooperatives (see p. 171). This is influencing the character of cooperative democracy and self-management. That is why the HSWP Central Committee is campaigning against views and practices that underrate cooperative democracy and calling for the promotion of this democracy and for perseverance in adjusting self-administrative bodies to the new dimensions of cooperative activity.

Personal property is the third major area of the socialist property relations examined by the author. Here, in turn, there are three clear-cut divisions: personal property in one's own labour power, personal property in an auxiliary holding, and

personal property in articles of consumption.

The basic designation of personal property is to meet the requirements of families; incomes only play a secondary role. There can be no doubt about the usefulness of and need for sustaining small-scale production based on personal property and integrated with public property. Its existence is fostered by tradition, self-realisation, and the opportunities for displaying every individual's abilities.

Interest is also evoked by the author's study of *private property*. He offers the opinion that its continued existence in a socialist society is due to the inadequate development level of the productive forces; the tenacity of traditions, and the distinctive features of local conditions. The following groups of private owners are involved: a) small-scale producers and shopkeepers who do not hire labour; b) family enterprises run by members of one family; c) small entrepreneurs employing wage labour. The latter tend to accumulate capital. 'The currently objective but, under socialism, not absolutely vital reason for the proliferation of the private sector is that it fills *some gaps of management* in the system of social property relations' (p. 252).

While giving a close-up picture of Hungarian reality, this book offers much information of an international order. It is indisputably a contribution to understanding and further elaborating the political economy of socialism.

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Candidate of Economic Sciences.

An Appeal to Reason

Wilhelm Christmas-Møller, *Niels Bohr og atomvåbnet* (Niels Bohr and Atomic Weapons), Vindrose, Denmark, 1985, 247 pp.

THE one hundredth anniversary of Neils Bohr, celebrated throughout the world in the autumn of 1985, gave rise to increased public interest in the life and work of the great Danish physicist and to the publication of new books about him, especially in Denmark. Most of them deal with Bohr's momentous contribution to science, the contribution that introduced us to the potential of the atom. The book under review, written by the Danish peace researcher Christmas-Møller, stands somewhat apart, as is evident from the title.

The book raises the burning question of the scientists' civic responsibility, of making scientific progress benefit mankind, not help in efforts to destroy it. Bohr was aware of nuclear fission as early as 1939, but he believed that it would take a long time for the energy thus released to be used for industrial or military purposes. When he had to leave overrun Denmark and moved to Great Britain in 1943, he learned that a concerted effort in this direction had already made considerable headway. He held himself personally responsible for preventing these 'unprecedentedly powerful weapons that will completely change all future conditions of warfare' from ever being used, so that mankind would not be threatened with extinction.

In Great Britain, the scientist learned about the efforts of the British and the Americans in this field. The Americans were striving to secure technological and military superiority in the sphere of nuclear power in the postwar years. Bohr's position was different. He said: "Of course, I wouldn't want to directly interfere in politics, but I hope I will be useful. . . . This may sound strange, but I think I can talk to the world's three most influential persons (Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill). . . . I

know that they do have certain trust in me, and they will be able to understand my motives. I don't mean Stalin himself; I mean my colleague Peter Kapista, who is as close to Stalin as possible. . . . I hope I can meet Churchill soon" (p. 62).*

Profound reflections on the matter led Bohr to the conclusion that nuclear technology should be shared by all allied nations fighting against Hitler, and that this should be done before any single power secured a monopoly in the field. Well aware of the Soviet Union's scientific level, he realised that not only the Western powers but also the USSR would soon master nuclear technology.

The great scientist maintained that his personal contacts with leading statesmen would be essential for his ideas to be translated into reality. An opportunity to see Churchill was still missing, and so he flew to the United States where he contacted Roosevelt's aides, specifically Felix Frankfurter who showed an interest in the Danish scientist's viewpoint but asked him to speak with Churchill first. Bohr returned to Britain and was at last granted an appointment. Churchill took Bohr almost for a madman when he suggested that the 'atomic secrets' be shared with the Soviet Union. The British Prime Minister even proposed that the Danish scientist be isolated, all the more so because Kapitsa had invited him to work in the USSR.

The views Bohr expressed at that time can be summed up as follows.

First, atomic energy will revolutionise both peacetime society and warfare.

Second, unless controlled, atomic energy will lead to an arms race.

Third, nations must show an unheard-of openness to one another in order to guarantee common security.

Fourth, the time (1944) is right for removing all causes of mistrust.

Fifth, no short-term advantages can outweigh the dangers an unresolved problem of control will pose to mankind.

Sixth, personal ties connecting scientists in different countries can serve as the starting point for the necessary contacts among governments.

Bohr left again for the United States; this time he met Roosevelt. His impression was that the President received his ideas favourably.

The Western leaders discussed atomic policy at the 1943 summit meeting in Quebec. Both Churchill and Roosevelt rejected Bohr's ideas completely. A proposal was even voiced that Bohr be considered a security risk. The FBI and General Leslie Groves, the man in charge of the Manhattan Project, began to investigate the Danish scientist. This was a source of heavy pressure on Bohr.

In all probability, that was why he abandoned, at the time, his idea of appealing to the academic community, let alone to the public at large—although previously, he considered this perfectly natural. Moreover, Bohr did all he could to stop Einstein who, in December 1944, planned to call on leading physicists to ensure that the atomic bomb would never be used. Bohr believed that this would undermine his personal diplomatic effort, and he persuaded Einstein to give up his plan.

After Roosevelt's death, Truman's accession to the presidency and the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the White House toughened its foreign policy. It was expected that the atomic bomb would enable the United States to end World War II on US terms.

Nevertheless, Bohr persisted in his attempts to make Washington officialdom realise the dangers inherent in nuclear weapons. A documentary account of his efforts and of the position of the US administration is central to the book. State Secretary George C. Marshall wondered whether Bohr's activities could be used to make US atomic policy look more attractive. In the end, however, the White House decided not to address an 'appeal for openness' to the Soviet Union. The main argument was quite revealing: there was the 'risk' that Moscow would accept!

* All quotations are translated from Danish.—Ed.

The US position was formulated as follows in confidential documents: 'We want to have the atom bomb and a definite opportunity to use it. Therefore, our programme of international understanding must not feature a premature declaration on "outlawing the bomb"; that would be a dangerous turn of phrase' (p. 98). A top secret memorandum dated August 20, 1946 said: 'No proposals in line with what Bohr suggests should be made' (p. 127). An addendum to the memorandum noted that 'the Soviet Union does not belong in the community of nations' and was likely to mount a 'peace offensive' which should be 'met with firmness' (pp. 129, 130). In other words, the United States was not looking for a negotiating basis.

What was occurring prompted Bohr to make his concerns public. In June 1950 he addressed an open letter to the United Nations. In it, he said: "Everyone connected with the atomic project was obviously aware of the serious problems mankind would have to face when what had been conceived was accomplished. Aside from the role atomic weapons could play in the war, it was clear that a constant and grave threat to international security would arise if there was no general agreement on rules of conduct designed to prevent abuses of the new and terrible means of mass destruction."¹

At the same time, Bohr also paid attention to the other side of the coin: "Since mankind is unlikely to give up the prospects of using atomic energy sources for the improvement of civilisation's material conditions, we obviously need far-reaching change in international relations if civilisation is to continue developing."²

Bohr went on to stress in his letter that "any increase of our knowledge means that both individuals and entire nations assume a responsibility born of the opportunities for changing mankind's condition. Today's insistent reminder of this cannot remain unnoticed, and it should make the severity of the trial civilisation is going through clear to everyone."³

This appeal to reason is ever more topical now that the nuclear arms race has reached extremely dangerous limits. Bohr's words about the need for a 'contribution of all—individuals and nations—to international cooperation' (ibid.) are consonant with much of what was said at the World Peace Congress in Copenhagen in October 1986.

The nuclear and space age calls for bold and original decisions capable of producing a radical turn in the world situation. These qualities were present in the specific proposals Mikhail Gorbachov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, made in Reykjavik.

Moscow's major initiatives reflect not only the high sense of responsibility for the world's future the socialist country has displayed throughout its history, but also the hopes and aspirations of great men of science and culture who, like Niels Bohr, have grasped the need to save humanity from a nuclear conflagration.

Ib Norlund

Executive Committee and Secretariat
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¹ Niels Bohr, *Naturbeskrivelse og menneskelig erkendelse* (A Description of Nature and Human Knowledge), Rhodos, Copenhagen, 1985, p. 233.

² Ibid., pp. 243, 244.

³ Ibid., p. 246.

The High Price of Truth

A Survey of Reports on the Persecution of Democratic Journalists in Turkey

'I came to in the hospital. When they saw that I had regained consciousness, they sent me back to the prison. There was torture again, and the hospital again. After a medical check-up, the doctor said I had fractures of the jaw and the skull. I had an operation, and was taken back to the prison. They attached live wires to the parts of my head which were operated on.'

'For 90 days they kept me detained, virtually naked and with my hands tied to a crossbeam. . . . When they tortured me with electricity, the wires were attached to the soles of my feet, to the little finger of the right hand and to the genitals. A wire wrapped in rag was run between the buttocks and inserted into the anus.'

These scenes are from *Human Rights File—Thousand Men*, a book by Erbil Tusalp.¹ The Turkish writer and journalist describes the torture to which his countrymen—democrats jailed after the military coup of September 12, 1980—are subjected (see pp. 93-94). Many prisoners have died under torture or become crippled, says the author who cites facts from the records of military courts and from the testimony of those who have been tortured.

Numerous petitions from the prisoners' relatives pleading for an end to the torture, and protests from the prisoners themselves against brutal treatment and inhuman prison conditions have evoked a typical reaction from the authorities. The book quotes Prime Minister Ozal as saying: 'What you call torture is discipline. . . . It is not regular police practice, these are isolated cases involving few people. Say, someone loses his temper, cannot control himself and, instead of acting calmly, becomes rough' (p. 229).

Erbil Tusalp's truthful book about the arbitrary rule of the generals generated a widespread response across the country, and the reactionaries hastened to strike back. In early 1986 the democratic journalist was put in the dock.

Professor Husnu Goksel, a well-known Turkish physician, is among the intellectuals who are now on trial for what they have published. His 'crime' is that he protested against the unending succession of death sentences and shared the views expressed in a petition the General Council of Turkish Physicians Association addressed to the President of Turkey, demanding that the death sentence be abolished (the petitioners are also on trial). In the article that constituted his 'offence' the Professor wrote: 'I have been fighting against death. Such is my professional duty, such are my feelings, such is my belief. That is why I am also against killing, war, torture and anything that degrades and humiliates human beings.'²

Persecution and police reprisals against journalists, closure of newspapers, seizure of issues and destruction of 'objectionable' books have become routine in Turkey. The coup of 1980 wiped out all democratic rights and freedoms and dealt a painful blow to the progressive press. The very first day of military rule three daily newspapers were banned for an indefinite period; a week later, the Ankara branch of the Turkish Journalists' Union was closed and the branch secretary arrested.

More savage acts soon followed. In late 1980 Ilhan Erdost, owner of Onur Publications, was arrested and killed while being taken to prison in a military vehicle. This murder aroused indignation throughout the nation and abroad, but the reprisals against the press did not cease. A survey of developments from 1980 to 1984, carried out and published by the national Association of Contemporary Journalists,³ lists 181 cases of persecution of journalists and authors. Within that period, the government and the courts banned various publications 927 times. Charges were brought against

18 leaders and members of the Turkish Writers' Union (including world-famous figures such as Aziz Nesin and Yasar Kemal). Besides, in Istanbul alone, 294 journalists and publishers have been taken to court for 'offences against press laws' over the past two years.

Hasan Cemal, editor-in-chief of the daily *Cumhuriyet*, recalls in his memoirs *Diary of September 12—Waking Up with the Noise of Tanks*⁴ that soon after the coup the editorial office received a telex from General N. Urug, Martial Law Commander of Istanbul, reading: 'Publication and distribution of your newspaper is prohibited until further notice due to your reports that "the unemployment rate is rising", "investments are diminishing" and "there is a shortage of bread in Istanbul" ' (p. 140).

In the spring of 1982 *Cumhuriyet* was closed for two days for publishing a young woman teacher's story of the torture she had been subjected to. Here are a few lines from that article: 'They attached live wires to the little finger of my right hand and to the sole of my right foot. At first I did not scream. But my friends on the floor above later told me I had screamed for 15 minutes' (p. 258).

Hasan Cemal also recalls that once a report on a railroad accident had to be deleted at the last moment because the derailed train was carrying tanks to be repaired. "When the page was printed, the blank spaces indicated the deletions. The very next day there was a telephone call from the General Staff: 'What are these blank spaces supposed to mean? That there is censorship? Yes, there is censorship, but don't you ever mention the fact!' " (p. 346).

Other closed subjects include statements by the defence at political trials and information about Turkey's Kurds. Speaking, writing and reading in Kurdish has long been an offence against the law. Persecution of the Kurdish people became particularly severe after the military coup. When in the autumn of 1984 the army launched large-scale punitive operations in Kurdish villages, all reports on this subject were banned.

Let me cite another example. In early 1986 a Kurdish teacher from Southeast Anatolia died under torture. The news of his death gave rise to widespread indignation and to protests from the legal opposition parties. The military issued the usual statement to the effect that the teacher 'was shot while trying to escape'. Army troops were moved into the area where the crime was committed. Journalists were forbidden to report what had happened, and when a newsman tried to take some photographs in the village where the teacher had worked, the local police chief told him: "If you want to stay alive, expose the film or give it to me."⁵

Opposition to the military regime has been growing more active last year—witness the powerful demonstrations of Izmir and Eskisehir workers in February and June and the major defeat of the ruling party in the recent parliamentary by-elections. These events and other expressions of mass discontent were unfailingly reflected by many democratic journalists.

Meanwhile, the dictatorship continued its reprisals against the press. In March 1986 'contempt of the authorities' charges were brought against Ilhan Selcuk, a prominent author and a *Cumhuriyet* observer who satirised the regime's moves in one of his articles. He refused to be intimidated and soon published an appeal to his colleagues—journalists and writers—in his newspaper. 'Torture is no longer fictitious in our country,' he wrote. 'It is now part and parcel of our daily lives. This repulsive phenomenon is a blot on our nation, a disgrace to our national dignity. We must make a joint effort to stop torture.'⁶

At about that time legal proceedings were instituted against the editor-in-chief of a provincial newspaper—merely for hiring a journalist who had served a prison term for political reasons. The editor-in-chief of a newspaper published in the city of Mugla was jailed after printing an article critical of the local university rector (all university

rectors have been appointed personally by the President of Turkey since the putsch of 1980). While in prison, the editor fell seriously ill and was transferred to a hospital where he was kept chained to his bed.

According to *Cumhuriyet*, as many as 27 Turkish journalists are now in prison, sentenced by various courts to a total of more than 3,000 years in jail.⁷

The anti-democratic Constitution of 1982 severely restricted freedom of the press. The new code on the press stipulates that journalists and authors may suffer harsh legal penalties if they commit what is vaguely defined as 'offences against the integrity of the state and the nation, the fundamental principles of the republic and national security'. A court may order the seizure of printing equipment. Prosecutors are entitled to authorise seizure of a publication without waiting for the verdict of a judge.

In March 1986 the law on 'Protection of Youth Against Harmful Publications' came into force. An 11-member standing censorship council appointed directly by the government was established. In the hands of the regime, the council has turned into yet another instrument of pressure on the journalists.

In dealing with the problems of the progressive press in Turkey, a country dependent on the West, one should not lose sight of the tentacles of an octopus known as information imperialism. Aside from the censorship imposed by the regime, democratic journalists have to fight to break through a flood of biased, distorted and fabricated reports spewed by the imperialist news agencies.

The United States constantly interferes in Turkish politics and tries to control our national press. Paul Henze, former CIA station chief in our country who still visits Turkey frequently, has recommended that the government toughen its censorship, advising that 'the press be put in some sort of order'.⁸ Speaking at a 'seminar on democracy and terrorism', cosponsored by the US and Turkish Atlantic Associations and the Political Science Department of Istanbul University, he offered his own recipe to the Turkish dictatorship: "Domination of a majority over a minority is inadmissible. Human rights and freedoms can be restricted in view of an internal threat or disturbances." Henze said that special attention should be paid to the press because it could spoil the whole picture of 'democracy'.⁹

The authorities can also apply economic leverage to the press. The rapid rise of paper prices and the introduction of an additional 10-per cent tax on printed matter are making newspapers virtually inaccessible to the working people who are suffering from poverty and unemployment. On the other hand, this puts newspaper owners and publishers in a difficult position, especially the local press which is constantly threatened with bankruptcy.

The Turkish Communists have repeatedly raised protests against the persecution of progressive and patriotic forces, demanding that all imprisoned democrats be released. The Guidelines for the 1986 National Conference of the CPT adopted at the Sixth Plenary Meeting of the Communist Party of Turkey Central Committee state: 'Today, Turkey is a country of bans. Its citizens cannot speak freely without fearing for their lives. One cannot freely express or disseminate ideas, or freely organise to implement them. . . . Today, Turkey is a country where state terrorism is flourishing. Its citizens are subjected to arbitrary arrests and are tortured, murdered and maimed for their convictions. Tens of thousands are languishing in inhuman conditions in forced labour prisons for political reasons; merciless verdicts, including death sentences, are passed.'¹⁰ The document goes on to say that 'freedom of the press must be ensured; there must be no censorship of intellectual or spiritual activities. Any restrictions on periodicals are inadmissible.'¹¹

Sooner or later, every Turkish journalist has to make a choice. One can accept the situation, knuckle under, take bribes from the authorities and swim with the current. But journalists and writers are increasingly choosing the struggle for the

truth, for democratic rights and freedoms. Those who have chosen this arduous but noble path are calling resolutely for the repeal of all draconian laws, specifically the 1982 Constitution, protesting against the repression, torture and executions and advocating democratic change in Turkey.

I think I will close my review with a quotation from Erbil Tusalp, the man who wrote *Human Rights File—Thousand Men*. Speaking before a military court,¹² he said: "I want those who ignore human rights, who turn a deaf ear to the screams of people under torture, who use torture as an instrument of political punishment to know that there will come a day when they will have to answer for all this."

Feride Kitapci

a Turkish woman and Communist.

¹ Erbil Tuşalp, *İnsan Hakları Dosyası—'Bin İnsan'*, Tekin Yayınevi, Ankara, 1986, 254 pp.

² *Cumhuriyet*, January 24, 1986.

³ *Basın 80-84. Çağdaş Gazeteciler Derneği*, Yorum Yayıncılık Matbaacılık, Ankara, 1984, 375 pp.

⁴ Hasan Cemal, *12 Eylül günlüğü—Tank sesiyle uyanmak*, Bilgi Yayınevi, Ankara, 1986, 556 pp.

⁵ *Hürriyet*, May 30, 1986.

⁶ *Cumhuriyet*, April 27, 1986.

⁷ See Ali İleri, 'End Arbitrary Actions', *WMR*, No. 5, 1986.—Ed.

⁸ *Hürriyet*, March 21, 1986.

⁹ *Yeni Forum*, May 1, 1986.

¹⁰ *TKP 1986 Ulusal Konferans Tezleri—Türkiye Komünist Partisinin Ulusal Demokrasi Alternatifi*, Ermis Verlag, Essen, 1986, pp. 5-6.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

¹² *Cumhuriyet*, March 26, 1986.

New Books

Marx and Present-Day Political Theory, Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 127 pp. (in Russian).

WHAT explains the ongoing political changes in the world? What underlies revolutionary transformations? These and analogous questions are being asked by many people. The teaching of Marx helps to answer them. Having absorbed the finest achievements of preceding theoretical thinking, it is the first-ever theory to give a comprehensive materialistic explanation of social development. The communist and workers' parties are applying this heritage creatively and enriching it with new experience. This work by Soviet scholars shows how Marx's ideas influence political development today. As well as characterising the central aspects of Marxism, the authors criticise distortions of Marxism by bourgeois ideologues and by reformists. Moreover, they analyse Marxist-Leninist postulates on international relations and show that these postulates have materialised in the peace policy of the USSR and other socialist countries.

Vyong Kyem Toan, *President Ho Chi Minh and the Eradication of Illiteracy. The Drive to Raise the People's Cultural Level*, Education Publishers, Hanoi, 1986, 130 pp. (in Vietnamese).

On UNESCO's reckoning, over 800 million people in the world are totally illiterate. Illiteracy is a particularly hurtful malady in developing African, Asian, and Latin American countries. The story of how Vietnam shook off this bitter colonial legacy

and embarked upon socialist construction is told in this book. Its author, a veteran of the liberation movement and an active participant in the events he describes, reminds us that as early as in the pre-revolutionary years Ho Chi Minh, leader of the Vietnamese Communists, had seen the struggle against illiteracy as one of the party's paramount tasks and urged the formation of study groups in which working people would learn to read and write in addition to the fundamentals of revolution. In September 1945, soon after independence was proclaimed, President Ho Chi Minh signed a decree establishing the Ministry of Education. An efficient system of elementary, secondary, and higher education has been built up in the republic. At present Vietnam has over 80 institutes and universities.

Una svolta da Chernobyl (The Change After Chernobyl), Editrice *l'Unità*, Rome, 1986, 175 pp.

This book with a foreword by Alessandro Natta, General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party, is a collection of articles published by the ICP's newspaper *l'Unità* and journal *Rinascita*. The authors—leading civic personalities, academics, and publicists—analyse the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant and give the lie to the anti-Soviet campaign that was started in the West. The USSR, they write, had not only speedily provided objective and accurate information about the accident but advanced constructive proposals for the creation of an international system to ensure safety in nuclear power engineering. They draw attention to the fact that the present stockpiles of nuclear weapons harbour the threat of a catastrophe of a dimension dwarfing Chernobyl into insignificance.

Claudia Korol, *Rebellion. Reportaje a la juventud chilena* (Resistance. A Report About the Young People of Chile), Anteo, Buenos Aires, 1986, 239 pp.

Meeting and talks with Chilean factory and white-collar workers, peasants, students, and political prisoners provided the material for this book by a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist Youth Federation of Argentina. Accounts by direct participants in the struggle against the Pinochet regime and documents compellingly show that the joint actions of young Chileans are being intensified. These actions are mirrored, in particular, by the agreements signed by the youth organisations of the People's Democratic Movement, the Socialist bloc, and the Democratic Union. An impassioned, gripping document is how this book has been called by Fanny Edelman, member of the CC Political Commission of the Communist Party of Argentina. This book, she said, makes it plain that the flames of struggle roaring in Chile are an intrinsic part of the liberation process in the whole of Latin America.

Govind Narain Srivastava, *Conspiracy Against Non-Aligned Movement*, New Delhi Publications, Delhi, 1986, 148 pp.

Last September's Eighth Conference of the Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries at Harare demonstrated the movement's determination to continue acting against the threat of war and pressing for genuine independence and social progress. The anti-imperialist, anti-colonial thrust of non-aligned policy has long been evoking the hate of international reaction. However, despite threats, blackmail, and acts of aggression, imperialism has been unable to crush this movement, to reduce its role to resolving particular issues, and to prevent non-

aligned states from promoting friendly, mutually beneficial relations with the socialist world. On the basis of documents and facts, Govind Narain Srivastava, an Indian journalist who has written many books on the history of the non-aligned movement, shows the substance of the policy pursued by the Western powers, the USA in the first place, relative to developing nations. In this book, which he dedicates to the fighters against racism and apartheid Nelson and Winnie Mandela, he deals, in particular, with the problems of Southern Africa, where the White House's policy of 'constructive engagement' with South Africa encourages the racist regime of that country to unleash acts of aggression against neighbouring states and enforce brutal repressions against its own people.

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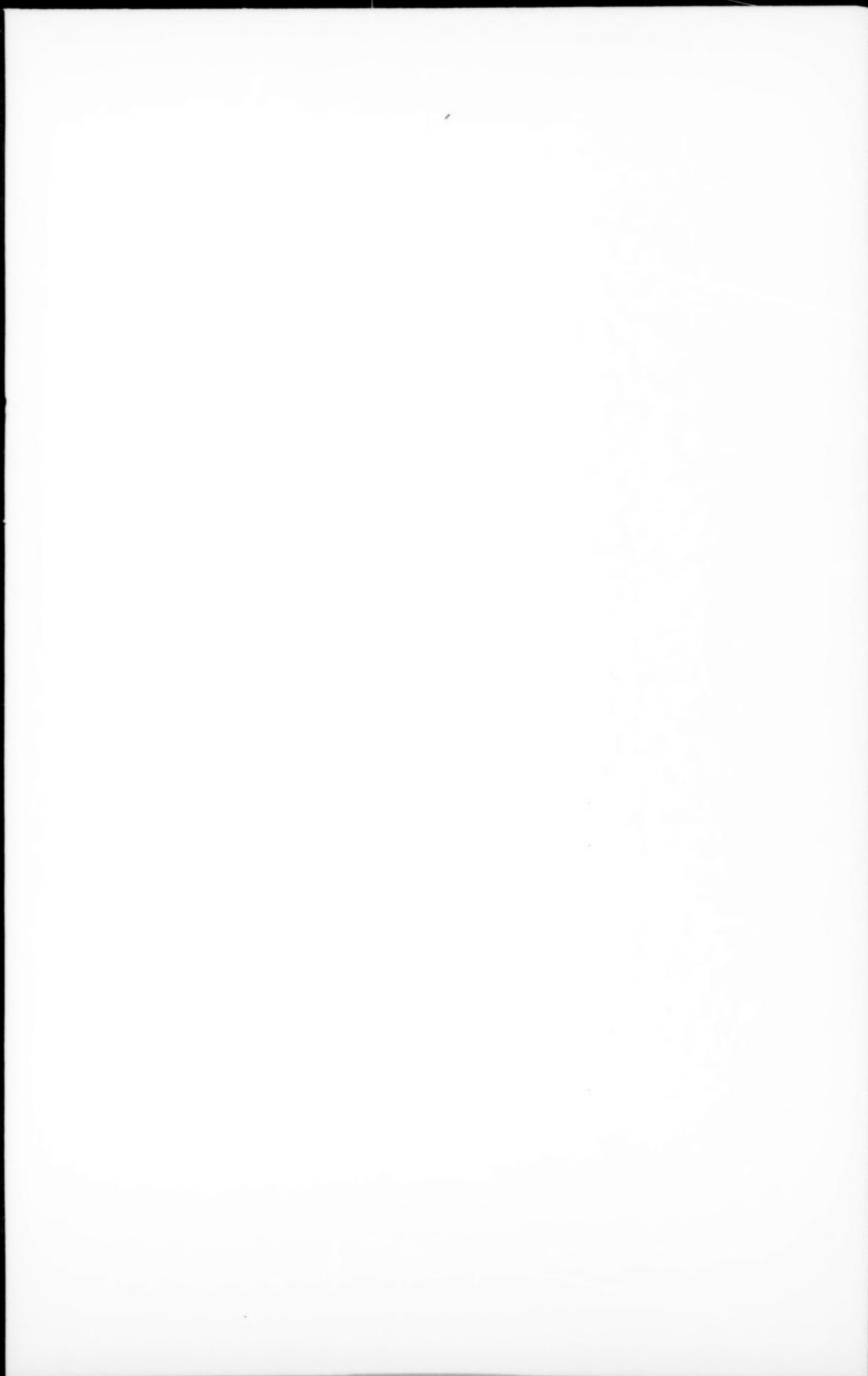
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