



## The present through the prism of history

### THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR AGAINST NAZI GERMANY AND ITS MAIN LESSONS

As reported in our previous issue, on June 22, 1981 the *WMR* Editorial Council held a special meeting on the 40th anniversary of Nazi Germany's attack on the Soviet Union to consider the lessons of this attack and the task in the struggle against the danger of war at the present stage. The meeting was opened by Konstantin Zarodov, Editor-in-Chief of *WMR* and alternate member of the CPSU CC. He was followed by members of the Editorial Board and the Editorial Council: Pavel Auerberg (CC member, CP Czechoslovakia), Sergei Tsukasov (CPSU), Georg Kwiatowski (GCP), Wieslaw Klimczak (PUWP), Robert Francis (CP Belgium), Farid Mougahed (CC member, Egyptian CP), Raul Valdes Vivo (CC member, CP Cuba), James West (CC Political Bureau member, CPUSA), Kemal Kervan (CP Turkey), Jeronimo Carrera (CC member, CP Venezuela), Roland Bauer (CC member, SUPG), Ib Nørlund (CC Political Bureau and Secretariat member, CP Denmark), José Lava (CC Political Bureau member, CP Philippines), Ahmed Salem (CP of the Sudan), Raja Collure (CC member, CP Sri Lanka), Agamemnon Stavrou (CC alternate member, Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus), Clement Rohee (CEC member, People's Progressive Party of Guyana), Ibrahim Malik (CC member, CP Israel), Zaki Khairi (CC Political Bureau member, Iraqi CP), and Peter Boychuck (CEC alternate member, CP Canada).

Below is a summary of the proceedings of the Editorial Council meeting grouped along the main lines.

### THE MOST BURNING PROBLEM OF OUR DAY

*Konstantin Zarodov*

On the agenda of the Editorial Council is an important theoretical and creative conversation on the central and most burning problem of our day: the problem of war and peace.

We have met here on this day of a stern anniversary in order to exchange views on this question which is of key importance in the life of mankind. The date of June 22, 1941, cannot be erased from the memory of the peoples. Today, 40 years later, the attack by the Nazi hordes on the Soviet Union is perceived not only as an event of a past and turbulent history, but also as a living symbol of the aggressiveness and treachery of imperialism. It continues to offend the conscience and to fill human hearts with wrath. It insistently demands that people should not succumb to complacency and soporific illusions, and should not for a moment forget that the world in which they live has yet to get rid of the socio-economic system which produced Hitler.

In the Soviet Union, the memory of that terrible period is still an important factor which exerts an influence on the spiritual and political atmosphere in the life of the society. Along what lines?

First, hatred for war, rejection of war has been established in the mass mentality, in the consciousness of the people with unprecedented firmness. It is simply unthinkable that tides of the militaristic, bellicosely chauvinistic attitudes should suddenly start to heave in the USSR, as they are doing, for instance, in the United States. In our country — and everyone knows this — the propaganda of war is prohibited by the law, by the constitution. But that is a law that people would still regard as a law even if it was not juridically formalized.

Second, the truth that under no circumstances is it right to rely on the good will of imperialism has been firmly established in the social consciousness of the Soviet people. The bourgeois mass media daily spread terrifying calculations and assessments of Soviet military might. All of this is presented as ostensible evidence of a growing military threat on the part of the USSR. But what are the facts? The facts are that for the Soviet people the experience of the past war has made constant vigilance backed up with adequate material and moral readiness to rebuff any aggressor a solid rule.

Finally, the third point. The lesson that can best be described in Leonid Brezhnev's words, has become a necessary part of our people's social world view. You may remember his proposal that the old saying — if you want peace, prepare for war — should be forgotten. Our day, he emphasized, requires a different approach: if you want peace — fight for peace.<sup>1</sup> It is this struggle for peace — persevering, vigorous and creative — that has become in the USSR the leading line of state policy and a constant social concern.

When speaking about the war, we raise a thick layer of historical material which warrants the making of generalizations that are not at all limited to the national framework. There is the question of the policy of the imperialist powers which fostered Hitler's nazism and gave it a push toward aggression against the USSR. There is the question of the struggle by the communists and the working people of the world for averting the Second World War, and — when the war broke out — for organizing resistance in various countries, including Germany itself. There is the analysis of the causes for the fiasco of the Blitzkrieg plans, and then of the rout of Hitler's Wehrmacht. There are the problems of the Soviet Army's liberatory mission in Europe, and the international significance of the victory over Hitlerism. And, of course, there are the numerous questions relating to current developments in the world arena.

Analyzing all this, one unwittingly comes to think of a subject that has already repeatedly occurred in our comradely discussions and that has been examined on the pages of the journal: does history teach? Does it give us knowledge capable of guiding present-day practice?

It is not very hard, of course, to prove that the problem of war and peace now appears in a totally different light from that in which it appeared at the end of the 1930s and in the early 1940s. One could start, for instance, by comparing the arsenals of that day and the present. The weapons contained in the arsenals today, if they are set in motion, threaten mankind not just with multiplied sacrifices and destruction as compared with the last war. They threaten the very existence of life on the planet.

The arrangement of all the international political forces in the world today also appears in a different light. The main thing is that their overall balance has changed, and resolutely not in favor of imperialism. The Soviet Union is no longer alone. There is the world community of socialist states. Imperialism has been deprived of its hinterland backed up with colonial domination. The greater weight and influence of the working class in the capitalist countries and of

its Marxist-Leninist parties to some extent hamper the development of militaristic trends.

One could go farther, into detail, to show how many new and unprecedented elements the past few decades have introduced into the life of the world. And this, of course, cannot be ignored. There is a need to draw the necessary conclusions from this, and that is what the parties involved in our movement have been doing.

At the same time, I think, it would be totally wrong to fail to see, behind the specifics of each historical period, that which is usually called the concatenation of the times. What determines this concatenation? It is that which constitutes the very substance, the core of the content of protracted, epochal processes. And if we turn to the question of the present-day significance of the experience of the past war from this angle, we shall find in it much that is truly meaningful and instructive.

The arguments, for instance, about the attitude of socialism to democracy have not abated. Turn to the lessons of the war and you will see that it was socialism, represented by the Soviet Union, that practically rescued at that time dozens of European nations from the fascist dictatorship.

Doubts are also expressed about whether socialism respects national independence. Look back on the events of the war period, and there will be no ground left for such doubts: it was socialism, the Soviet Union that restored freedom and independence to some enslaved nations and gave tremendous assistance to others in their fight against the Hitler aggressors.

Further. The war showed very well that the contest between capitalism and socialism, or, in other words, the class struggle transferred to the international arena is the central pivot of world politics, the sphere in which its development is crucially determined. Suffice it to recall that over 70 per cent of Germany's armed forces were thrown against our socialist state. The turning point in the whole world war occurred on the Soviet-German front, where the way was paved for the rout of fascism.

Today one now and again hears that the confrontation of the blocs or some kind of drive by the "super-powers" for spheres of influence, or even a clash between the abstract forces of good and evil — "democracy" and "totalitarianism" — is allegedly the pivot of international life. Those who adopt such schemes, which divert one from an understanding of the realities of the international class struggle, would do well once again to ponder why Nazi Germany, following a

number of preparatory moves, hurled the main strength of its strikes against the Soviet Union, and why before that the imperialists of Britain, France and the United States refused to enter into an agreement with the socialist country that could have averted the war.

The following is also exceptionally meaningful in the light of the present situation. The class division of the world, which was inaugurated by the victory of the Great October Revolution, naturally produced an abiding conflict between the opposite social systems. But does it follow, from this, that this conflict allows only of a military solution? We know that the doctrines most widespread in the imperialist circles suggest that that is so. In this way they are seeking to justify the arms race and to substantiate their adherence to the "strength" policy. In actual fact, however, the ineluctable conflict of opposite class systems can fully develop without transcending the framework of peaceful coexistence. The possibility of this was theoretically proved by Lenin.

And when was this first confirmed in practice? I think it will be no mistake to say that this occurred precisely during the last war when the anti-Hitlerite coalition was set up, for it showed the fruitfulness of the cooperation between states with different social systems for a common goal: to end the war and to secure lasting peace.

Some could say, again, that the situation today is different, that Hitler is not there, which is why, allegedly, the socialist and the capitalist countries have no common enemy to impel them to mutual cooperation. That is of course so, but not quite so. All the countries and peoples do have a common enemy. That enemy is nuclear-missile war. And it is, one could say, even more terrible than Hitler. The presence of this danger is a more than adequate incentive for the most vigorous, consistent and tireless efforts to arrange and consolidate the peaceful relations of states representing different class systems.

There is, finally yet another general, simple and understandable lesson which the Patriotic War has given the Soviet people, which the Second World War has given to all the peoples of the globe. The lesson is this: nothing is and nothing can be more valuable than lasting peace on the Earth.

## NAZI PLOT AGAINST THE NATIONS

### Munich: road to war

Pavel Aueršperg

By its policy, which led up to Munich, the West

European bourgeoisie demonstrated its blinkered class egoism, for the sake of which it sacrificed the interests of peace in Europe and ultimately jeopardized the security and the very existence of various states. The communists of the West European countries convincingly exposed that class egoism, showing the logic behind the treachery of their bourgeoisie, which urged Hitler to look for "lebensraum" in the East and showed the Nazi hordes the road to the Ukraine, ignoring the truth that this road ran through Prague, Paris, Brussels, Oslo and Copenhagen.

Czechoslovakia became one of the first stops along that road: in 1938, Chamberlain, Daladier and Mussolini, meeting in Munich, threw a sop to Hitler, seeking to give him the green light for an anti-Soviet "Drang nach Osten."

As for the Soviet Union's position at that time, even the archives brought up in the West 30 years later could not cast the least shadow on that position: the Soviet Union unambiguously expressed its readiness to give assistance to Czechoslovakia in the event of an attack (even if France did not give it such assistance), but only on the condition that the government of the Czechoslovak Republic asked for such assistance. But the bourgeois government of the Czechoslovak Republic turned down the Soviet proposal. It capitulated to the Nazis, putting its class alliance with the West above the country's national and state interests. That was the triumph of the spirit of Munich, which provided the key to the implementation of the Hitlerite leadership's strategic and tactical designs.

It is also an undeniable historical fact that Munich was the overture to the Second World War, its virtual beginning. Being a result of conciliation with the Hitlerite expansion, it eventually turned against the architects of the policy of nonintervention. That policy proved to be so suicidal that after June 22, 1941, it had to give way to the anti-Hitlerite coalition concept, which was a logical continuation of the concept of collective security in face of the aggressor which had for many years been advocated by the Soviet Union.

Recently, however, false conclusions are being spread in every way in the capitalist world equating the allegedly existing "underestimation of the Soviet threat" with the "spirit of Munich." Peking goes even farther: it interprets the process of international détente as a "sign of the Munich-type capitulationism," and sees the let-up in détente and return to the cold war as a "resolute anti-Munich spirit."

But if one is to draw a historical parallel, one will find that it is the "strength" doctrine being



revived by the U.S. administration in our day that is similar to Hitler's policy of intimidation. Pursuing this parallel, one will also easily discover those who support the idea of capitulation: the ruling circles of some NATO countries following a policy of concession to their overseas partner when it comes to deploying new U.S. medium-range missiles on their territory. According to sober-minded Western leaders, this policy entails a "Europeanization of the nuclear risk."

The only reasonable alternative to this dangerous line which threatens the world with a suicidal war is the political doctrine of socialism as set forth in the documents of the 26th congress of the CPSU and supported by the fraternal parties, by all progressive peoples in the world.

### The big lie about a "Soviet threat"

Georg Kwiatowski

Young people in the Federal Republic of Germany now frequently ask why many Germans supported Hitler so long? The reasons for this were several. But the most important of these was the effect of the poison of anti-communism and the wild anti-Soviet propaganda which blinded the millions of Germans who followed the Nazi criminals right up to the catastrophe. The whole propaganda of Nazism, which prepared for the barbarous attack on the Soviet Union, was based on the lie about a "red threat," and about the "aggressiveness of world communism." That is what Goebbels kept tirelessly drumming into the heads of the German people.

The "Directives for anti-Bolshevik Propaganda" issued by the Nazi ministry of propaganda on March 24, 1937, proclaimed struggle against "world Bolshevism" and "demonstration to the German people that Bolshevism is its mortal enemy"<sup>2</sup> as the general line of German policy. This led straight to Hitler's speech of March 30, 1941 before an assembly of Wehrmacht generals in which he set forth the Barbarossa plan and declared: "This is a war of annihilation. If we fail to understand this, then, even if we defeat the enemy, within 30 years the communist enemy will once again stand before us. We are not waging a war in order to conserve the enemy."<sup>3</sup>

Decades later, in our own day, the myth of the "red threat" is being revived to camouflage the U.S. administration's line of confrontation, it is being played up in the speeches of FRG politicians, and spread about by reactionary mass media. Once again, imperialism is levelling fire at the Soviet Union from all the guns of its

propaganda warfare. The inventions about a Soviet "menace" are being adapted to the present day and are being presented above all as a "military threat" to Western Europe. This lie is designed to justify the deployment of new U.S. nuclear weapons on the territory of the FRG, to convert it into a launching pad for missiles designed to deliver a nuclear strike at the USSR and other socialist countries, and to neutralize the growing popular resistance to these criminal plans.

But the whole point is that today, as 40 years ago, there is no threat to our people coming from the Soviet Union. That was reaffirmed by the 26th congress of the CPSU, which came forward with initiatives aimed at negotiations and disarmament, and the attainment of peace and security. To pinpoint the real threat, it comes from every new U.S. missile deployed on the territory of the FRG to meet the urge of U.S. imperialism to attain military superiority.

The existence of our nation, the lessons of the past insistently require, as it was pointed out in the resolution of the sixth congress of the GCP, that everything should be done to prevent war from ever again being started from German soil.

### Two strategies in the world arena

Sergei Tsukasov

Marxism-Leninism regards war as a continuation of policy by other, armed, means. And although it has already been justifiably noted here that these means have now attained a potential which makes a new world war absurd from the standpoint of the future of people on the Earth, we remain realists in face of the imperialists' threatening military preparations. That is why it is so important, as Lenin said, resolutely to expose "all the sophistries that are being advanced at the present time in justification of war" (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 33, p. 448).

In the late 1930s and early 1940s, as today, a global struggle was under way between two strategic lines: the policy of peace and the policy of war. The former was embodied in the Soviet state, which steadfastly pursued a policy of peace: it stood up for the principle of collective security in the League of Nations, made concrete proposals for joint political and military rebuff to the aggressor, and was prepared to undertake far-reaching military commitments in order to damp down the fire which was being ignited in Europe.<sup>4</sup> The opposite strategy, the line of war, was embodied not only in the policy of Nazi Germany and the other countries of the "anti-Comintern pact," but also in that of

the Western powers which were pushing fascism into a war against the USSR and seeking to provoke it under the pretext of "peace-making."

Today, the strategic conceptions of peace and war are again in contest with each other in the world arena. In starting their campaign of anti-Sovietism, the present-day advocates of the "strength policy" see its propaganda pivot as consisting in the same thing as it did with the Nazis: an invention about some "Soviet military threat." Three main interconnected lines of this propaganda making use of the falsification of history can be brought out.

First, it is said that the Soviet Union had a stake in the Second World War, which we allegedly needed for the military export of the revolution and extension of the socialist zone of the world. The U.S. journal *Military Review* has asserted, for instance, that the history of the war shows that the USSR is capable of running a great risk to attain its political goals, in order to ensure the flourishing of communism throughout the world by means of a decisive strike.<sup>5</sup>

Second, the Nazi attack is being justified with the claim about the Soviet Union's imaginary aggressiveness, which is presented as a permanent property inherent in socialism. That is why, it is said, the USSR pursued even more expansionist goals than did Nazi Germany.<sup>6</sup>

Third, the "theory" is being spread about that international tensions are rooted in the communist ideology and that the communists' ideological implacability is allegedly the source of possible new wars, as it was of the Great Patriotic War.

Both history and our own day provide evidence of the very opposite: the Soviet Union's peace strategy is consistent, firm and invariable. It is reliably opposed to the ever more reckless strategy of imperialism. That is precisely what the 26th congress of the CPSU demonstrated, with its global peace initiatives, which progressive international opinion justly regards as the Peace Program for the 1980s.

Addressing the ceremonial gathering to mark the opening of a memorial complex to the heroes of war in Kiev, Leonid Brezhnev recently said: "Our intentions are pure and noble. Our might is great. But we shall never turn it to the detriment of the nations. It serves and will continue to serve the cause of peace."

### *Unity for the sake of life*

Jeronimo Carrera

One of the chief lessons of the last world war is that world peace is indivisible. Addis Ababa, Madrid and Prague became milestones along

the aggressors' sinister campaign. Meanwhile, Paris, London and Washington incited Hitler from behind the scenes to turn in the direction of Moscow and tried to allay their own fear by means of the assurances the Nazis gave them in Munich.

Another lesson has confirmed this truth: Nazi Germany and its allies perpetrated one aggression after another at a time when the will of the countries infected with the poison of anti-Sovietism was paralyzed, for anti-Sovietism prevented the potential victims of fascism from creating a sufficiently strong joint defensive front.

The facts testify: in the 1930s and today, the *Soviet Union has been and remains the mainstay of peace*. Its foreign policy has always been aimed at preventing the forces of imperialism from involving the nations and states in another war. At the same time, looking today at the Soviet documents of that period, we find that the USSR did not neglect the tasks of its own defense. The war showed how important and necessary this is.

And yet there are people today who criticize the Soviet Union for "setting up its own military bloc." That is the name they give to the Warsaw Treaty Organization, which is likened to NATO. But it is obvious that this kind of reasoning constitutes a "Munich" mentality. In line with their logic, the USSR should not reckon with the experience of its life-and-death battle against fascism. Thus, it should not have set up the Warsaw pact in answer to the formation of the aggressive NATO pact.

The worst thing that could happen today, I think, is for the U.S. imperialist circles to imagine that they are able to score a military victory over the Soviet Union. In that case, war will truly become inevitable. Fortunately for the whole of mankind, the USSR is in possession of adequate might, and the imperialists are very well aware of this.

Bourgeois politologists studying the problems of the Second World War (notably, the problem of whether it could have been averted) have not travelled very far from Hitler's primitive interpretation. Their conceptions are, in effect, based on the assumption that wars are a matter of pre-destination. They assert that mankind has never yet managed to avoid the calamity of wars. Some bourgeois "theorists" even say that there is nothing immoral in wars, because they allegedly guarantee the survival of the "fittest." Such views have been deeply entrenched in the mentality of fairly broad sections of the exploiter classes.

The masses in the capitalist countries frequently do not know who started the Second

World War. Many have no idea that the blame for it falls on the monopolies and the politicians serving them. That is why peace fighters, all progressive-minded men and women must do more than come out for efforts to avert a nuclear conflict. There is a need to open the eyes of the masses to the causes of wars and to fight against the imperialist warmongers, primarily to contain the arms race and to go on to general and complete disarmament. That is the only way which leads to a conversion of the resources of the world economy for the benefit of mankind, and to the elimination of hunger and poverty, ignorance and unemployment. That is the substance of the program for real peace in the world.

### THE VICTORY WHICH PAVED THE WAY FOR PROGRESS

*A stern warning to the aggressors*

Roland Bauer

The Second World War, started by German fascism, sprang from the aggressive substance of imperialism. This criminal war — the most concentrated and savage expression of anti-communism — grew into the largest class battle in the history of mankind between the two social systems — imperialism and socialism — the fiercest battle which led to an immense loss of life.

The main goal of German imperialism was to wipe out the Soviet state, but it and its fascist henchmen and militarists miscalculated. Despite the tremendous losses, the unimaginable human suffering and unprecedented damage inflicted by the war on the Land of Soviets, it emerged from this most terrible class battle in history victorious and strengthened politically, morally, and militarily. Let the unconditional surrender of Nazi Germany and the collapse of the mad plans of imperialism serve as a warning to all those who today hope through superiority in armaments to slow down the development of socialism or even to destroy it!

The victory of the Soviet Union, the chief force of the anti-Hitlerite coalition, over fascism, became an event of epochal importance. Under its impact, important revolutionary changes have taken place throughout the world, including the territory of the former German Reich.

Even before the proclamation of the German Democratic Republic, fascism and militarism were eradicated in the East of Germany under the leadership of the SUPG, and their socio-economic basis — the exploitive system and imperialism — were eliminated.

Today, the GDR stands as the bulwark of

peace in the heart of Europe, a strong and stable socialist state linked to the Soviet Union with unbreakable bonds of brotherhood. On the occasion of the GDR's 30th anniversary, Leonid Brezhnev emphasized that "the peoples cannot but be grateful to the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, and to the government and the working people of the GDR for their having declared a categorical no to fascism and militarism; for having justified the hopes of the fighters of the anti-Hitlerite front."

In the FRG, by contrast, some political leaders of parties represented in the Bundestag and members of revanchist alliances and Nazi organizations are free to spread the idea of a revision of the results of the Second World War, while the Bundeswehr maintains the traditions of the Nazi Wehrmacht. Numerous war criminals, notorious organizers of mass murders remain unpunished and are paid pensions by the state. Both anti-communism and the revanchist thesis that the German Reich continues to exist within its 1937 borders remain a part of the FRG's state doctrine. That is why its peace forces are fully entitled to demand that the West German political leaders' verbal assurances that another war would never again be started from the territory of Germany should be backed up with deeds.

Those who want a build-up of armaments in the NATO countries, those who seek to upset the military-strategic equilibrium of forces in Europe by means of new nuclear missiles and convert the FRG into a launching pad for new U.S. missiles, while also claiming the right to speak on behalf of "all the Germans," create a situation which equally poses a threat to peace and to any further normalization of relations between the two German states.

### *The traditions of European Resistance*

Robert Francis

The anti-fascist Resistance movement of the masses which spread in the countries of Europe occupied by German and Italian fascists was prepared by the whole course of preceding developments. There is a direct relation between the Resistance movement and the struggle carried on by the communists and all the other anti-fascists against Nazism long before the war. It should also be emphasized that many guerrilla leaders acquired experience in the struggle against fascism and war in Spain. We shall also later find in the ranks of the fighting guerrillas, the Italian anti-fascists of the period of the early battles against fascism in 1921-1922.

The Resistance movement involved

representatives of various strata of the population, with the working class having an especially big role to play. Let us recall the wave of strikes staged, beginning from 1940 in Czechoslovakia; the strikes in protest against the invaders' racist policy in Amsterdam and other Dutch cities (February 1941), and the miners' strikes in the north of France and Belgium.

The chief goal of the Resistance was invariably to assert national independence and stand up for the ideals of freedom. This led to the emergence of broad patriotic fronts. But this was not a narrowly national phenomenon. Its profoundly international nature is indicated by the fact that the Resistance movement developed in various countries of Europe occupied by the fascists. Its international character was manifested in various forms: joint struggle by people of different nationalities, ties between the internal resistance and operations by the Red Army and the whole anti-fascist coalition, solidarity between the prisoners of Nazi concentration camps, and so on.

Armed struggle was the most effective form of this movement. In France and in Belgium, the first acts of armed resistance occurred as early as 1940. That was also when the first guerrilla detachments were set up.

Nazi Germany's attack on the Soviet Union gave a major impetus to the Resistance movement. It put an end to the influence which anti-Soviet propaganda exerted on some patriots in the prewar period. Of course, many circumstances helped to develop the Resistance movement, but events on the Eastern front were always of crucial importance. One need merely recall the battles of Moscow, Stalingrad and the Kursk Bulge.

Many Soviet citizens played an active role in the anti-fascist Resistance movement in Europe. Prisoners of war who succeeded in escaping from the Nazi death camps, as a rule at once joined in the European people's fight against the invaders. In Belgium, for instance, a number of armed guerrilla groups were formed by Soviet officers and men. The largest such formation operated in the province of Limburg.

The Red Army's entry into the fascist-occupied countries and the opening of the second front marked the start of the final stage in the Resistance movement in Europe: the stage of popular uprisings, the culminating point of the anti-fascist struggle. The communists, as a rule, acted as the leading political and organizing force of these uprisings, which also involved other anti-fascist parties,

including some members of bourgeois circles.

In the postwar period, those who had taken part in the Resistance helped in the rehabilitation of their countries devastated by the barbarous Nazi invasion. But at the same time they witnessed the preparation of another war: the build-up of imperialist nuclear arsenals capable of totally destroying our planet. The struggle against the use of these arsenals is in the best traditions of the Resistance movement. Its task has always been to mobilize the peoples for the struggle against reaction. Today, such a struggle is even more necessary than ever before. War is not inevitable; that is correct, but what is also correct is that it is possible. Resistance to the threat of another world war implies participation by all men, by all women, by all young people on the side of the cause of peace.

*The anti-fascist Resistance left a deep impression on the minds of the masses, enlarged their revolutionary traditions and provided fresh experience for the struggle for national independence, democracy and social emancipation.* While paying tribute to the heroism of its participants and learning its lessons, the communist movement perseveringly carries on its main battle, the battle against the threat of another world war. In this way we communists are fighting for guarantees for all those who follow us.

### *The great mission of liberation*

Wieslaw Klimczak

At the concluding stage of the Great Patriotic War against Nazi Germany, the Soviet Union brought liberation from the Hitlerite tyranny to the peoples of Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Yugoslavia, and a number of other countries in Central and Southeastern Europe. Fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Red Army troops were army units of states seeking to overthrow the hated yoke, including the Polish People's Army. Active operations were also carried on by partisan formations which emerged in the occupied territories. Suffice it to recall that the Polish Resistance movement, which operated from the very first days of the war, alone numbered over one million men. The partisan war in Yugoslavia acquired tremendous proportions and the struggle on Czechoslovak soil, as in other countries of Central and Southeastern Europe, was on a large scale. All of this promoted the success of Soviet offensive operations.

As a result of the Soviet Union's great liber-

ation mission, whole nations, including the Poles, were saved from biological annihilation. For this, the liberator people paid a high price: 600,000 of its sons lie buried in Polish soil alone.

The Red Army's entry into Central and Southeastern Europe acted as a catalyst in the people's liberation struggle and gave it a sharp social edge. In some countries, this struggle led to the victory of the forces of socialism, and this became one of the most important results of the Second World War. It is this result that has aroused hostile and malicious reaction on the part of the imperialists. In the cold war which they started soon after the victory, bourgeois propaganda made wide use of the provocative falsehood that socialism was brought to the European countries on Soviet bayonets.

Of the numerous well-known facts which clearly refute this lie, let me mention only one: the presence of the Soviet Army did not in itself lead to a socialist revolution either in Austria, Norway, Finland, or in any other country. The revolutions occurred in countries where during the Second World War bourgeois socio-political conceptions turned out to be totally untenable in face of fascism and discredited themselves, while the masses resolutely inclined to the left-wing forces. The communist and workers' parties became the chief initiators and organizers of the liberation struggle, of the Resistance movement. That is what also happened in Poland, where the party from the outset successfully combined patriotic and revolutionary goals.

All of this created the internal, subjective prerequisites for social revolutions. Their first stage was prepared long before liberation. When the victorious Red Army came, the progressive left forces acquired important support and favorable external conditions, but no more than that. Only resolute support by the overwhelming majority of the people enabled them to take power. This was followed by a long process of internal class struggle for its formation and consolidation. Up to 1948, for instance, thousands of communists and those who were on their side died in these battles. In our countries, socialism stood its ground and gained in strength on the national soil. And when we speak of the Soviet Union's crucial assistance, it was internationalist assistance expressed in economic and political support, and the transfer of multifaceted experience.

Today, bourgeois propagandists have resurrected the myth that socialism in the countries of Central and Southeastern Europe is

alien and unstable because it has allegedly been imposed on them from outside, as will be seen, they claim, from recent developments in Poland. But the truth is different: in our country, socialism, a great national gain, is being tested for durability, overcoming the mistakes and distortions which appeared above all on the national soil as well. Just as no one has exported the new social system to our country, so no one, except the Poles, can purge it of these distortions and of the activities of counter-revolutionary forces. Such is the PUWP's stand, which is shared by the other fraternal parties. As for the anti-communists' slanderous inventions, their lot is well known: they will burst like soap bubbles. Poland is and will remain socialist.

#### *A powerful factor of revolutionary struggle*

Raul Valdes Vivo

The most important world event after the Great October Revolution, which ushered in the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism, was the victory of the socialist country in the war started by imperialism. International imperialism has tried to destroy the world's first working people's state. But far from being destroyed, the new social system moved outside the framework of one country and has been converted into a world socialist system which is the main factor in mankind's historical development. Today the international working class, the national liberation movement and socialism make the three main streams of revolutionary process, which acquire, as they merge with each other, an ever greater capacity for deciding the historical destinies of the world.

Following the victory over fascist Germany and militarist Japan, a number of socialist states emerged in Europe and Asia in the second half of the 1940s. A decade later, socialism also reached the Western Hemisphere with the triumph of the Cuban revolution.

The collapse of the colonial system of imperialism led to the formation of dozens of young states on the African continent. The victory of the Vietnamese revolution and the triumph of the people's cause in Laos and Kampuchea are also connected with the collapse of fascism. The same may be said about the revolutionary processes in Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia, Nicaragua and Afghanistan.

The struggle between the two opposite social systems has not, of course, ended. Counter-revolution keeps trying to change the course of modern history. Unfortunately,



these attempts are now and again successful. However, the laws of social development ultimately triumph.

The criminal gamble of the Second World War did not justify the hopes of imperialism and produced the opposite results. The communists do not deny that the allies of the USSR in the anti-fascist coalition, including even those who took a tolerant attitude to the origination of the brown plague, also made a contribution to the rout of the Nazi invaders and their henchmen. But the peoples of the world are well aware that it was imperialism that produced fascism, and that the chief credit in the victory over it belongs to socialism.

The consolidation of the socialist community and the extension of the basis of the world revolutionary process have not only helped to create new conditions in the struggle for peace, national liberation and social emancipation, but have also brought about a change in the arrangement of forces in the international arena. As a result, even small countries can now win out in their struggle. Conditions have been created for checking the aggressive plans of imperialism and for making sure that the Second World War was the last in mankind's history.

### *Peaceful coexistence does not mean status quo*

Raja Collure

The development of the national liberation movement and the collapse of the colonial empires were among the principal consequences of the victory over fascism and reaction in the Second World War. At the same time, this movement, gathering momentum and strength, has become, for its part, one of the key factors in the struggle against war, and for preserving and strengthening world peace. Together with the other forces constituting the world revolutionary process — existing socialism, the working class and all the other democratic and peace-loving forces, it is carrying on a struggle against the imperialist policy of confrontation, tension, aggression and war, and for the establishment of a durable peace on our planet, to make it a secure place for human habitation.

The policy of peaceful coexistence, consistently pursued by the USSR and the other socialist community countries, helps to strengthen the nonaligned movement and bring success in the national liberation struggle. Its participants are increasingly convinced that peaceful conditions prevent or make it relatively harder for imperialism to engage in

open intervention, make it easier to establish control over national resources, to get rid of transnational corporations, abolish inequitable treaties and choose an independent path of development.

While having been forced to accept détente, imperialism now seeks to slow it down and reverse it. The United States has been building up its military presence in various parts of the world, resisting the initiatives of the Soviet Union and other peace-loving states designed to extend confidence-building measures and bring about disarmament. Imperialists have been doing everything to divert the struggle for national liberation by provoking regional conflicts. In this way they are strenuously supported by Peking hegemonists.

In short, there is every indication that the course of historical development has taught the enemies of progress very little: like the Hitlerites and Japanese militarists in the past, they would like to subordinate the world and to preserve it in a subjugated state. A "theoretical" basis is also presented to break up these plans. It is claimed that peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems is possible only with the maintenance of the present status quo. Nothing is farther from the truth! The dialectics of history is such that the struggle for peace promotes success in the struggle for national liberation and social emancipation, while the growth of the family of countries liberated from imperialist dependence helps to strengthen the camp of peace.

It is not the preservation of the status quo, but a steady intensification of the anti-imperialist struggle that is now the slogan of all those who want to see the nations free and living in peace.

### IMPERIALISM, THE SOURCE OF TENSION

*Old program: guns instead of butter*

James West

After the defeat of fascism, the banner of anti-socialism and anti-Sovietism has been taken up by the United States, which lays claim to the role of world gendarme. The result has been a reactionary economic policy and ever more frequent violations of national and democratic rights at home and abroad.

The time has for ever gone when U.S. imperialism could afford both guns and butter. In order to continue the arms race and to step it up, the authorities have had to give up or slash social programs. At the same time, they give all-out support to big capital, which is carrying on an offensive against the labor unions and the

working class, against the working people's vital interests. The growing unemployment, inflation and taxes on the lower-paid categories of the population highlight the unprecedented growth of monopoly profits, the cutbacks in taxes on the rich, and the astronomical arms outlays.

The Reagan administration has elevated the myth of a "Soviet menace" to the center of state policy. This Big Lie is also used to justify the "guns and profits instead of butter and jobs" program. Hitler promised the German people a paradise on Earth after he conquered the world, so the U.S. administration is also trying to tie some indefinite future well-being of the people of the United States to its plans for reversing the world revolutionary process, if only they sacrifice their hard-won gains today.

Reagan is trying to pursue an aggressive military policy in the conditions of a decline of U.S. positions in world production, and a crisis in some basic industries. The administration hopes to overcome these difficulties by exporting its guns-instead-of-butter policies to other countries. Exerting great pressure on them, it seeks to limit their capacity for independent decision-making, counting on their class interests and hatred of socialism to outweigh national interests. In the name of fighting "terrorism," it pressures them to curb democratic rights, to pursue a McCarthyite policy and place the ever greater burdens of the arms race on the peoples. The United States is trying to transform Western Europe and Japan into the ground-zero targets of a threatened nuclear war.

U.S. imperialism still has the capacity to inflict great harm and suffering on the nations. No one should underestimate the serious danger of the policy pursued by the present administration. There is no guarantee that in an atmosphere of international tension accident or recklessness could not lead to disaster.

But in the situation of the 1980s, the militaristic and anti-democratic policies have aroused mass resistance throughout the world, including the United States itself. The movement for peace and disarmament is directly linked to the struggle for jobs and economic stability. It is therefore more deeply rooted than ever before in the working class and the oppressed minorities.

Based on the false and arrogant notion that U.S. imperialism has a god-given right to run the affairs of the world, the Washington policies come into conflict with reality and with the hopes and demands of the peoples of all countries. They cannot intimidate the socialist states, which have now become a mighty force.

Nor will these policies reverse the processes of national liberation, the world revolutionary process.

The struggle for peace today is a struggle to maintain life on our planet and improve the people's living conditions, is a struggle for "butter" against "guns," for each country's democratic national interests, independence and sovereignty. Everything depends on the united struggles of the peoples.

### *Manipulating public opinion*

Peter Boychuck

An important step in imperialism's preparation for aggressive wars is the conditioning of people's minds to accept such policies. The goal here is to win support of a majority of the people and create an atmosphere of tolerance for aggressive action.

To win the German people for war against the Soviet Union, Hitler had to convince them of the desirability and feasibility of winning such a war. The wealth of the Soviet Union, he told the Germans, could help the "master-race" dominate the world for a thousand years. The Blitzkrieg would be the means, at minimum risk and cost to the German Reich.

In retrospect, the Blitzkrieg was not so much a strategy for a victorious war against the Soviet Union as a strategy for intimidating the adversaries of fascism, and conditioning the minds of people for such a way by easy victories against the capitalist countries of Europe and the temptation to solve internal problems by occupying foreign lands.

Today, aggressive U.S. imperialist circles are trying to make the U.S. people believe in the necessity and feasibility of winning a nuclear war against the Soviet Union. As in the Nazi period, inventions about a "Soviet threat" are being spread about and the "better dead than red" idea prepares the justification of their own aggressive plans.

The feasibility of winning such a war is promoted by the campaign to have people at home accept a "first strike" strategy. It is not surprising, therefore, that Washington has sought to justify Israel's attack on Iraq's nuclear installations, for it is a prototype of this strategy. Nor is it surprising that the United States is pressuring the West European countries to accept deployment of new U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles, which would be the "first strike" weapons. In this way, the United States wants to convince public opinion that a nuclear war against the Soviet Union could be won.

The increasing participation of masses of people in the fight for peace has not yet stopped

the acceleration of U.S. and NATO arms build-up. With imperialist reaction constantly coordinating its actions on an international scale, *the international solidarity of the communists and all the other fighters against imperialism is especially important.* Action against imperialism's drive to war will be less than successful if it is restricted by national borders.

#### Cut short sinister schemes

Farid Mougahed

Since the historic victory over fascism, the peace-loving forces of our planet have made truly titanic efforts to prevent the sparking of another world conflagration. Imperialism has pursued a different policy. Everywhere it has tried to increase tensions, start aggressions, and realize its expansionist plans.

Take the Middle East, where an explosive situation has existed for decades. The notorious Camp David deal has added even more sinister features to the situation. Having become dependent on U.S. imperialism, Egypt has found itself involved in the most dangerous plans for starting not only local but even larger wars threatening the peoples of the whole continent. The prerequisites for this are now already being actually created, as will be seen from Sadat's granting to U.S. patrons the possibility for the broadest use of our country's territory for imperialist purposes. There is above all the U.S. right to have in Egypt huge stockpiles of military equipment and weapons, including nuclear weapons; the possibility for U.S. troops to engage in combat training on Egyptian national territory or, to be more precise, in the desert with geographical and climatic conditions akin to those of the Persian Gulf area; Egypt's conversion into a springboard for the rapid deployment forces being built up by Washington and designed for armed intervention in various parts of the globe; the involvement in the aggressive plans of one million Egyptian soldiers who, according to President Sadat himself, could go to the aid of their "allies" to put an end to the "chaos" which reigns in the region.

These are far from all the numerous manifestations of the U.S. military presence in my country. Several joint U.S.-Egyptian maneuvers against potential "enemies" have already been staged. The two parties are now arranging for the free passage along the Suez Canal for U.S. warships with nuclear weapons on board.

*The danger looming over the Afro-Arab region is great, and needs to be fought, together*

*with ever broader exposures of the aggressive plans of U.S. imperialism and its local satraps.*

#### *Freedom and security are indivisible*

Ahmed Salem

Open military interventions and local wars have become a part of the unusual leverage used by the imperialist powers to contain revolutions in Asia, Africa and Latin America and to suppress national liberation movements.

The formation of the so-called rapid deployment forces, the siting of military bases on foreign soil, the erection of reactionary military blocs, the formidable supply of weapons to puppet regimes; these are only a few of the elements of the neocolonial strategy of U.S. imperialism.

By spreading the network of their military bases in our region, above all in Oman, Egypt, Kenya and Somalia, the imperialist powers seek to prevent the revolutionary spirit of liberation from spreading from Ethiopia and South Yemen to other states. With the signing of the Camp David accords, and the establishment of the Riad-Cairo-Khartoum axis, the Sudan is being rapidly transformed into a handy tool of the imperialists and the Arab reactionary regimes. A few years ago its rulers joined in the chorus of those who want the Red Sea to be turned into an "Arab lake of peace" and to deny access to it to the "superpowers." However, this stand of "equidistance" from the "superpowers" was subsequently discarded and now the Sudanese regime is dancing to the tune of the day called the "Soviet threat."

This false tune ignores the fact that the *real threat to the countries of the region comes from the United States and the other imperialist powers*, which maintain their military bases in the Red Sea, Bahrein and the Indian Ocean area. Nor does it say anything of the fact that the United States is seeking to use this vital waterway for its global aggressive plans directed against the socialist community. The Sudanese leaders' readiness to make available to the United States military bases and other privileges indicates beyond doubt the foreign interests this line of policy serves.

Independent Sudan, like other newly liberated countries, emerged at a definite stage in the struggle against the colonialists. The Sudanese people won their independence only after the rout of fascism in the Second World War in which the Soviet Union played the cardinal role. The interests of our state require that the Sudan should cease to be a plaything in the hands of the imperialists, and that its policy should be based on the principles of defense of

national independence and sovereignty, and the strengthening of its political and economic independence.

### Who is served by anti-Sovietism

Ibrahim Malik

The Middle East region has a place apart in the strategic plans of world imperialism in view of its proximity to the borders of the Soviet Union, the choice of the socialist way of development by some Arab countries, and its tremendous oil deposits. In the recent period, U.S. imperialist circles have managed to convert this region into a hotbed of local wars and armed conflicts, and chronic tensions. The dangers of the situation in the region are compounded by the fact that, under the pretext of warding off the notorious "Soviet threat," the United States is continuing its attempts to involve the states located in the area in its global aggressive plans and to set up military blocs. The fanning of wild anti-Sovietism and anti-communism has become one of the main lines in the activity of imperialism in the Middle East.

What are its purposes?

*In the political sphere:* to cover up the true causes of the struggle which is under way in the region; to divert attention from the central — Palestinian — problem, from resistance to imperialism and Zionism, the most evil enemies of the masses in the Middle East; to isolate the peoples of our countries from their natural ally and true friend, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and to subordinate them to imperialism's undivided influence; to wipe out the gains which the Arab national liberation movement and the progressive forces have won in long and hard struggle.

*In the military sphere:* to camouflage the true goals and motives for the build-up of the network of U.S. military bases; to set up military blocs from among the countries in the region which are within the orbit of imperialism, and to establish complete military domination in the area so as to continue plundering its manpower and natural resources, oil in the first place; to step up tensions close to the Soviet Union's southern borders.

*In the ideological sphere:* to prevent the working people of the Middle East from discerning the true perspectives for their countries' social and political development.

It is no secret that despite the growing resistance of the Arab and other peoples of the region, imperialism has had some, even if temporary, success. Still, these two truths remain beyond doubt. First, any settlement of the Middle East crisis on a fair and long-term basis is

inconceivable without the Soviet Union. Second, a just solution of the Palestinian problem, as developments have shown, is a necessary condition for the establishment of full and lasting peace in the Middle East.

On the strength of their experience over the past decades, the peoples of our region were made aware that the Soviet Union's victory over fascism was a tremendous contribution to the acceleration and facilitation of the process of their national liberation and escape from colonial slavery. Any fair-minded person will also see the gulf dividing the stand of the Soviet Union and that of the United States in the search for a settlement in this explosive area of the world.

Exposure of and resistance to the anti-Soviet and anti-communist campaign will help the peoples of our countries to safeguard their interests and strengthen the cause of peace in the Middle East and throughout the world.

### Against chauvinism and hegemonism

José Lava

Since the Second World War, imperialism has been cobbling together aggressive alignments against the forces of socialism, national liberation and progress. Just now, special importance is being attached to the so-called "China card." Washington has long since realized that the Maoists' hegemonism can be widely used for attempts to reverse the revolutionary process. In Mao's lifetime, and since his death, Peking has followed a pro-imperialist, anti-Soviet and anti-communist foreign policy, and the sole and natural result of this line in the recent period has been close coordination of the aggressive and expansionist U.S.-Chinese plans.

It is also a fact that the PRC leadership is an exceptionally active participant in the emergent sinister alliance. The Maoists have launched many of the most warmongering "initiatives" aimed against the freedom-loving peoples, détente and peace. Peking was the chief architect of the establishment of the barbarous Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea, inciting it to border attacks against Vietnam, and then itself went on to mount armed aggression against the first socialist state in Southeast Asia. China is now exerting pressure on countries in the region to force them to reject the proposals made by Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea to ASEAN on the establishment of relations of mutual cooperation and peaceful coexistence. The Chinese leaders want something else: to start a war first between Thailand and Vietnam, and to involve other neighboring countries in



it. The Maoists' purpose is to weaken and then completely eliminate Socialist Vietnam, the main obstacle to China's expansionist aims. In South Asia, its schemes have also been directed against the peace-loving states, in the first place: India and Afghanistan. Together with the United States, China is inciting the aggressiveness of the reactionary Pakistan regime.

The Peking leaders are so bellicose that they have even accused realistically-minded circles of the capitalist West of pursuing a policy of appeasement with respect to the Soviet Union. They yearn for confrontation, pushing Washington toward it, while the latter, for its part, has been trying hard to fan the Maoists' hegemonistic ardor and has been involving China ever more deeply in its aggressive anti-Soviet plans.

That is why it is highly important in the present situation to give a resolute rebuff to the Peking leaders who are closely collaborating with the imperialists, to their great-power chauvinism, their expansionist and hegemonist aims. Their policy poses a grave threat to peace. While mankind has so far succeeded in avoiding a devastating war of annihilation, the plans for such a war are still being prepared, and this calls for the utmost vigilance on our part.

## DEFEND AND CONSOLIDATE DETENTE

### *Crucial role of socialism*

Ib Norlund

Lenin's idea about the need to use the contradictions within the imperialist camp for the interests of the working class and all the other working people is well known. This idea becomes especially important as imperialism prepares for war against the socialist countries and the national liberation movements.

The policy of cobbling together aggressive blocs and diverse associations and alignments is a characteristic feature of the present strategy of imperialism. In these alignments the tune is called by the economically and militarily stronger capitalist powers, which seek to use their junior, weaker partners to promote their own selfish interests. As a result, contradictions arise within imperialist blocs and between regional groupings and are sharpened. Some try to plunder others, one imperialist alliance tries to subordinate another. Thus, the United States has been trying to force its NATO partners to pull its chestnuts out of the fire, while it itself remains on the sidelines. This is most pronounced in the intention to force the West European countries of NATO to deploy new

U.S. medium-range missiles on their territory. But because these countries are faced with a real danger of nuclear war, far from all of them are prepared unconditionally to take orders from across the ocean. Besides, the governments of many West European states are being subjected to growing public pressure against such plans. It is not surprising, therefore, that the decisions taken by some West European countries on Euromissiles are equivocal and half-hearted, a fact that does not suit the United States, which is accustomed to being obeyed without question.

All of this necessarily tends to produce some friction in the imperialist camp generally, and between the United States and its NATO partners, in particular. Here is a characteristic admission in the London bourgeois journal *The Economist*, which says that relations between Western Europe and North America — the whole of the Atlantic alliance — are at the initial stage of a mortal disease. This alliance has frequently gone through hard times, but it has never been in such a grave state as it is today.<sup>7</sup>

The threat of nuclear disaster insistently requires that the working class and its allies should unite in the struggle for peace, democracy, national liberation and social emancipation, against the bloc strategy of imperialism, and make skilful use of its contradictions.

When considering the security of the nations and the need to isolate and resist the forces of war, one must recall the *Soviet Union's crucial role in the rout of fascism and in the preservation and strengthening of peace*. Only together with the USSR and other socialist community countries can the peace-loving peoples frustrate the aggressive plans of imperialism. And the "new" internationalism without the socialist world is not a true internationalism. Only by defeating anti-Sovietism — the ideological weapon for the preparation of nuclear war — will it be possible to secure broad unity in the struggle for durable and lasting peace.

### *All are involved*

Clement Rohee

Safeguarding peace is no easy task, especially today when imperialism continues to plague the world with its bellicose global ambitions, while maintaining pockets of tension in many parts of the world and master-minding armed conflicts. But the fact that the outbreak of a thermonuclear holocaust has been avoided over the past 36 years is indeed an unprecedented achievement. This has come about because as the People's Progressive Party of

Guyana says in its program: "Imperialism is opposed by powerful forces — the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the national liberation movement and the working-class and peace-loving forces of the world, including powerful forces within the imperialist states themselves. This powerful combination has restrained the imperialists and prevented the outbreak of a third world war."<sup>8</sup>

The peoples of the Caribbean have never experienced the devastating consequences of a world war. The young generation in the English-speaking countries of our region has only read or heard accounts — which in most cases were distorted or one-sided — from those veterans who went to fight on the side of the British. That is why far from everyone in our countries knows of the decisive role which the Red Army played in the victory over fascism.

Ironically, some people in the Caribbean countries take the view that should a third world war break out, they will be sitting quite comfortably in their homes listening over the radio or watching on television, reports on battles being fought in far-away lands. These are the people who fail to realize that the most lethal weapons are now located in strategic parts of the globe principally because of Washington's reckless militaristic policy; those are people who do not realize that the outbreak of a third world war would spare no one.

This situation shows that the progressive, democratic and peace-loving forces of the region need to carry out a tremendous amount of work to mobilize public opinion against the danger of war. Our party, the People's Progressive Party of Guyana, has been working patiently yet persistently, to raise the level of the people's awareness so that they may understand that on the questions of war and peace there can be no "sitting on the fence," that in the *struggle for world peace, like other issues connected with the right to life, "all are involved."*

But important changes are already in evidence, despite all the efforts of imperialist propaganda. The fact that a number of broad-based national peace committees have emerged in the majority of these countries of the English-speaking Caribbean is a glowing example of the peoples' desire to live and work in peace. Our party and other Caribbean workers', revolutionary democratic parties and groups have already carried out several joint acts to rebuff the naval presence of imperialism in the region. These positive developments, coupled with the growing influence and prestige of Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada, show that the conditions are maturing for the active

involvement of the peoples of the English-speaking Caribbean in the struggle for peace and international security.

### *The Mediterranean, a zone of cooperation*

Agamemnon Stavrou

Reactionary propaganda has falsified the lessons of the Second World War in an effort to distort the peace-loving foreign policy of the Soviet Union, which since the day of its appearance, has always been true to the ideals of peace, peaceful coexistence and disarmament. The true aims of its policy will be seen from the USSR's numerous peace initiatives. The 26th congress of the CPSU not only reaffirmed the proposals for strengthening universal security and limiting the arms race, for establishing peace zones, for bringing about a radical improvement of the international climate on the basis of a relaxation of tensions, but also put forward a set of new initiatives in the light of the situation that has been complicated in the recent period. *This complex has been justly called in various countries, including my own country, Cyprus, the Peace Program for the 1980s.*

This means an extension of the zone of confidence-building measures — in Europe, and possibly in the Far East and other regions. There is, further, the continuation of the Soviet-U.S. negotiations on preserving everything positive that has been achieved in this sphere, including negotiations on the limitation of all types of weapons. An understanding is proposed for a moratorium on the deployment of new medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe by the NATO countries and the USSR.

Leonid Brezhnev's proposals for converting the Mediterranean, a region of confrontation, into a zone of peace and cooperation, are also of much importance in mobilizing all the peace forces of Cyprus. This is understandable, because the concentration of nuclear and conventional weapons in the Eastern Mediterranean, and military operations in the Middle East are a source of great alarm. We are also disquieted by the fact that imperialist plans have assigned to Cyprus the role of a staging area for the U.S. rapid deployment forces.

Our people have expressed the firm conviction that the conversion of the Mediterranean into a zone of peace, a zone free from nuclear weapons and foreign military bases, fully meets both the national interests of the Cypriots and the interests of all the other peoples of the globe.

## *Bulwark of a peaceful future*

Zaki Khairi

With the rout of the Nazi hordes and Japanese militarism, the Soviet Union became the bulwark of peace on the globe. This role has even further increased with the emergence of the world socialist system and the further narrowing down of the sphere of imperialist influence and domination.

All the heroic deeds of the Soviet people as it fought the sanguinary battles against fascism were permeated by the great urge for a peaceful future; they are also infused with a great hope today, as the USSR advances in the vanguard of the struggle against the danger of war. In our opinion, it is not enough to pay tribute to this people which suffered countless losses in the past war in order to save the socialist homeland and the whole of mankind. It is our moral duty to educate our people in the spirit of profound respect for the Soviet Union's epochal exploit, especially now that the imperialists are trying to minimize it in the eyes of the new generations which have never felt the horrors of Hitlerism and the Japanese occupation.

We are realistically-minded revolutionaries and not philistine pragmatists, and view the present in the light of our class stand. And the realities are that the USSR, as it was four decades ago, is acting as the chief factor of peace and the crucial mainstay of the forces of national liberation and social emancipation. It is carrying the main burden of the struggle against the danger of war, for the greater security of the nations. *But for the Soviet Union's might, but for its Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence, it would hardly have been possible to avert a global armed conflict.*

Another thing also needs to be recognized: the defense of a peaceful future requires of the Soviet people, of their brothers and sisters in other socialist countries, tireless labor efforts in building up the defense capability of the socialist community. They have to shed more sweat, to exert greater nervous and muscular effort, diverting for these purposes human and material resources, and creative energies that could be used for producing more consumer goods, building more homes, hospitals and universities. Still, the USSR is making these sacrifices and now and again one must express surprise at the underestimation of this noble mission of the Soviet people by some champions of "independence." After all, it is the Soviet people that has built up a defense potential which is not inferior to the aggressive war machine of monopoly capitalism, a potential which is designed to keep the war-

mongers in check, to promote the cause of the people's national liberation and social emancipation.

## *The strength of international solidarity*

Kemal Kervan

Our world largely differs from what it was before the Second World War. In the period in which there was only one socialist state in the world, the balance of forces between socialism and capitalism made it impossible to avert war and to eliminate it from the life of the society. This was made possible with the formation of the world socialist system. Today the Soviet Union and the socialist community countries are the mightiest and most influential force of the world revolutionary process, and the mainstay of peace.

In the present epoch, the choice between war and peace has ceased to be only a prerogative of governments and states and to fall within their competence alone. In the choice are now involved the public at large, public bodies and political parties. The past few decades provide convincing evidence that the ruling circles of the imperialist powers have to reckon with public opinion and public action. Mass protest demonstrations against the growth of military expenditures and the step-up of the arms race, and collections of signatures under a demand to revoke NATO's nuclear-missile decision, all these are characteristic phenomena in the life of many West European countries. Anti-war organizations are being revived and exert wide influence, and dozens and hundreds of new ones have appeared.

The communists have a big part to play in popularizing the ideas of peace and disarmament and in mobilizing progressive opinion for the fight against the dangerous plans of imperialism. They made an important contribution to the political initiatives which allowed development in the 1970s to run in the direction of détente, stronger security and cooperation in Europe. The communists' activity in the international arena is based on a profound adherence to the idea of peace, that is, the line invariably maintained by the fraternal parties, the humanism of the Marxist-Leninist world view and communist morality as a whole. The communists do not withdraw unto themselves, in their own circle, and do not contrast their initiatives with those of the peace-loving forces. On the contrary, the appeal adopted by the communists of Europe at their Paris meeting declares their readiness to engage in any dialogue, in any negotiation, in any joint ac-

tion, whenever it comes to the struggle for peace and disarmament.

The international conference against the arms race, and for disarmament in Europe, held in Stockholm in June of this year, was another striking example of the growing solidarity of the anti-war movement. It was attended by almost 200 representatives from 80 organizations in 30 countries, including many well known public and political figures, representatives of national peace committees, pacifist organizations, and religious circles from the European and American continents. Among other resolutions, the conference adopted a resolution of solidarity with the forces of peace in Turkey, expressing profound concern over the ban on the activity of the Turkish Peace Committee and the persecution and arrests of fighters for peace in our country.

The lessons of the Second World War have taught people a great deal. They have taught them to realize the origins of the war danger and to understand that in the peace movement there are no adversaries, but only partners. And it is not at all necessary for the various contingents of peace forces to be totally unanimous on all the issues. The main thing is that men and women should always be willing to stand up for peace together.

In conclusion of the exchange of the opinion, Editor-in-Chief of WMR, Konstantin Zarodov said that the speeches of all the comrades once again reaffirmed the exceptional importance of the topic under discussion. Many interesting meaningful ideas were expressed, and these helped better to appreciate the lessons of history and — in their light — the present state of the problem of war and peace.

This problem is a complicated one, and, unfortunately, even among the participants in the anti-imperialist movement there is now and again inadequate understanding and differences of views concerning its substance and scale. However, considering the tensions being stepped up by imperialism, even theoretical mistakes in this sphere could be very costly.

Speakers showed very well that behind the growing complication of the world political situation lurk not only the reckless and unrealistic, subjective approaches of the imperialist circles, but also the objective nature of capitalism at its state-monopoly stage of development. The toughening up of the international line of the United States and the NATO countries and their allies in other parts of the world is ultimately the result of the sharpening of the general crisis which has long tormented world capitalism.

At one time, big capital in Germany with the direct or indirect assistance of the monopolies of other countries, authorized Hitler to get down to overcoming the crisis through militarism, through war. Today, with the new drawn-out and even more multifaceted crisis than that of the 1930s, the top layer of the ruling class in the capitalist world, above all in the United States and Britain, is once again trying to get rid of society's economic and social ills by complicating the international situation, whipping up the arms race and inflating anti-Sovietism and anti-communism.

While direct analogies here may not be quite apt, a comparison of the present situation with the lessons of history makes one, at any rate, give thought to a great deal.

This question arises: if the danger of war is not rooted in the subjective will of the rulers of the capitalist world, if everything comes down to the nature of imperialism, what is then the prospect in the struggle for peace? Can it be a success?

It was Lenin, the greatest Marxist of the 20th century, who gave us the clearest, most promising and most effective program of struggle to preserve world peace. It was profoundly and scientifically grounded in his theory of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems.

One does not have to be a communist, but merely a well-informed and sober-minded person, to understand and accept this simple truth: it is the Soviet Union and the socialist community countries that have done most to keep our planet without a world conflagration for 36 years now. That is why the struggle to strengthen peace is also a struggle to consolidate socialism. This implies resolute rebuffs to slanders and attacks on its gains. This implies all kinds of assistance to the socialist system wherever, for internal or external reasons, it happens to be jeopardized, a "weak link," and also there where the struggle of the people for the socialist way of development comes up against imperialist-directed counter-revolution.

The struggle for peace, like the class struggle, abounds in many complicated twists and turns and unexpected zigzags. It can inflict and does inflict stern punishment on all those who succumb in it to the here-and-now, local interests and attitudes. It is exceptionally important therefore, never to lose sight of the crucial strategic condition of the struggle, and always to bear in mind that the stake in it is exceptionally great. It is the very existence of mankind, that is, lasting peace on the earth that cannot be



attained without the utmost consolidation of socialism.

Peace does not descend only "from the top;" the edifice of peace is also built up from "the bottom," from the grass roots of popular movements. On the massiveness, cohesion and vigor of these movements for international security depends a very great deal. Who is to be their nucleus, their guiding pivot? The exchange of opinion has produced a clearcut answer to this question: the communists can and must play that big and responsible role which springs from their position of the leading political forces of the working class.

Comrades here have emphasized that today, for everyone who cherishes peace, who refuses to go along with the bourgeoisie's "war party," the most vital task is to find a common language and to unite in resolute resistance to the threat of war which is stemming from imperialism and Peking hegemonism. This "common language" could be provided by the main lines of the struggle to strengthen world peace and se-

curity as indicated by the 26th congress of the CPSU.

The communists believe that their duty is never to allow any nation to go through the sufferings which fell to the Soviet people after June 22, 1941, that no hand would ever touch the button which, if pressed, would bring death to mankind.

We are fighters, which means optimists. Peace must triumph over war, life — over death. There is no other road.

1. L.I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Vol. 5, Moscow, 1976, p. 120 (In Russian).
2. G. Kade. *Die Bedrohungslüge. Zur Legende von der "Gefahr aus dem Osten,"* Köln, 1979, p. 106.
3. F. Halder. *Kriegstagebuch*. Stuttgart, 1962, Vol. II, pp. 336-337.
4. In proposing the conclusion in 1939 of an Anglo-French-Soviet military agreement, the USSR was prepared to field 136 divisions against the aggressor.
5. *Military Review*, October 1980, p. 25.
6. W. Rutherford, *Hitler's Propaganda Machine*, New York, 1973, p. 54.
7. *The Economist*, June 6-12, 1981, p. 13.
8. *Guyana's Road to Socialism*, Georgetown, 1979, p. 64.

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## The strategy of transition to socialism

Kaysone Phomvihane

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The transition to socialism is a logical continuation and development of the revolutionary process in our country. Relying on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and on the experience of the fraternal countries, our party got down, after the victory of the national-democratic revolution in Laos in 1975, to pursuing a policy aimed to bring about the socialist transformation of society. This line has its origins in the political program of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party (LPRP), which has set itself the goal of "preparing all the necessary conditions for direct transition to socialism, bypassing the capitalist stage of development." Ever since the second congress of the LPRP in 1972 set this goal, our party has given unflagging attention to the elaboration and improvement of its strategy in the light of the political, economic and social tasks of the transition period.

In paving the way toward socialism, we are consistently guided by the general laws of the socialist revolution discovered by Marxism-

Leninism. We seek to apply them creatively, in accordance with the specific reality of Laos. "A concrete analysis of a concrete situation" (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 166) — that is the cardinal principle for elaborating the strategy of the transition period, which was indicated by Lenin.

What are the characteristic features of the present situation in Laos?

Let us emphasize, first of all, that *Laos is an advanced post of socialism in Southeast Asia and lies along the frontline of confrontation between the socialist and the capitalist systems in that region*. For decades, our country was subjected to colonial oppression and imperialist aggression, and continues to be an objective of fierce attacks and subversive moves by the reactionary forces. Feudal reaction, the former colonialists, the U.S. imperialists, hostile ruling circles in Thailand and other ASEAN countries, the Peking expansionists and hegemonists who are in collusion with the imperialists and other reactionaries — such is

the spectrum of the forces against which we have to carry on our struggle every day, every hour. The enemies of the Laotian revolution act hand in glove. They arm gangs of saboteurs and pirates, infiltrate them into Laos, carry on psychological war against us, organize economic sabotage, and try to provoke disturbances in the country in order to undermine the popular power, and to reverse the process of social transformations.

What kind of conclusions does this suggest?

First, our party believes that peaceful construction in Laos must be closely linked with the consolidation of the armed forces and improvement of their combat capability for the defense of the country's independence and the people's revolutionary gains. Historical experience testifies that a revolution which cannot defend itself is doomed.

Second, at every stage of the struggle there is a need to identify the chief enemy and to concentrate one's efforts on defeating him. With respect to our enemies, we pursue a principled line, resolutely rebuffing their moves and defending the gains of the revolution. This line is combined with flexible tactics, which is especially important for a small country without major economic forces or a large defense potential. While maintaining an uncompromising stand on matters of principle, our party seeks to prevent the emergence of critical foreign-policy situations.

Firmness combined with flexibility characterizes our relations with Thailand and other ASEAN countries, with the United States and other Western countries. On the whole, our foreign policy is designed to ensure peaceful international conditions promoting socialist construction. It is aimed above all to develop cooperation with all the countries of Southeast Asia on the basis of the principles of mutual respect, independence, peaceful coexistence, for the maintenance of peace, stability and prosperity in that region.

Third, there is a need closely to tie in the national and international tasks of the socialist transformations in our country. The LPRP regards Laos as an integral part of the socialist community. We constantly reinforce our ties of revolutionary solidarity with Vietnam and Kampuchea, which has escaped from the genocidal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime. We attach exceptional importance to the development of cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries. While relying above all on our own efforts, on our own means and potentialities, we also count on assistance from the socialist community. It has been and continues to be an important factor of success in

defense of the revolutionary gains and the construction of socialism in Laos.

Another objective feature which we reckon with in elaborating and improving the strategy of the transition period is the low level of the country's socio-economic development. Laos has virtually no heavy industry. Before the revolution, it had a few hundred small enterprises, mainly in the light and food industry, with only a few of these employing over 20 persons. At one time, the United States helped to build a number of enterprises working on imported raw materials and delivering their products to the Americans and to their local satraps, so serving as hothouses for the comprador bourgeoisie. These enterprises were nationalized by the new power.

The economy of Laos, until recently in the grip of feudalism and colonialism, on the whole remains an agrarian one with small and scattered subsistence-type individual production. In some regions there is a developed artisan industry, which as a rule however, does not go beyond the framework of family production. Agriculture has a low productivity and, for the time being, cannot meet the food requirements of the population. Primitive farming techniques are still used in many places. The division of labor is mainly limited to the framework of the village or even the family. Commodity exchange is effected only in the plains or in the towns. The development of commerce is hampered by the absence of an outlet to the sea and the lamentable state of the transport network.

The plurality of economic structures is a characteristic feature of the existing social system in Laos. The country has five economic structures: state (nationalized enterprises in industry and agriculture); cooperative, involving a large part of the peasants (40 per cent of the households in the rice-growing areas) and the artisans; mixed private-state, or state-capitalist; private capitalist; and finally, the most widespread petty-commodity sector with fairly pronounced elements of patriarchal and tribal relations. The bulk of the population lives in the conditions of underdeveloped feudalism. This means that we have to build socialism, bypassing not only the capitalist stage, but virtually also the stage of developed, or centralized feudalism. What does this mean for the party's strategy?

First of all, it means *steadfast orientation toward a gradual, stage-by-stage transition to socialism*. In the present epoch, it is possible to bypass the stage of developed feudalism and capitalism, but it is impossible, without harming the cause of socialism, to bypass the objectively necessary stages in building the new so-

ciety. That is why the party has not accepted transformations for which the prerequisites have not yet matured. It has rejected attempts to defy the objective conditions and to make haste in socializing all things and collectivizing everyone, so "introducing socialism" in a purely administrative way. Lenin repeatedly warned that such attempts merely hamper socialist construction.

The party seeks to make a realistic assessment of its means and potentialities. It was noted at the seventh plenary meeting of the LPRP CC in 1979 that the country is at the very start of the transition period. According to our estimate, the transition to socialism will be effected in a number of stages and will take roughly 20-25 years and possibly more, depending on development. The plenary meeting emphasized that in the transition to the new social system, socio-economic transformations and the building of socialism should be closely tied in with each other and should proceed simultaneously, socialist construction being the more important. Why? For the simple reason that there is virtually nothing left in our country that needs to be directly transformed. All the subsequent changes can be effected only through the building of new productive forces and relations of production.

The changes which are crucial for the current stage of the revolution have already been carried out. The old state machine has been destroyed, and the power of the working people has been asserted. The communal and municipal land, the natural resources, the property of the comprador bourgeoisie, of the big feudal lords and other reactionaries have been nationalized. The foundations of a state sector of the economy, involving over 500 enterprises, have been laid, and an effective system of state control over the operation of private entrepreneurs has been set up. In order to go on to the next stage of the transformations, which are equal in depth and importance to those mentioned above, there is a need to prepare the material and social prerequisites: to develop the productive forces, to ensure the conditions for establishing the new relations of production, to raise the living standards of the masses, etc. It is clear that *these tasks can be fulfilled only by creating a corresponding material and technical basis, which can be formed with the participation of all the existing structures, including the private capitalist structure.*

Does all of this mean that we have proclaimed some kind of moratorium on any further transformations? No, it does not. The point is that the social changes should be scientifically grounded, with an eye to the

objective requirements, and in accordance with the actual potentialities.

Our revolution has to tackle the tasks of the transition period in a country where, as Lenin put it, most people are "not workers who have passed through the school of capitalist factories, but (are) typical representatives of the working and exploited peasant masses who are victims of medieval oppression" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 30, p. 161). The working class of Laos numbers only about 50,000. Together with the workers of the administrative apparatus and the military men, this comes to roughly 3 per cent of the population. The rest are mainly peasants, with a sizable stratum of small traders and artisans. As for the national bourgeoisie, it has always been weak and its members can now be counted on the fingers of one's hand. Can such a country advance to socialism?

Our experience, and the earlier experience of Mongolia and Vietnam, provide a positive answer: *yes, it can, if the struggle for the new system is led by a party taking the working-class stand and equipped with the Marxist-Leninist ideology.* The main thing in our conditions is not the number of workers in the party, but its loyalty to the class interests and goals of the proletariat, and its consistency in practising the Leninist principles of leading the masses and of party construction. That is the basis on which the LPRP took shape through the merger of the national-liberation movement with Marxism-Leninism. That is why it has succeeded in playing the role of leader of the revolution and guiding it to victory, in which the solid alliance of the working class and the peasantry created by the party was the crucial factor. It continues to be crucial at the stage of transition to socialism. In our country's specific conditions it is the factor on which primarily depends the realization of the proletarian dictatorship, the principal instrument for defending the revolutionary gains, for socialist construction, re-education of the masses of small producers, and their involvement in collective production.

*Of exceptional importance, which we always take into account in formulating our strategic line for the transition period, is the multi-national make-up of the country's population.* In Laos no nationality constitutes a majority, and we have nearly 70 nationalities and ethnic groups at various stages of socio-economic and cultural development. The question of nationalities is one of the fundamental questions of the Laotian revolution and socialist construction. The party seeks to tie in its solution with the tasks of the society's socialist transformations, to unite all the nationalities and ethnic groups

on the basis of a community of interests in the struggle for a better future, naturally taking into account the specific features of each.

The cultural backwardness of Laos creates the most serious obstacles in the way of transition to socialism. Our people has a rich and ancient culture, but its development was interrupted by colonialism. Before the revolution, 97 per cent of the population was illiterate. In the recent period, we have done much in the drive against illiteracy: over 80 per cent of our people have learned to read and write. But the problem continues to be fairly acute. Its solution is only the first step in the cultural revolution which lies before us.

Such, in general terms, are the key features of the transition period in Laos. The party takes them into account not only in defining this or that line of strategy in the transition to socialism, but also in elaborating the forms and mechanisms of its practical realization.

In 1977, the fourth plenary meeting of the party's CC put forward a program for simultaneously carrying out three revolutions in the transition to socialism: in the relations of production, in science and technology, and in ideology and culture. The first of these has the leading role to play, the second has a key role, and the third has to run in advance of the others.

*These three revolutions are component parts of a single process, are closely interconnected and exert an active influence on each other. The new society, the new productive forces and the relations of production, and the new man — those are the goals of these revolutions. They can be attained only through their simultaneous realization. Nevertheless, each of these revolutions has a special place in the process of social development, with its own functions and specific tasks which spring from the requirements of socialist construction.*

What are the goals of the revolution in the relations of production at the first stage of transition to socialism? First of all, there is a need to change the system of property relations, that is, to eliminate the capitalist economy based on private enterprise, and to create a system based on socialist property in its two forms: the whole people's property, and collective property. Further, there is a need to establish the leading role of socialist relations of production in the economy, and to ensure the exercise by the working people of their right to be the collective master of the country. Finally, there is a need to pave the way for transforming the small-scale and scattered individual production into large-scale socialist production. The major objective in our conditions is to

transform the subsistence economy into a commodity economy. The revolution in the relations of production helps completely to eliminate the subsistence economy. And this means that it ranges over the whole country, including the most distant and inaccessible backwoods, for otherwise these areas will remain backward, as they have remained, for instance, in Thailand, where there are modern cities, while the countryside remains medieval. The elimination of the subsistence economy is the decisive factor in transforming the mentality, the way of life and the working habits of the peasants, who are now incapable of working and living as our period demands, because they have always lived in closed patriarchal communities and worked only to feed themselves.

The transformation of the subsistence economy also has this important aspect: only with a sufficiently developed commodity production and exchange will Laos be able effectively to participate in the trade, financial and other activities of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and so become a full-fledged member of that body.

The revolution in the relations of production, while being of fundamental importance, cannot of itself result in the creation of a large-scale socialist production and ensure the further development of the new relations of production which it has engendered. In Laos, the most acute question in the transition to socialism is: how are the new productive forces to be developed and labor productivity boosted? This question cannot be solved outside the context of scientific and technological progress. That is why in the simultaneous development of the three revolutions, our party regards the scientific and technological revolution as the key one. What are its main tasks? They consist in applying, in the specific conditions of Laos, scientific and technological achievements to industrial and agricultural production and economic management. They also consist in applying the advanced production experience of other countries, and effectively using the scientific and technological assistance of the socialist countries. At the same time, we must also know how to make full use of the potentialities of the artisan industry, so as gradually to raise it to the level of mechanized production. Consequently, the scientific and technological revolution in a backward country is one of the key instruments in eliminating poverty and backwardness, the first step toward the full victory of socialism.

The revolution in ideology and culture is a necessary and exceptionally important factor in the transition to socialism. It has the aim of



transforming the consciousness of the masses and their way of life, of shaping a person with a high revolutionary morality and progressive culture, of training skilled personnel for the management of the economy and of the society as a whole. As I have said, in consequence of the policy of obscurantism conducted for many years by the colonialists and feudal lords, the majority of the Laotian people were until recently totally illiterate. That is why the revolution in ideology and culture has to run in advance of the others. The party devotes special attention to education and upbringing of young people. In accordance with its general line, there is to be extensive development of the press, radio, the cinema, art and literature, for the ever fuller satisfaction of the growing requirements of socialist construction. At the same time, the party is carrying on a drive against the survivals of the feudal and colonial ideology, and with the moribund customs and traditions inherited from the old society. The shaping of the new socialist culture and the education of the new man are important stimulating elements which will help to put through the revolution in the relations of production and in science and technology.

Our party is aware of the tremendous difficulties which need to be perseveringly overcome in the transition period. But it is also well aware of its country's, its people's potentialities. Of course, we are starting out from extremely low levels in the development of production, socio-economic relations and culture. Nevertheless, the foundations of socialism in Laos are not being laid without a basis. Successes in the rehabilitation and development of the economy achieved in fulfilling the three-year plan (1978-1980) show that under the party's leadership the working people are capable of tackling major economic problems. In that period, several dozen enterprises have been built; the second section of the Namngoune hydroelectric power plant has been completed, and this has made it possible to increase the generation of electric power; almost 5,000 kilometers of roads have been repaired or built; a state airline and an automobile company have been set up.

Laos has sizable natural resources. We have favorable conditions for the development of forestry, agriculture and livestock breeding, and large reserves of energy resources, minerals — iron ore, coal, non-ferrous metals, raw materials for the cement industry — and so on. The utmost use of these potentialities is provided for in the program for the country's social and economic development for 1981-1985, which was worked out by the eighth plenary

meeting of the LPRP CC in 1980, and which has become the basis of the first five-year plan.

*The main goals of our five-year plan are: to augment the scale of economic construction, to expand the state and the collective sectors of the economy, to raise the people's living standards, to strengthen the Republic's defense capability, and to accelerate scientific, technological and cultural progress.* The plan provides for a growth of the national product by 65-68 per cent; of agricultural output by 23-24 per cent, and industrial output by more than 100 per cent. By the end of 1983, illiteracy among young people is to be fully wiped out. Realization of the plan is designed to bring about substantial changes in the structure of society. It is envisaged, in particular, that with the completion of the five-year plan, the numerical strength of the working class and employees of government establishments will go up by 40-45 per cent. The fulfillment of the five-year plan will be a crucial step at the first stage of the country's advance to socialism.

What are the essential problems facing us in economic development?

There is, first of all, the *structural problem*. Its solution consists in integrating industry, agriculture and forestry into a single agro-industrial mechanism on the scale of the whole country, with agriculture and forestry providing the basis for the growth of industry, which, for its part, is to stimulate their rapid development. At the initial stage of transition to socialism in Laos there are no conditions for accelerated industrialization. For the time being, the country is incapable of duly tackling the problem of providing equipment, skilled manpower and managerial personnel for construction and industry. That is why the formation of a socialist economy in our country has to start with the development of agriculture and forestry, which are to satisfy the needs of the population and of national defense, to supply industry with raw materials, and to provide goods for export so as to pay for imported machinery and industrial plant. The primary task of agriculture in the next few years is to solve the food problem, so as to do away with food imports in the future.

The party believes that the organization of *peasant cooperatives* is the crucial condition for converting agriculture and forestry into a basis for the development of industry. At the same time, we are laying the foundations of state agriculture and forestry, taking into account the condition and availability of lands, natural resources, and the economic experience and traditions of the population in each of the country's regions, an approach that pro-

motes the rational organization of production, correct distribution of natural resources and manpower in accordance with an integral state plan.

The party also attaches much importance to another aspect of the structural problem: the establishment of a correct balance between *locally and centrally-managed economy*. This is a matter of making optimal use of the principle of democratic centralism in the national economy. A few years ago, especially in 1976 and 1977, the efficiency of our economy was declining because of an urge for excessive centralization. We are now correcting this tendency, while seeking to prevent any excessive decentralization. The party believes that at the initial stage of socialist construction, when agriculture and forestry are used as the basis of industrial development, the right way to start is to boost the local economy, and, by concentrating the main means and resources on it, to lay a solid foundation for building up a centrally-managed economy. Here it is necessary to reorganize the system of the division of labor, to set in motion the processes of centralization, specialization and cooperation of production, first within the framework of provinces, and then on the scale of the state as a whole. In our concrete conditions, this is the best way, because it meets the objective requirements of the transition period: the advance from the petty-commodity to large-scale socialist production.

The practice of economic construction in our country and in other socialist countries shows that in order to develop the economy, there is a need to make extensive use of the law of value, of commodity relations, and economic instruments like economic calculus, credit, price and profit. This helps to establish the correct balance between production and consumption, and between accumulation and consumption. Such an approach brings to the fore the problem of *efficiently organizing exchange* and distribution. At one time we tended to underestimate its importance, but this was righted by the seventh plenary meeting of the LPRP Central Committee. It stressed the importance of correctly organizing exchange and distribution, of pursuing a rational price policy, of having well organized procurement and marketing, and the cutting of the costs of circulation in order to encourage commodity exchange and the timely satisfaction of the requirements of industry. That is the only basis on which economic development can be guaranteed, expanded reproduction stimulated, the people's material requirements more fully satisfied, and the growth of social accumulation ensured. Only in these conditions is it realistic to expect

to resolve the contradictions existing in the economy of the transition period: those between the potentialities of production and the people's requirements, between accumulation for accelerating economic development and the growth of consumption, and improvement of the material condition of the masses.

In tackling these complicated problems, we make extensive use of the experience of transition to socialism in the fraternal countries, the Soviet Union in the first place. Of special importance for us is the practice of the New Economic Policy, which is dealt with in Lenin's works like "Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government" and "The Tax in Kind," etc. The ideas they contain were the basis of the strategic line formulated by the seventh plenary meeting of the LPRP CC, a line which is essentially a specific expression of the general NEP principles formulated by Lenin run through the prism of the Laotian reality. In Laos, where commerce is the main channel of distribution, one of the principal slogans at the present stage of the transition period is Lenin's thesis on trade as the "link" in the historical chain of events which the proletarian government, the ruling Communist Party must *grasp with all its might* (See, V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 33, p. 113).

We stimulate internal trade in every possible way, and in the forthcoming five-year period it is to nearly double, and we also actively promote the development of foreign trade, whose growth is also provided for in our plans. Private trade which is under state control is also encouraged within certain boundaries. The government strengthens the commercial ties between urban centers and the countryside, and this is promoted by measures to develop transport. In the course of the five-year period, internal freight traffic is to increase by 85 per cent. The growth of agricultural production is to be promoted by the introduction of stable, uniform rules for the levying of a tax in kind. This should promote the growth of crop yields, strengthen the cooperative movement, increase the volume of procurement, help to supply more food for the population, and give agricultural production a fresh impetus. A higher material incentive is being offered to farmers for taking in a second crop: thus, no tax is levied on the crop harvested on the same field and in the dry season. The income tax on cooperatives has been markedly reduced, and no tax is levied at all on the mountainous areas, where it is very hard to farm. The state encourages the introduction of progressive farming techniques: the peasants who switch to irrigated rice growing are exempted from the

payment of agricultural tax for three years.

All these measures serve to transform the old and to shape new relations of production, to restructure the division of labor, and to create the material and technical basis for direct transition to socialism.

History has imposed a tremendous responsibility on our party for the destinies of the revolution, and for the Laotian people's future. In order to rise to this responsibility, there is a need to reinforce tirelessly these three unities: the unity of the people, the unity of the party, and the unity of Laos with the fraternal socialist countries.

The people's unity in the period of transition to socialism constitutes a close alliance of the working people of town and country, of the working intelligentsia, and of all the other strata of the population, including members of the former ruling circles who have voluntarily agreed to undergo re-education and who seek to become full-fledged working people. The nucleus of this great unity is the indestructible alliance of the working class and the cooperative peasantry. In the course of the three revolutions, the party strives to enhance and improve the education and organization of the working class, so as to ensure its leading role in the society. We are also actively engaged in education work among the peasantry, seeking to unite it in the process of socialist collectivization. An extremely important role in fulfilling the tasks of the transition period belongs to the national intelligentsia. That is why the party displays concern for its education in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and close alliance with the workers and peasants. We support in every way the members of the national bourgeoisie, religious circles and other strata of the society taking a patriotic and progressive stand and displaying solidarity with the state's policy.

The struggle to consolidate the people's unity is closely connected with the solution of the nationalities question. The party constantly works to extend educational work among the various nationalities, seeking to improve education, and cultural and medical services in the areas inhabited by the national minorities, giving much attention to the training of personnel for socialist construction from among the representatives of various ethnic groups. At the same time, this activity is aimed to unite the masses in a broad national front and other social organizations: the trade unions, young people's, women's and similar other associations.

It is of vital importance for our party to consolidate its inner unity. Being the leading force

of the people, the combat headquarters of socialist construction, it must be monolithic and have one ideology and a single will. Only then is the vanguard capable of leading the working people, and the whole people, in the struggle for transition to socialism. In working to strengthen the unity of the party ranks, we reckon with the fact that the LPRP took shape in a country with specific conditions and with backward social relations. This necessarily has influenced the consciousness of the party's cadre and members. That is why we have continued our struggle against petty-bourgeois views, the patriarchal peasant mentality, and the influence of the feudal-bourgeois and imperialist ideology. Simultaneously, we resolutely rebuff all opportunist views and have combatted various petty-bourgeois illusions and deviationist trends.

One of the main lines of the party's ideological activity is the internationalist education of its members and of the whole people. This springs organically from the LPRP's strategic line of consolidating the unity with the fraternal socialist community countries, and the international working-class and communist movement. Our party's internationalism is rooted in its revolutionary tradition, in its ideology and political line. The solidarity of the countries of existing socialism and of the other progressive forces of the world helped us to defeat the colonialists and the imperialist aggressors. Today it is helping the Laotian people confidently to advance along the road of socialist construction.

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## The dialectics of social life

Academician Pyotr Fedoseyev  
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The importance of materialist dialectics from the standpoint of world view and scientific cognition is now becoming particularly evident. The attainment by existing socialism of new stages of maturity, which open up broader perspectives for its evolution into communism, the scale and depth of the revolutionary transformation of the world, the accelerating pace of scientific and technological progress and the need to tackle global problems, the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and the struggle between the two social systems on a world scale — all these complex, interacting and, at the same time, non-concurring processes objectively determine the growing need for a materialist dialectical analysis of these processes in the course of social practice, because it is dialectics that provides a coherent theoretical basis for a scientific understanding of all the diverse social processes, and brings out the historically transient nature of all forms of social life, the need for their replacement or renewal. Because of that, it helps to shape an optimistic world view based on the conviction that progress is a necessary and logical result of historical development.

The immense cognitive potential of the dialectico-materialist view of social development manifests itself most forcefully in the scientific analysis of the nature, motive forces, and objective uniformities of our epoch. The growing diversity and intertwining of various phenomena and processes are, perhaps, the first thing that strikes the eye in studying the social complexion of the present-day world. History has never known such acute social, political and economic contradictions and contrasts, such profound social changes and revolutions, progress of such rapidity and diverse forms. Leonid Brezhnev said at the 26th congress: "The 20th century has brought with it more changes than any previous century."

Is it possible, without simplifying the complexity and diversity of the social processes unfolding in our epoch, to find their intersection, to single out the epoch's main concrete-historical peculiarities, its intrinsic contradictions and tendencies of development? The Marxist-Leninist theory, with materialist dialectics as its ideological and

methodological foundation, has given a scientific answer to that question.

Our epoch, ushered in by the Great October Socialist Revolution, is an epoch of transition from the global domination of capitalism to a full, worldwide victory of socialism. Such are the meaning and content, the main line of present-day social development.

To make a dialectico-materialist analysis of the epoch, one must consider it as a unity and struggle of opposites. The struggle of opposites on a world scale manifests itself primarily as a competition between the two opposite social systems, which exist simultaneously but which constitute qualitatively different stages of the society's progress: its past and its future. The two social formations are developing in opposite directions. In spite of production growth in some periods and technical progress in the industrial countries, present-day capitalism is going downhill, while the socialist system is ascending, overcoming the existing and newly emergent contradictions, and gaining strength in the struggle against imperialism.

But the real pattern of world development should not be reduced to some one-sided scheme. The ascending and descending lines are far from even and uninterrupted. The ascending line of social progress is punctuated with its own difficulties, contradictions, temporary delays, detours and turns. In other words, the development of socialism cannot be seen as "unalloyed" progress, as a smooth ascent to higher stages. The descending line is marked not only by slumps, failures and sliding into the abyss, but also by temporary upturns. That is why it would be wrong to think that the decline of present-day capitalism means steady and indubitable regress in every respect and at every single moment. The characteristic point about it is not that it rules out the possibility of production growth in any sector of the economy, but that the aggravation of the contradictions of capitalism has eroded its foundations, so that its overall development has become convulsive and is realized through profound crises, the arms race, and armed conflicts, through social contradictions and antagonisms. In analyzing the present stage of world development the 26th congress of the



CPSU took precisely such a multidimensional, truly dialectical approach, with due account both of the achievements and successes in mankind's progress and of the difficulties and contradictions.

The growing polarization of social forces both on a global scale and in the capitalist world is one of the main specific features of our day. Over the past few years, the general crisis of capitalism has been further aggravated, the inter-imperialist contradictions have become more acute, and the ruling circles of a number of capitalist states have moved to the right. It has become quite clear that state-monopoly capitalism cannot improve the economic outlook either on a national or a global scale, or allay the social antagonisms. The economic crises of the past decade have undermined the confidence in the therapeutic powers of state regulation, and the most conservative forces are urging the need to "curb" the power of the state in the interests of big business and its unlimited rule. The transnational corporations have been giving powerful support to such reactionary policies. As the contradictions of the capitalist world are further aggravated, the ruling classes seek to consolidate the reactionary forces, spread anti-communism, foment racism and national strife, support the neofascists, encourage terrorism, aim to deepen the split in the working-class movement, to limit democratic freedoms and curtail the working people's rights. In a bid to stop the progressive changes and regain control over mankind's destinies, the ruling circles of the USA and other imperialist powers have taken the line of undermining international détente and whipping up tensions. They have accelerated the arms race, and are developing new mass destruction weapons, seeking to expand their aggressive blocs, founding new military bases far beyond their borders, and proclaiming whole regions to be their "special interest zones."

But while the ruling circles of some imperialist powers have been moving toward reaction, militarism and an aggressive bellicose policy, the revolutionary and democratic forces have been intensifying their struggle. The growing aggressiveness of the imperialist circles meets with resistance on the part of the working class and all the other democratic, progressive forces, opposed to state-monopoly capitalism and its reactionary domestic and foreign policy. Imperialism is countered by the growing strength and unity of the countries of existing socialism. The Soviet Union and other socialist community countries continue their peaceful constructive endeavor, consistently advocate stronger peace among nations,

détente and disarmament, and rebuff the imperialist policy of aggression.

In the 1970s, new opportunities and reserves for revolutionary and transformative activity took shape, its social basis broadened to include new social groups and whole peoples, the social content of the anti-monopoly struggle considerably deepened, the prestige of the international communist movement and the role of mass democratic movements were enhanced. The elimination of the colonial system is virtually complete, and there is a tendency for an increase in the number of countries taking the noncapitalist road. A group of states that have recently come to the fore are contemplating not just the socialist orientation, but transition to the socialist road.

Social progress has never been straightforward, but has always been contradictory, and has been marked by the emergence of new problems, by ebbs and flows, zigzags and even reversals. Lenin said: "Life proceeds by contradictions, and living contradictions are so much richer, more varied and deeper in content than they may seem at first sight to a man's mind" (V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 34, p. 403). In the 1970s, social development became much more complicated, the concrete historical forms expressing the objective tendency of mankind's progress diversified, and a number of largely nontraditional or even totally new phenomena and problems emerged.

Let us take a dialectical look at the world of socialism in our day. In the 1970s, world socialism continued its advance practically in every sphere of society's life: the economy, culture, social relations, and socialist democracy. Although the recent period was not particularly favorable for the economy of many socialist countries, the rate of economic growth in the CMEA countries in the 1970s was nevertheless twice as high as the industrial capitalist countries. In the past decade, the socialist community remained the most dynamically developing group of states in the world; it achieved major successes in raising the people's material and cultural standards, and made considerable progress in developing all-round cooperation.

But we would be dogmatists and not dialecticians if we did not see and understand the contradictions in the progressive development of the socialist society. As any living organism, it develops through the emergence and resolution of contradictions, when further growth engenders new problems and new disproportions, which have to be solved and eliminated.

Here are some figures showing not only the Soviet people's achievements, but also the

scale of the tasks that arise in this context. Over the five year periods, the country's socialist industry multiplied many times over, and the size of the Soviet working class increased almost 10-fold, from 8.7 million workers at the beginning of the first five-year period to roughly 80 million in 1980. There are also significant qualitative changes in the nature and content of workers' labor. In other words, the working class — the leading force of the socialist society — is strengthening and gaining ever greater influence. The requirements of scientific and technological progress, education, and the health service have brought about a vast growth of the intelligentsia. Since 1926 the number of persons doing mostly mental work has multiplied more than 13-fold. This shows the people's growing intellectual potential.

In view of all these processes, the share of the urban population in the years of the Soviet power has gone up from 18 to 63 per cent, with an absolute increase of nearly 140 million. Hence the greater scale of a number of social problems, especially the housing, food and other problems. To get an idea of the increased requirements for living space in the cities, consider the fact that the growth of the Soviet Union's urban population amounts to the total urban population of present-day Britain, France, Italy, Sweden and Denmark. Although more than 3.5 billion square meters of living space have been built in the Soviet Union, including more than 500 million in the past five-year period (1976-1980), the need for well-appointed housing is still far from satisfied. In the present five-year period, it is planned to commission 530-540 million square meters of living space.

The food question demands a new approach. Although gross agricultural production in the five-year periods has increased 3.6 times, steady supplies of high-quality farm produce to the population remain one of the most important tasks. A point to bear in mind is that the share of the population employed in agriculture has gone down from 75 to 21 per cent. In the past, one farmer had to produce food for two persons, whereas today the figure is 11 persons, and this has called for a sharp increase in the assets-to-farmer ratio and labor productivity.

One of the basic specific features of the dialectical development of the Soviet society at the present stage is the effort to overcome the disproportions and discrepancies which took shape earlier or emerged in the course of the rapid structural transformation of the economy, social life and culture. Lenin called the society of the future "complete socialism," (V.I. Lenin,

*Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 346) and this is very important for understanding the dialectics of the transition from the stage of developed socialism to communism. In speaking about complete socialism, we mean a society whose various aspects make up a single complex, proportional and balanced, a society whose construction has in a sense been completed. So, it is a matter of correspondence between the basis and the superstructure, politics and economy, centralism and democracy, personal and social interests, ideology and material conditions, and, most important of all, the degree of correspondence between the productive forces and the relations of production.

After the Great October Revolution, advanced, socialist relations of production and unprecedented forms of planning and administration took shape in the Soviet Union, but the productive forces lagged far behind. The socialist relations of production gave free scope to the productive forces and a powerful impulse to economic development. The effort to bring up the productive forces to a level corresponding to the new relations of production made it possible to solve in a historically short period a number of major economic problems, to restructure the country's whole material basis at a revolutionary pace.

It is now becoming evident, however, that some aspects of the relations of production, especially the forms of administration and planning, and also some forms of distribution are beginning to lag behind the productive forces. In other words, a noticeable, though partial, contradiction has emerged between the two aspects of production, a contradiction that engenders the difficulties and problems which must be overcome. That is why it is exceptionally important to elaborate scientific ways and means for a marked improvement of the relations of production, the economic mechanism, primarily administration, planning and control, which can bring these up to a level corresponding to the productive forces of developed socialism.

Closely linked with these contradictions is a certain imbalance in reproduction, notably, an imbalance between the two main departments of social production. It is known that the means of production play the leading role in its development. Unfortunately, there have been some mistakes and one-sidedness both in the theoretical interpretation of this proposition and in its practical use. It was assumed that the production of the means of production had to grow faster than that of consumer goods in every period, at every stage of the communist formation. This often led to unjustified em-

phasis on the building of new enterprises, to a scattering of resources, extensive growth of the extractive industries, an excessive use of metal, energy, fuel and so on.

An underestimation of industries producing consumer goods is obviously at odds with the Marxist-Leninist theory of expanded socialist reproduction. Without expanded production of consumer goods there can be no expanded reproduction in general, including that of the means of production. This is proved not only theoretically, but also by the whole course of economic development. Both theory and practice show that at every stage of socialist construction the correlation between the two departments of production should meet the society's requirements and the possibilities of economic development, and that the general uniformities of expanded reproduction manifest themselves differently at different stages of socialist construction, especially under the present scientific and technological revolution.

So, the natural difficulties arising in the growth of the new social system are supplemented with obstacles of a different kind. Nor are the socialist countries fully guaranteed against some mistakes and miscalculations which are made when the decisions and measures adopted do not correspond to objective uniformities, to the existing conditions, that is, when the dialectics of the objective and the subjective is ignored. Such difficulties are due to inadequate use of the advantages of socialism in the sphere of planning and economic administration.

Finally, one must also bear in mind that socialism has to advance in an intensive contest with imperialism, which has a whole system of economic, military, political and ideological devices for undermining the socialist world. Thus, imperialism has been trying ever harder in the past few years to lash the foreign-trade sphere of the European socialist countries to the capitalist economy by economic means, with the help of credits and preferences, and, operating selectively, to erode the cohesion of the world socialist community. Such is the aim behind the declared urge of imperialist politicians to extend cooperation with some socialist countries; this sometimes gives rise to illusions that foreign-currency credits can be swollen without any painful consequences, and that new machinery and technology can be purchased from capitalist countries without restraint.

So, as Leonid Brezhnev emphasized at the 26th congress of the CPSU, it would be wrong "to paint the picture of the present-day socialist world in exclusively radiant colors. Complica-

tions, too, occur in the development of our countries." It is important to analyze and solve promptly any problems that arise, to prevent these from piling up, from leading to painful social phenomena and crisis situations, and, moreover, to distortions of some aspects of social life or the society as a whole. It is necessary to generalize on scientific lines the socialist countries' historical experience both from the standpoint of their achievements, which determine their progressive development, and from the standpoint of their efforts to overcome the difficulties and shortcomings, especially those which recur and obstruct the successful use of the socialist society's objective uniformities. In this context, it is particularly important to use materialist dialectics in studying the socialist society and bringing out its uniformities. A crucial task here is to gain a correct understanding of the nature and role of contradictions in the development of socialism.

No present-day Marxist questions the existence of dialectical contradictions under socialism. But there are different views on the specific ways in which the law of the unity and struggle of opposites can be realized. Some authors, referring to Lenin's well-known idea on the need to distinguish between antagonisms and contradictions and his proposition that under socialism antagonisms disappear, while contradictions remain, believe that once the transitional stage is completed and the foundations of socialism are built, the society no longer has any antagonistic contradictions. On the whole, these authors correctly pinpoint the main specific feature of the dialectics of socialism, but their approach must be specified. From the methodological standpoint, it would be an oversimplification to think that all contradictions in a society following the socialist road are always and under any circumstances bound to be non-antagonistic. Historical experience shows that in certain conditions — when major shortcomings have long been accumulating in economic and cultural construction, in social administration, etc. — non-antagonistic contradictions could acquire features of antagonistic ones. This cannot be ruled out for the simple reason that so long as capitalism exists, antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions are tied in with each other. The non-antagonistic nature of the contradictions arising in the advance along the socialist road is not a self-fulfilling imperative. Apparently, it will be objectively impossible for non-antagonistic contradictions to degenerate into antagonistic ones only when socialism reaches a definite stage of maturity, at which the whole complex of social relations is completely restructured on



collectivist lines intrinsic to socialism, that is, with the building of developed socialism.

The development of the world revolutionary process, primarily the national liberation movement in its new phase, is also dialectically stratified and multifaceted. In the 1970s, it has seen not only victories, but also bitter defeats. The socio-economic differentiation of the states that have thrown off the colonial yoke considerably deepened. The choice of the socialist road by a number of Asian and African countries was paralleled by the rise of the capitalist mode of production in other Asian and African countries and the development of capitalism in Latin American countries under the growing pressure of U.S. imperialism and the transnational corporations. New types of neo-colonialist dependence have emerged, including some based on nominal equality, "aid," and so on. The contradiction between the increased political role of the developing states and the economic weakness and backwardness of most of them has further deepened, and the gulf between the industrial and the developing countries has not narrowed by any means. But the formation of capitalist structures in countries which are still following in the wake of imperialist policy does not mean that their national and social development has been completed. As they are drawn into the system of capitalist relations, its instability is further increased, and the capitalist world's economic and political development becomes still more uneven.

One of the main specific features of the dialectics of the revolutionary process in our day is that in its advance to socialism mankind discovers ever more diverse forms. It was Lenin, the most outstanding dialectician of our century, who did a great deal to bring out this truth. He made an in-depth study of the dialectics of the general, the specific and the individual, the dialectics of form and content. There is every reason to say that Lenin's analysis of the dialectical interplay of these categories, their unity and antithesis, is not only a major philosophical problem, but also an essential aspect of the scientific understanding of our epoch in accordance with present-day imperatives. It is no coincidence that Lenin brought out in philosophical terms the interconnections and transitions between the general, the specific and the individual, the dialectics of form and content, and, at the same time, working in the field of political strategy and tactics, substantiated the possibility of the victory of a socialist revolution in individual countries and the inevitable diversity of the forms of transition to socialism. Awareness of these close bonds be-

tween materialist dialectics and scientifically grounded policy enables one to understand the profoundly dialectical meaning of Lenin's proposition on the single content and diverse forms of the movement to socialism.

There is no doubt that as the economic and political development of capitalism becomes more uneven, and as hundreds of millions of people are drawn into the liberation struggle in different parts of the world, the motive forces and conditions of revolutionary struggle tend to become ever more diverse and complicated. But the dialectics of history is such that the objective and subjective prerequisites of revolution are increasingly evening out. At the beginning of the century, no one could even imagine that the oppressed peoples of backward Asian and African countries, having overthrown the colonialists, would proclaim a program of socialist orientation and take the road of a gradual transition to socialism bypassing the capitalist state. Today, it is becoming ever more obvious that the objective prerequisites for a radical revolutionary renewal have matured or are maturing in all countries of the world.

So, while the conditions in different countries of the world are undoubtedly diversifying, the general uniformities of the revolutionary process manifest themselves on a growing, rather than a narrowing scale; these uniformities manifest themselves ever more forcefully in the world arena and in each particular country. The truly dialectical approach is to bring out, on the basis of a generalization of concrete experience and real tendencies in the struggle for socialism, the specific realization of the general uniformities in the class struggle and the revolutionary process, in strengthening the foundations of socialism and building socialist societies in different countries.

In our day, all the social antagonisms in the world are connected with the basic contradiction of the epoch: the struggle between socialism and capitalism. It not only leaves a strong imprint on the concrete ways and forms of social progress in different countries but, at the same time, deepens our notions about the development of society as a process of world history. While resolutely rejecting all sorts of concepts advocating a "third" or "middle" way, materialist dialectics is equally opposed to a metaphysical interpretation of the law of unity and struggle of opposites, when the struggle is absolutized and the unity and interdependence of opposites are ignored.

In contrast to the concepts which interpret the most fundamental fact of our epoch — the contest between the two world socio-economic

systems — as an absolute division of the world and mankind into two autonomous streams of history governed by different historical laws, the dialectico-materialist method orients the researcher toward regarding the contest between the two systems not only in terms of an antagonism, but also in terms of the inner unity of modern history.

Such universally relevant problems as international détente, disarmament, formation of a new system of international relations, the social consequences of the scientific and technological revolution, protection of the environment, the demographic, food, energy, raw-material and many other problems show particularly well the growing importance of the dialectical method, which warns the researcher against introducing elements of dogmatism, subjectivism and metaphysics into the study of present-day socio-historical processes and which helps him, as Lenin put it, to master the art of “uniting opposites:” the struggle between the two systems and cooperation between states belonging to these systems.

A dialectical view of our epoch makes it possible to take a correct approach in tackling such fundamental problems of present-day global development as war, peace and revolution. Since the world is divided into two systems, the only realistic and viable way to maintain peace on the Earth is that of peaceful coexistence. But international détente does not and cannot obviate laws of social development. It does not imply the maintenance of the social status quo. Peaceful coexistence has nothing to do with a conservation of anti-popular regimes, with neocolonialism, or export of counter-revolution.

Metaphysically-minded people cannot understand how the theory and policy of peaceful coexistence can be combined with the theory and practice of the class struggle, because they regard the class struggle and especially social revolution, its highest form, as warfare.

Indeed, up until recently, revolutions involving the broad masses as a rule occurred in wartime conditions or were sparked off by wars. But those who use the concrete truths of yesterday are always in danger of sliding into dogmatism. One of the most essential features of our epoch is that war is no longer a prerequisite for revolution. A revolution can win out — and this is preferable — in the conditions of peace and peaceful coexistence. The struggle for peace, against the imperialist aggressors is now an integral part of the world revolutionary process. It is not the advocates of revolutionary transformations, but the aggressive forces of

imperialism, with their policy of exporting counter-revolution, who pose the danger of military adventures and a new world war. These forces have not abandoned their wild hope to reverse the tide of history, to erode, wherever possible, the positions of world socialism and the national liberation movement, and stop their growth. Definite circles in the USA and NATO have been whipping up the arms race in a bid to achieve military superiority over the USSR and other socialist states and obstruct social progress.

The Soviet Union proposes another alternative: to unite all the peace forces in a quest for real ways to limit the arms race, attain disarmament, and ensure all-round peaceful cooperation. The new peace initiatives formulated by the 26th congress of the CPSU are an impressive indication of the Soviet Union's peaceful aspirations.

So, the possibility of asserting a stable and lasting peace opened up by socialism is realized through a contest between the consistent foreign-policy line aimed at maintaining the major prerequisites of mankind's progress and its very existence, and the militarist line expressing the class interests of imperialist reaction. Thus, the present-day system of international relations is a complex and internally contradictory entity, where aggressive tendencies are present alongside peaceful positions and actions. That is why there is no, and cannot be even or straightforward development of international relations: progress along the road of détente sometimes gives way to reversals engendered by the aggressive nature of imperialism. Such revivals of cold war attitudes are also evident today.

Dialectics teaches that the subjective factor plays an immense and indispensable role in restructuring international relations. It includes political initiatives of the parties, an ability to make an accurate assessment of the new potentialities, to see the dangers threatening peace in due time, and to muster the forces in its defense. The Soviet Union's latest peace initiatives are realistic and concrete, opening up broad perspectives for stronger peace and international cooperation in solving urgent global problems.

An active approach to ongoing processes can be seen with full justification as the most essential element of a dialectical analysis. An analysis of the contradictions of world development and the socialist society from the standpoint of such an approach should bring out the tasks, the problems and the lines for their solution. The aim of dialectics is not to collect or classify contradictions, but to deter-



mine the imperative needs of social development. As an instrument which enriches social practice, which helps people to work out an integral world view and has an active influence

on the scientific cognition of the world, materialist dialectics makes it possible to understand and, consequently, to solve the most urgent, vital problems of our day.

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## Africa in the early 80s

### A POLITICAL SURVEY

In compliance with the wishes of readers, *WMR* is beginning publication of surveys on various subjects and regions. The first is devoted to the international aspects of the complex problems of Africa in the early 1980s. Needless to say, it only deals with the more noteworthy facts and events that are indicative of lasting trends. The survey has been prepared by the *WMR* Commission for Problems of the National Liberation Movement in Asian and African Countries.

#### *Sinister collusion*

Internationally, the year 1981 began for Africa with a conference on Namibia held in Geneva or with its failure, to be exact.

The conference was convened early last January by the UN Secretary-General in line with the Security Council Resolution 435 (November 1978). At the basis of the resolution is a plan that could pave the way for the independence of Namibia. The plan was drafted by a so-called Contact Group of five powers (USA, France, Britain, FRG and Canada). This appears to be a sign of the times: the liberation tide on the continent has been rising, and the imperialists themselves are now forced to talk about "eliminating" the last few seats of racism and colonialism.

However, the plan is biased against the Southwest Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), which the UN has recognized as the sole lawful representative of the people of Namibia, and favorable to South Africa's racist regime. This explains why Pretoria accepted it. The apartheid regime and its imperialist allies had hoped that SWAPO would turn down the plan and so provide them with a pretext for accusing it of thwarting efforts for a peaceful solution to the problem. But SWAPO refused to "oblige" them; it agreed to discuss the plan, stressing, however, its inadequacy.

Meanwhile the South African government was building up its armed forces in Namibia, multiplying its bombing raids, invasions and other acts of aggression against neighboring Angola on the excuse of struggle against

SWAPO guerrillas, and trying to lend respectability to Namibia's puppet "government" formed by the so-called Democratic Turnhalle Alliance.<sup>1</sup> Under the pressure of world opinion Pretoria agreed to attend the conference on the "plan of the five" but torpedoed it in the very first days, declaring the plan to be unacceptable.<sup>2</sup>

How was it that the apartheid regime dared "oppose" its imperialist patrons? The fact is that the racists did so a few days before the Reagan administration took over. They believed that the U.S. administration's posture toward them, and hence their opportunities on the international scene, would change. And they were proved right.

No sooner had Reagan been sworn in than he described South Africa as a friendly country "that has stood with us in every war we fought." This truly unexpected commendation of a regime whose leaders are known for sympathizing with the nazis during World War II was the signal for the framing of the U.S. administration's "new African policy."

The main lines of this policy came to light about the end of May. Its nature is suggested by certain confidential papers whose contents "leaked" into the press not without help from the administration itself and by the general activity of Washington. The trend of Reagan's African policy is entirely conditioned by the overall world policy of his administration, a policy of confrontation with the Soviet Union and other progressive forces. Accordingly, subversion against progressive governments, revolutionary movements and national liberation organizations and full support for reactionary regimes, including military support, are henceforward the order of the day in Africa (as, indeed, in Asia and Latin America).

The U.S. stand is fully appreciated by the Chinese leaders. Peking joined Washington and Pretoria in backing action to destabilize progressive African governments (support of anti-Angolan terroristic groups, and so on) and is actively developing military cooperation with South Africa. Chinese weapons

reach that country through the world black market; they also go to Egypt, Somalia and Chile. The Maoists are collaborating on military lines with Israel, a true ally of the racists in the Afro-Arab region, as everyone knows.

As for the United States, *Le Monde* wrote that it planned to aid a number of African countries which had approached it "secretly" (secretly because seeking U.S. imperialism's aid cannot earn the solicitor popularity in today's Africa, to say the least). The paper named Egypt and the Sudan as well as some West African countries. The pretext was "defense" against alleged "Libyan expansion." *Le Monde* commented with good reason that the United States was ready to assume the function of Africa's "new policeman."<sup>3</sup>

The United States also intends to continue backing Siad Barre's regime in Somalia and to indulge its chauvinistic and expansionist ambitions. What makes Barre an "asset" for the United States is that he is willing to serve as a tool in destabilizing revolutionary Ethiopia and undermining security in the Horn of Africa, and that he allows Washington to set up military bases in his country which are to become part of the ring of U.S. bases around the Indian Ocean and to be used by the rapid deployment forces for crushing revolutionary movements in the Persian Gulf.

However, the U.S. government's chief concern is Southern Africa. It is there that Mozambique and Angola lie; power in these countries had been taken following a victorious armed, revolutionary national liberation struggle by parties which have declared Marxism-Leninism their ideology. There, too, the pressure of guerrilla armies has led to the downfall of the racist regime of one-time Rhodesia and hence to the failure of the attempt of imperialist powers making common cause with South Africa to impose on the people of Zimbabwe a so-called internal solution designed to maintain the de facto rule of the white minority. A similar failure now threatens Pretoria's Namibian puppets. In South Africa itself the Blacks are stepping up their resistance to apartheid while the fighters led by the African National Congress (ANC) and the South African Communist Party (SACP) deliver ever more frequent and telling blows to the racist state machinery.

Yet the southern tip of Africa is a veritable treasury of highly important minerals. In South Africa and Namibia they are exploited by associated imperialist capital (the monopolies of

the five Contact Group countries account for 70 per cent of investments in Namibia's mining industry). Washington regards the region as one of exceptional importance for the uninterrupted supply of the United States with minerals and even of key importance in the "war of resources" which it believes (in conformity with the overall imperialist approach to world politics) will break out by the end of this century. The conclusion it draws is that any means is fair where imperialist control has to be maintained or where the victory of progressive forces has ended it and an attempt should be made to restore it. Logically enough, the South African regime, Washington's most reliable ally, is expected to play the chief role in this matter.

By the late 70s, the apartheid regime found itself in complete isolation on the international scene as a result of joint action by African and nonaligned countries fully supported by the socialist community.<sup>4</sup> Even the U.S. government was unstinting in its verbal condemnation (coupled with a curtsy to African countries) and in promises of bringing pressure to bear on that regime. And now it looks as if Washington is lending ear once again to the desperate call of Pretoria, which offers itself as a "bastion of the free world" at the junction of the Indian and Atlantic oceans resisting "communist penetration." The similarity of the two governments' views is beyond doubt. The Reagan administration has ordered the "go-ahead" for all-round cooperation — including military cooperation — with the Botha Government and is set on helping it break out of the "ring of isolation."

The facts are known. A lively exchange of visits by statesmen of both countries has begun. There is talk about defreezing U.S.-South African relations at the level of military attachés. The idea of a southern extension of NATO (to be called SATO) involving South Africa and reactionary South American regimes is being discussed again.<sup>5</sup> The culmination came when, last June, William Clark, the State Department's No. 2 man, went to Pretoria. (Ironically, it was he who said at a hearing of the Senate Commission which was to confirm his appointment that he knew nothing whatever about Africa.)

Pretoria knows how to react to signals. Its armed forces fighting against Namibia's patriots are multiplying their incursions into Angola. They have carried out a piratical raid on the houses in Mozambique where the families of ANC members live. In South African camps, one-time members of the special forces of the overthrown Smith regime are preparing for eventual operations against independent Zim-

babwe. The South African regime says in so many words that it will not accept the UN plan for the solution of the Namibia problem; what is more, it virtually rejects UN participation in this process. From now on, it pins all its hopes on the United States.

Nor does the USA disappoint the racists' hopes. It appears that prior to the U.S. visit of Roelof Botha, the South African Foreign Minister, the State Department drafted a number of working papers as the basis for the "African policy" of the Reagan administration. The substance of these papers is that they announce a "new chapter" in relations between Washington and the apartheid regime and the adoption of a policy of "constructive (meaning greater — authors) engagement" with the regime. The USA sees the basis for this engagement in "our shared hope for the future prosperity, security and stability of southern Africa, constructive change within South Africa and our shared perception of the role of the Soviet Union and its surrogates in thwarting these goals."<sup>6</sup> This is an outspoken statement, using the customary anti-Soviet jargon. The idea is to set up an anti-Soviet, anti-communist alliance with an eye to bringing southern Africa under Pretoria's control (this goal was officially advanced earlier by the South African government). As regards "constructive change" in that country, Reagan has expressed readiness to help with due regard to American experience in racial relations.<sup>7</sup> Surely there is no need for comment.

The State Department papers devote much attention to the "solution" of the Namibia problem. Washington wants to pull out the "thorn" which still prevents an open U.S. military alliance with the apartheid regime to deal with African and other affairs. A proposed precondition of "solution" is the adoption of a Namibian constitution or "constitutional guarantees" reserving the white minority's right to rule and keeping the puppet Democratic Turnhalle Alliance in "power." Furthermore, entirely in accordance with the policy of "linkage" advocated by the Reagan administration, this "solution" is made conditional on Angola agreeing to the withdrawal of the Cuban troops stationed in that country by its request and in accordance with the agreement of the Angolan and Cuban governments, as everyone knows, and on power in the country being "shared" with the bandits led by Savimbi, a U.S. and South African puppet. "It is hard to find anyone familiar with Angola who finds this very plausible," commented a *New York Times* journalist, and he was certainly right.<sup>8</sup> SWAPO has reacted to the plan by stepping up military operations.

The racist-imperialist plot was sharply condemned by dozens of African states which started a vast campaign of solidarity with Namibia's patriots. A wave of protest is surging high throughout the world against the virtual support of South Africa by the imperialist states, which maintain close economic and military relations with Pretoria.

Thus the African continent has entered the 1980s against the background of a mounting struggle against the alliance of the South African regime and the U.S. rulers. Obviously, one of the essential aspects of the new U.S. administration's foreign policy is to form and build up this alliance. It follows that a stronger confrontation between Pretoria and the rest of Africa, which will also be put under growing economic and political pressure by both South Africa and the United States, is in the making. This calls for greater vigilance on the part of the communists and other progressives of the continent and the world.

It will be a difficult struggle. There is no doubt, however, that the final decision rests with the peoples of the continent who refuse to be a plaything of the "new African policy" of Washington. Intensification of the struggle at all levels, especially in South Africa and Namibia, will play a most important part in this.

#### *"Democratic socialism," Marxism-Leninism and development roads*

Late last February an African international, the Socialist Africintern (SAI), held its founding congress in Tunis. Although this fact did not draw even a bit of the attention normally accorded to truly outstanding international events, the emergence of the SAI is something of a milestone in African development crowning years-long efforts by its initiators and their patrons, the social democrats of Western Europe, and indicating a definite alignment of forces on the continent.

WMR has commented on the African policy of the Socialist International (SI) as well as on the history of the idea of forming the SAI and the early steps toward it.<sup>9</sup> We wish to remind readers of some basic facts.

The SI first "faced" Africa at its eleventh congress (1969), which adopted a program document entitled "The African Road to Socialism." The document rejected "negative anti-imperialism" and appealed to the newly-free African states to establish "partnership" relations with the former metropolises. Describing Africa as "a continent where socialism is talked about more than anywhere else," the document set the task of bringing about "the

incorporation of the African socialist movement into the international community of left non-communist forces."

The neocolonialist implications of the program were plain. Africa's progressive and left-wing forces stayed out of the SI. As for the frankly pro-Western and pro-capitalist parties that were only too eager to join, they could not be admitted without violating the fundamental statutory provisions of the SI, which demand at least outward respect for the principles of bourgeois democracy (the notorious political pluralism, and so on). To date the SI has only admitted two African parties: the Socialist Party of Senegal and the Mauritian Labor Party.

In the 70s the SI, well remembering the miscarriage of its 1969 program, moved on to a more flexible African policy. This meant, among other things, a certain degree of support for national liberation movements and flirting with the progressive forces that had taken power in some countries. That was when the idea was conceived of grouping African reformist and revolutionary parties in one continental organization under the aegis of the international social democratic movement. But this attempt flopped too. Its first failure occurred at the 1975 colloquium in Tunis on "Planned Liberalism and African Roads to Socialism." The colloquium, which drew 30 African parties and national liberation movements — both reformist and revolutionary — failed contrary to expectations to lay the groundwork for unification. The revolutionary forces, primarily the Congolese Party of Labor and National Liberation Front of Algeria, took a firm stand against the idea of unity on the basis of "democratic socialism," i.e. the ideology of social democracy. Another failure came when the revolutionary parties of Africa refused to join in the formation of the SAI, a plan which the social democrats tried hard to put through with the aid of the Tunisian Destour Socialist Party and the Socialist Party of Senegal.

As a result, the SAI was only joined by social reformist or frankly bourgeois parties; in addition to the two parties mentioned above, whose leaders, Bourguiba and Senghor, were elected SAI President and SAI Bureau President respectively, the membership comprised Istiqlal and the Socialist Alliance of Popular Forces (Moroccan parties both), the People's National Party of Ghana, People's Progressive Party (Gambia), the Mauritian Social Democratic and Labor Parties, African People's Independence League (Djibouti), Sudanese Socialist Union and Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party (Siad Barre, who professed at one time to be an adherent of Marxism-Leninism, has sunk as low as

that). Sadat's National Democratic Party was not invited; it had taken part in the earlier stages of formation of the SAI but its affiliation was shamefacedly "suspended" after the signing of the disgraceful Camp David deal. Eleven of the invited parties failed to attend.

The SAI Charter says that "Africa's socialist parties consider democratic socialism the only way of advancing their countries and freeing their peoples from every form of exploitation and alienation . . . Democratic socialism emphatically rejects the concept of class struggle, which inevitably leads to the creation of a society based on violence and is therefore at variance with both the traditional structures of African society and its history."

The meaning of these propositions is unmistakable. The founders of the SAI oppose their ideology to scientific socialism, to Marxism-Leninism; they declare it and the social system based on it to be "alien" to Africa, and offer the continent a social democratic path as the main or even the only road.

We will not engage in an argument to demonstrate the theoretical and practical indefensibility of this road for Africa, for WMR has dealt with the subject in detail in the articles mentioned above.<sup>10</sup> We will confine ourselves to quoting two typical estimations of the SAI program made by African progressives.

"History tells us," wrote the Algerian newspaper *Al-Chaab*, "that the Socialist International was brought into being as a negative reaction to scientific socialism. We may say by analogy that the 'African International,' a symbol of capitalist ideology, lays claim on our continent to replacing revolutionary nationalism and true African socialism whose banner is being carried by national liberation movements and their revolutionary parties." It was not communists who wrote this.

And now for the opinion of *Al-Bayane*, organ of the Progress and Socialism Party of Morocco. "Now what is 'socialist' about this African International but its name?" it asked in an editorial entitled "Socialism?" and commenting on the session of the SAI General Council which met in Fes, Morocco, on May 18, 1981. "There is scientific socialism and its real, concrete manifestations. And there is another 'socialism' which is proclaimed ad infinitum but never materializes . . . a 'socialism' which denies the realities of the class struggle (as if one could build a just society with feudal lords, big capitalists and foreign monopolies); a 'socialism' which denies the values and achievements of a system established in vast areas of our planet; a 'socialism' which contents itself with under-development and depend-

ence on foreign countries. To be sure, the 'Socialist Africanern' has a right to become its faithful servitor. But will Africa and African peoples want it? ... We ask the privilege of doubt."<sup>11</sup>

In fact, despite continuous efforts over more than 10 years now, especially since 1975, to impose the social democratic model on Africa, the ideology of scientific socialism has been gaining ground on the continent. It has been proving its worth as genuinely African, precisely because it is universal and does not "fear" every new reality but materializes in it while at the same time illuminating it with the light of a science of the highest order, and precisely because Marxism-Leninism has become the natural soil out of which the communist parties of Africa have grown and on which they have upheld their right to exist.

A major gain of the revolutionary movement on the continent was the rise in the second half of the 1970s (that is, when the social democrats' offensive there was particularly strong) of a family of states whose ruling parties had chosen scientific socialism as their ideology and set out to transform themselves into vanguard parties of the working people. Today this family comprises Mozambique led by the FRELIMO Party, Angola led by the MPLA-Party of Labor, Ethiopia (where such a party is emerging on the basis of the Commission for Organizing the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia), the Congo led by the Congolese Party of Labor and Benin led by the People's Revolution Party. They are paving the way for the advancement of the whole continent. African communist parties which are not in power help them by every means and promote cooperation with them, in particular on ideological issues.

In building a new society in their countries, these parties demonstrate the futility of attempts to represent Marxism-Leninism as an extraneous world view artificially imported to Africa. They show up the falsity of allegations about the "threat" to their identity which, according to the advocates of "democratic socialism," true scientific socialism poses to African society. As a matter of fact, Marxism-Leninism not only makes it possible to take scrupulous account of the distinctive features of each people but insists on doing so. Meeting this demand lends a unique quality to the policy of each party adhering to the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism, which the realities of the African countries in question prove correct again and again. A few years ago, the late Marien Ngouabi, leader of the People's Republic of the Congo and the CPL, of whose death imperialism is guilty, wrote an excellent theoretic-

cal article about this in our journal.<sup>12</sup> And recently another article in *WMR* told in detail about the specific measures through which the party and government of Mozambique are transforming life in the country on the principles of scientific socialism while at the same time adjusting their every step to the realities of Mozambique and Africa as a whole.<sup>13</sup>

Some African states, which have not adopted scientific socialism for the time being, reject a capitalist orientation none the less; they adhere to a consistently anti-imperialist position as they search for ways of social progress. Together with the states listed above they form the community of new states seeking political and social progress. These vanguard states of liberated Africa constitute the dynamic core of the Organization of African Unity (OAU); in fighting for the maintenance of its original anti-imperialist, anti-colonial trend, they demonstrate the decisive importance of the new states' unity of action with their true ally, the socialist community. These relations have found their supreme expression in the treaties of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries signed by Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia and the Congo.

It is against this core, against unity of the other African countries around it, that the attempt to unite the social reformist forces of the continent under the banner of "democratic socialism" and bring them into the SAI is directed. By forming the SAI, its organizers "aim to provoke new political differences, trying deliberately to cause a split between the revolutionary and other countries" of Africa, wrote *Revolution Africaine* official organ of the NLF of Algeria, in December 1980. And this at a time when the peoples of the continent are threatened with another racist-imperialist plot, when neo-colonialist expansion is intensifying there — even on the part of capitalist countries ruled by social democrats — and finally, when firm resistance to imperialist schemes and plans is a task facing all freedom-loving and progressive forces of Africa.

### *Will of freedom-loving peoples*

The first half of 1981 on the continent ended with a regular OAU summit in Nairobi, capital of Kenya. The meeting reflected the strong and weak points of the organization and stressed again the great importance of preserving the unity of African states and the reality of the threat of division presented by the offensive which imperialism and colonialism are carrying on both directly and through their underlings.

When, in 1963, the OAU came into being its



founders, who included Gamal Abdel Nasser, Kwame Nkrumah and other outstanding leaders of the national liberation movement, had no question why unity was necessary. Free Africa was uniting against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism. It was uniting to complete its liberation, to be able to decide on its future by itself, operate on the international scene from a common position, win economic independence now that it had won political independence, wrest from the imperialist monopolies the right to use its natural resources as it saw fit and ensure the growing prosperity of African countries and their peoples.

Not all the goals set at the time have been achieved in equal measure. The greatest gains have been registered in completing decolonization. A further 20 states have been added to the 30 independent states which signed the Charter of African Unity on May 25, 1963. The sphere dominated by racism and apartheid in Southern Africa has shrunk with the winning of independence by the people of Zimbabwe. The independence of Namibia is at hand.

Africa has become more vocal in international affairs, in decision-making on key problems. This has undoubtedly made world politics sounder. The African countries have on the whole taken a stand in favor of peace, disarmament and détente. Many new states have brought about the dismantling of imperialist military bases and made one-time colonial powers withdraw their troops from these states.

Certain results have also been achieved in the struggle for economic independence. Some countries, especially those ruled by progressive governments, have nationalized the property of foreign monopolies, established a strong public sector in industry and taken important steps toward exploiting their national resources on their own. However, the new states' economic dependence on imperialist powers and the capitalist world market is still very great. In recent years it has been compounded by increasing dependence in the sphere of technology and scientific research.

New African states have done much in the social sphere; education systems and health services have improved noticeably, above all in countries led by revolutionary forces. But progress in the most important field, the standard of living, is still inadequate and Africa remains "the richest and yet the poorest of continents," as Nkrumah, co-founder of the OAU, put it.

The important thing is, however, that anti-imperialist and anti-colonial unity has enabled many African countries to act independently

and firmly take up their place in the nonaligned movement. Africa has ceased to be a domain of imperialist oppressors. Extensive and truly equitable relations are developing between new African states and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

This is something which imperialism, primarily U.S. imperialism, refuses to put up with. The current imperialist offensive is aimed at undercutting the commitment of African countries and the OAU to nonalignment and independence in international affairs as well as their cooperation with the socialist community.

We have already described Reagan's "new African policy." We might as well mention unceasing attempts to foment conflicts in Africa, as over the situation in the Republic of Chad<sup>14</sup> or over the West Saharan people's<sup>15</sup> fight for self-determination, the effort to drag Egypt into an armed conflict with Libya and set Somalia on Ethiopia, support for the separatist movement in Eritrea, and so on. The most dangerous development is the involvement of some African countries, in particular Egypt, Somalia and Kenya, in U.S. military policy, the use of military bases on their territory and the deployment of U.S. arms there. All this is done on the plea of "combating communism" and resisting alleged "Soviet and Cuban expansion."

In the Middle East, the Reagan administration is trying to bring about a new "strategic consensus" by suggesting to the reactionary regimes friendly to it that the main threat to the peoples of the region is no longer posed by Israel's Zionist regime, with its policy of aggression and territorial conquest, but by what is lyingly described as a Soviet bid to "gain access to warm seas" and establish "control over the oil routes of the Persian Gulf." Using the same pattern, U.S. emissaries in Africa are trying to make certain governments believe that the African peoples' chief enemy is no longer imperialism with its neocolonialist ambitions, nor the apartheid regime, which plans to subjugate the countries of the southern and central parts of the continent, but the Soviet Union and Cuba because they back national liberation movements, described by Washington as "international terrorism." On all these points, Washington is seconded by its new ally, Peking.

False arguments of this nature are expected to help re-impose imperialist "tutelage" on liberated African states, involve them in the confrontation with the socialist world sought by the Reagan administration and generate discord among African states which could result in their using the arms newly supplied to them

by the United States. In the end these countries could become easy prey for imperialist monopolies and their loyal backer, the racist regime of Pretoria. Basil Davidson, noted British writer on African affairs, had every reason to urge the Nairobi summit to expose the lie about the "threat" from "international communism," "to 'clear the desks' of all such demagogic intrigue" and, in particular, "to let the world know that the enemy in central Southern Africa today is by no manner of means 'international communism,' but apartheid and its plans for expansion."<sup>16</sup>

Imperialism needs an Africa that would not only allow itself to be plundered and oppressed but serve as its anti-communist reserve, an ignominious role that freedom-loving African countries resolutely reject. On the contrary, they are at one with the socialist community in taking a common or similar stand on many, key problems of the continent. "Close cooperation with the fraternal socialist states is an assurance of our defeating underdevelopment," says President of Mozambique Samora Machel. "By combining diverse common resources, we are enabled to develop and strengthen our economy, to derive mutual benefit and so to resist the economic and political blackmail of imperialism." The leaders of socialist Ethiopia have on more than one occasion spoken highly of the internationalist support given to the Ethiopian people's struggle by the Soviet Union and Cuba. A noteworthy characterization of Algerian-Soviet cooperation has come from President Chadli Bendjedid of Algeria, who says that this cooperation "can only strengthen, because it accords with the common approach to genuine national development for the good of nations" (our italics — authors).

"We would like the peoples of Africa to be able to decide on their development paths by themselves and the freedom of their choice to be respected," Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, has stated. "We are definitely against imperialist attempts to turn the African continent into another region of military political confrontation. Let Africa be a continent of peace free from foreign military bases and nuclear weapons.

"... We also wish for newly-free African states to live in peace and harmony among themselves, and hope they will settle the disputes that arise occasionally between them by negotiation, on the noble principles proclaimed by the Organization of African Unity.

"The Soviet Union has always rendered and will always render African peoples every kind

of assistance in achieving these lofty goals."<sup>17</sup>

All true African patriots, all real fighters for the independence and prosperity of the continent hail this statement.

Naturally enough, the various difficulties and clashes of policies and interests could not but affect the deliberations of the OAU summit. On a number of problems, it had to confine itself to half-measures and compromises. But on the decisive issue of who is the chief enemy of a free Africa, the verdict was unanimous and the blame was put squarely on the racist regime of South Africa backed by imperialism, primarily U.S. imperialism. In a unanimously adopted resolution the summit denounced the U.S. government for its policy of alliance with Pretoria, for the conspiracy against Namibia's independence. The "strategic consensus" was achieved but it is not what the Reagan administration had wanted to palm off on Africa.

The progressive states demonstrated once more that they play a most important and constructive role in the OAU as its unifying factor. It is chiefly to them that the OAU owes the preservation of its unity, and this determines the overall assessment of the outcome of the Nairobi summit and the long-range trends of development on the continent as they showed in the first half of this year through a tangle of intertwining events.

Thus the 80s in Africa bid fair to be years of socio-political differentiation and struggle to preserve unity in confrontation with imperialism and its ally, the Pretoria regime. The current decade is bound to bring nearer the hour of the complete liberation of Southern Africa, where the winning of independence by the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe has thoroughly changed the situation. As foreseen by the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties the prospect for "fresh big victories of the African revolution" has now been opened up.<sup>18</sup> The trend toward widening the sphere of influence of the forces inspired by the ideas of social progress is a guarantee of Africa retaining its important place in the mainstream of the world revolutionary process.

#### *Commission for Problems of the National Liberation Movement in Asian and African Countries*

1. See S. Nuyoma, "The Most Effective Way." *WMR*, July 1981.
2. See the same article for details.
3. See *Le Monde*, June 5, 1981.
4. See Oliver Tambo, "Racism in Isolation." *WMR*, March 1980.

5. Although the governments of Argentina and Brazil flatly rejected the idea, the USA and South Africa continue their attempts. A fresh example: according to press reports, a number of military leaders of the USA, South Africa, Uruguay, Argentina, Chile and Brazil held a "private" meeting in Buenos Aires early last June to "study" conditions for the formation of the contemplated bloc (see *Le Monde*, June 12, 1981).

6. *International Herald Tribune*, May 30-31, 1981.

7. *Ibid.*, April 6, 1981.

8. *Ibid.*, June 5, 1981.

9. See Amath Dansoko, "The Socialist International and Africa." *WMR*, December 1975.

Mamadou Ba, "A Social Democratic Model for Africa and Neocolonialism," *WMR*, March 1978.

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Al-Bayane*, May 19, 1981.

12. Marien Ngouabi, "Scientific Socialism in Africa." *WMR*, May 1975.

13. Sergio Vieira, "Stage of Fundamental Changes." *WMR*, January 1981.

14. Imperialism is trying to impede the normalization process begun in Chad after long years of civil war. Taking advantage of the temporary presence of Libyan troops in the country at the request of its lawful government, the imperialists have stepped up their campaign against Libya to complicate its relations with neighbors.

15. On this problem, see the statement of a POLISARIO Front spokesman at the International Scientific Conference in Berlin, *WMR*, April 1981.

16. *New African*, June 1981, p. 14.

17. *Pravda*, May 13, 1981.

18. *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties*. Moscow 1969. Prague, 1969, p. 29.



## Communist congresses

### MONGOLIA: THE WATCHWORD IS INTENSIFICATION

*Demchigiyn Molomjamts*

Political Bureau member and  
Secretary of MPRP Central Committee

The 18th congress of the MPRP, held in May 1981, was a milestone in Mongolia's development and in the life of the whole Mongolian people. It demonstrated the militancy of the party's ranks, made a principled assessment of what had been achieved, and summed up and analyzed the results of the people's intensive effort. At the congress the party showed that it was united and monolithic, and had been enriched with new experience in guiding economic and cultural development, in promoting the people's communist education, and in further consolidating its links to the masses.

The entire nation took an active part in preparing for the supreme forum of the Mongolian communists. The high level of political activity and the patriotic initiatives of the working people were manifested vividly in the success of the pre-congress production drive.

Our congress took place in the wake of the historic 26th congress of the CPSU, which was for all the fraternal parties, including the MPRP, a model of a profoundly scientific, creative, and businesslike approach to topical problems in domestic life and in international poli-

tics. Also noteworthy was the fact that the MPRP congress was held on the eve of a glorious jubilee — the 60th anniversary of the Mongolian People's Revolution.

The CC report, presented by comrade Yumjaagiyn Tsendenbal, General Secretary of the MPRP Central Committee, reviewed the processes that turned Mongolia, once a backward feudal country, into a dynamically developing socialist nation with a modern diversified economy, a flourishing culture, advanced science, and a steadily rising living standard. This is the chief result of our party's purposeful and the dedicated work of our people. The molding of the new citizen — worker and creator — is a notable achievement of People's Mongolia.

In speaking of the country's achievements in the past years, Yumjaagiyn Tsendenbal noted that in some sectors of the economy and culture Mongolia had outstripped many countries in Asia, and not only in Asia. This applies, for example, to per capita output of meat, wool, wheat, electric energy, solid fuels, and some minerals and non-ferrous metals, as well as the number of school pupils and students, doctors, and other specialists per 10,000 people.

The congress stated that Mongolia was reaching new landmarks in attaining the goal set by the party's program, namely, to turn Mongolia into an industrial-agrarian nation. Thus, the sixth five-year plan period saw the



basic production assets in the economy increase by 70 per cent, the gross national product by 35 per cent, and the national income by 30.9 per cent. Much has been done to enlarge the material and technical resources of agriculture. During the past five years many new farms have been set up and 279,000 hectares of virgin land have been brought under cultivation.

Industry is developing rapidly and its role in the economy is growing noticeably. During the past five years industrial output increased by 50 per cent. New industrial centers have sprung up. Some major facilities have become operative, most notably the giant Erdenet copper and molybdenum complex, a joint Mongolian-Soviet project.

The people's standard of living and cultural level have risen dramatically. The housing, cultural and everyday amenities, and the medical service have improved.

Stable economic growth provides the basis for a further improvement of the entire system of social relations and the development of the socialist way of life.

The decisive factor behind our country's achievements has been the steadily growing, truly fraternal assistance of the Soviet Union. Suffice it to say that between 1976 and 1980 the USSR helped us to build and commission 150 industrial, cultural, and service facilities.

Rapid economic development bears out the validity of the scientifically-grounded MPRP's economic and social policy and is convincing proof of the advantages of the socialist system of economic planning.

At the same time, the congress noted that there were untapped potentialities for boosting output and making production more efficient. There are some difficulties and unsolved problems in that area. The early elimination of shortcomings in administration and economic management is a major orientation for party organizations and work collectives.

The party's plans for the coming years set new and higher targets for building up the country's economic potential and raising the living standard of the people. The economy is the key sphere in the building of the material and technical basis of socialism.

The all-round intensification of social production is a major condition of success. It is this thrust in our activity that will ensure further economic growth and solve major social problems. That is why the report to the congress stressed that along with the quantitative growth of economy, the party regarded the task of enhancing efficiency and quality everywhere as central to the country's eco-

conomic development at the present stage.

The congress thus defined the economic strategy: "The main target of the seventh five-year plan is to ensure the sustained growth of social production, raise its efficiency by constantly raising labor productivity, introducing scientific and technological achievements and advanced expertise, improving the quality of work in every possible way in all the sectors of the economy and culture, effectively using production capacities, material, financial and labor resources, and to further increase the country's economic potential, and, on that basis, achieve a steady rise of the material well-being and cultural level of the people."

The main targets of Mongolia's economic and cultural development for 1981-1985 are to upgrade the gross national product by 41-45 per cent and increase the national income by 38-41 per cent.

In agriculture there is to be a 22-26 per cent increase of the average annual output over the previous five-year plan period. Effort is to be concentrated on further enlarging and making more effective use of the material and technical basis of livestock-breeding and crop farming. It is felt that fuller use should be made of the experience of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in specializing and concentrating agriculture through inter-farm cooperation and agro-industrial integration. The solution of social problems in rural areas and an improvement of the living and working conditions there should contribute toward a steady upswing of agriculture.

In fulfillment of the congress resolution a comprehensive long-term program is to be drawn up to boost agriculture and make it more efficient.

Under the seventh five-year plan, new industrial projects will be built along with the expansion and reconstruction of the existing facilities. As a result, gross industrial output in 1985 will go up by 52-58 per cent compared with 1980.

The priority growth of the fuel and power industry is being ensured by the building of a giant central heating plant, new power transmission lines, large coal mines. Provision has been made to speed up the growth of the mining industry, while the joint Mongolian-Soviet ferrous metals combine is being expanded with a new fluor spar extraction and dressing complex. Wood-finishing, metal-working, and light and food industries will continue to be improved.

In its commitment to ensuring the rapid growth of socialist industry, the MPRP proceeds from Lenin's thesis that "large-scale

industry is the one and only real basis upon which we can multiply our resources and build a socialist society" (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 32, p. 408).

Socialist industrialization is the surest and quickest way of eliminating economic and technological backwardness, achieving a rapid growth of the productive forces, basically restructuring the economy, promoting science and culture, and raising the people's living standard. Our party is aware that in Mongolia this is a complex and long process requiring phased, consistent measures. It is important to ensure an optimum balance in the development of heavy industry. In the context of Mongolia, as comrade Tsendenbal pointed out at the congress, the speeding of industrialization involves the creation and development of some engineering and chemical industries.

Attainment of the targets set for industry in the new five-year plan will further increase its share in the country's economy. Agriculture will be further mechanized, and industrial methods will be introduced on a wider scale in construction, transport and other areas of the economy.

The numerical strength of the working class grows with the development of socialist industrialization. Since 1963 the proportion of workers in the population has risen from 29 to 40 per cent. There have also been qualitative changes in the working class: its skills and education level are rising; it is acquiring greater expertise; there is now a growing number of hereditary working-class families.

Structural changes are taking place in rural localities as well. As many tens of thousands of young men and women are taking up agriculture, the average age of the rural population is tending to go down.

The requirements of education, public health and scientific and technological progress have led to a numerical growth of the people's intelligentsia. In the past decade alone the number of people with a higher or secondary specialized education has doubled, with the former increasing numerically 2.2 times.

An analysis of social development trends has prompted new tasks in improving production relations and shown the ways and means of resolving important social problems. For example, the seventh five-year plan contains a massive program to boost the people's living standard. It includes measures to increase the people's cash incomes, especially in rural areas, enlarge the social consumption funds, and raise pensions and allowances. As a result, per capita real incomes will grow by 10-12 per cent.

The party has stressed the need to meet more fully the people's growing demand for food-stuffs. This will be served by the development and phased implementation of long-term programs nationwide and in towns, *aimaks* and *somons*. The aim of these programs is to boost agricultural output and ensure a closer link between agriculture, industries processing and storing farm produce, and the distributive network.

The next five years will see a further improvement of housing, medical care, and educational and cultural facilities.

To make social production more intensive and efficient it is necessary to continue improving economic management. In this connection, high priority is given to better planning and to making managerial levers more effective in producing gratifying end results. The congress noted the need for stricter requirements on the quality of planning and on the fulfillment of the plans, and for avoiding unwarranted revisions of these plans.

Rational use of production capacities, labor, material, and financial resources, and rigorous economy everywhere and in everything, in things large and small, are another prerequisite for making production more effective and improving quality. That is why our party attaches great importance to tapping and utilizing the inner reserves of production. We must expand socialist emulation and spread advanced experience, vigorously combat economic mismanagement, and strengthen labor discipline. In this lies the guarantee of the fulfillment of the party's economic and social programs.

The attainment of the new targets set in the five-year plan and the prospects of our advance are closely linked to Mongolia's continued all-round drawing together with the Soviet Union and the other CMEA countries. The deepening of socialist economic integration, expansion of inter-state property in means of production, and the development, together with interested countries, of international economic complexes on the basis of our country's natural resources are of great significance to Mongolia with its relatively limited labor, material, and financial resources. We therefore attach immense importance to long-term CMEA programs of cooperation in the basic branches of production.

The MPRP Central Committee supports and considers highly topical the proposal made by Leonid Brezhnev at the 26th congress of the CPSU to supplement the coordination of the economic plans of the fraternal countries with the coordination of their economic policies as a



whole and to consider new major problems collectively at the summit level.\*

As the scale and complexity of our creative endeavor grow and more and more people become consciously involved in the historical process, the party plays an ever larger leading and guiding role in all the areas of society's life.

In the period under review the MPRP kept questions related to the management of the socialist economy and cultural development constantly in the focus of its attention. At its plenary meetings the Central Committee made in-depth analyses of pressing problems arising in the course of the country's development. The most important of these are the shift of the accent in the work of party organizations directly to production collectives and greater concern for key problems on which the fulfillment of our plans hinge: the search for and use of untapped inner potentialities, the strengthening and enlargement of socialist property, greater responsibility of cadre at all levels, improvement of the style and methods of work, perfection of the ways of controlling and verifying the fulfillment of decisions, and study and dissemination of advanced experience.

The party has grown stronger ideologically and organizationally. It now has more than 76,000 members, which is 13.9 per cent more than on the eve of the previous congress. Of the total membership 64.8 per cent work in material production, where there are 57 per cent of the primary party organizations. Making the best use of this great force and increasing the party's influence on the solution of economic problems are a sure guarantee of the success of our plans.

The past years, the congress noted, were marked by the people's active participation in socialist construction, a steady growth of their creative efforts and initiatives, and their closer unity around the party.

The policy charted by the 18th congress gives us a reliable compass because it is based on a profound understanding of the objective laws of socialism and on a scientific analysis of reality, of the actual processes and cardinal trends in the development of society. The guarantee of our achievements lies in the party's unbreakable unity with the people, the ability of the communists to find an affinity with the broadest masses, awaken their enthusiasm, and concentrate efforts on key tasks. This has been and will remain the party's line.

Here great importance is attached to efficiency in inner-party work. To achieve more efficiency

decisions have been passed making more demands of party members, and aimed at improving the style and methods of all activity, enhancing the role and militancy of primary party organizations, and setting higher standards for the party's leadership of state and public organizations. More attention will be paid to ensuring the strict observance of Leninist norms of party life and principles of party leadership and the consistent development of inner-party democracy, criticism, and self-criticism.

The MPRP expects its own organizations and government, public, and economic bodies to reinforce discipline and order, engage in painstaking day-to-day organizational and educational work, display initiative and responsibility and abide strictly by the decisions that have been passed.

In other words, the party is exacting toward its cadres while making sure that they are properly selected, appointed and educated. Particular attention is given to such qualities as competence, efficiency, initiative and a sense for the new.

At the same time the MPRP is concerned to enhance the consciousness level of all working people, improve the ideological and political education, make propaganda more scientific, understandable and effective, to bring it closer to life.

The development and strengthening of socialist democracy is a major component of the party's policy. In Mongolia today this means, above all, perfecting the work of the People's Khurals (councils) at all levels, promoting greater democracy and initiative in the work of the government bodies, the participation of the masses and public organizations in guiding the socio-economic and cultural life, scrupulous observance of the law, strengthening the material and legal guarantees of civil rights and freedoms, and ensuring harmony between citizens' rights and duties.

The party's foreign policy was approved unanimously at the congress, which probingly analyzed the present international situation and concretely assessed the events taking place in the world.

Thanks to the MPRP's internationalist policy, Mongolia's friendship and close all-round cooperation with the other socialist community states are growing steadily stronger. Mongolia is taking an ever greater part in socialist economic integration, which is of exceptional importance for its own development.

Mongolia is enjoying growing international prestige. Its foreign links are steadfastly expanding and developing, a process aided by

\*26th Congress of the CPSU, Moscow, 1981, p. 13.

our party's active foreign policy of peace closely coordinated with the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries. Mongolia now has diplomatic relations with 91 nations and promotes commerce and cultural relations with scores of countries.

In the present situation, which witnesses an ever sharper confrontation between socialism and capitalism and a visible deterioration of the world situation brought about by imperialist and reactionary circles, Mongolia is pursuing a consistent policy whose aims are to support the struggle of peoples for freedom and independence, implement the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, deepen international détente, eliminate flashpoints of war, aggression, and fascism, establish lasting peace in the world, and strengthen the unity and cohesion of all the revolutionary forces on our planet. While taking an uncompromising stand against imperialism, reaction, and Chinese hegemonism, which ranges itself with them, the MPRP emphatically condemns their intrigues against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, against peace, détente, and social progress.

The MPRP will continue promoting friendly relations with newly-free countries, notably socialist-oriented states, and supporting the national liberation and revolutionary movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The party pledged to the congress its determination to continue to strengthen the unity of the communist movement and expand and deepen the relations with the communist and workers' parties of the world and with the national democratic parties and movements.

The congress unanimously adopted an appeal under the heading "Freedom to Courageous Fighters for Peace, Democracy and Social Progress!"

Attaching particular importance to the preservation of peace on the Asian continent, Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal proposed a conference of Asian and Pacific countries to work out and conclude a convention on mutual non-aggression and the non-use of force between the states of the region. As we see it, this proposal is entirely in keeping with the will and aspiration of the Asian peoples for peace, mutually beneficial cooperation, stronger national independence and social progress; it is widely supported by progressive opinion because most of the local wars and armed conflicts after the Second World War occurred in Asia, where more than half of the world's population lives.

Attainment of the economic and social aims charted by the party will ultimately give Mongolia the material and technical basis for

the gradual transition to the building of advanced socialism.

The Mongolian working people have enthusiastically acclaimed the historic decisions of the supreme forum of Mongolia's communists and have begun putting them into effect. The party and the people look to the future with optimism. They are confident that the next few years will witness further visible progress in the socialist transformation of the ancient land of Mongolia.

## FINLAND: OUR SLOGAN — PEACE, DEMOCRACY, SOCIALISM

Aarne Saarinen

Chairman, Communist Party of Finland

The substance of the decisions adopted at the 19th congress of our party\* is expressed in its main slogan: "CPF: peace, democracy, socialism." The congress marked a considerable step forward in clearing up the internal differences dividing the party for a whole decade, a step toward the process of restoring the unity of party ranks.

Peace, détente, prevention of a new round of the arms race, and broader peaceful cooperation between peoples and states are the main goals of all CPF action. Maintenance of peace is the crucial condition for the solution of many global problems of universal importance. The political document adopted by the congress deals with three global problems, on whose earliest solution the future depends: prevention of a nuclear war, international détente and disarmament; prevention of an ecological disaster and reorientation of technological development on humane lines; establishment of a new economic order in the world to create conditions for the development of newly independent countries, primarily for eliminating hunger and malnutrition.

In the 1970s, the peoples of the world pinned great hopes on the process of détente; they welcomed the outcome of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which was held as the result of a relaxation of international tensions. In many respects, that was a time of expectation. People all over the world began to talk of the "spirit of Helsinki." It was not the Finns who invented that concept, but we welcomed it with a sense of legitimate pride. The "spirit of Helsinki" is the spirit of action in defense of peace and against war, for détente and cooperation among nations, against the attempts to whip up tensions, for disarmament and against the arms race.

\*The congress was held in Helsinki on May 22-24, 1981.

As a result of the changes that have occurred in U.S. foreign policy since the turn of the decade, cold Western winds have been rising in the international arena. The political and military leaders of that power make no secret of their goal: to end détente, attain military superiority over the USSR, and aggravate the military confrontation in the world. The United States has been strengthening the network of military bases on all continents, notably, in Norway, at our very doorstep. They refused to ratify the signed SALT-2 and got the NATO countries to agree to the deployment in Western Europe of about 600 new medium-range missiles. Washington continues to obstruct the disarmament talks in Geneva and Vienna, keeps up the tension in the Middle East, constantly interferes in the internal affairs of Latin American, African and Asian countries, supports reactionary dictatorial regimes, and hinders the development of international cooperation. In the Central Committee's report to the congress we noted that in the field of ideological struggle the USA has been resorting to anti-Soviet and anti-communist campaigns in the cold war spirit.

The cause of disarmament, détente and preventing war has many adversaries. But it is supported by powerful forces of peace, says the appeal "For Peace, Détente and Disarmament" adopted by the 19th congress. That is why we communists resolutely reject the pessimistic view that the world is inexorably heading for a new general war, and that détente is a tragic self-delusion. In effect, there is an objective factor which made détente possible and which can ensure its further development and an advance toward disarmament. This factor is the growing influence of the Soviet Union and the other socialist-community countries, the nonaligned and neutral states, the international communist and working-class movement, the massive peace forces.

The struggle in defense of peace is now rising to a new level in many West European countries. More and more people are coming to realize that there is no real alternative to the policy of détente. In its appeal "For Peace, Détente and Disarmament," our forum emphasized: "The way of stockpiling nuclear weapons and the arms race is the way of war, suffering and total destruction. We communists see a different way: that of détente and peaceful cooperation among peoples, the highway of life. It is only by following this highway that we can steer clear of the abyss, remove the threat of destruction facing the peoples of Europe and the whole world . . . We communists, together with all other Finnish

patriots who recognize their responsibility, want to build our country and to see the children of the world enjoying bread, happiness and life."

In a statement entitled "The Policy of Peace Is the Best Security Policy," the congress noted that an active peace line is the most effective means of safeguarding Finland's security. It said that Finland should go on advocating the settlement of international disputes through negotiations and understandings, and should seek to prevent a world holocaust. We believe that the proposals put forward by the 26th congress of the CPSU on strengthening peace and the security of peoples, improving Soviet-U.S. relations, building confidence in international relations, and clearing the way toward disarmament have this aim in view. Our party advocates a limitation of nuclear weapons, on European territory in particular, and a renunciation of the plans to deploy Euromissiles. We demand guarantees for non-use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states, and a pledge not to use their territory and air space for delivery of these weapons.

The congress noted that the military threat to Finland proceeds from the West, because by virtue of its geographical location it is endangered by the NATO weapons targeted on the Soviet Union. Finland's air space and the Lapland region bordering on Norway, a NATO member, are particularly vulnerable.

The communists of Finland reaffirm their view that all the peace forces in Northern Europe must unite for a joint struggle to set up a nuclear-free zone in this area. We support the propositions contained in Leonid Brezhnev's interview with Suomen *sosialidemokraatti*. The Soviet leader reaffirmed the Soviet Union's positive attitude to the proposal to turn Northern Europe into a nuclear-free zone. Leonid Brezhnev noted that the Soviet Union is prepared to pledge non-use of nuclear weapons against Nordic countries which join such a zone, and urged the NATO nuclear powers to give similar guarantees. In our opinion, the Soviet Union's new initiative opens up possibilities for negotiations on a nuclear-free zone.

We advocate implementation of the principles approved at the European Conference, and broader cooperation toward this end among the forces of the working-class movement both on a national scale and on the scale of the Northern region and the whole of capitalist Europe. We voice our sympathy and support for the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America fighting against imperialism, and seek to strengthen the

massive solidarity movement, which has new perspectives ahead of it.

The imperialist and capitalist rule must also be limited for the solution of another major problem, which is of essential importance for mankind's future. This is protection of the environment, prevention of an ecological disaster. The unbridled pernicious influence of the capitalist relations of production on the natural resources could lead to their depletion.

The social consequences of capitalist-type technical progress give rise to growing concern, primarily among the young. Many people ask themselves: is the development of the latest technology in effect turning into a blind force, which enslaves man, does it make him powerless? That question arises ever more frequently in disputes on the use of nuclear power, regardless of what the parties involved think about its economic advantages or safety. It also arises in the context of the need to defend the citizens' rights in view of automated processing of social data. The ganglion of social and technological problems is most pronounced in the threat of mass unemployment entailed by the introduction of new technology with the use of capitalist methods.

International capitalist competition is fierce and affects virtually every sphere of life. It reaches a particularly high pitch in the economy and in related branches of science and technology. At the same time, the development of these sectors, marked by major changes and transformations, calls for broader international cooperation. Such cooperation is also necessary within the framework of the working-class movement in order to increase its opportunities for influencing decision-making in this field. In Europe, there is an ever more urgent need jointly to consider the various relevant problems and to elaborate joint programs. Naturally, the aim here is not to slow down scientific and technological progress, but to accelerate it in the right direction.

Technology is meant to serve man. At present, this requires a profound democratization of the organs of power regulating technological development, with an eventual take-over and transfer of these organs into the hands of those who are able to look to the people's interests, the interests of the whole of mankind. Power can be used in this way only by the working people and in the conditions of socialism, the social system they establish. Capitalism is essentially incapable of doing so, the congress emphasized in its political document.

The document goes on to say that any global problem is overshadowed by monopoly capital. It is imperialism and the military-industrial

complexes that whip up the arms race. It is above all monopoly capital (in Finland, the woodworking monopolies) that barbarously destroys the natural environment. The transnational corporations are mainly responsible for the plunderous exploitation of the sources of energy and raw materials. The capitalist system is to blame for the worsening food problems in the world. Growing unemployment caused by automation of production is also typical of bourgeois society. The capitalist relations of production make it impossible to use the productive forces for the solution of mankind's large-scale problems, although the potentialities of science show that mankind is mature enough and capable of living in harmony with nature.

At the present level of knowledge, it is quite possible to meet the people's food requirements, to wipe out dangerous epidemics, to conserve nature, and establish equitable international economic relations, a fair division of labor and cooperation of production. This, however, is obstructed by the socio-economic system of capitalism, its development uniformities and the structure of power peculiar to it, by imperialism, which relies on military strength and jeopardizes mankind's existence.

The experience of the newly independent states shows that complete liberation from the imperialist yoke is the crucial prerequisite for strengthening their economic basis and gradual social progress. Assistance to these countries in creating conditions for national economic and cultural growth is the only way to ensure their rapid development and help them overcome the constantly worsening demographic difficulties. The CPF congress urged the need for Finland's policy to meet the interests of such development on the principles of a new international economic order. Thus, Finland should support these states in the use of their own resources and potentialities, promote economic cooperation, and help them to strengthen their sovereignty in every way. Our party demands an immediate increase in the volume of Finland's aid to these countries from the present figure of less than 0.3 per cent to 0.7 per cent of the gross national product, as recommended by the United Nations.

In its assessments and conclusions on matters of domestic policy, the CPF congress concentrated on two groups of problems. First, on political cooperation within the working-class movement, democratic interaction among the various forces both in working out and implementing government policies and during the run-up to the forthcoming presidential elections. And second, on a quest for ways to solve

the complicated problems of the 1980s, in the course of which the congress specified earlier programs mapping out the party's goals for the immediate future.

A fundamental task of domestic policy in the present decade will be the struggle to extend democracy. The main idea of the political document adopted by the congress is that it must be deepened and extended, and that a system of democratic control and planning must be introduced. The CPF was the first of the country's political parties to express a positive attitude to the latest forms of social movements. The Central Committee's report says: "The striving for a new type of democracy manifests itself in numerous forms of civic activity primarily in the peace movement, in organizing the population in the neighborhoods, and mass action to protect the environment. Such forms of activity show the people's growing independence and individual initiative. Emphasizing the importance of the struggle in defense of political rights and freedoms as elements of representative democracy, which are to a vast extent gains of the working-class movement, we communists are working for a creative development of an essentially new type of democratic organs and are taking part in the struggle for their formation. Naturally, such a democracy has nothing to do with anarchy, and is aimed to strengthen mutual solidarity among the people, reflecting their growing awareness of their collective responsibility."

The congress emphasized the importance of mass action for establishing democratic control in every sphere of social life. The only way to achieve this is for the working people to extend their mass struggle, regardless of their party affiliations. The communists believe in the strength of the masses. Our goal, says the political document of the congress, is to enhance the social activity of the masses, improve their organization, and extend the democratic forms of state power. One of the main tasks, the party maintains, is to rally the people for mass action, to stimulate their initiative in discussing labor matters, housing, the environment, education, culture and so on. To invigorate the mass movement in our country, there must be a dialogue between public associations and nonpartisan people, cooperation between them, joint action and manifestations.

We see the establishment of democratic control in production as one of the most important tasks. It is necessary to restrict the power of the employers and extend the rights of the working people, their organizations and representatives. The working people must have the right to hold meetings at their workplaces without

hindrance. It is also necessary to ensure broad rights for the activity of workers' political organizations at enterprises and establishments. We also demand recognition of the working people's rights to receive full information on the state of the economy of their enterprises and establishments, on the plans, use of profit, capital and other investments, purchases of inventories and personnel policy.

The communists believe that to strengthen the material base of democratic planning in the economy it is necessary to expand the state sector in production and trade, and limit the economic domination of big private capitalist enterprises and commercial banks. With this in view, we demand the development of an investment program for the whole national economy in order to restructure production and create new jobs in the country. We insist that democratically adopted programs should also be binding on private capitalist enterprises, commercial banks and insurance companies.

While fighting for a democratic turn, the CPF seeks to launch campaigns for transformations that would pave the way to a socialist society. The concrete nature of the democratic turn, its duration, and the maturing of prerequisites for transition to socialism will depend, above all, on the concrete situation and the masses' creative potential. Socialism in our country will be the product of the masses themselves, the resolution notes.

In contrast to a number of other fraternal parties, the CPF is not barred in principle from taking part in government coalitions of the bourgeois state. In the postwar period, since 1944, our party has been a member of democratic government coalitions for more than 13 years. In the same period, we have also had 23 years of experience in opposition. The party's decision on whether to take part in a government largely depends on the results that can be achieved and on the influence it can exert on the country's socio-political development. We believe that cooperation of left and center forces within a government coalition can be successful only if it is prepared effectively to defend the working people's interests against the aspirations of monopoly capital and the reactionary circles. The CPF's strategic goal is to work for the formation of a cabinet whose activity would go beyond the framework of bourgeois administration, a cabinet which would rely on the masses and would be able to carry out fundamental transformations limiting the power of big capital. The congress noted that such a government would effect a democratic turn. Both the present and earlier



center-left cabinets were of a different nature.

Naturally, it is not easy to achieve the necessary shift in the balance of forces between the various political groupings, a change in the policies of the government coalition partners. Participation in the coalition confronts the CPF with complicated tasks, which can be fulfilled only by launching and relying on a powerful mass movement. Past experience shows that such participation does not in itself weaken the positions of the right-wing forces or reduce their following. At the same time, it appears that under capitalism no government, whatever its composition, could follow a policy which would satisfy the communists in every respect and win their unconditional support. That is why we constantly seek to analyze the government's policy, to see whether it measures up to the minimum demands put before the authorities, and to assess the nature of the cabinet's activity, as well as our own work within it.

The congress instructed the Central Committee to analyze without delay and from every angle the lessons of cooperation within the government coalition, and aim to work out, through a broad democratic discussion, a coherent consensus. Such an analysis could also be of interest to the fraternal parties of other capitalist countries.

Our political work will now be geared to the major goals of profound transformations formulated in the political document of the congress. First of all, we shall seek an extension of the citizens' basic rights and a corresponding renewal of the country's legislation. We attach essential importance to assuring everyone of the right to work, and extending workers' and employees' rights in production. The party demands the establishment of such a democracy in production which would guarantee their right to decision-making, and would ensure them against dismissal or forced vacations without the consent of the trade-union organization. We want a minimum wage sufficient for a normal life to be enacted in legislation, and also an increase in unemployment benefits and in minimum pensions, and a shortening of the working week without a cutback in wages.

The congress emphasized the need to increase the share of the socialist countries in Finland's foreign trade. Its economic cooperation with the CMEA countries, especially the realization of the trade agreements and the long-term program for developing economic ties with the USSR, shows that this can help to create thousands of jobs. Finland's economic growth indicators for the past three years are considerably higher than those of other OECD

countries, which is largely the result of expanding Finnish-Soviet cooperation.

Our party has been working to eliminate the regional distinctions in development levels. It is necessary to put an end to regional structural unemployment, and to diversify production in the less developed areas. The congress put forward the demand to ensure every person's right to inexpensive, high-quality and convenient housing. With this aim in view, it is necessary to increase housing construction with the help of state loans and take steps to check the growth of housing costs. We call for a ceiling on housing costs: 10 per cent of net income for the lower-paid, and not more than 20 per cent for the rest of the population. Tenants must also have more opportunities to influence decisions affecting the environment, and also the standard of services in their localities.

To ensure the general right to education and culture, it is important to improve the education system on comprehensive lines, to ensure that everyone has equal opportunities to study, to raise occupational standards and educational level. The content of education must be renewed on the principles of peace, democracy and humanism.

The congress devoted special attention to the conditions of women. The communists think it necessary to enact laws banning discrimination against them, to ensure their equality in labor activity and payment for work, in education, occupational and professional training, and so on. The political document of our forum emphasizes the need for a marked increase in the share of women in various administrative organs.

In view of these new tasks, the ideological and theoretical level of the party, of all the communists must be further raised to a considerable degree. Speakers at the congress pointed out that in improving and diversifying the forms of work one must lend an attentive ear to the voice of the masses, including people who are not members of our Communist Party. Extension of the party's influence is closely connected with the strengthening both of inner-party democracy and discipline. The results of the party's activity depend not only on its leadership, but also on every party organization, on every rank-and-file member. Broad inner-party democracy and efforts to create conditions in which all communists can display their initiative help to develop the spirit of collectivism, to form a healthy, comradely atmosphere. During the run-up to the 19th congress and in the course of its work, the communists voted with profound awareness of their personal responsibility. All the decisions

were adopted unanimously, except two, which, in view of the situation still persisting within the party, were approved by a majority. We see unanimity as a guarantee of success in restoring the party's unity, for which the documents of the congress have provided a solid basis.

As a party of the working class, the CPF relies on the best revolutionary, democratic traditions of the working-class movement and our people. As a Marxist-Leninist party, it is guided in its activity by the principle of proletarian internationalism and solidarity of the working people of all countries. The CPF is an integral part of the international communist movement. It is in solidarity with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and takes pride in their achievements. Our party is in solidarity with all fighters for peace, democracy and socialism, and advocates greater cohesion among the revolutionary forces of the world against imperialism and oppression. In all their activity, the communists of Finland seek to take into account the experience of struggle of the other communist parties and to apply it in the conditions of our country.

#### FRG: NEEDED — AN ANTI-WAR ALLIANCE OF THE PEOPLE

Hermann Gautier

Deputy Chairman, German Communist Party

"Everything for peace." This motto of the sixth congress of the German Communist Party,<sup>1</sup> reflected the conviction of the communists of the FRG that nothing is more important today than to preserve peace. Preparations for the congress, its progress and its results were evidence of a growing anti-war movement in our country. The movement encompasses ever larger population groups and organizations whose members adhere to the most diverse political concepts and world views.

The paramount goal of the peace forces today is to prevent the application of the disastrous NATO decision to deploy medium-range missiles targeted on the Soviet Union in West European member states of the Atlantic bloc. All peace forces must work to defeat this dangerous plan. The attitude to the NATO decision has caused a polarization of forces in our country and given rise to a bitter debate in the Bundestag parties that is going on unabated. As for the GCP, it is entirely at one with those who reject the decision.

Thanks to our party's indisputable contribution to the peace movement, the congress aroused keen interest at both the national and

international level. An indication of this was the presence of 56 delegations from fraternal parties and national liberation movements as well as numerous progressive organizations and noted public figures of our country. Even the bourgeois media had to desist from their customary tactic of ignoring the event. While the reports of commentators were anti-communist as usual, many of them had to recognize that the GCP is an important political factor, especially in the fight for peace.

The report of the GCP Board pointed out that the congress was deliberating in a turbulent and complicated period. It is a period of intensifying struggle over the issue of war and peace, a period when the forces of peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism are gaining strength in the international arena and when, on the other hand, imperialism is becoming more aggressive, new difficulties arise and the progressive forces are compelled from time to time to retreat. It is a period when the capitalist crisis is going from bad to worse and the working class and other democratic forces have to repulse massive attacks by monopoly capital as they defend their social and political gains and rights. In view of the exacerbation of the class struggle, we communists must meet greater demands. We need to show courage, take an active part in social movements and have a proper knowledge of the great prospects of our cause.

The sixth congress made a detailed analysis of the international situation and, in particular, the effects of U.S. foreign policy. It pointed out that the people of Federal Germany realize more and more who is actually endangering peace and their security. None other than U.S. Secretary of State Haig made the monstrous statement that there were things more important than peace. What imperialism wants is not at all a military balance. Contrary to the terms laid down in a series of Soviet-U.S. agreements of the 70s which recognize the principle of military strategic parity as an important condition for preserving peace, the United States persistently seeks superiority. None other than Ronald Reagan has said that the United States intended to gain positions of military superiority over the socialist countries by increasing its military expenditures.

Imperialism's policy is in harmony with these intentions: U.S. spending on armaments in the 1980-86 period is to sky-rocket to 1,500,000 million dollars. This equals the gross social product, or total economic output of the Federal Republic for 1979, 1980 and the first quarter of 1981 put together. The Board report says that the imperialists are designing in all

haste new weapons of mass destruction, forming rapid deployment forces for intervention in oil-bearing areas of the Persian Gulf, increasing their support of brutal regimes, assassins and bands of counter-revolutionary terrorists in all parts of the globe and trying to torpedo the ratification of SALT-2, and that they flatly reject every Soviet disarmament proposal. Pentagon strategists seek first of all capability to destroy Soviet ICBMs from Western Europe at the first nuclear blow, hoping that retaliation would not affect the American territory and that therefore nuclear war would become "acceptable" to the USA. They expect to bleed the socialist countries white by stepping up the arms race.

The irresponsible policy of imperialism endangering the very existence of mankind contrasts with the consistent peace policy of socialism, which found reflection in the speeches delivered to our congress by B.N. Ponomarev, alternate member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU, and Kurt Hager, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC SUPG. Speakers at the congress quoted the following words spoken by L.I. Brezhnev at the 26th congress: "To defend peace is now the most important international task of our party, our people and, indeed, all the peoples of the planet;"<sup>2</sup> "we have never sought military superiority over the other side, nor do we seek it."<sup>3</sup>

The policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries convincingly proves these words correct. This is seen in the Peace Program for the 80s advanced by the 26th CPSU congress and in specific proposals to limit armaments, effect disarmament, build up confidence and eliminate world tensions. It is also seen in the unilateral withdrawal of 20,000 Soviet troops and 1,000 tanks from the GDR and in the Appeal of the USSR Supreme Soviet to All the Parliaments and Peoples of the World dated June 23, 1981. The socialist countries' foreign policy shows that peace and socialism are inseparable. We communists constantly make clear that the peace proposals of these countries also meet the interests of our national security and accord with our people's desire for peace. Furthermore, it is beyond question that the readiness for talks constantly reaffirmed by the Soviet Union has made notably for an upturn in the peace movement.

"Thus," it was pointed out at the GCP congress, "two fundamentally different lines are in evidence in world politics: the socialist line for peace, negotiations and readiness for disarmament, on the one hand, and the imperialist line of rejecting serious negotiations, of stepping up the arms race and preparing materially

for war, on the other. Facing each other from different positions on the issue of war or peace are two worlds: socialism and imperialism."<sup>4</sup>

The congress devoted a great deal of attention to the attitude of the ruling circles of our country toward the issue of war and peace and the NATO plan to deploy new nuclear missiles in Western Europe. It demonstrated that there is no reasonable alternative to the policy of détente and that whoever wants détente to continue must campaign for the rejection of the NATO plan. The realization of this plan would heighten the war danger and undermine the gains made over 10 years of international détente in safeguarding peace, promoting mutually beneficial economic and cultural relations with the socialist countries and solving humanitarian problems. It would mean starting on a new round of arms race, speeding the militarization of West European countries still more and curtailing socio-economic as well as democratic rights.

The congress expressed due concern — a concern shared by all peace forces — about the fact that the Federal government proceeds contrary to fundamental national interests, which call for continued détente. To be sure, it was said at the congress, the ruling quarters of the Federal Republic want no self-destruction, nor do they wish to give up the foreign policy opportunities resulting from a more realistic policy and profitable economic relations with the socialist market. But imperialists will always be imperialists. They hate existing socialism because it is the main force of contemporary social progress and because its strength increasingly restricts imperialists' possibilities of treating the people as they please. Along with the imperialists of other countries they are searching for ways and means of stopping the forces of progress so as to retain markets and sources of profit and raw materials. They seek military superiority over the socialist countries, all the more since West German imperialism, to quote the Board report, is by no means reconciled to the outcome of World War II.

The 40th anniversary of Hitler Germany's attack on the Soviet Union was marked this year. In connection with this date the sixth congress called on Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt to stop assailing those of our citizens who are concerned about the fate of peace and to lend ear to the voice of reason which says: "Follow a policy meeting national and European interests."

It was shown at the congress that whenever a pretext is needed to "justify" the arms race and raise military expenditures, use is made of

anti-Sovietism and the lie about the "threat from the East." Contrary to the truth, the Federal Chancellor accuses the Soviet Union of having taken advantage of the period of détente to step up armaments and achieve military superiority. Yet he wrote in the 60s that "psychologically, any great power must see the stationing of medium-range enemy missiles at its threshold, so to speak, as a provocation. Imagine the Americans' reaction to the eventual stationing of Soviet medium-range missiles in Cuba."<sup>5</sup>

The GCP congress stressed that to stand up for the interests of national and European security does not at all mean showing anti-Americanism. We know well that there are two Americas. We are linked by bonds of solidarity with the America of workers, peace fighters and the civil rights movement. As regards the rulers of the USA, whose policy bears the imprint of military folly, selfishness and a bid for the role of world policeman and who persecute fighters for civil rights in their own country, there is nothing to link us with them. Solidarity with them on the part of the Federal Republic would be fraught with social and political danger.

Subordination of our national interests and security to the demands of U.S. imperialism, indiscriminate and gross attacks on the peace movement, and the Chancellor's threat to resign if the government's policy toward missiles were rejected are only one of Federal Germany's political realities. Another reality is the growing peace movement, which has assumed a mass character by now. To preserve peace, it was said at the congress, is primarily a cause of the people as a whole. The authorities' disregard for the people's aspirations runs counter to the provisions of the Federal constitution aimed at safeguarding peace; it leaves the people no option but an independent fight for this objective which is vital to them.

We consider it perfectly possible to prevent the transformation of the FRG into a launching platform for new U.S. nuclear missiles. To this end it is necessary that in spite of differences in world view and political concepts, the country's peace-loving and realistic-minded forces should unite in a joint struggle against the policy of intensifying the arms race and confrontation, which endangers the very existence of our people. The report speaks of the need to counter the "missile alliance" of the ruling circles with the might of an anti-missile alliance of the people and to pose a policy of national common sense against the policy of sacrificing the national interests.

I could cite numerous indications of the correctness of the propositions formulated by the

congress. Following are just a few facts.

The movement in support of the Krefeld Appeal, which urges the Federal government to reject the deployment of Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles in our country, is gaining ground. Over a million West Germans have already put their signatures to this document.

The Socialist German Working Youth and the Spartacus Marxist student league sponsored a festival in Dortmund which drew 210,000 young people and thus became the most powerful and impressive demonstration for peace in the history of the Federal Republic.

The Evangelical Church called a session of its Council in Hamburg. The session was attended by 150,000 people, mostly young Christians. The numerous meetings and public events organized by the Council revealed its main goal: to do all in its power to prevent the implementation of the NATO decision on missiles.

These facts show the dimensions of the peace movement in our country. The media controlled by the big bourgeoisie are wasting their time smearing the movement. They use battered anti-communist methods by putting about the absurd rumor that the movement against the NATO decision is led by the GCP and that our party is the "behind-the-scenes organizer" of the Krefeld Appeal. The GCP Board report says to this that in pursuing our policy of alliance, we communists remain bona fide and sincere partners. We favor cooperation based on mutual trust, equal rights and mutual respect for differences in political position or world view. The danger of atomic death affects everybody. The nuclear threat spelling destruction makes no distinction on account of party affiliation or religion. This means that there is every reason for joint action against the war menace. With due regard to the position of other peace-loving and realistically-minded forces, the congress put forward the following demands:

— the Federal government must withdraw its consent to the deployment of Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles in our country;

— proceed immediately to talks to limit and reduce the number of medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe; impose for the period of the talks a moratorium on the deployment of new medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe;

— remove nuclear, biological and chemical weapons from our country;

— defeat U.S. plans for the manufacture of neutron weapons and their deployment in Western Europe;

— end increases in military spending; do not allow increased war production or arms ex-

ports; stop expenditures for the designing of Tornado combat planes; deliver no arms to Chile, Turkey, Saudi Arabia or other countries ruled by reactionary regimes.

The Mannheim congress of the GCP (October 1978) adopted the "Program of the German Communist Party." One of the objectives of the Hanover congress was to verify program provisions in the light of the latest political developments. The congress put it on record that the program had served and continued to serve us as a dependable political guide showing the right path.

In his closing remarks Herbert Mies, re-elected Chairman of the GCP, reminded the delegates of the following passage in the program: "A fundamental concern of the GCP is to uphold and put through the interests of the vast majority of our people — the workers, peasants, intellectuals and other working people — against the power of big capital and its drive for profit. This is what it is fighting for. The party always follows the principle 'Everything for the working people, for their right to social security, democracy, freedom and peace. Everything for social progress.'"<sup>6</sup>

The sixth congress answered new pressing questions on the basis of this program. Steadfastly carrying forward the line of all previous congresses, it showed the correctness and relevance of the party program. Whether it is the struggle for peace, protection of the environment, the moving of homeless people into vacant houses or other movements against the evils of capitalism, injustice, curbs on democratic and social rights, the communists of our country are invariably active participants and not mere onlookers.

The sixth congress made a substantial contribution to the study of the role of the working class in these movements. It stressed that the working class has been and will remain the decisive social force and is the principle creator of all values, for it forms the overwhelming majority of the population. "It would be fatal," the report says, "to oppose the working class and democratic movements of the people to each other. The task is to combine the strength of the working class with the strength of the progressive political and social movements of our time. We communists have been and remain committed to this task."<sup>7</sup>

The activity of social movements and groups has become a veritable nightmare for the Bundestag parties. These parties have every reason to tremble for their prerogative of shaping the country's policy line on their own. They can no longer brush these movements aside. We communists see this new development primar-

ily as a reflection in numerous forms of the citizens' effort to express their will, to bring into being a democratic counterpoise to the policy of the ruling circles and Bundestag parties. We regard the new phenomenon as the initial stage of forming anti-monopoly democratic movements. The sixth congress emphasized the communists' willingness to cooperate with these movements.

The fight against the burdens of the crisis and the arms race and for the working people's social rights was among the problems holding a prominent place in congress deliberations along with the key issue of war and peace. The congress analyzed the social effects of the policy of building up armaments. It drew the highly important conclusion that whereas previously it was possible to pursue in the Federal Republic, a policy of "both butter and guns" for a long time, this cannot be done any more. The alternative today is "either butter, or guns." The party program says that the fight for peace and disarmament is an important condition for socio-democratic progress in the Federal Republic. Indeed, peace and the people's economic security are inseparable. The working people have been coming to realize more and more that it is they who must pay the price of subordinating the country's interests to those of the ruling circles of the USA, building up armaments and abandoning national economic interests and the interests of peace. This process is attended by a worsening of the capitalist crisis in the Federal Republic. The balance of payments, favorable until 1978, has deteriorated considerably. At present its deficit stands at nearly 30 billion West German marks. This year's public debt of the Federation, *Länder* and communes will exceed 500 billion marks.

The strategy of monopoly capital, prompted directly and undisguisedly by the drive for profit, stands out more and more. It expresses itself in a reduction of real pay, dismissals, continuous increases in prices, rent, contributions to the social insurance fund and taxes, and cuts in budget appropriations for social and cultural purposes. It was said at the congress that in today's crisis situation the nature of the state-monopoly system is clearer than ever. Monopoly and state cooperate in putting the growing burdens of the crisis and the arms race on the working people to guarantee the monopolies bigger profits and finance growing armaments at their expense.

Bearing in mind the decisions of trade unions, particularly the "Demands for Struggle Against the Employment Crisis" advanced by the Federation of German Trade Unions, the congress defined the economic, social and



political line of the GCP for the 80s. The party is to fight for a higher purchasing capacity for the masses, the preservation and growth of real wages, the preservation of existing jobs and the creation of new ones, a shorter working day, a 35-hour week without pay cuts, and the protection of labor from the effects of capitalist rationalization. The communists are fighting against cuts in public spending for social and cultural purposes, for expanding the construction of inexpensive flats, against the use of housing as a source of profit, for higher-standard education and vocational training, protection of the environment and guaranteed energy supply.

These, then, are the main socio-economic objectives set by the congress. In fighting for them, the GCP advocates unity of action of the working class and broad democratic alliances.

Summing up the results of the party's fruitful activity, the congress noted that in spite of more difficult conditions than before, the GCP had not changed its line. It does its best to be equal to the exigencies of the time, to the imperative demands of the political, social and ideological struggle. The party has made headway and gained in militancy, strength and prestige. It now has over 48,000 members. More than 5,000 people have joined its ranks since the Mannheim congress. The congress admitted, however, that this is far from enough. It resolved to launch a vast recruitment campaign, which is to pass through three stages and draw to a close late in 1982. In this connection the report says that we must, want and are going to raise our sights to what is new. Anyone who fails to see today's opportunities of increasing the membership of our party, of winning new fighters

for its cause, is refusing to use them. The present situation and the growth of social movements should give an additional spur to our effort to win new members and sympathizers.

The results of the sixth congress, the decisions unanimously adopted by it, the atmosphere of free and extensive discussion and the unanimity shown in electing the party's leading bodies laid a solid groundwork for strengthening the party. All district and branch organizations are engaged in a lively discussion of congress decisions and ways of carrying them out. An emulation movement aimed at reinforcing the party is under way in many localities. It has set itself three tasks: first, winning new members among the working population, primarily industrial workers; second, winning new subscribers for *Unsere Zeit* and increasing its sales; third, ensuring that all members pay their dues without delay. The campaign will be highlighted by the anniversary of our party, GCP Week, May Day, the *Unsere Zeit* festival in 1982 and the issue of new party cards at the end of next year.

In conclusion it is fair to say that the sixth congress reacted to the major social movements of today. The report, debate and congress decisions give precise answers to urgent questions. The congress invited all democratic, left-wing forces to join in a dialogue, in a discussion to search for joint solutions. It showed the GCP to be the most well-organized left-wing force in Federal Germany. The working class was most vocal at the congress. The unity of all generations of party members was impressive. It was confirmed that a party of innovators must be and is a party of the young. The congress furnished proof of the unity of the party, its will and action, and of the confidence enjoyed by its elected leading committees. Taken as a whole, the congress may be described as a success, and its line and the tasks set by it may be said to have become the cause of the entire party.

The congress slogan "Everything for peace" is binding in many respects. To the German Communist Party, nothing is more important than to do everything to ensure that no war is triggered again from our soil. Our people have a right to a peaceful future. This right must be upheld.

1. Hanover, May 29 to 31, 1981.
2. *Materialy XXVI syezda KPSS*. Moscow, 1981, p. 31.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Unsere Zeit*, May 30, 1981.
5. Helmut Schmidt, *Verteidigung oder Vergeltung*. Stuttgart, 1961, p. 40.
6. *Unsere Zeit*, June 2, 1981.
7. *Unsere Zeit*, May 30, 1981.

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## The international and the national in the working-class movement

This is the second part\* of a survey of proceedings at the international theoretical conference on "The Dialectics of the National and the International in the Working-Class Movement. The Shaping of Internationalist and National Consciousness and the Behavior of the Working Class in Present-Day Conditions; the Ways and Experience of the Communists' Struggle." The Conference was organized by the HSWP CC jointly with WMR in Hungary and held on May 5-7, 1981.

### *Revolutionary practice and the conception of internationalism*

The shaping of the internationalist consciousness of the working class, it was emphasized at the conference, implies as a condition for the correct orientation of the masses, theoretical work by the communists to bring out the contemporary content of internationalism through a summing up of revolutionary experience. The discussion centered on the understanding of new problems in the development of internationalism brought forward by the present stage of the international class struggle.

Many of the speeches and papers presented at the conference contained a substantiation of international solidarity as relations of mutual support entailing initiatives and activity on the part of all the revolutionary forces of our day. Hong Chuong, Deputy Editor-in-Chief of the journal *Cong San*, organ of the CP Vietnam CC, recalled that Ho Chi Minh likened the national liberation revolution in the colonies and the proletarian revolution in metropolitan countries to the wings of one and the same bird. If the oppressed peoples of the colonies and the working class of the metropolitan countries are to defeat their common enemy — imperialism — they must act together. However, the oppressed peoples cannot passively wait for a victory of the proletarian revolution in the metropolitan countries which would bring them liberation, but must, above all, mobilize their own strength and strive for liberation themselves. Our party

proceeded from the assumption that in the present epoch, given favorable conditions, the national liberation revolution can win out initially in the colonies and so become a great and inspiring mainstay of the proletarian revolution in the imperialist centers.

No people exists in isolation from others, as Robinson Crusoe did on his desert island. International solidarity and economic cooperation are the most important condition for the successful construction of socialism, especially in a country but recently liberated from colonial dependence.

On the one hand, international solidarity enables the Vietnamese revolution to rely on the sympathy and support of the revolutionary and progressive forces of the world; on the other, our people makes a contribution to the common struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The idea that no people can do without international solidarity in the struggle against imperialism and reaction was supported by Alvaro Ribeiro Mateus of the Portuguese CP Central Committee. Solidarity, he declared, was necessary to us Portuguese in the long and hard years of struggle against the dictatorship. We have been equally in need of it in fighting for freedom and social progress since the April 25 Revolution.

As the revolutionary process develops there is an ever broader application of the principles of proletarian internationalism, which cover ever more diverse spheres of interconnections. To the relations between the proletarians of different countries, oppressed and exploited by capital, have now been added the relations of the working class with the socialist countries and the relations between them; to the ties between the working class and the oppressed peoples have been added the ties between nations in multinational socialist states and the ties between the socialist states and the national liberation movement. Internationalism is inseparable from the struggle for the unity of the three revolutionary streams of our epoch: the socialist system, the working class in the capitalist countries, and the national liberation

\*WMR, August 1981. The final instalment of the conference review will appear in the next issue of WMR.

movement. We believe that the international communist movement cannot be dissolved in the anti-imperialist front, although it is a part of it. The class nature and goals of our movement imply the maintenance of our own identity, which distinguishes it from other social and political forces. The present situation requires joint resistance to the offensive carried on by imperialism and reaction, and determines the need to concentrate support and solidarity wherever the largest battles are being fought, wherever a threat impends over our positions.

Internationalism has become an organic part of the actual practice and political theory of the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique, said Gideon Ndohe, department head of the FRELIMO Party CC. By liberating our country and weakening imperialism in that part of Africa, we have created the conditions for the advance of the liberation movements and for consolidating the worldwide anti-imperialist front.

Our attitude to the socialist countries as our natural allies is based on obvious reasons: in the international arena we are fighting a common enemy, and at home we face the same task: to eliminate exploitation and build a just society.

The geographical situation of Mozambique, the country bordering as it did and does on countries with the racist and the apartheid regime, determines the understanding of the task of consolidating the gains achieved and the liberation of other peoples, as two important elements of the same process of struggle. The early years of our independence showed that the ruling minority regimes in Salisbury and Pretoria posed a constant threat to Mozambique, to the socialist construction which it had started.

One of the goals of the FRELIMO Party program is to turn the country into a solid base of the revolution, to promote the struggle of the other peoples and oppressed classes, thereby constantly fortifying the worldwide anti-imperialist front. In the light of our understanding of the dialectics of the class struggle in the national and international arena, the party has proclaimed: "The Mozambique working people's cause is inseparable from that of the working people of the whole world." In the People's Republic of Mozambique, proletarian internationalism has now become a solid part of the national consciousness, way of life, culture, and the people's spiritual make-up.

Barbu Zaharescu, member of the Central Auditing Commission of the Romanian CP, emphasized that in the conditions of capitalist society, the concept of proletarian internationalism is a specific historical category.

The idea of internationalism became a conscious political force only with the emergence of the political organization of the working class, of its revolutionary party.

After the Second World War, the approach to the problem of internationalism changed. In the socialist countries, international solidarity assumed the form of cooperation and mutual assistance for building the new social system. General Secretary of the Romanian CP Nicolae Ceausescu gave this comprehensive definition: "For us, internationalism is a broad and multifaceted concept which, in the light of the ongoing changes in the world, includes all the progressive and anti-imperialist forces."\* Of course, the international solidarity of all the progressive and anti-imperialist forces is not manifested spontaneously or without difficulty.

The tasks of the communists today are not confined to standing up for the proletariat's class interests. Mankind is confronted with other and extremely complicated problems, like the defense of democracy and freedom against the growing fascist menace, and the maintenance of peace in the first place. In this context, the problem of internationalism has a broader meaning. It involves the achievement of accord and solidarity by all the social strata desirous of peace and democracy, freedom and national independence, in the struggle against the imperialist policy of strength and diktat, and for the security and cooperation of the peoples. The Romanian CP maintains friendly ties not only with all the communist parties, but also with a number of socialist, social democratic or progressive democratic parties in many countries on the basis of the principles of equality and non-interference in internal affairs. It is of course, impossible to demand of a bourgeois or petty-bourgeois political party that it should come out for a hand-over of political power to the proletariat, but we can pool our efforts in defense of peace and the establishment of good relations between states.

Jaroslav Kase, Editor-in-Chief of *Nova Mysl*, theoretical journal of the CPCz CC, said that in our day proletarian internationalism is, of course, broader and has many more facets than it did in the past. Its content, forms and methods are being constantly enriched, absorbing all the new and effective elements used by the revolutionary process in the world, and covering relations, phenomena and concepts which did not and could not exist in the past.

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\*N. Ceausescu. *Romania pe drumul construirii societatii socialiste multilateral dezvoltate*. Bucuresti, 1977, p. 125.

But the development and enrichment of proletarian internationalism have done nothing to change its revolutionary principles or class substance.

Socialist internationalism is an important enrichment of proletarian internationalism with forms of cooperation in the building of socialism and in its defense, and in assistance to the revolutionary and progressive forces.

Proletarian internationalism does not constitute an exclusive intra-class, or purely working-class matter. It also implies cooperation between the working class and its allies — temporary and permanent — with the national liberation movement, and with all the democratic forces in the world. Such a broad anti-imperialist front can be sufficiently influential only if the communist movement itself stands on a high ideological and political level and works to strengthen its unity. This alliance naturally has an influence on proletarian internationalism, enriching it with methods of cooperation with the non-communist forces.

He went on to urge a search for optimal forms of international solidarity and brought out a number of lines along which, in his opinion, they are being further improved. There are, for instance, the development and strengthening of mutual ties between the Marxist-Leninist parties and the socialist countries; the extension of ties between the communist and workers' parties and the democratic and anti-imperialist movements; and the ever more vigorous revolutionary activity of the international communist and working-class movement as a whole.

An analysis of the contemporary content of proletarian internationalism, said *Wieslaw Klimczak*, a member of the WMR Editorial Board from the PUWP, helps to reach the following conclusions. The principles of internationalism as formulated by Marx and Lenin, are viable and effective even today in the struggle of the international working class. In the course of the world revolutionary process, internationalism is enriched and the sphere of its application enlarged. The forms of relations within the revolutionary movement are determined by its state and scale. The class struggle is internationalized, and this requires the strengthening of the solidarity of the fraternal parties, and the international communist and working-class forces. On the ability correctly to practise the principles of proletarian internationalism largely depend the destinies of the revolutionary process on the scale of the whole world and in the individual countries.

*Khristo Maleyev*, deputy head of the Foreign Policy and International Ties Department of the

Bulgarian CP CC, drew attention to the fact that in political practice the development of proletarian internationalism did not run a smooth course, but tended to proceed unevenly and irregularly, now and again even including reverse movements in this or that respect.

It would be wrong to think, *Erkki Kauppila*, CC Political Bureau member, CP Finland, remarked, that for the revolutionary movement, internationalism is something that goes without saying, that is something innate, and that the working class simply assimilates the attitude of internationalism and international solidarity without any problems. On the contrary, the internationalism of the working class originates and develops in combination with the internationalist practice of the revolutionary movement and in close connection with the assimilation of socialist ideology.

Our party, said *Armando Lopez Salinas*, CC Executive Committee member, CP Spain, seeks new ties between the various contingents of the working class in the industrialized European countries and the countries of the so-called Third World. We want a new international economic order and voice our support for the nonaligned movement. In other words, in the concrete conditions of the crisis we stand for broader support than that which proletarian internationalism traditionally provides.

Proletarian internationalism, said *Leonardo Paso*, CC alternate member, CP Argentina, cannot be regarded as a manifestation of sectarianism. Practice has confirmed that it is the mutual solidarity of workers and forces of socialism, while also being solidarity with all the manifestations of the struggle for independence and for national liberation.

*Bert Ramelson*, a member of the WMR Editorial Board from the CP Great Britain, dealt with a matter which, he said, may appear to be connected with semantics, but it is not. In his view, it is better to say "international solidarity of the working class" instead of "proletarian internationalism." Why? Changes in the nature of processes in production have expanded the concept of the working class, which now no longer consists of the manual workers alone who were initially called proletarians. Besides, there are difficulties in many countries over the understanding of the word "proletariat." Hesitations over the use of the term "proletarian internationalism" in our country are also connected with the fact that it is frequently taken as a code word for absolute support of any act by a section of the international working class, when, in actual fact, the concept of working-class solidarity is much broader.

Professor *G.G. Diligensky*, department head,

Institute of World Economics and International Relations, USSR Academy of Sciences, remarked in connection with Ramelson's statement, that it was not, of course, a matter of words, but of the content with which we invest the concept. He suggested that "proletarian internationalism" is a term reflecting historical continuity, the collective memory of the working class, one might say. Besides, there is hardly any point in changing the system of our basic ideological and theoretical concepts at every turn of history. It is another matter that some people interpret proletarian internationalism as something allegedly entailing one-sided duties, subordination, a situation of inequality in the communist movement. But this kind of view has, after all, never corresponded to the actual facts. Is it right to argue the abandonment of the term and concept of "proletarian internationalism" on the strength of such consideration? The main thing is to try to comprehend what new problems our epoch sets in the development of internationalism.

We see no reason for giving up the concept of "proletarian," said Jean Rhein of the CP Luxembourg CC. Changes in the content of labor and skills, and the distribution of workers by the individual sectors of the economy give no ground for the conclusion that the proletariat or the working class has disappeared. We think it is wrong to reduce the concept of "proletariat" to a section of the working class, say, to industrial workers with a definite skill standard.

Luciano Antonetti, WMR Editorial Board member from the Italian CP, expressed this view. New problems and new social forces and subjects of history, who frequently display their own or borrowed nationalist traditions, all of this insistently requires not an abandonment of the old internationalism, which is largely a thing of the past, but enrichment and further development of the conception to make it effective and active. Just because the characteristic feature of the communists' internationalism, Lenin said, consisted in its fight against imperialism; the crisis of the world imperialist system, has necessarily been reflected in the content of internationalism. Hence the need for a new internationalism, as many, including the Italian communists, advocate, an internationalism based on the demand for a new international political and economic order. To be an internationalist is to fight, above all, in one's own country, for a new type of international relations based on mutual respect, recognition of mutual distinctions, and also on equal rights, equality, and a more concrete and real democracy. Wherever conflicts, clashes between

imperialism and the liberation movements may arise, we will undoubtedly be on the side of the latter.

Setting forth his view on the problem of the correlation between internationalism and the struggle for a new international economic order, James West, CC Political Bureau member, CPUSA, said that the working-class movement in the capitalist countries still has to apply proletarian internationalism to the sphere of assistance to the economic development of the newly sovereign states. This can be done only through a struggle for extending to them economic, technical and scientific aid without strings, for the establishment of mutually advantageous and equitable trade relations and the elimination of unilateral, exploitive ties based on oppression between imperialism and the developing countries. In short, this implies a class approach to the struggle for a new economic order and the filling of this struggle with an anti-imperialist content.

Sarada Mitra, National Council member, CP India, voiced doubt about whether the "new internationalism" conception takes account of the vital interests of the national liberation movements, considering that it is to be based on demands for a new international economic order. In this case, he said, it is a matter of equality, political independence and even more concrete and real democracy in international relations. The anti-imperialist aspect is, of course, manifest in all these demands, but they do not go beyond that which is acceptable for the national bourgeoisie in the developing countries. They do not reckon with the fact that in our day the national liberation movement cannot solve its problems while remaining within the confines of bourgeois democracy, that it cannot copy that which occurred many decades ago in the European countries. It must, of necessity, transcend the bourgeois-democratic framework and advance along the non-capitalist way of development to socialism. The internationalism of the working class does, of course, imply support for a new international economic order, but it is wrong to limit internationalism to such support. Had our Italian comrade added only one word, namely that internationalism implies joint struggle for a new socio-economic order in the world, thereby implying socialism and revolutionary means of its realization, any polemic on this matter would have been superfluous.

Further, characterizing proletarian internationalism as the mutual responsibility of all the communists in the revolutionary struggle and in standing up for the cause of peace, the freedom of the nations and socialism, the



speaker expressed his disagreement with the interpretation of international solidarity given in the paper presented by A. Lopez Salinas. It said, in part, "for many years, there has been a community of socialist countries in the world, and their existence is, in the main, guaranteed against the intrigues of imperialism. This is not an attempt to question the conception of internationalism. There is a need to take account of the new potentialities and requirements of mutual assistance between the various democratic and socialist forces of our day. We believe that it is not so much a matter of support for the socialist countries, as of the selfless assistance of the parties in power to all those who are fighting for power with the aim of setting up a social association of progressive and revolutionary forces."

In this context, Mitra emphasized that the reduction of internationalism mainly to support from the socialist community to the working class, which is not in power, and to revolutionary movements tends to emasculate the very substance of the "international solidarity" concept. It discards the common element which is characteristic of the working class, of all the three revolutionary streams carrying on their joint struggle. Solidarity cannot be one-sided. Being an internationalist does not mean belonging to a club, whose members are divided into those who have the duty to give and those who want only to take. That is why, this interpretation is a big departure from the real requirements of the international class struggle.

Some say that there is now a need for international cooperation not only of the working class, said Ib Nørlund, member of the CC Political Bureau and Secretariat, CP Denmark. That is correct. But it does not at all follow from this that there is no need to develop the specific character of the ties between the communist parties, the relations between them which we call proletarian internationalism. But how we call it is not the point. Generally speaking, is it right to raise the question of internationalism so as to suggest that there is now a need for a new internationalism, instead of the traditional internationalism of the working class? I think it is easy to make the same mistake by asserting, for instance, that the class struggle is not only the class struggle of the working class. Of course, it is not only the working class that is conducting the class struggle. But there is a class struggle in which the main role belongs to the working class. That cannot be denied.

International solidarity, said Daniel Debatisse of the CC's Foreign Policy Department, French CP, and a member of the governing

board of the Institute of Marxist Studies, is not decreed and cannot be gauged by some hierarchical canons. It originates in the concrete struggle and must be the same for all and must remain mutual in all cases. Solidarity is directly connected with the dialectics of the national and the international to the extent that its effectiveness — effectiveness not only in words — implies a stronger and more influential and militant communist party. This will also be promoted by the active role of a strong and independent France in the world. We have reached the conclusion that today our prime international duty, our best contribution to the struggle of the working people and the nations is our struggle for deep-going changes in France, for paving the way toward the democratic socialism of self-administration which we want for our country.

When considering our international responsibility, said Clement Rohee, member of the Central Executive Committee of the People's Progressive Party of Guyana, we have in mind above all working for the national and social liberation of our country. At the same time, support for the revolutionary process in other countries is not a departure from this task. Since, in the first place, it helps the common struggle against imperialism and secondly, an analysis of the experience of some fraternal parties in the non-socialist countries shows that their assistance to young communist parties, for instance, in training cadre, to say nothing of other forms of support, has helped to enhance the communists' authority and influence among the workers of their own country.

Roland Bauer, SUPGCC member, said that in present-day conditions, with the tasks of the communist and workers' parties becoming ever more complicated and diverse, there is no abstract internationalism independent of concrete national conditions or standing over and above national interests. Nor is there any national way to socialism that is free from all the international factors or influences. At any rate, each party's policy has both national and international aspects and consequences.

Bert Ramelson asked the participants in the conference whether in expressing solidarity a distinction should not be drawn between the working class and the state in the concrete situations in which the state is alienated from the working class. In such situations, what is the responsibility of the international working class? With respect to whom is then solidarity to be displayed: with respect to the working class, because that is what it is in substance, or with respect to some state institutions? Of course, no such problem arises if the socialist

state does safeguard and implement the interests of the working class.

The question posed by comrade Ramelson — to display solidarity with whom: with the socialist state or with the working class? — confronted us in 1956, said Janos Berecz, HSWP CC member and head of the CC International Relations Department. In the light of the lessons of that period, I can say that at that time there was not only a real but also a merely apparent alienation of some institutions of the socialist state from the working class. We then reached the conclusion that the socialist state is a concrete system of institutions through which the interests of the working class are realized and which cannot be static. They must be dynamic, developing institutions. Some institutions have outlived themselves, and need to be replaced, others need to be reformed, working to have them all correspond to the objective development of the society. Another thing we learned is that the new is not necessarily an expression of the interests of the working class, although it may appear to be so in terms of slogans and outwardly. That was the case of our country with the workers' councils in 1956. But they only seemed to express the interests of the workers, but in fact operated against them. Subsequent development confirmed that under socialism all the institutions of the working class — the state and the trade unions — are characterized by constant cooperation.

Still, how is one to answer this question: with whom is solidarity to be displayed: with the state or with the working class? — asked Pavel Auersperg, CC member, CP Czechoslovakia, WMR Executive Secretary. I think that when considering international solidarity it is theoretically wrong to contrast the working class and the socialist state. This contrast in itself implies that in class terms the socialist state can in substance be not a state of the workers, of the whole people, but may have some other kind of substance, which is certainly wrong. After all, what is a socialist state but the power of the working class expressing the interests precisely of that class, of all the working people? Such a contrast implies, furthermore, that one could display "solidarity" with a working class of a country, and simultaneously not support its state, if not to come out against it. But power is the crucial issue in the class struggle. And it is the same issue, and no other, that is of crucial importance in international solidarity. To be on the side of the working class of a socialist country means above all to support its power, its state.

Some have spoken here about distortions of socialist statehood. But then we have a totally

different problem: the attitude to such distortions, and not the alternative of — either the working class or the socialist state. No one has urged a display of solidarity with distortions. On the contrary, we back socialist statehood against any attempts to distort it. At the same time we cannot agree to have solidarity with the working class replaced with support for efforts to undermine the socialist state under the pretext of eliminating its distortions.

State power which the working class has won and which it has the duty skilfully to use in defense against counter-revolutionary encroachments, said Jean Rhein, is a powerful weapon of the international working-class movement. The state of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia has no contradictions either with the interests of the working class of socialist countries, or with the interests of the international working-class. It is an instrument that is used to curb the arbitrary acts of monopoly capital in the world arena for the benefit of the whole working-class and democratic movement, of the revolutionary process, in the interests of peace. The crucial thing for us is that the state power of the working class is actively involved in tackling world political problems. The international working class now relies on the strength of the socialist states, and this opens up fresh potentialities in the political struggle, in the economic sphere, and in the trade-union movement. It is also hard to overestimate the importance of state internationalist assistance.

It is evident to everyone that the scale of the international solidarity of the revolutionary anti-imperialist forces has been constantly growing, said Konstantin Zarodov, alternate member, CPSU CC, Editor-in-Chief of WMR. Both the social and political boundaries of international unity and cooperation are expanding, and the potentialities for the further extension of the composition of the allied anti-imperialist forces are far from exhausted. The obvious reason for which socially and politically heterogeneous masses are impelled to such cooperation is that they have a common enemy. Indeed, it turns out that imperialism itself appears to act as organizer of the international solidarity of the forces opposing it. This is a highly important circumstance. But while taking it into account one should not, I think, forget something else. Whenever a political movement, whether national or international, lacks a definite class substance, it will inevitably prove to be ineffective and most likely short-lived.

Consequently, the task of strengthening and developing international solidarity, especially

in view of the fact that ever broader popular forces are coming under its banners, consists in the need of the most active introduction into it of the guiding class principle. In practice, this problem is solved through the internationally united working class, the international communist movement with its spirit of internationalism, having the leading role to play in the allied ranks of the fighters against imperialism and in the establishment of alliances.

From this it follows that the communists, representing the vanguard of the leading class of our epoch, by consolidating their international unity, create the necessary conditions for solid alliances with all the parties and movements prepared to take part in joint action against imperialism, against the danger of war it poses, against its encroachments on the sovereignty of the peoples and on democracy, and against the imperialist policy as a whole.

Otto Bauer, the well-known in his time Austro-Marxist, sensing that the growth of revolutionary trends in the development of the class struggle undermined the positions of the opportunist wing of social democracy, declared: "We are not satisfied with the old internationalism!"\* How did Lenin respond to this? He emphasized the following: when the internationalism of the working class based on the ideas and principles of Marx and Engels is declared to be obsolete and an effort is made to substitute for it a new and different conception, that in fact turns out to be no more than a manifestation of a refined nationalism (V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 41, pp. 313-315). I think that in this polemic, which dates almost from the beginning of this century, there is a theoretico-methodological content which has not lost its meaning even today.

#### Concerning internationalist assistance

Internationalism, it was emphasized in the course of the discussion, implies the extension of direct internationalist assistance, which is expressed not only in moral and political support and ideological solidarity, but also in material assistance in the struggle of the revolutionary forces in defense of the peoples' social gains. The conferees discussed the nature of internationalist assistance and its role and place in revolutionary processes, bringing out the content of problems like resistance to the imperialist export of counter-revolution, non-interference in the domestic affairs of other

peoples, and the inadmissibility and impossibility of the "export" of revolution.

Multifaceted manifestations of international solidarity in our day were shown by Amha Dagneu, Editor-in-Chief of the theoretical journal *Meskerem*, organ of the Central Committee, the Commission for Organizing the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia, who took his country as an example. It is hardly necessary to speak at great length about the role of the Ethiopian revolution as a component part of the worldwide struggle for socialism, he said. Our revolution has performed its international duty by dealing a blow at imperialism and opening before the country the socialist way of development. The successful defense by the masses of Ethiopia's territorial integrity and revolutionary gains not only helped successfully to safeguard its national sovereignty, but also promoted a change in the world balance of forces in favor of socialism. Our revolution, which radically changed the people's economic, political and cultural life, provided a source of inspiration for other peoples in the liberation struggle. It reveals its true character ever more fully by constantly coming out against imperialism and colonialism, against apartheid, and in support of the fighters for the liberation of South Africa. The material and moral assistance rendered to the people of Zimbabwe is also of great importance and should be mentioned here.

The Ethiopian revolution, which seeks to fulfil its international obligations for all its limited potentialities, enjoys the support of the socialist countries and revolutionary democracy. Our revolution has achieved success thanks to the assistance of the socialist community. This assistance in the military, economic, social and cultural spheres testifies that we are not alone in the struggle to build a new society, and that our revolution is inseparable from the international struggle of the socialist and all the other progressive forces.

On the basis of our experience, said Luis Filipe Pizarro, director of the Political and Ideological Education Department of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola — Party of Labor, we can say that internationalist support has had an exceptionally important role to play in the victory over the Portuguese colonialists, in beating back the aggression of Zaire and South Africa, in defending the revolution and in building the new life. Angola is a striking example of the effectiveness of proletarian internationalism in its most diverse manifestations: moral, material and political.

It is perfectly obvious that our political stand

\*O. Bauer. *Die Nationalitätenfrage und die Sozialdemokratie*. Wien, 1907, p. 455.

is not affected by the assistance being given to the Angolan revolution. The MPLA's ties with other communist parties are based on complete equality, mutual understanding, and the principles of non-interference and respect for independence. The communist movement supports our struggle, because it has the same goal as that which we have set ourselves, namely, to build a society without man's exploitation of man. We are convinced that there is no antagonism — and there can be no antagonism — between the interests of the revolutionary movement in one country and on the world scale.

The MPLA's anti-imperialist activity implies not only defense of Angola's politico-economic independence, but also support for other peoples coming out for liberation from colonialist, neocolonialist and racist exploitation. The party believes that assistance in the struggle against South African colonialism and racism is one of its vital tasks. Mankind's future is being largely decided on our continent as well. The construction of socialism in Angola will help to expand the borders of the socialist system in Africa and strengthen the positions of anti-imperialist forces in the world. We believe that the acceptance of the ideas of proletarian internationalism by the Angolan working people is a guarantee of success in building the new society.

Gideon Ndobe showed that the Mozambique people's struggle went hand in hand with a constant increase in the internationalist assistance it was getting, and emphasized that this assistance would not have yielded due effect without FRELIMO's ideological and political work. Internationalist support is a mutual matter: not only were we given assistance, but it is also important to see what the people of Mozambique and its party gave the world. If there is no connection between our struggle, between work in the country and assistance from outside, the latter may prove to be fruitless. Internationalist support is valuable and yields fruit only if the people are moved by the same interests and goals as those who render assistance to them.

Speakers at the conference stressed the point that the well-known Marxist-Leninist proposition that the "export" of revolution and other forms of interference in the internal affairs of peoples, an idea plugged by imperialist propaganda in an effort to discredit internationalist assistance, are unacceptable for the communists. But the need was also emphasized to resist the export of counter-revolution and undeclared wars carried on by imperialism

against popular revolutions and any form of imperialist intervention.

Dr. Johannes Henrich Heiseler (German Communist Party), a staff member of the Institute of Marxist Studies in Frankfurt on the Main, said that in present-day conditions imperialism was casting about for new forms of counter-revolutionary strategy reflecting both the changed situation in the world and the awareness of the fact that attempts to crush the socialist state by means of force are fraught with grave consequences for capitalism itself. But, I think, these ostensibly peaceful ways of counter-revolution, which some bourgeois ideologists and politicians consider preferable, do not amount to a complete abandonment of the old "classical" forms of counter-revolution by means of armed intervention. Here, there are diverse transitional forms. I should like to draw attention to this problem: we have experience in fighting the "traditional" forms of counter-revolution, and this matter has been extensively enough analyzed in Marxist writings as well. But the new forms of counter-revolution and its export are a different matter. I think that the actions and strategy of the class enemy should be analyzed in due time and on a broader scale.

Jaime Barrios, CC member, CP El Salvador said that it would be wrong to be guided by the idea that any advice of a fraternal party amounts to interference in the affairs of another party. He described the difficulties on the way travelled by the left-wing forces of his country toward unity, and emphasized the Cuban communists' contribution to bringing these forces closer together, though these forces will themselves solve their own problems.

In the just war for national freedom, the principle of proletarian internationalism has an important role. For instance, today, the question of the forms of support for our revolution acquires much importance. We are acting with the utmost circumspection so as not to involve other countries into our conflict. We are against internationalizing it. Imperialism, brazenly meddling in the internal affairs of the people of El Salvador, is looking for a pretext to export counter-revolution to the neighboring countries as well. What happens to peace in the whole region is not a matter of indifference to us internationalists.

No country taking the socialist road can avoid in the process of its construction the struggle against subversive acts on the part of the forces of reaction and anti-socialist elements, declared Huroyuki Okamoto, member of the Standing Bureau of the CC Presidium, CP Japan. But the question of resisting this must be

decided by the people of that country. Interference from outside on the ways of solving the problem is intolerable.

A question from Pavel Auersperg to comrade Okamoto: What is your stand on the material assistance to revolutionary movements?

We believe, Okamoto replied, that material assistance in a relevant form to a people fighting against imperialism is a duty of all the communists. Our party gave material assistance to the people of Vietnam when it stood up to the aggression of U.S. imperialism, and organized broad strata of the Japanese people for political support of Vietnam. In our view, the assistance must be rendered with full respect for the sovereignty of him to whom it is being rendered. Otherwise it would amount to "the forcing of blessings," as Engels said.

There is no doubt, Janos Berecz said, that the concrete development of socialism abounds in contradictions, which require timely resolution, as otherwise they tend to produce tensions and plunge a socialist country into a critical situation like Hungary in 1956. We have never denied and, in fact, have always emphasized that at that time our enemies staged an almost successful attack on the Hungarian people, on socialism. This occurred above all as a result of our bad mistakes which caused mass dissatisfaction. This was used by reaction, which, with the aid of international imperialism, staged an armed rebellion against the working-class power. The communists had to take a very difficult decision. There were two options. The first was to mobilize their forces for a civil war. Although we were sure that as a result of it the counter-revolution would have been suppressed, this would have called for very great losses. The other option — and it was realized — was to rely in routing the counter-revolution on internationalist assistance and to make use of the situation following from the predominance of the revolutionary forces in the international arena. What proof is there for the correctness of this step?

First of all, the fact that today we live in a socialist Hungary. Furthermore, the fact that the new revolutionary leadership took only a short time to win the political support of the working class and, expressing the interests of workers and peasants, secure the consolidation of the popular power, inaugurating a line of development that has become the most creative in Hungarian history. Finally, the fact that the socialist community's support, including military support, does not entail any limitation or infringement of sovereignty.

The role of internationalist assistance is a matter of principle. Such assistance to Hungary

prevented the extension of imperialist counter-revolutionary intervention and ruled out such intervention in the future. It enabled the Hungarian communists to muster their forces and to go over to the counter-offensive against the enemies of socialism in the socio-political and economic spheres. It strengthened our moral and political confidence in the success of the struggle. However, the Hungarian working people, the working class led by its party, were alone able to solve the basic social problems of internal development in the country.

Our country calls the internationalist assistance rendered to it by the Soviet Union in 1956 its second liberation. Since then, we have been advancing along our own way, which is an expression of the peculiar Hungarian application of the principles of socialism. Our people's cohesion with the peoples of the other socialist countries has been growing.

The French communists, Daniel Debatisse said on this matter, want to see the world consisting of independent states, a world without foreign intervention and incursions. We reject both the export of revolution and the import of counter-revolution and believe that action preventing this is legitimate. That is why we do not confuse two concepts: noninterference, on the one hand, and failure to render assistance to peoples fighting for their liberation and subjected to imperialist attack, on the other.

The stand of the Italian CP on this problem was set forth in a paper presented by Luciano Antonetti. It says: recognition of differences and equality means exclusion, even in principle, of the need for intervention even under the pretext of defending this or that regime. At the 15th congress of the ICP we declared: "Violation of the integrity and sovereignty of states for the purpose of supporting reactionary regimes is inadmissible. But it is also inadmissible for the purpose of exporting revolution, of instructive lessons, of averting more or less hypothetical threats. Breach of this principle would in our epoch signify the start of a chain reaction that could lead to a universal conflagration."\*

Bert Ramelson said that we are all agreed that there should be no interference in the internal affairs of other nations. But does that mean a ban on expressing one's opinion about the policy pursued by another party, especially if that policy has repercussions outside the country's boundaries? I think that to agree with this kind of view of non-intervention would mean neglect of the rich collective experience of the communists of the world.

\*L'Unita, March 31, 1979.



Traditionally, throughout the whole history of the international working-class movement, he went on, it was the duty and responsibility of every communist to render support, assistance — material, moral, ideological, etc. — to a people fighting against enslavement by an imperialist power, to a revolution threatened with overt imperialist intervention. Hardly anyone will question the legitimacy of such support. Doubts arise whenever it is not clear whether the revolutionary forces are able to cope with local reaction. Of course, imperialism will always try to meddle and help counter-revolution in one way or another. Furthermore, I think, a distinction should be drawn between material assistance and even assistance with weapons, on the one hand, and military assistance, assistance rendered by means of armed forces, on the other.

Ahmed Azad, a representative of the South African Communist Party, said: the argument here is that a distinction should be drawn between material and military assistance. Of course, the question of how and in which forms, when and why assistance is rendered should be decided in concrete terms. But that is not what we are discussing here. The question of internationalist assistance should not be reduced to whether military assistance can be rendered at a given concrete moment to this or that country. Such problems are not a matter for discussion at a theoretical conference at all. What is at issue is the principle, our theoretical stand. Internationalist assistance encompasses all its types: moral, political, diplomatic, economic, financial and military support. In other words, when we formulate our attitude to internationalist assistance the implication is that it can also be military. In defining our attitude it is not right to start by fragmenting the concept of assistance itself. Otherwise, the content of our concept of assistance becomes vague.

Emphasizing the importance of military support (and it includes assistance with armed forces), we do not want in any sense to say that it does not depend on the circumstances, so to underestimate solidarity in other forms. Of course, solidarity is highly important in other forms as well. But is it right, in principle, to separate it from direct material support, from military assistance, which in certain situations is simply indispensable to beat back imperialist aggression and intervention?

In an ideal world, where each country is able to develop in accordance with its people's desires, the problem under discussion would apparently not have arisen. But in the real world, it is imperialism that wants to prevent the

people from travelling their chosen road.

The class struggle in the African countries is being carried on not only against the forces of internal reaction; imperialism, monopoly capital is the chief enemy confronting our people. Unfortunately, the external enemy has reserves and resources which are, now and again, very much greater than the potentialities of the local revolutionary forces to resist its aggression. What then is our position in principle when they request more than mere political or economic assistance? Even from the standpoint of theory, to say nothing of the level of the people's consciousness, is it right from the outset seriously to repudiate some forms of internationalist solidarity and support? Is it right to set some kind of limits to our revolutionary struggle? I think that this would be totally wrong. And how are we to understand, in practice, such limitations on internationalist solidarity: is Angola to be left to the mercies of racist South Africa?

If we were to tie our own hands in advance, we would be flinging open the door to imperialist intervention of every type. I think that it is important to emphasize the opposite: imperialism cannot act with impunity, the imperialist powers are no longer capable of imposing their will on other peoples as they did for a long time, because there is now the Soviet Union and the mighty socialist community. This is a political reality with which imperialism must reckon.

Although our conference is a theoretical one, *siad Raul Valdes Vivo*, CC member, CP Cuba, I think that at such meetings it is now also right to speak not only about ideas, but also about tanks. Consider, for instance, if Cuba had sent, say, tanks to Angola, without dispatching its specialists to teach the Angolans how to use them: of what use would the tanks have been over there?

Now, concerning the doubts which now and again arise about the potentialities of a people applying for assistance. Who is to judge whether assistance is to be given or not? After all, we do not have a center. Would one expect to convene all the communist parties on each concrete occasion, in addition — according to the criteria of some comrades — with the participation of all the democratic forces. To stage such a conference, there would be a need to hold preliminary talks. But the need is to act. Besides, it is not right to neglect military secrets.

However, I should also like to say something about the moral aspects of the matter. If people have been brought up in the awareness of being ready to leave their native land and their fami-

lies in case of need and to travel across the ocean, so as to fight against imperialism in distant countries, such people will, of course, defend their own countries with so much greater vigor. This needs to be reckoned with when clarifying the reasons for which U.S. imperialism has not invaded Cuba.

Eddie Glackin, National Executive member, CP Ireland, said: the question who is to judge is highly relevant. Indeed, if all doubts are to be dispelled, must 51 per cent of a nation's population come out in favor of changing its destiny? Or perhaps, 51 per cent of the electorate or of those who went to the polls? Fortunately, or unfortunately, political struggle does not proceed in such refined conditions. It is absurd to assume that in order to decide on the matter of rendering assistance, say, to the people of Angola, a phone call had to be put through to Savimbi or a poll taken to find out the opinion of the FNLA or UNITA concerning the desirable forms of social system in the country. One should not shut oneself in the hothouse of political theory but see the realities of the struggle against imperialism and reaction.

The enemy should not be allowed to lay down the rules and boundaries of our struggle either on the national or international level. We must do everything that circumstances require in order to score fresh successes in the revolutionary struggle and promote the development of the working-class movement.

In the course of historical development, the questions of internationalism have been constantly growing ever more complex, said Konstantin Zarodov. We all know that international solidarity puts definite resources at the disposal of the revolutionary forces to supplement their own, national resources. A look at the history of the international working-class movement shows that initially these resources were, in the main, of an ideological and theoretical order. Subsequently, they acquired an increasingly political character, and with the victory of the Great October Revolution in Russia, to some extent also a state-political character. Today, with the existence and growing strength of the world community of socialist states, with this community exerting a weighty influence on international developments, ties of solidarity which link revolutionaries give them access to the tremendous resources latent in international unity, comradeship and mutual assistance, resources which are not only ideological, theoretical and moral, which are not only political, but also economic, scientific, technical and military.

In this context, I want resolutely to come out against our adversaries, who brazenly (but

justifiably, from their own class angle) declare that the states of the two social systems act virtually in the same way, the only difference being, they claim, that some export counter-revolution, and others — revolution. It would perhaps not be worthwhile to respond to the long-refuted slander against the revolutionary forces which is contained in such statements. But I should like to make one remark.

It is an axiom for us that export of revolution is inadmissible. Yes, it is an axiom. It is inadmissible and prohibited morally by the rules of international law. But the main thing is that the export of revolution is "prohibited" by the laws of social development. Revolution is simply unfeasible through import from outside. The revolution can have no other soil except the national soil. And no one is more aware of this than we Marxists.

But to say the same thing about counter-revolution would be wrong. It rides roughshod over objective laws, to say nothing of morality and the rules of social law. Its purpose is to stem the progressive course of development, and it tramples on the right of the nations to liberation, to emancipation, to self-determination.

That is why, I think, it is absolutely wrong in scientific terms to say nothing of political terms, to argue that concern for the national rights of the peoples must equally block the way for the imperialist export of counter-revolution, and the internationalist assistance of which the revolutionaries are badly in need.

We value national rights and national traditions. There are any number of instances in which the communists, the revolutionaries have shown in practice that no one is better able than they are to defend the interests of the nation and to be true patriots of their country. But we live in a bi-polar class world, and all the national elements of our life, whether we like it or not, are ultimately assessed and weighed on the scale of class relations. I think that the education of the working people in such a spirit is one of the most important tasks of the communists.

#### *Peaceful coexistence and solidarity*

Some speakers showed the importance of the communists' international solidarity for rallying all the peace forces, and demonstrated that efforts to avert war and to resume the process of international détente constitute the most crucial international task of our day. Among the questions discussed were those relating to the impact of peaceful coexistence on the conception of internationalism, and the necessity for a class approach in assessing international phenomena.

The policy of peaceful coexistence is inseparable

able from the ideology of socialism, from proletarian internationalism, which constitute the basis of the communist movement, said Jaime Barrios. Peaceful coexistence, as the whole course of history since the victory of the Great October Revolution has shown, is a policy opposing imperialism and helping to strengthen and develop the socialist system and the successful advance of the world revolutionary process. The maintenance of world peace has been and continues to be one of the most important conditions for enabling each nation to carry out a revolution in its own country and to take its own decision on ways of progress.

Franz Parteder, CC member, CP Austria, stressed that the more vital the necessity for a broad international alliance of the forces coming out against reaction and war, the greater the importance of proletarian internationalism. Our experience shows that the party of the working class, however numerous it may be, can do the working people's interests no more than harm if it succumbs to pressure from opportunism and decides to compromise on the issues of internationalism.

Imperialism, said Daniel Debatisse, has launched a broad counter-offensive accompanied with a revival of Atlanticism, an urge to undermine détente, a stepped up arms race, and an increase in the economic, financial, political and military intervention in the affairs of other nations. This counter-offensive goes hand in hand with a strengthening of inter-imperialist ties under the U.S. umbrella and is based on what we regard as a real ideological war. It is designed to contain the growth of the consciousness of the masses and to divert them from the main thing; the ideas of social change. The edge of this ideological war is directed against the main forces of progress, against socialism, the independence of countries, and the movement for the liberation of the peoples. It is aimed against rational knowledge, against science, against Marxism. In this situation there is an acute and growing need for international solidarity, which develops in the period of the peaceful coexistence of states.

Peaceful coexistence, imposed on imperialism by the socialist countries with the support of other revolutionary forces has an explicit worldwide character. In the presence of vast stockpiles of nuclear weapons it is an imperative. But the international, global character of peaceful coexistence does not imply either a preservation of the socio-political status quo, or a relaxation of the class and ideological struggle. It creates favorable conditions for the class struggle, but from this it does

not at all follow that the advance of this struggle in each country should be subordinated to some kind of global demands. The prime international duty of the communist party is to do its utmost for strengthening its own positions at home and for further weakening of imperialism.

The great scope of international problems, and the new potentialities which spring from the success of the revolutionary movement require a strengthening of solidarity — above all, with the communist parties — and joint action like the Paris meeting in April 1980 to mobilize the people for the struggle for peace and disarmament. All of this also implies greater international solidarity with respect to the socialist countries, which does not mean, however, that one should be guided by rigid dogmas or subjective feelings. Our solidarity is not addressed only to the communist parties or the socialist countries. We believe that it is highly important, in particular, to strengthen solidarity — with respect for the individuality of each — with the national democratic movements and parties leading their peoples' struggle for independence, social justice and progressive development.

The preservation of peace in Europe and throughout the world, and the deepening of détente, said the representative of the CP Turkey, create favorable conditions for advancing the class struggle in the international and national arena. In a country dependent on imperialism like Turkey, which is, besides, a member of NATO, this statement equally applies to the anti-imperialist struggle for national independence. Today, with U.S. imperialism and NATO seeking to force Turkey into more active participation in their aggressive policy in the Middle East, to make it support the global policy of confrontation with the socialist countries and the national liberation movement in our region, the inter-connection between the struggle for peace and the struggle for national independence stands out in bold relief.

However, a sizable part of the working class in Turkey has not yet fully realized that there is an imperative need for vigorous action in defense of peace. One of the reasons for this lack of understanding is the disastrous consequences of the deep-seated economic, social and political crisis, which has been accompanied with tremendous inflation and fascist terrorism, and which has hampered the working people's understanding of the inter-relation between their problems and the policy of imperialism which poses a threat to peace. A negative effect is also exerted on the working people's

consciousness by the slanderous and anti-peace propaganda noises about a "Soviet threat," propaganda which has been systematically carried on in Turkey for decades, and which has been especially intensified in the recent period. In the present conditions, we believe, it is especially dangerous to underestimate the importance of the struggle for peace; this struggle should be more closely connected with the exposure of and efforts to overcome anti-Sovietism.

Proletarian ideology, said *Jeronimo Carrera*, CC member, CP Venezuela, has formulated the conception of internationalism which unites the working people of all the countries on the basis of their class origin, regardless of national or other distinctions. Internationalism has a progressive content not only because it calls on people to fight against exploitation, but also because it seeks to destroy the barriers dividing the nations. Genuine peaceful coexistence between states is possible only on the basis of internationalist principles which make it possible to settle controversial issues while displaying respect for the interests and sympathies of the common man. The necessity to avert war, including wars among so-called small peoples, accelerates the world process of education of the masses in the internationalist spirit, and this fully squares with the assertion of a genuine national consciousness.

The shaping of the working people's class consciousness in our country, said *Ibrahim Malik*, CC member, CP Israel, has been hampered by the aggressive wars against the Palestinian and other Arab peoples. There has been no peace in the Middle East throughout the past 33 years. The establishment of a just and lasting peace — the principal strategic goal in our struggle in the present stage — is important in itself, but also because it would open broad prospects for the development of the class struggle and comprehension of the anti-imperialist goals by the peoples of the whole region.

Peace is a necessary prerequisite for democratic transformations toward socialism, which do not, of course, rule out political struggle, including acute political struggle, *Luciano Antonetti* declared. That is the starting point, we believe, for the new internationalism. At the seventh congress of the Communist International in 1935, *Palmiro Togliatti* put forward the idea that in some conditions the very explosion of another imperialist war could be averted. He returned to the idea repeatedly after the Second World War, but did not confine himself to proclaiming it and, renewing the communist tradition, dealt in detail with the

new tasks arising from the emergence of mass destruction weapons. Finally, he called on the people, on the working people, on democrats of various political orientations and creeds to unite in order to "save civilization." Our conception of the new internationalism springs from, among other things, the conviction, which is backed up with historical experience, that the problems of our day cannot be solved by military means.

At the 15th congress of the ICP it was said: "The new internationalism must be based, as we have long asserted, on a recognition of the distinctions and on a full recognition of the independence of each communist party and of all the revolutionary and progressive forces. But we believe that the time has come to take a step forward in the sense that all the revolutionary and progressive forces — communists, socialists, representatives of democratic lay and Christian organizations and liberation movements — should bend every effort, formulating the basic principles, line and goals of a strategy of peace and development that would inaugurate joint initiatives."\* That is the origin of the proposal put forward by the congress to frame a "Charter of Peace and Development." The ideas on which it is based were the subject of exchanges of opinion and discussions at meetings on various levels. Indeed, we believe, apart from the communists, all the democratic forces in our country and in Europe, and not only in Western Europe, and all the national and progressive forces of the developing countries need to be involved in the struggle for peace and development.

Other speakers here have already shown the untenability of the view that proletarian internationalism needs to be replaced by some "new" internationalism, said *Agamemnon Stavrou*, CC alternate member, Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus. I think, he said, that it would be a crude error to assert that proletarian internationalism no longer meets the requirements of the day, on the plea that imperialism is now no longer able to impose its will on other nations and to achieve its expansionist goals. The realities of our day show that the aggressiveness of imperialism has not diminished. Convincing confirmation of this comes from the revival by the United States of the "strength policy" and its formation of a rapid deployment force for the purpose of sparking off aggressive wars against national liberation movements, and meddling in the affairs of other countries. The expansionist policy of imperialism undermines international

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\**L'Unita*, March 31, 1979.



détente and poses a threat to peace, democracy and social progress. It is shot through with the spirit of hegemonism and an urge for world domination. That is why in this difficult period the international solidarity of the communists is so important in invigorating the activity of all the peace and anti-imperialist forces.

And another thing: it is simply impossible to consider the problem of peace today without emphasizing the profound concern of the nations of the socialist community for peaceful coexistence and détente. Any other approach could merely disorient the peace forces.

In my view, said A. Lopez Salinas, we do not need a policy of blocs, but a struggle by the working class, by the people, by the progressive circles in each country backed by selfless assistance of all the democratic forces of the world. In this way it would be possible to overcome not only the class contradictions, but also the trends in some countries to secure for themselves economic and political hegemony in the international arena. Other conceptions could suggest the conclusion that the class struggle could spark off a new world war or that this struggle can be kept in check by agreements between the major military blocs. Despite the class contradictions, the working class of Spain and the nation as a whole are standing up for the cause of nonalignment, which will help to attain a higher level of economic and political independence and equality, and the establishment of a new international economic order.

Responsibility for the existence of military blocs falls squarely on imperialism, primarily U.S. imperialism, which set up NATO and the other aggressive alignments. The socialist countries responded by setting up the Warsaw Treaty organization. However, since that point on, the existence of the military blocs and their strengthening, despite their different social nature, have constituted a real danger to peace. At the same time, the bloc policy has had a negative effect on the social and political life of the countries within these blocs and has had a harmful influence on the world affairs. In the capitalist states, this policy intensifies the trend toward authoritarianism and the curbing of freedoms, a rise in taxes, cuts in appropriations for education, public health, etc. In the socialist world, the growing outlays on defense tend to slow down the growth of living standards.

The CP Spain has clearly and resolutely come out against Spain's entry into NATO. The party believes that the defense of peace and the people's independence, and the advance toward socialism in conditions of freedom are connected with a dissolution of the blocs and a

dismantling of military bases abroad, regardless of whose bases these are.

Non-class assessments of the aggressive NATO pact and the policy of the Warsaw Treaty countries, said *Jean Rhein*, the identification of the imperialist conception of the spheres of influence with the socialist community's economic and military assistance, and the apportion to the United States and the Soviet Union of equal responsibility for the arms race signify a departure from the working-class stand in the fight against the enemies of détente.

In view of the shifts to the right within the imperialist countries' domestic and foreign policy and the sharpening of the class battles, the communists have even greater tasks before them and responsibility, especially in combating the danger of war. The imperialist policy of aggression and confrontation creates a grave danger to human civilization: any armed conflict at the present level of development of mass destruction weapons could have fatal consequences. In mounting its counter-offensive, imperialism seeks to bring about a change in the balance of forces in its own favor, and to improve the positions of monopoly capital in its fight against the national liberation movement and the working class in the capitalist countries. But the potentialities of the forces capable of checking the imperialist aggressive policy are great.

In the recent period, bourgeois propaganda, said *Sarada Mitra*, has tried to distort the stand of nonalignment by presenting it as an ideology and policy equidistant from the two social systems and opposed to any military blocs whatsoever. While rejecting such views, it is important to note that the idea of nonalignment sprang from the contemporary national liberation movement and goes back to Bandung. It emerged as a response on the part of the newly liberated countries to the urge of U.S. imperialism to involve them in its aggressive blocs. Nonalignment with imperialist pacts was regarded by these countries as a necessary condition for ensuring their independence.

*Dimitris Kasiouras*, a CC staff member, CP Greece, said that in his country opportunists sought to camouflage some of their ideas by means of "internationalism." Thus, the Greek revisionists claim that the Common Market offers a way toward socialism, although that association was set up and operates in the interests of the monopolies, and not the working people at all. The revisionists contrast international cooperation among various political forces, which is, of course, necessary, especially in defense of peace, to the struggle for the unity of

the world communist movement. Exposing the substance of these and other similar views, the Greek communists favor the development of various forms of relations between the fraternal communist parties and coordination of their activity. We have been strengthening our ties with the national liberation and progressive movements in all the countries, especially those in the Mediterranean and the Middle East, an explosive region in the world. Joint activity by all the revolutionary forces of our epoch, in which the leading role belongs to the communist and workers' parties, constitutes a guarantee of success in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress.

Broad attention is now focused as never before on developments going forward in the international arena, said *Konstantin Zarodov*. In every part of the world, hundreds of millions of men and women ponder the state and character of interstate relations and wonder how their development could affect the destinies of the world.

It is no secret that the confrontation of the military-political blocs — NATO and the Warsaw Treaty — is widely conceived as being pivotal to the present-day development of the world. These notions are frequently supported by bourgeois and reformist ideologists. They like to insist that the contemporary world is divided not so much into classes, as into blocs. That being so, they suggest that there is no problem at all before the national socio-political forces in making a choice between the opposite class stands, or that it is of secondary importance, because the real choice is allegedly between alignment with this or that bloc and the maintenance of one's independence.

What can one say about this matter? First of all that in this case, both historically and in scientific-theoretical terms, the cart is, metaphorically speaking, placed before the horse. It turns out as if the interests of the blocs are the motive forces in the class struggle in the capitalist countries. Actually, the blocs themselves appeared and have been operating as a result of the incursion of the class struggle into the sphere of international life. And the revolutionary parties, one could point out, do not at all oppose NATO because they bow to the interests of the Warsaw Treaty. For them, the struggle against NATO is the logical result of a clear-cut class choice, and it is on the strength of the logic of this choice that they by no means put NATO and the Warsaw Treaty on the same footing. While advocating the simultaneous dissolution of the blocs, the revolutionary parties clearly see that it is not blocs generally but only blocs representing hostile-class interests

that pose a real threat to them and their peoples.

Whenever the fraternal parties are able to explain the substance of this situation in clear terms, they make a great contribution to the internationalist education of the masses, because no internationalism can grow out of the notions that the main concern of the working people should allegedly be the urge to "dodge" the "bloc policy" in some way. The consciousness corresponding to its spirit and principles can develop only when there is a growing understanding of the fact that after the victory of the October Revolution, the class struggle spilled over into the international arena, and that that was when the struggle of the opposite social systems or, ultimately, the antagonistic interests of labor and capital, became the pivot of international life. Only those who have (consciously or unconsciously) lost their sense of class approach fail to see this antithesis.

Some speakers considered the correlation between peaceful coexistence and proletarian solidarity from the standpoint of inter-state and inter-party ties. *Clement Rohee* cited his country as an example for presenting the problem as follows. The world socialist community helps the developing countries in their advance along the road of anti-imperialism. For that purpose, not only inter-state relations between socialist and newly liberated countries but also inter-party ties between the ruling parties of such states — communist and petty-bourgeois nationalist parties — are established. That is what has happened in the case of Guyana. However, the ruling party in Guyana seeks to use such inter-party ties for internal political struggle to the detriment of the Guyanese communists.

*Jerónimo Carrera* drew attention to the inner contradiction in the formulation of the problem itself, as other speakers have also noted. The need and the generally positive effect of more active relations between socialist and capitalist countries, including direct contacts between their ruling parties, are unquestionable, he said. Of course, we all know that in connection with such inter-party contacts, the communists of the developing countries above all are now and again confronted with concrete problems, which, however, depend above all on the character of our attitude to the ruling party in our own country. But I think that the point here is precisely the specific, concrete problems of the given party or country, and not of principle. Perhaps, he said, comrade Rohee would clarify his approach.

*Mario Vella*, CC member, CP Malta, said that the problem was being somewhat oversimplified: it would appear that there could

exist some kind of monopoly on international ties on party lines. But that is not so at all. What is more, the very urge for such a monopoly would not in any way advance the internationalist consciousness of the working class or the growth of a communist party's influence in the country. This conclusion follows, in particular, from our own experience. We regard the development of ties between the ruling parties of socialist and developing countries as a means for effectively coordinating action against international imperialism. As for the correlation between solidarity and inter-party ties, we believe that it is not right to seek some abstract solution of the problem, which is always concrete.

The problem is itself a very complicated one, Rohee said. I have merely defined its framework: the ties between parties in the socialist countries and ruling petty-bourgeois parties in countries where communists are also active. I think that it is necessary to take into account the fact that the effect of such ties could also be a negative one. Of course, we do not claim any monopoly for ourselves on international inter-party relations.

The point being discussed, said *Faruk Ali Ahmed*, head of the Propaganda and Agitation Sector of the Ideological Department of the CC Secretariat, Yemeni Socialist Party, should be considered from another angle: from the standpoint of the need to strengthen cooperation between socialist and developing countries on an anti-imperialist basis, instead of contrasting some forms or levels of relations — inter-state and inter-party. I think that there are two aspects to this problem. The first is a political one which has a direct influence on everyday practice both of the state and the ruling party in the most diverse spheres — economic, international and social. The second is an ideological one. Our own experience and that of the fraternal parties shows that the assistance given by the communists of socialist countries in building up the state sector, in strengthening defense, etc., has a positive effect on the consciousness of people. Of course, there may also be a negative reaction. We were once asked this question: why are relations established with petty-bourgeois parties conducting anti-communist policies in the country? Such questions sprang mainly from the talk of demagogues: once you have inter-party ties, this means that they have turned their back on our communists. But this very assumption is absurd and the actual state of things needs to be explained to the masses.

Speaking on the point, *Zaki Khairi*, CC Politi-

cal Bureau member, Iraqi CP, explained his attitude to the ruling Baath Party in Iraq.

Referring to the problem of inter-party relations, *Sarada Mitra* drew attention to the fact that there are now several parties in some countries calling themselves communist. This is a reflection of the differences in the working-class movement in this or that country. In itself, this phenomenon has no special prospect before it. But the problem is the establishment of relations with these parties by the communists of other countries. The best answer seems to be to have relations with all, although this question should be settled in concrete terms. Indeed, if the communists in the socialist countries are willing to have inter-party ties with democratic and patriotic parties in other states, why make an exception in this case? Of course, the level of inter-party relations and their content are determined by the similarity of ideological and political positions on the various issues.

It is hardly right to regard the problem of combining international solidarity and peaceful coexistence from the standpoint of the everyday consciousness, said *Girgin Girginov*, CC member, Bulgarian CP. I am a propagandist who has lectured at home to explain this problem, and I was once told: it is hard to educate among the young people an implacable attitude to the bourgeoisie, when our leaders shake hands with its representatives at diplomatic meetings. That appears to have been the workings of the stereotype notion about "red diplomacy" entrenched in the everyday consciousness.

I think that the idea that solidarity is allegedly incompatible with the extension of the socialist countries' ties — and not only diplomatic ties — with non-socialist governments springs from the same soil.

What is the concrete point here at issue? It is the one-sided interpretations of inter-party relations on an international level, interpretations which we find in our work on internationalist education. In my view, when reckoning with such interpretations it is important to explain truths like the one that the establishment of contacts, say, with the ruling party of a non-socialist country does not at all signify any "approval" of its program or practices, just as inter-state relations with an imperialist country are not a "sanctioning" of its political and social order. Generally speaking, there must be a concrete approach to the analysis of the content of inter-party ties in each concrete case. Thus, yet another stereotype in the everyday consciousness is the notion that the content of inter-state relations consists of peaceful coex-

istence, and of inter-party ties, always of class solidarity. These notions are not at all groundless, because that is precisely the case when it comes to, say, relations between socialist countries with capitalist countries, or relations between communist parties. But it would be wrong to insist that the content of these relations has a straightforward dependence on their form. It is well known that class solidarity, that which we call socialist internationalism, is displayed also in inter-state relations between socialist countries. At the same time, the content of inter-party relations on the international level can consist, for instance, in a common urge to ensure peaceful coexistence. In my view, the new phenomena in inter-party and inter-state relations require further study. This

will help us in our work of international education. Of course, the overcoming of stereotypes in the everyday consciousness, like those considered above, is not an easy thing, especially since it involves the consciousness of people joining the revolutionary movement.

There is no need here to argue that peaceful coexistence favors the activity of all the revolutionary forces and parties, and that it facilitates, instead of hampering, the realization of the principles of proletarian internationalism. It is not right to close one's eyes to the need for peaceful coexistence because the alternative is a horrible one: a real danger of the annihilation of mankind, and life itself on the Earth. No international task is now more important for the communists than the preservation of peace.



## The components of socialist patriotism

### REPORT FROM THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA

90 years have passed since the founding of the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party, a revolutionary Marxist party of the Bulgarian working class, in which the Bulgarian Communist Party has its origins. In connection with that date, and also with the 1300-year anniversary of the formation of the Bulgarian state, which falls this year, a *WMR* delegation visited the country at the invitation of the BCP CC. On it were *Naim Ashhab*, member of the CC Political Bureau, Jordanian CP; *Roland Bauer*, member of the SUPG CC; *Jeronimo Carrera*, CC member, CP Venezuela; *James West*, CC Political Bureau member, CPUSA, and *Boris Grushin*, a staff member of *WMR*. Below is a collective report on their tour, on which they were accompanied by *Girgin Girginov*, BCP CC member and the party's representative on *WMR*.

#### Unity of past, present and future

The Bulgarians have a great reputation for hospitality and open-heartedness — especially with respect to their friends. On this occasion, too, our hosts displayed what appeared to be a

boundless urge to acquaint us, fraternal party representatives, with every aspect of life in the country, to tell us about their people's achievements and problems in building a developed socialist society and to share their party's experience. Apart from the capital, we visited 5 districts — Plovdiv, Gabrovo, Veliko Turnovo, Pleven and Blagoevgrad — 9 cities and 3 villages, and had conversations with secretaries of BCP committees, and with workers at a plant, agro-industrial complex and a university, and inspected many museums and monuments.

Of course, the main topic of all our conversations was connected with the decisions of the 12th congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party held last spring, the results of the decade of struggle by the party and the people to implement the program for building a developed socialist society in Bulgaria adopted by the 10th congress of the BCP, the country's material and spiritual ascent, which comrade Todor Zhivkov said was the real miracle of its 1300-year history.

Ninety years ago, Dimitry Blagoyev, the founder of the party, issued a book entitled *What Is Socialism and Is There Any Soil for It in This Country?* Today Bulgaria vividly and

convincingly demonstrates the advantages of existing socialism. In the shortest possible historical period, within the life-time of one generation, Bulgaria has been converted from a poverty-stricken agrarian country into a modern industrial-agrarian state, which ranks among the world's leaders in the rate of economic potential growth. In a quarter of a century the basic production assets of the country grew eight times, the volume of construction increased eight times, industrial production eleven times, social productivity of labor seven times, real incomes of the population over 3.5 times, and the social consumption funds nearly fourteen times. In the past decade alone the national income more than doubled, and the basic assets grew from LV 33 billion to 77 billion which, figuratively speaking, equals the creation of one more Bulgaria.

But in all these conversations there was yet another idea which, perhaps because of its unexpectedness, left an especially strong impression on us: everyone we spoke with about the present and the future, invariably gave a large part of his attention to Bulgaria's historical past, that which goes back for centuries, and the relatively recent past as well. As a result, the country's history of 13 centuries was offered to us as yet another object of our immediate observation.

Initially, we were inclined to attribute this to the fact that in Bulgaria 1981 was a year abounding in memorable dates. Apart from the above-mentioned events, this year Bulgaria marked the 10th anniversary of the adoption of the new constitution of the Republic, 25 years of the party's April Line<sup>1</sup> and 125 years since the birth of the outstanding Marxist revolutionary Dimitry Blagoyev. But we soon realized that our Bulgarian comrades did not speak so ardently about history because they had so many historical occasions for doing so, but rather vice versa: Bulgaria had so many historical celebrations precisely because the party and the state attach exceptional importance to the past and regard it as one of the chief factors in the communist education of the masses.

People of states differing in socio-economic systems, we are fully aware of the fact that each people holds high its history and has a more or less developed historical consciousness. In Bulgaria, however, we saw something else. Without fear of exaggeration, one could say that there is here a broad conception of history elaborated as an efficient instrument in the struggle for social progress. It has not only been elaborated but has been raised to the rank of high policy.<sup>2</sup>

We saw its visible results on our tour. The

memorial complexes and monuments, for which the only word is gigantic, and which are densely scattered all over the country — like the well-known "Alyosha," a monument to the Soviet soldiers who died for the country's liberation, at Plovdiv, the majestic panorama of the "Plevna Epic of 1877," or the new monument, which is virtually cosmic in outline, being erected on the summit of the legendary Mount Buzludja, where the party held its constituent congress 90 years ago. Or the truly popular celebration of the day of Bulgarian education and culture, of Slavic written language and the Bulgarian press, culminating in a mammoth demonstration in front of the Georgi Dimitrov Mausoleum in Sofia. At noon on June 2, the whole country falls silent for five minutes to express its grief and to pay tribute to the memory of thousands of known and unknown heroes who fell in the struggle for national liberation and socialism. Hundreds of thousands of performers and spectators take part in political song days and folklore festivals like "Pirin Sings," in the Blagoyevgrad district. Nationwide expeditions are organized for schoolchildren and students to study their country's past. There is a successful functioning of organizations (pooling the efforts and funds not only of enterprises and establishments but also of the population itself), like the "1300 Fund" or the National Committee for the Development of the Ancient City of Veliko Turnovo. Finally, there is a great sweep of archaeological exploration and costly works in reconstructing invaluable memorials of antiquity.

All of this showed that in Bulgaria history amounts to more than the texts of schoolbooks, to more than the traditional halls of local lore museums, to say nothing of being the subject of research by a handful of armchair scholars. It is a truly popular cause, an organic and essential element of the everyday life of the society. History is being "used" in the country in a great variety of ways, in tackling the most diverse problems of the present. But the pivot of all these efforts in comprehending the "dialectic unity of past, present and future" is, of course, the patriotic education of the working people, of the rising generation. In Bulgaria, socialist patriotism is seen as one of the crucial factors in building a developed socialist society, and simultaneously as one of the sources explaining the Bulgarian society's successes over the past few decades.

### *Class approach to history*

In the small picturesque town of Bansko, which lies at the foot of the majestic and snow-capped



Mount Pirin, we visited the museum of Bulgaria's well-known proletarian poet Nikola Vaptsarov, who died a heroic death at the hands of the fascists in 1942. In a poem entitled "History," displayed on one of the stands, the poet asks:

History, will you mention us  
In your faded scroll?

and goes on to offer an answer:

Just tell our story simply

To those we shall not see,

Tell those who will replace us —

We fought courageously.

In pithy lines, the communist poet succeeded in providing the answer to a question which is filled not only with philosophical but also with the most acute political meaning: what, indeed, is important, what is meaningful for the people, for the party in the historical past, precisely which events and facts, which phenomena and processes? After all, the past is known to have a great many faces: on it may draw for inspiration the most diverse and frequently antithetical political, social, cultural and ethical orientations; it can provide a basis not only for the flourishing of patriotism, of proletarian internationalism, but also of nationalism.

Characterizing the process of communist education as a whole, BCP CC Secretary St. Mikhailov, who received us, said that the class-party approach to the phenomena and events of reality constitutes the nucleus of the socialist consciousness. This idea, he emphasized, is fully valid with respect to the historical reality.

To sum up the content of this conversation, and other conversations with the leadership of the BCP Institute of History headed by its Director, Professor D. Elazar, Secretary of the BCP Gabrovo Committee D. Minchev and other comrades, the substance of this approach to history consists of the following:

First, what is pivotal in past history is the people's contribution to national and social progress, to the treasure-house of mankind's culture. That is the whole purpose of the "1300" project, in the course of which the Bulgarian people have been marking all that is truly progressive in their country's development.

Second, within the framework of this progressive development the focus is on what Lenin called the "great models of the struggle for freedom and socialism" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 21, p. 103), that is, the revolutionary activity of broad masses of people setting themselves the goal of national liberation and social emancipation. That is why the Bulgarians so cherish all

the heroic acts of the people performed on their soil, which is "filled with blood and gripped by revolts" (N. Vaptsarov), beginning with the first victorious peasant uprising in Europe led by the legendary Ivailo (13th century), and the five-century-long national resistance to the Turkish feudals, abounding in tragic events (15th-19th centuries) and ending with the courageous struggle against the fascist regime, which culminated, with the aid of the Soviet Army, in the September 1944 revolution.

Nor is this only a matter of the "masses as a whole." "He who has fallen for freedom in terrible battle does not die." These are the highly popular lines of Bulgaria's great son Khristo Botev and they have become one of the principles of the nation's attitude to its history, so that it is no longer faceless but is personified in a remarkable manner. On Mount Buzludja, on the spot where in 1868 the brave chetniks of Hadja Dimitr and Stefan Karadji died in unequal battle against the Ottoman invaders, we read the names of all the 128 heroes engraved on stone plaques. On the tomb of the Unknown Soldier at Plovdiv, there is a similar list of 950 names of those who fought in the April 1876 uprising, the September anti-fascist uprising of 1923, and the partisan battles during the Second World War.

Third, in presenting the liberation struggle of the masses, the main accent is on its concluding stage connected with the preparation and implementation of the socialist revolution. Consequently, the central place in this presentation is assigned to the history of the origination and development of the revolutionary party of the working class, the characteristics of its activity.

One manifestation of this attitude to history is the extensive celebration (not only ceremonial but also analytical) of the founding of the party. The Marxist social-democratic party has travelled a glorious, even if complicated and contradictory way, subsequently developing into a Leninist-type of Communist Party, which led the people to victory in the socialist revolution and which is now successfully guiding the construction of a developed socialist society. The detailed examination in the mass press and in lectures, scientific writings and at party meetings of the way travelled by the party, and the emphasis on the party's loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, its intolerance of any opportunism, its loyalty to the working class, its respect for theory, and its genuine internationalism help the masses to deepen their historical knowledge, thereby raising the party's authority among the people.

Fourth, no look at history is an end in itself,

but is designed not so much to extol the past as the present, by emphasizing the continuity of the people's best traditions. In other words, history must help effectively to solve the problems now facing the society and to invigorate the working people's struggle for the attainment of the goals set by the party.

Fifth, in turning to history one should not allow any falsification of it, one should see it in both the positive and the negative, and equally combat both against an apology of it, and against a nihilistic attitude to it.

Observance of all these principles helps to make active use of the historical past in the communist education of the working people and to shape genuine socialist patriotism.

### *Development of national self-consciousness*

What are the concrete tasks tackled by the Bulgarian comrades in this work? What are their goals?

In general terms, the answer is provided by the theses of the 12th congress of the BCP: "Ideological work must consistently and profoundly shape in the minds of all Bulgarian citizens a high sense of patriotic consciousness, national pride and responsibility to the Fatherland, love and gratitude for the people's revolutionary traditions and the gains of existing socialism, and an implacable attitude to any manifestation of nationalism and national nihilism."

We were given a commentary of these theses by T. Pashov, First Secretary of the BCP Gabrovo District Committee. For all practical purposes, he said, the point here is to develop the national consciousness and self-consciousness of people in a socialist spirit, including important qualities like pride for one's nation and country, a sense of national dignity, and loyalty to the Fatherland. That is the purpose for which we emphasize the erstwhile greatness of our ancestors, and reproduce historical models of the heroic and dedicated service to the Fatherland by Bulgaria's best sons and daughters from various epochs. Of course, the education of the patriotic consciousness is also possible and, indeed, necessary on the facts of the present, on the positive examples of our own day. However, if the nation has, in addition, a rich history like ours, it must, of course, also be broadly used by the party in shaping the national self-consciousness. In turning to it, we want to show every new generation entering upon life that it is not a "poor relative" in a large family of peoples, but heir to a rich and ancient civilization which has made a considerable contribution to the culture of mankind, a con-

tinuator of the memorable deeds of a heroic and freedom-loving people.

Like many other meetings this conversation dealt with the important problem of the substance and role of patriotism in the socialist society, which Lenin said "is one of the most deeply ingrained sentiments, inculcated by the existence of separate fatherlands for hundreds and thousands of years" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 28, p. 187).

Those of us who live in the capitalist countries, know very well that there the very word "patriotism" most frequently has a bombastic ring. For the working masses, it is, as a rule, deprived of any concrete meaning, and to call the present-day bourgeois a patriot would be no more than a joke. If this feeling is remembered at all, it is only in the course of pompous electoral campaigns. That is understandable: patriotism can develop consciously, profoundly and on a massive scale only in a country where the principles of social justice, equality and political democracy reign supreme. That is the phenomenon everyone will now find in Bulgaria. Its example eloquently shows that patriotism is just as much an inalienable property of genuine socialism, as socialism is a condition for genuine patriotism.

Let us add, of course, that the "Bulgarian example" has manifest national specifics which spring from the country's peculiar historical development, and above all from the fact that over a period of many centuries it labored under the yoke of alien conquerors.

Foreign oppression, like any other form of coercion implanted from outside, as a rule helps to consolidate the national spirit. Of this there is no doubt. But it is equally true that under certain circumstances such an oppression, particularly if it lasts for centuries, spanning the lifetime of many generations, may weaken this spirit or even lead to its total disappearance. That is why conquerors have always sought and continue to seek to obscure the past of enslaved peoples, to deprive them of their historical memory, and to convert them into peoples without a history and, consequently, without a future.

The Bulgarian people has succeeded in safeguarding its history, its national uniqueness. This did not result of itself, but through tireless, conscious and dedicated struggle by the Bulgarians, defending their national dignity with work, pen and sword, and demonstrating to the invaders and to the whole world that they have every right to independent development and are, consequently, in no sense an "inferior nation" as the Byzantine emperors and Turkish feudal lords kept saying, later to be echoed by

their own corrupt bourgeoisie and the royal regime, which plundered the country.

We were vividly reminded of this in Bansko where we saw a majestic monument to the Monk Paisi Hilendarsky, the author of the famous "Slavo-Bulgarian History," which was published in 1762 and inaugurated the Bulgarian Renaissance. One of the giant stelae surrounding the figure of the historian and symbolizing the pages of his work, contains this inscription: "Take heed ye who love people and your Bulgarian fatherland... ye must know of the deeds of your fathers, as other tribes and peoples know their ancestry and their language. All have their own history, and all who are literate know it, speak of it, are proud of their people, of their language."

This tradition of forming the national consciousness and self-consciousness begun by the popular heroes, enlighteners and revolutionary democrats was taken up and spread in the new period by the proletariat of Bulgaria and its Marxist-Leninist party. The Bulgarian communists' legendary leader, Georgi Dimitrov, in his brilliant summing-up speech at the Leipzig trial in 1933, said in rebuffing those who called his people "wild" and "barbarous": "It is true that Bulgarian fascism is wild and barbarous. But the Bulgarian working class and the peasantry, the Bulgarian people's intelligentsia are not savages or barbarians in any sense... Under a foreign yoke for 500 years, the Bulgarian people did not lose its language or national uniqueness and perseveringly fought for its liberation. I have not the slightest reason to be ashamed of being a Bulgarian. I am proud of the fact that I am a son of the Bulgarian working class, which is so bravely fighting against fascism, and for communism."

Today, in socialist Bulgaria one will see how the people's reasons for the feeling of pride have increased: a small country, ranking 101st in the world in territory and 61st in population, it has achieved tangible progress in every sphere of life, it enjoys high prestige in international relations, and is a most active fighter for the triumph in the world of the ideals of peace, democracy and socialism.

The shaping of the national consciousness in Bulgaria turns out to be a part of "the objective process of the mutual penetration of socialist patriotism and socialist internationalism." A national consciousness which is socialist in content and form is incompatible with any manifestations of national narrow-mindedness or chauvinism, and organically includes the notions of the equality of peoples and fraternal solidarity of the working people of all countries.

Indeed, as much as patriotism, the feeling of internationalism is a long-standing tradition in Bulgarian history. Even in the 1860s, the fiery apostle of freedom, Vasil Levsky, rousing the masses for the liberation struggle, taught them that it was not the Turks but the Ottoman feudal lords that were the real enemies of the Bulgarians. And anyone who knows even a little of the history of the international working-class movement since the end of the last century will know that Bulgarian revolutionary Marxists were always boundlessly loyal to the fundamental principles of proletarian internationalism.

Describing this aspect of the party's life and activity, BCP CC Secretary Dimitr Stanishev recalled that the first, Buzludja Congress formulated the programmatic proposition that it declared itself to be one of the contingents of the world social-democratic movement. In 1917, the country's working people and Blagoyev's party met with enthusiasm the victory of the October Revolution in Russia.<sup>3</sup>

Following the line of international working-class solidarity, the Marxist party of the Bulgarian social democrats (Tesny Socialists) joined the Communist International, as a body, headed by Dimitry Blagoyev, so becoming one of its founders. It was renamed as the Bulgarian Communist Party (Tesny Socialists) and this name itself showed that the party was not set up anew but was carrying on its history and its best revolutionary traditions. The generally recognized leaders of the Bulgarian communists Vasil Kolarov (from 1922 to 1924) and Georgi Dimitrov (from 1935) were General Secretaries of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

It is well known — and this will be seen in the Republic with the naked eye — that in the minds of the Bulgarian people and its party's ideology, friendship with the Russian and the whole Soviet people is highly important. Rooted in their kindred written language and culture, cemented by the blood shed in the liberatory Russo-Turkish war of 1877-1878 and in the joint struggle against fascism during the Second World War, this brotherhood acquired a new quality with Bulgaria's entry upon the road of socialist development. "Two congresses — one goal," such was the slogan under which the BCP prepared and conducted its own 12th congress, which was held just after the 26th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The BCP and the Bulgarian people have strong relations of friendship and close cooperation, based on common ideological and political principles and loyalty to their international

obligations, with the parties and peoples within the socialist community of nations. They have feelings of profound solidarity for the social and national liberation struggle of the working people in the capitalist and developing countries.

### *An active stand in life*

Finally, socialist patriotism, as it can be observed in Bulgaria, has yet another essential feature, namely, its manifest vigor expressed in concrete acts, in the behavior of people.

In working for patriotic education, the Bulgarian comrades start from the assumption that mature socialism is a stage at which, Lenin said, there is "a rapid, genuine, truly mass forward movement, embracing first the majority and then the whole of the population, in all spheres of public and private life" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 25, p. 472). That is why in their educational work, they appeal not only to the hearts and minds of the masses, but also to the aspects of the human consciousness which are directly connected with a readiness to act.

The theses of the 12th congress of the BCP speak of the need to attain "changes in social and individual consciousness and behavior of people that would lead to the shaping of an active stand in life and enhancement of the social activity of the individual in building mature socialism, and in tackling the immediate problems and tasks in improving the socialist way of life." We got a concrete idea of the main lines and methods in attaining this goal in our visits to a memory-device plant, the Cyril and Methodius University in Veliko Turnovo, the Yantra agro-industrial complex, and the Etyr ethnographic center of ancient national crafts, and in the course of our conversations with First Secretaries of the BCP district committees comrades N. Tsonev (Veliko Turnovo), P. Gerganov (Pleven) and V. Sandev (Blagoyevgrad) and other comrades.

Here again, much is connected with history, with the actualization of the labor, cultural, and everyday and ethnic traditions of the past. As "specimens of behavior," they are designed to direct and organize human activity in forms habitual to the people. But the main emphasis here is, of course, on the present day. Life in the Bulgarian society today, with all its achievements and problems, solved and unsolved, provides the principal "matter" for educating active socialist individuals. We believe that the content of such work in Bulgaria deserves attention.

First of all, the Bulgarian comrades have an interesting approach to the correlation between educational activity proper and the immediate

experience of life among the masses. In this context, they speak of the need to overcome the purely enlightenment nature of ideological, propaganda work, to subordinate it to the solution of current social, economic and political problems, while further intensifying the educational influence of the socialist social environment: the work collective, the service sphere, academic institutions, etc.

One of the important and consciously adopted lines in invigorating the stand in life by citizens in Bulgaria is to draw people's attention to the outstanding problems and all sorts of "difficult problems" of social life. Broad discussion of miscalculations and mistakes not only helps more fully to bring out their causes, but also to mobilize the communists and all the other working people for the struggle to overcome them.

Systematic, consistent work by the party to create the best conditions in the society for the creative activity and diverse initiatives by the people, not only by large collectives but also by individuals, is the next essential aspect of the education of active socialist patriotism. The Bulgarian comrades staged a great many large and small social experiments in various spheres of social life, displaying a truly creative approach to socialist construction in accordance with its general uniformities and in the light of the country's specific conditions. In the economy, for instance, there is a new economic approach centered on economic, instead of administrative methods of tackling problems, the so-called multiplication approach in shaping economic ties and proportions not from the standpoint of the individual production unit, but in the light of the whole diversity and importance of its dependence on other units. In the organization of production there is an interesting experiment in setting up agro-industrial and industro-agrarian complexes; in administration, the principle of combining the state and social lines involving joint activity by governmental agencies, departments, social bodies and representatives of various sections of the population, has been introduced and is being more widely developed, etc.

Finally, the party's policy connected with the development among the masses of the sense of being the master of the country and of everything that is being done in it has a key role to play within the system of shaping the socially active individual. The Bulgarian communists have not confined themselves here to a general formulation of the problem, but have tackled it with the use of a great many organizational forms. One of these is the full-scale system for informing the masses and studying their opin-

ions and moods. At the party's latest congress, Todor Zhivkov emphasized: "Asking what people think is not only a matter of politeness. To ask means to involve all the working people in the solution of problems, and in managing production and the society, as Lenin required."

Extensive recourse to the heroic past is organically combined with the effort to muster the working people for the solution of current problems in social development, instil in their minds a sense of pride in their achievements, with fostering intolerance among the people toward shortcomings, asserting the principles of proletarian internationalism, with ever more profound love for one's people, rallying the masses round their vanguard, the Bulgarian Communist Party. This invests patriotism with components which covert it into a most essential element of the socialist nation's life, and an important factor in the attainment of the moral and political unity of the party and people.

1. The decisions of the April 1956 plenary meeting of the Central Committee, which re-established the Leninist norms in the life of the party and opened a new stage in the country's development.

2. At the end of 1980, the BCP CC, the Bulgarian state and social organizations issued an address to the Bulgarian people on the 1300th anniversary of the founding of the Bulgarian state, which, in part, says: "We call on all political and mass organizations, scientific, cultural, educational and ideological organizations, establishments and departments, and creative unions to start in the country and abroad extensive research, cultural, educational and political-education work for studying and explaining our people's heroic past and democratic traditions, its achievements in the sphere of culture, and its all-round successes in building socialism! We are sure that the celebration of the 1300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state will rally all the citizens of the Republic even more closely round the ideals, goals and policy of the Bulgarian Communist Party!"

3. On November 10, 1917, the party's periodical *Rabotnichesky Vestnik* wrote: "Since November 7, the Great Republic of Russia has entered upon a new, clear and strictly charted way . . . We wholeheartedly welcome the selfless Russian proletariat, the vehicle of peace, freedom and the brotherhood of nations."

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## Left coalition: immediate prospects

### COMRADES-IN-ARMS REPORT

On the eve of the 1978 general elections, three Costa Rican left organizations — the party of communists, the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica (PVP); the Costa Rican Socialist Party (CSP) and the People's Revolutionary Movement (PRM) — set up the United People coalition. They elaborated a joint program of social transformations, nominated a joint candidate for the presidency, and agreed on a common list of candidates for the legislative assembly and the municipal councils. These parties sought to coordinate their action for the working people's rights, against the attempts by reaction and imperialism to destroy the constitutional system and implant a fascist-type regime. Recently, however, the further consolidation of the left forces has met with some difficulties.

At the request of the *WMR* Editorial Board, leaders of the Costa Rican parties held a round-table meeting in San José to discuss these difficulties. The meeting was attended by *Arnoldo Ferreto*, member of the PVP CC political commission; *Alberto Salom*, CSP General Secretary; *Miguel Marti*, member of the PRM Central Committee; and *Dr. Rodrigo Gutierrez*, President of the National Committee of the United People coalition and its present candidate for the presidency of the Republic. Here is an abridged version of the discussion.

Q. Unity of action is known to be very important for revolutionaries. What is the substance of the differences that have arisen?

A. *Salom*: There are two types of differences: strategic, relating to the character of the Costa Rican revolution, its motive forces and stages; and tactical, reflecting the different approaches to problems of current struggle.

Thus, the PRM leadership maintains that the differences prevent the coalition from going beyond the framework of tactical unity. Our party's answer to this is that one has to see the apparently imperceptible but in effect important distinction between a common strategy for winning power and the strategic nature of an alliance. In the latter instance, a total identity of positions is by no means necessary, for it is not a matter of merging into one party, but of political agreement. The left forces need an alliance formed with the perspective of winning power and, consequently, independent of momentary waverings and transient differences.

Unification of all Costa Rican democrats is a complicated process. In the CSP's opinion, broad public and political circles should take part in it. From the social standpoint, such unity is based on a worker-peasant alliance with the participation of other contingents of working people, and also the middle strata. From the political standpoint, it is based on a coalition of organizations which recognize Marxism-Leninism as their ideology.



To fulfil the revolutionary tasks, the interaction of three parties is not enough. For the sake of victory, it is necessary to set up a front that would unite all the progressive, democratic and anti-imperialist forces. And we are convinced that this can be done if our organizations form the backbone of such a front. That is why the United People coalition should be seen as a strategic one and should be safeguarded against short-term dangers.

Central America already has a long record of cooperation in this field. When the three groups of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (SNLF) in Nicaragua took the historic decision to unite their military and political forces, their strategic goals were far from identical. It was the same in El Salvador. In both cases, events developed very rapidly and unity reached a much higher level than many of us could have supposed. What was the decisive factor? The deposition of the tyrant in Nicaragua and the intensification of the struggle in El Salvador became possible because the revolutionary organizations had come to see themselves — in varying degree — as *strategic allies*.

In assessing the United People coalition as a strategic one, we think it important to ensure that its constituent parties should work together in every area of the struggle, and not only in the course of electoral campaigns. The paramount task is to attain trade-union unity. A United Working People's Trade Union Center was recently formed in Costa Rica. Unfortunately, the trade unions directed or influenced by the PRM have not joined this center. It is maintained that membership in a centralized federation would have a negative influence on the young organizations which have yet to be consolidated, for in such a federation they would allegedly have a subordinate status and would lose their independence. Such an approach is basically incorrect. Undue emphasis on the problem of independence does tangible harm to the working class. No account is taken of the fact that the trade-union movement is based on democratic principles, and that views on the proletariat's major goals coincide. These factors, however, are not secondary, and provide a basis for overcoming the differences and strengthening our unity.

*Miguel Marti:* The PRM sees the left organizations as a core around which all the democratic and anti-imperialist circles of Costa Rica should group. This is the way that will lead to the emergence and strengthening of a "social force of the revolution" capable of winning power through a political and military defeat of the local bourgeoisie and U.S. imperialism.

Such an alliance must be strategic: its formation is an indispensable condition of a popular victory. As comrade Salom pointed out, the struggle of the Central American peoples has fully confirmed this truth. At the same time we insist: so long as the parties have not settled the differences which hinder the elaboration of a common military-political strategy for winning power, the coalition can only pursue tactical goals. Undoubtedly, a further intensification of the popular struggle under the influence of the deepening contradictions, and its transition to ever higher forms will help to work out a common military-political conception, to decide whether the line pursued by this or that party is right or wrong.

The PRM leadership has already formulated its stand on the problem of trade-union unity: we believe that the formation of a general federation is desirable in the future, but is today premature. Various organizations refuse to join the United Working People's Trade Union Center, believing that this would infringe upon their independence. The task now is to work out a form of coordination that would embrace all the trade-union trends, including those without a revolutionary edge.

*Arnoldo Ferreto:* The parties of our coalition (as yet the only left organizations in Costa Rica) have a common urge to understand the phenomena of social and political life on the basis of Marxist-Leninist methodology. We hold common views on U.S. imperialism, the main adversary, and have a common desire to become the force that will lead the people to social emancipation. We resolutely support the Nicaraguan Revolution and the struggle of the patriots of El Salvador and Guatemala, advocate friendship with the socialist countries, and recognize the Soviet Union's vast role in the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence. On the whole, the positions of the three parties coincide on a wide range of issues, both in domestic and foreign policy.

While recognizing that the United People has become the most lasting coalition of the recent period, the communists at the same time think it important to fight for its further consolidation.

Our party, like any other political organization, can have and actually has two types of allies: tactical and strategic. We take the same approach to our alliances. Tactical blocs are of a short-term nature and are necessary for the attainment of immediate goals. Their participants work together throughout some concrete stage of the revolutionary struggle; they can share our viewpoint on one or even several

tasks of the given period and simultaneously disagree with other viewpoints.

We call the CSP and the PRM our strategic allies. This means that the communists think it possible to tackle jointly all the basic tasks, regarding them as permanent comrades-in-arms, and not as fellow-travellers at a certain stage of development.

As for the trade-union movement, the PRM is trying to unite the un-uniteable: the leaders who take a firm class stand and those who side with the employers and are connected with the yellow regional confederations. We have more than once seen in practice that the trade-union leaders who are close to the owners want to split, rather than unite, the working class. In the present situation, efforts must be made to involve in the joint struggle the local organizations which really wish to cooperate. There is no point in wasting time on convening coordination committees, for these do not meet the imperative of the day and, as experience has shown, are unmanageable. The optimal thing to do now is to set up a united trade-union center which would epitomize all the best elements of the working-class movements.

Left unity should not be confined to participation in elections; in our view, the alliance should cover all forms of struggle, should manifest itself in the policy with respect to the trade unions and peasant organizations, extend to Indian communities, to the student movement, etc. The strength of such an alliance depends on steadfast pursuit of a firm line for unity. We are trying to convince the comrades from the PRM that without cooperation in the trade-union movement it is impossible to ensure close interaction in other areas, including electoral campaigns. Since our parties agree that the leading role in the Costa Rican revolution belongs to the proletariat, and not to one political organization or another, every effort must be made to unite the trade unions. For this is the basis of a future democratic front, whose formation is extremely important for the development of the revolutionary process.

Q. What place in the anti-imperialist struggle do you assign to the various classes and social sections, the bourgeoisie in particular?

Miguel Marti. The PRM has always maintained that in Costa Rica, as in other Latin American countries, the revolution is a unity of two processes: anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist. That is why we reject the revolutionary role of the bourgeoisie and do not believe that any of its groups can side with the people or take part in the fulfillment of anti-imperialist and democratic tasks. This is particularly clear in the approach to the agrarian question. The

capitalists have big investments in agricultural production, and agrarian reforms can be carried out not with the assistance, but in spite of the bourgeoisie or some of its sections.

There is now a lot of argument about the role of some sections of the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie in the overthrow of Somoza. First of all, one must bear in mind that these sections had always been extremely weak, while the main forces of capital were on the side of the tyranny. The bourgeois opposition to the dictatorial regime, represented, in particular, by the P.J. Chamorro group, was only limited. The bourgeoisie's much vaunted participation in the final stage of the struggle was due to a factor with which it had nothing to do whatsoever, namely, the people's armed uprising led by the SNLF. Some employers were afraid to miss the initiative and go by the board of history. Without the SNLF hegemony, without a balance of forces in its favor both in the political and in the military plane, the bourgeoisie could have perhaps played a totally different role.

It is on this issue that our party differs from the PVP, which regards revolution as a democratic and anti-imperialist process, in the course of which an agrarian reform will be carried out and in which some groups of the bourgeoisie will be able to take part.

In our view, among the components of the "social force of the revolution," apart from the working class and the peasantry, are the broadest circles of the middle strata, small and middle land holders, traders, government employees, students, democratically and anti-imperialist-minded activists. All these sections now follow the bourgeois parties, primarily, the National Liberation Party (NLP), which is a member of the Socialist International. One of the lines of the PRM's work is to win over these sections to the side of the revolution, to release them from the ideological influence of big capital. We have taken steps to bring these categories of the population closer to the working class, especially in the trade unions.

Unfortunately, the parties of the coalition have not agreed on a common stand on the middle strata. Since the 1978 elections, the United People has not achieved organizational cooperation with their representatives. This is one of the shortcomings in our work, which must be overcome in the course of the 1982 electoral campaign. The coalition still exists, but it is much too narrow. Its narrowness can be overcome and its composition enlarged only by attracting circles which are outside the left forces, in other words, which hold somewhat different political views.

Alberto Salom. I would like to consider two

aspects of the problem. The first relates to the classes and strata of the society that are capable of taking part in the revolutionary process. First of all, I believe, one must not speak of the bourgeoisie as a whole, but must single out its various groups, for otherwise one could easily make a mistake. Comrade Marti contradicts himself. On the one hand, he includes broad circles of the middle strata in the "social force of the revolution" and, on the other, fails to notice that these strata belong to the capitalist class, although only partially. Moreover, the petty bourgeoisie belongs to the bourgeoisie only insofar as it reproduces the capitalist relations of production. Nevertheless, it is hardly right to underestimate its role in the revolutionary process. We see the small holders as allies of the working class at the most important stages of the revolution; moreover, some group of these can also be interested in building socialism. Other countries have already had experience of that kind. A considerable section of the population belonging to the middle strata is in a similar position, although with major reservations. At any rate, many of them can be neutralized in the course of the struggle. Our party denies the revolutionary potential only of the top section of the bourgeoisie — industrial, commercial and banking — which is closely connected with the interests of foreign imperialism.

True, the top business strata in Nicaragua for various reasons took part in the overthrow of Somoza. But as soon as it was time to carry out anti-imperialist and democratic transformations, they began to throw spanners in the works. In other words, they ran into contradiction with the people. The bourgeois élite showed its historical inability to fulfil truly patriotic tasks. At the same time, it is a mistake to think that all groups of the bourgeoisie are lost to the liberation movement. The real facts both on our continent and throughout the world speak to the contrary.

Comrade Marti said that the PRM seeks to win over to the side of the revolution the nonproletarian sections of the NLP. How does one classify these sections? To what social category do they belong? That is the question. And to say that some bourgeois circles in Nicaragua supported Somoza's overthrow under pressure from the people, who led the uprising, is no argument against the bourgeoisie's participation in the revolutionary process. On the contrary, any party which calls itself Marxist-Leninist should seek to involve in the struggle various bourgeois groups, always under the proletariat's hegemony. Otherwise the revolution would have been a monopoly of work-

ers and peasants. Those who put the question differently do not voice the interests of the proletariat, but those of other social classes.

On the other hand, the thesis on the need to extricate the democratically minded non-proletarian strata from the influence of the big bourgeois parties remains valid. It appears that all our parties share this view. The problem, however, is how to tackle this task. I think that the safest and most correct way is to follow a policy aimed to strengthen the unity of the left forces and improve the organization of the working class and the peasantry, that is, to form a revolutionary core around which all the progressive circles can and must unite. It would be an illusion to think that the democratic sections will go over to the side of the left-wing parties of their own accord. The only way here is to strengthen our coalition, the class trade-union organizations and, above all, the United Working People's Trade Union Center. Those who misinterpret the concept of "flexibility" and come to the conclusion that non-proletarian groups can be drawn into the revolution without or even to the detriment of the left bloc are deeply mistaken.

*Arnoldo Ferreto.* For the Marxist-Leninists, the revolution means more than the winning of power, although this is the main question. In accordance with Lenin's proposition, power is necessary to restructure the society on fundamental lines and change the obsolete relations of production. The PVP maintains that the present stage of the revolution in Costa Rica is anti-imperialist and democratic. One of its main tasks is to liberate the country from imperialist domination and carry out an agrarian reform. To fulfil this task, it is necessary to establish people's power. Experience shows that this type of revolution is an integral part of the continual process leading to socialism. This is evident from Cuba's experience. In my opinion, events in Nicaragua will develop along the same lines.

As for the bourgeoisie, I think the Nicaraguan experience has shown very well that some of its sections can play an important part in a democratic and anti-imperialist revolution. This fact must not be ignored, even though the business circles stop playing a progressive role as soon as fundamental social changes (especially with a socialist orientation) get under way. It must be noted that some bourgeois politicians in Nicaragua are still members of the government. The SNLF is doing its utmost to retain their participation in the present process. In El Salvador, a very broad Revolutionary Democratic Front (RDF) has been set up, whose most consistent members advocate its further expan-

sion, an involvement of the Catholic Church and even the military. What classes and groups, apart from the workers and peasants, are represented in that Front? It is largely the middle strata, a definite section of the bourgeoisie.

Of course, one cannot say that the bourgeoisie is fully resolved to rally to the banners of the revolution and accept radical transformations, like a profound agrarian reform. The PVP never said so. One must bear in mind, however, that if the proletariat and its party do not play the leading role, none of the urgent tasks of the democratic anti-imperialist stage will be fulfilled to the end.

It is a paradoxical fact that the PRM, on the one hand, wants an expansion of the United People coalition to beyond the framework of left forces and, on the other, criticizes the PVP because the latter's program envisages the participation of a certain section of the bourgeoisie in the revolutionary process. Undoubtedly, we must win over new social groups to the side of the revolution, and the PVP's program points out the need for unity with some circles of the petty and middle bourgeoisie.

On the other hand, the comrades from the PRM have been talking of closer ties and even of an alliance with certain forces within the National Liberation Party. That is a multi-class party, with a heterogeneous social make-up and without a clearcut organizational structure. The main point, however, is that its policy is dictated not by the middle strata, but by the oligarchy, which is widely represented in its leadership. The facts show that the NLP's line is taking an ever more reactionary turn. The worsening situation in Central America, the deepening economic and political crisis in our country, and Reagan's inauguration are some of the reasons why Costa Rica's ruling circles have been moving to the right. Over the next few years, the NLP's line on the trade unions could well become even more divisive and anti-communist. It is strange that in such conditions the PRM thinks it possible to cooperate with that party in the trade unions.

Our party, like any other revolutionary organization, does not object as a matter of principle to their allies' concluding agreements with bourgeois parties or their factions. On the contrary, we are convinced that under certain circumstances such agreements must be concluded, and not only with the lower echelons of these parties, but also with their leadership. Thus, the communist parties have often joined anti-fascist blocs which were much broader than the democratic front we are trying to set up. This example is not only a tribute to the past: in the present international situation, the

policy of a common anti-fascist front could again become the order of the day. If the imperialists seek to impose a fascist regime on Costa Rica, the country's left forces will enter into an alliance with the broadest democratic circles, possibly even with the leadership of traditional bourgeois parties. The PVP has never rejected and does not reject compromises and blocs with other political organizations, but it has never put these above the unity of the left forces. We have never sacrificed our strategic allies to short-term interests.

The future of the revolutionary movement in Costa Rica will depend on whether the left can find correct solution to these questions and, in the first place, on whether it is able not only to maintain, but also to strengthen the United People coalition. Our society is in the grip of a profound crisis, which has also appreciably affected the bourgeois parties. The governmental bloc is on the verge of disintegration, and the NLP is itself on the way to a split. The oligarchy is losing its control over a sizable section of the middle strata, many of whose representatives are disenchanted and are looking for a way out. This is a favorable situation for implementing the left parties' policy of alliances.

A new situation is rapidly taking shape in the Costa Rican society. The moment is drawing close when, as Lenin put it, the upper classes can no longer rule in the old way. Of course, the situation in Costa Rica is not similar to that which obtained in Nicaragua or El Salvador. It bears the imprint of Costa Rica's national, historical peculiarities and our people's traditions. In spite of the sharp upswing in the struggle of the popular masses, it is still too early to say that the other factor necessary for the revolution has matured, namely, that the lower classes refuse to live in the old way. That is why the left parties must improve their strategy and tactics in order to win over to their side all the forces mentioned earlier. The first thing to do now is to elaborate a correct policy of alliances, which would enable the Costa Rican people to score a complete victory.

Q. It would be logical if the President of the National Committee of the United People coalition expressed his opinion about the perspectives of unity. So, what are these perspectives?

Rodrigo Gutierrez. I think that our discussion has been not only interesting, but also important, especially considering the present situation in the country. For the first time in the past 30 years, Costa Rica has been hit by a grave economic and social crisis. If the working people are to be saved from its consequences, the revolutionary organizations must exercise correct leadership.



I believe that some very urgent questions have been raised in the course of the debate. There are differences between the left parties, and these are naturally being discussed. But these differences do not mean that unity is ineffective or impossible. Such differences are only natural for a liberation movement, and their settlement calls for maturity and flexibility, as well as for a profound conviction on the part of the revolutionaries that their ranks must be united. Nobody says that some of them should make concessions to others in matters of principle, nor that there must always be an absolute identity of views on all problems or on each separate one. It is a matter of a common revolutionary world view and leadership, of social transformations expressed in a joint program, and of norms of contact based on fraternal cooperation and mutual respect.

There is already a record of such cooperation. A proof of this is above all the convening of the first People's Assembly, which has brought together broad public circles to discuss the country's main problems and map out new frontiers of struggle. Such initiatives must be further encouraged, for they help to strengthen unity.

Confidential or open, broad or limited, but

always comradely discussions of ideological and political questions can undoubtedly do a great deal toward settling the differences. Now that the confrontation is intensifying and the hour of liberation is drawing closer, the tasks we have to solve are becoming ever more complicated. But we must bear in mind that our possibilities are also growing.

The unity must be extended to encompass all the mass organizations. We shall harmonize our views and improve our interaction in the course of joint struggle, in the democratic, anti-imperialist battles being waged by the working class, the peasantry, the intellectuals, the students and other sections of the population.

In the present conditions of Central America, this problem acquires particular importance. A cohesion of Costa Rica's left forces would be assistance expressive of solidarity with the Sandinista forces in Nicaragua, the heroic Salvadoran people, with all revolutionaries. A weakening of our interaction would make it impossible for us to give them the necessary support.

I am convinced that our left parties will be able to maintain and strengthen their unity.



## Native people of Canada

Ben Swankey, *Native Land Claims. For a Just Settlement*. Published by the Communist Party of Canada. Toronto, 1980, 49 pp.

The demands of the Native people of Canada — the Indians, Inuits (Eskimos) and Métis — have become a topical question of Canada's political life. These people number about one million. Robbed of their lands and all political rights, they have been reduced to the lowest social rung and crowded into inhospitable northern regions, where they are subjected to genocide in every form. However, these outcasts of Canadian society are fighting for their vital rights, thereby contributing their share to the worldwide struggle against imperialism, racism and colonial rule.

Settlement of their land claims holds a prior-

ity place in the demands of the Indians, Inuits and Métis. This is extremely important, as most of Canada's untapped oil, gas and electric power resources are in the areas occupied by the Native people. U.S. imperialism, with the agreement of Canadian governments, is pushing for the export of these vast resources to the USA in complete disregard for the rights and needs of the Native people and for the future energy requirements of Canada as a whole. That is why the land claims of the Native people merge with the general movement of Canada's progressive forces for real independence from the United States.

Ben Swankey, a noted Canadian journalist, stresses the close interconnection of these anti-monopoly streams. He reveals the plight and suffering of the Native people within a