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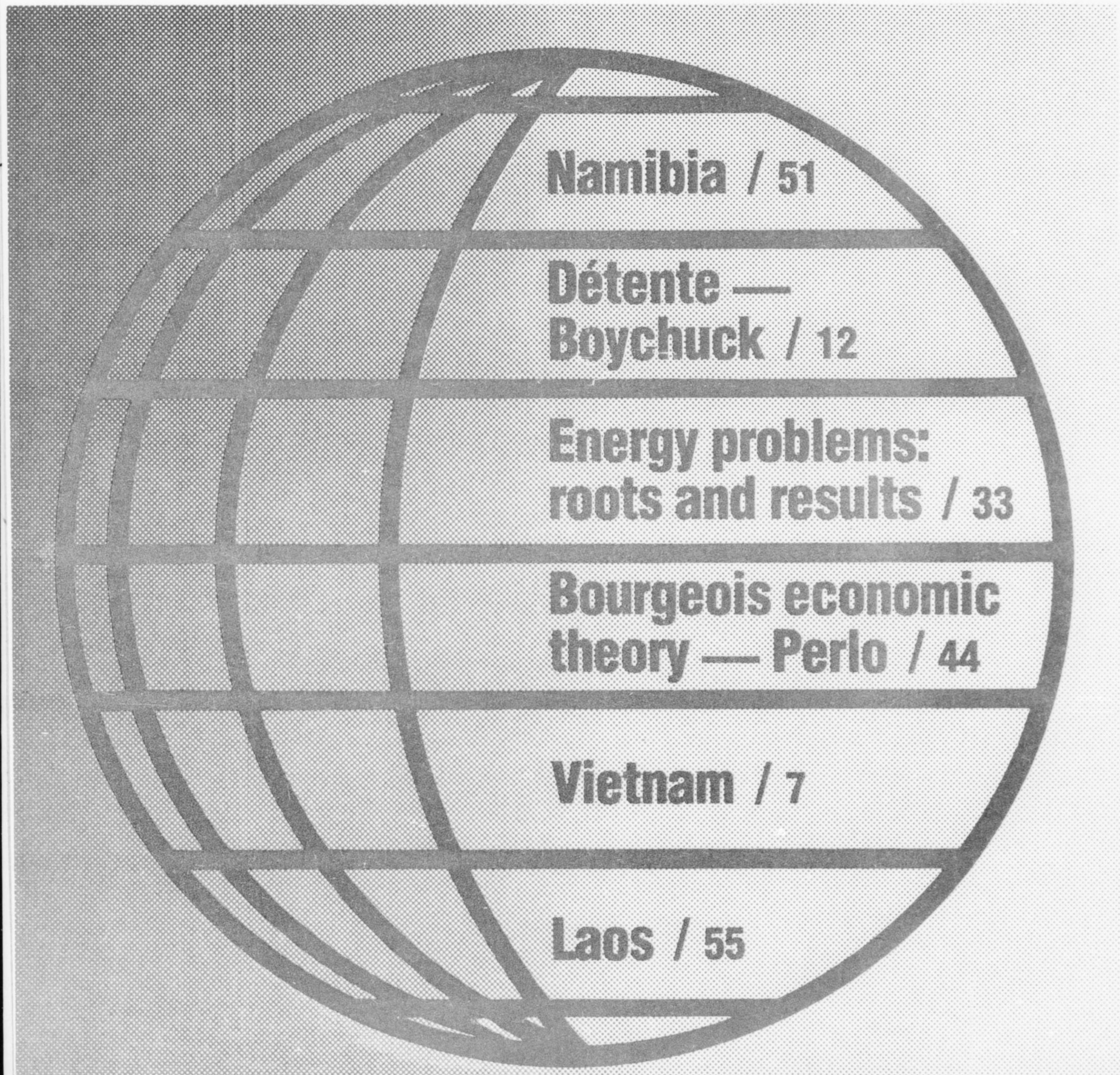

Workers of all countries, unite!

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REVIEW

Theoretical and information journal
of Communist and Workers' Parties

December 1980, Vol. 23, No. 12

3 To our readers

Features

4 USSR: the chief force of our community
E. Honecker

7 United Vietnam on the road to socialism
Pham Van Dong

12 Détente: problems and prospects in rallying the masses
P. Boychuck

16 Joint struggle of the working-class and national-liberation movements against imperialism, for social progress
International Scientific Conference

The party

18 From analysis to conclusions
R. Larrazabal

21 New experience

Exchange of views

27 Dispel the clouds of war
Round table discussion

33 Energy problems in the capitalist world: roots and results

Viewpoints

40 The battle for national existence
N. Ashhab

44 Bourgeois economic theory against the interests of labor
V. Perlo

48 Concerted action: assurance of success
R. Iscaro

51 For the right to be workers, not slaves
J. Yatto

55 Laos: unassuming routine
V. Rybakov

Facts and figures

61 For millions of readers

64 Is there a Soviet threat? Yes! It is a threat to the policy of war

67 Clandestine struggle, arrests, battles
J. Lava

69 In memory of Luigi Longo

70 Index of contents 1980

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To our readers

1980. Yet another year of impressive achievement and crucial tests in the life of mankind, is drawing to a close. It has been a year of unswerving struggle by the peoples for peace and security on our planet, of further progress in strengthening the socialist world system and growth of the national liberation movement, and of a further escalation of the revolutionary actions of the working masses for their rights, democracy, and social progress. It has been a year during which the strength and influence of communist and workers' parties grew steadily. It has been a year during which the world marked the 110th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Lenin and the 35th anniversary of the victory over German fascism and Japanese militarism.

All these significant processes and memorable events were covered by *World Marxist Review*. We gave prominence to how the fraternal parties were creatively developing the teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin in the new situation. From issue to issue we analyzed many aspects of the struggle for peace, disarmament and détente, for the freedom and independence of nations. We carried reports on new experience in the work of communists, on the practice of and prospects for cooperation among various streams of the international working-class movement, and for strengthening unity among the left forces. While exposing imperialist propaganda and the concepts of hegemonism and anti-communism, *WMR* showed the viability of communist thinking, its growing prestige and role in the world today. We sought to show our readers the drift of the developments in different countries.

This year our international journal continued to form closer links with communist and workers' parties and with our readers. There has been a further growth of the number of fraternal parties represented on the Editorial Council: there are now 61. The international team of contributors has likewise grown. Our circulation in some countries has expanded. A survey conducted by *WMR* together with fraternal parties in some regions of the world and letters from readers indicate that there is widening interest in the journal among different segments of society. Here is what, for instance, Paul Emerson of the USA writes: "Please convey to the editors my thanks for consistent excellence in content over the years." The head of a group of radiographers at an Ipswich hospital, Great Britain, notes: "For me *WMR* is extremely good and well balanced with just about the right emphasis on main factors (such as peace and détente)." Wolfgang Bartels of Dortmund, FRG, says: "Your journal is a living example of proletarian internationalism." This view is shared by Antonio Prieto Tornos, an electrician in Spain.

We have received numerous comments in this vein. At the same time, readers recommend enlarging the range of subjects, suggest new themes, write that the basic propositions in our articles should be presented more succinctly, clearly, and understandably, that there should be more comparisons of the various viewpoints on social development and analyses of these comparisons drawn from the two opposing social systems. The *WMR* Editorial Council has considered the plan for the basic orientations of articles to be printed in 1981 and adopted resolutions that will make it possible to take the wishes of fraternal parties and the interests of the international readership more fully into account.

In the new year, which will witness the congresses of many communist and workers' parties, the commencement of five-year plans in socialist-community countries and, unquestionably, a further unfolding of the world revolutionary process and the peace struggle, *WMR* will carry articles on major developments. These will include articles headed "From the 70s to the 80s," "The Struggle for a Broad Anti-War Coalition," "The Party's Leading Role in a Socialist Society," "The State in the Structure of Power," and "Imperialism's Strategy and Tactics in the Closing Quarter of the 20th Century." We shall continue the discussion of problems begun in the thematic series familiar to readers ("The Communists and the Socialists," "The Political Economy of Crisis," "Modern Anti-Communism and the Methods of Fighting It," and so forth). We hope that this will satisfy your requirements more fully and make our links with readers closer.

Comrades, *WMR* not only gives you a Marxist analysis of the developments of our day and a picture of the life of communist and workers' parties but also counts on your becoming a friend and counsellor.

We await your letters, comments and recommendations.

We wish you peace and happiness in the New Year.

features

USSR: the chief force of our community

Erich Honecker
General Secretary, SUPG Central Committee,
Chairman, GDR Council of State

By the beginning of the 1980s, the scope, diversity and intensity of the struggle in the international arena between the forces of progress and peace on the one hand, and the forces of reaction and aggression on the other, have markedly increased. The socialist community is involved in this struggle through its vast political, economic, spiritual, cultural and — not least importantly — military potential. It has been doing everything to have mankind's vital problems settled in the interests of the peoples. Experience shows that the might of our community and its growing international influence are of crucial importance for the successes of the world revolutionary process, of the movement for national liberation and social emancipation, and of the struggle for lasting peace. The socialist states believe that their most important task is to protect the present and coming generations from the disaster of a world atomic war. This task is closely connected with all the social confrontations of our time.

History itself has assigned to the Soviet Union, the country of Lenin and the triumphant October Revolution, a role of world importance. For over six decades, the USSR has acted as a mighty and resolute trail-blazer of social progress, the chief bastion of socialism and communism, and the standard bearer in the struggle for peace. This also accords with the Soviet Union's high prestige within the fraternal family of socialist countries. The stronger the unity and cohesion of our community, the better can each individual country fulfil the tasks of its internal development, the greater the international weight of our alliance, and the most successful is socialism's action in the class confrontation with imperialism now and in the future.

Progressive people all over the world are looking forward to the 26th Congress of the CPSU, which is to meet in Moscow in February to take decisions on the next period in communist construction. It is already quite obvious that this will be an epoch-making event. Leonid Brezhnev was quite right when he said in connection with the convocation of the 26th Congress that every congress of the CPSU has opened up new horizons, and that this one will do the same. It will give a powerful impetus to the communist movement and the especially close and fruitful cooperation between the parties and states of the socialist community, because our family of nations has been constantly developing in organic connection with the Soviet Union.

The 63rd anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution is for us another occasion to recall the historical accomplishments of the CPSU and the Soviet people which are of importance for the whole of mankind. Outstanding among them is the rout of Hitler fascism, for it saved civilization from the brown-shirted barbarity. That victory and the post-war development which proceeded under its powerful impact led to the emergence of the world socialist system. It opened up before the movement for national liberation and social emancipation fundamentally fresh potential which led to the collapse of the imperialist colonial system. One of the important results of these global changes and the rise of the peoples' struggle for a happy future is that the consolidation of peace has been made possible. The principles of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems have been making ever more headway. Europe, on whose territory two world wars were started, has had its longest period of peace in this century.

The more than six decades of the Soviet Union's heroic struggle provides convincing evidence of the revolutionary power of the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin. The treasury of scientific socialism has been enriched with the theoretical advances and practical experience gained in this period; they are of invaluable importance for all the builders of the new world.

The first developed socialist society has been built in the Land of Soviets, and it is fully characterized in the Constitution of the USSR. It says that at this stage the creative powers of the new system and the advantages of the socialist way of life are ever more fully brought out. The working people enjoy more broadly the fruits of the great revolutionary gains. This is a society with powerful productive forces, highly developed science and culture, steadily growing well-being of the people and ever more favorable conditions for the development of the individual. Socialist social relations are a distinctive feature of life in the Soviet Union. The integration of all the classes and social sections, the legal and actual equality of all the nations and nationalities, and their fraternal cooperation have led to the emergence of the Soviet people as a new historical entity of men. It is a society, the USSR Constitution says, in which the law of life is the concern of all for the good of each and the concern of each for the good of all.

The SUPG Program adopted by the Ninth Con-

gress in 1976 says that the rich experience of Lenin's party is of fundamental importance. Its universal character stands out ever more clearly as the Soviet Union advances toward communism. We do not have in mind any mechanical borrowing or imitation, as the bourgeois ideologists have claimed in defiance of all the facts. This would run counter to the creative substance of our revolutionary world view. Lenin had every right to say that "we do not regard Marx's theory as something completed and inviolable; on the contrary, we are convinced that it has only laid the foundation stone of the science which socialists *must* develop in all directions if they wish to keep pace with life" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 4, pp. 211-212). Marxists take it for granted that the constantly changing conditions of the struggle produce new problems for which the revolutionary party in each individual country must find creative answers in the light of the concrete conditions.

We have always believed it to be a great advantage that we are able to build socialism in close alliance with the land of the Red October. Under the leadership of the SUPG, the working class and its allies have used the historical opportunity which was opened to our people by the victory scored by the Soviet Union and the other countries of the anti-Hitlerite coalition over German fascism. The coherent process of anti-fascist, democratic and socialist transformations was completed in acute class struggle.

From the outset, we have given much attention to strengthening and defending the workers' and peasants' power in the GDR. This has justified itself all the more considering that imperialism, especially the power of monopolies re-established in the FRG, has not left untried any opportunity for "rolling back" socialism. At every stage of our history, we have strengthened the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, the intelligentsia and all the other working people. The friendly cooperation of the parties and mass organizations united in the National Front is ever more fruitful and constructive. Citizens belonging to different classes and sections are ever more broadly involved — in the spirit of socialist democracy — in the planning and management of social processes and develop their initiative and creativity.

Such are the chief factors which have enabled the first workers' and peasants' socialist state on German soil to continue developing successfully. That is the direction in which the decisions of the Ninth Congress of the SUPG are being realized for the benefit of our people. They are designed for the further construction of a developed socialist society and the creation, in the process, of fundamental prerequisites for a gradual advance toward communism. The working people of our country are now preparing for the 10th Congress of the SUPG in April 1981, which is to determine the tasks of our socialist development in the first half of the 1980s. This preparation has become the most massive movement our republic has ever seen. Relying on the people's trust, and in close alliance with the masses, our Marxist-Leninist party is now able to set much higher goals.

In all the plans for the further construction of a developed socialist society in the GDR, primary importance is attached to constantly strengthening the well-tried militant alliance between the SUPG and the Soviet Union. We regard this as the key prerequisite for the further successes of socialism in our country. Long experience shows that friendship and cooperation with the CPSU and the Soviet Union make it possible to tackle even the most complicated problems.

During my meeting with Leonid Brezhnev in the Crimea last August, we were able to state that over the past period, the CPSU and the SUPG have put in a tremendous political effort as a result of which the peoples of the Soviet Union and the GDR have become allies, comrades-in-arms and friends. Convincing evidence of this is provided by the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, which our countries concluded five years ago and which they are now purposefully translating into life. The great perspectives of this Treaty go well beyond the present millenium. At the same time, it demonstrates the new quality of the international relations which are typical of the socialist-community countries.

The Treaty between the GDR and the USSR proceeds from the vital interests of the peoples of both countries and of our whole community. Its Article 1 says that we shall continue further to strengthen our relations of eternal and indestructible friendship, and fraternal mutual assistance in every sphere in the spirit of the principles of socialist internationalism. We shall develop and deepen our all-round cooperation steadfastly and in a balanced manner, rendering to each other every assistance and support on the basis of mutual respect of state sovereignty and independence, equality and non-interference in internal affairs. Capitalist states are totally incapable of having such partnership.

For the benefit of both peoples, the GDR and the USSR have been working to pool the material and spiritual potential of the two countries in building a socialist and communist society and strengthening the whole socialist community. This will be seen from the long-term Program of Specialization and Cooperation of Production until 1990. Their joint efforts are aimed to solve the key problems of the present and the future, like stable supply of energy and raw materials, and the establishment of an effective connection between the advantages of socialism and the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution. This is highly important for the GDR's steady economic development which is indispensable for the consolidation and reliable defense of socialism, for the maintenance and gradual raising of the material and spiritual standards achieved by our people.

As a result of our coordination, the main lines of our republic's five-year plan for 1981-1985 have already been mapped out. Trade with the Soviet Union in this period will reach 48 billion roubles, an exceptionally large volume of trade between two

states. Cooperation in science, education and culture and in many other spheres of social life is being developed just as intensively, so in practice drawing our peoples ever closer together.

The successes of socialist economic integration have largely promoted the gradual improvement of the economic condition of the CMEA countries. In 1979, their industry took a month to turn out the same volume of goods as it did in the whole of 1950. In that period, the CMEA countries' national income multiplied 7.6-fold, capital investments, 10-fold and foreign trade, 20-fold. From 1951 to 1978, the CMEA countries' national income and industrial production grew three times as fast as those in the industrialized capitalist countries. In the 1970s, our community also demonstrated a much higher growth rate in national income, industrial production and labor productivity in industry. Last year, the CMEA countries accounted for 30.6 per cent of the world's extraction of hard coal and anthracite, nearly 33 per cent of the manufacture of machinery, 22 per cent of the energy, 20 per cent of the oil, 30 per cent of the gas and 30.6 per cent of the steel, with the Soviet Union turning out over one half of the CMEA countries' industrial output.

Qualitative factors of growth, especially acceleration of scientific and technological progress, increasingly come to the fore in the economic cooperation of our socialist community. This applies to many projects, including joint rationalization of production at enterprises, elaboration of an integral computer system, and, not least importantly, the Interkosmos program.

Peace is the key prerequisite for the successful realization of our policy which is designed for the people's well-being. Since the Great October Revolution, when Lenin's "Radio Call to All" went round the world, the CPSU and the USSR have led the struggle for this noble goal. Today they continue to be the most resolute fighters for peace on the globe. We owe it above all to the Soviet Union, to its might, its strength, its international influence that despite strong resistance from imperialism in the early 1970s a worldwide political swing from the cold war to détente was effected, and the vicious "war-peace-war" cycle broken in Europe.

Soviet foreign policy has undoubtedly made the major contribution to the establishment of the system of treaties in Europe, to the convocation of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and to the establishment of relations of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. In the present international situation, which has been markedly complicated by the acts of the imperialist forces, the USSR's policy is an expression of the vital interests of all the nations.

The policy of confrontation, threats and boycotts conducted by the aggressive imperialist circles, notably the United States, shows that imperialism has not changed its stripes and that it continues to be a constant source of war danger. These circles refuse to accept the realities of the modern world, the strengthening positions of socialism, the success of the national-liberation movement and the consolidation of the forces of social progress. Supported by the Peking hegemonists, the imperialists are once again conducting their policy in the cold-war spirit. They have openly and brazenly violated the sovereignty and independence of other states, meddling in their domestic affairs, be it in the Middle East, the Caribbean or Europe. This has markedly intensified the threat to peace and détente. We have here an imperialist strategy which was prepared for a long time. It is aimed to upset the existing rough equilibrium of forces and to achieve military superiority over the socialist countries. This strategy is most explicit in Washington's long-term program for arming NATO and in the dangerous decision to site nuclear missile weapons in Western Europe adopted in Brussels. Military budgets have been most notoriously increased by the United States and the FRG, which keep adopting new weapons programs. The "new nuclear strategy" proclaimed by the U.S. administration shows the proportions of the threat facing mankind.

In the socialist community, in the Warsaw Treaty Organization the USSR has constantly acted as a force providing inspiration for new constructive initiatives serving the cause of strengthening world peace. Our community's unity and cohesion, its concerted action in the international arena enlarge the potential of socialist foreign policy. On it largely depends the solution of the vital problems facing mankind today, the problems of war and peace for the benefit of the nations.

The imperialist advocates of confrontation and the Peking hegemonists, all those who step up the arms race, fan conflicts in various regions of the globe and trample on the sovereignty of other states, must be rebuffed. Further advances must be made in détente and disarmament, the rights of the peoples must be scrupulously respected. Under no circumstances will the socialist community allow imperialism to dictate its will. The recent exercises "Brotherhood in Arms — 80" held on the territory of the GDR showed once again the capability and will of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty countries to provide reliable defense of the gains of socialism and peace.

In foreign policy, the socialist community has continued tirelessly to work in order to solve or to bring on the solution of the most burning problems in securing peace. Convincing evidence of this will be found in the May Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty's Political Consultative Committee. It provides all the political forces concerned with the maintenance of peace with diverse opportunities for making a contribution to international détente. Let us recall that since then the Soviet Union has put forward new proposals designed to pave the way for a continuation of the negotiations, still blocked by NATO, on the question of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe in organic connection with forward-based U.S. weapons in the area. The memorandum "For Peace and Disarmament, for Guarantees of International Security," which the USSR put before the United Nations, is a realistic and constructive document providing a basis for

the successful solution of the key international problems in safeguarding peace. At the Vienna talks on mutual arms and troop cuts in Central Europe, the USSR and other socialist countries taking part in the talks came out with a new initiative in July 1980 for the purpose of getting these talks going once again.

In accordance with the decisions of the Ninth Congress of the SUPG, the GDR's foreign policy is actively involved in the common efforts by the socialist-community countries aimed to maintain world peace. We are in a position to declare with a full sense of responsibility that the threat of war will never come from our socialist state. Unfortunately, as much cannot be said about the imperialist FRG, where the old forces of monopoly capital and revanchism have been re-established. At the most diverse international levels, the GDR has used its position of a country that has won recognition in international law and which enjoys equality and respect in order to serve the cause of peace. This applies also to the Madrid meeting of the Helsinki countries. The socialist-community countries are working hard to make the meeting run in a constructive spirit and produce positive results. An important role here belongs to our countries' proposal for the convocation of a European conference for military détente and disarmament.

Tremendous might is latent in our community. The SUPG program says that in the whole of its activity, the party is guided by the historical truth that the vital interests of the German Democratic Republic, as a workers' and peasants' socialist state, are identical with the interests of the USSR and those of the whole socialist community. That is our point of departure: the GDR can fulfil its historical tasks only by acting jointly with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries.

United Vietnam on the road to socialism

Pham Van Dong
Political Bureau Member, CPV Central Committee,
Prime Minister, Socialist Republic of Vietnam

In the life of socialist Vietnam this year has witnessed a noteworthy date, the 35th anniversary of the August Revolution and the proclamation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the first workers' and peasants' state in Southeast Asia. The heroic Vietnamese people marked the anniversary with dedicated work in all areas of construction, with achievements in economic development and in eradicating the tragic consequences of wars and elemental calamities. Socialist transformations have brought the nation to a new stage of development.

The Vietnamese people's determination to end oppression and exploitation and break with the colonial and feudal past was crowned with the victory of the people's democratic revolution on August 19, 1945. The Communist Party led a general rising of the people, making skillful and flexible use of the favorable conditions created by the defeat of German fascism and Japanese militarism at the hands of the Soviet Army and the Soviet people. Power in the country was wrested from the Japanese invaders and their myrmidons within a matter of two weeks.

These two weeks were the logical outcome of the 15-year revolutionary struggle that the Communist Party of Indochina (now the Communist Party of Vietnam) had been waging ever since its foundation. The party tackled the difficult problems of uniting the forces of liberation and devising the strategy and tactics of using them in a specific situation. Firmly holding aloft the banner of national independence and socialism, it attached paramount significance to the leading role of the working class in the revolution and to the creation of a broad united national front based on the worker-peasant alliance. The party found the proper correlation between national and class issues and creatively combined anti-imperialist and anti-feudal tasks, and political and armed actions, leading local rebellions with the ultimate aim of going over to a general uprising and assuming unchallenged power in the country. In particular, throughout the Second World War, in the face of the most brutal terror by the colonialists and feudal lords, it did not cease its painstaking work of setting up guerrilla bases and forming armed organizations.

The August Revolution was the concentrated expression of the volatile force of millions of people bitterly opposed to oppression and exploitation. It evolved into a wide-ranging class struggle that set the most downtrodden sections of Vietnamese society in motion and drew all the patriotic and progressive segments of the population to the side of the workers and peasants. The bearings that gave this struggle a sure, victorious orientation were provided by the great teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the example of the October Revolution, and the lofty aim of national and social emancipation. Our people will always be grateful to the late beloved President Ho Chi Minh, who was the first Vietnamese to chart the road for the nation's salvation through revolutionary changes marked out by the theory of scientific socialism.

This was the road of transition from the *people's democratic revolution directly to the socialist revolution* — a road indicated by the great Lenin: "With the aid of the proletariat of the advanced countries, backward countries can go over to the Soviet system and, through certain stages of development, to communism, without having to pass through the capitalist stage" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 244). This prospect was mapped out by our party in its first political program in 1930. This program said that one revolution would follow on the heels of another: the first would clear the way for the second, and the second would accomplish what was not done by the first. It was these tasks that the party of the working class concentrated on in its work.

Power is the basic issue of revolution. On how radically this issue is resolved in favor of the people depends the further development of the revolutionary process. As a people's democratic revolution, the August Revolution overthrew colonial and feudal rule and established a government of the people, by the people and for the people. It expressed the people's will, strength and aspiration to safeguard national independence and set the course toward a direct transition to socialism.

The new power immediately began the gradual extirpation of the heritage of colonialism and feudalism and gave the people broad democratic rights. The agrarian reform, whose aim was to liberate the peasants, the productive forces of the countryside, was of fundamental revolutionary significance. It powerfully influenced political, economic, cultural and social life, strengthened the alliance between the workers and peasants, which formed the basis of the united national front, and then contributed to the victories in the War of Resistance.

The people's democratic and then the socialist revolution completely changed the make-up of the northern part of our country, where the new social system acquired a solid foundation, and turned it into the bulwark of the anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation. The socialist North made a steadily growing, decisive contribution that ensured victory over the aggressor. A people conscious of the value of independence and freedom thereby demonstrated its readiness to sacrifice everything for the defense of the socialist system.

The building and defense of the state comprise the main content of Vietnam's history from ancient times, the aims of the struggle of the Vietnamese people, and the substance of its development throughout all the four millenia of its existence. In our day these two aspects of the people's activity manifested themselves in unprecedented forms and proportions and revealed a new rich content.

No sooner had the revolutionary power been asserted than foreign invaders launched a savage attack on our country. A Chiang Kai-shek army of 200,000 — flunkies of U.S. imperialism — invaded the North. In close collusion with local reactionaries, they infringed on the republic's sovereignty and independence. British troops entered the South to help the French colonialists return to Vietnam and unleash aggression against it. The threat of enslavement again loomed large over a nation that had won liberation.

The genius of President Ho Chi Minh, the wise leadership of the Communist Party of Indochina, the revolutionary energy of the people, and the enormous viability of the people's democratic system were seen most strikingly in precisely this critical situation. The attention of the people was drawn to Lenin's well-known words: "No revolution is worth anything unless it can defend itself" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 28, p. 124). The Declaration of Independence of September 2, 1945, stated in part: "The Vietnamese people are determined to devote all their spritual and material resources, to sacrifice life and property in order to uphold their right to freedom and independence."

President Ho Chi Minh correctly divined the intention of Western imperialism, chiefly the French colonialists, to wipe independent Vietnam off the map of the world. When only three weeks after the establishment of the people's democratic power the French colonialists started hostilities and launched an offensive against the young republic they encountered growing resistance. The Vietnamese people's legendary War of Resistance against France thus broke out. In the course of the following year it spread throughout the country.

During the first days of the struggle an almost unarmed nation faced seemingly insuperable difficulties. Age-long rule by colonialism and feudalism and the protracted war left the country pillaged, exhausted and in an appalling state of devastation. The people's power had not had time to gain strength, the armed forces were only in the process of formation, and there was an acute shortage of funds. The foreign invaders were actively supported by local reactionaries.

In this situation the entire people responded to an appeal by President Ho Chi Minh. He said: "We shall sacrifice our all but shall not relinquish our country's freedom and shall not be slaves . . . Every citizen of Vietnam, man or woman, old or young, regardless of religious, party and ethnic affiliation, should rise to fight the French colonialists for the motherland's salvation. He who has a rifle, let him arm himself with the rifle, and he who has a sword let him arm himself with the sword; those who have not even a sword let them arm themselves with hoes, spades or sticks. As one man all must rise to fight the colonialists for their country's salvation."

At first the French colonialists arrogantly announced that it would take them only a few weeks to crush resistance and restore the old regime. However, the heroic war of our people lasted nine years, ending with the winter-spring offensive of 1953-1954, the culminating point of which was the glorious victory at Dien Bien Phu that put an end to the colonialists' hopes of restoring the old regime.

The people's victory was indisputable and impressive. But it was denigrated at the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indochina by China's ruling circles and the Western imperialist powers. They

sought to split our country and drag out the holding of the general elections, that had been set for approximately July 1956 with the purpose of reuniting Vietnam. The conditions were thus created for replacing the French colonialists with the U.S. imperialists, who continued the war of aggression against the Vietnamese people in the South.

By that time, unlike the situation immediately after the victory of the August Revolution and the formation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, our strength had grown considerably in all areas — political, military, economic, cultural and international relations; our army had smashed the French expeditionary corps and acquired toughness and experience; the abiding hatred for the new aggressors was universal, and all sections of the population joined in the struggle against them.

However, the enemy was uncompromising, crafty, and strong — the main imperialist power had an enormous economic and military potential. It used all the possibilities and means of warfare existing at the time. There was a period when more than half a million enemy troops armed with advanced weapons were in South Vietnam.

The USA had recourse to all means — military, economic, political and diplomatic. It drew its allies into the war — many imperialist nations and Southeast Asian countries — and in 1972 entered into collusion with the ruling circles in Peking.

The peoples of the whole world and the progressives in the United States itself protested strongly against this highly unpopular, unjust war. The war, as everybody knows, ultimately ended in a disgrace for the U.S. imperialists and a great victory for Vietnam. Under the slogan of "Nothing Is Dearer Than Freedom and Independence" we forced the enemy out of our country.

Vietnam's military and political victory was enhanced by the contribution from the two other fraternal peoples of Indochina — the Laotian and the Kampuchean. Our peoples are linked geographically and historically, by opposition to the same enemies, and by identical aims — national independence and socialism. The historic victory of the three countries of Indochina was a factor of paramount importance in stabilizing the situation in the region and undermining the positions held by imperialism and expansionism. This accords with the true interests of the population of the whole of Southeast Asia and the interests of world peace.

The victorious consummation of the war in the spring of 1975 cleared the way for the country's reunification and for the entire nation's advance to socialism. But fighting against aggressors did not subside for long. The Vietnamese people had to act against a new enemy: Peking's hegemonism and expansionism.

Along the nation's southwestern frontiers the Kampuchean reactionaries began a war of aggression against us that was organized, directed and funded by China. This war was in fact part and parcel of the Chinese rulers' global counter-revolutionary strategy of expansion.

Following their total defeat on that front, Peking's reactionary rulers cynically unleashed a large-scale war of aggression against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. Shortly after its military success on the southwestern frontier Vietnam won another brilliant victory, this time on its northern frontier. The aggressive action of the Peking rulers failed ignominiously.

Thirty-five years of unceasing struggle, in which the Vietnamese people defended their country's independence and freedom, vividly demonstrated the vitality of the immortal teaching of Marxism-Leninism and the invincible strength of the party of the working class, which rallied and led the entire nation in a people's patriotic war that doomed every aggressor to defeat. Vietnam's experience has shown beyond the shadow of a doubt that when an entire nation rises it inevitably defeats the aggressor however strong and crafty he may be. We have seen clearly that only true independence and freedom can ensure genuine peace and, conversely, that independence and freedom can only be lasting under conditions of peace. *The lesson of the epoch is that peace, independence, freedom and socialism are indivisible.*

After the Geneva Agreements were signed the party pursued two different strategic aims on the scale of the whole country: in the South the struggle for national independence continued, while in the North the period of transition to socialism commenced.

By 1965 the socialist North had advanced significantly in its development. The economy was restored and the wounds of the nine-year war were healed. Moreover, the agrarian reform was completed. Correct leadership by the party resulted in the consummation of agriculture's cooperation, the restructuring of private capitalist industry and trade, and the establishment of socialist relations of production. Then followed the period of the first five-year plan adopted by the Third Congress of the Working People's Party of Vietnam* in 1960. Its purpose was to prepare the ground for gradual socialist industrialization, which was the central aim of the period of transition.

In 1965-1968 and then again in 1972 the U.S. imperialists carried the war to the whole territory of our country in an effort to escape defeat in South Vietnam. Through massive bombing the enemy endeavored to smash the economic base of the socialist North, raze towns and villages, and destroy the environment, in other words, to roll North Vietnam back to the Stone Age.

In that situation the Communist Party and the government of Vietnam rapidly placed the nation's economy on a wartime footing and, while providing the front with everything it needed, continued the building of socialism. The motto of the bulk of the population was: "One hand on the plough and the other on a rifle" or "One hand on the hammer and the other on a rifle." In the course of the war

*Called the Communist Party of Indochina until 1951, and the Communist Party of Vietnam since 1976. — *Ed.*

socialist construction was crowned with substantial results the nation can be proud of. Although more than a million tons of bombs and shells were dropped on our territory, the people consolidated their political, military, economic and cultural gains.

During those years elements of a socialist economy continued to take shape and develop and socialist property in the implements and means of production was strengthened in a country where small-commodity production had predominated from ancient times. Close attention was given to key branches of heavy industry such as power engineering, coal mining, metallurgy, heavy engineering, chemical production and building materials. Transport increasingly satisfied all the requirements of the front and the economy.

Moreover, the first steps toward the building of the material and technical basis of socialism provided for the promotion of science and technology, the training of skilled workers, scientists, technicians and managerial personnel, and improving the secondary and higher education systems.

In short, the people fought and built. Battle in defense of construction, and construction as a factor increasing combat capability, underlay the advance of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, cradle of the revolution in the nation as a whole and forepost of socialism in Southeast Asia.

Following the great victory in the spring of 1975 Vietnam entered a new stage of development. Within a short span of time — the past five years — our people accomplished great things. We at once reunited the country and proclaimed the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. The dictatorship of the proletariat and the system of collective management were established and consolidated throughout the land. In the course of these years very much was done in the way of healing the wounds of war and establishing socialist relations of production and an integral economic structure throughout the republic. In the sphere of foreign policy the conditions were created to enable the state to carry out its national and international duty. The militart solidarity of the three countries of Indochina was strengthened and became a force ensuring peace and stability in Southeast Asia and dependably countering the expansionist and aggressive ambitions of China's ruling circles and U.S. imperialism. We have stepped up our activity on the international scene, and in this activity Vietnam orients itself on all-sided cooperation with the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community, and on friendly relations with all other countries in the interests of lasting peace among nations.

There are many favorable factors of an internal and international nature for a direct transition to socialism without passing through the stage of capitalist development. At the same time, there still are many difficulties left over from the war and neo-colonialism.

In keeping with this situation the Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam (1976) defined the general line of the socialist revolution in our country as follows: "Firmly adhere to the dictatorship of the proletariat, develop the right of the working people to be the collective master and, at one and the same time, carry out three revolutions — in relations of production, in science and technology, and in ideology and culture, with the accent on the scientific and technological revolution; accelerate socialist industrialization, which is the central task of the entire period of transition to socialism; set up socialist collective management, and build up large-scale socialist production; form a new culture and mold the new, socialist person; eradicate exploitation of man by man, poverty and backwardness; steadfastly enhance vigilance, constantly strengthen the nation's defense capability, maintain political security and public law and order; successfully build a peaceful, independent, and united socialist Vietnam; actively contribute to the struggle of the peoples of the world for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism."

The Congress charted the course toward building up a socialist economy, the main targets of which are to create the material and technical basis of socialism by speeding up industrialization, go over from small-scale to large-scale socialist production, turn Vietnam into a modern industrial-agrarian nation with an advanced culture, science and technology and a strong defense capability, and ensure a prosperous and happy life to the people.

In order to carry out this program, the party is enlisting as many people as possible into the management of political, economic and cultural life, cultivating the sense of collectivism, of being the master of society, nature and oneself, and fostering the ability to combine collective management with each person's right to freedom.

The party's economic strategy was further concretized in the second five-year plan (1976-1980). The priority target of this plan was defined as concentrating effort on promoting the comprehensive, powerful and steady development of agriculture and, simultaneously, achieving a growth of the forest and fishing industries and of the output of consumer goods. In addition, it was found necessary to accelerate the building of key heavy industries, and improve the transport network and capital construction. It was similarly vital to reorient distribution, banking and fiscal activity in accordance with the changes in the socialist economy; expand foreign economic links; extend research; strengthen and develop socialist relations of production; step up the ideological and cultural revolution; and improve the life of the people.

It will require a great effort to attain these aims. Our party and state are well aware of the difficulties in securing the nation's further progress. The ravages of the war and of colonialism and neo-colonialism cannot be eliminated quickly. However, to meet the vital needs of the people the set tasks must be carried out speedily, without delay. The state must raise the people's living standard and, at the same time, accumulate funds for building the material and technical basis of socialism

without ceasing the build-up of the nation's defense capability. The hostile actions of the Chinese great-power chauvinists and their reactionary Pol Pot-Ieng Sary lackeys against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam have caused the nation considerable damage. To this day Vietnam has to divert large forces and funds in order to be constantly prepared to repulse enemy intrigues.

Among the objective difficulties the republic has to surmount we should note the unceasing elemental calamities of recent years, especially the typhoons and floods of 1977-1978. These have very adversely affected agriculture. The harvest in the North was seriously damaged by this year's typhoons. To this it must be added that we have not avoided shortcomings in economic management, and this has still further compounded the situation. Nevertheless, our country and our people have never in their long history been so all-sidedly strong as today.

We look to the future with optimism. We have all grounds for this optimism. They are the courage, talent and creative strength of the Vietnamese people; the nation's diverse natural wealth; and the first-ever solidarity among the three victorious fraternal peoples of Indochina fighting for common aims.

We believe that the international situation favors our struggle, for the three revolutionary streams of our day have grown considerably stronger, especially with the enhancement of the might of the Soviet Union, bulwark of world peace and dependable mainstay of the world revolutionary process. Needless to say, we do not close our eyes to the extremely serious circumstance assessed as follows by the CPSU: "The partnership between imperialism and Peking hegemonism is a new dangerous development in world politics, dangerous to the whole of mankind, including the American and Chinese peoples."* However, in our view, this partnership is evidence of the weak, defensive position of the forces of imperialism and international reaction and, conversely, of the enhanced credibility of the forces of revolution and peace. Consequently, it is evidence of the possibility of preserving détente and safeguarding peace in Southeast Asia and throughout the planet.

The 35 years that have passed since the triumph of the August Revolution are the most glorious period of our people's 4,000-year history. It saw the birth and development of the new Vietnamese state, of the new social system that combines national independence with socialism, the finest traditions of the Vietnamese nation, and mankind's most advanced ideology. Led by the Communist Party the Vietnamese people, whose struggle has fused with the struggle of the revolutionary forces of the whole world, have shown that they are staunch fighters devoting all their strength and energy, their hearts and souls to the defense and consolidation of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. They have justified the sympathy, support and generous assistance accorded to them by the peoples of the whole world.

With affection and ever-lasting gratitude we remember the late President Ho Chi Minh, pupil of the great Lenin, founder of the Communist Party of Vietnam and the Vietnamese state, the man who educated and led our people from one triumph to another up to total and glorious victory.

In noting their successes in war and construction the Vietnamese people constantly remember that their bulwark has always been the internationalist solidarity of their friends throughout the world, the fraternal Soviet people in the first place. For Vietnam the Soviet Union has been and remains an instructive model of revolutionary struggle, a vivid example of a state with proletarian internationalism as the guideline of its policy.

The 35th anniversary of the Vietnamese revolution coincided with a noteworthy historical event — the successful completion of a joint flight by cosmonauts of the Soviet Union and Vietnam: Viktor Gorbatko and Pham Tuan. This was a symbolic event in the true sense of the word: the wings of the Vietnamese people that raised them to victories in the struggle for freedom and independence were given by Lenin, by the October Revolution, the wings of the Vietnamese citizen for a flight into outer space were given by the homeland of the October Revolution. These wings are of one and the same nature. On them the people of Vietnam, together with the fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, together with all the revolutionary forces of the world, will rise to the summits of a wonderful future.

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*"The International Situation and Soviet Foreign Policy." Resolution of the CPSU Central Committee plenary meeting of June 23, 1980.

Détente: problems and prospects in rallying the masses

Peter Boychuck
Alternate Member of the CC Central Executive,
Communist Party of Canada,
Member of the *WMR* Editorial Council

"The peoples of the world are alarmed . . .

"The nuclear arms build-up, the accumulation of deadly arsenals, has reached a critical point. Further escalation in the arms build-up could create a most dangerous situation, facing humanity with the threat of annihilation . . .

"We appeal to the reason and responsibility of all politicians and statesmen, we appeal to governments:

"Abandon the new armaments programs! Stop the manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction — missiles, neutron, chemical or any other weaponry! Reduce the stockpiles! Ban nuclear weapons! Negotiate! There is no other alternative."

When I listened to these words at the World Parliament of the Peoples for Peace in Sofia I felt, almost physically, the breath of the audience, its keen attention, its heartbeat in unison. And I thought that perhaps all the other delegates at that forum, men and women, members of parliament and trade unionists, representatives of various political parties and the Church hierarchy, had the same feeling as I had, the feeling which was expressed with clarity and conviction in the Appeal of the World Parliament to the peoples of the world:

"To be concerned is not enough! To be alarmed is not enough! The people have the power to preserve peace — their basic right! Act now!

"Let us put aside all that divides us and join together to defeat the menace of nuclear war!

"Let us stop those who seek to push the world ever closer to the nuclear precipice! Let our voice be heard as never before!"

This appeal, I repeat, came from representatives of various political circles and ideological trends. And, of course, the way to it was not an easy one. For many it required time and courage to ponder their positions, sometimes to reappraise them and, despite the prejudices shaped under the influence of traditions, the surroundings, and bourgeois propaganda, to realize the need to sit down at the same table with communists, with all representatives of progressive movements and organizations of the world, and elaborate the Charter of the World Parliament of the Peoples for Peace that formulated the agreed common goals and tasks of all the peace forces of our time.

I repeat: *agreed, common* goals and tasks in the struggle for peace. This, in my view, is one of the major political results of the outgoing year of 1980. No matter how hard the enemies of détente tried to stop the process of rallying peace champions together, started in the last decade by the World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow, they have failed to do so. And the passing year, full of stirring, dramatic events, has for many people become a year of a trial of maturity and loyalty to humanistic values and ideals of justice.

Let us go back to the beginning of the year.

At that time the reactionary circles, which have always been opposed to positive changes in the world, decided it was time to launch a counter-offensive against détente. They chose Europe, the relations of goodneighborliness and cooperation that were being established there, as the target of their first strike. The offensive was preceded by a broad campaign to intimidate the populations of West European countries with inventions about a Soviet "missile superiority" or an Atlantic "missile gap." In the situation of military hysteria, the NATO circles with U.S. imperialism at their head forced through the decision to deploy new U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe. But they did not stop at that. Soon another mine was planted under the edifice of détente. The events in Southwest Asia — in Iran and Afghanistan — were used by U.S. imperialists as a pretext for creating additional seats of tension and conflict situations, going back on treaty commitments, sharply stepping up the arms race, and starting subversive activities against the socialist-community states. The propaganda machine of the USA and other imperialist countries was switched to full capacity in order to provoke distrust for the policy of socialism and create a climate of confrontation. The international situation grew extremely tense. The very structure of peaceful relations of states with different social systems, which was being built in the 1970s, was now in danger.

People have every reason to ask: Who needed the incitement of militaristic sentiments, the escalation of fear, the tall tales about an imminent "Soviet intervention" in the oil-rich areas of the Persian Gulf and the Middle East, and concoctions about the "insidious plans" of Moscow in regard to West European countries? The delegates who spoke at the World Parliament of the Peoples for Peace gave a clear answer to this question: The peoples do not want confrontation. It is needed only by the im-

perialist forces, small in number but very influential, who would not reconcile themselves to the equilibrium of military strength between the socialist and the capitalist countries, between the Soviet Union and the United States, but try to revive the political myth about the 20th century being "the American century" and enable the United States once again to play the role of world policeman. Confrontation benefits also a small group of financial tycoons in the capitalist countries, the barons of the military-industrial complex making fabulous profits from the escalation of the arms race.

The attempts of the NATO circles and the USA to tip the strategic balance of strength in the world in their own favor, and the USA's open claims to military superiority backed up by concrete moves were the main causes of the aggravation of the international situation today. A dangerous situation emerged in the so-called hot spots on the globe: the Middle East, Southeast Asia, Southern and Eastern Africa, Central America, and the Caribbean basin — the hotbeds of military conflicts and bloodshed. The Camp David accords have not eased the tensions in the Middle East. On the contrary, they have whipped them up to breaking point. Israel's expansionist course, expressed in the official annexation of the Eastern (Arab) part of Jerusalem, and the creation of more than a hundred settlements on occupied Arab territory, increased the threat to peace in that area and the rest of the world.

The Pentagon is continuing the build-up of its military potential in the Persian Gulf area, where the United States has an armada of dozens of warships with thousands of marines on board, and hundreds of planes. The U.S. Navy threatens not only Iran but also other Middle East countries. This threat has sharply increased with the military conflict between Iran and Iraq, which the imperialists are using to undermine Arab unity and regain their domination in Iran. But this policy comes against resolute opposition from all peace-loving states insisting on the earliest political settlement of the conflict through the efforts of both sides, without outside interference.

Destabilization of the world situation is further intensified by imperialism's attacks on the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. An ignominious role of the organizers of the undeclared war against that country is played by the USA, China, Pakistan and Egypt, which train and arm the counter-revolutionary gangs operating from Pakistani territory, impeding any attempt to reach a political settlement.

The United States is forming what it calls a "rapid deployment force" in an attempt to block national liberation movements and social revolutions in any part of the world, and increasing its military presence in East Africa, the Caribbean, the Indian Ocean and the Pacific.

This course, imperiling the peoples of all continents, has the unqualified support of Peking, which, in defiance of the principle of peaceful coexistence, plugs the idea that another world war is inevitable. China lays claims to the territories of its neighbors, tests nuclear weapons in the atmosphere, and rejects any steps toward disarmament. The Washington-Peking military-political alliance emerging on the basis of anti-Sovietism, undisguised talk about military cooperation between the two countries with "long-term political and strategic prospects," in which the USA would like to involve Japan, and the supply to China of weapons made in NATO countries cannot but evoke the concern of world public opinion, of all peace forces.

Against the background of tensions in a number of regions in Asia and Africa, the situation in Europe, where two world conflagrations were kindled in this century, seems satisfactory at first glance. Indeed, all European governments have pledged themselves not to change the frontiers established after the Second World War, all of them realize how much could be lost if there was a conflict.

Still, the situation is satisfactory only in relative terms. A danger to the continent lies in the massive concentration of troops and advanced armaments in Central Europe. Peaceful future is jeopardized by the intentions of the Pentagon and NATO to deploy the Pershing and Tomahawk missiles and by the U.S. plans to prepare the European theater of military actions for the use of chemical and bacteriological weaponry.

The year of 1980 has not yet passed, but its results are already commented on in the world press. Various press organs give different assessments, of course, depending on the class positions of the writers. Parallel with the sober and objective assessments of the present-day international situation and the striving to reveal the true causes of its aggravation, there have been other, biased statements and commentaries in the bourgeois mass media, in Canada as elsewhere, whose authors distort the meaning of détente and the position of the socialist-community states. Part of the bourgeois press views the modern world as a hodge-podge of chaos, contradictions and dangers. Bourgeois commentators write a good deal about so-called uncontrollable crises in the Third World generating tensions in the relations between the great powers; they try to put in question the achievements of the policy of détente and call the Helsinki accords a "utopia."

It is quite obvious that such assessments bear the stamp of the deep crisis which has gripped the capitalist states. The bourgeois press admits that the dynamics of their socio-economic development have become convulsive. They are hit by the scourge of mass unemployment. Pessimistic headlines appear with growing regularity in the Canadian press: "Steep Drop in Real Output Expected for Ontario Manufacturing Sector." "Net Farm Income Actually Received by Farmers Is Expected to Decline 14.5 Per Cent," "Canada's Recovery May Be Difficult Next Year Following Decline in Real Output During 1980," etc.[1]

The threat of a nuclear war cannot but cause the further spread of despondency and scepticism about the future. This threat has become still more real after the U.S. administration announced on

August 6 its Directive 59 on a "new nuclear strategy." The enormity of even speaking about the "acceptability" of nuclear war is obvious to all. But it causes the greatest concern among the peoples of Europe, where, according to *Le Monde diplomatique*, the Pentagon intends to go over from a strategy of forward-based defense to a first-strike strategy.

It would be a gross mistake, indeed, to underestimate the threat of war, to belittle its danger. But we communists firmly reject the idea of the inevitability of a world war. When 23 years ago, in the Peace Manifesto adopted at the meeting of communist and workers' parties in Moscow, the communists declared with full awareness of their responsibility for the destinies of the peoples that "war is not inevitable, war can be averted, peace can be defended and consolidated,"[2] far from all believed that this noble goal was feasible. Meanwhile, for more than one-third of a century Europe has lived without wars. And today, not only socialist states, communist and workers' parties, and representatives of progressive and democratic forces, but the broadest sections of public opinion come out for peace and peaceful coexistence, for détente and disarmament, rejecting the idea that war is inevitable.

Like many other delegates to the World Parliament of the Peoples for Peace in Sofia, I was deeply impressed by the ardent wish of all people of good will to combine their efforts in the struggle for peace. The exceptionally broad representation at the forum — it was attended by nearly 2,300 delegates from more than 300 political parties, national liberation movements, various trade union, women's, youth, scientific and religious organizations, leagues and movements, and over 100 international organizations — characterizes the present stage of the peace movement, which has rallied together hundreds of millions of people on all continents. There is no doubt that the Appeal of the World Parliament of the Peoples for Peace to make 1981 a starting point of a vigorous offensive of the peace forces will mobilize legions of new fighters for the peaceful future of our planet in all countries where this struggle has not yet reached mass proportions.

International development today is complex and contradictory. A sharp political struggle is going on between the champions of peace, détente and social progress and the forces of militarism and reaction. Having suffered a series of telling defeats in various parts of the world, imperialism is creating new hotbeds of tension, threatening the peoples with punitive actions and nuclear weapons. It responds to any challenge of our epoch in one and the same way: with a new round in the arms race, and slander levelled at the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community, the communist and workers' parties. We cannot ignore the fact that more often than not imperialism has managed to harm détente, sow distrust between states with different social systems, and stupefy part of its own peoples with the intoxicating poison of great-power chauvinism, anti-communism, pseudo-patriotic sentiments, and imperial ambitions.

As we sum up the results of the outgoing year, we have every right to state that, despite all of imperialism's attempts to stop and reverse historical development, the balance of forces in the world is changing steadily in favor of socialism and democracy, national and social liberation. The major component of détente — the vigorous struggle of socialist countries for peace, disarmament and cooperation — is gaining in strength.[3] We Canadian communists welcome the initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist states, their contribution to the realization of the principles and provisions of the Helsinki Final Act.[4]

The communist and working-class movement in capitalist countries is growing stronger and more united in the struggle for peace and social progress. The developing countries are coming out with increasing determination against the imperialist policy of diktat and blackmail, for the abolition of inequitable international economic relations. Their fight against neo-colonialism merges with the struggle for peace, and against imperialist oppression in general.

The outburst of militaristic sentiments, though it shook the edifice of détente, could not break its foundation. The changes in political thinking that took place in Western Europe in the 1970s and the emergence of a new concept based on the need for, and possibility of, turning the European continent into a zone of lasting peace have made many top leaders in West European countries come out for the cause of détente, for the implementation of the Helsinki accords. This theme has lately been given a central place in speeches by a number of government spokesmen in the FRG, France, Italy, Austria and Finland. They see the importance of a dialogue between representatives of countries with different social systems and of promoting mutually beneficial economic relations, and admit that over the past decade the policy of détente has greatly changed the political climate for the better.

The delegates to the Parliament who had arrived in Sofia from every continent endorsed such statements and welcomed the resumption of political contacts between European states at all levels, including the summit level (the meeting of President Valery Giscard D'Estaing of France with Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, in Poland; the talks held by the Soviet leaders with Helmut Schmidt, Federal Chancellor of the FRG, and Foreign Minister Hans Dietrich Genscher in Moscow). At those meetings the sides agreed on the advisability of a political settlement of issues, which shows they are aware of their responsibility for the peaceful future of our planet and want to prevent a return to the cold war.

The following fact shows how deeply the ideas of peaceful coexistence have penetrated the political thinking of Europeans: despite the extreme pressure from the U.S. government, trade and economic cooperation between the socialist-community

states and the capitalist countries of Europe continue to develop, being one of the main directions in the materialization of détente in the 1980s.[5]

Of course, there are political forces in the leading circles of capitalist countries that share the dangerous concepts of U.S. imperialism. But the deep concern over the build-up of the military potential in Europe is heard ever more distinctly. In a number of West European countries much thought is given to the possible consequences of NATO's decision on the deployment of new U.S. medium-range missiles on their territory and implementation of the inflated programs for the arms race in the 1980s. The policy of unquestioned submission to Washington pursued by the NATO countries is increasingly attacked by public opinion, including that of Canada. The demands for pursuing a course more independent of the United States are growing ever stronger.

So-called Atlantic solidarity often fails to work, and there are quite a few symptoms of this. The Belgian government has decided to postpone a decision on the deployment of the 48 U.S. Cruise missiles on Belgian soil until the completion of the Soviet-American talks on limiting nuclear missile systems in Europe and announced that it would not take part in the NATO military exercise on the territory of the FRG and Turkey in the autumn. Many politicians in the capitalist world doubt the expediency of the arms race. Referring to economic difficulties, some members of the North Atlantic alliance refuse to comply with the NATO Council's decision on increasing their military spending by 3 per cent annually. Portugal, Turkey, Belgium, Denmark and the Netherlands have already declared that they cannot fulfil these directives for 1981. Some press reports say that in Canada the 3 per cent rise in military spending will possibly not be approved either.[6]

As was repeatedly noted at the World Parliament, the encouraging aspects of the development of the present-day international situation are: the certain progress at the Geneva talks between the USSR, the USA and Great Britain on the drafting and signing of a treaty on a complete and general ban on nuclear weapons tests. A positive development, in our opinion, was also the meeting between the Soviet and American representatives at Geneva, at which they discussed the Soviet proposal to start talks on medium-range missiles in Europe simultaneously and in organic connection with the question of U.S. theater-based weapons.

The Madrid meeting of representatives of 33 European countries, the USA, and Canada — participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe — occupies a special place in the system of inter-state relations. The constructive stand of the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist community at that meeting, their striving to complement political détente with a military one enjoy the support of world public opinion, of all who cherish peace. The people of good will whose voice was heard at the World Parliament of the Peoples for Peace are convinced that the success of the Madrid meeting would help improve not only the situation in Europe but the international climate as a whole and give a fresh impetus to the policy of peaceful coexistence.

The alignment of forces which has taken shape in the world over the past decades and the growth of the economic and defense potential of the Soviet Union and all the socialist-community states are the main factors containing the aggressive and hegemonistic ambitions of imperialism. The latter can no longer determine the course of history. But as its possibilities for dominating other countries shrink, the response of the militaristic circles grows more furious and they intensify their attacks on the principles of peaceful coexistence. In the present conditions, the peace forces have no goal more important than the preservation, continuation and deepening of détente as a predominant trend of world development.

Détente is the common cause of the peoples, and it is the mission of all states to take part in it. It should ultimately spread to all regions, as militarism and war conflict with the people's interests in every part of the globe.

The peoples want peace, they want normal and stable relations between states. They realize that mass destruction weapons make senseless any attempts to decide the destinies of humanity by military means. Détente and peaceful coexistence are an imperative of the times, an urgent and objective need. There is no other way.

The arms race, the antipode of détente, breeds mutual distrust between nations; it nullifies what has been achieved. The enemies of peaceful coexistence are well aware of this, and precisely for this reason the attempt to drag Western Europe, by means of the NATO mechanism, into a new round of the arms race should be viewed as an element of their "Operation Anti-Détente." However, world opinion comes out ever more decisively against such plans. Even though it is too early to talk about radical changes in the world situation, which remains tense, and in some regions even explosive, there is much to indicate that imperialism did not succeed in burying the policy of détente. Having gone through stern trials, it has again and again shown its vitality and historical importance.

The Communist Party of Canada, as was stated by its General Secretary William Kashtan, considers that at the present stage of the struggle for détente and disarmament there is an imperative need to strengthen the international solidarity of the communist forces as a major condition for launching a resolute offensive on the bastions of reaction and militarism.

We communists reaffirm our preparedness for any dialogue, any negotiations, and any joint action when it concerns the struggle for peace and disarmament. And on the eve of the new year of 1981, together with all people of good will, we repeat the words of the World Parliament's Charter:

"Let the voice of the peoples for peace be heard as never before in mass demonstrations, petitions, appeals to parliaments and governments, in sol-

idarity actions on a national and international scale!

"Let the people of all countries who create the wealth of this world have their say in defense of peace and the future of mankind!"

1. At the First Global Conference on the Future, held last July in Toronto, Cameron Smith, executive editor of the *Globe and Mail*, Canada's leading morning daily, drew a gloomy picture of the future. He estimated that Canada would have 2.5 million unemployed by 1990 (compared with 925,000 today), with five to ten jobs lost per job created and a widening gap between the rich and the poor. *Globe and Mail*, July 24, 1980.

2. *Peace and the Class Struggle. The Communists' Viewpoint*, Prague, 1979, p. 102.

3. The socialist countries' proposal at the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe should also be viewed in this context (a reduction at the first stage of 20,000 Soviet troops — but actually 40,000, considering that 20,000 had been unilaterally withdrawn from the GDR by August 1, 1980 — and 13,000 U.S. troops), as well as the proposals on the European conference on military détente and disarmament, and on measures to ease military tensions and safeguard security in the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean area. The idea of holding a conference on military détente in Europe is winning growing support. It already has the backing of France, Finland, Sweden and other countries.

4. See "Is There a "Soviet Threat'? Yes! It Is a Threat to the Policy of War" in this issue.

5. The volume of commodity exchange between socialist and capitalist countries has reached nearly $60 billion a year. Over half a million West German workers, engineers, and technicians are working on contracts awarded by socialist countries (while the unemployment level in the FRG is approaching the mark of one million). The USSR supplies billions of cubic meters of gas to the FRG, Austria, Italy and Finland. The return supplies to the USSR of equipment for its gas industry from the FRG and France have been planned for many years to come. In Canada, the government's decision to lift the grain embargo against the USSR and the negotiations on assembling Lada cars in our country were a defeat for the enemies of détente. One can only regret that under pressure from the U.S. administration Canada does not establish broader, many-sided economic ties with the socialist-community countries.

6. However, that will be compensated many times over by the billions of dollars to be spent (in addition to the annual arms budget) to refit the Canadian Air Force with advanced U.S. planes.

Joint struggle of the working-class and national-liberation movements against imperialism, for social progress

International Scientific Conference in Berlin

An international scientific conference — "Joint Struggle of the Working-Class and National-Liberation Movements Against Imperialism, for Social Progress" — was held in Berlin from October 20 to 24, 1980. It was sponsored by the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany together with *World Marxist Review*.

It was attended by delegations from 116 communist and workers' parties and revolutionary-democratic and national-liberation parties and organizations: People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, MPLA-Party of Labor (Angola), Communist Party of Argentina, Socialist Party of Australia, Communist Party of Austria, National-Liberation Front of Bahrain, Communist Party of Bangladesh, Communist Party of Belgium, Communist Party of Bolivia, Brazilian Communist Party, Bulgarian Communist Party, Unity and National Progress Party of Burundi, Communist Party of Canada, Communist Party of Chile, MAPU Worker-Peasant Party of Chile, Socialist Party of Chile, Communist Party of Colombia, Congolese Party of Labor, People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica, Communist Party of Cuba, Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Communist Party of Denmark, Dominican Communist Party, Communist Party of Ecuador, Coordinating Body of Revolutionary Mass Organizations of El Salvador (including the Communist Party of El Salvador), Commission for Organizing the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia, Communist Party of Finland, French Communist Party, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, German Communist Party, Communist Party of Great Britain, Communist Party of Greece, New Jewel Movement of Grenada, Guadeloupe Communist Party, Guatemalan Party of Labor, Association of four revolutionary organizations of Guatemala, African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands, Democratic Party of Guinea, People's Progressive Party of Guyana, People's National Congress of Guyana, United Party of Haitian Communists, Communist Party of Honduras, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Communist Party of India, Communist Party of Indonesia, People's Party of Iran, Iraqi Communist Party, Communist Party of Ireland, Communist Party of Israel, Communist Party of Italy, Jordanian Communist Party, People's Revolutionary Party of Laos, Lebanese Communist Party, Communist Party of Lesotho, General People's Congress of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Communist Party of Luxembourg, Independence Congress Party of Madagascar — Democratic Committee for the Support of the Charter of the Malagasy Socialist Revolution, Democratic Union of the Mali People, Communist Party of

Malta, Martinique Communist Party, Mexican Communist Party, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, FRELIMO (Mozambique), Southwest Africa People's Organization (Namibia), Communist Party of Nepal, Socialist Unity Party of New Zealand, Sandinista National-Liberation Front of Nicaragua, Socialist Working People's Party of Nigeria, Communist Party of the Netherlands, Communist Party of Norway, Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman, Communist Party of Pakistan, Palestine Liberation Organization, People's Party of Panama, Paraguayan Communist Party, Peruvian Communist Party, Socialist Revolutionary Party of Peru, Communist Party of the Philippines, Polish United Workers' Party, Portuguese Communist Party, Puerto Rican Communist Party, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Reunion Communist Party, Romanian Communist Party, Communist Party of Saudi Arabia, African Party for the Independence of Senegal, Seychelles People's Progressive Front, All People's Congress of Sierra Leone, South African Communist Party, African National Congress of South Africa, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Communist Party of Spain, Communist Party of Sri Lanka, Communist Party of the Sudan, Communist Workers' Party of Sweden, Left Party-Communists of Sweden, Swiss Party of Labor, Syrian Communist Party, Arab Socialist Renaissance Party (Syria), Tunisian Communist Party, Communist Party of Turkey, Communist Party of Uruguay, Socialist Party of Uruguay, Communist Party USA, Communist Party of Venezuela, Communist Party of Vietnam, Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, POLISARIO Front (Western Sahara), United National Independence Party of Zambia, African National Union of Zimbabwe, Yemen Socialist Party, and also members of the Editorial Board and Chairmen of *WMR* commissions. Among the participants were 21 Chairmen and General (First) Secretaries and their Deputies, 66 members and alternate members of the Political Bureau, and CC Secretaries of parties and organizations.

The Conference was opened by Hermann Axen, member of the CC Political Bureau and CC Secretary of the SUPG, who said, in particular, that among the delegations present 27 represented parties and organizations attending this type of conference for the first time.

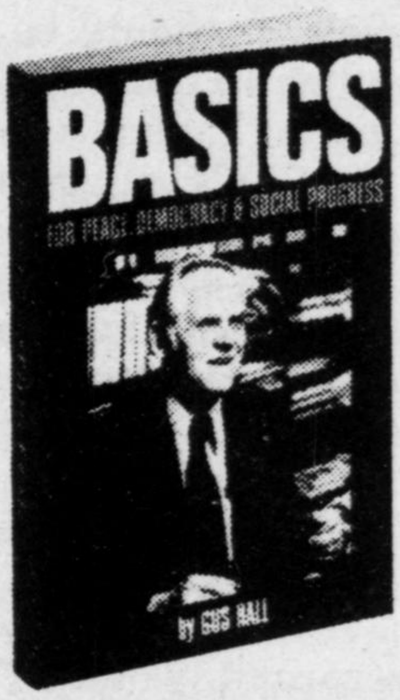
The opening speech was delivered by Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the SUPG Central Committee, Chairman of the GDR Council of State.

On the first day of the Conference, the participants were addressed by Boris Ponomarev, alternate member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Sergio Vieira, CC member, FRELIMO, and Maxime Gremetz, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the FCP Central Committee. The Conference was chaired by Hermann Axen and Konstantin Zarodov, Editor-in-Chief of *WMR*.

The Conference then continued its work in three sections: "The Interconnection between the Struggle for Peace and Socialism and the Struggle for National Independence, and Against Imperialism;" "The Struggle Against Neo-colonialism, and for a Democratic Restructuring of International Economic Relations;" and "Experience and Problems in the Struggle for National Liberation and Social Emancipation."

On the last day of the Conference, the Chairmen of the sections reported to the plenary meeting. The closing speech was delivered by H. Axen.

The proceedings of the Conference are to be published in coming issues of the Journal.



BASICS

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the Party

From analysis to conclusions

Radames Larrazabal
CC Political Bureau member, CP Venezuela

Our party's Sixth Congress met after a year of thorough preparations and an in-depth study of the documents submitted by a CC Commission of the Communist Party of Venezuela. It should be regarded as a big stride forward and a considerable achievement, because the Congress has had a beneficial effect on the whole of the CPV's activity and has helped to raise the overall level of party work.

The discussion of the draft of a new Program, which began in the primary organizations and lasted for several months,[1] helped to invigorate the communists' participation in the party's life — and this is of exceptional importance — to create an atmosphere that helps to awaken interest in theoretical questions and induce serious studies of the national realities.

From the standpoint of the capability of the CPV (above all of its higher organs) to carry on a revolutionary struggle, two facts are of special importance in the long term. First, the fact that an unusually high percentage of the delegates were young members, who had joined the party over the past five years. Second, a sizable part of the delegates came from the working class, and this is direct evidence that the party is turning to face the working class. This line was adopted after the CPV got rid of numerous opportunistic elements who had infiltrated leading posts, and who for the most part came from the non-proletarian strata of the population.

In the recent period substantial qualitative changes have taken place in the country. And these had to be analyzed in depth by the Congress so as to determine the communists' tactical and strategic tasks in the present conditions and to put before the other democratic forces a principled and realistic platform for cooperation.

Our two earlier congresses (the Fourth in 1971 and the Fifth in 1974) were held in a trying period, when we had to concentrate on fighting the factionalists who sought to undermine the unity of the party ranks. Such being the case the solution of many key problems in analyzing the situation in the country and specifying our strategy had to be put off. The party met its Sixth Congress in August 1980 well organized and ideologically united, and so was able to consider every aspect of its activity in a calm and constructive atmosphere. The delegates discussed the CC Report, which was delivered by General Secretary Jesus Faria, adopted a new program and political declaration, made a number of amendments in the rules and elected the governing bodies. The Congress gave a scientific definition to the society which has taken shape in Venezuela.

The CPV's first manifesto in 1931 spoke of the domination of the latifundist system and of imperialist penetration of the Venezuelan economy. The party held to this evaluation until 1946, when there was evidence of faster economic development and changes in the social structure. But at that time the process of change had not yet been thoroughly studied. In its characterization of the existing society, the Third Congress in 1961 accentuated the domination of foreign imperialism, and drew attention to the survivals of semi-feudal relations and the consolidation of the capitalist sector. Considering that the CPV's first program, adopted by the Fifth Congress, did not make any important changes in this formulation, we were, in effect, guided by it up until quite recently. Now the party's program says that Venezuela is a capitalist country with a growing level of monopolization and dependent on imperialism. That is a fundamentally new evaluation.

Within a few decades, Venezuela has executed a tremendous leap forward. The communists' analysis shows that capitalism has been fully established in the country, that production and capital are being concentrated at an ever faster pace, and that this has produced the conditions for the emergence of monopolies. The economic potential has been markedly increased, and high-technology sectors are being developed.

Most of the inhabitants are involved in the sphere of capitalist relations. Wage-workers now make up 70 per cent of the economically active population, with one-half of it consisting of the proletariat, which has become the most numerous social class in contemporary Venezuela. This creates the objective basis for enlarging the CPV's social basis. That is why the Congress urged the communists to work to strengthen and increase the party ranks and work more actively among the masses.

The spread of capitalist relations has been stimulated by the influx of foreign investments into the working of large oil fields, but this also made for the dependence of the Venezuelan economy and its subordinate status within the international capitalist division of labor.

Oil has long been an important problem in our country. The energy crisis which has gripped the capitalist world has made oil unprecedentedly important and, accordingly, increased its impact on

the country's economic development. This phenomenon was considered at length by the Sixth Congress.

Venezuela, a major producer and exporter of oil, finds itself in specific conditions. On the one hand, the United States regards our oil resources as its own strategic reserve (with all the economic and political consequences that this suggests). On the other hand, oil ranks Venezuela among the most influential countries of Latin America, especially in the Central American and Caribbean zones. The vast foreign-exchange export earnings make it possible to finance large-scale projects in industry and in the infrastructure. The ruling circles are given considerable possibilities for social maneuvering.

Investment of capital abroad has become a noticeable phenomenon although it does not easily lend itself to evaluation. The government's currency reserves which are kept in the United States, its investments in OPEC and UN funds, deposits in foreign banks, and private investments in various countries add up to billions of dollars.

The "oil boom" has accelerated the concentration of production and capital, which has been developing most rapidly in manufacturing and banking. Seven per cent of the enterprises turn out 75 per cent of the total output; they employ 58 per cent of those working in manufacturing. Three Venezuelan banks control almost 40 per cent of the liquid assets in the credit and banking system, and nearly 30 per cent of all the deposits.

The accelerated concentration is the basis for monopolization and the formation of a financial oligarchy. Groups of the monopoly bourgeoisie have formed conglomerates of industrial enterprises and banks and these have helped them to take over the commanding heights in the economy. Big business is run by the Vollmer, Mendoza, Boulton, Machado Zuloaga, Montana, Tamayo, Blohm, Phelps, Delfino, Gonzalez, Gorrondona and other clans.

The new CPV program says that the top bourgeoisie is dependent on and associated with foreign imperialism, and is the motive force behind the monopolization of the economy. This stratum of the bourgeoisie is the chief enemy of national liberation and socialism.

The country continues to be an objective of imperialist expansion. In 1978, foreign investments added up to nearly $2 billion, of which over 57 per cent came from the United States. Foreign capital has an influence on our economy through foreign credits. By the end of last year, credits made available to Venezuela by private foreign banks came to $7.4 billion. The state has vast foreign-exchange reserves, but paradoxically its external and internal debt has been growing. Together with unregistered debts and other liabilities, its total debt has reached nearly $25 billion.

But we communists understand that when speaking of dependence in the present conditions one must bear in mind not only the foreign investments and external debt indicators but also the new methods of imperialist penetration. The country's oil resources have turned the Venezuelan capital into a humming center of financial operations by the transnational corporations. Close to 90 of the leading transnationals have offices in Caracas. For their investments they make use of the country's internal accumulations, and engage in shady deals, even going to the extent of using bribes to secure profitable contracts. The mixed-enterprise system enables the transnationals to manipulate local state and private capital. At the same time, the foreign monopolies have made some concessions to the big Venezuelan bourgeoisie, so inducing it to associate with foreign imperialist circles.

Technological dependence tends to acquire primary importance, as will be seen from the imports of machinery and equipment which do not meet the country's actual needs of industrial development, the high and unwarranted spending on licenses, know-how, patents, trade marks, design, etc. Last year, Venezuela spent on all this a total of over $6 billion.

The large state sector, the Congress declared, is an important distinctive feature of contemporary Venezuela's economy. There are several factors which have led to its formation and growth: the need for the state to tackle general social and economic problems, and the urge to buy up lame-duck private companies to prevent them from going to the wall. But the main factor is the nationalization of the iron-ore and the oil and gas industry carried through in 1975 and 1976. The state sector now counts for about 40 per cent of the national income, and virtually controls the whole extraction of minerals and a part of manufacturing. Its financial strength is now on a par with that of the private banks. In 1978, there were 148 state companies. One of these (Petroven[2]) is among the 50 major companies of the capitalist world.

The monopolies have used various means in the efforts to subordinate the state sector. They have joined the state in setting up mixed enterprises, they control the supply of raw materials and hardware to the nationalized companies, their marketing and investment policy and the influx of external credits. The state sector is the largest consumer of the monopolies' products. The heads of the leading state enterprises usually come from the monopoly clans. For their part, prominent members of the government bureaucracy are given seats on the boards of private monopoly associations. Let me add that the government keeps its funds in private banks, so increasing the profits of the financiers. These and many other facts indicate an incipient coalescence of the power of the monopolies and the power of the state. That is why the CPV Congress documents note the appearance in Venezuela of some features of state-monopoly capitalism.

The political declaration issued by the Congress says that the monopoly bourgeoisie, which has established control of the economy, has been intensifying its pressure on the government. It has been spreading its influence to the army command and the leadership of the Catholic Church, and building up its positions in the apparatus of the ruling Chris-

tian Social Party (COPEI) and its rival Democratic Action Party, and also in the trade unions accepting class partnership. These conditions increasingly reveal the limited nature of bourgeois democracy. Elections look ever more like giant advertising campaigns. Parliament is being gradually subordinated to the executive power. The monopolization of the mass media makes freedom of expression an illusion. The courts administer justice in favor of the "haves." A privileged minority has the uncontrolled use of government funds.

The CPV Congress emphasized that there is a trend in the policy of the present government toward a reactionary swing both at home and abroad. Venezuelans have to suffer increasingly from inflation and unemployment. The scale of speculation and corruption is growing. Meanwhile, the government has proclaimed "free market prices," which means a grave worsening of the material condition of the masses. Foreign policy is now marked by an urge to take a "moderate" stand, notably in OPEC, and to fold up relations with the socialist countries. Venezuela's ruling circles have shown signs of hegemonistic ambitions in the Caribbean and Central America, and this has even verged on interference in the domestic affairs of states in the region. The government supports the bloody junta in El Salvador, it has staged hostile acts against Cuba and taken an active part in U.S. armed provocations in the Caribbean.

But even within the ruling bloc, this reactionary policy does not have total support. There is evidence of contradictions wihtin the two leading bourgeois parties. The disillusionment of the middle strata is growing. The masses of working people are intensifying their struggle. The Venezuelan proletariat, which has grown in size, is acquiring an ever clearer class consciousness.

Having analyzed the situation, the Sixth Congress of the CPV reached the conclusion that the political forces can be regrouped. This would open the prospect for cooperation among all those who want to maintain and expand the democratic gains. The Congress issued the slogan of a "broad unification of democratic forces."

We already have experience in practical cooperation among left-wing parties. On the eve of the 1979 municipal elections, they set up a Coordination Committee,[3] which scored marked successes in the election. There are also coordination ties between the youth organizations of several left-wing parties. But our approach is broader: we suggest cooperation between all the political forces opposed to the monopoly bourgeoisie, which is associated with imperialist capital.

At their forum, the Venezuelan communists reiterated the need for the cohesion of these forces and persevering action aimed to create conditions for the formation of a popular, democratic and sovereign government relying on the working class in town and country, the peasantry, the middle strata and the non-monopoly bourgeoisie. The goal of the future alliance would be to put an end to the domination by foreign imperialists and the local monopoly élite.

Social contradictions in Venezuela are growing. These contradictions must ultimately be resolved through revolution. The CPV's new program defines it as an anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly, democratic and popular revolution paving the way for socialism. The forms of the revolutionary process will depend on the balance of the forces supporting the democratic people's state, in which the industrial and agricultural workers, and the forward-looking peasantry, together with the middle strata and the non-monopoly bourgeoisie, would begin to effect transformations for social progress and national independence.

The communists believe that the primary tasks of a future people's government would be to ensure a higher level in development of production and to raise the working people's well-being, to break down the power of the monopolies, to release the state sector from the fetters of foreign capital, and to turn it into a genuine basis for the national economy. With broad participation by the people, the task would be to democratize the political, social and cultural institutions, and to provide genuine guarantees for the economic, social and individual rights of citizens. In the sphere of foreign policy, there is a need to combat every form of neo-colonialist oppression, racism, Zionism, discrimination, and threats to world peace, and to stand up for the principles of respect for the rights of nations to self-determination.

When discussing the international situation, the delegates to the Sixth Congress emphasized that U.S. imperialism, its military-industrial complex in the first place, is fearful of the economic and social consequences of détente. It is trying to take revenge for the 1970s, when prospects for genuine liberation were opened up before many peoples of the world, for a decade which was marked by the heroic victories of Vietnam, Angola, Ethiopia, Nicaragua, Grenada and other countries.

U.S. imperialism and its allies are now trying to revive the period of the cold war confrontation, a policy which runs counter to the logic of history. It is now no longer possible to ignore the crucial role of existing socialism, which has become a genuine guarantor of peace, or the will of the vast majority of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America taking an anti-imperialist stand, and countries opting for the socialist way of development.

Up until the late 1950s, the struggle of the peoples of Latin America was disjointed. Even when revolutionaries in this or that country managed to win, reaction took only a short time to put down the people by means of terrorism and with the aid of betrayals by opportunists and conciliators. The situation underwent a change after the Cuban revolution. This became all the more evident in the 1970s, when democratic and left-wing organizations succeeded in coordinating their actions to a greater extent, and in achieving real unity in some cases. A revolutionary situation in one part of the region or one country has a considerable influence

on the struggle carried on by the advocates of democracy and social progress in all the regions of the continent.

The U.S. imperialists and local monopoly circles are trying to prevent the rise of the liberation movement. For that purpose, they have encouraged moves by extreme reaction and pro-fascist militarists. Eloquent evidence of this came from the recent coup in Bolivia staged on the "Chilean model." But, as the CPV Congress delegates emphasized, socialist Cuba's achievements, the revolutionary transformations in Nicaragua, the installation of anti-imperialist governments in some Caribbean countries, the successes of the working-class movement in some Latin American countries, and the vigorous protests by the masses even where dictatorial regimes have been set up, all of these go to show that the progressive forces are capable of beating back the counter-offensive by reaction and fascism and to stand up for their democratic gains. The communists, the Venezuelan people can make an important contribution tothe development of the liberation process in Latin America, to the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress.

Ours is an internationalist party. This was most emphatically stated at the Sixth Congress of the CPV. We have always been on the side of the socialist community, we take pride in its achievements and are aware of the difficult problems it has to tackle. Our solidarity is with the revolutionary movements in any part of the globe. We have not succumbed to the provocations by the ideologists of the bourgeoisie and the revisionists who have made loud noises about some "single center of world communism" and about the CPV's "dependency" on it, in an effort to push the Venezuelan communists away from proletarian internationalism. The CPV has taken and will continue to take part in the international communist movement. At the same time, we are truly independent, because, being Marxist-Leninists, we proceed from the realities of our own country, from the interests of the Venezuelan proletariat, and act according to our own program.

Summing up the results of the Congress, the CC Political Bureau stated that the highest party forum became a school of theoretical and organizational work. It strengthened the revolutionary spirit and aroused enthusiasm in the ranks of the Venezuelan communists. What is especially important for us is that rank-and-file party members do not accept the directives of the governing bodies blindly or mechanically, but consciously, after their in-depth study and discussion. The Congress reaffirmed the importance of democratic centralism, the basis of the CPV's inner life.

The Congress could not, of course, solve all the problems. On some issues the discussions were not completed, and so there will be a need for additional theoretical work. We cannot say that we are satisfied with the results of our activity in the trade unions. The CPV did not give enough attention to recruiting women for the party. Other shortcomings were also frankly discussed at the Congress. But its main outcome is undoubtedly a source of optimism. The Congress has united the Communist Party ideologically and organizationally, and has prepared it for new battles for the interests of the working people, for independence and socialism.

1. The new draft program and other preparatory documents were circulated among the primary organizations in early March 1980. They were studied and enlarged in more than 700 branches. About 70 local and 21 district conferences were held. Over 90 per cent of the CPV members discussed the preparatory material of the Congress. Scientists, specialists in various fields of knowledge who are not communists but who sympathize with the party and accept its basic principles were invited to help formulate the basic documents. Many valuable proposals were put forward in the creative discussion, and this substantially enriched the CPV's theoretical and political analysis.

2. The state oil company. — *Ed*

3. It included: The CPV, the Movement Toward Socialism, the Left Revolutionary Movement, the People's Electoral Movement, the Socialist League, the United Vanguard, the People on the March, and the Revolutionary Action Group.

New experience

OUR INTERVIEWS

BASIS OF LEADERSHIP

Yancho Georgiev
CC Alternate Member,
Bulgarian Communist Party,
Head of the CC Information and
Sociological Center

Q. Your article on opinion study* has evoked widespread interest. Readers are asking for more details on how information is organized in the BCP. Would you characterize its aims and mechanisms?

A. The building up of an information infrastructure is vital as a means of improving the system by which the party influences the management of the republic's economic and social development. This process, specially noted by the BCP Central Committee at a plenary meeting in July 1968, has not been completed, but much has been achieved. We now have what may be described as a growing information industry that in the process of leadership makes it possible to draw upon not only experience and intuition (although these are important, of course) but also on vast objective and rationally processed information.

*WMR, June 1979.

This work is, of course, not something entirely new in the party. Every link of the CC apparatus and every district and town committee has always fulfilled, among other things, the function of an information service, gathering and generalizing the information enabling the party to perform its leading role in society. However, a new development is the larger volume of information and also that this information is more comprehensive. Without relieving the sectoral and territorial links of the party apparatus of their information-gathering functions it was found necessary to set up an agency specializing in gathering, accumulating, and processing general, inter-sectoral, and "fringe" information and also in coordinating information activity. This agency is the Information and Sociological Center, which has been organized as a department of the CC. Moreover, a similar center has been set up at the Sofia City Party Committee, while the district committees now have corresponding departments. We have a large computer center staffed with nearly 200 specialists.

A few words about the center's work. Its principal task is to keep the party leadership informed on cardinal problems of the economy, social policy, ideology, international relations and so forth. To this end we enlist the assistance of other CC departments, and also of scientists and specialists in various fields.

We have been charged with setting up information systems and generalizing the experience of applying advanced methods of information services. Let me give you an idea of what these systems consist of and how they are used.

For instance, all the resolutions adopted by the CC Political Bureau and Secretariat since 1969 and also all the normative documents adopted by the government since 1944 have been fed into the central computer. No new decision is passed without taking previous decisions into account, and this is now easier to monitor.

We have an information system that embraces all basic works on social science. During the past few years we have been building up a system containing information on the fulfillment and results of reports and elections in the party. Further there is a system of keeping an account of party cadres. Altogether, there are some 10 systems. This allows us to obtain reliable information on many of the questions that arise in the party's day-to-day work.

An important function of our center is to plan, organize, and coordinate sociological work nationwide.

Lastly, we have the duty of helping district party committees to improve their information service and of monitoring the installation and utilization of information equipment.

A point I should like to make is that we try to draw our work as close as possible to day-to-day practice, thereby concretely helping the party leadership. The information we handle must consequently be comprehensive and objective, in other words, not only what is sometimes called "desirable" (about breakthroughs and achievements) but also "undesirable" — critical, signalling negative phenomena and facts requiring speedy intervention.

For instance, at the moment we are studying the dimensions and root causes of negative phenomena such as red tape, embezzlement and a perverse attitude to work. This study is needed in order to improve educational work. We regularly print a bulletin containing précis of critical material from our press, radio and television and send it to ranking party and government officials. Together with the Union of Bulgarian Journalists we bring out two quarterly bulletins of special information obtained from letters received from working people by central party and government agencies, newspapers, and the radio and television networks. Annually we generalize the mail of central and district organizations. The latest survey, entitled "What Worried Our Citizens in 1979," shows that in the course of a single year our center and district organizations received 519,983 letters, one in four of which contained an important signal or a constructive suggestion. People were concerned mostly over shortcomings in the building and distribution of housing. As a rule, the relevant agencies take the necessary steps after analyzing the letters. An example is the new procedure for distributing housing and the improvement in capital construction.

All aspects of our center's work cannot be characterized in a short interview. Among other things we keep the party leadership abreast of scientific and technological progress abroad (jointly with the Central Information Institute), gather and analyze information on the experience of fraternal parties, and conduct independent sociological surveys of various spheres of life. This work is being expanded and improved, for the problems facing the party increase and are compounded as the building of a developed socialist society proceeds. One of Lenin's precepts, it will be recalled, was that one had to "be able unerringly, on any question, and at any time, to judge the mood, the real aspirations, needs and thoughts of the masses . . . be able without a shadow of false idealization to define the degree of their class-consciousness' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 33, p. 192). This cannot be achieved without solicitously satisfying the people's needs, without winning their wholehearted confidence and support.

TRENDS IN THE STRIKE STRUGGLE

Polichronis Vais
CC Member, Communist Party of Greece

Q. At a recent CC plenary meeting, Charilaos Florakis, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Greece, noted that a hallmark of the people's struggle for their rights was that more people were joining that struggle and coordinating their actions on the level of industries, regions, and the nation as a whole. What is the communist assessment of these and other new tendencies in the actions of the people?

A. The communists are closely following the people's struggle, particularly the strike movement that has been spreading during the past few years.

As 1980 comes to a close we find that the CPG was correct in warning that this year the condition of the working people would deteriorate and that this would induce them to step up their struggle to preserve and improve their living standard, protect democratic and trade union freedoms, curb the monopolies, oppose the one-sided "austerity" and, consequently, resolutely challenge the government's anti-labor policies. The strikes staged during the first seven months of 1980 involved more than 1,200,000 people.

The recent rise of the price of fuel was followed by a hike in the price of prime necessities. This gave the strike movement a further impetus.

At its plenary meeting in July 1980 the CPG Central Committee passed a resolution that stated in part: "We are about to see a further escalation of the assault started by the monopoly oligarchy and imperialism on the people's living standard and rights" and it was therefore vital "to develop and enhance the organizational level of the struggle of the working class and all other working people as a means of repulsing this assault."[1]

In the strike movement the party identifies some features that are of special significiance for the overall development of the people's struggle, for the success of that struggle and for a turn in the nation's policy that would lay the foundations for improving the life of the people. These are not new features but lately they have grown more distinct, opening up more favorable prospects. There have been many contributing factors, not the least of which is the legal political presence of the CPG, the party of the working class. Let me specify these features.

First, the demands for higher pay to offset soaring prices, for better working conditions, and for the protection of democratic and trade union freedoms have acquired a character that spearheads them against not merely a specific employer but also the government's pro-monopoly policies.

Second, the political significance of the strikes and other actions of the workers is being increasingly seen by other working people, chiefly the peasants, who comprise 29 per cent of the economically active population, and the urban middle strata, who account for about 25 per cent. Noteworthy in this context is the statement of the President of the Federation of Bank Employees' Organizations that the Federation is "opposed to the government's anti-labor policies."

Third, the increasingly vigorous actions of the urban and rural middle strata to improve their economic condition and protect their rights are important in themselves. The peasant actions, which include strikes in the shape of boycotts of urban markets and the cordoning off of towns with tens of thousands of tractors, have involved many hundreds of thousands of people. These actions are continuing and spreading in proportion to the steps taken by the government to adjust the Greek economy to the requirements of the EEC monopolies, a policy that is fraught with disastrous consequences for the nation's peasantry. The urban middle strata hit by monopoly domination are likewise stepping up their strike struggles. The democratic movement of artisans, small entrepreneurs, and shopkeepers has let it be known that it would strongly oppose any increase of water, transport, telephone and electricity rates.

Fourth, and this is especially significant, the people are increasingly appreciating the need for coordination, the importance of solidarity and mutual support, of joint actions by the working people of different industries and enterprises, and of towns and villages. "The broad support that the peasants are getting from the people of towns has an objective foundation," says, for example, the secretary of the Larissa Union of Spinners and Weavers. "Townsfolk are well aware that the peasants are also victims of the government's pro-monopoly policies."[2]

Fifth, the government's policies, based on the thesis that Greece is part of the West, the whipping up of tension in a cold war spirit and the arms race are placing a growing burden on the shoulders of the working people. Inflation and spiralling prices are nullifying the insignificant pay rises won through struggle. Large numbers of workers, peasants, office employees, small entrepreneurs and shopkeepers realize, as our Central Committee has pointed out, that the struggle for peace, against the anti-Soviet campaign conducted in a cold war spirit, the struggle to ensure and widen the Greek people's democratic freedoms, and the struggle to preserve their living standard are inter-related and must be coordinated.

Popular indignation is mounting. Opposition to the policies of the right-wing government is spreading even among those who in 1977 voted for the New Democracy Party. "The plenary meeting of the CPG Central Committee," the above-mentioned resolution states, "believes that today the right-wing party not only should but can be removed from power."[3]

The communists are firmly of the opinion that the above tendencies of the class battles will continue to develop. This will create the conditions for united action by democratic trade unions, for unity among the forces seeking democratic, anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist changes. The spreading strike movement, in which economic and political demands are closely interlocked and the working class plays an increasingly more prominent vanguard role, is a major factor of Greece's advance along the road of progress that will ultimately lead to socialism.

1. *Rizospastis,* July 13, 1980.
2. *Kommunistiki Epitheorici,* March, 1980.
3. *Rizospastis,* July 13, 1980.

DOCUMENTS

RESOLUTION OF THE PUWP CENTRAL COMMITTEE

A sitting of the Sixth Plenary Meeting of the PUWP Central Committee, held in Warsaw in early October, passed a resolution approving the Political Bureau report delivered by Stanislaw Kania, First Secretary of the PUWP Central Committee, the assessments given in the report, and the basic orientations of ideological, political and socio-economic work.

The CC found preparations had to be started for the party's Ninth Extraordinary Congress with the involvement of party activists. In the course of these preparations the wisdom and experience of the entire party should produce a program taking the nation out of the difficult situation and mapping out the prospects for Poland's development in the 1980s. The party ranks had to be united around the CC and it was vital to restore its links with the masses. This would be achieved through the promotion of inner-party democracy and comprehensive revitalization of ideological life in the party.

In the course of the pre-congress discussion it was necessary to make a close analysis of the proposals, made at the Sixth Plenary Meeting, for amendments in the Party Rules with the purpose of extending inner-party democracy.

The CC was of the opinion that the most important thing at the moment was to satisfy the market demand for basic food and everyday items of consumption. Within the next few weeks the personnel and managements of enterprises should jointly consider ways and means of more efficiently adjusting production to the requirements of the population. Proceeding from the fact that supplies for the market was the predominant issue, the CC recommended that in the closing quarter of this year the government should reduce the overall level of investment — especially to halt some major capital-intensive projects — and rechannel the resources into consumer industries and export production. The CC noted that in economic policy priority should be given to agriculture and the food industry.

The resolution stated that there had to be a wide-ranging economic reform aimed at creating all the conditions for reinforcing the strategic functions of centralized planning and for efficient work by all economic units, especially industrial enterprises. A major target of the reform should be a considerable increase in the share of workers' self-management and people's councils in running the economy.

One of the party's main tasks, the resolution said, was to improve all the institutions and forms of socialist democracy. In particular, this concerned the constitutional role of the Sejm and the people's councils. It was recommended that the PUWP Deputies' Club* and party members holding the office of deputies in local councils should act in this direction.

With the further development of socialist democracy as the aim it was recommended that legislative work should be started immediately to improve the institutional-legal models of people's councils, workers' self-management, the self-administration of residents of towns and villages, and also the various forms of cooperation and cooperative self-management.

The CC said it was in favor of a renewal of the trade union movement and for the development and strengthening of the autonomy of branch and of the newly-created trade unions. The party stands on the ground of bilateral, consistent observance of the declaration, contained in the agreement, that the new trade unions would be created on the basis of the Constitution and respect for the socialist system, Poland's international alliances, and the party's leading role. The trade unions should have influence on decisions governing working conditions, the cost of living, and social welfare policy, and take an active part in the implementation of production tasks. The development of inter-union democracy should be an important element in the renewal of the trade unions. Also, the drafting of a new law on trade unions should be speeded up.

The resolution spoke of the need for deepening inner-party democracy to ensure that party members had genuine influence on decisions taken by party authorities, and reinforcing the party's function of control at all levels and in all areas of society's life.

All party bodies and organizations, the resolution said, should work harder to enhance the ideological commitment and forward-looking character of the actions of party members and take a strong stand against the negative phenomena in society's life, against inventions and demagoguery. An inalienable task of the party was to combat the activities of anti-socialist forces. Honest party workers should be defended against unwarranted attacks and slander, but strict conclusions should be drawn relative to those guilty of abuse of the principles of socialist ethics and the party's trust.

The resolution emphasized that it was important to continue strengthening Poland's alliances. Participation and cooperation in the CMEA and also in the coalition defensive system of the Warsaw Treaty should be improved. Unflagging attention had to be given to the nation's peaceful development, the state of its defense capability, law and order, and internal security.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

A resolution of the Sixth Plenary Meeting of the MPLA-Party of Labor CC states that the Constitution of the People's Republic of Angola has been amended in view of the "profound socio-economic changes testifying to the irreversible character of the gains of the Angolan revolution" and the need to "create the politico-judicial structures and organizational foundations of the people's democratic state, whose mission is to build a socialist

*The PUWP faction in the Sejm. — *Ed.*

society under the leadership of the MPLA-PL."

State agencies, the resolution notes, are being set up and functioning in accordance with the principles of unity between authority and democratic centralism. The people's assemblies, consisting of deputies elected by and accountable to the people, are the highest organs of state power at every level of the nation's politico-administrative division. These deputies represent the entire Angolan people regardless of race, religion, ideology or political affiliation. Their mandate is to strengthen the nation's unity, champion the alliance between the workers and peasants, combat expoitation of man by man and all manifestations of racism, tribalism and parochialism, and mobilize the people for national reconstruction and the building of socialism. The People's Assembly is the nation's highest organ of state power and its chairman is the President of the People's Republic of Angola.

In the interim between sessions of the People's Assembly its functions are carried out by the Standing Commission headed by the President of the Republic.

The highest administrative organ of the state, the Constitution declares, is the Council of Ministers, the governments, which is accountable to the People's Assembly.

On the politico-administrative level, the resolution says, the republic's territory is divided into provinces, municipalities, communes, districts (in towns divided into districts), and villages. There the people's assemblies are the highest organs of state power. The executive bodies of these assemblies are the commissariats of provinces, municipalities, and communes, and also the people's commissions of districts (including towns divided into districts) and villages.

SUPPORT FOR MOVEMENTS TOWARD INDEPENDENCE

The Communist Party of the USA has declared its support for movements toward political independence that can lead to the formation of an anti-monopoly people's party and effectively challenge monopoly capital's two old parties. This was spelled out in clear-cut terms by Gus Hall, the General Secretary, at a meeting of the Central Committee. He stated that such movements are now surfacing in a variety of forms and on different levels.

"It is our policy," he said, "to work with all such formations, whatever their strengths and weaknesses." It was very possible that the variety of organizations and groups now emerging would become the foundation stones for the new broad anti-monopoly people's party of tomorrow. The communists should avoid at all costs "setting up yardsticks of perfection, because life does not present such ready-made perfect forms. All mass movements and organizations will go through a process of being molded and tempered in the arena of struggle. We must work for friendly and helpful relations with all of them."

The communists believe that the emergence of a winning broad people's party, relying on the working class, the racially and nationally oppressed, the women's and the youth movements, the students, and the farm poor, must "be based and rooted in these sectors." Its leadership must reflect these sectors.

"To become a winner," Gus Hall said, "such a party must challenge monopoly power, take a stand against racism, against the huge military budgets, and a positive stand on the issue of world peace.

"We do not think such a party can or should take a stand for socialism. We would reject any attempt or any concept that has its roots in the idea of replacing the Communist Party. There is no need for another Communist Party. The existing one is irreplaceable.

"We also reject such concepts because they would become an obstacle to the fulfillment of the role the anti-monopoly people's party is called upon to play by historic developments. People who believe in socialism, including communists, will participate and work in and with such a party but will not push for it to stand for socialism."

A PERSONAL IMPRESSION

Congress in Tananarive

At the National Museum in Tananarive, capital of Madagascar, there are paintings depicting the treatment handed out by the colonialists to members of the powerful liberation movement of the close of the 1940s: some were thrown alive from aircraft, others were tortured horribly. These crimes were committed by the French imperialists. The number of victims exceeded 90,000. Alongside these paintings are photographs of those years tracing the heroic campaign of solidarity with the struggle of the Malagasy people, a campaign conducted by French communists and democrats. The drive for freedom by one people fused with the internationalist spirit of another. This led to the appearance of a country that recently marked the 20th anniversary of its independence and the fifth anniversary of the establishment of a revolutionary-democratic regime.

In August 1980 the roofed Mahamasina sports stadium, run by the capital's municipal council, reverberated with cries of "May freedom come." The Ninth Convention of the Congress Party for the Independence of Madagascar — Democratic Committee in Support of the Charter of the Malagasy Socialist Revolution was declared open. The band played the national anthem and the Internationale.

The stadium was filled with working people from rural and urban communities. Of the 1,103 delegates, 682 were peasants, more than 200 were white-collar workers, and the rest were people belonging to other sections of the population. Many came from remote areas. Some were barefoot, despite the winter cold.

The congress welcomed party delegations from the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, the GDR, Romania, Yugoslavia, and Congo, and also

communists from France and Italy, the ambassadors of socialist Cuba, Vietnam, and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and personalities of liberation and international democratic organizations. The CPIM, has strong, long-standing ties of comradeship and solidarity with the world revolutionary movement.

There were further chants of "May freedom come." The stern faces of the delegates made it clear that each was aware of the great significance of this historic call of the CPIM. This was its battle-cry when it fought for independence, passed through many trials, and achieved victory. Time has enriched its initial meaning. Madagascar's advanced forces are now determined to uphold the course toward the conquest of genuine social freedom and proceed with the deep-going transformations started in the mid-1970s by the revolutionary-democratic regime of President Didier Ratsiraka.

The attention of the congress was held by the speeches of the party's leaders: the report on the domestic situation by Party Chairman Richard Andriamanjato, the report on party organization and tasks by General Secretary Gisele Rabesahala, and the speech on international policy by Deputy General Secretary Arsene Ratsifehera. What was said concerned every delegate and the entire party, and the mass organizations linked to it: the FISEMARE Trade Union Federation, the Revolutionary Women's Organization, and the Revolutionary Youth Organization (KDTM).*

The speakers noted the many achievements of the liberation movement and spoke of shortcomings and unresolved problems. The audience reacted to speeches in which mention was made of cases of discrimination against members of the party. What motivated this discrimination?

There is a National Front for the Defense of the Revolution, with cooperation officially proclaimed as the "principle method of work" of the parties affiliated to it. But there is little experience of cooperation. Some parties were constituted quite recently. This does not prevent activists in the localities from considering that only their political organization has leverage. In turn, this tempts others to engage in inter-party rivalry.

The CPIM delegates noted that the revolution could not be the cause of any single party. It was the common cause of the masses. The formation of the National Front for the Defense of the Revolution was dictated by the objective need to combine the revolutionary potential of many political forces in the drive for social progress. That this front was formed was a major achievement of the progressive power. "As long as President Ratsiraka honors the terms of the contract concluded with the people in the referendum of December 21, 1975, he will have our party's unstinting support," Richard Andriamanjato said.

For many of the delegates the struggle for radical changes means painstaking day-to-day work. Talks with delegates gave an idea of how difficult this is in a land that had only taken the first steps toward sweeping social reforms. They use a strict yardstick to judge the changes for the better, and they are prepared to speak publicly and at length about negative phenomena. "Yes, we have made headway," said Justin Tselany, a trade unionist and worker at a sugar refinery in the northern province of Antsiranana. "The trade union demand for an eight-hour working day has been met. Formerly, we worked without a break. We now have a half-hour break, although our work is health hazardous. We earn more money." Then, more passionately, he spoke of unresolved problems, mentioning not only housing and the need for better working conditions. He criticized the management, which has banned workers' meetings at this mixed state-private enterprise, saying that at enterprises in the public sector the situation is quite different. "We consistently champion the workers' interests," he said. "At the moment, for example, we are pressing to have six of our comrades awarded a higher skill rating and for this we shall have to overcome the resistance of some members of the management."

For a number of years authority at the level of rural communes (fokonolono) and town neighborhoods has been exercised by new territorial units called fokontany. Jaofeta, a delegate to the congress and a member of the economic commission of one of the many thousands of fokontany, came to the capital from Sambava, a small northern town. He spoke enthusiastically of what has been achieved by the local self-government agencies. These agencies mobilize people for the building of schools and medical aid centers, supply the population with prime necessities, and maintain law and order. But his mood changed quickly when he spoke of the work of the economic commission in his neighborhood. "Here the problem is not so much organizing joint work by people belonging to different parties as honesty." Jaofeta gave an example: money collected by the population for a festival was appropriated by some commission members. By making this public Jaofeta earned their hostility and was barred from meetings. After the congress he intends to press for the commission's renewal to enable it to handle current problems efficiently: today these are to keep the people supplied with consumer goods and rice and to control prices.

The instances I have cited illustrate the overall mood at the congress, a mood of intolerance of injustice, oppression, abuse of power, corruption and tribalism. It is only by putting an end to these negative phenomena jointly that the parties of the front can continue to develop cooperation. Members of the CPIM told me that they wanted this cooperation to develop on a healthy foundation. Unnecessary collisions had to be avoided but there could be no unprincipled compromises.

I must mention one more impression. It was hard to guess the age of the delegates from their young-looking faces. Party statistics say that the average age of the delegates was 42. Formal demographic statistics can hardly tell us whether this is old or

*The first sitting was held jointly, after which each organization held its own congress.

young. What they do tell us is that in the mid-1970s about half of the population was under 20 and that the population increment here is one of the highest in the world. The main criterion is the party's political biography. Its backbone consists of people who have passed through the school of two and, in many cases, three decades of struggle. In other words, the average age embodies unity between youth and the vast experience accumulated by the party. It is important to pass this experience on to new cadres. The propagation of this experience and of the party's stand on key issues of domestic and foreign policy, reaffirmed at the congress, is part and parcel of the patriotic and internationalist education of the young people, workers, and peasants taking the revolutionary road.

Rustem Sevortyan
Tananarive-Prague

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exchange of views

Dispel the clouds of war

WHO OPPOSES TURNING THE INDIAN OCEAN INTO A PEACE ZONE

In the Indian Ocean today there is now probably the greatest concentration of flashpoints threatening world peace and security. U.S. imperialism is building up an armed force there with an eye to holding a mailed fist over the newly-free Asian and African states seeking freedom and independent progress.

The provocative military activity of imperialist powers in the Indian Ocean and the problems this activity poses for all fighters for peace, independence and national freedom were the theme of a round table discussion sponsored by *WMR*. The participants included Julien Ramin, CC Political Bureau member, Reunion Communist Party; D.E.W. Gunasekara, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Sri Lanka; Zola S.T. Skweyiya, staff member of the ANC Research Department (South Africa); Abdulla al-Rashid, member of the Steering Committee, National Liberation Front of Bahrain; Abdulla Mohamed Aziz, CC member, Yemeni Socialist Party; and Vijay Gupta, Associate Professor of West Asian and African Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India.

The following is a brief record of the discussion.

Whipping up tensions

Much attention was given to new signs of the escalation of war preparations in the Indian Ocean.

Al-Rashid said that the ocean and its shores had been dominated for centuries by European colonizers. But even after they lost their colonies the imperialists did not go; instead, they set out to build up their military presence. The United States, the leading power of the imperialist camp, plays first fiddle in the stepped-up war preparations in the area.

After Britain had to relinquish its positions east of Suez in the late 1960s the Americans hastened to move into its place. They wrested an agreement from Bahrain leasing a naval base at Juffir, leased another base in the Sharjah emirate, and secured permission to build still another base on Oman's Masirah Island.

The U.S. naval facilities in the Indian Ocean form an integral chain with bases in the Pacific — Japan, the Philippines, Micronesia — and link up with allied bases: Simonstown and Silvermine (South Africa), Cockburn South (Australia), Reunion and Mayotte (France), and bases in New Zealand.

The main U.S. strategic stronghold in the Indian Ocean is the Diego Garcia naval and air base. *Julien Ramin* gave some details.

Diego Garcia Island lies in the very midst of the ocean. From there it takes a warship no more than two days to reach the waters of virtually any coastal state. After it had arbitrarily separated the Chagos Archipelago, which includes Diego Garcia, from its one-time colony, Mauritius, Britain in 1966 signed an agreement with the USA for a joint base on the island.

Ever since then maintenance and coastal support systems have been continually built and enlarged on the island. The systems are intended for large naval forces, including attack aircraft carriers and nuclear submarines, as well as a strategic air force, in particular B-52 bombers. The fairway in the harbor has been deepened, runways that can receive any aircraft have been built, and so have storage facilities for nuclear supplies, fuel and lubricants. A naval communications center is in operation. The ships that anchor in the island's waters include the tender for Dixie-type destroyers, and also for

numerous container, tanker cargo and other vessels bringing supplies for the so-called rapid deployment force, which is, in fact, a police force. Also based on the island are R-3 Orion anti-submarine planes.

The United States, al-Rashid pointed out, is now engaged in vigorous war preparations in the Indian Ocean. It is massing unprecedentedly large naval forces, especially in the northwestern part of the ocean, the Sea of Arabia and the Persian Gulf. Based there permanently are two or three attack aircraft carrier groups consisting of several dozens of ships, some of which carry nuclear weapons delivery systems. Added to the warships not long ago were what may be described as floating arsenals, that is, merchant vessels until recently but which have since been adapted to carry arms and other military supplies. Washington has already decided to form a new U.S. fleet (the 5th) to be based in the Indian Ocean.

Some 200,000 U.S. servicemen are being assigned to take part in possible hostilities in the Middle East. The Pentagon has lately been making plans for the swift transfer of armed forces to the Persian Gulf, first four army and Marine divisions plus naval, air, and support units. Defense Secretary Harold Brown has said that at least $50 billion is to be spent in the next 10 years to ensure the safety of Middle East oil deliveries from the area. Official Washington has confirmed the existence of plans for blockading and mining the Persian Gulf, which no sensible person can possibly reconcile with the aim publicly announced by the head of the U.S. war department. A particularly ominous development is that the imperialist hawks are urging the use of nuclear arms in an "emergency."

To consolidate and expand its military presence in the Indian Ocean, *D.E.W. Gunasekara* said, the United States seeks new bases in coastal states. By combining pressure and promises of aid, the Americans have signed agreements giving them bases in Oman, Kenya, Somalia and Egypt. In addition to the Masirah base, Oman is likely to put one of its ports at the disposal of the U.S. Air Force for basing mine sweepers in the event the Strait of Hormuz is mined. The Kenyan port of Mombasa is to serve as a supply station for U.S. warships in the Indian Ocean and as a rest facility for their crews. The Berbera base in Somalia is earmarked for operations in the Gulf of Aden and the Red Sea. The Ras Banas base in Egypt is planned as a springboard for airlifting troops to Southwest Asia. It is to be reconstructed to allow it to receive B-52 strategic bombers, SR-71 spy planes and giant transport aircraft. The cost of this reconstruction is estimated at over $400 million.

As well as increasing its own military presence, it was noted in the discussion, the United States has been trying hard to drag its aggressive bloc partners into the war preparations. These attempts have not been unsuccessful. The Thatcher government, being apparently overwhelmed by nostalgia for the days of empire and longing to restore Britain's military presence east of Suez, has sent warships to the Persian Gulf. Lord Carrington, the British Foreign Secretary, declared that his government was willing to use armed forces in support of U.S. troops in the event of military complications in the Persian Gulf or anywhere else.

West Germany, for its part, has decided to show the flag by sending two destroyers and two auxiliary ships to the Indian Ocean. Now that the original restrictions on the strength of the West German Navy have been lifted, the Federal government is exhorted (by the British *Economist*, for instance) to set its sights on the region east of Suez and use the recovered freedom of action to build new ships that could support the U.S. naval forces in the Indian Ocean.

The ANZUS countries held large war exercises in the Indian Ocean late last August. Australia, for one, sent the greatest number of men-of-war and planes since World War II. After the exercises its ships were assigned a three-month patrol duty in the Indian Ocean as a demonstration of strength. The Fraser government had earlier declared itself ready to provide the USA with a large strategic naval base on the nation's west coast.

In Japan, too, some quarters are inclined to join in the intensive war preparations begun by the USA. Addressing a Japanese-U.S. seminar on security problems in Tokyo last August, Kanemaru, a leader of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party, said that Japan's security zone extended beyond the Far East, to the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf.

However, for the U.S. militarists this is not enough. They are intent on forming new military blocs and alliances in addition to the existing ones. The Washington-Tel Aviv-Cairo alliance, *Abdulla Mohamed Aziz* said, is now a reality based on the Camp David collusion. Israel is, now as in the past, a bridgehead and base state for imperialism's forces in the Middle East. Also, the USA is gradually transforming Sadat-ruled Egypt into a strongpoint for expansion. Sadat has said he is willing to grant the USA "every facility" for military operations against any country in the region and is already putting his words into action.

Imperialism and reaction still contemplate setting up a "Red Sea security pact" and forming a military political bloc in the Persian Gulf. *M. Abu Gazalla*, the Egyptian Chief of Staff, has offered Saudi Arabia, Egypt's cooperation in building a joint fleet in the Red Sea. The projected alignments, the Yemeni Socialist Party stresses, are expected to act as guardians of imperialism's interests, primarily its oil interests, in the Middle East. The idea is to lock up that vast region in a strategic triangle consisting of the network of U.S. bases centered on Diego Garcia in the south, the Israeli-Egyptian alliance in the west, and the Chinese-Pakistani-U.S. alliance, currently in the making, in the east.

In spite of the obvious fact that the multilateral military alliances in Asia have fallen apart (evidence: the disintegration of CENTO, the dissolution of SEATO, and the virtual demise of ASPAC), Gunasekara said, the United States continues banking on the policy of blocs as a vital component of its

strategy. It puts pressure on ASEAN to turn it into an aggressive — political and later possibly military — bloc spearheaded against the socialist countries of Indochina. Maneuvers are under way to resuscitate SEATO. Plans are being laid for the formation of a new military alignment in the South Atlantic. This alliance, expected to be called SATO (South Atlantic Treaty Organization) by analogy with NATO, would include racist South Africa and link up through it with the imperialist bases and blocs in the Indian Ocean.

The participants came to the conclusion that the scale and pace of the escalation of the war preparations begun by imperialism in the Indian Ocean are evidence of a bid *to make heightened tensions a permanent factor* in the region.

"Flexing muscles:" causes and objectives

What is the reason behind the unprecedented intensification of the imperialist powers' military-political activity in the Indian Ocean? What aims do they pursue by keying up tension and fomenting war hysteria?

Answering these questions, the participants in the round table discussion said that the current activity of the imperialists in the Indian Ocean is part of their overall effort to nullify or subvert the results of the struggle of the newly-free peoples of Asia and Africa to consolidate their national independence and win economic independence. The effort to increase tensions in the region is imperialism's response to the assumption of power in a number of new states by progressive and patriotic forces, who have proceeded to put far-reaching socio-economic changes into effect, and to the fact that some newly-free countries have opted for a socialist orientation. The captains of U.S. big business dread the increasingly real prospect of being denied the opportunity of plundering the national wealth of formerly dependent countries. As it happens, oil is the chief wealth of the countries of the Indian Ocean.

In 1979 alone, Gunasekara said, transactions involving foreign oil brought U.S. oil companies a net profit of over $10 billion, or 70 per cent more than the year before. This is why Arab and Iranian oil resources are now treated as if they did not belong to the Arabs and Iranians but to the imperialist powers, chiefly the United States, alleged to have the "right" to adopt any steps to keep that store-house they do not own, open to them. In these circumstances increasing war preparations in the Indian Ocean are, as the Communist Party of Sri Lanka sees it, a direct threat to any country venturing to trespass U.S. monopoly interests.

Furthermore, the escalation of military tensions is a means of implementing the imperialist policy of generating destabilization in countries of the region and overthrowing progressive and patriotic regimes. There is much in history, Gupta said, to show how the imperialists attempted to change the course of events forcibly in favor of imperialism in this or that area of the Afro-Asian world. Witness the triple aggression against Egypt, the U.S. armed intervention in Lebanon in 1958, the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, and so forth. Understandably, documents of the International Conference for Peace and Security in Asia, held in New Delhi from March 23 to 25, 1980, state that the situation shaping in the Persian Gulf is strikingly reminiscent of the situation in the Gulf of Tonkin (1964), for the provocation staged there served as the pretext for escalating the U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

The Indian people are well aware that U.S. naval vessels are meant for war and the U.S. bases are springboards for attack on independent countries. In India there was serious alarm over the piratical U.S. commando raid on Iran. Indeed, there is no guarantee that other countries, whose policy does not suit Washington, will not be a target of similar acts of subversion.

The communists of Reunion, Ramin said, have repeatedly warned that the imperialist military bases are bastions of subversion. It was from the French base in Reunion that a mercenary force went on a mission resulting in the overthrow of the progressive regime under Ali Soilih in the Comores. Aziz added that the U.S. base on Masirah Island was used for piratical raids to suppress the struggle of Dhofar's patriots and for provocations against the PDRY. The recent U.S.-Somali deal on the establishment of U.S. military bases on Somali territory is inciting Mogadishu to extend its aggression against socialist Ethiopia.

In an effort to resist progressive socio-political changes in the African and Asian continents, speakers pointed out, imperialism has tried to find a base of support there in the reactionary and racist regimes, primarily in South Africa, Israel, several states in the Arabian Peninsula, Pakistan and, until recently, Iran. Following the revolutionary events in Ethiopia and Afghanistan and the overthrow of the monarchy in Iran, the aim of the build-up of the imperialist military presence in the Indian Ocean is to keep the racists and reactionaries confident that should the situation deteriorate drastically they can count on the aid of their overseas backers.

Yet another line of subversive activity aimed at weakening or hampering the resistance of the states of the region to the imperialist diktat is to range and incite them against each other. Given the overall increase of tensions, this may at any moment lead to a dangerous explosion.*

Zola S.T. Skweyiya drew attention to the special significance the imperialists attach to keeping the racist regime in power in South Africa, which is assigned an important role in the plans to make the Indian Ocean a sphere of imperialist domination. In virtue of its important geographical location South Africa is regarded as a watchdog guarding the important waterway around the Cape of Good Hope. To enable its armed forces to perform the police functions entrusted to them, the imperialist powers have given the Botha regime massive aid in various fields, including military aid. According to press

*Such as the armed clashes that flared up in September 1980 on the border between Iraq and Iran.

reports, the NATO leadership has had secret talks with the South African government on turning the Simonstown base into yet another strongpoint of that military bloc.

World opinion, Skweyiya went on, is particularly alarmed by the reports that the South African racists are closely cooperating with the Israeli Zionists in developing and manufacturing nuclear weapons.

The ANC has every reason to believe that Israel and South Africa already possess a nuclear potential and have, possibly, tested nuclear devices. In the hands of regimes which openly proclaim and in fact pursue a policy of racism and aggression, and which foment sharp conflicts with neighboring countries, weapons of mass destruction would introduce an exceptionally dangerous destabilizing element into the already tense situation. Nor should one overlook the nuclear ambitions of Pakistan situated in yet another troubled area of the Afro-Asian world.

The participants in the discussion saw an extremely dangerous tendency in imperialism's attempts to use the Peking leadership's reckless foreign policy line in its own interests.* It is a fact, Gupta said, that China and the USA have now taken a common stand and are acting hand in glove in fanning tensions and war hysteria. It is becoming increasingly evident that in its plans imperialism has allotted to China the role of its most important support in the northeast of the Indian Ocean. For its part, Peking is now openly calling for a larger U.S. military presence in the area. The Chinese leaders unconditionally support the enlargement of the Diego Garcia base, the return of the Utapao base to the Americans, the prolongation of their lease of the Takhli base in Thailand, the maintenance of U.S. bases on Australian territory, and so on.

In its turn, Peking hopes it will be rewarded magnificently for cooperating with the USA, namely, that it will be given a free hand in Asia and the possibility of attaining its hegemonistic ambitions. Along with Southeast Asia, the Indian Ocean is viewed by the Chinese leaders as a sphere of expansion most accessible to them at this stage. To back up its claims, China is doing everything to increase its naval potential. As reported by the influential *National Herald* of India, China's Southern Fleet has been brought up to 300 combat vessels and its build-up will continue. The construction of submarines, in the number of which China already ranks third in the world, is proceeding at an accelerated pace. The navy is being provided with the latest hardware and armaments purchased in the West.

Speakers in the discussion noted that the heightened military activity of the imperialist states, notably the USA, in the Indian Ocean should be regarded in light of the projected list of Washington's foreign policy of reviving the cold war atmosphere and sharpening the confrontation with the socialist world. Attempts are being made to change the existing military-strategic equilibrium to the detriment of the socialist-community countries. This is one of the key motivations of the U.S. military's enhanced interest in the Indian Ocean, which is seen as a potential, and now to a large extent also as a very real area of deployment of the strategic components of the U.S. armed forces. Indeed, some sectors of the Indian Ocean, especially its northern and northwestern parts, are located — if one were to use yardsticks of our nuclear missile age — very close to the territory of the Soviet Union.

The participants in the discussion were unanimous that the increasing military presence of the imperialist powers in the Indian Ocean is a *factor for* bringing *constant pressure* to bear on the policy and, in a way, the economy of coastal states that have refused, or are reluctant, to take their cue from Washington and other Western capitals. It is a *means of support in strength* for the measures aimed at destabilizing and toppling progressive regimes in the region. Moreover, it is a reflection of attempts to bring about a *change in the global balance of strength* in favor of imperialism.

Escalation of lies

Of course, the feverish militarist preparations in the Indian Ocean are worrying public opinion, including realistically-minded politicians. Being aware of this, the imperialists are aiming an intensified propaganda barrage at countries along the Indian Ocean. At the discussion attention was given to some of the more dangerous lines of this propaganda.

Today, al-Rashid said, the emphasis is on playing up the notorious Soviet menace thesis. Brandishing the "communist threat" bogey, imperialist propaganda is banking on the fact that a section of the public in Afro-Asian countries is uninformed of the real situation, and also on the prejudices and misconceptions widespread among some social strata and groups.

Special significance, Aziz said, is now attached to the indoctrination of the population in Moslem countries. In this the imperialists are aided and abetted by their stooges and local reactionaries in some of these countries. Witness the attempts to turn the Islamic Conference Organization into an arena for attacks against the USSR and the revolutionary regime in Afghanistan instead of concentrating its attention on questions most vital for all Moslems, primarily Arabs — the return of the Arab lands seized by Israel in 1967, including the shrines of Jerusalem that are so precious to the Islamic religion, the ways and means of achieving a just settlement of the Palestine problem and restoring the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine that have been trampled by the Zionists. Moreover, "Moscow's hostility to Islam" is just as absurd an invention as the Soviet menace myth.

The speakers noted that in the Afro-Asian world a steadily growing number of people are coming to see the true meaning of this intimidation. The facts, Gunasekara said, are self-evident. For instance, while distorting the substance of the events in Af-

*See Narayana Krishnan, "Is Peking's Foreign Policy 'De-Maoized'?," *WMR*, November 1980.

ghanistan, the bourgeois media go to all lengths to present them as evidence of the Soviet Union's intention to "reach the warm waters of the Indian Ocean" and "establish control" over the energy sources that ensure the normal functioning of the economy of developed capitalist countries. But in fact, with the situation in Afghanistan being gradually brought back to normal, the Soviet Union, in agreement with the Afghan government, has withdrawn some units of its limited military contingent in that country. The Soviet Union has not a single military base in the Indian Ocean and, as Leonid Brezhnev definitively declared at the 25th CPSU Congress, does not intend to acquire any in the future. It is not the USSR but the USA in league with its allies that has mounted large-scale military preparations in the region and is fanning war hysteria.

There are many indications that this militarist program has long been contemplated by the White House. The question of forming a fleet in the Indian Ocean was debated as early as the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s. Also, the initial steps in drawing up plans for forming task forces and sending them to the Persian Gulf with an eye to "protecting" U.S. imperialist interests in the event of a new oil embargo or the advent to power of progressive regimes in oil-producing countries date back to 1974-1975. In 1978 the United States unilaterally cut short the Soviet-U.S. dialogue on the demilitarization of the Indian Ocean. Commenting on this, *US News & World Report* said that the White House lost all interest in the talks because the agreement they could produce could tie the hands of the United States.

The attempts to put the blame for the rising tensions in the Indian Ocean at the door of the Soviet Union are sometimes more disguised, subtle and, hence, more dangerous, Gupta said. It is claimed that the intensified militarization of the Indian Ocean is a result of the rivalry between the "two superpowers" in the region. Resistance to the "superpowers" is the favorite song of Peking's propaganda, although the subject of struggle against U.S. imperialism's militarist schemes is presented by the Chinese leaders in only formal and rather muted tones, whereas the anti-Soviet notes are trumpeted from housetops. Regrettably, some other Afro-Asian countries are at times also inclined to equate the policies of the USA and the USSR, holding both equally responsible for the growing war danger in the Indian Ocean. In so doing, they leave aside the existence in the region of American military bases that give the United States unilateral military-strategic advantages and present the Pentagon's arms build-up as a "response" to the Soviet military presence.

This formulation of the question, the participants in the discussion noted, is totally unacceptable. It is common knowledge that the only non-freezing waterway linking the Soviet ports on the Black Sea and in the Far East runs across the Indian Ocean. The presence in this ocean of Soviet civilian vessels or warships — either within the framework of their regular movements from one part of the country to another or training cruises — is not a threat to any coastal state.

The specious approach that lays part of the blame for the rising tensions in the Indian Ocean on the USSR, Gunasekara said, now and again also affects the proposals of some countries of the region for measures to demilitarize the ocean. As a result, the Sri Lanka communists emphasize, such proposals tend to be inconsistent and biased, their anti-imperialist orientation is weakened, and their effectiveness is undermined. Some countries do not dare to criticize U.S. militarist acts directly or rebuff them vigorously, and sometimes they also oppose cooperation with the socialist-community countries. That is the reason why the potential for joint action by the Indian Ocean states and the socialist countries in an effort to turn the region into a peace zone remains untapped.

Gupta said that to justify its policy of provocations on the world scene Washington insists that the USA has "vital interests" in various parts of the globe, including the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf. Characteristically, whereas in the past U.S. foreign policy doctrines made at least formal mention of the interests of other nations, they now speak only of the interests of the USA and no one else. Whether the peoples in the areas designated as "vitally important" to the United States like it or not, is of secondary importance to Washington.

To advance claims of this kind, the U.S. ruling circles use the following argument. Of the 54 types of raw materials imported by U.S. industry 38 types come from the Indian Ocean area. But the high share of any region in foreign economic contacts, including the supply of raw materials, entitles no one to act arbitrarily. Little wonder that the countries of the region regard the doctrine adopted by the present U.S. administration, which admits of and provides for the use of force to "protect U.S. national interests," as a dangerous rehash of gunboat diplomacy.

The participants in the discussion arrived at the conclusion that the purpose of the misinformation and slander campaign of the bourgeois media is not only to whitewash the militarist actions of the imperialist powers in the Indian Ocean but also to *divide* the forces resisting — at both government and public levels — the intensified war preparations. Imperialism seeks to *drive a wedge* into the relations between these forces and their dependable and true allies in the struggle — the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community.

Will to counteract

The increased militarist activity and the whipping up of tensions in the Indian Ocean zone cut across the natural desire of the coastal states to ensure their security and eliminate the growing threat of war.

Gunasekara recalled that a resolution proclaiming the Indian Ocean a zone of peace was adopted by the UN General Assembly as early as 1971 on the initiative of Sri Lanka with the backing of a group of non-aligned nations. By the mid-1970s this idea had been acclaimed by the overwhelming majority

of Asian and African countries as well as by several European states. It was officially supported by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Shortly after his inauguration in the White House President Carter likewise announced his administration's consent to a "mutual show of restraint" in the Indian Ocean, even to its "complete demilitarization." But as subsequent developments made clear, this amounted to nothing more than diplomatic maneuvering, with "restraint" turned into an unprecedented build-up of armed strength. Washington in fact blocked the work of the UN Special Committee on the Indian Ocean, which was to convene an international conference (in 1981) on measures for the practical realization of the above idea.

The participants in the round table noted that there is a real objective basis for uniting a fairly large spectrum of socio-political forces in the struggle to eliminate the threat of war in the Indian Ocean. The idea of making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace is favored by the governments of most countries in the region, numerous political parties and public organizations, influential statesmen and religious leaders, and the working masses. In India, Gupta said, even those who usually subscribe to pro-American positions cannot conceal their irritation and anxiety over the build-up of the U.S. military presence in the Indian Ocean. U.S. military bases in the region, especially the Diego Garcia base, are an eyesore for all Indians.

Al-Rashid drew attention to the fact that even some reactionary regimes, particularly in the Arab world, are concerned about the intensified military danger in the Indian Ocean and speak openly of their dissatisfaction with the outrageous actions of the U.S. administration since these tend to generate anti-imperialist feeling among the masses. It goes without saying that different countries take a different approach to the specific aspects of the problem of turning the Indian Ocean into a peace zone. Some actively campaign for the dismantling of all foreign military bases and the establishment of a collective security system, whereas others favor merely a restriction of armaments, and still others call for a "balanced" military presence of the great powers. These differences are above all due to the different socio-political characteristics of the states in the region, and also to the pressure brought to bear on them by the imperialist powers.

At the discussion it was emphasized that the core of a broad bloc of advocates of peace and security in the Indian Ocean should comprise consistently progressive, anti-imperialist forces. The African National Congress, Skweyiya said, sees the need for these progressive and patriotic forces to unite, to form a common front, and jointly work out clear-cut strategy and tactics to counter imperialist actions that endanger world peace. A statement issued by a meeting of national democratic forces of the Persian Gulf and Arabian Peninsula in April 1980, al-Rashid noted, clearly formulated the key task of the liberation movement in the area — "the abolition of the U.S. military bases and other forms of imperialist military presence in the Persian Gulf, the Red and Arabian seas, and the Indian Ocean."

At their 11th Congress, Gunasekara said, the Sri Lanka communists came to the conclusion that the emerging situation imperatively puts on the agenda the need for coordinating the attitudes and activities of communist and workers' parties of Asian countries and, therefore, for a regional conference of these parties. Should it be difficult to convene this conference, it would be desirable to hold a meeting at least of communist and workers' parties of Southeast Asian countries.

In concluding the round table meeting its participants stressed that, as the lessons of history indicate, collective will embodied in joint action by countries and peoples is an effective instrument in the struggle for peace, security, and national liberation. With the U.S. imperialists aligned with the Peking hegemonists fanning war hysteria and heading toward the militarization of the Indian Ocean, an active struggle for the establishment of a peace zone in the area is becoming an increasingly meaningful task. This idea has been born of life itself and, all the difficulties and obstacles notwithstanding, its materialization is feasible and attainable.

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Energy problems in the capitalist world: roots and results

Over the past decade, the industrialized capitalist states and the developing countries have had to go through two flare-ups of an acute energy crisis: in 1973-1974, and then again in 1979. It stemmed from a shortage of oil on the markets and a leap-frogging of oil prices. The energy problem has acquired global proportions and has caused serious upheavals in the world capitalist economy, induced substantial changes in the relations between its center and the periphery, and compounded the 1974-1975 recession and grave economic difficulties in 1979 and 1980. The effects of the energy crisis and the search for ways to overcome them have produced a new sphere of social conflicts in the capitalist world.

The *WMR* Commission on Problems in the Class Struggle in Developed Capitalist Countries set up a study group to look into the root causes and nature of the energy crisis, and its place in the general crisis of capitalism, and also to make a comparison of the communist parties' alternative proposals for pulling out of it. Taking part in its work were members of the *WMR* Editorial Board Bert Ramelson (CP Great Britain), Sarada Mitra (CP India), Zaki Khairi (Iraq CP) and Luciano Antonetti (Italian CP), and members of the Editorial Council Peter Boychuck (CP Canada), Ahmed Salem (CP Sudan), and George Kwiatowski (German CP), and also Ruben Andreasyan, sector head, Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences. We present the main conclusions reached by this group.

Oil shortage: myth or reality?

Is it true that in the final third of the present century the capitalist world is faced, as we are frequently told, with an acute shortage of mineral sources of energy and a threat of their total depletion? Relying on the opinion of specialists, the study group reached the conclusion that such apprehensions arise only when the analysis is confined to proved oil reserves, because, according to estimates, increases in output lag behind the growth of consumption, which is why the forecasts of fuel-sufficiency periods tend to shorten. Twenty years ago, for instance, it was believed that oil should last for 41 years; today the estimates are down to 31 years.[1]

However, we get a totally different picture of the fuel balance if other sources of energy are taken into account. Thus, in 1973, the proved natural-gas reserves in the capitalist world were expected to last until 2010, but the present deadline is 2025. Hard coal deposits are expected to last 70 years; the potential resources of brown coal are virtually inexhaustible. The capitalist world has commercial reserves of uranium for 50-60 years, and with the use of fast-neutron reactors, for a much longer period. From this it follows that the mineral energy raw materials could last for a sufficiently long period in the course of which, scientific and technical forecasts suggest, they could be replaced by other sources of energy, including energy from renewable sources.

One view expressed at the 11th World Energy Conference held in Munich in September 1980 was that atomic energy was the most promising for the next 20 years, as causing the least pollution of the environment and not tied to fuel-supply sources, and also coal, synthetic liquid fuel and gas derived from it. Other suggested sources were thermonuclear synthesis, solar, geothermal, wind, tide and other types of inexhaustible energy.

At any rate, one should start from the assumption that the era of cheap energy is a thing of the past. The most accessible deposits are being intensively worked and some of them are close to depletion. New energy resources are being developed in worsening geological, geographic, technical, economic, ecological and transport conditions, and mainly in undeveloped areas, on the shelf and at great depths. The cost of extracting liquid fuel from shale and sand is very high, and this with the growing use of oil both as fuel and as raw material for industry.

Consequently, present-day energy problems spring from real natural, technical and economic prerequisites. But, as the participants in the discussion repeatedly noted, this in itself could not have caused a shortage of energy resources. They were of the opinion that the aggravation of the objectively existing problems developed into a crisis under the impact of the socio-economic and political factors which are inherent in state-monopoly capitalism.

That this is the right conclusion will be seen, for instance, from the fact that similar energy difficulties in the socialist world have not caused any crisis although they have had an effect on economic development. This is not only because the socialist community as a whole has adequate natural deposits of oil, coal, gas, uranium and hydroenergy. The principles on which the socialist economy functions and its planned character made it possible to forecast the energy problems in due time and to work out effective programs for their solution and set about implementing these programs both within the national framework and on the scale of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.[2]

The energy crisis in the capitalist world largely

sprang from the conflict between imperialism and the less developed oil-producing countries it exploits. An acute effect was produced by the fact that the satisfaction of the oil requirements of virtually all the developed capitalist countries depends on the developing countries which account for 89 per cent of proved oil reserves in the capitalist world.

These countries have long been subjected to ruthless exploitation by the International Oil Cartel, an organization of the leading oil monopolies.[3] Up until the early 1970s, the latter had complete control of the capitalist oil markets.[4]

At that time, enslaving concession agreements and the maintenance of monopoly low purchase prices for the exported oil were the main methods used in plundering the oil-producing countries. The Cartel meddled in their domestic political affairs, incited them against each other, organized plots, and drowned popular uprisings in blood. The 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties said: "The growth of the movement for national liberation, and the social progress of the peoples in this strategically important and oil-rich area (the Middle East — *Ed.*), evoked the violent hatred of the imperialists and the oil monopolies, which are weaving a web of intrigues and plots against this movement, and resorting to wars and aggressive actions."[5]

By controlling the whole economic cycle — from exploration and extraction of oil to the marketing of oil products and petrochemicals — the Cartel converted its concessions in developing countries, on the one hand, and the refineries turning out the final products in Western Europe and the United States, on the other, into shops of a single enterprise, so that exports and imports became something like inter-shop operations within the framework of a giant economic organism.

The oil monopolies took the lion's share of the profits, which accrued from the high productivity of the oil fields and the low cost of extraction. As a result, the countries supplying crude oil got no more than 8 per cent of the price of gas in Western Europe, the rest being almost equally shared between the monopolies and the governments of the importing countries. Out of every dollar spent at the gas pump in the United States, 40 cents still goes to the oil monopolies, and 25 cents to the U.S. government. The OPEC countries get only 13 cents.

Seeking to control the oil marketing outlets, the Cartel has for decades offered oil and oil products at prices below those of coal, with the result that the coal industry in Western Europe has been folded up and the output of coal in the United States has ceased to grow. The share of oil in the capitalist world's energy balance went up from 31 per cent in 1960 to 53 per cent in 1973, while that of coal dropped from 56 per cent to 22 per cent.

The first few symptoms of the oil shortage, which rapidly developed into an acute and deep-seated energy crisis, appeared in the early 1970s. Analyzing its origins, the participants in the discussion resolutely rejected the attempts to lay the blame for it on the developing oil-exporting countries, above all the leading suppliers united in OPEC.[6] The stand taken by the latter, they emphasized, is predetermined by the legitimate desire to put an end to domination by the imperialist monopolies, and above all to their inequality in the economic exchange with the developed capitalist countries and the unfair international economic order.

The OPEC countries' decision to raise the price of oil, and in some countries also gradually to reduce output and export was to have put an end to the squandering of non-renewable resources. Their aim was to make the Cartel accept terms on which the oil-producing countries would receive a larger share of the profits from operations involving such a valuable raw material.

However, the study group emphasized that the OPEC countries have no intention of breaking with the world capitalist market, and have geared their activities to the laws of capitalist trade operating within its framework. This ultimately determines their line of behavior, and explains their often contradictory social development and external-economic and foreign-policy stand.

Bourgeois economists and politicians now blame OPEC for the inflation which has been raging in the capitalist world. Accordingly, President Carter has asserted that the growth of oil prices was the main cause of the financial upheavals.

The rise in the price of oil certainly has an impact on inflationary processes, but, the participants in the discussion said, inflation originated *before* the leap in oil prices in 1973-1974, and began to develop rapidly from 1976 to 1978, when oil prices almost showed no growth. Even the International Monetary Fund has admitted that the doubling of the oil price in 1979 caused a general rise in prices of only 1.5 per cent, whereas inflation in the United States that year came to 13.4 per cent.

The oil monopolies have been and continue to be the real culprits behind the energy crisis. Their concern is not only to maintain their profits, and they speculated on the growth of oil consumption in an effort to make even more money. The Cartel made use of the difficulties in oil supplies in the United States in the winter of 1972-1973, and also benefited from the cut-back by the Arab countries in oil deliveries in the autumn of 1973 to those who were directly or indirectly abetting the Israeli aggression.

The oil embargo inflicted mainly moral and political losses on consumers because it was short-lived and not stringent enough. On the other hand, while loudly accusing the Arab countries for the oil shortage, the Cartel artificially delayed deliveries of oil to consumers and secretly built up large stocks.

Subsequent developments proceeded in full conformity with the laws of capitalist market relations. Thus, when the OPEC countries, in light of the objective situation, raised the *export* prices of

oil, the monopolies at once secured an increase in the *retail* prices of oil products, thereby raising their profits in the new conditions as well. For their part, the energy-consuming monopolies sought to compensate the rise in their costs owing to the increased outlays on energy by raising the prices of their own products. The prices of electricity, heating oil and gas went up. The growth in the cost of living became universal with the ordinary consumers — the working sections of the population — having to pay the price.

The oil monopolies are also fully to blame for the flare-up of the energy crisis in 1979. On that occasion, they capitalized on the sharp reduction in oil supplies from Iran.[7] They also capitalized on the importers' fear of a possible cut-off of Middle East oil supplies either in consequence of another embargo by the Arab countries fighting to do away with the aftermath of the Israeli aggression or of a U.S. military gamble against Iran and other Persian Gulf countries.

The Cartel created a stir among its customers. The energy-consuming monopolies and the governments of the capitalist countries began feverishly to build up their stocks of oil, which resulted in a marked increase of demand over supply. Making use of this market outlook, the Cartel engaged in large-scale speculative operations, selling oil at prices that were almost double its cost.

In 1979, the leading oil monopolies sharply increased their profits. Thus, Exxon's earnings went up from $2.763 billion to $4.295 billion, while Mobil's and Texaco's almost doubled. The financial reports of the five U.S. members of the Cartel show that oil and gas operations abroad increased their profits by 88 per cent. The *Petroleum Economist* says that in 1979 only the U.S. members of the Cartel earned over $10 billion in net profits from foreign oil operations.

That the arguments used by the transnational corporations to vindicate their pricing policy are untenable becomes especially obvious in light of the fact that the reduction in the export of Iranian oil was fully compensated by increased exports in other countries, notably Saudi Arabia and Iraq. In 1979, the OPEC countries increased their oil output by 5 per cent. It also increased by 5 per cent — exceeding the level of pre-crisis 1973 — in the capitalist world as a whole. Meanwhile, oil consumption in Western Europe and Japan went up by only 4 per cent, and in the United States, it even dropped by 2 per cent.

Consequently, the study group concluded, the *oil monopolies have made use of the conditions which took shape on the capitalist oil market in order to maintain their marketing positions, boost profits, and get the working people to shoulder the burdens stemming from the instability of the economic outlook in the capitalist world in the 1970s.*

Challenge to the monopolies

The participants in the study focused attention on OPEC's role in the struggle of the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America for a new international economic order. Capitalizing on the state of the world market, OPEC forced the oil monopolies to accept an increase in concession royalties and purchase prices. Some oil-exporting countries even went farther: in 1971, Algeria nationalized 51 per cent of the foreign property. On the whole, 80 per cent of the oil in the OPEC countries now comes from state-owned fields. Steadily expanding their direct ties with oil consumers, they reduced the Cartel's share of the oil trade from 78 per cent in 1974 to 44 per cent in 1979.

This meant an end to the Cartel's domination. The energy crisis helped to break up the colonial-monopoly mechanism by means of which the centers of world capitalism were supplied with oil from Asian, African and Latin American countries.

The OPEC countries succeeded in eliminating the monopoly low export prices and began to establish price levels on the basis of objective economic categories, taking into account the cost of oil extraction in the most difficult conditions (in Alaska and on the North Sea shelf) and the highest cost of producing alternative sources of energy: synthetic liquid fuel from coal, shale and tar sands, with the costs of environmental protection also being taken into account.

The new prices are a reflection of the unique use-value of oil as the chief source of energy in the foreseeable future and a key primary commodity for the chemical industry, on the one hand, and also the fact that oil deposits are limited and non-renewable, on the other. In accordance with the laws of the capitalist market, OPEC raised prices in light of the relation between supply and demand, and relying on its monopoly positions in oil exports on the world capitalist market.

As a result of such measures, the OPEC countries increased their oil-export revenues from $14 billion in 1972 to over $200 billion in 1979. The oil exporting countries of the Middle East and Libya now have the resources to finance their own economic development. National income per head in Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates, for instance, is higher than that of the most developed capitalist countries. Saudi Arabia's gold and foreign-exchange reserves are second only to those of the FRG. The OPEC countries account for half the exports of all the developing countries, for a third of their Gross Domestic Product, import and accumulation fund.

But despite all these outwardly favorable material pre-requisites the oil-exporting countries have neither solved their social problems nor done away with their economic backwardness and, consequently, with their unequal status in the world economy. They continue to depend on the centers of world capitalism, because these continue to be the main buyers of oil and also the suppliers of manufactured goods and foodstuffs.

By exporting capital to the West, the OPEC countries lash themselves with "chains of gold" to the imperialist system. (In 1979, they exported

loan capital totalling $200 billion, at least $160 billion of this to the industrialized countries.) The tens of billions of dollars which Saudi Arabia has deposited in U.S. banks have tightened its bonds with Washington's policy. Iran's experience shows that in the event of a conflict between the oil-exporting countries and the imperialist powers, the billion-dollar assets of the former fall "hostage" to the capitalist financial centers. Besides, the oil-exporting countries are faced with many of the same difficulties that confront developing countries generally: a tremendous debt (Algeria), the povery of the working people (Nigeria, Indonesia), dependence on depreciating capitalist currencies (the Arab Emirates). They also feel the harmful effect of the crisis phenomena being generated in the zone of developed capitalism.

While the OPEC countries have succeeded in establishing control of upstream oil operations, the transnational corporations have kept a tight grip on the downstream operations. The OPEC countries account for less than 10 per cent of the output of oil products. Their share of the petrochemical industry and the tanker fleet is even smaller. They lose substantial earnings because they sell nearly half the export of oil to the former concession-holders which now act as middlemen.

The study group drew attention to the serious contradictions inherent in OPEC's activity. On the one hand, being an organization of developing countries, it is engaged in struggle against imperialism and for the interests of its members, and is, in some of its aspects, an anti-imperialist cartel. On the other hand, OPEC's policies are checkered because it includes countries with the most diverse and frequently opposite socio-economic orientations.

The Arab monarchies, the most conservative in socio-political terms, account for almost half of OPEC's oil extraction. Their feudal élite and the big financial bourgeoisie have made fortunes on the oil rent they appropriate. The petrocracy seeks not only to increase earnings from the exploitation of natural resources but also profitably to invest these earnings, to ensure a smooth, upheaval-free development of capitalism with political power remaining in the hands of the monarchies, and to rise to equitable status within the system of monopoly capital.

Thus, Saudi Arabia until recently allowed 40 per cent of the capital of Aramco, its chief oil company, to remain in the hands of the U.S. monopolies, tried to hold down the growth of oil prices to suit the United States, and acted as the vehicle of Washington's policy. The Arabian monarchies have been trying hard to prevent OPEC from going beyond the framework of a commercial outfit, seeking merely to create the most favorable conditions for the functioning of their members within the system of the world capitalist economy. The oil revenues promote the accelerated development of capitalism in Venezuela, Nigeria, Indonesia, Ecuador and Gabon. In all these countries, the study group noted, the propertied classes have benefited from the rising oil prices in the first place.

At the same time, developments in Iran show that the implantation of capitalism largely dependent on the imperialist powers and their monopolies tends to arouse the resistance of the masses, which could grow into a movement for independent and democratic development and deep-going social transformations. OPEC's anti-imperialist members have been effectively fighting oil imperialism. It is they who have initiated the radical decisions taken by that body and have stood up for the vital interests of all the developing countries.

The OPEC countries taking a progressive patriotic and anti-imperialist orientation have given assistance to the democratic forces in the national-liberation movement and have strengthened their all-round cooperation with the socialist community. They have used their oil revenues to finance social transformations and raise the working people's living standards. But one cannot close one's eyes that even in these countries "petromoney" helps to strengthen local private capital and to bourgeoisify a stratum of the state apparatus and the ruling parties.

The growth of oil prices, analysis shows, has had a sharply negative effect on the economy of the developing countries which have to import oil. They find themselves in a much harder situation than the developed capitalist countries because their economic potential is incomparably lower, their potential for paying their debts very much smaller, and the share of oil in the energy consumption of most of them substantially higher.[8]

The developing countries which have to import oil have seen their trade-balance deficit triple in 1974 over 1973. This deficit declined somewhat only to rise again in 1979 and 1980. Their deficit on current account has shown a similar trend. The developing countries' external debt has increased to $360 billion, and this has further intensified their financial dependence on imperialism.

Of course, these countries' economic condition would have been far worse but for OPEC's support. In the five years from 1974 to 1973, they received over $29 billion from the oil-producing countries. In terms of government-level funds, it turns out that OPEC gives the developing countries 1.1 per cent of its aggregate product, as compared with no more than 0.35 per cent for the developed capitalist countries.

There is every indication of the growing understanding within OPEC of the fact that its economic assistance is not charity but an objectively necessary element in strengthening cooperation among all the developing countries in face of imperialism, their common enemy. On the other hand, without the political support of the other developing countries, OPEC could not have forced the international monopolies and imperialist powers to retreat.

The participants in the discussion said, however,

that this aid falls far short of covering the developing countries' trade and payments deficits produced by the growing price of oil. Let us note that OPEC's aid to them is very much smaller than its oil revenues, the difference going in the form of loan capital to developed capitalist countries, where the earnings are very much higher. Besides, OPEC credits are mainly handled by the transnational corporations.

This practice is a reflection of the fact that the excess financial resources are above all in the hands of the conservative Arab monarchies, which account for 80 per cent of the funds coming from OPEC. The self-seeking interests of the feudal and monarchist ruling circles and the local banking bourgeoisie, which aim to support the reactionary forces, are prevalent in the financial policy of these states. Thus, from 1975 to 1978, they gave the Sadat regime $7.7 billion; Pakistan received $1 billion from Saudi Arabia. These funds are used to finance, among other things, the fight against revolutionary Afghanistan.

The newly independent countries' problems stemming from the energy crisis defy simple or swift solution. Some of them have good opportunities for expanding output in their own oil fields. Others have to stress economies in energy. But the study group is of the opinion that *all these countries are faced with the task of establishing control over the monopolies operating in the energy industry and expelling them whenever possible. The energy crisis has given a particularly sharp edge to the problem of mustering the internal sources of accumulation, something that can be done through deep-going socio-economic reforms and a democratization of political regimes.*

Policy without a future

The very first flare-up of the energy crisis in 1973-1974 produced some very serious and complicated consequences for the developed capitalist countries, the most symptomatic being their sizable deficit on their foreign trade and payments balances.[9]

The measures taken by their ruling circles to adapt to the new conditions could be grouped under these four heads:

— *first*, the attempt to reduce dependence on oil supplies from regions gripped by the national-liberation movement by building up stand-by oil stocks and expanding oil extraction at home, economizing on energy, reducing the share of oil in energy consumption, and developing alternative sources of energy;

— *second*, the intention to eliminate or, at least, sharply to reduce the trade and payments deficits by recycling OPEC's idle petromoney and markedly increasing exports of goods and services to the OPEC countries;

— *third*, the intention of slowing down the growth of oil prices; and

— *fourth*, the attempts to put economic, military and political pressure on the OPEC countries in order to ensure reliable access to the sources of oil on terms suitable to imperialism.

Almost all these measures were initiated by the United States, which believed it necessary not only to deliver a counter-strike at OPEC, but also to use its relatively greater self-sufficiency in oil to consolidate its positions in the fight against its imperialist rivals.

In 1974, it managed to involve 19 developed capitalist countries in the International Energy Agency (IEA), most of whose members ratified the U.S. proposal for setting up a mechanism to redistribute national oil resources in the event of a crisis situation. The IEA adopted programs for economizing on energy, limiting oil imports, and developing alternative sources of energy. Still, no unanimity on a number of key issues was reached. Canada, for instance, rejected the proposal for each IEA member's free access to the oil resources of any other member, justly regarding this as a U.S. attempt to establish control over Canadian oil. Britain refused to regard its oil deposits as some kind of common asset of the EEC. France failed to join the IEA altogether.

In the early summer of 1979, the U.S. monopolies provoked another oil shortage in the country, and the U.S. administration took the cue by deciding artificially to step up diesel oil imports. Its intensified purchasing drive in Western Europe brought about a fuel shortage and sent prices spiralling in that region of the capitalist world. The NATO partners of the United States accused it of starting an "oil war" against Western Europe, and forced it to commit itself to limit its fuel purchases.

The energy crisis went to aggravate inter-imperialist contradictions. The West European countries and Japan began to crowd the U.S. monopolies on the oil markets of the developing countries. As early as the beginning of 1974, they began to conclude long-term bilateral agreements for the purchase of oil in exchange for deliveries of plant, food, arms and services. The rivals of the United States have been actively intruding into the exploration and extraction of oil in the OPEC countries by setting up mixed companies, and their joint efforts have seriously weakened the Cartel's positions.

The leading capitalist countries have stepped up the development of oil fields on their own territories in an effort to reduce their dependence on foreign sources. Britain, for instance, has expanded the extraction of North Sea oil, and in 1980 became self-sufficient. Norway has also been increasing its oil extraction on the North Sea shelf.

The potential oil reserves of the United States are vast, being at least three times larger than the proved deposits, to say nothing of the tremendous resources of liquid fuel latent in shale. However, oil extraction in that country has been dropping from year to year, because the monopolies find it unprofitable to make large investments in the working of domestic oil fields.

Washington has failed to realize any of the five energy programs worked out since 1974 by Presi-

dents Nixon, Ford and Carter. The first of these was designed to attain energy independence by the mid-1980s through a boosting of oil extraction and economies. The program failed not least of all because it was oriented upon the interests of the energy-consuming instead of the mighty energy-producing monopolies. Ford offered a more modest goal, namely, to halve oil imports by 1985 as compared with what the level could be if the existing trends in oil consumption were maintained.[10] Carter's constantly modified programs boiled down to the following: a reduction in the energy consumption growth rate to 2 per cent a year, no increase in oil imports over 1977, a halving of imports by 1990, and development of other sources of energy. An important part of his program is a phased lifting of control over oil prices (by October 1981) to allow them to rise to the world level, so as to provide incentives for boosting output and for economies. But the oil corporations are indignant over the fact that the administration intends to allow them only half the future profits accruing from the higher prices. Their lobbies are preventing Congress from passing the adminstration's plan.

By contrast, the share of oil in the energy balances of Western Europe and Japan has begun to decline in favor of natural gas, and more attention is being given to coal. After the energy crisis, there has been evidence of some increase in coal extraction, and it is to be doubled by 1990. The generation and consumption of atomic energy have been growing at a much faster rate (even if it falls short of the targets).

These are only the first few steps. The energy complex has a great inertia, and this makes it hard to reorient this cumbersome production block. The first need is so to expand investment as to produce substantial changes in the structure of the economy by reducing the share of the manufacturing industries in favor of that of energy. In the capitalist countries, important ecological problems arising, for instance from the operation of the atomic-power plants have not yet been solved either.

Some developed capitalist countries try to reduce their trade and payments deficits produced by the growing costs of oil imports by drawing surplus petrodollars into their credit systems. Simultaneously, they have markedly increased their exports to the OPEC countries, supplying them with goods and services at prices which are higher than world prices.[11] In other words, the monopolies are trying to use inflation to redistribute the OPEC oil earnings for their own benefit.

Washington has been trying to split OPEC, using a combination of economic blackmail, sabotage, military threats and provocations. President Carter has declared the Persian Gulf an area of "vital U.S. interests," an area whose security is allegedly being threatened by the Soviet Union and the internal instability of the countries in the region. We find, therefore, that the policy of the U.S. ruling circles is a knot of strands: the struggle for oil control, neo-colonialist aspirations, inter-imperialist contradictions and aggressive designs against the socialist community.

The study group believes that *the continued dependence of the capitalist region on oil supplies from the OPEC countries, the growing difficulty of working deposits and the greed of the monopolies, all of these create the prerequisites for fresh flare-ups of the energy crisis. One cannot, apparently, rule out the prospects of attempts on the part of the most bellicose imperialist circles to use force against the developing oil-producing countries, especially as energy problems in the capitalist world become more acute. And this is fraught with a sharp aggravation of international tension and the danger of armed conflicts which could spill over the regional framework.*

The communists' alternative

An analysis of the causes and consequences of the energy crisis bears out the conclusion drawn by the communist and workers' parties, which believe that the crisis is not only natural, technical or economic, but above all socio-economic and political, reflecting the mounting class contest in the world arena. The oil monopolies on the one hand, and the propertied classes of the OPEC countries on the other, use the difficulties which have emerged in energy supplies to enrich themselves and consolidate their positions. State-monopoly capitalism seeks to escape from the grip of the crisis at the expense of the working people both in the developed capitalist and the developing countries.

The oil monopolies' plunderous activity is so patent that their machinations have been repeatedly exposed not only by the democratic forces, but also by the agents of the energy-consuming companies. Still, the spokesmen of big capital entrenched in the bourgeois parliaments and governments have blocked the question of nationalizing the energy monopolies.

The communists have carried on a principled struggle against the imperialists' plundering and aggressive oil policy. Back in January 1974, the communist and workers' parties of West European capitalist countries, meeting at a conference in Brussels, put the blame for the energy crisis and its grave consequences for the working people where it belongs, on the oil monopolies and the bourgeois states, and on the neo-colonialist policy of plundering the developing oil-producing countries. The conference declared that these countries' just demands reflect the decline of neo-colonialism, and that these countries are not to blame for the inflation and the unemployment. The communists put forward a democratic program for pulling out of the crisis through a nationalization of the energy sector of the economy, control over oil prices and an end to their growth.

Following the latest flare-up of the energy crisis in 1979, the communist parties of developed capitalist countries have reaffirmed their views of its causes and the ways of solving energy problems in the national interest. The exchange of opinion held in *WMR* showed that the approach taken by the communist and workers' parties is based on a number of common principles, namely:

— nationalization of the energy complex with democratic control over the nationalized enterprises and oil prices;

— rational planning of the development of the energy complex;

— use of alternative energy sources, including an increase in the extraction of coal and gas and the production of synthetic oil;

— thoroughly balanced use of nuclear energy with stringent measures to ensure security for the population and protection of the environment;

— rational use of energy and its economy;

— extensive and equitable international economic, scientific and technological cooperation in the sphere of energy.

In putting forward concrete programs, the communist parties invariably and quite naturally proceed from the specific conditions in their own countries. The participants in the discussion gave some examples of this.

The CPUSA has given much attention to energy problems. Its stand on this key issue is based, as will be seen from its platform in the 1980 Presidential elections, on a demand for the nationalization of the energy complex and its management by a democratically formed public agency. The communists believe that atomic-power plants should be operated only after their safety has been established by people's committees consisting of trade unionists, scientists and consumers. Considering that the lion's share of the liquid fuel goes to the Pentagon, the communists propose that military appropriations should be halved, and that the three-year oil stock run up by the Defense Department should be run down. Other measures on which the Communist Party insists are appropriations for research into the use of coal, solar and wind energy, without, however, the money getting into the hands of the private corporations.

The German Communist Party devotes much attention to the need to develop coal-fired power plants because the FRG has capitalist Europe's second largest coal deposits. The GCP has worked out a bill on the nationalization of the energy industry and democratic control of it, and has urged the government to start a broad discussion of its proposal. In an effort to prevent the possible use of atomic energy for military purposes, the GCP has written into its bill a clause banning the export of nuclear reactors to countries which have failed to sign the treaty repudiating the use of nuclear weapons.

The Canadian communists start from the fact that Canada is one of the few developed capitalist countries with vast resources of natural gas, oil, hydroenergy and uranium. But the working of these resources for the people's benefit is hampered by the sway of the transnational corporations, which are based in the United States. Accordingly, the CP Canada insists on the nationalization of these monopolies.

The program with which the CP Japan campaigned in the 1980 election contained a special section on energy. It envisaged the establishment of a complex energy corporation under the control of the state, extensive use of coal, hydropower and tidal energy, and the priority development of energy-saving industries and public transport, notably railways. The Japanese communists demand a radical change in the energy policy now catering for the monopolies and the elaboration and pursuit of an independent national energy policy not tied to the self-seeking interests of the United States, and including the establishment of direct and mutually advantageous ties with the oil-producing countries, and a refusal to be involved in the U.S. imperialist policy with respect to Iran and Arab countries.

In summing up, the participants in the discussion emphasized that *the energy crisis emerged on the basis and within the framework of the general crisis of capitalism and tends further to aggravate it. Like the other structural crises of the 1970s, it shows that the exploitive social system generates more and more contradictions. These have rocked its foundation and show once again that the selfish urges of state-monopoly capitalism are incompatible with the interests of the nations and the working classes.*

1. But there are other and more optimistic assessments. According to the 10th World Energy Conference (1977), on the strength of the present level of oil extraction, potential oil reserves should last for 125 years.

2. For details on the fuel and energy problem in the CMEA countries and on the collective search for its solution, see O. Bogomolov's article in *WMR*, August 1980.

3. Set up in 1928, it included the "seven sisters:" five U.S. monopolies (Exxon, Gulf Oil, Mobil, Texaco and Socal), British Petroleum and the Anglo-Dutch-American Royal Dutch-Shell. Connected with them by a number of agreements is the Compagnie Francaise des petroles, which is controlled by the French government. All of these, with the exception of the latter and British Petroleum, are privately owned.

4. It accounted for 70 per cent of the deposits, and for over 50 per cent of the extraction refining and marketing of oil in the non-socialist world.

5. *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, 1969*. Prague, 1969, pp. 27-28.

6. It includes Algeria, Ecuador, Gabon, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Libya, Nigeria, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, and Venezuela, which account for 80 per cent of the oil deposits, 64 per cent of the extraction and 88 per cent of the export of oil in the capitalist world.

7. At the very height of the anti-shah and anti-imperialist revolution, the export of oil from Iran was completely stopped, and then resumed at a lower level. In the autumn of that year, the Iranian government banned the export of oil to the United States in response to Washington's anti-Iranian acts.

8. For the developing countries as a whole it comes to 63 per cent, as compared with 52 per cent for the developed part of the capitalist world. In many countries of Black Africa, the Middle East, Southeast Asia and Brazil the share comes to between 75 and 100 per cent. They import nearly all their oil from the OPEC zone.

9. In 1973, they had a surplus on their current account of $12 billion, and in 1974, a deficit of $10 billion.

10. U.S. liquid fuel imports went up from 236 million tons in 1973 to 437 million tons in 1979, when the United States paid $59 billion for its oil imports, or 30 per cent of the costs of all imports.

11. OPEC imports went up from $20.5 billion in 1973 to 99.8 billion in 1978.

viewpoints

The battle for national existence

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In the recent period, the Palestinian Arab people's resistance to the Israeli invaders has been going through a qualitative upswing, which is expressed in mass militant action on the occupied territories, action which has the distinctive feature of being universal and assuming a diversity of forms of struggle. Participants in the strikes and demonstrations, which swept the West Bank[1] in a powerful tide, hurled stones and bottles with flammable liquid at the occupation troops when these fired on the demonstrators and used tear gas against them. The heroic armed attack on the Zionist settlers in the town of El Khalil (Hebron) was a convincing manifestation of the intensity of the resistance movement.

There was good reason why the press in Israel sounded the alarm and warned about the possibility of a further growth of the Palestinians' struggle. Thus, the newspaper *Haaretz* carried an article by its commentator Yehuda Litani under this expressive headline: "Now It's Like Belfast Over Here." On May 4, 1980, an editorial in the same paper described the heroic armed action at El Khalil as an act of "guerrilla warfare," adding that the masses in the occupied lands would probably go on resorting to this form of struggle in the future.

The rapid growth of mass action by the Arab population languishing under the yoke of the occupation has also caused the reappraisal of attitudes in Israel itself. There are growing differences between those who, wishing to impose a surrender on the Palestinian people, want the occupied territories to be held in an "iron grip" and their colonial assimilation to be intensified, and those who, having come to realize the dangers of this policy, have issued warnings about its dire consequences. These developments influenced the resignation of Defense Minister Weizman, as a result of which a serious rift has developed within the ruling coalition. Meanwhile, the "iron grip" advocates staged terroristic acts to which the mayors of Nablus and Ramallah fell victim. This happened the very day Begin assumed the duties of Defense Minister, a fact which makes any coincidence unlikely.[2]

The crimes of fascist-minded bands — Gush Emunim, the Kahane group, etc. — show that the atmosphere of terror in the occupied territories is being stepped up. At the same time, they herald a serious threat of fascism looming over Israeli society itself. Such a threat has grown especially with the ever greater isolation of the Begin government, which wants to remain in power at any price. In the Knesset, Meir Vilner, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CP Israel, has issued this highly important warning: "Wild fascist forces have been growing and stockpiling weapons under the patronage of the present government and with the help of some of its members for the purpose of expelling the whole Palestinian people from their native soil and paving the way for a fascist coup in the country."[3]

The Zionist authorities' response to the powerful upswing of the Palestinian resistance once again showed up the brazen falsehood of the claims that the occupation regime is "liberal." Reports about the authorities' criminal repression even in the bourgeois press provide enough evidence to rank the Israeli occupation on a par with the nazi "new order." In the Knesset, extracts were read out from the testimony of Israeli soldiers who took part in the punitive siege of El Khalil. They said that the sight of terrified Arab children driven to do forced labor with submachine guns and clubs wielded by border guards, who are notorious for their savagery, put them in mind of the stories they had heard about the lot of the Jews in Europe during the nazi invasion.[4] Mass repressions which are prohibited in international law, and indiscriminate mass arrests,[5] even of primary-school children, beatings, tortures and intimidation, destruction of houses, expulsions and murders of patriotic-minded leaders — that is the true face of the so-called "liberal" occupation. World opinion has more and more evidence that in the occupied areas the Zionists are pursuing the unprecedentedly barbarous goal of expelling a whole people from its native soil.

These territories have been subjected to planned colonization, which is being accelerated. Of the 64 Israeli settlements on the West Bank, 39 have been set up since 1977, i.e., with the installation of the Likud government[6] and especially since the conclusion of the Camp David accords. Twenty-nine settlements have been set up on the Golan Heights and 25 in the Gaza Strip.[7] There is intensive colonization of the Arab part of Jerusalem, which has provocatively been declared Israel's "eternal and indivisible" capital. The Israeli settlements are being most vigorously pushed into this section of the city from the north and the south, for the purpose of obtaining a numerical superiority of the Jewish population not only in Jerusalem as a whole, but also in its eastern, Arab, districts.

This, among other things, convincingly refutes

the hypocritical denials by Egypt's rulers of their base betrayal at Camp David: complete support for the goals pursued by Israel's Zionist élite with respect to the Palestinians.

The qualitative development of the colonization process poses just as great a danger as the purely quantitative growth of Israeli settlements. At first, the settlements were set up in strategically important zones along the Jordan River, on the Golan Heights in the north and in the Rafah District in the Gaza Strip in the south. This was followed by an attempt to encircle the concentrations of Arab inhabitants in the occupied territories. The third stage was marked by the establishment of settlements in the center of the Arab city, El Khalil.

The Israeli invaders had expected that the spread of their settlements to the concentrations of the Arab population would give them more reliable control of these areas and help them more rapidly to expel the inhabitants from their native soil. However, this spread of Zionist colonization has converted the settlers themselves into a direct and relatively vulnerable target for the Palestinian people's growing resistance. Its struggle has assumed more definite forms and its tasks have become more understandable to world opinion.

The stepped up colonialist assimilation of the lands confiscated from their true owners is not the only method used by the Israeli ruling circles to realize their plunderous aspiration. Other means of pressure are also used against the population in the occupied territories to force it to leave hearth and home. The economy of the areas occupied by Israel is subjected to deliberate destruction and converted into an appendage of the Israeli economy. Nearly 90 per cent of all the goods imported into the West Bank and the Gaza Strip come from Israel, for which these territories constitute the second largest marketing outlet next to the United States. The unequal terms of competition with the Israeli enterprises and the tax burden lead to a fold-up of local production. In order to undermine agriculture on the occupied lands, the Zionist rulers practise the takeover of the already scanty sources of water. Of the 620 million cub.m. of water fit for use in the West Bank 500 million cub. m. is diverted by the occupation authorities into Israel's internal regions, and 15 million cub.m. is used to supply Israeli settlements in the occupied territories. That is why the highly limited farmland areas which still remain in the hands of the Arabs suffer from lack of water. As a result, there has been a sharp drop in the number of persons engaged in agricultural production in the occupied territories, and the process has continued to this day. Let us emphasize at this point that according to the Israeli interpretation the notorious "administrative autonomy" for the West Bank and Gaza is not to apply to land and the sources of water.

Because of the reign of terror, the expropriation of lands and the economic oppression, nearly 15,000 people leave the Israeli-occupied areas every year. Roughly 700,000 people (including refugees during the military operations) have left the area since the 1967 aggression, that is, roughly as many as now remain on the West Bank. But the Israeli rulers are not satisfied and they have plans for the complete expulsion of the Arab people of Palestine. Delivering a lecture at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem on May 22, 1980, retired General A. Jariv, one-time chief of Israeli intelligence, declared: "There are calls for using the state of war in order to force 700,000-800,000 Arabs to flee . . . I have not only heard such calls, but have prepared measures for implementing them"[8] Meir Vilner spoke in the Knesset about the unprecedentedly reckless and dangerous plan for expelling the Palestinians living in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and then possibly in Israel itself.[9]

In face of this grave threat to their national existence, all the classes and social strata of the Palestinian people are uniting to resist the occupation. Even the big landowners and members of the bourgeoisie are coming to realize that the invaders are encroaching not only on their property, but also on their right to live in their homeland. This explains the failure of all the attempts made by the invaders over the past period of over 13 years to find collaborators and to create a social basis, however narrow it may be. The inhabitants of the occupied lands also have before them the instructive example of the other part of the Palestinian people which remained on the territory of the State of Israel after its formation. As a result of the persevering struggle over a period of more than 30 years, that part of the Palestinians, once a conglomerate of scattered groups, has developed into a well-knit national minority which — under the leadership of its tested revolutionary vanguard, the Communist Party of Israel — is putting up resistance to and rebuffing the racist policies of the country's ruling circles.

Meanwhile, the Israeli authorities' acts have led to changes in the social-class structure of Palestinian society which have objectively promoted the development among the Palestinians of a spirit of self-sacrifice and a growing resolve to fight to the end. The main social outcome of the measures for expropriating Arab lands and undermining the economy of the occupied areas has been to drive tens of thousands of former small holders, traders and artisans into the wage-labor army. According to the Palestinian Communist Organization in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the number of new recruits since 1968 has come to nearly 100,000. The towns have ceased to be the only place where the working class is concentrated. There are now many workers also in the rural areas in the occupied territories. Wage workers now account for 76 per cent of the total population. This structure is an unusual one for a society at a level of socio-economic development like the Palestinian, and does not correspond to the present state of the national economy, being the result of arbitrary and forcible measures designed to undermine it completely. The deformed social structure does not mean, however, that the class distinctions or the ideological and political differences they engender have disappeared among Palestinians.

Under the occupation, the working people are

subjected to a two-fold — national and class — oppression. At Israeli enterprises, Arabs have to work in much worse conditions and are paid much lower wages than Jewish workers. The dialectics of the situation is such that the continued occupation tends further to aggravate the contradictions it produces, for these can be resolved only through the elimination of the occupation regime itself.

The peculiar socio-class structure of the society and the rich experience gained over the long years of exile, deprivation, oppression and fierce persecution are among the main factors which explain the generally high level of cultural development among the Palestinian people (something that in a sense reflects its urge to somehow compensate for the loss of homeland and the national economic institutions) and its political consciousness. This is an assurance that it will not relax its struggle until its legitimate national aspirations are realized and will not allow itself to be duped and diverted from its goals, that it will not succumb to the moves and tricks of those who seek to lull the Palestinians' vigilance and will for resistance.

Having got Sadat's Egypt to surrender, the Israeli rulers and their Washington patrons made this major Arab country withdraw from the front of struggle against the occupation. In this way they had expected to put an end to all resistance by the Palestinian people and to spread within it a sense of despair and complete hopelessness. However, the Arab people of Palestine, above all that part of it which is in the occupied territories, has drawn conclusions which its enemies never expected, and has drawn a totally different lesson from Sadat's betrayal. The Palestinians have intensified their struggle. The powerful upsurge of the resistance movement in the occupied territories has become one of the most essential reasons for the impasse in the talks about "administrative autonomy," visual evidence of the failure of the Camp David plot. It is an indicative fact that Sadat's Foreign Minister who had tied in his political furtunes with Camp David was forced to declare in total confusion that Egypt was prepared to seek another alternative. The importance of this statement was not minimized by the fact that Egyptian officials hastened to reaffirm their adherence to the "settlement framework" adopted at Camp David. There was ever more talk in government circles and the press in the West European countries about the Camp David fiasco. In these conditions, strenuous efforts were made by those who wanted to give the participants in the abortive deal an opportunity to resume the attack from new and more advantageous positions.

After the loud noises over the widely advertised "West European initiative" on the Middle East problem it turned out that this "initiative" boils down to a few general phrases in a statement issued at the Common Market summit in Venice. The indication it contains about the need to involve the PLO in any negotiations to settle the Middle East crisis is not equivalent to recognition of the PLO as the only legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine. Consequently, a loophole remains for someone else, should the need arise, to claim to be a representative of the Palestinian people. Concerning the mention of this people's right to self-determination, let us note that by its own struggle it has secured much more, namely, recognition by the international community (written, in particular, into UN resolutions) of its right to set up an independent national state. But the authors of this statement deliberately refrained from using such a formula.

A PLO spokesman was quite right in describing the Venice statement as a call to "join Camp David."[10] Considering the principles underlying the Venice statement, Egypt's State Minister for Foreign Affairs Boutros Ghali emphasized that "they are within the framework of the Camp David peace accords."[11]

The West European states succumbed to U.S. pressure and abandoned the idea of coming forward with an integral "initiative" (something that would have amounted to an official statement that the Camp David deal was a fiasco, a fact Washington stubbornly denies). Their approach to a settlement stops short of recognizing the Palestinian Arab people's right to the establishment of its own independent state. They are not at all moved by adherence to the principles of justice and national self-determination but by the fear that the growing tensions in the Middle East could interrupt oil supplies from that region to Western Europe.

In the period when the "West European initiative" was intensively mooted, some leaders of Israel's Labor Party, assuming that their chances of return to power now tend to increase, issued statements about the need to start talks with Jordan on the future of the occupied areas of Palestine.

There is clear evidence of the fact that imperialism, Zionism and reaction are hatching a new plot against the Palestinian people. The terrorism in the occupied territories is being escalated, Israeli raids in the Lebanese South have been resumed, and it is being increasingly assumed that the aggressor is preparing to occupy it. These acts are dictated by the urge to eliminate the Palestine resistance movement, and so to secure a "settlement" that would deprive the Palestinians of their legitimate rights forever. Simultaneously, referring to the need to find an acceptable formula for imposing "administrative autonomy," a great deal is being said about a "new Camp David."

There are also signs that Jordan's ruling circles are increasingly prepared to go back on the decisions of the Rabat summit (1974), which recognized the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and there are obvious intentions in these circles to cooperate on the basis of a "settlement" of the problem which imperialism is plotting in a more camouflaged form than that of Camp David. A message from King Hussein to the new Prime Minister of Jordan expressed a favorable attitude to the "West European initiative." He believes that "the countries of the European Community should be encouraged in their steps, which testify to a growing interest in the problem of the

region, and to their urge to pursue a policy of defense of the supreme principle of truth and justice ... We encourage, welcome and value such a development as a qualitative, positive shift exerting a favorable influence on the positions which have long since taken shape in the world with respect to the Arabs' just cause."[12] Let us also note that the Ministry for the Affairs of the Occupied Territories has been re-established within the new government of Jordan. This has been done in order to step up the authorities' questionable activity there, in obviation of the Palestine Liberation Organization. The so-called Supreme Arab Committee has been revived, and the Jordanian rulers would like to use it to the detriment of the PLO's interests. In the Arab world, some have also asserted that the Palestinian people face this alternative: either a continuation of the Israeli occupation with the prospect of the Arab population being further deprived of its land, the Zionist colonization intensified and ultimately the occupied territories completely annexed by Israel, or a return of these territories to Jordan's control.

We communists believe that in the present situation such an approach to the issue is extremely dangerous, for it is, in effect, a rehearsal of the plot as a result of which the Palestinian people were deprived in 1948 of the possibility of setting up their independent national state. The sacrifices it has made since then and the national self-consciousness which has crystallized in the course of fierce battles are being forgotten. The Palestinian Arab people's successes in the international arena, when its legitimate representative — the PLO — maintains more extensive relations with the states of the world than does Israel are also being ignored.

To frustrate the ceaseless dangerous moves and plots there is a need to realize the harm which inconsistent and erroneous assessments inflict on the Palestinians' struggle. After Sadat's betrayal, there was evidence in some circles of the Palestinian movement of a growing tendency to exaggerate the importance of diplomatic successes, especially in Western Europe. However tangible these may be, it is equally important to have a clear understanding of their fundamental causes: the Palestinian people's tireless and heroic struggle, and the principled and consistent support which is being given to it by its reliable and strong allies, the USSR in the first place.

Let us note that the inclination to inflate the importance of victories in the diplomatic arena is being displayed by those who but yesterday insisted that "the rifle is everything." Today they are once again coming up with unrealistic slogans like "total liberation of Palestine." Bitter experience has shown that such calls are not understood by world opinion and merely go to toughen up the stand of the Israeli rulers and their U.S. sponsors, who are now being increasingly isolated and feel growing pressure from the international community. These slogans also play into the hands of those who, while urging "realism" and "prudence," have ill designs with respect to the Palestinians' national rights.

The Jordanian Communist Party, whose membership includes Jordanians and Palestinians, has always been in the vanguard of the struggle for the full re-establishment of the trampled rights of the Arab people of Palestine, and realization of its legitimate national aspirations. It recently took fresh steps aimed to raise the level of its activity in the Palestinean arena. It announced the establishment of a United Palestinian Communist Organization in the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip, and this is the first confirmation since 1948 of the organic unity of the communists in these two regions, which are under the yoke of occupation. It has also been decided to transform the party section in Lebanon, which has been working among the Palestinians in that country, now the main base of the resistance movement, into the Palestinian Communist Organization in Lebanon, with its own periodical.

We believe that it is now especially necessary to concentrate the utmost efforts on strengthening the unity of the Arab people of Palestine in the occupied areas and elsewhere, and consolidating the ties of militant cooperation between the various contingents of the Palestinian movement. That is the central element, the main issue on which depends success in every other sphere, including the diplomatic sphere. Our view is shared by the communist parties of other Arab countries.[13]

With equal insistence we urge scrupulous observance of the decisions of the latest session of the Palestine National Council.[14] On political matters, it is the demand for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. On organizational matters, it is the reaffirmation of the need for all the combat contingents of the movement to be represented on the various PLO bodies. Here, we believe, account must be taken of the weight and role of each of them in the common struggle, especially in the occupied territories, arena of the main clash with the enemy.

In other words, the time has come to abandon the absolutely groundless prejudice against the communists, their unjustified deprivation of being represented on the PLO Executive Committee, and attempts to isolate them. Developments, above all in the areas occupied by the enemy, have not only confirmed the communists' important role in the movement against the occupation, but have also demonstrated that their strategic and tactical propositions are correct. Now that the ultimate goal of the Israeli invaders — the total expulsion of the Palestinian people from its homeland — is becoming ever clearer, we can say with pride that we were the first to discern it. Following the 1948 tragedy and the 1967 aggression, the immediate task on which our party has concentrated its efforts was, first of all, to prevent the emigration of inhabitants from the occupied territories, and then to involve them in the struggle against the invaders. Life has proved that this far-sighted and responsible approach was absolutely correct.

The Palestinian communists' participation in the various PLO bodies will not be an achievement for our party alone, but a living embodiment of na-

tional unity. It will enhance the Palestinian people's spirit of wholehearted self-sacrifice, strengthen the faith of the masses in the national leadership, dispel the enemies' hopes of undermining the cohesion of our ranks, and so help to bring on the hour of triumph of the just cause of liberation.

One can confidently say — and every day provides fresh confirmation of this — that the Palestinians are filled with a sense of indomitable resolve to continue the struggle to the end. Before them, they have a realistic goal: the establishment of an independent state. They have true allies headed by the USSR. The Palestinian people has won recognition of its legitimate national rights by the international community. In short, they have all that is necessary for victory, however long the way to it may be.

1. Meaning the Israeli-occupied part of the West Bank of the Jordan. — *Ed.*
2. The bombs planted in the cars of the Arab mayors contained explosives used by the Israeli army and police.
3. *Al Ittihad*, May 16, 1980 (in Arabic).
4. See, *Al Ittihad*, May 23, 1980 (in Arabic).
5. The Israeli newspapers reported that during the searches at El Khalil nearly 1,000 Arabs were arrested in one neighborhood alone.
6. *Time*, April 14, 1980.
7. *Forward*, (Beirut), No. 6, August 1980, p. 20.
8. *Haaretz*, May 23, 1980 (in Hebrew).
9. *Al Ittihad*, May 16, 1980 (in Arabic).
10. *International Herald Tribune*, June 14-15, 1980.
11. Ibid.
12. *Al-Rai*, August 29, 1980 (in Arabic).
13. See exchange of views on "The Right to a Homeland," *WMR*, September 1980.
14. For details see N. Ashhab, "Program for National Palestinian Unity," *WMR*, July 1979.

Bourgeois economic theory against the interests of labor

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The deepening economic crisis in the United States makes itself felt more and more. *Business Week*, in an article titled "The Shrinking Standard of Living," says: " . . . The golden age of the consumer is over. The U.S. standard of living is shrinking . . . being battered by the combination of sagging productivity, rip-roaring inflation, and the transfer of more than $60 billion of income a year from the pockets of U.S. consumers to the oil-exporting countries. . . . The burden of increased defense spending . . . will put the Federal budget deeper in the red, push inflation even higher, and doom any chance that Americans will get a tax break."[1]

This statement lacks the important thing: it fails to recognize the futility of the attempts of the ruling class to lead the capitalist system out of the impasse in which it has been for many long years. In trying this, monopoly capital uses recipes supplied by bourgeois economic theory, which lacks a solid basis and is becoming more and more opportunist as it responds to the tendency of capital to put the burden of the crisis on the working class and the middle layers of the population, and also on the working people of countries economically dependent on the monopolies.

Latest remedy for the crisis

From the 1930s through the 1960s, bourgeois economics focused on stimulating economic growth, on attempts to regulate the economic cycle so as to minimize its destabilizing effects and to avert the resulting acute social struggles. In international economic affairs, bourgeois economists emphasized the "beneficial" effects of foreign investments by the transnational corporations, and the schemes for international imperialist financial and economic cooperation under the leadership of U.S. imperialism.

Specifically, bourgeois economists offered society a choice between unemployment and inflation. For example, Paul Samuelson put it as follows: ". . . Increasing the level of unemployment can moderate or wipe out the upward price creep. There is, so to speak, a dilemma of choice for society between reasonably high employment with maximal growth and a price creep, or reasonably stable prices with considerable unemployment; and it is a difficult social dilemma to decide what compromises to make."[2]

However, these theories patently fail to relate to the new set of problems arising from the far-reaching weakening of world capitalism in the 1970s. The United States, like most of the rest of the industrialized capitalist world, suffers from stagflation — chronic accelerating inflation, mass unemployment, slowing economic growth. Stagflation also occurs in countries whose economy is dependent on U.S. monopoly capital. In the United States, especially, the concentration of wealth and income has sharpened, along with the intensification and the increased rate of exploitation of labor. More, real wages are falling with a persistency unprecedented for modern U.S. capitalism. Cutting across and interacting with these phenomena is the energy crisis.

Private enterprise, aided by traditional methods of state-monopoly capitalist regulation, can no longer cope with these increasingly complex and

rapidly worsening conditions. That is why monopoly capital seeks to establish full control of economic life, sharpening its attacks on the working people, as a means of recouping its global loss of position and of accumulating reserves for imperialist war. Hence, the attempts of bourgeois economic theory to justify and support this urge on the part of the monopolies.

Formerly the leading school was that of the neo-Keynesians, who constructed formulas to harmonize growth in mass consumption with increasing private investment and government expenditures, relying on government fiscal and monetary measures as a "balance wheel" to moderate cyclical crises; who tried to show how "welfare" and "quality of life" considerations could peacefully coexist with untrammelled private ownership of the means of production. The crisis of the 1970s largely discredited the Keynesian and neo-Keynesian theories. J. Kenneth Galbraith, the former economic celebrity of the liberal bourgeoisie, has been displaced by Milton Friedman, the darling of Pinochet and the ultra-right.[3] The public broadcasting network is saturating the television screens with his calls to "unshackle capital," "end government regulations of business," etc.

In a series of BBC broadcasts, Friedman urged the British people to support "unwinding" the social welfare and industrial intervention measures of the government. His "program" for cutting the inflation rate to zero in three to five years included: slashing expenditures in every government agency 10 per cent a year, mainly by firing workers; cutting the top tax rate to 25 per cent; ending public education, public health service, public housing, and turning these enterprises over to capitalists, but giving the people vouchers to use to pay for these facilities (as if the capitalists would keep the prices of these services within reach of the masses!); slashing unemployment insurance rates.

What about the workers who would be laid off by the large government bureaucracy? Why, in Friendman's words: "There is little doubt that if you were to go through every government bureau in the United Kingdom and fire every sixth man, the productivity of the other five would go up rather than down. . . . But the political difficulty is . . . such cutting looks as if it is adding to unemployment. . . . Rather it is rendering people available for productive employment instead of unproductive employment. Most of those people would be absorbed in a fairly brief period."[4] This is plainly unrealistic, for employed workers are fired one after another.

It is characteristically inconsistent for the bourgeois advocates of slashing government "interference" to make maximum use of government operations for the advantage of the ruling class, of monopoly capital. Of course, you will never find Friedman opposing the mushrooming growth of the largest, most parasitic, most dangerous government bureaucracy — the military — or of its oppressive police apparatus. On the contrary, he is an unconditional supporter of the aggressive wars, interventions and dirty tricks of U.S. imperialism.

Friedman represents a reactionary, demagogic direction in bourgeois economic theory, but not the main direction, which sees the key to economic activity in the combination of the supply of capital and of labor, and the rate of labor productivity.

Michael K. Evans, a leading bourgeois economist, believes that Keynesian models cannot deal with current economic ills because they concentrate on questions of demand. "We need models that stress the supply side, centering on the stimulation of productivity."[5] Pinpointing the troubles of the U.S. economy as high inflation and low productivity, he advocates primarily low taxes on upper income individuals and corporations, and reduced government social spending. He claims that this will induce capitalists to invest more, thereby leading to higher productivity, lower costs and less inflation.

Evans' school moves in the same rightward direction as Friedman's but without the sweeping far-right demagogy of the "Chicago school." It is also a pseudo-scientific doctrine derived from falsified pseudo-facts.

The ideas upheld by Evans are shared by the current administration. President Carter, in his latest annual Economic Report to Congress, identifies inflation as "the Nation's number one economic problem." He attributes this to higher prices of imported oil and to lower labor productivity. To deal with it, he advocates austere budgetary and monetary policies, "voluntary" limitations on prices and wages, measures to encourage productivity growth, and measures to reduce the country's vulnerability to "outside shocks" relating to energy and food.[6] Earlier, as real wages fell, Carter increasingly called on the people to "sacrifice" in order to meet these problems. Lastly, addressing spokesmen of big business at the White House after the Democratic Party Convention, Carter set out his "new" economic program for the 1980s. From what he said, the main purpose of the contemplated measures is to help U.S. monopoly offset the effects of the recession at the working people's expense. Big business is to be granted major tax cuts which the administration believes should result in increased investment. Commenting on the need to combat inflation, the President again put the emphasis on limitations on wages and prices.

Statistics: a class weapon

Bourgeois economic theories and policies are justified by reference to statistical inventions manufactured by the relevant government agencies. As the general crisis of capitalism deepens, the departure of these "facts" from the truth becomes more blatant. The U.S. Commerce and Labor departments engage in distortions, fully as extreme for domestic policy as the CIA's notorious lies are for foreign policy.

The main line of bourgeois "analysis" goes somewhat like this: productivity of labor decelerated rapidly during the 1970s and absolutely de-

clined at the end of the decade. This was due to an alleged shortage of fixed capital investment, which in turn supposedly resulted from inadequate corporation profits.[7] What we have here is a series of lies.

Productivity of labor is equal to the physical volume of output of a given commodity divided by the number of man-hours of labor utilized in its production. However, the U.S. Department of Labor Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS), which uses this method for individual manufacturing industries and some others, departs from it in measuring the trend of productivity for the entire private economy.

Instead, it defined "production" as approximating the totality of incomes paid out on account of all private economic activity, adjusted by relevant price indexes. This is most clearly stated by the noted U.S. expert on productivity, Edward F. Denison, who defines production as equal to national income, i.e., "to the aggregate earnings of labor and property accruing from current production of goods and services."

Theoretically, over a sufficient period of time, the total of labor and property incomes should approximate the value of production. But notoriously, in a period of high inflation (which has continued to grip the United States), official statistics exclude a major and increasing proportion of property incomes. Thus, the measure of production is dominated by the level of wages, and the measure of productivity by the level of real wages per man-hour, or per worker. Yet real wages have been falling since 1973, and the decline became precipitate in 1979. This consequence of the capitalist offensive against the working class is misrepresented as a decline in workers' productivity.

The sharp break in productivity is in the 1973-1979 cycle, according to official statistics and Denison's work. But bourgeois U.S. economists are unable to account for their findings. "What happened is . . . a mystery," Denison writes. The President's economic advisers admit that "a significant part remains unexplained."[8]

A realistic view of the trend in productivity can be obtained by reference to the physical index of manufacturing production, and man-hours worked by production workers therein. This calculation shows a gradual deceleration, from an annual increase of 4.2 per cent between 1949 and 1959, to 3.9 per cent in the following decade and to 3.2 per cent between 1969 and 1979, with a rate of 2.7 per cent in the 1973-1979 period.[9]

This gradual deceleration is readily explained by a fast rate for the decade after World War II, as corporations modernized facilities; an increasing proportion of new, modern facilities placed abroad, rather than in the United States, by the transnationals; a slowing of economic growth; and lastly, the increasing requirements for environmental and safety protection.

The moderate deceleration in productivity is insufficient to account for stagflation. Given a different set of social and economic conditions, the increase of 2.7 per cent per year in manufacturing output per man-hour, combined with the rather rapid increase in the labor force, would permit a very adequate rate of economic growth, and be consistent with steadily rising living standards.

The customary claim of the bourgeois economists of inadequate investment of fixed capital does not stand up to analysis. Fixed capital investment, as a percentage of gross domestic business product, averaged 11.4 per cent in the 1960s and 12.2 per cent in the 1970s. with the 1979 figure equalling 12.6 per cent.[10] We find that this index has even grown.

A third stage of the argument, the "clincher," is the claim that corporate profits, absolutely and as a percentage of capital, have been declining in "real" terms, and hence provide insufficient funds of investment. The bourgeoisie is now using this argument in its continuous campaign for additional tax concessions, which would enable it to retain still more profits. This particular claim is the most outrageous of all. The collection of surplus value by U.S. monopoly capital has reached unprecedented heights, not only absolutely, or in "real" terms, but as a ratio to wages. The monopolies, while fully maintaining and even expanding their investments within the United States, have been using a larger and larger share of their profits for capital export. Furthermore, because basic consumer markets both within the United States and in its export markets are relatively stagnant, the export of capital takes priority because wages and taxes are lower in many places — and hence the rate of profit much higher.

A first approximation of the trend of the rate of surplus value in U.S. industry is provided by relating value added by manufacture to the payroll of wage earners. The rate increased as follows: 1947 — 146 per cent; 1957 — 181 per cent; 1969 — 226 per cent; 1976 — 272 per cent.[11] This has brought a veritable explosion of corporate profits, especially during the 1970s. There is a rapid increase in the extreme spread of income inequality.

In the 20 years from 1923 to 1949 corporation profits after taxes doubled, from $8.6 billion to $18.7 billion. In the following 20 years, they increased nearly 2.45 times, from $18.7 billion to $43.8 billion. But in the 10 years from 1969 to 1979, they went up nearly 3.3 times, to $144.4 billion.[12] Even adjusting for inflation, in this last decade they increased 84 per cent, almost as much as during the previous 40 years taken together. Singling out the last cyclical period, from 1973 to 1979, corporation profits increased 115 per cent, and adjusted for inflation by 36 per cent, while real wages declined 7 per cent. This represented a veritable orgy of profits, at the expense of workers. Instead of a decline, productivity continued to increase, but all of the gains therefrom were seized by the capitalists.

Gus Hall, in his report to the 22nd Convention of the U.S. Communist Party, said: "These record-making profits cannot be explained by inflation. They are the result of the speedup and sweat, blood and toil of the workers, and of cuts in real wages. The huge corporate profits are directly related to the decline in both relative and real wages. The con-

tinuing absolute decline in real wages is a new phenomenon in our times. The high rate of exploitation of our working class and the resulting surplus value continue to increase at a fast clip. And the high rate of inflation adds but another element to this system of exploitation."[13]

The after-tax profits of corporations, high as they are, are merely the most visible portion of the huge mass of surplus value extracted by the ruling class. There are tremendous depreciation and depletion allowances, almost as large as the reported profits. There are the incredibly swelling interest payments, which reached an estimated $500 billion in 1979, or 24 per cent more than the previous year and four times the 1969 figure.[14] And a similar vast amount was extracted in the form of salaries and bonuses and perquisites of the officials and executives and top professionals of the corporate and government bureaucracy.[15]

One of the basic causes of inflation is the truly astronomical figure of surplus value appropriated by monopoly capital.

Bourgeois statistics are not academic exercises. They are weapons in the class struggle, used against the working class and manipulated without any restraint in periods of acute crisis. The faked productivity figures provided key ideological guidelines for the government, which sought, and generally succeeded, in holding wage increases to 7 per cent a year when the cost of living increased more than 13 per cent. Under terms established by the stronger unions in collective bargaining, wage increases should be in the range of 15-20 per cent to allow for increases in consumer prices and higher productivity. The scale of working-class losses and capitalist gains from this difference mounts into the tens of billions of dollars.

Militarization as a "solution"

The foregoing shows that typical of bourgeois economic theory at any juncture in history is an effort to meet the class interests of the bourgeoisie, especially those of monopoly capital, as far as possible at the expense of the working class and the middle layers of the population. This is the first necessary aspect of all bourgeois economic doctrines. A second aspect is attempts to uphold and justify monopoly capitalist superexploitation of the working people and plunder of the resources of developing countries, resorting to outright aggression where it is found expedient.

It is only natural, therefore, that bourgeois economic theory ignores or minimizes the serious impact of the arms race and aggressive U.S. policy on the economy and the standard of living. Even at the height of the Vietnam war, conferences of bourgeois economic associations, articles and books of bourgeois economists virtually ignored it. Yet the economic and political consequences of the Vietnam war contributed largely to the dramatic deterioration of the U.S. economy during the 1970s.

Now, again, the radical acceleration of the military budget and the war preparations in the United States and other NATO countries are taking place in a period of more severe financial imbalances, tremendous inflationary pressures, economic and political conflicts between imperialist and developing countries.

For the first time, references in the bourgeois press contain admissions that the extravagant arms build-up is aggravating inflation. But economists in the service of capitalism go on doing their job. In their discussions there is still no mention of the central role of arms spending in double-digit inflation in the United States today, in mounting budget deficits, in the energy crisis of deepening severity, in the combination of recessionary tendencies, rising unemployment, declining mass purchasing power and increasing racial discrimination. More, bourgeois economic theory "overlooks" the vast potential for easing the negative effects of the crisis through détente, disarmament, large-scale economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, although the way to this is open, and also through a democratization of international economic relations.

Powerful, and currently dominant, sectors of the ruling class seek to "resolve" the deepening crisis through militarization and an economic policy typical of a country at war. It involves an accelerated stockpiling of Middle Eastern oil, to grab as much of it as possible at the expense of other purchasers while preserving the vast U.S. reserves of energy resources. Its objectives include the planning of an invasion of the Middle East to restore control over the oil by U.S. monopolies. It is aimed at freezing wages and limiting prices at the intercorporate level while permitting continued increases and uncontrolled areas of retail prices of goods and services; at sharply increasing excise taxes and other taxes on the masses; and at applying political repression of peace and labor forces.

In reply to criticism from the liberal economists and opposition politicians, these dominant sectors of monopoly capital disclaim any intention of freezing wages. However, the stand taken by the ruling class is such that the freeze will obviously be imposed. There is also the prospect of allocating materials, with direct restrictions on mass consumption; of massive subsidies to the most powerful monopolies for increasing domestic energy output in traditional and new forms; and of doubling the military budget as a percentage of national income.

In carrying out its militarization plans, the U.S. administration no longer proclaims a "gun and butter" policy as in, say the 1940s and 1950s, at the height of the cold war. Imperialism can no longer afford it. And bourgeois economic theory tries to help monopoly capital by upholding monopoly's "right to superprofit." Today, it is preaching to the masses acceptance of adversity — "austerity" as a penalty for their sins — "excessive consumption." There is a growing awareness in the United States of the dangers of the administration's present economic policy, which is backed up by the latest bourgeois economic theories. The working people who follow the communists, some trade unions and democratic forces are mounting a struggle against

the U.S. administration's aggressive policy and the anti-people line of the monopolies.

November 1980

1. *Business Week*, January 28, 1980, p. 72.
2. Paul Samuelson, *Economics*, Sixth Edition, New York, 1964, p. 344.
3. It is scarcely coincidental that he made his reputation as leader of the "Chicago School" (University of Chicago) in a period when the Chicago group of finance capital was the major force backing the right wing of the Republican Party, or that the blood-steeped Pinochet chose him as "gauleiter" on financial matters, being guided in his economic policy by the principles of the "Chicago school."
4. Milton Friedman, *From Galbraith to Economic Freedom* (pamphlet), London, 1977, p. 47.
5. *Challenge. Magazine of Economic Affairs*. White Plains, January/February 1980, p. 13.
6. *Economic Report of the President*. Washington, January 1980, pp. 4-5.
7. Another explanation you hear is that productivity is declining because of the deterioration of the labor force — a larger proportion of youth, Blacks, Spanish-speaking and other disadvantaged workers. The racist incitation involved in this lying "sociological" explanation, in conditions of a reactivated Ku Klux Klan, is extremely grave. These analysts also blamed the extra labor required to meet government environmental and labor safety regulations.
8. *Economic Report of the President*, Washington, January 1980, p. 86.
9. *Economic Report of the President*, Washington, January 1980, pp. 248, 80.
10. *Economic Report of the President*, Washington, January 1980, pp. 214, 219.
11. Victor Perlo, *The Unstable Economy*. New York, 1974, p. 27; *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1979, Washington, p. 805.
12. *Economic Report of the President*, Washington, January 1980, pp. 235, 206.
13. Gus Hall, *Labor Up-Front in the People's Fight Against the Crisis*, New York, 1979, p. 8.
14. U.S. Department of Commerce, *National Income and Product Accounts of the United States, 1929-1974*, Washington, pp. 303, 16, 17.
15. Harvey L. Poppel, "Business Equipment," *Forbes Magazine*, November 12, 1979.

Concerted action: assurance of success

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Early this year the military government of Argentina[1] announced that there would be a dialogue with political forces. Public opinion saw this as a move toward the restoration of constitutional order. However, from the outset the dialogue disenchanted the people and many parties, and is now assessed as an attempt by the military junta to win time. In fact, it has degenerated into a monologue, in which the government demands unconditional support for its policies. When the dialogue was announced, we warned: It may become a positive factor, a path leading to understanding between the civilians and the military on a democratic basis. But this will happen only if the dialogue meets certain demands, if it is open and free of any restrictions, exceptions, or diktat, and if the broadest range of participants are admitted to it and given the right to vote. Still the very fact that the "dialogue" began served to revitalize and extend the activities of political organizations and triggered heavy and sharp criticism of the government. The Justicialist (Peronist), People's Christian, United Socialist, Socialist People's, and Conservative People's parties, the Party of Intransigence, the Radicals, and the Communists held consultations among themselves and with entrepreneurs and Church leaders. They focused on the need to lift the ban on political activity, normalize the situation in the country democratically, in keeping with the constitution, to release political prisoners, and learn what happened to people listed as missing. All parties were unanimous in demanding recognition of their legal status and the lifting of the "state of siege" and other restrictions.

The government's economic policy is causing growing discontent. Right after the coup, it adopted an economy-revitalizing program drawn up by Martinez de Hoz and "his team." This is a program promoting the interests of transnational corporations and it is being resisted by 90 per cent of the population as dooming working people to hunger and flouting the interests of small businessmen, part of the local bourgeoisie, in fact of the Argentine nation as a whole. This policy is opposed by a wide spectrum of political, business, agricultural, trade union, and public organizations.[2] The situation has been compounded by the recent measures that are leading to denationalization of the economy and the pauperization of the people. The danger that Argentina will lose its national independence looms large today.

A primary role in the struggle of the Argentine people can be played by the trade unions, which constitute the nation's largest mass movement. But the movement is in an extremely difficult position. Like the political parties, the trade unions are denied freedom of action. The authorities are obstructing their normal work, have placed dozens of work-

ers' associations under surveillance, and banned strikes and meetings. This situation can be overcome by unity and struggle.

The basic points of the CPA action program relative to the trade unions and the working-class movement boil down to the following.

First, the proletariat, guided by its class principles, should lead the struggle for democracy, national independence, and social justice.

Second, there is an urgent need to build the unity of the working people — this truly historic task requires mutual understanding and joint effort in the first place between the Peronists[3] and the communists --- and win other large working-class contingents to our side.

Third, we have to carry on with the struggle for a military-civilian agreement on the basis of a common platform aimed at democratizing the country by forming a broad democratic coalition government.

The trade union movement in Argentina is in danger. Right-wing elements and imperialism are attacking its ideology and organizational principles and threaten its independence and basic rights won in long years of struggle — guaranteed wages, an eight-hour working day, etc. The reactionaries are going to all lengths to prevent the working class and its unions from playing the leading role in the process of the nation's institutionalization. The enemy is apprehensive of actions by the working people as a class, and not scattered actions at individual enterprises. It is trying to divide the workers, drive a wedge into the ranks of the proletariat, sap its militancy, instil in the working-class movement a spirit of class collaboration, bring it under control, and divert it from the sure road.

These and other problems require constant attention and analysis, as the workers' demands reflect the patriotic aspirations of the whole nation.

The party is steadily winning greater influence among the proletariat, giving most of its attention to the large factories. In the present political situation this is more important than ever, because the trade unions are the organizations that can defeat the economic policy of the government, force it into a genuine dialogue with political forces, and speed up the country's democratization. The communists therefore are doing everything possible to safeguard trade union and democratic rights and freedoms. They are countering the attempts of the right-wing circles and the leftist elements coalescing with them to sow sectarianism and extremism in the trade union movement and turn it into a preserve of political parties.

In stressing the immense role that can be played by the trade unions, our party believes that only through concerted effort can they make themselves heard and act resolutely and authoritatively in a broad multi-class democratic anti-imperialist front. But such unity still remains to be achieved. The current discord and strife in the trade union leadership are preventing the Joint Commission of Argentine Workers from elaborating a joint strategy and flexible tactics that could take the situation in every province and in all the sectoral trade unions into account. This creates the impression that some of its leaders cannot see the forest for the trees. They are deliberately dragging out the attainment of unity with representatives of all working-class contingents. The trade union leadership should heed the voice of the working people and realize the importance of joint action by Peronists and communists, the two forces with the greatest influence among the workers.

Although the bourgeoisie is trying to foist a philistine, individualistic ideology on the working people, there is growing understanding in Argentina of the need for a concerted struggle by the people not only for economic but also for political demands, a struggle to change the existing order, reshape society on principles of social justice, and achieve progress, democracy and national independence.

The Communist Party is working to win all the social forces coming out for progress, democracy and sovereignty to the side of the proletariat. It realizes that not only workers, but also small and middle entrepreneurs, the clergy and part of the bourgeoisie, that is, the overwhelming majority of the population, are interested in economic independence, in effectively repulsing the transnationals, ensuring national sovereignty, protecting human rights and winning constitutional guarantees. All these sections of the population see imperialism and the oligarchy as the chief enemy of the nation.

The working-class movement in Argentina has gone through many trials. The people remember the cruel repressions in reply to attempts to set up sectoral and local trade unions. But however heavy the blows struck by reaction have been, the authorities had to accept the existence of workers' unions and give them the juridical opportunity to function. Then the reactionaries resorted to more subtle methods of bringing the unions under their control and winning the support of their leaders. But all those attempts failed.

Today the working-class movement is faced with a new ordeal. Early in 1980 the military government promulgated a law on trade union associations. This law has been denounced by the majority of the working people and censured by political parties and the Church. It conflicts with the letter and spirit of the Constitution, the resolutions of the International Labor Organization and the UN, and the Declaration on Human Rights, in fact leaving the working people no possibility to fight their exploiters, while giving entrepreneurs unlimited rights.

In defense of that law, its architects contend that the class struggle spells out subversion. But the struggle is gaining momentum against the will of some or other person; it is dictated by objective reasons.

The number of jobs is rapidly decreasing, unemployment is growing. The working people's share of the national income is shrinking, while that of the employers is getting bigger. It was 50 and 49.8 per cent respectively in 1952, 40 and 60 per cent in

1962, 35 and 65 per cent in 1972 and 28 and 72 per cent in 1976. In these conditions the working people have no alternative to intensifying their struggle, which, understandably, is attended by enormous sacrifice and privation. But they have no other means of defending their right to decent life.

How should the communists act in these circumstances? This is not an easy question, but the only answer, however paradoxically it may sound, is that they have to take the new law into consideration. In our opinion, reasonable tactics have been adopted by most of the trade unions, which are protesting against the government's anti-labor policies with the legal means at their disposal. This is a logical approach, since otherwise there is the risk of losing the right to organization and with it the possibility of putting up resistance within the bounds of the law. The present situation in Argentina requires flexible decisions and wise tactics by every sectoral union, every local organization, not only to prevent the disbandment of existing unions but also to strengthen them.

In their assault on the forces of progress the reactionaries shrink from no invention, one of which is that the class struggle is an attempt to destroy the nation's material and moral values. The purpose of this crude and cynical line is to justify the repressions and isolate the working class from other democratic circles.

The oligarchy is out to put an end to independent trade unions bent on winning economic demands and a say in the government's policies. The Argentine communists support the trade union's public activity and are convinced that the trade union movement not only can but should take part in political life, in the solution of the nation's problems. On the other hand, the movement is not a substitute for political parties and should not try to replace them. The trade unions are non-party organizations, but the nation's development depends largely on their stand and activities. Today, too, they are called upon to fight shoulder to shoulder with all other grass-root forces for the formation of a popular unity government.

A charge frequently made against the communists is that their class approach to the solution of national problems generates discord and strife. For the reactionaries, brutal treatment of patriots is not enough. They want a ban on ideas, on doctrines. As they see it, disagreement with the ideology of the exploiting classes should be punished.

Is it surprising that the General Confederation of Labor has been disbanded and the working people are forbidden to unite and have a national center? Meanwhile the powers that be enjoy all rights. In other words, the government denies that society is divided into classes but in fact champions the interests of some and ignores the rights and freedoms of others.

We have a good idea of the work conducted by communists in countries ruled by fascist regimes. Also, our own experience accumulated in the years of reaction has taught us a great deal. It must be admitted that the ban on trade unions and political activity has weakened local organizations and depressed the working people's level of militancy. But this does not at all signify a decline of class consciousness or non-appreciation of the significance of unity. The results of the recent government-sponsored referendum to prove that the working class has rejected the trade unions and their leadership were as follows: 95 per cent of the people were in favor of the trade union movement, no matter who led it. This was a bitter pill for the government.

True, trade union activity has ebbed for a number of objective reasons, but factory and office workers in industry, construction, at ports, banks and other enterprises protesting against the Martinez de Hoz program have achieved a wage increase and secured the reinstatement of some people who had been dismissed. These gains are the result of united action by workers who, despite ideological differences, have been able to combine their efforts in the struggle for a common goal.

We communists want to strengthen existing and set up new local organizations. The main thing for us is that the trade unions have common class, democratic interests.

Cooperation with the trade unions led by Peronism is always in the focus of the CPA's attention. This does not mean, however, that we are prepared to be dissolved in it, lose our identity, and surrender our principles. There is mutual attraction between the two political streams. We are trying to get the Peronist masses to swing to the left and feel that the left-wing Peronists should disseminate progressive ideas, especially in the trade union movement. Unity does not mean an end to healthy, well-argumented mutual criticism. Constructive polemics help to see the other side's point of view, specify political tasks, and correct mistakes; they open up opportunities for joint struggle.

We know that the Peronist (and non-Peronist) masses think highly of the CPA's role. The communists are of the opinion that it is time to cast aside the old, sectarian-based opposites: Peronism — anti-Peronism, militarism — anti-militarism, clericalism — anti-clericalism. The enterpreneurs are peddling a new line of division: communism — anti-communism, to draw a dividing line between the workers backing the CPA and those supporting other parties. But this is falling on deaf ears because the political consciousness of the Argentine people is now on a higher level than ever before.

Apart from the Peronists, there are other forces on whom the scope of trade union struggle depends. One of the main questions before us is that of working women, young people, pensioners, rural workers and other sections of society joining this struggle.

Young people hold a special place in the trade union movement. Indeed, a trade union is the first class organization a young person comes into contact with. This means that the older generation should foster class awareness among young people, imbue them with a sense of solidarity and pa-

triotism, give them a progressive world-view, and encourage them to look for new ways to concerted action by workers — Peronists and communists (on whom trade union unity primarily depends) — and other members of the working class.

Repressions have taken from the working-class movement thousands of class-motivated militants. The number of steeled fighters has decreased — some were dismissed from work, others arrested, and still others were forced to emigrate. This poses another task: to secure the release of comrades thrown into prison without trial and investigation.

Therefore, changes at the top depend on how active the local organizations are. They can and must play a major role in democratizing the country, in helping to spread progressive ideas, change the alignment of forces and, most importantly, build up unity. As these and other important tasks are accomplished, we shall have more influence among the working class and in the trade union movement. The other political parties will sooner or later accept progressive, democratic ideas cherished by the people.

The solution of the nation's main problems depends on the desire and ability of the champions of democracy and progress to find a basis for mutual understanding. To communists such cooperation is not a tactical ploy but a long-term strategy. A political dialogue with the participation of all parties and trade unions, despite the resistance of some military circles, can open up a new stage in the struggle for Argentina's democratization.

1. The government was brought to power by a coup on March 24, 1976. — *Ed.*

2. The government's economic program favors the export of agricultural products over industries manufacturing goods for domestic consumption. Many state-controlled enterprises have been turned over to the private sector. A survey conducted by the Institute of Economic Studies of the University of Argentina showed that in April 1980 enterprises in most industries were increasingly working below capacity as compared to the previous month and also to April 1979. Besides, in the first quarter of this year the number of idle enterprises was up over the same periods of 1979 and 1977, for instance, in the pulp-and-paper, metallurgical, and chemical industries. Gross industrial output has dropped to the level of five years ago, and in some industries (textiles, power, etc.) it has fallen even lower.

To meet its financial obligations at the end of the year, Argentina has to pay foreign countries a sum exceeding its currency reserves. There has been no critical situation like this since March 1976. According to the Central Bank, the volume of payments this year runs to $10,227 million, while official sources say that the currency reserves in the first week of September stood at $9,769 million. Mention should also be made of the deficit in the balance of payment and of the payment of interest on the foreign debt. — *Ed.*

3. Supporters of the former president Juan Domingo Peron. Peronism is examined in some detail in Rubens Iscaro, *"Vanguard of the Working Class, Organizer of the Masses," WMR,* July 1974. — *Ed.*

For the right to be workers, not slaves

John Yatto
SWAPO Secretary for Labor;
Secretary, National Union of Namibian Workers

To this day, Namibia remains one of the few enclaves of the colonial past on the African continent. For years, the South African racists have flouted world opinion, and the decisions of the UN General Assembly and the Security Council and continued to treat our country as their own colony, implanting in it the vile policy of apartheid and converting it into a bridgehead for fighting the national patriotic forces of independent African countries.

Namibia is fabulously rich in minerals: diamonds, uranium, copper, zinc, lead, dozens of rare-earth elements, and vast deposits of natural gas. These have attracted like a magnet the profit-avid imperialist plunderers. By the mid-1970s, at least 100 foreign companies were operating in the country.

The capitalists of South Africa and other states are making vast profits on the exploitation of our natural resources. But for Namibia their operations mean the plunder of these resources, and poverty of an overwhelming majority of the native population. Up to 50 per cent of the country's gross domestic product is being exported in the form of profits and dividends on the invested capital. In the early 1970s, Namibia's "black North" (i.e., the areas of the main "reserves" into which the white racists had driven the Africans) accounted for only 3.5 per cent of the GDP. Reckoned in terms per head of the African population, this is the lowest figure for the whole of the continent. Since then, the situation has not changed for the better in any way.

The acts of the South African authorities in Namibia exemplify overt and brazen colonial rule on "classic" lines. In our country, the whites treat Black people haughtily, offhandedly, but also fear them. They make no secret of their contempt for the native population, but they cannot do without their services. While claiming to respect the Africans' traditional cultural heritage, they involve the local population in capitalist economic relations on the

terms which inevitably result in the abandonment of the established ways of life, break up families and undermine respect for ancestors. The savage exploitation of the native Namibians is an organic component of the luxury in which the privileged white minority lives.

Having actually established direct colonial rule in Namibia, the South African reactionaries have brought in their policy of apartheid with all its trappings. What is more, in our country racial discrimination is much more pronounced and deliberately emphasized.* The racist laws and regulations which operate in Namibia make it possible for the monopoly bourgeoisie of South Africa and other imperialist countries to engage in the super-exploitation of the Africans. The life of workers in Namibia is, in effect, a veiled kind of slavery. From the racist rulers' standpoint, the native population is there only to cater for the white settlers and the multinational corporations.

Without their African workers, the industrial enterprises and the stock-breeding farms would have to close down. Africans account for 81 per cent of the workers in mines, quarries and related occupations, and for 86 per cent of the work force in agriculture, the overwhelming majority of them being employed as laborers, farm servants, herdsmen and shepherds.

Meanwhile, unemployment among the native population is a grave problem. In the "reserves" virtually all the African families depend on the remittances they receive from some member of the family working elsewhere, simply in order to survive. In an economy geared to the interests of the white minority and foreign investors, new jobs are created slower than the population growth requires. It has been estimated on the basis of official data that fewer than 200 new jobs are being created in Namibia every year, while the workforce has been increased by 8,000 persons.

The policy of expelling the native population from its lands continues to be a key instrument for keeping the cheap-labor market in the required proportion. Back in the period of German colonial rule, the territory of Namibia (then known as South-West Africa) was divided into two parts. The most fertile and mineral-rich lands amounting to two-thirds of its territory were allocated to the whites. These areas were known as the "Police Zone." The Africans were driven into special reserves with poor and semi-desert lands.

When Namibia went to South Africa in 1920 as a mandate, Pretoria maintained the "Police Zone" and the "reserves" system, and tightened up the pass laws governing the movement of the "necessary labor" from among the native population into the white areas. By the end of the 1960s, 7,000 white-owned farms sprawled over almost half of the territory of Namibia. At the same time, only a quarter of the country's territory — mainly arid areas — was allocated for the native Namibian population, which was nine times larger than the white-settler population. There has been virtually no change in this state of things over the past few years.

Attempts were also made to set up "bantustans" in Namibia on the South African model. The Odendaal Commission classified the whole population into 12 ethnic groups and recommended that each of these — apart from the white and "coloured" population — should have a special "homeland" where each ethnic group was to be forcibly settled and strictly segregated. The homelands were to cover an aggregate of 40 per cent of the territory, as compared with the 47 per cent of the rich fertile areas occupied by the whites. The rest of the territory, rich in mineral raw materials, was to be under direct control of South Africa. No secret was made of the intention to subsequently turn the "white area" into a part of South Africa. Meanwhile, the "homelands," without any means for independent existence, would be closely tied to the "white area" and would continue to serve as a reservoir of cheap labor.

The settling of the Africans in these "homelands" could do nothing to change the situation in which the native people were forced to become migrant workers. On the contrary, it could merely serve to further consolidate the most important economic prerequisite for labor migrancy: the poverty of the population resulting from the shortage of land. In view of the much too obvious racist and colonialist nature of the Odendaal Plan, its actual realization ran into insuperable difficulties, although several "homelands" were set up.

In addition to the plunder of the Africans' land, which forces them to toil on the farms and industrial enterprises owned by the whites, the South African colonialists have been consistently pursuing a policy of rigid control over the movement of the native population. This is designed to channel the migration flows into sectors of the economy which are most in need of cheap labor.

The pass system, which regulates every step of the native population beyond the reserves, was introduced in Namibia back in 1907 by the German colonial administration's resolution (pertaining to "measures for the control of the natives"). Since then, it has been further extended and tightened up, until it became similar to the one used in South Africa. The regulations require that all Africans over the age of 8 years must carry an identity card which they have to show on demand to the police authority or any white man. Any white man has the right to arrest him and to hand him over to the nearest police station. In order to leave a particular district, an African needs to have a travel permit, which is issued only with the written approval of his employer. Africans need permits or passes to cross the borders of the "Police Zone," to move within it, to buy a railway ticket, to remain in a reserve other than his own for more than 48 hours, to remain for more than 72 hours in an urban area

*In the summer of 1979, the South African administration abolished some of the most odious racist laws, but these cosmetic measures can do nothing to embellish the face of apartheid. Besides, their practical implementation is being fiercely opposed by the white racists.

other than the one in which he permanently resides. Permanent residence in an urban area may be awarded only if an African has been born in it or has worked there for at least 15 years.

The stripping of the native population of its land and the forcible settlement within the reserves or "homelands" has led to a situation in which most African workers are migrants who are allowed to remain in the "white" industrial and agricultural areas only so long as the apartheid economy is in need of them. For Africans, work under contract means a burdensome existence in virtual poverty and deprivation. But to break with this slave system poses the risk of remaining without a job, and consequently, without the means of subsistence. The wives and children of migrants are prohibited from settling in the areas where the head of the family is temporarily employed. This is yet another means for perpetuating the condition of the native population as a migrant labor force. This practice has devastating demographic consequences: in 1977, the ratio of men to women among the Ovambo workers in the "Police Zone" was 6 to 1 in the cities, 20 to 1 on the farms, and over 490 to 1 in the Port of Luderitz.

In the reserves, all jobless men under the age of 65 years, without any serious physical or mental disabilities, have to register at the labor bureau, producing evidence of their identity and information about their occupational training, preferential type of work, etc. Labor bureau officials have extensive powers to check-up on the Africans' *curricula vitae*. This provides great opportunities for control of the African workers and is used to suppress any political opposition to the South African occupation, and also to frustrate any attempts by the workers to organize in defense of their rights. The central labor bureaus have secret lists of persons whom the security police or employers regard as "agitators." Africans who find themselves on such lists are denied jobs under various pretexts.

Africans who contract to work may not choose either their employer or type of work. Nor are they free to contest the terms of the contract. Most often they have no knowledge of where and in what capacity they will have to work until they arrive on the spot. All of this is unilaterally decided by the recruiting agents, who are guided by the demand for labor and the physical state of those recruited.

Native Namibian wage-workers may be divided into several categories which differ markedly in their condition. A small part of the African workers with permits for permanent residence beyond the reserves constitute the top layer. They can remain in their jobs as long as they and their employers wish. This enables them to acquire some vocational skills and technical experience, which in turn opens the door to a narrow range of slightly superior manual jobs. The second and most numerous category of workers is recruited from the reserves. After a maximum stay of two and a half years in an industrial center, they must return to the reserves, where they may be recruited once again for work in the "Police Zone," but are likely to be channelled to new and unfamiliar occupations, where they must begin as learners of production methods. The third group consists of hard labor convicts who are hired out by the prison authorities to private employers and public enterprises at a wage determined by courts of law.

Racial discrimination is also keenly felt in the sphere of production where it assumes the form of a legislated "color bar." In accordance with the racist regulations, Africans may not perform some skilled or semiskilled work, which is reserved for the whites. Even according to the official data issued by the South African Department of Labor in 1975 (no later data are available) 2,164 whites and only 16 non-whites held administrative, executive and managerial posts throughout the whole of Namibia. The posts of engineer, ganger, driver of engines and other machinery are reserved exclusively for whites. The "color bar" also exists in public services, the railways and the harbor administration.

This crying discrimination on the labor market springs partially from the discrimination in education, which deliberately puts the African at a disadvantage even before he applies for a job. For all practical purposes, education is inaccessible for native Namibians. It has been estimated that no more than 1 per cent of the adult native population in Namibia has a complete secondary education, while roughly two-thirds have no education at all. In the recent period, no more than one-third of the total appropriations for education went into the instruction of the native population, which means 90 per cent of Namibia's total. With rare exception, Namibians of African origin are not allowed to travel to South Africa to obtain occupational training or a higher education.

Africans are subjected to similar discrimination in wages. At mining enterprises, African workers receive only about 5 or 6 per cent of white wages. Namibia's income per head comes to roughly 3,000 rands a year for the white population and to 125 rands for the Africans: a ratio of 24 to 1. Native wages are totally inadequate for meeting the most elementary requirements of the worker and his family. Even according to South African authorities, the subsistence wage for an African family in Windhoek in 1973 came to 60 rands a month (according to other sources, the figure was even higher — 81.25 rands). Meanwhile, Africans working on railways and in the harbor — relatively well-paid jobs — earned only 48 rands a month. The racist authorities' policy is designed to keep the Africans in a state of starvation.

Discrimination in jobs and wages is backed up by the practice of depriving Africans of opportunities for making use of any lawful means to fight for an improvement of their condition. They have no right to engage in collective bargaining agreements or to make any demands on the employers. Strikes by African workers are regarded as unlawful and there are harsh penalties for participation in them. The attempts by native Namibians to voice their discontent or to protest on any matter are resolutely put

down and entail fines, imprisonment, beatings and even killings for those who dare to do so.

Despite the brutal persecution and the terrorism practised by the racist colonial authorities, the working people of Namibia have repeatedly risen to struggle against the humiliating indentured condition and racial oppression, and for better living and working conditions and higher wages. The national-liberation movement in Namibia has from the outset been connected with the African workers' hopes and aspirations. This was reflected in the origins of SWAPO. Its predecessor was the Organization of the People of Ovamboland, the region from which most workers contracting for jobs come, and they are the most oppressed category of the Namibian working people. SWAPO, originating on the basis of one, even if the largest tribe of Namibia, subsequently overcame ethnic limitations and has come out as the vanguard force of the national-liberation struggle of all Namibians. It now has within its ranks members of all the tribes and nationalities of the country. Contrary to assertions by the South African authorities, which claim that SWAPO is a "tribal" movement, whose purpose is to establish Ovambo hegemony, the history of our organization shows that it brings together, above all, Namibians as workers, and not as members of this or that tribe or ethnic group. SWAPO's most consistent and militant supporters are the contract workers. That is perhaps its greatest distinction from the other political parties or groups operating in Namibia. Not very long ago the idea of the need for a trade-union organization sharing SWAPO's goals and ideals and closely connected with broader struggle for national liberation was expressed in the establishment of the National Union of Namibian Workers.

For many years strikes by African working people have flared up across the country. In December 1971, the contract workers driven to despair by the discrimination and savage exploitation, staged a strike which soon developed into a general strike. It exposed the most acute conflicts and contradictions in our society and demonstrated the Namibian people's resolution in fighting the illegal occupation of their country by the South African racists.

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A most important distinctive feature of that strike was not only its scope but — and this is the most important — the political nature of the strikers' demands for an end to the hated contract-labor system, the cornerstone of the whole social structure and, consequently, of the political organization of the "white minority" both in Namibia and in South Africa itself. For the first time, the working people consciously demanded an end to the contract-labor system and the right to live together with their families in the place where they work.

This testified to the growing political consciousness of African workers, to a change in their way of thinking and their attitude to the brutal exploitation under apartheid and racial discrimination. The 1971-72 general strike marked a qualitatively new stage in the development of the working-class movement not only in Namibia but in the whole of South Africa.

The authorities failed to put down the strike by reprisals and terrorism and were forced to make some concessions. However, this did nothing to change the slave character of the labor relations in Namibia, and the Africans continued their struggle. So, in December 1978 and January 1979, fresh strikes flared up at the uranium, copper and tin mines.

The racist colonial authorities are terrified at the prospect of the African workers' uniting and setting up independent trade unions. The fact that such unions, when established, could truly stand up for the interests of their members will be seen from the experience of the general strike, in the course of which workers' committees were set up at some enterprises to direct the strike. That is why the National Union of Namibian Workers is being so fiercely persecuted. The racist authorities and employers, who frequently have their own police forces to fight "agitators" (especially in the mining industry), resort to terrorism, brutal massacres and assassinations. In 1972 alone, over 100 prominent members of the union were arrested, and many of them are still in prison. Hundreds of others have disappeared without trace. On November 11, 1979, the South African police broke up a NUNW Seminar which was being held in the workers' compound in Okahandja. The police charged with dogs and opened fire gravely wounding three of our comrades. One of them later died in hospital.

There is no doubt that the coming victory of SWAPO, which has been recognized by the international community as the sole legitimate representative of the people of Namibia, will open up fresh prospects for our country's working people. And victory is undoubtedly close at hand. This will be seen from the fresh successes of our organization in the political and military spheres, and the growing losses and erosion of the positions of the South African invaders. The history of Namibia's liberation struggle is inseparable from the struggle by African workers for better working and living conditions, for human dignity and political rights. It is the working class that has the crucial role to play in the destiny of our long-suffering country.

Laos: unassuming routine

Vsevolod Rybakov
WMR Staff Member

One may dispute the word "routine" with the contention that a people's revolution is in progress in Laos and that for its makers it is always a source of satisfaction and joy. That contention is true. But it is also a fact that after a revolution has reached its apex, after power has been assumed, the time comes when one has to look back, reassess one's strength and potential, readjust plans, and rectify the mistakes made on the crest of the inertia of victory. Precisely this is the routine of revolution.

However, the title suggests one more context. When this issue of *WMR* comes off the press Laos will be marking the fifth anniversary of the revolution, of the proclamation of a People's Democratic Republic. This means summing up results and analyzing achievements with a sense of pride. I visited Laos at a time when the people were going about their unassuming routine work. My report is therefore of Laos on the eve of the anniversary, of the routine affairs of its people.

Is five years a short or long period in the life of a nation? For Laos this has been an exceptional period, for it witnessed the first years of its advance along the road of socialist construction. The prospect for such construction had been outlined by the People's Revolutionary Party when the war of liberation was still raging. Guided by the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and its own substantive analysis of the nation's development, the Party's Second Congress in 1972 (three years before victory) inscribed the following in its political program: "Create all the conditions for a direct transition to socialism without passing through the capitalist stage of development."

Victory came earlier than the party expected — it was found possible to use the favorable situation in Indochina in 1975. With victory, which signified the consummation of the national-democratic revolution, came the time of quest and experimentation. Of course, Laos did not begin on barren ground: it draws on the extensive experience of socialist transformation in what were the backward regions of former tsarist Russia, in the Mongolian People's Republic and, most importantly, in Vietnam. However, where social and material structures were concerned, Laos had to begin the building of socialism virtually from scratch.

Period of transition

"Two figures will give your readers a general idea of Laos' present-day economy," said Ma Khaykhamphithoun, member of the PRP Central Committee and Chairman of the National Planning Committee. "Our annual industrial output is worth about 1 billion kips, and agriculture yields roughly 10 billion kips worth of products."

This 1:10 ratio is eloquent in itself. Besides, a large proportion of the farm economy is still of a subsistence or semi-subsistence character. Also, much of the industrial output comes from primitive or semi-primitive enterprises.

According to the UN classification, in 1975 Laos was among the world's 25 most backward nations. Even today, Ma said, the per capita national income does not exceed $45-50 (although, of course, this is necessarily a very rough estimate because it is hard to calculate the income of a subsistence economy).

It is still early to speak of industry in real terms. On the eve of the revolution the nation had about 750 factories (mainly light and food industry enterprises) with an average of 20 workers each. Those that had been run by foreign capital or whose owners had fled, and also the main service branches (transport, power supply and so on) formed the foundation of the state sector. It took no little effort to revitalize some industries, for these were oriented on the import of primary materials and spare parts. New projects are to be started.

The initial steps have been taken. Many new enterprises have been built by decision of the PRP Central Committee. These include a zinc factory, a tobacco mill, a detergent and soap factory, auto-repair facilities and, quite recently, a mixed feed works and a vaccine factory. The second section of the Namngoume hydropower station is in operation; in 1979 this allowed increasing power consumption by 160 per cent over the previous year. Building materials, cement, woodworking, and brick factories are to be built in the immediate future.

The state sector now consists of 500 enterprises. In addition, there are 300 mixed — state-capitalist — and 400 private enterprises (these are round figures). Private entrepreneurial activity is permitted provided it accords with the national aims and tasks defined by the government. A salient feature of the present period of transition, as had been the case in post-revolutionary Russia, is that there are five socio-economic structures: in addition to the three I have mentioned (the state sector in industry and agriculture, the mixed state-capitalist and the private capitalist sectors) there are the cooperative sector, which is being joined by more and more peasants and artisans, and the private economy (small-commodity and subsistence) of the rest of the population.

In developing its strategy of socialist construction the PRP Central Committee put forward, at its fourth plenary meeting in 1977, the idea of accomplishing three revolutions simultaneously: in relations of production, in science and technology, and in ideology and culture. "The key role," states the relevant resolution, "is to be played by the scientific and technological revolution, while the cultural-ideological revolution keeps a step ahead of the others." The main role is accorded to science and technology because they make it possible to go over from a small-commodity to a large-scale economy, which the Laotian leaders justifiably see as the condition and guarantee of a successful advance toward socialism.

The first experience of implementing this strategy was produced by the three-year plan for 1978-1980. Everything that Ma spoke of was accomplished in that period. His conclusion was: "We safeguarded and consolidated the new system." However, there also were shortcomings and mistakes, and new developments surfaced that had to be given immediate attention. This was noted at the seventh plenary meeting of the PRP Central Committee in December 1979.

"Consequently," Ma declared, "the principal targets of the first five-year plan (1981-1985) are to strengthen the new system, steadfastly carry through socio-economic changes, and build socialism. This plan is designed to give our people a clear picture of the nation's political future and win their heartfelt support. The five-year plan will allow us to stabilize the economic situation and improve the people's living standard. It will create the conditions for the training of large numbers of specialists and skilled workers, reinforce the spirit of reliance on our own resources, and ensure the further development of cooperation with fraternal countries, especially with the Soviet Union.

"We are still specifying the targets of the plan. But the overall orientations are clear-cut. These are priority for the growth of the state and cooperative sectors and every possible attention for agriculture, which is to make the nation self-sufficient in rice by 1985.[1] To achieve this aim we have to develop new irrigated land, build and improve irrigation systems and roads, expand electrification, build machinery repair facilities, and organize the manufacture of farm implements. Further, the plan calls for effective use of natural resources such as timber and minerals. Other targets include intensive geological surveys, the building of experimental centers, and the training of technical cadres. Lastly, it is important to combine economic development with the strengthening of the country's defense. In all these areas we count on cooperation within the framework of the CMEA, to which Laos is affiliated as an observer."

A hard-won start

The red laterite road ran to a wide square ending abruptly at the steep bank of a river and flanked by administrative and other buildings. We were at the Veung Kham state farm, one of the enterprises mentioned in the resolutions of the PRP Central Committee's seventh plenary meeting and marked down for development in the first five-year plan. After a short wait we saw the director, a strongly-built man in a tabless army tunic coming toward us. He was Chuang Sivilay. Aged 48, he has devoted 35 years to the revolution.

His life-story is typical of many Laotian revolutionaries. Prior to 1954 there was the war of liberation against the French colonialists, a war in which he fought shoulder to shoulder with Vietnamese and Kampuchean brothers, sometimes on their territory. Then followed the struggle against the U.S. aggressors and their Saigon and local puppets, during which periods of hostilities alternated with short spells of rule by coalition governments. There were arrests, imprisonment, escapes, and then an armed struggle again. He fought in the pitched battles in the Boloven Plateau, where the U.S. army and troops of the Saigon ruler Thieu tried in vain to cut the patriotic forces in the south off from their bases in the north. After the revolution triumphed in December 1975 he was placed in charge of political education for senior officers of the old regime. In May 1979 he was transferred to Veung Kham. "I left the army in order to join in another battle, this time for agriculture," he said with a smile.

The story of the Veung Kham farm is also fascinating — it, too, is linked with the recent past, with the war of liberation. Properly speaking, it became a state farm only last year (at the time of Chuang's transfer to it). During the initial period of the people's rule it was a re-education center for police of the old regime (from the rank of corporal to captain). Those who accepted the new system began forming small labor groups and the re-education center became a production unit. At its most populous period it had 1,200 workers, but most left for jobs at factories and building projects. But 500 (not counting the members of their families) remained to till the land. That was when it was decided to institute a state farm to grow the raw materials for a newly-built mixed feed plant.

The seventh plenary meeting of the PRP Central Committee resolved that Veung Kham should become a model socialist farm and a center training agronomists and skilled workers for other provinces. This meant that in addition to giving a profit to the state it would grow all the food required by its personnel and provide them with health, educational and other facilities. An elementary school and a day-care center are already functioning and a middle school is to be opened. The farm has a hospital, a medical aid facility, and a pharmacy stocked with traditional medicines.

But the first steps were not easy. The farm has 6,000 hectares of land, of which 3,000 are arable. But only a small portion of this land is cultivated. Within three years the cultivated area is to be expanded to 2,000 hectares. Virgin soil cannot be developed with bare hands and there is a shortage of machinery. At present the farm has four new Soviet DT-75 tractors and some old French tractors that have been somehow patched together. Here the

vital issue is irrigation, for this district is hit by drought practically year after year.

Chuang Sivilay took me to the river bank, showing me the huge pipelines snaking out of the water and three electrically driven pumps nearby. These were turned on. The water roared out of the pipes, but for the time being there are neither irrigational canals nor dams for it.

Hence the farm's very modest plan for this year: 50 hectares under rice, 80 under corn, 20 under soy beans, and some underground nuts and peas. The potential has to be assessed realistically. Nonetheless, the party's assignment must be carried out. The government will supply the machinery, but here the main thing is to cultivate a spirit of collectivism. The people must become conscious of the fact that they are the masters of the farm and the country.

Vaung Kham means "vortex." An apt name, for the state farm's mission is to set an example of socialist transformations for the villages in the vicinity — there are seven with a population of several thousand — and many others where the specialists trained by it will be working. This explains why, like similar strongpoints of the new system in the countryside, this farm figures in state and party plans. Without bulwarks such as these it would be impossible to carry out the central task of cooperating the peasant economy.

Priorities

Rice, the staple food product in Laos, is grown on about 500,000 hectares of land,[2] I was told by Khamouane Boupha, the Deputy Minister for Agriculture and Timber and Water Resources. However, only 104,000 hectares are irrigated (incidentally, this represents a three-fold growth since the establishment of the people's power). With primitive implements the per hectare yield is from 800 kilos to a ton of paddy. With irrigation the yield can be raised to two and even two and a half tons, and if prime seeds and fertilizers are used the yield could go up to four tons. Advanced machinery and technology allow increasing the harvest to five or six tons per hectare.

In other words, the food problems can be resolved. To satisfy the rice requirements of its 3,500,000 people the nation needs an annual harvest of roughly 1,300,000 tons of paddy. But last year, when the weather was relatively favorable (although even then the country was not spared by drought and floods) the country got only 866,000 tons of rice, which spells out a shortfall of 150,000 tons. Even that was 170,000 tons more than in 1978, when there were catastrophic floods in Laos and throughout Indochina. These floods were preceded by a similarly catastrophic drought.

However bitter and damaging the vicissitudes of the weather, the main obstacle is that on four-fifths of the crop area rice is grown primitively, without irrigation. For that reason Laos has one of the lowest rice yields in Asia.

If the weather is clear and you are flying over the Laotian mountains you will only rarely see small clusters of straw-roofed huts — the population (90 per cent of it is rural) lives in scattered villages. But on the forest-clad mountain slopes you will see bald spots. This is where the trees have been burned out to make room for crops, chiefly rice. In the first year (weather permitting) the yield on these "fields" is tolerable (sufficient to feed a family), but then it drops drastically, and the family clears a new plot. To say nothing of the damage to forests, this system makes it impossible to go beyond the subsistence economy or use implements other than the ancient hoe.

"This," Khamouane said, "makes the cooperation of the rural population an imperative of the formation of socialist relations of production and a most urgent economic and social requirement. Adequate manpower for building irrigation systems and using machinery can only be concentrated by persuading the peasants to come down the mountains and live in larger villages. This is the only way the health and education networks can embrace everybody — you can't expect every small village to have a school and hospital. In the old liberated areas, where during the war the Americans dropped 3,000,000 tons of explosives, and many live bombs, mines and shells are still in the fields, cooperation will make it easier to defuse and remove these weapons (Soviet sapper units are helping us in this work)."

For Laos, cooperation is thus the key to the food problem and the assurance of society's socialist transformation. But, Khamouane said, this does not mean that there should be haste. The success of the cooperative movement depends on the availability of material and technical resources, specialists, and funds. It is not difficult to agitate for cooperatives — the peasants trust the party. At the moment there are 2,860 cooperatives with more than half a million members. But if a cooperative is set up on non-irrigated land, where life will continue to depend on the whims of the weather, the peasants will not stay in it. If a forestry cooperative is set up in the mountains and no roads are built, it will be a useless effort and the peasants will have nothing to eat. There are many more of these "ifs;" indeed, many difficult problems arise. And the main thing is that nothing will be achieved if the relationship between the state and the cooperatives is such that the cooperative members have no material incentive to grow as much marketable produce as possible.

All these problems are being studied by the party and the government. The specialization of the cooperatives in each district is being determined in accordance with natural conditions. The priorities are: first, crop-growing cooperatives with the gradual appearance of primary industrial enterprises processing rice and agricultural raw materials; second, livestock cooperatives with mixed feed plants, silo-making factories, and other enterprises; third, forestry cooperatives, which will form an integral complex with the timber sawing and processing industry.

The main link in the structure now being built consists of units such as the Veung Kham farm.

These will serve as models, as a source of expertise and technology for the cooperatives. There will only be a few of them: one each in rice-growing, livestock-breeding, the growing of starch crops, coffee, and forestry. The accent is being placed on efficiency, on attaining the highest standards of technology.

Upon my return from Laos I read the decision passed by the government of the Laotian People's Democratic Republic and the Supreme People's Council in August on regulating one more area vital for the success of the cooperative movement and the nation's agriculture generally, namely, the taxation rules. The tax on cooperatives has been reduced by 7 per cent and this allows them to increase their social funds and distribute the surplus among their members. Differentiated tariffs taking potential and local specifics into account have been established for all producers — cooperatives, state farms, and peasants with private households. This has been done in order to give a larger material incentive to increase crop yields. Further, taxes are levied only on what is produced during the rainy reason. Peasants working their fields during the dry period of the year are exempt from taxes. This encourages them to irrigate the land and grow a second rice crop, which is an entirely new development in Laos. And another point: the inhabitants of the least developed ethnic regions and mountainous areas with exceptionally difficult conditions for farming pay no taxes at all. Moreover, slash-and-burn clearing is prohibited, and peasants going over to irrigated rice-growing will pay no taxes for the first three years.

In an address to the communists of the Caucasus, where the socio-economic conditions of those days were in many ways similar to what is to be observed in Laos today, Lenin recommended in 1921 a "slower, more cautious and more systematic transition to socialism," adding, "you must make immediate efforts to improve the condition of the peasants" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 32, pp. 317-318). The Laotian communists see the creative application of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and of the international experience of building the new society to the specific conditions of their country as the sure way to success. This also concerns the basic laws of the period of transition to socialism as shown and formulated by Lenin.

"From the standpoint of the prospects for economic development," Khamouane said in conclusion, "our country has some natural advantages. Farming can go on the year round, Laos is rich in timber, and we have huge untapped reserves of water energy and large unexplored deposits of minerals. But we lack specialists and funds for investment. We have, therefore, established priorities for the utilization of these advantages. We are now working on the first group of this potential. This will enable us to feed the people, train specialists, and accumulate funds. We shall then tackle the second group, expand industry, and on that basis make further use of the advantages of the first group as well.

"Of course, in addition to the objective difficulties I have mentioned, the nation's development is being obstructed by external enemies — the imperialists and the Peking hegemonists. However, thanks to the correct policy pursued by the party, the support of the people, and the assistance of the socialist community, notably the Soviet Union, we are confident that we will overcome all difficulties. As regards the results of the first five years, our achievements are indisputable: we have safeguarded our homeland and we have no beggars."

Monarchy — in a museum

Luang Prabang, the former royal and currently religious capital of Laos, is a small town of 40,000 inhabitants, with a harmony of color and innumerable Buddhist monasteries, pagodas and stupas as its salient features. One meets more monks in saffron robes (many of them young men) in Luang Prabang than anywhere else in the country. In addition to performing religious rites, the townspeople were in the old days engaged mainly in serving the royal family. This is, of course, not a typical town. But Luang Prabang is also the name of a province, one of 13, that has a population of 242,000. Its problems are typical, especially of the highland regions.

"In the province," said Souvandy Phommaly, Deputy Secretary of the Town Party Committee and Chairman of the Luang Prabang People's Administrative Committee, "we only have 7,000 hectares of flat land suitable for irrigation. We mobilize the people for the building of canals and water reservoirs with the authorities providing the cement and the instruments. It is mainly on this land that we are setting up cooperatives, of which there already are 53 cultivating about half of the arable area. Of course, things are not running smoothly everywhere: private proprietary feeling is strong and our cadres have only begun to gain experience. We also have difficulties in distributing produce in the cooperatives. The basic principle is, of course, distribution according to work. But we have families with many children and old folks and few able-bodied people, so we have to share with them. Moreover, a share of the crop goes to those who have given land and draught animals to the cooperative. We still get some curious cases: there is a cooperative with a population of 400 dependents and 90 able-bodied people and only five hectares of arable land. But we analyze our mistakes, study the party's policy, and go on with our work."

Most of the population grows food crops, chiefly rice, on burned-over clearings. Of course, there is a shortage of rice and this means that in time the people will gradually have to change their way of life.

Naturally, there is no question of coercion being used to speed up changes. People have to be persuaded. One of the most effective ways lies in promoting education and health. As everywhere else in the country this receives the closest attention of the provincial party organization and the authorities.

Prior to the victory of the national-democratic revolution there was only one elementary school in Luang Prabang province. Today there are 535. In addition, there are 15 middle and three secondary schools. But the province has more than a thousand villages, and this means that in the highlands there are cases of one school serving several scattered villages. Also, difficulties are encountered in getting moutain folk to send their children to school. There seems to be an adequate number of teachers. But in remote areas it is not rare for one teacher to have 300 pupils. In addition, he has the important task of wiping out illiteracy among adults.

There was not a single hospital in the province. Today a modern hospital is functioning in Luang Prabang and there is a hospital in each of the nine districts. True, at present there are only five trained doctors and about ten paramedics. But this year a medical school was opened in the town. Areas situated far from hospitals or medical aid facilities are toured by "itinerant" (as they are called locally) doctors and paramedics.

Industry is practically non-existent in this province. There are a few primitive enterprises, notably enterprises manufacturing textiles. The hydropower station seven kilometers from the town has a capacity of only 1,000 kw, and in the dry season the daily power output drops to 300 kw.

But in Luang Prabang province changes are being put into effect in spite of difficulties. They are also to be seen in the town, whose population is increasingly engaging in socially useful, including collective, work (for instance, an irrigation canal a kilometer and a half long has been dug by joint effort). The royal palace is symbolic of these changes: it is now a museum.

As everywhere else, all the work in the province is directed by the party: there is a 10-member provincial committee, while in the districts the committees consist of from three to five members. They are helped by mass organizations. There is at least one party member in every administrative committee — from top to bottom. Souvandy Phommaly, 65, is himself a veteran revolutionary, having been in the revolutionary struggle since 1945, mostly in his native province of Luang Prabang.

I asked him about what was being done in the way of security and maintaining law and order. A large part of the population (over 10 per cent) belongs to the Lao Sung ethnic group, chiefly the Meo tribe. The very word "Meo" speaks of much — during the U.S. aggression against Laos it was constantly on the lips of the imperialist media: it was alleged that the Meo were opposed to the revolution. The CIA went so far as to form and fund a private Meo army under the command of the "Black General" Vang Pao. To this day the same media contend that the Meo are still resisting the revolutionary power, that Vang Pao controls much of Northern Laos, and that the government is using Vietnamese troops and chemical weapons against the Meo.

"In the province," Souvandy Phommaly replied, "we have no problem of security and law and order. During the first years after the victory of the revolution the Vang Pao gangs did indeed infest the roads. Even today small gangs infiltrate from Thailand, and we wipe them out ourselves — without toxic gases. As regards the Meo — we call them Hmong[3] (for a Laotian the word Meo is a term of disparagement) — they merit special attention. But before talking about them I should like you to see how they live for yourself."

A break with the past

As we drew nearer, the bald spots seen in the mountains from our plane indeed turned out to be fields dotted with burnt tree-stumps, and people were cultivating them, seeming to cling to the mountain-side. The angle of the incline is up to 70° and people move with the aid of wooden ladders. Boun Leuth, member of the provincial People's Administrative Committee, related that in order to restrict the spread of clearings in the mountains each family is permitted to burn not more than three fields. After collecting the harvest from the first field it returns to it after two years. By that time the field is covered with brush and grass, and fire again fertilizes the soil.

After a short stop on the road — which has a precipice on one side and a sheer wall of stone on the other — we drove to the village of Kiou Kacham, Xieng Ngeon district, some 70 kilometers from Luang Prabang. The mountains grew taller, and more and more frequently we saw people in the road-side villages dressed in traditional black, red, and blue Meo clothes. Ahead of us was a round mountain peak resembling a shaved head and on it sat a somewhat larger village.

In Kiou Kacham there are 100 families — roughly 600 people altogether. Of these, 19 families are of the nation's basic nationality, Lao Loum, and the rest are Meo. They live on different sides of the road, but it was obvious that the relations between them are friendly. The school has 100 pupils, who mix freely.

In the village our guide was Xeu Tong, the manager (and sole employee) of the local state shop. The chairman of the village committee was away on business. Xeu Tong is 24 and he was born in these parts. He studied at secondary school in Luang Prabang for two years, went home for the holidays, and his fellow-villagers asked him to remain. He has been working here since 1976, likes his job, and knows that he is trusted.

That day the shop was selling fabrics. These are brought once a fortnight and sold under a norm, which allows every person to buy two meters of red material and three meters of black every year. More blue material may be bought, depending on how much is received. The women crowding around the shop were at first shy, but soon dropped their shyness and willingly showed us their purchases. The importance of this supply of fabrics became apparent at once. First, by wearing national costumes the Meo assert their identity, as it were. Second, it is cold. Although this was the height of the hot season and midday, one needed to wear something warm in the shade — here unlike the plain where the

temperature soars to 40°C, light clothing is not enough.

The Meo homes contain a minimum of simple utensils. The household yields hardly any income. The people raise livestock, but their main occupation is farming on cleared plots. They help each other to clear the fields — this is called "exchanging labor:" it is hard for a family to cope with the work single-handed. Moreover, the village has several collective fields: part of the produce of these fields goes to the state and the rest to people incapable of work (old people living by themselves, orphans, and so on).

Why do the people not move to the valley below? Even a boy of 15, who has gone to school and knows that on the valley's irrigated land the rice crop is larger and more money is earned, will reply that the Meo are used to living in the mountains.

My last question was what the people thought of Vang Pao. Xeu Tong shrugged, replying that formerly there were some who followed Vang Pao. But these had left the village and it is believed that they were now living abroad. The remaining villagers "do not like Vang Pao," he said.

Time and effort will unquestionably be needed to draw the Meo into the new life. But for me a symbolic memory of my visit to the village of Kiou Kacham will remain the exercise-book that I saw in the hands of a boy dressed in the traditional Meo costume: on the cover was the republic's coat-of-arms and at the back was the multiplication table.

"The Meo enjoy all civil rights and are not subjected to any harassment or discrimination whatever in their day-to-day life," Souvandy Phommaly said. "This is the cardinal principle of the party's nationalities policy, and it is extremely important in a country with nearly 70 ethnic groups. National traditions and prejudices are very strong, of course. For instance, only one per cent of the Meo have gone to live in the valleys: in the old days the French colonialists told them that if they went to the valleys they would die. We sometimes have misunderstandings. For instance, on New Year's day (in the month of April in Laos) the Meo come to buy fabrics in Luang Prabang from remote villages that have no shops. It sometimes happens that a person wants to buy five meters each of red and black fabric. However, we have a norm. But he is proud and says that if he is not allowed to buy what he asks he will not buy anything at all. He then goes to the forest, saying that he cannot remain in his village for the New Year without new clothes when everybody else wears rich costumes. Peking propaganda magnifies incidents of this kind, alleging that such persons go to the forest to fight our government.

"You cannot get around prejudices by coercion — pressure will only spoil things," Souvandy Phommaly continued. "We therefore explain the party's policy to the Meo patiently and try to persuade them. Our main weapon is truth. The results are visible. Progressive sentiments are spreading among the Meo and some are joining the National Construction Front (Neo Lao Sang Sat) and the party. People are gradually giving up their nomadic way of life and settling in villages. This allows building schools and drawing our health system closer to the population. Although they still practise slash-and-burn cultivation we have been able to stop the expansion of clearings. In many villages the Meo are themselves forming security groups. The problem of Vang Pao exists only insofar as it is linked to intrigues from without."

In the first place Vang Pao is the head of a clan uniting everybody of the name Vang. Fidelity to the clan and its chief and at the same time the venality of Vang Pao himself were used by the enemies of revolutionary Laos from the outset. First by the CIA and now by Peking, which has undertaken the upkeep of Vang Pao's "army" and of reactionaries like the former general Kong Le, who had fled Laos.

"Generally speaking, the Chinese began their subversive activities among the Meo long ago," Souvandy Phommaly said. "To this end they have used the military-engineering units that built strategic roads in the north of Laos. These roads are spearheaded at the south of our country and also run toward the frontiers of Vietnam and Thailand. As a matter of fact, one of these roads was built here, in Luang Prabang. When the Chinese stepped up their hostile activity against our republic after their aggression in Vietnam, we demanded the cessation of this building and the evacuation of the builders. Peking propaganda has long been taking advantage of the fact that a large proportion of the Meo live in China (they live also in Vietnam, Thailand and Burma), claiming that all Meo are Chinese. The Peking intelligence service, which is now working hand in glove with the CIA, has prompted the idea of forming a 'united Meo kingdom' and set up bases in China's Yunnan Province for military infiltration into our country. Small groups of bandits infiltrate from Yunnan and also from the remaining camps in Thailand. As I have already said, we are quite capable of coping with them ourselves. They are not a threat. As regards the Vietnamese troops, they are here in accordance with the treaty between Laos and Vietnam to defend our country against the real danger from the north, from the Peking hegemonists, who regard Laos as one of their 'lost territories.' They have large armed forces along our frontiers, ceaselessly commit acts of provocation, intrude into our territory, and plan aggression and conquest. Our people, as was noted by Kaysone Phomvihane, General Secretary of our Party's CC, stand shoulder to shoulder with the fraternal Vietnamese and Kampuchean peoples in the forefront of the struggle against Peking's expansionist, great-power hegemonistic ambitions in Asia."

All Laotian comrades I talked to pointed out that their country's successes are still modest. The party said Kaysone Phomvihane, "is only beginning to apply the laws of the socialist revolution in practice." Laos is still deep in quest, but it is guided by the sure compass of Marxist-Leninist theory. The experience of creatively applying the principles of that theory for the building of socialism in a backward country is of unquestioned interest for other

Asian and African countries, which are conducting a similar quest under the leadership of their Marxist-Leninist or revolutionary-democratic parties.

There is one more observation I should like to make. It comes to mind again and again after you leave this lovely country, known from ancient times as the Land of a Million Elephants. I am referring to the fact that while Laotian builders of the new society are modest they are full of calm optimism, which stems from an awareness of their own strength. Every step forward, every new advance makes people confident that there will be no retreat. Laos has broken with the past and is paving the way for the future.

1. The Laotian comrades estimate that in 1985 their country will have about 4,230,000 inhabitants, from whom between 1,400,000 and 1,600,000 tons of rice will be needed annually.

2. The nation has a territory of over 23 million hectares, of which 19 million are forested. On eight million hectares this forest was destroyed, either by war or as a result of clearing land for farming by cutting and burning the vegetation. Only 18 per cent of the territory is flatland (chiefly in the south), the rest is mountainous.

3. In special literature the name Hmong is customarily used in reference to nationalities belonging to a different ethnic-cultural group — Lao Teng. To avoid confusion we shall abide by the name Meo used in the international press.

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facts and figures

For millions of readers

THE COMMUNIST PRESS TODAY

The first issue of the newspaper *Iskra* (The Spark), which was founded and edited by Lenin, appeared in December 1900, 80 years ago. It continued and elaborated the traditions of the revolutionary press founded by Marx in *Die Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. *Iskra* simultaneously became the revolutionaries' organ of the press responding to all the needs of the working masses, helping to shape their consciousness toward socialism, and a center uniting the revolutionaries in a militant party with a Marxist-Leninist program and tactics in the struggle.

Since then the international communist and working-class movement, and with it its press, which has carried on and developed *Iskra's* traditions, have traveled a long way. What is the communist press today? The *WMR* Information Department has prepared a short report on the periodicals of a number of fraternal parties.

The press of the *Communist Party of the Soviet Union* directly inherited the traditions of Lenin's *Iskra*. Loyalty to Lenin's principles of the party spirit and popularity, firmness and consistency in standing up for the communist ideals and the cause of peace, those are the qualities which have won for the Soviet party press high authority among a broad readership, which determine its effective influence on the hearts and minds of men, and make it a true rostrum of millions.

Pravda, the newspaper founded by Lenin on May 5, 1912, an organ of the Central Committee of the CPSU, has a daily printing of over 10.5 million copies. *Sovetskaya Rossiya* is an organ of the CPSU CC, which also publishes the mass papers *Selskaya Zhizn*, *Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya*, *Sovetskaya Kultura* and *Ekonomicheskaya Gazeta*. *Kommunist*, a theoretical and political journal of the CPSU Central Committee (about 900,000 copies), was first published in 1924. The CPSU Central Committee also publishes the journal *Partiinaya Zhizn* (about 1 million), *Politicheskoye Samoobrazovanie* (over 2.4 million) and *Agitator* (over 1.5 million).

In the union republics, newspapers and journals of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the respective republics are published in the national and Russian languages; in the territories, regions and areas there are territorial, regional and area newspapers; and in the districts and some cities, district and city newspapers. On the whole, nearly 8,000 newspapers are published in the USSR in 57 languages of its peoples with a total printing of 170 million copies and almost 5,000 journals and magazines with an annual printing of nearly 3.5 billion copies.

The press of the *communist and workers' parties in the other socialist countries* has become a truly collective propagandist, agitator and organizer of the masses in building the new society.

Rabotnichesko Delo, the central organ of the *Bulgarian Communist Party*, which was founded in 1897, has a circulation of 800,000 copies. Other BCP CC publications are: *Ikonomicheski Zhivot* (30,000). *Novo Vreme*, a theoretical organ of the

BCP CC, founded in 1897, has circulation of over 33,400 copies. The BCP CC also publishes the journals *Partien Zhivot, Politicheska Prosveta* and *Politicheska Agitatsia.*

The daily Rude Pravo, organ of the CC of the *Communist Party of Czechoslovakia,* was founded in 1920 and has a circulation of 800,000 (on Saturdays 1.3 million). The CPCz Central Committee has a theoretical and political monthly, *Nova Mysl,* a fortnightly, *Zivot Strany,* and the weeklies *Tribuna* and *Tvorba.* The CC of the CP Slovakia publishes the newspapers *Pravda* (in Slovak) and *Uj Szo* (in Hungarian). The party's regional and district committees have their own newspapers.

The Central Committee of the *Socialist Unity Party of Germany* publishes *Neues Deutschland,* which has a circulation of 1.1 million. The weekly *Neue Deutsche Bauernzeitung* (200,000) is also an organ of the SUPG CC. *Einheit,* the party's journal on the theory and practice of scientific socialism, has a circulation of 250,000. The journal on the questions of party life, *Neuer Weg,* has a printing of over 200,000 copies. Daily newspapers, organs of the party's district committees, are published in all the districts.

Nepszabadsag, the central organ of the *Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party,* founded in 1942, has a circulation of 722,000 copies (the Sunday issue — 821,000); and *Tarsadalmi Szemle,* a political and theoretical monthly of the HSWP, 50,000. The Budapest City Committee of the HSWP publishes an evening newspaper *Esti Hirlap,* and regional party committees have their own newspapers. There is also a monthly journal of the HSWP CC *Partelet.*

Trybuna Ludu, organ of the Central Committee of the *Polish United Workers' Party,* was started in 1948, and has a circulation of over 1 million. *Nowe Drogi,* the party's theoretical and political monthly, was first published in 1947 and has a circulation of 81,000; the journal *Zycie Partii* (about 95,000), another PUWP CC organ, has appeared since 1949; the PUWP CC also publishes the newspaper *Chlopska Droga* (130,000), and the journals *Zagadnienia i Materialy* (about 125,000) and *Ideologia i Polityka* (about 80,000). The total printing of all the other periodicals published by the party comes to over 3.6 million copies.

The newspaper *Scinteia,* organ of the CC of the *Romanian Communist Party,* founded in 1931, has a circulation of 1,831,000. *Era socialista,* a theoretical and socio-political journal of the RCP CC, has a circulation of 57,000. The RCP CC also publishes the journal *Munca de partid* (250,000). Municipal and district party committees publish 56 newspapers and journals in Bucharest and 39 districts.

The Central Committee of the *Communist Party of Vietnam* publishes two central periodicals: the daily *Nhan Dan,* founded in 1951, has a circulation of 350,000 and the monthly *Cong San,* founded in 1955 — 70,000. In all the cities and provinces of the country, regional party organizations regularly publish their own periodicals.

The Communist Party of Cuba, the Korean Party of Labor, the People's Revolutionary Party of Laos, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia have their own mass circulation periodicals.

The press is the sharpest weapon of the *communist and workers' parties in the non-socialist part of the world.* There public opinion is being constantly and extensively bombarded by the bourgeois press, so that the communist press, frequently persecuted by reaction, carries the truth to the masses, mobilizing them in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism. In some countries, the communists have set up a ramified and mass circulation party press, in others, CP publications are issued in relatively small printings, and in still others, the communist press has to work deep in the underground. But everywhere, the communists' printed word is a considerable political force. The weight and influence of communist publications are determined by their living contacts with the working masses, whose interests they defend.

The total printing of the newspapers published by communist and workers' parties in the non-socialist part of the world comes to more than 10 million copies. Young communists' newspapers have a total printing of over 1.1 million copies.

The following facts and figures testify to the scale on which the communist press has been developed in these countries.

The Communist Party of Austria publishes the newspaper *Volksstimme* which has a circulation of 40,000 (80,000 on Saturdays). It also has the journal *Weg und Ziel* (3,000) and a number of other newspapers and journals. Communist young people in Austria publish the journal *Explosiv.*

Drapeau Rouge, the newspaper of the *Communist Party of Belgium,* has an average circulation of 10,000. The CP Belgium also publishes the weekly *De Rode Vaan* (7,000-8,000) and the journals *Cahiers Marxistes* and *Vlaams Marxistisch Tijdschrift.*

The total circulation of the periodicals published by the *Communist Party of Canada* — the weekly *Canadian Tribune* (central organ), the bi-monthly *Combat* (organ of the CP Quebec), the weekly *Pacific Tribune* (organ of the Party Committee of the province of British Columbia), and the journal *Communist Viewpoint* (theoretical and political organ of the CP Canada) — comes to 20,000 copies. The communists also cooperate with the editorial boards of the progressive weeklies published for various ethnic communities in Canada.

The central organ of the *Communist Party of Colombia,* the daily *Voz Proletaria,* has a circulation of over 40,000. The party's theoretical journal, *Documentos Politicos,* has a printing of roughly 10,000.

The *People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica* publishes a weekly *Libertad* (about 25,000) and a monthly theoretical journal, *Trabajo.*

The *Communist Party of Denmark* publishes the newspaper *Land og Folk* with a circulation of 14,000 (on Saturdays up to 20,000) and the journal *Tiden.*

The central organ of the *Dominican Communist Party*, the newspaper *Hablan los comunistas* has a circulation of 16,000. The party also publishes the theoretical journal *Impacto Socialista*.

The newspaper *Kansan uutiset*, which is published jointly by the Finnish People's Democratic League and the *Communist Party of Finland*, has a circulation of over 56,000. The CP Finland also publishes the monthly *Kommunisti* (3,500) and five district newspapers with a total printing of 72,400.

The publications of the *French Communist Party* — the daily *L'Humanité* and *L'Humanité Dimanche*, its Sunday edition — have a large circulation. The party publishes three dailies —*La Marseillaise, Liberté* and *Echo du Centre* — in some districts of the country, while the FCP federations have more than 20 weeklies. The party publishes the journals *Cahiers du Communisme* (theoretical organ), *Economie et Politique*, and special journal-type editions entitled *Revolution, La Terre, Action, Alliance, L'Ecole et la Nation, Bonjour, Femme aujourd'hui et demain*. The Young Communist movement publishes the journal *Avant-garde*.

The newspaper of the *German Communist Party Unzere Zeit* comes out daily with a circulation of up to 60,000. Its special editions run to hundreds of thousands of copies. The GCP Board publishes the journal *Praxis*. Besides, there are monthly publications of factory, higher-school and urban district newspapers with a fairly large total printing.

Rizospastis, the central organ of the *Communist Party of Greece*, has a circulation of 35,000-40,000, and its theoretical journal *Kommunistiki Epitheorici*, 32,000. The organ of the Central Council of the Young Communists of Greece has a weekly *Odigitis* (50,000).

The *Communist Party of Honduras* publishes the weekly newspaper *Patria* (about 5,000) and the theoretical journal *Trabajo* (about 1,000 copies).

Jan Yug, the newspaper of the *Communist Party of India*, has a circulation of 10,000, the weeklies *New Age* and *Hayat*, respectively, 16,000 and 10,000. The CP India also publishes the journal *Party Life* and up to 30 newspapers and journals in various states in local languages, a total of 250,000 copies. The All-India Youth Federation issues the newspaper *Youth LIfe* (about 40,000).

The *Italian Communist Party* has an extensive press network. Its central organ, the daily *Unita*, has a circulation of 350,000 copies (600,000 on Sundays and up to 1 million on broad-circulation days), the weekly theoretical journal *Rinascita*, 80,000-100,000, the journal *Critica Marxista*, 9,000. It also has special journals on economics, politics, history and school education. Regional committees of the ICP have fortnightly or monthly journals. Other periodicals published by provincial and other party organizations have a total printing of over 150,000.

The *Communist Party of Japan* publishes the daily *Akahata* and its weekly publications in a total printing of 3,530,000 copies. The monthly *Zen ei* (100,000 copies) is the party CC's central theoretical organ. In addition, the party publishes the journals *Gakushu, Kurashito Seiji, Joseino hiroba, Sekai Seiji, Riron seisaku* and others.

Al-Nida, the newspaper of the *Lebanese Communist Party*, has a circulation of 10,000, and its Sunday edition *Nida al-Ahad*, 25,000. The party publishes the theoretical, literary and artistic journal Al-Tariq (10,000), and the weeklies *Al-Thaqafa al-wataniya, Al-Akhbar* and several other publications.

The *People's Party of Panama* publishes the newspaper *Unidad* (6,000) which appears twice a month, the newspaper *Linea*, and the theoretical journal *Sintesis* (1,500).

The *Peruvian Communist Party's* weekly *Unidad* has a circulation of about 15,000.

The organ of the *Portuguese Communist Party, Avante!*, appears in 75,000 copies. The party bulletin on theoretical and organizational matters *Militante* has a circulation of 30,000. The Portuguese Communist Youth Organization publishes the newspaper *Juventude* and the journal *Linha Geral*.

The daily *Mundo Obrero* (86,000) and the journal *Nuestra Bandera*, organs of the *Communist Party of Spain*, have a large circulation. In addition, the CP Spain publishes a number of local newspapers.

The *Daily World*, the newspaper of the *CPUSA* has a circulation of 20,000 (with special issues coming to more than 80,000 copies). It has a weekend supplement entitled *World Magazine. Political Affairs*, the party's theoretical journal, has over 7,000 subscribers. The party also publishes the journals *Black Liberation Journal* and *Jewish Affairs*. On the west coast of the United States, it publishes the weekly *People's World*.

The CC of the *Communist Party of Venezuela* publishes the weekly *Tribuna Popular* with a circulation of 20,000 (special issues up to 75,000).

The communist press of Argentina, Cyprus, Ecuador, Great Britain, Guyana, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Luxembourg, Morocco, the Netherlands, Nicaragua, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Syria, and a number of other countries has an active role to play in the life and activity of its parties.

Despite the savage reprisals by reaction and the sway of anti-communism, the Communist Party of Chile has continued clandestinely to publish and circulate its periodicals. *El Siglo*, the party's central organ, resumed publication in January 1980. Earlier on, the newspaper *Unidad Antifascista* was published every fortnight. The party publishes the politico-theoretical journal *Principios* once every two months. Each regional committee of the party publishes its own newspaper. The young communist publication, the newspaper *Liberation*, appears twice a month.

The newspaper *Carta*, the organ of the *Communist Party of Uruguay*, is published clandestinely. There are periodical publications of various booklets and other party material. The *Boletin del PCU* and the theoretical journal *Estudios* (10,000 copies) are published abroad.

The central organ of the *Communist Party of Tur-*

key, the newspaper *Atilim*, which was founded in 1974, appears once a month and is broadly circulated in clandestine conditions.

The press of the Communists of Guatemala, Haiti, Paraguay, South Africa and a number of other countries has continued to be active in the complicated conditions of the underground.

Lenin's *Iskra*, the first proletarian newspaper of the new type, was founded and worked for the sake of the future. The communist press today, working successfully in the forefront of the fraternal parties' activity, is carrying on a struggle for the future, for the triumph of the ideals of democracy, peace and socialism.

Is there a Soviet threat? Yes! It is a threat to the policy of war

Bourgeois propaganda has worked ever harder to try to scare public opinion with the myth of a "Soviet threat," claiming that "Moscow is frustrating détente." The purpose of the campaign, started in the United States and other NATO countries, is to spread fear in order to make the people accept the growth of military expenditures. One has to admit that this imperialist propaganda has worked, exerting an influence on public opinion and helping in the political, material and psychological preparation of war. Sean MacBride, prominent public leader and winner of the international Lenin Prize "For Strengthening Peace Among Nations" and of the Nobel Peace Prize, is quite right when he says that "the militaristic circles and the military-industrial complex, bringing the mass media under their sway, seek to intimidate the population with inventions about a threat on the part of a 'potential enemy' for the sole purpose of securing an increase in military expenditures and ensuring their self-seeking interests."*

Let us ask a few questions. Can peace be threatened by someone who unilaterally pulls back his troops from forward-defense positions? Or someone who has no military bases on foreign territories? Can peace be threatened by someone who makes one proposal after another for ending the arms race, and for prohibiting the development of new means of warfare? Or someone who over the past 35 years has put forward over 100 concrete peace initiatives, ranging from individual measures for banning atomic and then also thermonuclear weapons, to general and complete disarmament?

That the Soviet Union has invariably and firmly pursued a policy of peace will be seen very well from its foreign-policy initiatives since the Helsinki Conference. Let us recall these acts.

1975

At the 30th UN General Assembly (September 16-December 17), the Soviet Union put forward two proposals: *"On the Prohibition of the Development and Manufacture of New Types of Mass Destruction Weapons and New Systems of Such Weapons"* and *"On the Conclusion of a Treaty on the Complete and General Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons Tests."*

The former proposal stemmed from the fact that the acceleration of scientific and technological progress makes it quite possible that fundamentally new types of mass destruction weapons will emerge in the near future.

The meaning of the latter proposal is that every signatory should undertake to ban, prevent and refrain from staging any nuclear weapons tests in any place under its jurisdiction or control, in any environment: in the atmosphere, in outer space, underwater or underground.

The prohibition did not apply to underground nuclear blasts for peaceful purposes. Such blasts could be staged in accordance with Article V of the Treaty on the Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, for non-nuclear states, and in accordance with a special agreement that would be framed as soon as possible, for the nuclear powers.

1976

At the 31st UN General Assembly (September 21-December 22) the Soviet Union tabled a proposal *"On the Conclusion of a Universal Treaty on the Non-use of Force in International Relations"* and presented a draft of such a treaty. Its basic purpose is to make the principle of the non-use of force, which is written into the UN Charter, an organic component of the policy of all states and an effective law of international life. In accordance with the draft, the use both of nuclear weapons and of conventional arms should be completely excluded from relations between states. At the same time, the draft treaty, proceeding from the generally accepted rules of international law, did not refer to the peoples' inalienable right to struggle for their social emancipation and national liberation.

The Soviet Union's second initiative at the 31st General Assembly was a *Memorandum on Ending the Arms Race and on Disarmament*. It contained an in-depth analysis of the state of the struggle of the peoples of the world to limit the arms race, and for disarmament, outlined the most important problems in this field, and considered in detail the ways and means of solving them. It was emphasized that the USSR was prepared to reach an understanding on the most radical disarmament measures, including general and complete disarmament, on a reciprocal dissolution of the military-political

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*Le Soir, November 21, 1979.

alignments confronting each other or, for a start, their military organizations.

The memorandum designated the following as the key lines for agreed action: *an end to the nuclear arms race, a reduction and subsequent elimination of nuclear weapons, and prohibition of their testing; a strengthening of the nuclear weapons nonproliferation regime; prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons; prohibition of the development of new types and new systems of mass destruction weapons; a reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments; formation of peace zones in the Indian Ocean and other regions; a reduction of military budgets.*

Together with the other socialist-community countries, signatories of the Warsaw Treaty, the USSR put forward in *November 1976* a proposal that the Helsinki states should sign a treaty on the non-first use of nuclear weapons against each other, and suspend the operation of the Articles of the Warsaw Treaty and the North Atlantic Treaty allowing the enlargement of their membership.

1977

At the 32nd UN General Assembly (September 20-December 12) the Soviet Union proposed the consideration of the important and urgent matter: *"On Deepening and Consolidating International Détente and Averting the Danger of Nuclear War,"* and presented a draft "Declaration on Deepening and Consolidating International Détente" and a draft resolution "On Averting the Danger of Nuclear War."

The former document contained a call on the states to ensure the earliest peaceful settlement of conflict situations and a lowering of military confrontation, elimination of the survivals of the colonial system, racism and apartheid, and a remodelling of international economic relations on a fair and democratic basis.

The latter document emphasized the imperative need of establishing relations between all the states, above all nuclear states, that would reduce and ultimately remove the danger of nuclear war.

At the same session, the USSR tabled yet another important proposal: alongside the prohibition of all nuclear weapons tests for a definite period, *a moratorium on nuclear blasts for peaceful purposes,* and also an understanding with the United States and Britain *not to carry out underground nuclear weapons tests for a definite time.*

1978

At the Special Session of the UN General Assembly devoted to disarmament (May 23-June 30) the USSR delegation tabled a package of proposals *"On Practical Ways of Ending the Arms Race."* They provided for the following:

First. Direction of the main efforts of all the states to halting and then to reversing the nuclear arms race by refraining from the manufacture of nuclear weapons and gradually reducing their stockpiles to the point of their complete elimination. Adoption by the session of a decision in principle on negotiations on nuclear disarmament and also on the non-use of force, together with a definition of the procedure for preparing the negotiations and their opening date.

Second. Prevention of the spread of nuclear weapons; solution of the problem of the non-use of these weapons against non-nuclear states; extension of international cooperation in the exploration of new sources and types of energy not involving a growth of the nuclear danger.

Third. Solution of the problem of non-deployment of nuclear weapons on the territory of states where there are no such weapons at the present time.

Fourth. Prohibition of the development of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction, and international action for finally preventing the emergence and production of neutron weapons.

Fifth. The earliest successsul conclusion of the negotiations on ending the arms race being carried on, on a bilateral, regional and international level.

Sixth. Strengthening of the effective international treaties and agreements aimed to limit the arms race, and a call on UN member-states which have not acceded to them to do so.

Seventh. Reduction of military budgets by agreement among the states with the greatest economic and military potentials, including all the permanent members of the Security Council, on concrete measures of reduction in absolute terms, instead of the percentage cuts to which a number of countries have objected with reference to the incomparability of military budgets.

In *November 1978,* the Soviet Union, together with other Warsaw Treaty countries, proposed a package of measures in the field of military détente:

— conclusion of a Universal Treaty on the Non-Use of Force in International Relations, which would provide for a commitment by all the states to repudiate the threat or use of force in any form or manifestation, including prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons;

— scrupulous realization by all the Helsinki countries of their commitment not to resort to the threat or use of force in their relations with each other;

— implementation of the proposal that all the Helsinki countries should undertake not to be the first to use nuclear weapons against each other, that the NATO and the Warsaw Treaty countries should not enlarge their membership, that the scale of military exercises by both sides in Europe should be limited to 50,000-60,000 men, and that the confidence-building measures agreed at Helsinki should be extended to the Mediterranean area.

At the 33rd UN General Assembly (September 19-December 21, 1978, January 15-29, 1979) the USSR delegation proposed a discussion of the question *"On the Conclusion of an International Convention on Strengthening Guarantees of the Security of Non-Nuclear States."* It also put before the General Assembly a draft convention. This provided for a commitment by the signatories of a future agreement not to use nuclear weapons or to

threaten to use them against the non-nuclear signatories of the Convention which have refused to manufacture or acquire such weapons and which do not have any such weapons on their territory.

The USSR also tabled another proposal at that session: *on the non-siting of nuclear weapons on the territory of states which do not have such weapons at the present time.* The solution of this problem, the Soviet Union believes, should assume the form of an international understanding based on a commitment by the nuclear powers not to site nuclear weapons on territories now free of them. At the same time, the intention of the non-nuclear countries to refrain from any step leading to the appearance of nuclear weapons on their territory would be put on record.

1979

The Soviet Union and its Warsaw Treaty allies launched an exceptionally large-scale act in *October 1979*. This was a package of proposals for deepening the process of international détente as set forth in Leonid Brezhnev's speech in Berlin on October 6. In brief, these are as follows. First, in contrast to the plans of the United States and NATO to deploy new types of U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe, the USSR expressed its readiness to reduce, from the present level, the quanitity of medium-range nuclear weapons deployed in its western regions, provided NATO does not build up its "Eurostrategic weapons." Second, to carry the Vienna talks on troop and arms cuts in Central Europe out of its impasse, the USSR decided unilaterally, within the course of a year, to withdraw from the territory of the GDR 20,000 military personnel, 1,000 tanks and also a certain quantity of other military hardware. The USSR has already done so. Third, the Soviet Union made proposals for a further extension of confidence-building measures in Europe. The USSR is prepared to reach an understanding to have the preliminary notification about large-scale military exercises of ground forces, as provided by the Helsinki Final Act, made over a longer period, and not from the level of 25,000 men as now, but from a level of 20,000 men. The Soviet Union is also prepared — on the principles of reciprocity — not to stage any military exercises involving over 40,000-50,000 men.

Leonid Brezhnev's speech also contained another proposal: notification well in advance not only about military exercises in the region designated by the Helsinki Act, but also of any movement by ground forces numbering over 20,000.

Desiring to give an impetus to the Vienna talks on arms and troop cuts in Central Europe, the socialist countries put forward in *June 1979* a new package of proposals which, in particular, provide for troop cuts to equal collective levels by 700,000 men for the NATO and the Warsaw Treaty countries.

At the 34th UN General Assembly (September 18, 1979-January 7, 1980) the Soviet Union proposed the inclusion on the agenda of the question of "*On the Inadmissibility of the Policy of Hegemonism in International Relations,*" and tabled a draft resolution for its consideration.

The thrust of this proposal is that no state or group of states, whatever the cicumstances or motives, should lay claim to hegemony in international affairs, or seek to occupy a dominant position either in the world as a whole or in this or that region.

1980

Among the major foreign-policy acts of 1980, there was the initiative in *May* on the part of the Soviet Union together with the other Warsaw Treaty countries on the holding of a summit meeting of the states of all the regions of the world in the near future. Such a meeting could concentrate on the problem of doing away with the hotbeds of international tension and on the prevention of war.

In *July 1980*, the socialist states taking part in the Vienna talks made new important proposals. There was the proposal to reduce U.S. troops by 13,000 and Soviet troops by 20,000 (over and above the contingent already withdrawn unilaterally from the GDR). There was the consent of the socialist states to establish (after both stages of the reduction) a mechanism for maintaining equal and collective levels in the numerical strength of the armed forces of the military-political alignments, NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. None of the countries should have armed forces in Central Europe in excess of 50 per cent of the total collective levels of 900,000 men for each of the military-political alliances.

One must also mention yet another peace initiative of the USSR, namely, the one which Leonid Brezhnev put forward at the Soviet-West German meeting in Moscow in *July 1980*: to discuss simultaneously and in organic connection matters relating both to medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe and to U.S. forward-based nuclear weapons.

At the 35th UN General Assembly, which opened on September 16, the Soviet Union proposed the inclusion on the agenda as an important and urgent matter "*On Some Urgent Measures for Reducing the War Danger*" and presented a draft resolution. This calls for the non-enlargement of the existing military-political groupings and the non-establishment of new ones. It invites all states, the permanent members of the Security Council in the first place and countries linked with them by military agreements, not to increase their armed forces beginning from January 1, 1981. The resolution also calls for stronger guarantees of security for non-nuclear states through the conclusion of a relevant international convention and a solemn declaration on the non-use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states which have no such weapons on their territory. It emphasizes the need for the earliest conclusion of the treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapons tests. To facilitate the attainment of this goal, the Soviet Union invites all the nuclear powers to reach agreement and to refrain from staging any nuclear explosions for one year.

The Soviet delegation at the session also put for-

ward other proposals, including a *Memorandum "For Peace and Disarmament, for Guarantees of International Security,"* which lays special emphasis on limiting the runaway nuclear arms race and the conclusion of an agreement repudiating the use of force in international relations. A draft resolution *"On the Historical Responsibility of States for the Preservation of the Nature of the Earth for Present and Future Generations"* was also put before the session for its consideration. Its purpose is to avert the harmful consequences of the military activity of states for the environment.

From the above facts, every unbiased person will see for himself that the Soviet Union has been working tirelessly to stop the arms race, to eliminate the danger of war, and to strengthen the cause of peace. The facts show that the "Soviet threat" is a threat to the imperialist policy of war, to the policy of wildly stepping up the arms race and increasing international tension. The USSR's "offensive" is a peace offensive which meets the interests of the whole of mankind.

Prepared by the WMR *Information Department*

Clandestine struggle, arrests, battles

Many of our readers have asked us to describe the origins and the most important events in the annals of the communist and working-class movement in various regions of the world, and publish reports, documents and reminiscences by veteran communists.

Accordingly, we open this new section in *WMR* with an account of the way traversed by the Partido Kommunista Ng Pilipinas (PKP), which recently marked its 50th anniversary.

Our party was founded on August 26, 1930, with some help from the Communist Party of the United States of America: at that time our country was a U.S. colony. That date was not an accidental one at all, for it was a reminder of the start of the Philippine revolution of 1896 which was interrupted by U.S. intervention.

In the late 1920s and early 1930s, there was a rapid growth of anti-imperialist attitudes among the Filipino masses, under the influence of the rise in the national-liberation movement in Asia, especially in China and Indonesia, and under the impact of the Great October Revolution. In something like a reminder of the importance of the October Revolution, the PKP was officially launched on its 13th anniversary: November 7, 1930.

These two dates — August 26 and November 7 — reflect the founders' patriotic-internationalist orientation which has been consistently followed by the PKP even during its most difficult periods of struggle.

Most of the founders, led by Crisanto Evangelista of the printers' union, were workers. This group also included peasants and a few middle-class elements, who recognized the leading role of the working class. The founders of the party recognized the leading role of the working class and the need for its alliance with the peasantry. The PKP's first program pledged to continue the unfinished Philippine Revolution of 1896.

In the very first few months, the party asserted itself as a real force. There was a vigorous campaign for membership in the PKP and the associated workers' and peasants' movements, climaxed by a big May Day demonstration. The colonial government responded by arresting top party, trade-union and peasant leaders. They were eventually convicted of the crimes of illegal association (PKP) and sedition. Thus ended the first period of the PKP's legal existence.

The PKP continued its struggle under conditions of illegality, striking deep roots among the peasants of Central Luzon, and also to a lesser degree among workers in Manila. In 1935, the party sent delegates to the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. Upon their return, active efforts were made to achieve closer unity in struggle with the Socialist Party of the Philippines, and this soon culminated in the merger of the SPP and the PKP, which was approved during its Third Congress in 1938. The merged party participated in the elections of 1940, winning numerous local elective positions in Central Luzon, the bulwark of the revolutionary peasant movement.

After the Third Congress, the party conducted a vigorous campaign for greater working-class unity, its closer alliance with the peasant movement and a broader anti-fascist united front.

The invasion of the Philippines by the Japanese militarists in December 1941 found the PKP prepared to meet the new situation which it had anticipated. In no time, it organized the Hukbalahap (Anti-Japanese People's Army), the armed contingent of the AJNUF (Anti-Japanese National United Front), composed of all strata of the population which refused to collaborate with the enemy. Within this Front, the communists carried on a heroic struggle against the invaders, and this greatly enhanced the party's prestige and influence in the country.

Upon the defeat of imperialist Japan, the PKP resumed legal struggles. It reorganized the workers' and peasants' movements and together with other anti-imperialist forces formed the anti-imperialist Democratic Alliance (DA).

In 1946, the PKP participated in the presidential and congressional elections. The victorious pro-U.S. Liberal Party refused to seat the elected DA

representatives. It harassed the revolutionary peasantry who had borne the brunt of the struggle against the Japanese invaders. When peasants refused to surrender their arms, the Liberal government launched a military campaign which lasted for more than a decade. In this period, the Liberal Party and the Nationalist Party alternated in power with U.S. support and continued to resort to armed force in an effort to put down the democratic movement in the country. This was in line with the U.S. imperialist cold-war anti-communist policy.

The defeat of the PKP-led armed struggle resulted in serious losses and temporary demoralization of some of the party cadres. Through the efforts of old members who had escaped arrest, those who remained in and those released from prison and new recruits, the PKP reorganized itself. Workers' and peasants' mass movements were reorganized and new student, youth and women's movements were organized during the 1960s. A united front of all these mass movements and prominent professionals and intellectuals was formed.

During the 1969 elections, the reactionary landlords, Catholic Church hierarchy, Maoists and U.S. monopolies combined against the re-election bid of the incumbent President Marcos. But despite their efforts, Marcos was re-elected. The PKP boycotted the elections and after them launched with fresh force a mass movement against U.S. imperialism, local reaction and Philippine Maoists. The party was also critical of the Marcos regime although it supported the latter's initiatives in establishing relations with socialist countries.

The reactionary forces lost no time in attempting to bring down the newly elected president by staging mass demonstration and demanding his resignation and impeachment. The PKP at first joined the Maoists in taking part in these demonstrations, which were ostensibly aimed against U.S. imperialism. However, the party realized that this was not so, and stopped participating in them. It dissociated itself from such action and carried on an independent struggle aimed mainly against U.S. imperialism, local reaction and the Maoist leadership. In September 1972, President Marcos imposed martial law, arrested his main enemies and outlawed all revolutionary parties and mass movements, including the Communist Party.

Under the most difficult conditions, the PKP held its Sixth Congress in February 1973. The party continued its anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic struggle, and also for its legal existence. It supported some positive features of the program of the "New Society," proclaimed by President Marcos, while exposing its negative aspects.

With the deepening crisis of the world capitalist economy, which adversely affected the Philippine economy, there was a change in the policy of the ruling circles. The Marcos regime realized the dangers of excessive dependence on foreign monopoly capital, and the country was gradually moving toward greater cooperation with the non-aligned countries and the establishment of mutual advantageous relations with socialist countries. The regime also recognized the need for broadening its social basis with which to achieve its agrarian and other social reforms. Accordingly, an agreement was reached with the PKP, recognizing its legality as an organization, as well as the legality of progressive organizations.

After more than a quarter-century of strictly illegal status the PKP reorganized its ranks and mobilized the peasantry in support of agrarian reforms, while opposing its onerous features. Progressive trade unions sought to cooperate with other trade unions, to win them over and to enhance the militancy of the working people.

The Seventh Congress of the PKP was held in July 1977. It defined the main contradiction at the present stage of national development as that between foreign imperialist domination, particularly by the United States, and the patriotic and democratic aspirations of the Filipino people. It is on this basis that the PKP determines and implements class and political alignments.

During its 50 years of struggle, the PKP has adhered to the principles defined by its founders, despite all the difficulties. The Philippine communists will never forget the internationalist assistance given to it by the other communist parties, including the Communist Party of China (until the latter split away from the international communist movement). Together with the other communist parties, the PKP has always taken part in the fight against imperialism, Peking hegemonism and international reaction. Today, our party continues to support the Vietnamese and Kampuchean peoples' struggle, and revolutions in Afghanistan and Iran, and comes out against imperialist and Chinese interference and aggression. It will continue to side with the Soviet Union, the other socialist-community countries, and the national-liberation and working-class movements.

I have no regrets at having spent long years in prison cells. Recalling these hard trials and looking back on the way traversed by our party, I think with emotion and gratitude of my comrades who gave their whole strength and frequently their lives to the cause of national liberation and social emancipation. True to the banner of proletarian internationalism, the Filipino communists, veterans and new generations alike, are carrying on this great cause.

José Lava

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In memory of Luigi Longo

The death has occurred of Luigi Longo, Chairman of the Italian Communist Party, and a prominent leader of the international communist and working-class movement. The heart has ceased to beat of a dedicated fighter for the interests of the working people, an ardent patriot, a convinced democrat and anti-fascist, and a staunch internationalist.

Luigi Longo was born into a peasant family in the north of Italy on March 15, 1900. As a youth, he took the road of revolutionary struggle and joined in the Italian working people's class battles.

The Constituent Congress of the Italian Communist Party met in January 1921, and together with Antonio Gramsci and Palmiro Togliatti, Luigi Longo became one of the founders of the ICP. He subsequently played an important role in the activity of the Communist Party, first in conditions of semi-legality, and later deep in the underground, with constant persecution and repression by the fascist regime.

His staunch revolutionary will was not broken either by arrests or imprisonment. His gift as a mass organizer was increasingly revealed. Luigi Longo worked actively in the ICP's center abroad, and in the governing bodies of the Young Communist International and the Comintern. He was in the front ranks of the volunteers who fought in defense of the Spanish Republic against the armed intervention of international fascism, and was assigned to the responsible posts of political commissar of the 12th International Brigade, and then of inspector-general of the international brigades.

During the Second World War, Luigi Longo was an organizer and leader of the Resistance movement in Italy. After the victory over fascism, he made a big contribution to strengthening the Italian Communist Party, and turning it into a mass party fighting for the triumph of the ideals of peace, democracy and socialism. In 1946, he was elected Deputy General Secretary of the ICP, and after Palmiro Togliatti's death in 1964, its General Secretary. From 1972 to his dying day, he was Chairman of the Italian Communist Party. His work in these leading posts was a model of fidelity to the ideals of communism and dedicated service to the cause of the working class.

Luigi Longo cooperated fruitfully with *World Marxist Review*, repeatedly writing for it and doing a great deal to strengthen the ties between the ICP and the Journal.

The communists of the world will always cherish the radiant memory of Luigi Longo, a remarkable son of the Italian people, and a fiery internationalist revolutionary.

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

Problems of Peace and Socialism

Contents for Volume 23, 1980

(Numbers 1-12)

FEATURES	No.	Page
Arismendi, R. What is and what is not consistent with Leninism	7	8
Ashhab, N. Beating back the drive of imperialism, Zionism and reaction	6	10
Bilen, I. National democratic forces challenge exploitation and repression	2	12
Boychuck, P. Détente: problems and prospects in rallying the masses	12	12
Cissoko, S. Lenin — theorist of the national liberation movement	4	24
Dadoo, Y. New dimensions of international solidarity	1	12
Florakis, C. Our epoch and Lenin's teaching on the new type of party	4	10
For détente and world security	8	10
Gaspar, S. Facing problems of the epoch	3	8
Gierek, E. An important factor of peace and international security	5	3
Hall, G. The course of history is irreversible	7	4
Honecker, E. USSR: the chief force of our community	12	4
Husak, G. Turning point in Czechoslovakia's modern history	5	6
International Scientific Conference in Berlin Joint struggle of the working-class and national liberation movements against imperialism, for social progress	12	16
Kashtan, W. Lenin and the struggle for peace and a better future	4	28
Kervan, K. May Day — trade unions — communists	5	17
Into what are the Pentagon and NATO prodding Europe?	2	3
Klimczak, W., Francis, R. 'Convergence of difficulties' in face of the facts	6	15
Lukanov, A. New lines of socialist integration	11	12
Meeting of European communist and workers' parties	6	3
Mikhailov, S. Lenin and existing socialism	4	14
Mitra, S. Bandung and present-day realities	5	12
Mladenov, P. The peaceful coexistence policy today	1	16
Nemeth, K. What the party expects of executives	11	8
New stage of revolution	3	29
110th anniversary of Lenin's birth		
Communists write and speak about Lenin and his teaching	2	21
Lenin, V.I. The three sources and three component parts of Marxism	1	3
Lenin's legacy and our day	3	16
Lenin's style of work	2	24
On the 110th anniversary of Lenin's birth	2	29
O'Riordan, M. The universality of Lenin	4	19
Pham Van Dong United Vietnam on the road to socialism	12	7
Political Consultative Committee, Warsaw Treaty Organization For lasting peace	7	3
Ponomarev, B. A pact for peace and a pact for aggression	8	3
Razzak, N.A. Solidarity, independence, progress	8	19
Rodriguez, E. Anti-imperialist potential of a continent	2	17
Schröder, K.H. The foreign policy of the working class	7	14
Shevardnadze, E. The CPSU's nationalities policy in the period of developed socialism	1	6
Suslov, M. Lenin and mankind's progress	4	3
Tambo, O. Racism in isolation	3	13
35th anniversary of a historic victory		
Aldridge, J. Memory and duty	5	29
Batov, P. A present-day view of the lessons of World War II	5	21
Vais, P. A look at the experience of the resistance	5	25
To our readers	1	3
	12	3
Tsendenbal, Y. Hallmarks of socialist cooperation	2	7
West, J. Stop the slide to cold war	3	3
WMR Commission on Science, Culture and Sociological Studies. Present-day anti-communism and ways of countering it	6	4
Zarodov, K. Lenin, October, Peace	11	3

THE PARTY		
Bellamy, J. Understanding and winning	8	29
Conference in Havana	6	23
Costa, C. Crucial battles ahead	4	50
Costello, M. Goal: left unity	4	47
Havlin, J. The growing role of the social sciences	6	24
Korom, M. Toward mature socialism	6	20

Larrazabal, R. From analysis to conclusions 12 18
McLennan, G. Left unity: earnest of success 1 21
Merkel, R. Theoretical legacy in revolutionary practice 11 25
Moyev, V. Report at first hand. Greece 3 45
Muhri, F. New points in the CPA program 8 24
Munroe, T. From Marxist study groups to the proletarian vanguard 11 28
New experience 1 24
2 47
4 54
5 35
7 52
11 36
12 21
Nicolas, A. Against the strategy of the monopolies 11 32
Norlund, I. Keynote — renewal 7 50
Paredes, M.R. Central America: the masses are beginning to act 5 38
Preparations for the 26th Congress of the CPSU 8 28
Rybakov, V. Report at first hand. The party goes to the polls 2 41
Saad, P. Our aims and our course 3 41
Schmitt, H. Our strategy and tactics in the class struggle 5 31
Sinuraya, T. The lessons of six decades 6 28

EXCHANGE OF VIEWS

Bogomolov, O. Collective quest for solutions — the fuel and energy problem in the CMEA countries 8 47
Cademartori, J., Colmenares, J.S. Capitalism in Latin America: the general and the specific 11 55
The class approach: the key to the truth 8 41
Dispel the clouds of war 12 27
Energy problems in the capitalist world: roots and results 12 33
Delgado, A., Shulgovsky, A. The historical fortunes of capitalism in Latin America 4 56
Duleimi, N. Ohman, R. The communists and the women's movement 3 61
Gill, K. Technological progress and the crisis of capitalism 6 45
Graber, M. Capitalist rationalization strategy 3 66
In the interests of labor or capital? 1 30
International symposium. The communist view of worker 'participation' 7 27
International theoretical conference The Latin American proletariat and its allies in the anti-imperialist struggle 8 32
Iscaro, R. Concerted action: assurance of success 12 48
Jung, H. Rationalization in the service of capital 1 35
Müller, L. Democratic participation and control — a class demand of the workers 5 42
Namiotkiewicz, W. Foreign-policy aspects of the 'four modernizations' 4 65
The nationalities question in developed capitalist countries 3 52
Perczynski, M. On the conceptions of a new economic order 7 45
Political shifts in the Middle East: roots, factors, trends 2 58
Ramelson, B. The workers take a negative stand on class 'conciliation' 5 46
Rico, J.A. Workers' Commissions: a militant contingent of Spanish labor 4 61
Ruiz, A.D. The class structure of Cuban society 7 24
Sardesai, S.G. The liberation movement and ideology 1 45
Shakhnazarov, G. The science of politics and politics in science 1 40
Soviet-Czechoslovak research group Socialism and science 1 30
Totu, I. Ways to a new world economic order 6 41
Weapon of repression or guarantor of sovereignty? 2 52
Wimmer, E. Against some approaches to the problem of the state 7 40
WMR Commission on Problems of Class Struggle in Developed Capitalist Countries. Devastating Disease 6 32
WMR round table The communists and public opinion 5 50
Zarodov, K. Leninism and the question of creating the political army of the revolution 7 19
Zdravomyslov, A., Lane, D. Mass consciousness: focus of ideological struggle 11 61

VIEWPOINTS

Ashhab, N. The battle for national existence 12 40
Fojtik, J. Existing socialism and its impotent bourgeois critics 3 32
Ghini, C. Some lessons of the Italian elections 8 56
Hatami, H. The verdict is final 11 51
Hentges, P. The first Russian Revolution and the Paris Commune 6 50
Honecker, M. The socialist road and youth 7 60
Karmal, B. The Afghan people will stand firmly on guard of the revolution 4 33

Khavari, A. The anti-imperialist tide in Iran 4 41
Koch, H. The new cultural reality 4 44
Konstantinou, D. Cyprus and the EEC: bitter lessons of association 11 40
Kucera, B. Nuremberg: the tribunal of history remains assembled 8 53
Kruczek, W. Workers' self-management in Poland 1 48
Mahmud, G. Against repression and persecution 6 49
Milshtein, M. The present military-political doctrine of the United States 11 44
O'Flaherty, T. Threat to Irish independence 6 57
Pavlov, I. Why Soviet people do not want war 6 61
Pavlova-Silvanskaya, M. Report at first hand. Benefits of cooperative farming in Mongolia 1 58
Perlo, V. Bourgeois economic theory against the interests of labor 12 44
Ramirez, A. Nicaragua: from armed struggle to construction 1 52
Romero, F. Your letters answered. Once more on the nature of fascism in Latin America 1 54
Rybakov, V. Laos: unassuming routine 12 55
Rybakov, V. The ravages of dogma 8 63
Salim, A. In the dead-end of capitalist orientation 6 53
Soan, B. Who wants to fan the 'Kampuchean question' and why? 1 63
Socialist realities 8 60
Terrorist alliance 11 54
Turf, J. The people versus missiles 7 57
Villalaz, A. Addition of forces: an art 11 49
Vinogradov, V., Salkovsky, O. Anti-crisis policy and the class struggle 2 35
Yahya, A.H. Choice of way 3 37
Yatto, J. For the right to be workers, not slaves 12 51
Zandarowski, Z. Leading force of socialist democracy 2 31

THE PRESS

Adding to the Lenin bookcase 4 70
An author presents his book 1 65
Bahrami, H. Through the prism of revolution 6 63
Bauer, R. An unfading image 5 62
Book reviews 2 65
3 69
11 69
Fortuna, A.H. For an agrarian reform 1 66
Kaminski, L. When culture belongs to the people 7 64
Leon, N. Drawing on Lenin's analysis 4 68
Liu Shaoqi on Chinese foreign policy 7 70
New books 6 71
Pahad, E. Save the freedom fighters 2 67
The party press 7 69
Paso, L. For working-class unity . 6 67
Rahman, M. The mobilizing power of the communist press 7 66
Revolution — questions and answers 7 68
Rzheshevsky, O. Facts of history — against distortions 5 57
Weber, E. Ideas that have gathered strength 6 66
West, J. Focus on industrial workers 6 70
York, H. War hysteria on the Thames 7 68
Yotov, Y. Collected works of Georgi Dimitrov 7 67

FACTS AND FIGURES

The arms race and the developing countries 4 71
For millions of readers 12 61
Is there a Soviet threat? Yes! It is a threat to the policy of war 12 64
Johnstone, M. Combating Trotskyism in Britain today 1 67
Lava, J. Clandestine struggle, arrests, battles 12 67
The non-aligned movement: from Belgrade to Havana 2 67
Notin, A. A people in exile 2 70
Reply to readers 1 71
A revolution of peace and social renewal 11 65
Sudiman, S. September 30: truth and lies 5 70
WMR Commission on Scientific Information and Documents. The benefits of peace 5 64
WMR Information Department On the class battle front 5 68
Diary 6 72

IN MEMORIAM

Geronimo Alvarez 8 72
Luigi Longo 12 69
Michele Rossi 1 47
Josip Broz Tito 6 69
Choju Ugai 5 72

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