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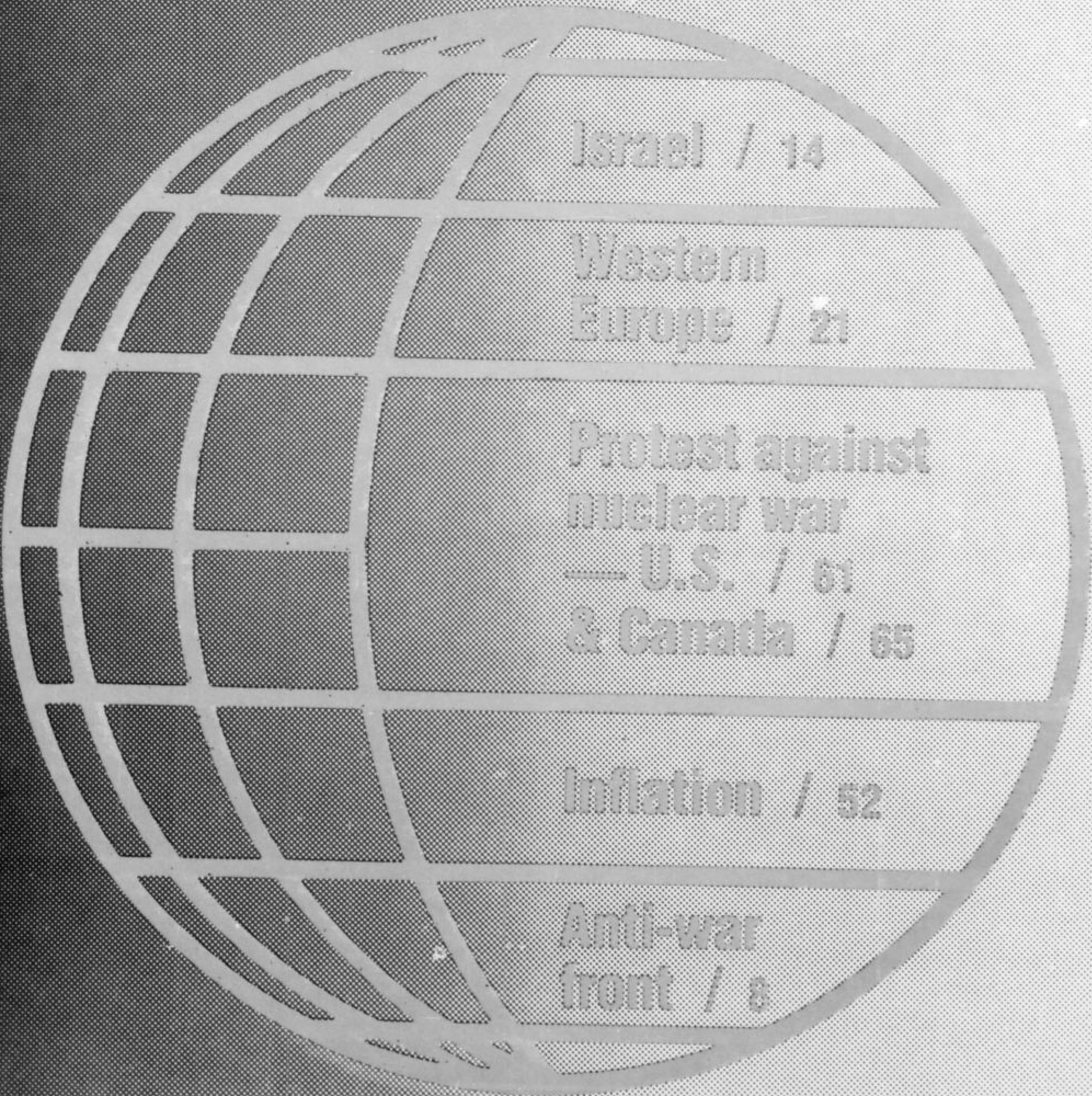
Problems of

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Revolutionary stimuli of the October Revolution and the world today

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History's greatest social upheaval, accomplished by the revolutionary proletariat of Russia under the leadership of Lenin's party in October 1917, opened a new epoch in the life of humanity, an epoch when, to quote Lenin, it "is throwing off the last form of slavery: capitalist, or wage, slavery" (Coll. Works, Vol. 29, p. 307). Sixty-five years have elapsed since then, a fleeting moment compared with the millenia-long history of the world. But during these years the social system brought to life by the October Revolution has become a world system and achieved, in the form of Soviet society, a stage of maturity, leaving all other social systems, including the capitalist system, far behind in terms of rate of development. In these years the ideas, experience and example of the October Revolution have given a powerful impetus to the communist and working-class movement, which has by now assumed global proportions, and to the struggles of oppressed peoples that have led to the liberation of scores of countries from colonialism and taken many of them on the road to socialism. During these years, under the influence of victorious socialism, radical changes have taken place in the structure of international relations which have significantly bolstered the positions of the anti-imperialist, peace-loving forces. To put it briefly, the Great October Revolution unfettered powerful forces that changed the face of our planet in a historically short time and became the decisive and constantly operating factor in the renewal of the world on principles of social justice, democracy and peaceful co-operation among peoples.

Quite naturally, therefore, Marxist-Leninist thought again and again addresses the question of the ways and means by which the October Revolution influences world development, analyzing it in the context of history, current class struggles and the prospects for social progress. This analysis is all the more necessary because in some ongoing discussions in the international working-class movement there is

a tendency to limit the impact of the October Revolution on global processes to what are termed historical boundaries, from which we are said to be separated by a period of social development not influenced by the October Revolution but by other factors.

In the light of the foregoing, what are the basic directions in which the impact of the October Revolution on the world led to the deepest changes of lasting significance in the life of humanity? I believe that even those who are inclined to make conservative assessments will hardly deny that these directions are: Leninism's fusion with the international working-class movement and with the world revolutionary process as a whole; the growth of existing socialism in depth and breadth and its increasing influence over the struggle of peoples for social and national liberation; the internationalist unity of revolutionary, progressive forces to repulse imperialism's aggressive policies and safeguard peace, democracy and social progress. These are the main channels along which the Great October Revolution stimulated the great changes in society. What is the significance of each of them today, in the light of the current problems of the class struggle?

I

The October Revolution was a result of the materialization of Lenin's ideas and, at the same time, the principal condition for the subsequent application of these ideas in other revolutions, for the further growth of their influence on the people in all countries. What explains the epochal triumph of Leninism? To what do Lenin's ideas owe their strength?

Leninism's enormous creative potential and revolutionary strength lie in the fact that while developing as the organic continuation of Marxism, it expresses the fundamental requirements of world social progress and arms the working class and all other working people ideologically for the struggle to achieve social-

ist ideals in an epoch when the conditions for the transition from capitalism to socialism have matured. Lenin's postulates on imperialism, the possibility of the socialist revolution winning first in one, separately taken country, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the party, the allies of the working class, the inseparable connection between social and national liberation, the ways and means of building socialism, and others mirrored the objective laws of the revolutionary process of our epoch and ushered in a new stage in the development of Marxism. In contrast to various utopian doctrines for reshaping society, Leninism has never been an arm-chair theory. On the contrary, it constantly stimulated the revolutionary struggle of the working people and became the material force it is today, namely, a guide to action, as it won the masses. It is not only an in-depth scientific generalization of international revolutionary experience but also a method of using this experience in practice according to the general regularities of the class struggle in the concrete historical conditions of each country.

This, in a nutshell, is what ensured the successful implementation of Lenin's teachings in the October Revolution and, at the same time, their conversion into a powerful generator of liberation ideas, invigorating and guiding the revolutionary energy of millions upon millions of working people on all continents.

It is only natural that Leninism's revolutionary-transformative strength manifested itself with the greatest breadth and depth in the first country of victorious socialism. All the historic achievements of the Soviet people — the reshaping of socio-economic relations along socialist lines, the cultural revolution, the settlement of the nationalities question, the victory over fascism, the transformation of the USSR into a country with the most advanced civilization, and the building of developed socialism — are in fact nothing less than results of the materialization of Lenin's ideas, of their development and enrichment in the struggle for the new society.

The Great October Revolution drew the attention of the world to Lenin's teachings. The example of the socialist revolution, prepared and led by Lenin, brought about a change in the thinking of the masses suffering from capitalist exploitation and colonial oppression, showed them that the oppressors could be defeated, released their revolutionary initiative, and proved scientific socialism correct. The October Revolution changed both the political and the ideological situation in the world. Under these conditions Leninism soon became the patrimony of the international working-

class movement; it profoundly influenced the ideology of all the currents of the world revolutionary process and triumphed as the genuinely international theory of the working people. As a theory explaining the world and as a revolutionary method of remaking it, Leninism stood the most exacting test, that of historical practice.

After the October Revolution, the first revolution in which Lenin's ideas were successfully applied took place in Mongolia, where in 1921 the working people took power into their own hands. The experience and practice of the proletarian revolution in Russia, Mongolia's neighbor, strongly influenced the revolutionary movement in our country. The prime expression of this was that the working people of Mongolia, exploited by colonialists and feudal landowners, saw the example of the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia as proof that the oppressors could be deposed and as a manifest way of fighting for national and social liberation. Lenin's ideas about the liberation of colonial and dependent countries and the counsel he expressed when he met the founder of our party and of independent Mongolia, Sukhe Bator and his comrades-in-arms, were of particular significance to the destiny of the Mongolian revolution and our people.

In line with Lenin's theory, our party's third congress (1924) charted a general line aimed at the country's non-capitalist development. This line cleared the way for itself in a grim struggle with opponents of revolutionary change. The party had to surmount the resistance not only of the deposed feudal class and international reaction but also of right opportunists, who maintained that capitalism was an inevitable stage of society's development. The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party rejected the attempts of leftist elements to "introduce" socialism at a time when the tasks of the democratic stage of the revolution — attaining national independence, abolishing the colonial legacy in the economy, and doing away with feudal social relations — had not yet been accomplished.

Life has borne out Lenin's injunctions that the national-liberation, anti-feudal revolution could evolve into a socialist revolution only with the fulfilment of these tasks. Our experience and the practice of subsequent socialist changes, as well as the experience of other countries that have built or are building socialism, convince us that in our epoch an exploiting system cannot be transformed into a socialist system in circumvention, let alone in disregard, of Leninism. This is convincingly demonstrated by the political bankruptcy of the

various concepts of a "third way" to socialism in opposition to Lenin's theory. We know well from the experience of social reformist parties that these concepts are not dangerous to capitalism, that their ideas of class collaboration invariably translates into a partnership between the rider and his horse in which the rider is the exploiting class.

Having disproved reformist illusions about social peace, the class struggle has shown that only a party which consistently champions the interests of the working people and is armed with the theory of scientific socialism, only a party of revolutionary action, can win political power and lead the people to socialism. It was precisely such a party, founded and educated by Lenin, that brought the masses to victory in the socialist revolution and became a model of political organization for the advanced forces of the liberation movement in all countries. Their application of Lenin's theory of the new type of party was the cardinal form of linking Leninism with the world revolutionary process in the post-October epoch. The emergence of many Marxist-Leninist parties marked the rise of a socio-political force that has no equal for the magnitude of its influence on the people, organization and ideological armament. This force is the international communist movement.

The Marxist-Leninist party is a living, steadily developing organization of revolutionaries based on principles formulated in Lenin's theory of the party: democratic centralism, commitment to revolution and ideological unity. Far from limiting the potentialities of the party's development and a renewal of its tactics, form of organization and activity, these principles stimulate the realization of these potentialities. Lenin noted that the revolutionary party, "while preserving its basic type", is able to "adapt its form to the changing conditions . . . to vary that form to meet the requirements of the moment" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 19 p. 401). Depending on the stage of the struggle, the character of the social environment and other conditions, the party's structure and the lines of its activity may vary from country to country.

Let me again refer to the experience of our party. Formed in 1921 in a country that had no working class at all, as the political vanguard of the working arats (Mongolian peasants), it had a little over 200 members grouped in three cells in the year it was founded, and was a purely peasant organization in social composition. Leading the people's struggle for national and social liberation, the MPRP, together with Mongolian society, traversed a complex road of

development. As it advanced along that road the party constantly renewed the forms of its organization and activity in keeping with changing conditions, with the changes in society's development. For instance, the 10th congress (1940), which played an immense role in the country's history, proclaimed that Mongolia was gradually entering the stage of socialist construction and adopted new party rules and a new program, in which the organizational and political tasks of the communists were formulated in a new way, according to the aims of that stage. By that time the party had over 13,000 members. Tempered in bitter struggles with the feudal counter-revolution and external reaction and in hard work to end age-old backwardness, it asserted itself as the revolutionary vanguard of the Mongolian people and became a militant party of the Leninist type.

The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party continues to develop. Now that our people are working to complete socialist construction, the problems confronting it are far more complicated. However, its potentialities have grown many times over. At present it has nearly 80,000 members, with party organizations functioning throughout the country; more than one-third of the communists are members of the working class, which has emerged in the process of socialist construction. In carrying on its work, which covers all areas of society's life, the party relies on the hundreds of thousands of trade unionists, the Mongolian Revolutionary Youth League, and other mass organizations and expresses the basic interests and will of the people as it confidently leads them along the road of further socialist transformations.

What has enabled us to achieve this? Primarily the fact that we have steadfastly abided by the principles of Leninism and the ideals of the October Revolution, and have always been faithful to the fraternal alliance with the CPSU and the Soviet Union. Lenin noted, and this has been borne out by the experience of revolution in Mongolia and then in other countries, that cooperation between non-proletarian revolutionary forces and victorious socialism can compensate for the absence or numerical weakness of the working class in one country or another. With the help of socialism and the support of the international communist and working-class movement, these forces can organize themselves into a party guided by Marxism-Leninism and lead the masses along the road of socialist development.

In our day, when there is a powerful socialist community, this opportunity has become much greater and its realization takes new forms, as is shown, in particular, by the

emergence in many developing countries of revolutionary vanguard parties adopting Leninist principles of party building. This is a significant indication that the process of Leninism's fusion with the national liberation movement, a process stimulated by the October Revolution, goes on deepening.

Leninism has been and remains an inexhaustible source of revolutionary thought and revolutionary action; anyone who reckons with the facts of history and present-day reality has to admit this. The attempts of some critics of Leninism to prove that it has "outworn itself" and ceased to meet new requirements are absolutely untenable. Such attempts spring from the misguided notion that Leninism is a rigid code of laws and principles, when in fact it is a live and developing theory that is open to everything new, is constantly enriched by practice, by the experience of class struggles, and thereby invariably meets the imperatives of the epoch, the needs of the times.

In the past few decades in the destinies of peoples there have unquestionably been radical changes. Our country, too, which since the October Revolution has advanced from medieval feudalism to socialism, has experienced this in full measure. But has the world changed to the extent that the basic contradictions of its development, those between capitalism and socialism, between the bourgeoisie and the working class, between imperialism and all the democratic, peace forces — contradictions characterizing the epoch ushered in by the October Revolution — are no longer valid? Is it not their operation that have generated and continue to generate the very same changes in society that are alleged to clash with Leninism? It is common knowledge that Leninism brings to light the content and role of these contradictions. It was Lenin who indicated scientifically-based ways and means of resolving them, and all the social struggles of this century have shown how effective these ways and means are. And the only conclusion that can be drawn from this is that Leninism retains its theoretical validity and practical effectiveness throughout the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism on a global scale.

II

The proletarian revolution in Russia is a source of unfading impulses for accentuating the socialist trend of the world revolutionary movement and extending the historical arena of struggle for the new social system. The people's democratic revolutions in a number of European and Asian countries and in Cuba,

their development into socialist revolutions, the establishment of working people's power in these countries, the formation of the socialist world system, and the rise of a group of nations following the socialist orientation are all a direct continuation of the developments set in motion by the Great October Revolution. All are components of the indivisible process of the development of the world social revolution and the shaping of the communist formation.

One of these components was the building of the new society in Mongolia, which, thanks to its close alliance with the first socialist country, the Soviet Union, was able to by-pass the capitalist stage, consolidate the people's power, and build a social system based on socialist principles. This road was indicated by Lenin's theory of the non-capitalist development of economically backward nations and by the experience of its successful application in the former national outlying regions of Russia where pre-capitalist economic systems were predominant.

Closely studying this experience, the MPRP did not by any means copy it but applied it creatively, in accordance with specific conditions, independently, effecting revolutionary change of society in unique forms.

Mongolia's advance along the road of democracy and socialism has many features distinguishing it from other socialist countries. But for all its distinctive forms and manifestations, the process of molding and developing the society in our country proceeded under the impact of the regularities characterizing all socialist revolutions.

As in other socialist countries, we have a state-political system that performs the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, although the issue of power was originally settled in the conditions of a unique feudal-theocratic society. But even under these conditions, the Marxist-Leninist proposition that the transition to socialism can be effected only with the establishment of the power of the working people in one form or another was fully confirmed.

Also, the formation of the alliance between workers and peasants, a regularity of socialist construction, took place in distinctive ways in Mongolia. How complex and unexplored the ways of forming the social structure of our society were, will be appreciated if it is borne in mind that on the eve of the revolution Mongolia was a country of nomadic livestock-breeding, with the arats living in serf bondage to the secular and clerical feudal landowners, and that nearly half of the male population were lamas (Buddhist monks). However, considera-

tion for the general regularities of socialist construction and the creative application of the experience that had proved its worth in the USSR enabled the party to carry out social changes in the course of which entirely new classes and an alliance between them took shape. Mongolian society now consists of the working class, the arats associated in cooperatives, and the people's intelligentsia, all of whom are united by common interests and the common goal of completing the building of socialism.

There were distinctive features in the way economic relations were restructured in Mongolia. Unlike the way this was done in most of the socialist countries, the decisive role in this process was played by the conversion of a mono-branch economy based on extensive livestock-breeding into a multi-branch national economy; we are now successfully completing the building of the material and technical basis of socialism. Moreover, as in other socialist countries, the association of individual households in cooperatives and socialist industrialization were the key regularities in the building of the new society.

All these examples and there are many more — demonstrate that the general regularities of socialist transformations operate also in countries effecting the transition to socialism from a pre-capitalist social system. At the same time, the experience of Mongolia and other socialist countries confirms the Marxist-Leninist proposition that the revolutionary renewal of society takes many diverse forms.

In no country that took a socialist road after the October Revolution have the modes and forms of building the new society been mechanically patterned on foreign experience. Each of them carried out social changes in its own way, in forms conditioned by the level of economic development, the balance of class forces, national traditions and the international situation. A lesson of history is that the larger the mass of people engaged in solving urgent problems of social progress and the greater the number of countries and peoples involved in the process of socialist transformations, the more diversified the concrete historical conditions and the greater the significance of the ability of the revolutionary forces to apply general regularities flexibly in working out the political guideline, strategy and tactics of the struggle for socialism at each stage of its development. This, in turn, makes it imperative to study and generalize international experience and to apply it creatively in reorganizing society on revolutionary principles.

The experience of the Great October Revolu-

tion and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is of particular significance to us Mongolian communists, as to revolutionaries throughout the world. Why? *First*, this experience took shape in a multinational and economically multistructured country, whose pre-October social system had features typical of the social development of many peoples of the world, including our people, and where the liberation movement unfolded in keeping with the general regularities of the world revolutionary process. *Second*, by virtue of historical conditions the October Revolution and the building of socialism in a multinational state generated forms, means and lines of struggle that in one way or another meet the vital requirements of the revolutionary movement in different countries. *Third*, the Soviet people, led by Lenin's party, continue to be in the vanguard of social progress, steadily enriching revolutionary theory and practice in the course of communist construction.

These are some of the reasons why the experience of the October Revolution benefits all the revolutionary forces of our time and effectively stimulates the strengthening and development of these forces. Any attempt to prove something different, to portray the spread of this experience as implanting the "Soviet model" in other countries conflicts with the actual state of affairs. Mongolia is one of the socialist countries whose development was most strongly influenced by the Soviet experience. However, nobody compelled us to follow that example. We learned and continue to learn from the lessons of the October Revolution because they help us gain a more profound knowledge of the regularities of socialist construction and work more successfully in building a new society that is by no means patterned on a certain model. Since its emergence, our society has been developing in forms of its own and is a result of the revolutionary creativity of our people.

Nor is this the only point. It is generally unscientific to believe that a new social system can be created according to a pre-set model. The development of any socialist country shows that its formation is a natural-historic process governed by objective laws that do not fit into any patterns and cannot be transgressed. And if revolutionaries closely study the experience of the October Revolution and check their tactics and strategy against it, they do so chiefly because they see it as the expression of the general regularities of the socialist revolution and because its application meets the objective requirements of social progress.

In our day the October Revolution influences

world development primarily through the strengthening of the positions of existing socialism. The socio-economic, political and cultural achievements of the socialist-community countries enhance the revolutionizing influence on the peoples of the example of the new organization of society, which is free of all forms of exploitation and oppression, ensures real social and political equality among people, guarantees ample democratic rights to the working people, and creates conditions for economic and cultural progress.

Socialism's adversaries often try to reduce the impact of this example by distorting the actual causes of the difficulties that arise as the new society is built. They attribute the responsibility for any shortcomings to the socialist social system itself, depicting them as an expression of objective regularities and principles of the new system so as to discredit the system in the eyes of the masses. Let us look at the facts.

The road of socialism's development is not smooth. As well as going through growth pains, it encounters obstacles that are part of a grim class struggle against imperialism, which uses economic, political, military and ideological means in an effort to weaken the socialist world. Nor is socialism immune from subjective mistakes and miscalculations. As China's socio-economic development shows, the most serious consequences are distortions of Marxism-Leninism, of the principles of socialism's home and foreign policies. Moreover, this example shows that what underlies miscalculations and mistakes are not the laws of socialist society but deviations from these laws, and that these miscalculations and mistakes are vices not of the social system but of policies pursued in violation of its principles. That is why the communist parties of the socialist community countries make every effort to take the objective laws governing socialism's development into careful consideration, and to adhere consistently to Marxist-Leninist theory, which enables them to follow the right policy and to correct mistakes in time.

For all the complexities of socialism's development, it continues to advance, exercising an ever more comprehensive influence on deep-going world processes, on the balance of class forces in the world. The socialist countries now ensure the irreversibility of the world revolutionary process, holding imperialist forces in check and preventing their attempts to export counter-revolution. The increasing might and influence of the socialist community creates favorable conditions for peoples to choose the ways and means of their social

development freely and to advance along the road to socialism.

More and more countries take this road although each of them has its own, markedly different economic level, social structure, cultural traditions and many other characteristics. The fact that they break with the past to embark upon one and the same type of development ushered in by the Great October Revolution and reproduce under diverse conditions essentially one and the same type of social relations is evidence that socialism's growth is an objective regularity, a historically ascending process that determines the main road of world progress.

III

The October Revolution raised the internationalist interaction of revolutionary, anti-imperialist forces to a new plane. For the first time in history, it made internationalism a state policy. An epoch-making achievement of this policy was the formation of the USSR, whose 60th anniversary will be marked this year by all progressive humanity.

In the course of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism in the Soviet Union working people of many nationalities united under the leadership of the working class to put an end to the system of capitalist exploitation and, with it, the system of national oppression. The key political condition for achieving this historic aim, for shaping new relations between nationalities was the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the principal economic condition, the establishment of socialist public property in the means of production. After uniting broad masses of working people around itself, the victorious working class abolished the basis and causes of class exploitation and thereby created the conditions for the free and all-round development of nations, nationalities and ethnic groups, for fraternal relations between them. Thanks to the consistent implementation of the Leninist nationalities policy, all the peoples of the USSR, including those that before the October Revolution lived under a feudal or even primitive communal system, rose to the level of highly civilized nations in the lifetime of virtually one generation.

An impressive manifestation of the internationalism of the CPSU and the Soviet state was their political, economic, cultural and military assistance to our country. Without that fraternal assistance we would have been unable to achieve national liberation and accomplish far-reaching revolutionary democratic and then socialist transformations. It played and

continues to play a crucial role in all areas of socialist construction in Mongolia.

As a result of the victory of the new social system in a number of European and Asian countries after the war and the formation of the socialist world system, the internationalist principles of the October Revolution became the foundation of international relations in a vast sphere encompassing many countries. A historically new international entity, the socialist community, came into being. It is united by a common socio-economic system, common interests and goals and a common ideology, Marxism-Leninism.

Our party attaches immense importance to strengthening and promoting fraternal cooperation in the socialist world. The 18th congress of the MPRP (1981) re-emphasized the need to work steadfastly for closer relations and cohesion with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community in every sphere of society's life, and to enhance the role of the Mongolian People's Republic in the development of socialist economic integration.

Solidarity among socialist states is an organic continuation and development of proletarian internationalism. Far from separating socialism from other contingents of the world revolutionary process, as our ill-wishers assert, it strengthens the unity of the revolutionary forces. The fraternal parties of the socialist countries make every effort to develop relations with all the Marxist-Leninist parties of the world, together with whom they form a single, essentially international movement united by a concurrence of the basic aims and interests of its national contingents. The MPRP now maintains relations with practically all the communist and workers' parties of the world. The community of interests of the communists of all countries springs from the objective laws of the development of the world revolutionary process, from the historic mission of the working class, which is indivisible and internationalist by nature.

The October Revolution facilitated the establishment of a close alliance between socialism and the international working-class movement, on the one hand, and the forces of national liberation, on the other. The strengthening of this alliance has become the central condition for the transition of newly-free countries to the road leading to socialism. While the October Revolution was a powerful stimulus bringing peoples oppressed by imperialism into the arena of resolute struggle against the colonial system, the support from socialist countries over several decades ensured the preservation and the deepening of

their gains. Today, in one way or another, the socialist prospect orients the development of all the anti-imperialist, revolutionary liberation movements, directing them into one channel with other revolutionary forces.

In socialist foreign policy the October Revolution fused for ever the struggle for social progress and the freedom of peoples with the struggle for peace. This found reflection in the first act of the working people's state — the Decree on Peace — which stated that the Soviet government saw its task in concluding peace successfully and at the same time emancipating "the laboring and exploited masses ... from all forms of slavery and all forms of exploitation" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 26, p. 252). The social renewal of the world begun by the October Revolution has become the main factor in restructuring international relations on the principles of equality, independence and mutually beneficial cooperation.

The socialist community is fighting unrelentingly for peace and social progress, doing all in its power to ensure the conditions for peaceful socialist construction, the security and free, independent development of peoples. The fraternal countries' international activity is based on the foreign policy principles evolved by Lenin. Their relations among themselves and with countries upholding national independence are founded on internationalist solidarity. In its relations with countries with a different social system, the socialist community consistently steers the course toward peaceful coexistence. Coordinated action and a coordinated position on fundamental foreign policy issues enable the fraternal countries to repulse imperialism's aggressive intrigues effectively and exercise a beneficial influence on the international situation, the course of the general struggle of progressive forces for peace, democracy and social advance.

In the deteriorated international situation of the early 1980s, the socialist countries have, in keeping with their fundamental line in questions of world politics, put forward a series of new peace proposals. A realistic road to improving the international situation is shown in the Peace Program for the 1980s adopted by the 26th congress of the CPSU, a program which we fully support as a common platform of struggle for peace and international security. Our party and government take an active part in solving important international issues, notably in Asia. Our party's 18th congress took the initiative to propose drawing up and signing a convention on mutual non-aggression and non-use of force in the relations between Asian

and Pacific countries. This initiative was warmly welcomed by progressive opinion in many countries.

Implementation of the peace proposals of the socialist-community countries would contribute to a more durable détente and bring about a change in favor of constructive solution of the most pressing problem of our day, that of ending the arms race and achieving disarmament. How does imperialism, U.S. imperialism in the first place, respond to these proposals? By seeking military superiority, by intensifying the export of counter-revolution to regions of the world where anti-imperialist movements are under way, by acts of interference in the internal affairs of socialist countries with the objective of encouraging opposition forces there and destabilizing the situation, and by stepping up anti-Soviet and militarist hysteria to a degree unparalleled since cold war days.

The diametrical difference between the two lines in world politics is evident; while socialism offers the peoples a whole system of concrete steps to consolidate peace and stimulate détente and disarmament, imperialism

threatens the world with new programs for escalating the arms race, expansionist claims, and outright acts of aggression. One does not need to be very shrewd politically to see this and realize that the entire responsibility for growing international tension lies with the imperialist aggressive circles.

Ever since the October Revolution, socialism has been operating on the world scene as a force firmly and consistently pursuing a policy of peace, championing the principles of equality and independence of peoples, and resolutely opposing all forms of oppression and exploitation. This policy has always been and remains a key factor in countering the imperialist strategy of aggression, the main guarantee of preserving peace, and an instrument of active struggle for the free development and social progress of peoples.

Thus the revolutionary stimuli of the October Revolution continue to operate with mounting force in all the decisive areas of world social progress. Nor could it be otherwise, for they spring from a revolution that ushered in a new era in the life of humanity.

Worldwide anti-war front: realities, problems, goals

Dimitr Stanishev
CC Secretary, Bulgarian CP

Ever since the international communist and working-class movement originated, it has concentrated its attention on the struggle against predatory wars and for lasting world peace. Marx, the founder of our doctrine, said that "an alliance of the workers of all countries would eventually eradicate all wars." He added that a new society was emerging and that "its international principle would be peace, because every nation would have one and the same master — labor!"¹

Before the Great October Revolution, when imperialism ruled mankind undivided, it was objectively impossible to achieve lasting and stable peace or, to be more precise, as Lenin put it, it could not be achieved "without a proletarian revolution in a number of countries" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 23, p. 340). He added: "Only a proletarian communist revolution can lead humanity out of the impasse which imperialism and imperialist wars have created" (*ibid.*, Vol. 29, p. 103) and that the proletariat can "save mankind from the horrors of war and

endow it with the blessings of peace" (*ibid.*, Vol. 24, p. 67).

The whole history of the world's first socialist state, since its origination, has demonstrated the organic connection between socialism and peace, which springs from the very substance of that social system. The very first act of the Soviet government — the Decree on Peace — issued a call for a just and democratic peace. Promulgating this Decree at the second All-Russia congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, Lenin, the leader of the October Revolution, said that peace was a burning question, "the painful question of the day" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 26, p. 249).

In a broader context, Lenin reached the conclusion that there was bound to be a historical period in which socialist and capitalist states would coexist side by side (see *ibid.*, Vol. 30, p. 39), and that relations between them would have to be based on the principle of peaceful cohabitation or peaceful coexistence. That is the principle on which the whole of the Soviet

Union's foreign policy between the two world wars was based. It was expressed in the concrete Soviet proposals on disarmament, the conclusion of non-aggression treaties and similar other initiatives.

The international communist and working-class movement and all the other freedom-loving, progressive and peace-supporting forces actively defended and upheld the policy of peace, cooperation and mutual understanding between nations. It was unanimously adopted by the parties of the Communist International, which tirelessly worked for the establishment of a broad anti-war front which would, as Georgi Dimitrov put it, cover the whole globe with a network of organizations of friends of peace, involving the broadest social circles.²

But in that period, the global balance of forces made it impossible to assert the policy of peaceful coexistence, to avoid a world war and to prevent Hitler's aggression. Tens of millions of people had to die before the United Nations, set up after the rout of fascism, could write in its Charter these memorable words: "We the peoples of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, . . ."

The basic provisions of the UN Charter contain *de facto* international recognition of the justice and viability of Lenin's principle of peaceful coexistence. But what has been definitive for the preservation of world peace was not so much recognition of this principle in words — after all, the imperialist circles have never ceased to violate it in practice — as the radical change in the balance of forces in favor of peace, democracy and socialism in the postwar period. It took a tremendous *material and moral* force to preserve world peace.

The material force was ensured by the creation and strengthening of the world socialist system, the growing economic and defense capability of the countries of existing socialism, the struggle by the working class in the capitalist countries for a better and peaceful life, the victories of the national liberation movement and the disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism. The moral force is rooted in the urge of the peoples for peace and in the unchanging and consistent policy of peace and cooperation which the USSR and the other socialist community countries have pursued, a policy which has been winning ever larger numbers of supporters on every continent.

These factors, taken together, have created for the first time in humankind's history, a *real possibility of preventing war and of ridding*

humankind of the arms race burden. The whole foreign policy strategy of the socialist community countries is aimed to attain these goals.

The communists' "philosophy of peace," which is the theoretical basis for the foreign-policy line of our community and the international working class, rests on a number of main premises. The core of this philosophy, of the Leninist understanding of character and trends in changes in contemporary life on the globe, consists in the substantiation of the *key, definitive role of socialism in world politics*. Socialism has created for the first time a society in which there are no classes or social groups that have a stake either in predatory wars or in the manufacture of weapons. The main goals of the new society is concern for man, for ensuring the most favorable conditions for the faster growth of the material well-being and a richer spiritual life for all the working people. That is why the policy of peace, détente and disarmament which the socialist countries pursue has the full support of their peoples. That is the source of its strength.

At the same time, the peace policy has a great influence throughout the world because it accords with the vital interests of the whole of humankind. The Warsaw Treaty countries honestly and consistently seek to avert war and consolidate peace in Europe and the whole world. An important prerequisite for effecting this policy is the *ever fuller comprehension* by the broadest public circles in the capitalist countries that the policy of the socialist community countries has always been a policy of peace for reasons of principle.

Furthermore, the communists' "peace philosophy" contains the recognition that the *struggle for peace is closely bound up with the struggle for social progress and the anti-imperialist struggle*. This connection has not been invented by the communists, for it exists objectively and in fact, in virtue of the uniformities of historical development. In the postwar period, the working people of the capitalist countries, largely also through the activity of the communist parties, have scored major social gains. Global decolonization proceeded in a world of peace, although local conflicts did erupt here and there. It is not accidental at all that the 1970s, whose hallmark was the international détente, were also a period of new successes in the national liberation struggle.

Another key principle of the communists' "peace philosophy" is consideration of the fact that the *struggle for peace is coherent in character and tenor*. The acts of the forces standing for peace, regardless of social composition, political positions, philosophical, religious and

other ideological convictions, can be effective only when they are directed against the carriers of the danger of nuclear war, against imperialist groupings, statesmen and political leaders, arms manufacturers and militaristic circles who have been pushing humankind to the brink of a nuclear holocaust to promote their own interests. This is a growing conviction of the masses involved in the contemporary mass anti-war movement in the capitalist countries. Fewer and fewer people accept the idea of putting the United States and the Soviet Union on the same footing or equalizing the responsibility of the "two blocs" for the danger of war.

Nevertheless, it is necessary again and again to drive home the truth that only one system — the capitalist system — and only one policy — the policy of the aggressive imperialist circles — are the root of the war danger. Some circles still hold the view that war is rooted not so much in the nature of imperialism as in the confrontation of the two blocs, NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization. The realities of the recent period have shown very well that the social-class contradictions between the two systems are no impediment to peaceful coexistence. It should be borne in mind that the principles of peaceful coexistence do not affect the class substance of power in any country, and that is why they are mutually acceptable. On the other hand, these antagonisms cannot, in principle, be resolved by war, they can be eliminated — over the historical perspective — only by a social revolution of the working class, which is objectively gestating within the womb of capitalism. Finally, it is not the contest between the two socio-political systems that is the prime root or cause of the revolutionary processes in individual countries. Revolutions spring from the objective conditions in a state and win only when these conditions exist. That is why it is just as absurd to accuse the communists of "exporting revolution," as it is to see the "hand of Moscow" wherever masses of people rise to struggle against imperialist exploitation, and for freedom and independence.

Tension in international relations in our day is maintained and aggravated by the line of confrontation with existing socialism, of stepping up the arms race, which the Reagan administration adopted as the main course of U.S. foreign policy at the start of the 1980s. This course is being conducted behind an unprecedented propaganda campaign aimed to convince public opinion in the capitalist countries that the Soviet Union has upset the "nuclear parity" and that because of a "Soviet military threat" NATO has had to increase its military expenditures to the highest ever level in peace-

time. Over the next five years, the United States intends to appropriate for armaments the vast amount of \$1.5 trillion, which is nearly as much as the NATO countries spent over the past 10 years. While intensifying its own rearmament, the United States has been increasing its military aid to dictatorial and militaristic regimes with patently aggressive intentions in relations to their neighbors.

Japan is being actively involved in the arms race. A special place in the U.S. administration's aggressive plans is assigned to China, whose hegemonic policy threatens the state not only of the Indochinese peninsula, but also of the whole of Southeast Asia and the South-Asian subcontinent. International tensions are being built up by a number of "local" wars in various parts of the globe which are being unleashed and financed by world imperialism, and also by its attempts to export counter-revolution.

A special threat to peace is posed by the growing stocks of mass destruction weapons, notably the development of qualitatively new types of mass destruction weapons which could make control over them and their agreed limitation exceptionally difficult or even impossible. The peoples of Europe and other parts of the world are most alarmed by the U.S. intention to deploy new medium-range missiles in Western Europe, and by the changes in U.S. military strategy geared for the preparation of a "limited" nuclear war.

Preparation for a nuclear war is being carried on under the absurd pretext that its purpose is to preserve peace. "Of all the dogmas of the bigoted politics of our time, none has caused more harm than the one that says 'in order to have peace you must prepare for war.' This great truth, whose outstanding feature is that it contains a great lie, is the battle cry that has called all Europe to arms."³ One has the impression that Marx did not write these words more than a century ago, but in our own day in order to describe the situation the aggressive U.S. and NATO forces are trying to create in present-day Europe.

The organizers of the current arms race have not, in effect, succeeded very well in concealing their true purpose, which has nothing in common with the preservation of peace. By means of the arms race, U.S. imperialism is trying above all to ensure the conditions for establishing its world domination, economically to exhaust the socialist states and to slow down their development. No wonder its military policy has gone hand in hand with attempts at gross intervention in the internal affairs of socialist countries, and crude pressure

on the allies of the United States in an effort to limit economic cooperation with the socialist community, the Soviet Union in the first place.

In his recent speech in the British Parliament, President Reagan announced another "crusade" against communism. In this connection, Todor Zhivkov, General Secretary of the BCP CC, Chairman of the Bulgarian State Council, declared: "The facts show very well that U.S. imperialism is already carrying on a crusade on a much broader scale, a crusade not only against socialism, but also against its own allies, against the developing countries, against the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, the women and the young people of the whole world, a crusade against the vital interests of its own people, a crusade of one against all."⁴

The Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries have done and continue to do much to ensure peace. The Bulgarian communists fully support the assessment given by the 26th congress of the CPSU that "at present nothing is more essential and more important for any nation than to preserve peace and to ensure the paramount right of every human being — the right to life."⁵ In virtue of the nature of a potential thermonuclear war, the struggle for peace has also undergone a change, acquiring new and unprecedented dimensions. Todor Zhivkov says that the task of preserving peace now stands "above class, ideological, political and other distinctions."⁶

The initiatives and concrete proposals of the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries on disarmament and ways of removing the danger of thermonuclear war are truly countless. Thanks to their skilful, consistent and principled policy and flexible attitude, which rules out agreements at the expense of the peoples' interests, but includes mutually acceptable compromise solutions, the socialist countries have succeeded in putting through some of these proposals in relations with their capitalist partners. But what has been achieved should not be overestimated. The treaties on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, on the partial cessation of nuclear tests, on the peaceful use of outer space, SALT-1 and SALT-2 and other treaties limit the further development and improvement of some mass destruction weapons but do not yet amount to real disarmament. Actual reductions in armaments and armed forces is still a task of the present and the immediate future.

A solid basis for its fulfillment is the Peace Program for the 1980s adopted by the 26th congress of the CPSU, which the other fraternal parties of the socialist community countries,

including the BCP at its 12th congress, adopted as their own program, and also the new peace initiatives put forward by Leonid Brezhnev in the past few months. Now that the USSR and the United States once again have got down to negotiations, the Soviet Union has proposed a quantitative and qualitative freeze on strategic armaments by both sides. It has made a number of proposals for solving the problem of medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe and has also introduced a unilateral moratorium on their further deployment in the European part of the territory of the USSR. The socialist community countries are prepared at any time to sign an agreement in Vienna on lowering the level of armaments and armed forces in Central Europe. They put their program before the second special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament. Leonid Brezhnev's message to the session containing the Soviet Union's commitment not to use nuclear weapons first was an event of invaluable importance which has met with a broad response throughout the world.

At the same time, the socialist countries have made and will continue to make efforts for successfully completing the Madrid meeting in the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act, for further developing economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation between states with opposite social systems, and for safeguarding détente.

It is well known that in order to achieve mutual understanding there is a need for a bilateral urge: "a tunnel is dug from both sides," as the saying goes. The main thing is not to start discussion around the same table, but the kind of intentions that are brought to it. At the start of complicated and serious negotiations like the new talks between the USSR and the United States in Geneva, which are, besides, being held in such a difficult international situation, it is logical to hold something in reserve for compromise. But it is hard to believe that Washington seriously intends to reach agreement on the basis of proposals like Reagan's "zero option," which provides — no more and no less — for the Soviet Union's unilateral disarmament. That is why not only in the socialist countries but in virtually all the capitalist countries, including the United States, well-grounded doubts have been voiced about the sincerity of the U.S. side. It is suggested that the United States has decided in advance to torpedo the negotiations with the intention subsequently to put the blame for their failure on the Soviet side so as to justify before public opinion the deployment of new nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

Let us recall Engels' view that "every increase in the armed forces of one state induces others to do the same . . . All of this costs a fantastic amount of money. The peoples are exhausted by the burden of military expenditures."⁷ This is also true for our own day. The socialist countries have no interest in wasting money for military purposes, instead of the vital needs of peaceful construction and the raising of their peoples' well-being. But there should be no doubt in anyone's mind that the fraternal community will be able to defend its security and safeguard world peace even at the price of some slowing down of its own development, if it is forced to do so. Defense of the socialist homeland is now, more than ever before, simultaneously defense of world peace and all the values of civilization.

The waste of mind-boggling amounts of money for military purposes also puts a tremendous burden on the peoples of the newly liberated countries, which are forced by the imperialist policy of fanning "local" conflicts and exporting counter-revolution to increase their military budgets. There is an obviously direct connection between the arms race and the worsening of economic problems. The non-aligned movement wants the arms race halted and the money so released made available for economic development. Most of the non-aligned states directly join in the struggle for world peace, for the creation of nuclear-free zones, and for the demilitarization of whole regions and continents. Combined with this struggle for peace are demands of an anti-imperialist and national liberation character, demands for the establishment of a new international economic order.

The exorbitant military expenditures deprive humankind of vitally necessary resources for tackling acute global problems — ecology, energy, food and population — and for doing away with some countries' economic and cultural retardation.

The arms race is one of the basic causes of the rampant inflation which has gripped the capitalist economy. Together with the high level of unemployment, stagnation in key West European industries, and the high customs tariffs recently introduced by the United States on some basic exports from the EEC countries and Japan, the militarization of the economy tends to aggravate the contradictions between the three main centers of world imperialism. Business and political circles in West European countries and Japan realize that the line being foisted on them by the United States not only harms their economic interests, but also threatens total military and political subordina-

tion to the United States. That is why resistance to that line has been growing in the capitalist countries not only among the general public, but also at the government level. Some sober-minded state and public leaders in the capitalist countries accept the conclusion which the socialist countries reached long ago. There is no alternative to peaceful coexistence and cooperation among nations, and the way is in starting negotiations on controversial issues and reviving the spirit of détente.

The arms race also has a grave effect on the condition of broad masses of people in the capitalist countries. Never before has there been such a clear understanding among diverse circles in these countries of the immediate connection between arms spending and the steadily worsening condition of the working people, the whittling down of social aids and gains, and the drop in living standards. This understanding, together with the real fear caused by the mad imperialist policy of preparing a thermonuclear war, is at the root of the current mass anti-war movement.

The movement in defense of peace has solid traditions. Without going too far back into history, let us recall the broad action against fascism and war between the two world wars, and especially in the 1930s, together with the exceptionally active role which the Communist International had to play after its seventh congress in inspiring and organizing the movement. Already at that time Georgi Dimitrov and the other leaders of the Comintern set the task of creating a massive front of the working class, of the working people of town and country, of a section of the bourgeois intelligentsia and of the left elements of the bourgeoisie for the fight against fascism and war. This historically significant task was only partially realized, and not because of some erroneous tactics on the part of the peace fighters, but because of the massive and unanimous resistance by the capitalist governments and bourgeois political and other leaders. Informed by the interests of their class and their craving for maximum profits, they encouraged the preparations of a world war by Hitler Germany and the Axis powers, hoping to see another redivision of the world, above all at the expense of the Soviet Union.

In the postwar period, the stockpiling of vast quantities of nuclear weapons has dialectically brought about a radical change in the *quality* of any potential war. If one should break out there would evidently be no traditional fronts, battle lines or relatively safe rear, for *one and all would be vulnerable*. Such an outcome is also anticipated by the sober-minded representa-

tives of big business, for whom the question of physical survival — for them and their offspring — becomes most acute.

These and various other factors have brought about a radical change in the character of the present-day anti-war movement, which is developing on an unprecedented scale. Its characteristic features are militancy, determination, and emphasis on "positive action" for the purpose of reducing and gradually eliminating the danger of a nuclear war. This is not just a denial of the arms race, but vigorous and concrete action aimed at finally eliminating the nuclear threat posed by the United States and NATO. The movement broadly and spontaneously involves, on an equal footing, men and women who belong to different classes and groups, people of different social standing and education, with different views, party affiliation and representing many creeds.

In most capitalist countries, the anti-war movement is becoming truly popular and is having a considerable influence on government policy. It testifies to the growing role of the masses in history, and that is something the ruling circles have to reckon with. It is largely a youth movement, involving young people who justly assume that personal happiness is unattainable unless there is peace. Women's organizations, trade unions, members of parliament and whole parliaments are being ever more actively involved in the struggle. The World Conference of Religious Leaders of the World against the Nuclear Threat, held in Moscow recently, was a vivid demonstration of the active role which believers have to play in the anti-war protest. Many socialists and social democrats are joining actively in the movement, especially after the Socialist International, meeting for its 13th congress in Geneva, said in its documents that for the Socialist International universal disarmament will continue to be the ultimate goal in the future as well. Nuclear disarmament is also backed by some leaders of liberal and conservative parties, frequently in opposition to the official policy of their leadership. They have even been joined by some former military leaders of NATO. It is indicative that hundreds of thousands of people were involved in anti-war action last year, while millions took part in such action in the first half of this year.

No cross-section of the present-day anti-war movement would be feasible because the movement has involved virtually every strata of the population and all honest people. Anti-war organizations have been growing, acting separately and jointly, across the borders of states, and on various continents. A worldwide

front of struggle for peace and against the threat of a thermonuclear war is now developing as a successor to the broad popular front of the 1930s against war and fascism. The forms of activity have also been changing: they range from collections to signatures to petitions to be submitted to governments to mammoth rallies, from campaigns by scientists and doctors against nuclear weapons to international marches involving hundreds of thousands of men and women. One such demonstration was the exceptionally successful Peace March 82.

The communists are quite naturally the most active participants in the mass anti-war movement, which they regard as a realization of the readiness jointly expressed by the participants in the Paris Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe (1980) to hold a dialogue and negotiations on peace and disarmament, and to unite for joint actions with all the peace-loving forces. The communists have always been with the masses, and today they are acting as a major force in the struggle to save civilization, because they regard peace as humankind's supreme value. The communists' role in this struggle is not expressed in some kind of attempt to take over the "leadership," but in the most consistent and conscious participation in the anti-war movement.

The communists' new approach to the present-day problems in the defense of peace is determined by the fact that the need to avert a thermonuclear holocaust is a task that faces the whole of humanity, and that many other social and political forces are and will be helping to solve it. At the international theoretical conference to mark the centenary of the birth of Georgi Dimitrov held in Sofia,⁸ Todor Zhivkov said that the "communists must display flexibility and creativity and must be able to use compromises, as Lenin and Dimitrov used to do, in order to win over and unite allies, notably young people, who are that part of humankind which has the greatest stake in peace. There should be no impediment to all the parties, organizations, movements and individuals conscious of the great danger that a thermonuclear war would pose for humankind from finding their place and playing a fitting role in the struggle for peace, against the thermonuclear threat. . . . In the struggle for peace there is no place for rivalry or isolation of any progressive forces."⁹

This international theoretical conference quite logically concentrated on the problems of war and peace, because the preservation of peace is the crucial problem of our day and the main task before the progressive forces, because the name of Georgi Dimitrov, the

prominent leader of the Bulgarian and international communist and working-class movement, is most closely connected with the struggle against war and imperialism, because the Bulgarian Communist Party, since its foundation, has consistently come out against imperialist wars, and for lasting peace and mutual understanding among nations, and because socialist Bulgaria is now one of the most important stabilizing factors of peace in the Balkans: it has worked actively to transform this region into a zone free from nuclear weapons, into an area of peaceful coexistence and good-neighbor cooperation.

The participants in the Sofia conference voiced their views on the lines of the common struggle against the thermonuclear threat. They expressed satisfaction over the growing comprehension by the public at large of the fact that the struggle for peace cannot be carried on without the communists, let alone against them. Most peace fighters realize that the Soviet Union is the main bulwark of the peoples' security, that the efforts of the anti-war movements can be effective if they realize that their adversary is not he who is strong, but he who makes use of his strength for aggression, war and gambles, namely, imperialism. The participants in the conference reached this conclusion: in this struggle there is room for all strata, parties, organizations and groups, for everyone who cherishes the cause of peace.

Over the past few years, a number of major international functions have been held in Bulgaria in close connection with the tasks of uniting all the democratic and peace-loving forces. They were all a continuation of our party's fruitful tradition and modest contribution to

the common cause of averting a nuclear threat. Todor Zhivkov's speeches at all these functions were keynoted by the struggle for peace.

The current negotiations in Geneva between the Soviet Union and the United States, the disarmament campaign mapped at the second special session of the UN General Assembly and a number of similar other occasions offer the mass anti-war forces favorable opportunities for insisting on effective negotiations in order to take real reliable measures on the basic problems of disarmament. There is no doubt that with the active struggle of the communists and all the other democratically-minded social circles aware of the danger of a nuclear disaster impending over the globe, with the mass support of the peoples, and under pressure from a worldwide anti-war front, such a goal can be achieved. That is now the main vital necessity for humankind, and the guarantee of the continued existence of our civilization.

1. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Works, Vol. 17, p. 5 (in Russian).
2. See G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 10, Sofia, 1954, pp. 252-253 (in Bulgarian).
3. Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, Collected Works, Vol. 16, p. 439.
4. *Rabotnichesko Delo*, June 18, 1982.
5. L.I. Brezhnev, Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU to the XXVI Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Home and Foreign Policy. Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1981, p. 8.
6. Todor Zhivkov, *S usiliyata i volyata na vsichki narodifina nepreklonna borba za traen; spravedliv mir*. Sofia, 1980, pp. 38-39.
7. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Works, Vol. 21, p. 355 (in Russian).
8. See WMR, August 1982.
9. *Rabotnichesko Delo*, June 18, 1982.

Break the vicious circle of bloodshed

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Genocide, "final solution" and "new order" are terms reminiscent of nazi crimes. But at present they apply to the policy of Israel's Zionist rulers and this is perfectly right. For all the distinctions, the affinity is beyond doubt. It consists in unbridled racism, reckless aggressiveness, a policy of territorial conquest and genocide, as in the case of the Palestinian people. There is also a similarity in the bid to bring about a "final solution" of the problem — that of Palestine in this case — and impose a "new order" —

on Lebanon today, and on Syria, Jordan and other countries tomorrow.

The Israeli aggressors' crimes on Lebanese soil are in the same category as the fascists' atrocities during World War II. A new blood-curdling indication of this was the massacre committed in West Beirut's Palestinian refugee camps on orders from high-ranking persons in Israel. This heinous crime marked a new phase in the war of aggression in Lebanon, at which

the sons of Israel have become oppressors and occupiers.

The U.S.-Israeli partnership

War is admittedly a continuation of politics by other, military means. And to assess correctly the nature of any war, it is essential to ascertain its causes and political aims.

The Zionist top leadership of Israel has never started wars of aggression all alone. It did not do so in 1956 or 1967. In the former case the war was Anglo-Franco-Israeli and in the latter, U.S.-Israeli. But at that time the imperialists tried to disguise their complicity in the planning and execution of acts of aggression and to conceal advance preparations and agreements. The public did not learn the facts until later. The Zionist rulers would never have been able to wage a large-scale war without military, economic and political support from the biggest imperialist state (or several imperialist states). For all the megalomania of the Likud¹ government and the Maarach² leaders backing it, Israel is by no means a great power. Take away the U.S. F-15 and F-16 planes used by the Israeli Air Force, U.S. engines for aircraft of "Israeli make" and U.S. credits and subsidies (which exceed all of Washington's credits and subsidies to other countries put together). Withdraw the U.S. veto on the draft resolution concerning the war in Lebanon submitted to the Security Council by a NATO ally, France (an unprecedented occurrence). Think of the fact that the United States was the only country at the extraordinary special session of the UN General Assembly on the Palestinian problem to side again with its Israeli partner and to vote along with Israel against a resolution condemning the massacre in West Beirut and which was supported by 147 countries. And then you will see Israel's real size.

However, there is a substantial difference between the wars of the past (1956 and 1967) and the current war, for in the latest case collusion has been an open secret from the outset. The Reagan administration openly sided with the Begin-Sharon government and publicly defended the aggression mounted by Tel Aviv. "Never before has Israel received such support from the United States as now," Israeli Minister Mordechai Zipori said during the war.³ Commentators pointed out that the U.S. wanted to achieve during the war in Lebanon the same objectives as were sought by the Israeli aggressor, except that it counted on political means.⁴ The mission entrusted to Reagan's emissary, Philip Habib, was to add a diplomatic offensive to the armed aggression, to exert pressure on the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)

and democratic forces in Lebanon and Syria.

A noteworthy article about U.S.-Israeli cooperation in the war against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples was published in *Davar*. Criticizing Washington because it had allegedly refused to give the Israeli army the "green light" to storm Beirut, which was what Begin and Sharon demanded, and made it keep up for a time a state of "blockade without invasion,"⁵ its author, Hagai Eshed, affirmed that the U.S. stand was at variance with the U.S.-Israeli agreement on implementing the "grand program" for aggression. "The Americans," he wrote, "publicly defined the maximum aims of the war which Israel is carrying on in Lebanon. But they did not allow it to implement the military solution, which is a requisite of achieving these aims."⁶

Yes, it was Washington which decided on the maximum aims of the operation, aims supported by Israel. Thus it is obvious that there are coordinated and far-reaching common objectives and certain tactical differences over ways of achieving them. The Begin-Sharon government insists on using military means everywhere. The U.S. has nothing against it but is compelled from time to time to take into account the impact of its policy on the Arab world and its international implications as well as the state of relations with the NATO allies. This explains why the two accomplices in the criminal operation on Lebanese soil argued occasionally over whether the maximum goals they had set themselves could be achieved by diplomatic means serving as a continuation of military operations, or whether they should proceed to the next stages of the armed aggression in Beirut and northern Lebanon or even in regard to Syria. Washington had no objection in principle to escalating the armed intervention, as I have noted, but neither did it rule out the possibility of using the services of diplomats while brandishing the big stick of a likely continuation of military operations.

The Lebanese adventure is a direct outgrowth of Camp David

The military political situation in Lebanon and the Middle East and developments on the international scene fully bear out the estimation of the situation made by our party immediately after Israel's robber-like invasion of Lebanese territory. The communists pointed out that it was not merely an Israeli but an Israeli-U.S. aggression, or a U.S.-Israeli one to be exact.

The war against the Palestinians and Lebanese and provocations against Syria are no isolated actions. They are an important part of

imperialism's global policy of aggression, which has assumed particularly dangerous proportions since Ronald Reagan moved into the White House. That policy is aimed at undermining international détente and is fraught with a return to cold war. While fomenting a cold war, the present U.S. administration misses no chance to kindle the flames of "hot" conflicts at the local or regional level. The Zionist rulers are answerable to history for their complicity in the deeds of the most aggressive imperialist forces. In trying with the aid of U.S. imperialism to end the national existence of the Arab people of Palestine, they are ready to commit any crime, nor do they scruple to play the role of a fuse that could set off a world conflagration.

The U.S.-Israeli aggression in Lebanon is one of the dangerous consequences of the Camp David accords signed by Egypt, Israel and the United States. It has from the first been evident to all unbiased observers that those accords mark the formation of an aggressive strategic bloc against the Arab national liberation movement, primarily against the struggle of the Palestinian people and their representative, the PLO. In a more general context, the Camp David plan has an anti-Soviet slant and is directed against all forces of progress and socialism. That collusion directly serves the schemes of U.S. imperialism, which seeks military-political supremacy in a region lying in the immediate proximity of Soviet frontiers and wants to stamp out any progressive movement there, to suppress the struggle for national and social liberation.

While preparations for the Lebanese operation planned long before were under way — this time almost openly — the Israeli press pointed to the link between that adventure and the more ambitious Camp David plans. "... Anyone who reads Sharon's words correctly," wrote Zeev Schiff, military commentator of *Haaretz*, "realizes that the aim is not to carry out another Operation Litani.⁷ The aim is to destroy the military and political structure of the PLO and even to create a favorable situation in Lebanon for the formation of a new government that would sign a peace treaty with Israel."⁸

It will be seen that both the dimensions of the war and its long-term objects were determined long before the aggression began and not during it.

New conspiracy against peace

In turn, this criminal move itself was used by the U.S. imperialists as a possible means of extending the framework of Camp David and

backing up their hegemonist claims in the Middle East. This is the meaning of the much-advertised "Reagan Plan," presented as a "new" initiative, an all but radical change in the U.S. Middle East policy. Revealing with amazing frankness and, indeed, cynicism what determined Washington's attitude to the war in Lebanon, Reagan said that as a result, the U.S. "had an opportunity for a more far-reaching peace effort in the region."⁹ The peace he meant was Pax Americana, of course. And this is why the President flatly denied the Palestinians the right to establish a national state of their own and said not a word about the PLO, recognized by the international community as the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine. In point of fact, everything is coming full circle, back to what was planned at Camp David.

The announcement of the "Reagan Plan" prompted the Political Bureau of the CC CPI to make a statement sharply condemning Washington's new anti-Arab conspiracy. The statement stresses that the plan leaves the Palestinian problem — the centerpiece of the Arab-Israeli conflict — unsettled and puts off the achievement of a just, comprehensive and lasting peace in the region; it means implementing the Camp David accords, which have proved that they do not lead to peace but to war and bloodshed. As for the negative stand of the Begin-Sharon government on the "Middle East initiative" of its overseas patrons, the Political Bureau points out that this stand is on the one hand, a reflection of the Israeli government's bid for the complete annexation of the occupied Palestinian territories and the expulsion of the Arab people of Palestine from their native soil, a bid backed by U.S. imperialism. On the other hand, the tactical differences between the rulers of Israel and the United States are designed to offer Arab reaction an excuse for accepting the plan.

The "grand program" of the Begin-Sharon team

It should be clear from the foregoing that the implementation of the U.S.-Israeli "grand program" in the Middle East neither began nor ended with the invasion of Lebanon. The prelude to the aggression was a campaign launched in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip with a view to abolishing the Palestinians' national rights.¹⁰ The armed intervention in Lebanon was a direct continuation of this terrorist campaign.

The outlines of the Begin-Sharon government's monstrous adventurist schemes are quite distinct now. The aim is to destroy the

PLO's positions in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, liquidate patriotic Palestinian leaders on the occupied lands, disrupt the military political structure of the PLO in Lebanon, expel Palestinians from Lebanese territory and form a new Palestinian leadership to be composed of U.S. and Israeli agents and other reactionary elements. It is planned to exterminate all left patriotic forces in Lebanon, put a puppet government in power, divide the country into spheres of influence or turn it into a virtual Israeli colony and set up a base for the U.S. militarists. The Zionist rulers are set on forcing Syrian troops out of Lebanon and putting political, economic and military pressure on Syria to make it alter its independent policy or to overthrow its regime. Thereupon Israel expects to formally announce the complete annexation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Armed provocations against the population of these territories as well as against Jordan will be designed to expel the majority of Palestinians from the seized lands.

Also emerging are the outlines of further stages of implementation of the "grand program." The Likud government tends more and more to accept the idea of working toward the conversion of Jordan into a "Palestinian" or "Palestinian-Jordanian" state. The idea has already been endorsed by both Defense Minister Ariel Sharon and Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir. It is winning support with the Reagan administration, a fact embarrassing King Hussein of Jordan. Proceeding from a "Palestinian settlement" in Jordan at the expense of 800,000 Palestinians to be expelled into that country from the occupied territories, the Israeli authorities would like to kill two birds with one stone, that is, to get rid of the Palestinian problem by forcibly imposing its "final solution" and to prevent the rise of a sizable Palestinian minority in "Great Israel" and hence its becoming a binational state.

This fiendish "solution" has also found supporters in the Labor Party. "Israeli political quarters," *Davar* wrote, "have come to the conclusion that they must crush the Palestinians in both Nablus and Saida¹¹ without entering into talks with them on an eventual compromise. This policy breeds brutality; its implementation means war in one place and administration by Milson¹² in another . . . Sharon is announcing for all to hear that the second stage of implementation of his 'grand program' will be a war to change the situation in Jordan under the code name 'Peace for the Jordan Valley.' The seizure of the first forty kilometers of territory will win support from Maarach, for such

is the depth of the 'security belt,'¹³ envisaged by the Allon plan."¹⁴

This, then, is what the authors of the "grand program" covet today. But history has shown on more than one occasion that the more ambitious a plan for aggression and expansion is, the more it is likely to fall through.

The war is boomeranging against its makers

There is ample evidence that the aggression in Lebanon is boomeranging against its U.S. and Israeli instigators. Militarily there can be no question of victory. Israel brought its entire fighting strength to bear, was fully and openly backed by the U.S. and used the most up-to-date U.S. weapons to commit acts of barbarity and vandalism against the civilian population and destroy towns, villages and refugee camps. But the war went on and became the longest and grimmest of all Arab-Israeli wars. Israel suffered very serious casualties and material losses. The PLO, backed by the mass of the people, showed staunchness and set an example of courage and heroism. This is now recognized even in our country. The Syrian troops held their ground in battle. The Soviet arms used in fighting against the aggressor proved highly effective, something which even Israeli sources cannot deny.

Speaking of the political aspect of the matter, the results of the invasion are plainly the opposite of what the invaders and their patrons had counted on. The war in Lebanon placed the Palestinian problem in the focus of all international policy toward the Middle East. The range of world forces demanding that the Arab people of Palestine be enabled to exercise their right to self-determination and set up an independent state is widening. The PLO has gained considerably in political prestige. Countries which had approached the prospect of recognizing it with reserve are establishing direct contacts with it.

Israel's international prestige shows a sharp decline. Many of those who were seen as sympathizing with Israel have come out against the aggression and the barbarity of the Israeli military. Various sections of the Jewish public abroad, which until recently had approved of the policy of the Zionist rulers, now prefer to dissociate from that policy and have, indeed, begun to resist it. Anti-Israeli sentiment in the Arab world and developing countries is so strong that even frankly pro-imperialist forces are careful not to side with Tel Aviv.

The Arab peoples' hostility to U.S. imperialism has increased to an unprecedented degree, and this despite attempts to mislead them by

means of anti-Soviet lies. Notwithstanding the deep-going split in the Arab world, a split which became one of the factors enabling the U.S.-Israeli alliance to attack Lebanon, there is a growing trend toward uniting popular forces to fight the U.S. imperialists, their Israeli allies and pro-imperialist Arab reaction.

The importance of Arab unity also found expression in the decisions of the recent Arab summit in Fez. They are plainly at variance with the "Reagan Plan." The principles of settling the Middle East conflict and the Palestinian problem set out in them do not contradict the provisions of the peace program advanced by the Communist Party of Israel and can, in our opinion, serve as a basis for eliminating seats of the war menace in the Middle East and assuring all the peoples of the region a life in peace and security. A requisite of implementing these principles is unrelenting struggle against the aggressive schemes of the U.S. imperialists and the Zionist leadership of Israel.

Last but not least, a marked differentiation occurred in Israeli society during the war over the attitude to the conflict. For the first time in the history of Arab-Israeli armed conflicts, a mass anti-war movement developed in our country against genocide, for a fair Israeli-Palestinian peace. Today a much larger body of our public opinion is aware that the war in Lebanon is unjust, that the Palestinian problem cannot be solved by force of arms and that the current policy of the Zionist leadership jeopardizes the existence of Israel itself.

New developments in the anti-war movement

On the very first day of the war, the Political Bureau of the CC CPI released a statement emphatically condemning the sanguinary adventure in Lebanon. It demanded the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops and the resignation of the Begin-Sharon cabinet. The Committee Against the War in Lebanon, set up a little later, held a historic demonstration — in response to its call, over 20,000 people took to the streets of Tel Aviv on Saturday, June 26, to condemn the aggression. The tremendous success of the demonstration had its effect on those who, even being opposed to the war in Lebanon, had decided at first to refrain from any action against it while "our soldiers were fighting at the front." This opportunist approach was due to the fact that at the early stage a wait-and-see attitude won the upper hand in the leadership of the Peace Now movement.¹⁵ But after the demonstration the leaders of the movement had to reconsider their

posture and called for a big demonstration on July 3 under the slogan "Against a War Like This One." This time the demonstration involved over 100,000 people — civilians, in particular young people belonging to diverse social sectors, army officers and soldiers.

The people's mass struggle against the war of aggression is a new development in Israel. A vast opposition movement against the regime's adventurist policy is taking shape in our country for the first time in years. It encompasses both civilians and servicemen. Yet in 1956 and 1967 our party was the only political force to demand an end to aggression. We were then completely isolated, for the Zionist rulers contrived to mislead all population groups and political parties except the CPI.

This time, however, a very important change occurred. What is more, the struggle against unleashing the Lebanese carnage began long before the invasion. Nearly all parties outside the ruling bloc demonstrated their disapproval of the sinister plans of the Begin-Sharon cabinet.

Nevertheless, when the war became a fact, the leaders of the Labor Party, their Maarach bloc partners from the United Workers' Party and the leaders of other major Zionist parties supported the bid for conquest out of what they called "patriotism." They readily allowed themselves to be "persuaded" by the thoroughly false argument that the Israeli army had invaded a sovereign state with the sole aim of pushing the Palestinian fighters 40 kilometers back from the northern frontier of Israel so as to prevent the shelling of settlements in Galilee.

Responsibility for complicity in aggression

The Knesset debate last summer on the war in Lebanon was something of a political test that brought out the real attitude of diverse parties. The Democratic Front for Peace and Equality group, in which the communists hold a leading place, moved for a vote of no-confidence. Ten deputies from other parties abstained, or to be more exact, refused to vote because they did not want to back the Likud line.

Labor MPs, deputies from the frankly pro-fascist Tehia organization and the Telem¹⁶ party joined MPs from the ruling coalition in voting against the motion and for the government. Thereby the Labor Party assumed responsibility for complicity in the aggression and for all its immediate and subsequent implications. Its leaders — Shimon Peres and Yitzhak Rabin — followed in the footsteps of the Begin-Sharon cabinet by becoming in the war

days obedient executors of its will and a mouthpiece of the ruling bloc.

For its part, the leadership of the United Workers' Party decided to approve of the armed action within a 40-kilometer zone on Lebanese soil, which meant, in fact, subscribing to a war of aggression. However, this party and, incidentally, many of those that had refused to join in the first mass anti-war demonstration on June 26, took part in the next major protest demonstration mentioned earlier, which involved 100,000 people and constituted a powerful action against the government and its war policy (in spite of the involvement in it of forces that were not prepared as yet to campaign consistently against the aggression and to demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli army from Lebanon).

The movement against armed adventures is growing. Anti-war actions encompass a wide range of social sectors and forces of different political views and ideological convictions. The working class, organizations of youth, students and women, associations of academic personnel and others play an important part.

The Arab population of Israel has been making a tangible contribution to the struggle against armed intervention. Last July 10, its spokesmen held a meeting in Nazareth that was also attended by Jewish democratic peace supporters. The meeting formed a Committee Against the War in Lebanon, for Israeli-Palestinian Peace, to work among Israeli Arabs. The committee's action program says that a just and durable peace in the Middle East can only be based on the establishment of an independent Palestinian state next door to the State of Israel, within the boundaries valid before June 4, 1967. In response to the call of the Committee Against the War in Lebanon as well as the National Committee of Heads of Arab Local Authorities, the Arabs in Israel carried out a general strike to protest against the Beirut massacre. The strikers included inhabitants of the occupied Arab territories.

The cold-blooded massacre of defenseless civilians committed by the aggressor and his mercenaries gave rise to an unprecedented wave of anti-war actions in Israel. Many thousands of people joined in demonstrations that swept the country. They condemned the atrocious crimes of the Israeli army and demanded an end to the aggression against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples and the resignation of the Begin-Sharon government. On September 25, an anti-war demonstration, the most powerful in the country's history, took place in Tel Aviv; it involved 400,000 people. More and more new facts indicate a change in

the public mood under the impact of events in Lebanon.

However, the situation that is shaping should not be estimated one-sidedly. Along with an increasingly strong anti-war movement, the first in the history of our country to unfold at a time of hostilities, there are developments of an entirely different nature. In spite of the heavy casualties of the Israeli army, chauvinist and militarist sentiments are on the rise. The Establishment in the form of the ruling bloc and a tractable opposition refuses to give up the traditional Zionist slogan "a maximum of land with a minimum of Arabs." Begin and Sharon still manage to mislead masses of people, who still believe in spite of what peace supporters tell them that it is possible to bring about a "final solution" of the Palestinian problem by military means. The pressure of chauvinist ideas also manifests itself in a tendency to justify the authorities' anti-democratic measures, to ignore and even to reconcile oneself to the fascist threat, which is growing against the background of the war in Lebanon.

Much of the responsibility for this trend falls on the leaders of the Labor Party, who have proved unable to advance a political alternative of their own. Most Israelis see in them primarily yes-men of Likud who have no particular difficulty in finding a place for themselves in the ruling bloc, with its wide spectrum of guidelines and views. The party has no formula for tackling social and economic problems. Gad Yacobi, one of its leaders, ex-minister of the Rabin cabinet, has proposed that a state of emergency be declared not only in the military political sphere but also in the economy.

In other words, Likud and the Labor Party leadership do not differ essentially on any home or foreign policy issue. Both parties vigorously support the global strategy of U.S. imperialism spearheaded against the Soviet Union and the socialist community, national and social liberation forces all over the world, and against all fighters for independence and progress in the Middle East and other regions.

Unite against the policy of aggression

It is extremely important in this situation to strive for the cooperation and unity of all who realize the enormous dangers posed to Israel by persistence in the present official policy, the retention of power by the Begin-Sharon team and the Maarach leadership's continued subservience to it. While some advances toward unity have been made, as I have pointed out, it still lacks proper scope and stability. The thinking of many who are by no means inclined to support the Begin cabinet's policy of aggres-

sion is still dominated by anti-communist views as well as by prejudice against the peace policy of the Soviet Union.

In this connection, I would like to emphasize the following: *Israel's communists have no interests other than those of the Israeli people, which coincide with the interests of the Arab people of Palestine and of a lasting peace in the Middle East and the world.*

The CPI attaches great importance to exposing vicious anti-Soviet falsehoods. Soviet foreign policy is a policy for peace meeting the aspirations of all peoples, those of our region included. And it is perfectly logical that the Soviet Union took a resolute stand against the aggression, the campaign of genocide on Lebanese soil, and extended every kind of support to the just struggle of the Palestinians led by the PLO and the patriots of Lebanon. This stand does not damage Israel or its people in any way. On the contrary, the Israelis' vital interests would benefit no less than the interests of the Palestinians if the policy of aggression and occupation being pursued by the Zionist rulers were renounced and a just Palestinian-Israeli peace were established on the basis of the existence of two states for two peoples.

Calling attention to the dangerous consequences of the invasion of Lebanon to peace in the region and throughout the planet, the Soviet Union has served warning that the aggressor's criminal actions may in the end boomerang against Israel and its people. This is a call for wisdom, for the rejection of illusions fostered by reactionaries, who claim that the future and security of our country can be guaranteed with the U.S. sword, by ending the national existence of the Arab people of Palestine.

The statement made by Leonid Brezhnev, head of the Soviet state, who said that the Soviet Union has helped and will help those who refuse to bow down before the aggressor and seek a just settlement and peace in the Middle East, is a serious warning to the U.S. and Israeli hawks, who forget the lessons of history. We are convinced that all sensible people in our country must think hard about how to break the vicious circle of sanguinary conflicts and wars so as to ensure that the peoples of Israel and Palestine live side by side in security, each in its own sovereign state, and that our country, Israel, is really independent, peace-loving and democratic.

A new manifestation of the Soviet Union's noble intentions was the six-point program¹⁷ put forward by Leonid Brezhnev. The program fully meets the legitimate national interests of

the Israeli people and the peoples of Palestine and other Arab countries and shows the way to settling the dangerous Middle East crisis. This constructive program expresses the desire of all fair-minded people for an end to bloodshed in Lebanon, a just solution of the Palestinian problem and the establishment of lasting and comprehensive peace in the Middle East. Unlike the "Reagan Plan," which provides no solution to the fundamental aspects of the conflict, the Soviet initiative offers a dependable basis for achieving peace and assuring both sides security, independence and sovereignty.

The Communist Party of Israel appeals to the country's peace forces, to all who have a stake in peace between the Israelis and Palestinians on the principles of justice, to demand that the government support the Soviet peace program and to insist on the convocation of an international conference on the Middle East to be attended by Israel, the PLO, the Soviet Union, the United States and other states concerned.

What prompts many of those who differ with the government in today's Israel is not fundamental moral considerations or principles; they merely doubt the realism of the motivations of expansion and the claim to hegemony. There are also those who fear that in the long run the ruling circles' policy may prove disastrous to Israel itself as a Middle East state. Others dread the prospect of almost absolute dependence on the United States.

It is not out of pragmatic considerations that we communists of Israel reject the Zionist rulers' policy; we are principled ideological, political and moral opponents of aggression, occupation and close relations with imperialist warmongers. We have always been consistent defenders of the rights of all peoples, and have championed peace in the region and the world, for we are guided by the lofty humanist ideals of communism and inspired with the theory of scientific socialism, whose foundations were laid by Marx, Engels and Lenin. Now as always, our party will resist the national intolerance of Zionism and every manifestation of jingoism with might and main. At the same time, we are willing in the interest of the struggle against aggression, for a lasting and just peace, to cooperate with any political organization or leader whatever their views or orientation.

The flames of war in Lebanon have not died down as yet, nor is the danger of new rounds of aggression and further expansion over. We communists, like other citizens of Israel, have a great historic responsibility. History is not limited to the present day. The world has re-

peatedly witnessed the end in store for those who wanted to destroy other peoples in the name of a "final solution." We communists condemn this barbarity. We do not want to make others shed tears but wish a happy future for all, including our two fraternal peoples, the Israelis and Palestinians. This is why we are fighting for fundamental changes in Israeli public opinion and official policy.

1. Bloc of extreme right-wing parties and groups. — Ed.
2. Comprising the Labor Party of Israel (MAI) and the United Workers' Party (MAPAM). — Ed.
3. *Al Hamishmar*, July 11, 1982.
4. See, e.g., *Davar*, June 24, 1982.
5. Subsequent events brought to light the illusive nature of divergences between Tel Aviv and Washington over this issue and similar issues. To avoid dooming the civilian population of the Lebanese capital, which the enraged invaders intended to raze to the ground, the Palestinian contingents withdrew from West Beirut. Thereupon Israeli troops burst in and a massacre of Palestinian refugees followed. This was a treacherous violation of the agreement mediated by the U.S. emissary, Philip Habib. The guarantees of security given by the U.S. to the civilians of Beirut turned out to be a scrap of paper. The world shuddered on hearing about the new horrible crime per-

petrated by the aggressor and his underlings. As for those across the ocean, they did not so much as condemn the murderers who had killed women and children in cold blood.

6. *Davar*, July 13, 1982.
7. The Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon in 1978. — Ed.
8. *Haaretz*, February 7, 1982.
9. *International Herald Tribune*, September 3, 1982.
10. For details, see Naim Ashhab, "The People's Will Is Unbroken — the Struggle Goes On" in *WMR*, October 1982. — Ed.
11. Nablus, a town in the West Bank; Saida, a town in southern Lebanon. — Ed.
12. Menachem Milson headed till the middle of September 1982 the "civilian administration" which the Israeli authorities tried to impose on the occupied territories. — Ed.
13. For details of the Allon plan, see Naim Ashhab, "Beating Back the Drive by Imperialism, Zionism and Reaction" in *WMR*, June 1980. — Ed.
14. *Davar*, July 16, 1982.
15. Broad-based movement championing a peaceful settlement of the Middle East conflict but showing inconsistency at times. — Ed.
16. Party of the former minister of defense, Moshe Dayan. It has dissolved itself and is now part of the Likud bloc. — Ed.
17. See *Pravda*, September 16, 1982.

Where is Western Europe going?

A POLITICAL SURVEY

The following survey of developments in Western Europe is part of *WMR*'s series of regional political surveys.¹ These developments are crucial for the peoples of both Europe and the rest of the planet. The European continent is the focal point of international problems, primarily the problem of war and peace, for it is there, in the citadels of capitalism, that many cardinal issues of present-day social development and the struggle for social progress, democracy and socialism claim special attention.

The survey, prepared by the *WMR* Commission on Problems of the Class Struggle in Industrialized Capitalist Countries, considers some current aspects of the foreign and home policies of West European countries and of their socio-political life related to the latest developments.

The yoke of Atlanticism

Last June's Versailles summit of seven major states of the capitalist world — the United States, Great Britain, France, the FRG, Italy, Canada, and Japan — was a milestone in the relations between the main centers of world imperialism. Many aspects of the meeting were

ostentatious and occasionally made the impression of a show of consensus and unity. But despite the vagueness of the declaration adopted at Versailles and the fact that its loose formulations lend themselves to different and sometimes antithetical interpretations, the results of the meeting shed light on the nature of the economic and political problems confronting the ruling circles of industrialized capitalist powers, on the main points of agreement and disagreement between them, and on the main directions and paths which they intend to follow.

It is obvious that their policy is increasingly influenced by the most reactionary and aggressive imperialist forces trying to turn the evolution of international relations into the channel of cold war and aggravate the world situation, as European communists pointed out in 1980.² Anyone who compares, for instance, the declaration of the first such meeting, held at Rambouillet, France, seven years ago, with the Versailles declaration will be struck by notable changes in the approach to some key international issues. The 1975 declaration said that the signatories intended to strengthen their "efforts for closer international cooperation (our italics. — Auth.) and constructive dialogue among all countries, transcending differences

in . . . political and social systems."³ The Versailles meeting, however, underscored the need to adopt "security control measures at the national level."⁴ The shift of accent is evident.

In the sphere of domestic economic policy the leaders of the "Seven" outlined the range of issues which they feel are crucial to the socio-political stability of their social system. Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, for one, declared that the capitalist world's failure to stem the growth of unemployment to the 31 million forecast for next year in the OECD⁵ countries will move some other problems, even that of missile armaments, into the background. Indeed, no military or other measures against socialist countries can make up for the capitalist society's internal social instability. Understandably, therefore, the Versailles declaration links the call for the maintenance of "confidence in the democratic (read capitalist — Auth.) values that we share" with the solution of such problems as achieving "full employment, price stability, and balanced growth."⁶

These have become extremely acute problems for the leading capitalist countries. Unemployment is snowballing. Inflation remains insurmountable. The economy is either in decline, or at zero growth. Reality proved to be a far cry from the so-called "economic development scenario" for the late 1970s worked out by the OECD headquarters on the heels of the Rambouillet summit. The forecasts of the authors of this scenario, which envisaged a 5.5 per cent annual growth of the GNP of the member states, were clearly built on sand.

It was in these circumstances that the statesmen who met at Versailles searched for ways and means of giving their stalled production machine a push to help it get out of the quagmire of crisis.

And that was an issue on which the participants plainly differed. "The seven leaders," wrote the *Guardian*, "may have been unanimous about the need for a common strategy to right the world economy. But they did not agree on the strategy."⁷ The outcome of the meeting was indicative of deep contradictions among the capitalist powers, clashing interests, and the inability of the leaders as well as bourgeois scholars to offer a remedy for the suffocating economy.

A big bill was presented to the USA. The West European participants charged their overseas partner with systematically undermining their economic positions and pursuing a selfish policy. They pointed out that U.S. fiscal policy was seriously hurting the European economy. The excessive exchange rate of the dollar and the high interest rates of U.S. banks are having a

disastrous effect on other capitalist countries, resulting in a hard currency drain on their home markets, a rising credit rate and a cutback of investments, all of which, in turn, makes for production stagnation and growing unemployment (a slight reduction of interest rates at the close of the summer did not change the overall picture).

While advocating "free trade," the USA actually raises barriers to European goods in the American market. Immediately after Versailles and the solemn pledge to resist demands for protectionist measures, Washington announced a series of restrictions that hit European exporters below the belt. Matters reached a point where President François Mitterrand of France accused the USA of pursuing an "international policy which tends increasingly to involve Europe in a worsening of the crisis."⁸

In a statement on these restrictions, the Luxembourg meeting of the Council of Ministers of European Communities (June 1982) stressed that it was not a matter of isolated steps but of a large-scale offensive launched by the Reagan administration, and described this policy as a "real economic war."⁹

Against this background Washington's attempts to hinder their trade with socialist countries were particularly painful to its allies. Both during and after the Versailles summit, the Washington administration made enormous efforts to subvert the foundations of these economic relations and cut off as many channels as possible for trade between the two parts of Europe. The culmination was an attempt to block the construction of the Siberia-Western Europe gas pipeline.

After banning the sale of pipeline equipment manufactured under U.S. license, the White House, which was opposed to this "deal of the century" from the outset, has been putting spokes in the wheel of economic cooperation among all European nations. Revealing what is at the back of the Reagan administration's decision, many observers note that U.S. oil-and-gas and coal corporations are out to get better terms for penetrating the European market.¹⁰ However, there are also other, more deep-lying motivations.

Expanding economic relations with socialist countries helps strengthen the positions of the West European competitors of the United States. That is why West European trade with the CMEA countries, which at the threshold of the 1980s, reached 60 billion dollars and exceeded trade between these countries and the USA 10-fold, has become a sore in the eye for the Reagan administration. By hitting its rivals in their most sensitive spot, energy

supply," Washington tries to prevent them from diversifying their channels of energy supply and thereby diminishing their dependence on U.S.-controlled sources. These maneuvers angered West European countries, whose governments showed unprecedented unanimity in rejecting the U.S. diktat.

The Reagan administration's allegation that the gas pipeline would make Western Europe "dependent on Moscow," heighten the "Soviet threat" and so on, is a reflection of the primitive anti-Sovietism typical of the present White House team. At the same time it shows how Washington uses anti-Soviet rhetoric and militarist frenzy to camouflage its self-serving policy of ensuring its own interests at the expense of its allies.

The NATO Council summit held in Bonn immediately after the Versailles meeting was something of a continuation of the latter in the military sphere. The participants decided on new steps to whip up the arms race. With the exception of Greece, which made certain reservations, they all supported the USA on the issue of strategic armaments and medium-range nuclear weapons, and proclaimed their intention to reinforce their arsenals of conventional weapons to the utmost. For the first time since NATO was formed, it was officially declared that the bloc's sphere of operation could be extended beyond Western Europe and the North Atlantic.

Washington's calculations are primarily military strategic. These calculations and the resulting activities are clearly designed to "localize" what U.S. policy-makers believe would be an acceptable nuclear conflict in such a way as to expose the West Europeans to retaliation while warding it off from their own territory. After all, it is Europe that Reagan sees as the likely theater of a "limited" nuclear war. The deployment of new U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe, prompted entirely by the concept of a "nuclear first strike," is expected to help lay the material groundwork for the achievement of these aims.

These missiles pose a deadly menace to the countries where they will be stationed. And not only to these countries, for a "limited" nuclear war would inevitably lead to a global war. As was noted in the joint statement published by the German Communist Party and the Communist Party of the USA just before the NATO meeting in Bonn, U.S. imperialism with "its insane strategy of a nuclear first strike, which is also the purpose of the deployment of new medium-range nuclear weapons in Western Europe, is driving the world toward the danger of a thermonuclear holocaust."¹²

Thus, exploiting the class sentiments of the West European bourgeoisie and its hatred for socialism, Washington is trying to tighten the noose of Atlantism around the neck of its allies to resolve inter-imperialist contradictions more easily in its favor, ensure that its interests are met at the expense of those of its partners, and tie them more firmly to its global policy. For the West European countries this U.S. tutelage is an increasingly costly and heavy burden adding to their internal difficulties and aggravating the effects of the crisis. Moreover, it directly exposes them to the danger of finding themselves in the epicenter of a nuclear conflagration. Growing public awareness of these realities is an important factor for the evolution of the situation on the European continent.

Common heritage

While the NATO leaders, closeted in the office of the Federal Chancellor, were discussing new military plans, 400,000 people gathered on the other bank of the Rhine for the largest demonstration ever held in the FRG. Its slogans included "Rise to act for peace," "End the arms race," "Jobs, not missiles," "No Pershings or Tomahawks," and "For a nuclear-free Europe." The Bonn demonstration was preceded by numerous other peace actions — demonstrations, processions, rallies and peace marches across the country. The unparalleled upsurge in the anti-war sentiments of large sections of the population mirrored the deep changes taking place in the thinking and political militancy of the masses.

The peace actions that rocked the FRG merged with numerous demonstrations in other West European countries and in the USA. The movement has truly impressive proportions — nearly half a million people demonstrated in Amsterdam, a quarter of a million in London and as many in Paris, 300,000 in Rome, 200,000 in Brussels, 100,000 in West Berlin, and so on. Tens and hundreds of thousands of people are taking to the streets in other West European cities with anti-war slogans. Millions put their signatures to petitions and appeals for peace, disarmament and talks. In the FRG, the Krefeld Appeal alone has already been signed by nearly three million people.

A noteworthy aspect of the movement is the participation of groups that had earlier stayed out of militant political activity or even supported the official thesis that "defense" must be strengthened. People prominent in culture, doctors and teachers are joining in the struggle against the war menace with growing determination. So are trade unions, women's and

youth organizations, church groups, environmentalists and municipalities.¹³ Alongside existing public organizations there spring up and gain strength many new ones with the sole objective of mobilizing people against the threat of war.

Another salient feature of the anti-war movement is that the watershed between the advocates and opponents of détente, disarmament, and peaceful cooperation now runs not along but inside the perimeter of bourgeois and social democratic parties, of different social forces and organizations, giving rise to heated debates, clashes of views, and sharp divergences of opinion on foreign policy problems. Reagan's policy of confrontation has been criticized by several parties of the Socialist International (SI). After visiting Washington and Moscow, a delegation of the Consultative Council for Disarmament set up by the SI came to the conclusion that the Kremlin, unlike the White House, abides by its policy of negotiation and détente. A similar conclusion was drawn by the Independent Commission for Disarmament headed by Olof Palme, the Swedish social democratic leader. Thus there is evidence that the social democrats recognize the positive contribution of the Soviet Union and the socialist community to the struggle for peace and stability in Europe.

How very greatly the strength of the anti-war movement in Western Europe has grown will be seen from the steps hastily taken by reactionary and militarist quarters to neutralize or at least undercut its influence. Formerly peace actions were merely ignored as not worth worrying about, but this is no longer possible. Last April representatives of the right-wing parties in the European Parliament set up a special institute under von Hassel, a NATO dignitary and reactionary, to combat the spreading anti-war movement in Europe. Organizers of the anti-war movement are fiercely attacked in the pro-NATO press. They are made out to be "tools in the hands of the communists" or "Moscow."

Assertions of this kind are ridiculed as absurd even by political leaders far removed from the communists. In a letter to the U.S. President dated last June 8, the British Labour Party wrote that many elements of U.S. policy had "contributed to a crisis of European confidence in the United States . . . One manifestation of the growing fears of European peoples is the remarkable growth of the peace movement. Contrary to some American comment, Mr. President, we can inform you that this peace movement is not 'communist-inspired.'"¹⁴

Of course, the communists of Europe, like

those of other continents, make an appreciable contribution to the defense of peace. Prompted by the vital interests of the people, they are fighting perseveringly in the ranks of the peace forces, urging them to unite and resisting attempts to split these forces and oppose them to one another. For years the communists of West European countries, working in the most diverse conditions, often in very difficult ones, have invariably upheld the ideas of peace and friendship among nations. At their Paris meeting two and a half years ago, communist and workers' parties of Europe launched an appeal "For Peace and Disarmament" to the peoples of the continent. "To this end," the appeal said, "we want all the peace-loving forces to join together. We say to all, whatever our national origins, our convictions, our way of life — communists, socialists, social democrats, or Christians and believers of other faiths: 'Peace is our common heritage!' . . .

"Men and women of goodwill, let us act together in each country and in Europe as a whole."¹⁵

This appeal is all the more relevant today. The ideas advanced by Europe's communists meet the innermost interests of the peoples, for they concern a vital problem of our time. The unprecedented growth of mass anti-war actions is a product of the objective conditions of social development, that is, first of all, the greatly increased significance of foreign policy problems, above all the issue of war and peace, in the life of nations; second, realization by increasing sections of the population of the adventurist and extremely dangerous nature of the foreign policies of U.S. imperialism; and third, the erosion of the myth of a "Soviet threat," used as camouflage for these policies. It is not a "Soviet threat" but a menace coming from U.S. militarism and reaction that confronts the peoples as a grim, tangible reality.

Commenting on the reasons for the unprecedented growth of the number of those who join in anti-war actions in the FRG, *Der Spiegel* wrote: "They are all frightened by the fact that stationed in (Western. — Auth.) Europe there are 6,000 nuclear warheads, most of them in the Federal Republic, that beginning with the autumn of 1983, if everything goes as Schmidt and Reagan want, another 108 medium-range Pershing-II and 96 Cruise missiles will be deployed, and that the territories of both German states will thereby become the theater of an eventual third world war waged with atomic weapons; all this now rouses more people than any other political problem."¹⁶

The impact of this process on the political life of West European nations is growing. While

many of them are allied with the USA and take part in the arms race and the pursuit of an Atlantic strategy, there are certain distinctions in the approach to world problems, in particular those of disarmament and détente. Being under strong pressure from public opinion, the ruling circles of most West European countries are more willing than the present White House team to conduct negotiations with socialist states, to help preserve the climate of détente and peaceful cooperation. Along with the consistent and constructive peace policy of the Soviet Union and the socialist community as a whole, the impact of the anti-war movement has made the USA sit down to talks on strategic arms limitation and reduction, which it had refused to do for nearly 18 months, as well as on nuclear arms limitation in Europe.

Anti-war actions are also beginning to influence the alignment of forces in many West European countries. In the voters' evaluation of this or that party, the ability of the party concerned to ensure a peaceful life, to prevent a military conflict, holds an increasingly important place. Of course, realization by the masses of the actual ways of achieving this aim is a complex process. After all, what party would openly admit today that it was championing war? They all swear allegiance to peace, and it is sometimes hard for the uninitiated to see clearly the nature of a political alignment and its real policy toward the issue of war and peace. Public discussion of these questions fosters the growth of social awareness among the masses, helping destroy many stereotype patterns of political thinking and, in the long run, influencing traditional preferences and guidelines formed over many years.

Thus the controversy over problems of war and peace has become a vastly important factor for both the foreign and the domestic policy of the countries of the region and exerts notable influence on the alignment of forces. At the same time, this alignment and the political panorama are shaping primarily under the impact of deep-going social processes and depend on the character and acuteness of class contradictions.

State-monopoly capitalism betrays more and more obviously its inability to use the gigantic production potential created by the labor of millions. Like epidemics, economic upheavals hit the most powerful industrialized capitalist countries, affecting huge numbers of people. In this situation socio-political life shows two distinctly opposed trends: first, the growing aspiration of the working class and other large sections of the population for social changes, for

an end to the difficulties arising from the capitalist crisis, and, second, the effort of the monopoly bourgeoisie to prevent these changes or give them a direction that will leave the foundations of the existing system intact.

The struggle between these trends is shaking the axis of public life, alternately shifting it to the left and to the right and essentially determining political development trends in West European countries.

The early 1980s have been marked by major victories of left and democratic forces. In France, the socialists' leader, Francois Mitterrand, became President with communist support (May 1981) and soon after the elections to the National Assembly, which brought success to the Socialist Party, a left government was formed with communist participation. In Greece the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) won the parliamentary elections in October 1981 and the communists strengthened their positions.

The significance of this change in the history of the two countries, change that had repercussions far beyond their frontiers, lies if only in the fact that in France the 23-year rule of the right came to an end and the communists entered the government for the first time in three decades, and that in Greece the right lost power for the first time (except for brief intervals) in that country's modern history. The people's discontent with the policies that the conservative parties were pursuing in the interest of big business, a discontent that had been growing over a long period, led to significant changes in social consciousness, and election results have shown this. How deep-going and lasting this change is will depend on the extent to which the left forces succeed in achieving their declared aims and in keeping their promises to the electorate.

Time has demonstrated an indisputable truth, namely, that any attempt to pursue a policy consonant with the aspirations and needs of the working people and limiting the prerogatives and privileges of the propertied classes encounters fierce resistance on the latter's part and that it is extremely hard to achieve positive results without neutralizing this resistance. France is a case in point.

On coming to power, the new French government carried out a series of progressive reforms. It raised various family allowances and the wages of low-paid categories, shortened the working week, lengthened holidays and has been extending the workers' rights in the enterprises. The nationalization of some major monopoly groups and banks made it possible to strengthen the public sector considerably. The

decentralization of administration and the abolition of the institution of prefects extend the powers and increase the role of local elected government bodies. Important democratic measures were adopted in housing policy, public health, education and culture.

However, many key problems are still unsolved. Shortly before the presidential elections, the weekly magazine *Express*¹⁷ conducted an opinion poll, asking the participants to list 15 problems agitating the French in the order of their importance. The overwhelming majority of the polled placed unemployment at the top of the list, with inflation and social inequality as second and third. These are still the most acute problems for the French. Unemployment stands at nearly 1.9 million and inflation continues to swallow wages, running at an annual rate in excess of 10 per cent. "As regards social inequalities, they do not seem to have diminished noticeably, for incomes derived from speculation have not stopped growing," says a report submitted to the FCP National Conference in June 1982.¹⁸

The government's attempts to reinvigorate the economy, reduce unemployment and bring down inflation still fall short of expectations because the main levers of economic development remain in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie, which is doing everything to frustrate any measures affecting its selfish interests. "One must be clear," says the report mentioned above, "that the difficulties we are encountering are due in the first place to the behavior of big business and the privileged. They not only fail to do their duty to the national economy but often frustrate deliberately the efforts that are made to achieve social and economic progress."¹⁹

Economic subversion is combined with the activities of the right-wing parties in parliament, primarily the Senate, and in the Constitutional Council. These activities are aimed at blocking progressive legislation. The ultimate goal of big business and the opposition is clearly to prevent the planned changes, prove that the socialists and communists are "ruining the economy" and erode the mainstay of the left in the country by provoking dissatisfaction among the French.

This strategy produces some results; in the by-elections to the National Assembly last January and in the cantonal elections last March, the rightists made some gains. They are now out to take revenge at the municipal elections next March.

Similar methods are used by the conservatives in Greece. The Federation of Greek Industrialists warned the government in an open let-

ter against "experimentation in trade and industry," meaning plans for the nationalization of several industries. This pressure is making itself felt. The Communist Party points out that although the government has carried out some democratic measures, it has done nothing so far to curb the capitalists, and the people have yet to see real changes. At its meeting last July, the CC of the Communist Party of Greece pointed out that the government's hostile attitude to the CPG was "weakening the front of progressive forces which play an important role in the implementation of any democratic measure and in resistance to reaction's plans . . . To bring about real changes, the country needs a democratic government backed by all the democratic forces seeking change to one extent or another, as well as by a mass movement of the people."²⁰

The attempts of the rightists in France and Greece to mount a counter-assault by using the positions they retain, chiefly in the economy, merge with the common effort of West European reaction and the monopoly groups backing it to stop the "tilt to the left" which began in the political life of a sizable part of the continent in the mid-1970s. This applies primarily to the southern and southwestern groups of countries, where developments were highlighted by a democratic revolution that overthrew fascism in Portugal, the downfall of the "Black Colonels'" dictatorship in Greece and the defeat of the Franco regime in Spain.

The rightists are carrying on their counter-assault in diverse forms and directions. In Portugal, reaction operating in league with the leadership of the Socialist Party, seeks an illegal revision of the democratic constitution adopted as a result of the revolution in April 1974. Reaction refuses to settle for the changes which it contrived to ram through parliament in August 1982 (the dissolution of the Revolutionary Council, curbs on the President's powers, and the placing of the armed forces under government control). It would like to do away with all the more important achievements of the revolution, such as nationalization, the agrarian reform, and democratic freedoms, that is, to accomplish what would amount to a coup.

In Spain the ultras in the army, who are supported by the extreme right parties, are threatening to stage another military putsch, while the government, referring to this threat as one of the reasons, has taken Spain into NATO, in which it will be easier — or so the government says — to guarantee the "preservation of democracy." Its actual purpose, however, is to keep to a right-of-center course, build up a "conservative front," and prevent the left forces

from winning the parliamentary elections in the autumn.

Italy is in a state of chronic political crisis.

In the central and northern regions of the continent the rightists' activities found reflection in the gains of Norway's conservatives — the Høyre Party — in parliamentary elections in September 1981, the strengthening of the right-wing bourgeois parties' positions in Holland and the resignation of the social democratic government in Denmark.

In Britain the Tories used certain factors, in particular the wave of jingoism that surged high during the Falklands (Malvinas) war, to score gains in the municipal elections last May as well as in some by-elections to the House of Commons. They are trying to check the growth of radical sentiments in the working-class movement and stop the Labour Party's swing to the left, a trend that has emerged in recent years. The Liberal-Social Democratic bloc, formed in the spring of 1981 as a result of the break-away of some rightist Labour leaders, aspires to the role of a new major political force.

In the FRG the social democratic leadership's contradictory policies caused discontent among the population, a discontent which was made worse by the crisis and which was skillfully exploited by the conservative opposition — the CDU/CSU bloc. This development affected the outcome of elections to the parliaments of some West German states and culminated in the disintegration of the SPD/FDP coalition, which had governed the country for 13 years, and in the formation of a government led by the former opposition.

By contrast, the September elections to the Swedish Riksdag resulted in the social democrats' return to power after a six-year interval.

Speaking generally, the situation in many West European countries is characterized by mounting instability, a fluctuating balance of forces and oscillations of the center of gravity in political power and public life. In many cases, even minor changes in the attitude of a section of the electorate may have a strong impact in the sense of tipping the scales in favor of this or that party. What has its effect is, above all, the growing numerical strength of the middle strata, with their changeable sentiments, contradictory guidelines, and "lurches" in supporting various political currents.

The exacerbation of class contradictions and mounting social tensions have a decisive impact on the alignment of forces. Increasingly brutal exploitation and monopoly attempts to shift the burden of the crisis onto the shoulders of the masses make for an intensification of the strike movement and the growth of class strug-

gles in many West European countries. Whereas the number of strikers in industrialized capitalist countries in the 1960s averaged 37 million annually, in the early 1980s it nearly doubled; trade union estimates set the number of strikers at 71 million in 1981. The strikes were characterized by perseverance and a long duration, and many of them assumed a political hue.

The exacerbation of antagonisms between labor and capital in an atmosphere of economic crisis leads, on the one hand, to growing working-class militancy and more vigorous actions by the working people, helping create the prerequisites of a change in the social consciousness of the masses in favor of the left forces, and, on the other, to feverish quests by the ruling classes for ways and means of neutralizing these trends. At the moment the bourgeoisie uses unemployment and social insecurity to put pressure on the working people, to divide and intimidate them, to undermine the trade unions, and dampen the strike movement. More and more frequently, aggressive elements in some countries resort to the weapons of right extremism and neofascism, of various shadings of terrorism, to stem the advance of left forces.

Conservatives have lately stepped up their efforts to coordinate action on the continental level, to unite against democratic and progressive movements. The European People's Party representing national Christian democratic currents, and the Federation of Liberal and Democratic Parties of the European Community were formed back in 1976. At a conference in Paris this year, the so-called European Democratic Union, which groups West European conservative, Liberal, and Christian democratic parties, decided to extend the "right-wing front" and set up a "Conservative International."

The communist parties are faced with difficult tasks in this situation; they must ensure defense of the working people's economic and political rights, help raise their class consciousness, and build up working-class influence on developments in West European countries. In advocating the cohesion of the working class, unity of action of the political parties representing it, and joint efforts to bar reaction, defend democratic achievements and open new prospects for social progress, the communists work to provide the decisive conditions for genuine social changes.

It will depend on the struggle of progressive and democratic forces whether there is a new swing to the left on the West European political scene and whether new bridgeheads are won

for real changes in the interests of the working people, of peace, democracy and socialism. Where Western Europe goes will depend on the outcome of this struggle.

**Working Group of the Commission
on Problems of the Class Struggle in
Industrialized Capitalist Countries**

1. See "Africa in the Early 80s," WMR, September 1981, and "Latin America: Decade with a Hard Beginning," WMR, March 1982.
2. See WMR, June 1980.
3. Keesing's Contemporary Archives, Vol. XXII, January 9, 1976, p. 27502.
4. *Le Monde*, June 8, 1982.
5. Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development; it groups 24, mostly West European, countries.
6. *Le Monde*, June 8, 1982.
7. *The Guardian*, June 7, 1982.
8. *Le Monde*, June 24, 1982.

9. Ibid.

10. The USA expects to increase profits from foreign trade through the growing exports of coal by more than 14 billion dollars toward the year 2000. See *Business Week*, November 9, 1981.

11. Western Europe is much worse off for energy; in the mid-1970s the EEC countries covered 61 per cent of their fuel requirements with imports, while the USA had to import only 19 per cent of its fuel.

12. *Daily World*, June 4, 1982.

13. In Britain, for instance, nearly 200 local government bodies, including the Council of Greater London and the Manchester Municipal Council as well as all Welsh municipalities, have proclaimed their territory a nuclear-free zone.

14. Quoted from press release.

15. WMR, June 1980.

16. *Der Spiegel*, April 5, 1982, p. 19.

17. See *L'Express*, January 31, 1981, p. 32.

18. *L'Humanité*, June 21, 1982.

19. Ibid.

20. *Rizospastis*, July 11, 1982.



For the cause of the working class, for the interests of all working people

Janet Jagan

CC Secretary, People's Progressive Party of Guyana

The People's Progressive Party (PPP) of Guyana held its 21st congress in Georgetown from July 31 to August 2, 1982. The congress was attended by 504 delegates and 150 observers and by 20 delegations from fraternal parties and national liberation movements. "Strengthen the party! Defend the masses! Liberate Guyana!" was the slogan of the congress. This slogan went to the heart of the situation now facing the working people and the vanguard party, the PPP. In the 1950s, when it led the struggle for independence, the PPP was a revolutionary democratic party. At a special conference in 1969 it took a decision to transform itself into a Marxist-Leninist party. This transformation has been going on successfully since that time.

The Central Committee report to the 21st congress, submitted by General Secretary Cheddi Jagan, said that the party has won the role of vanguard by its loyalty to the working class, its unflinching adherence to principle and constant struggle against right and left opportunism, and its undeviating internationalism. The party has grown quantitatively and qualitatively. Its influence has increased at the political, ideological and economic levels. The party's patient ideological

education work, propaganda and agitation are bearing fruit. As a result, the Guyanese are among the most politically enlightened and class-conscious peoples of the Caribbean. The party noted a marked improvement in its organizational structure. District and regional committees are functioning in accordance with the party constitution and generally show improvements.

And yet, despite the signs that the PPP is in good health, there are many weaknesses that have to be removed. The congress was of the opinion that all efforts must be put into strengthening the party organizationally and ideologically and into activating the masses.

The group, the basic unit of the party, is the foundation and source of strength. It is the party's closest link with the masses. Here, too, we have had some advance. In addition to the coastlands, the traditional areas of our strength, party groups have now been established in remote interior areas, mainly among the Amerindian population. Many groups have increased membership and apply the party's policies creatively while others lack good leadership and working programs. In certain areas emigration due to unemployment, discrimination and

growing poverty have resulted in the loss of some activists.

In Georgetown and nearby areas special political work has been going on at factories and work-sites, mainly agitational, distributing literature and handbills. Fundraising by groups has been excellent. House to house campaigns have been carried out in most areas, in particular those where the ruling People's National Congress (PNC) used to be strong, with the result that it is losing influence.

Delegates were urged to expand membership by recruiting the most advanced persons among the workers, peasants and other sections of the population; to continuously adopt a businesslike approach to the functioning of groups, district and regional committees; to strictly adhere to the principles of democratic centralism and to vigorously extend the influence of the party. The first CC meeting held after the congress decided to set up a top-level Action Committee that will concentrate on fulfilling the directive to strengthen the party organizationally and ideologically.

The slogans of the congress echoed through the Central Committee report and the contributions to the discussion made by 34 delegates. The report began the detailed examination of the economic and social crisis facing Guyana with these words: "Our dear land has never in living memory found itself in such a calamitous situation. Everywhere there are signs of collapse. The masses are at their wits' end to find a way to survive." The report referred to the stepped-up assaults on democracy and to the conclusions of the International Team of Observers at the December 1980 elections. "... On the basis of abundant and clear evidence," it was stated, "... the election was rigged massively and flagrantly. Fortunately, however, the scale of the fraud made it impossible to conceal either from the Guyanese public or the outside world."¹

The economic crisis is going deeper. One minister of the ruling PNC admitted that the country is "tottering on the brink of collapse." The crisis manifests itself primarily in an ever-increasing budgetary deficit, which jumped from \$124 million in 1978 to \$274 million in 1981 and is expected to stand at 45 per cent of current revenue by the end of 1982. However, in view of a sharp decline in production, the deficit is likely to be higher.

The reasons for this situation were outlined in the Central Committee report. Firstly, tribute going to the ruling élite in the form of high salaries and fat allowances, plus an overbloated bureaucratic, military and paramilitary apparatus. Secondly, debt and compensation

payments to foreign banks; they have increased from 10 million Guyanese dollars in 1964 to 462 million dollars in 1982. Guyana is a classical example of foreign aid becoming a noose that is tightening around the people's neck.

Dependence on the capitalist world is increasing from year to year. Guyana spends 41 per cent of its foreign earnings on oil imports. The PPP blamed the ruling party for scrapping the nation's railways and for failing to implement the hydro-electric schemes which the PPP had initiated when in government. The regime was severely criticized for mismanagement and corruption which have led to markedly reduced production. But it puts the blame on strikes.

The lack of foreign exchange not only causes severe shortages of basic foodstuffs and hence blackmarketing, but has resulted in the shortage of raw materials, spare parts and capital equipment. The factories have to close down or work intermittently. This applies particularly to the nationalized bauxite and sugar industries.

Pressures from the International Monetary Fund which have led to the removal of subsidies, higher prices, massive dismissal of workers and heavier taxes, have caused additional burdens to the working people. Real per capita income fell off by 44 per cent between 1976 and 1980. Devaluation led to a drop in the exchange rate of the Guyanese dollar by 18 per cent with respect to the U.S. dollar and this, plus tax increases and removal of subsidies, led to a decline in purchasing power by nearly 30 per cent. Unemployment shows a sharp increase. This year, 6,000 workers were dismissed from the government service. An estimated 4,000 more have lost work due to the closure of factories and other establishments.

To bring the country closer to a solution of its problems, the congress put forward a program of 12 points. Heading the list is the restoration of democracy, which is fundamental for economic recovery. The party's proposals also call for an end to political and racial discrimination; a planned economy with simultaneous emphasis on agriculture and industry; resistance to denationalization in any form; preferential treatment to patriotic small and medium businessmen; suspension of debt and compensation payments to foreign creditors; establishment of an all-party committee to monitor imports and distribution of commodities; diversification of foreign economic relations by strengthening links with the socialist countries and other democratic states; a reduction of the large and costly standing army; the formation of a genuine people's militia. We

must staunchly defend and ably publicize the ideas of scientific socialism and reveal the utopian and petty-bourgeois character of the concept of "cooperative socialism" adopted by the PNC. The chief task is to prevent capitalism from becoming the dominant sector and defeat attempts aimed at moving Guyana further on a capitalist course.

An important topic of the congress was that of unity among progressive and revolutionary forces. The attempts in 1978 to bring them together in a National Patriotic Front produced no tangible results but the concept of such a front has had considerable influence among the public. Our party's thesis "Winner does not take all"² has had a salutary effect, since there is hardly any doubt that in any fair elections the PPP will win the majority. The three elections held before were won by the PNC as a result of rigging. The report emphasized that real unity would not be achieved by superficial deals. It must be established on the basis of principles and can only come from struggle for common objectives.

A task set for the coming period is to step up political education in all factories, offices and schools. The PPP has to arm the workers with its alternative solutions to the crisis. The trade unions must defend the workers' rights more effectively. The congress called on the party to work among farmers, defend their interests and resist the growth of large-scale capitalist agriculture at the expense of small farmers.

Having examined the domestic political situation, the congress came to the following conclusion: to coalesce all progressive and revolutionary forces and strive for a change in the existing social order on the basis of the principles of democracy, anti-imperialism and socialist orientation. We must work among all sections of the population, telling them what is needed for the formation of a national patriotic front and showing them the place and role of these sections in the proposed alliance. It is important to conduct a permanent dialogue with mass organizations, societies and clubs and to win them over to our side. In the case of organizations headed by reactionary leaders we must mobilize the rank and file to fight for their removal. Every effort must be made to heighten the militancy of the masses and achieve successes in every sector, whether large or small.

The congress made a comprehensive analysis of the international situation, devoting special attention to the Caribbean area. It placed emphasis on the demands for an end to imperialist interference in El Salvador and U.S. intrigues against Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada and Surinam. There was a strong expression of

the deepest concern at the "specter of nuclear war which has been raised and continuously projected by the United States." "There is no other issue which is more important than the preservation of peace in the world," the report noted. "There is no alternative except that of death and destruction of all living things on our planet. Yet President Reagan and his administration speak and behave as if nuclear war is an acceptable means of decimating the Soviet Union and perhaps much of humankind as well as for the purpose of maintaining the ability for the U.S. to continue to exploit and plunder the resources and riches of other countries."

The Central Committee of the PPP decided to set up a special party committee to mobilize Guyanese to resist the war menace and champion peace. "We join hands with all peace-loving forces the world over in demanding of imperialism an end to the arms race, meaningful negotiations with the Soviet Union, a return to détente and a permanent state of peace on earth. We say no to nuclear holocaust."

The 21st congress was attended by more women delegates than earlier congresses and the delegates' average age — 30 years — was lower than before. All those present at the congress agreed that it was one of the best congresses ever held. There was evidence of greater discipline, enthusiasm and ideological progress.

Immediately following the 21st congress, a consultative meeting of 11 Caribbean communist, workers' and revolutionary democratic parties and organizations was held. It examined the general situation in the region and heard reports of the most recent developments. The final document issued after the meeting demanded the complete decolonization of the region, expressed solidarity for the revolutions of Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada and Surinam and condemned Reagan's so-called Caribbean Basin Initiative³ as inimical to the interests of the Caribbean peoples. The meeting passed a special solidarity resolution on Grenada. The participants reaffirmed their resolve to fight for world peace and disarmament and for the transformation of the Caribbean into a zone of peace.

1. *Something to Remember*. The Report of the International Team of Observers at the Elections in Guyana, December 1980. British Parliamentary Human Rights Group, House of Commons, London, 1980, p. 28.

2. See Clement Rohee, "Our Strength Is the People," *WMR*, December 1981.

3. A promise of "aid" to Caribbean countries made by President Reagan last February. He attached to this "aid," for all that it would be insignificant, strings injuring the national sovereignty of the recipients. — Ed.

Tunisia: the party after legalization

Yuri Potyomkin
Staff member

A POLITICAL REPORT

On arriving in a country where you had not been for 10 years, you are bound to notice something new. In Tunisia I discovered quite a few new phenomena that are both significant and contradictory. The numerous offices of domestic and foreign banks may be said to symbolize a switch from the "cooperative socialism" of the 60s to the "liberalism" of the 70s.¹ Impressive villas adjoining the famous ruins of Carthage give an idea of the life of the nouveaux riches, which contrasts with that of, say, the "ordinary" people of the southwestern outskirts of the Tunisian capital.

On familiarizing yourself with public life, you are struck by certain changes in the political sphere as well. The trade union movement has won autonomy and actually defends the interests of labor. The Communist Party has been legalized. Opposition newspapers are published, if at forcedly irregular intervals.

Out of the "shadows"

23 London Street is in no way different from neighboring houses. But still it is not just an ordinary house, for one of its four storeys is occupied by the Central Committee of the Tunisian Communist Party (TCP), an organization that was banned for more than 18 years, from January 1963 to July 1981. Another is taken up by *At-Tariq al-Jadid* (The New Road), the party's weekly newspaper.

The legalization of the TCP is one of the outstanding events of the recent period, marking a substantial change in national politics. Here are some relevant dates:

April 10, 1981. Speaking to a congress of the ruling Destour Socialist Party (DSP), Habib Bourguiba, President of the Republic, announced his acceptance of political pluralism. This meant recognizing the possibility of opposition movements and organizations operating in conditions of legality.

April 11. Mohamed Harmel, First Secretary of the TCP CC welcomed the announcement. He stressed that Tunisia's communists have their roots in the national and working-class movements and adhere to the scientific and revolutionary Marxist theory of transforming society in the interests of the workers and peas-

ants, of the people as a whole, with due regard to Tunisian conditions and positive traditions of Arab Muslim civilization.

May 26. The TCP held a public press conference, its first since 1963. The conference aroused enormous interest. ("The audience could not at first get rid of the impression that something unreal was happening," wrote a Tunisian journalist. "But the First Secretary of the TCP CC was there and was speaking. That meant that the communists had really come out of the shadows.") In a statement for the press the party again expressed satisfaction with the official recognition of the possibility of legal political opposition. It demanded that the decision banning the TCP be revoked and that other political currents be allowed to form their organizations.

July 6. Premier Mzali said after conferring with President Bourguiba that the head of state had "consented to Mohamed Harmel, General Secretary of the Tunisian Communist Party, being authorized to publish his newspaper."

July 18. The President received Harmel and told him that the ban on the Communist Party had been lifted.

October 3. The first issue of the party weekly appeared at newsstands. The communists' emergence from the "shadows" was a fact.

The legalization of the party, Tunisian comrades told me, fits into the overall context of socio-political changes resulting from political and trade union struggles. The frankly repressive policy and obvious capitalist orientation adopted in the early 70s greatly reduced the prestige of the ruling party. As for re-establishing the earlier situation with a "firm hand," by force, as the regime tried to do on January 26, 1978,² it was no longer possible, for it would have led to further complications. There was a need for change in the social climate. It was in these circumstances that the regime decided to virtually recognize pluralism and the autonomy of the trade union movement.

Organizational restoration

The party's priority task after legalization was to restore its organizational structure, reinforce

its ranks, and form cells with the ultimate aim of building a mass party.

The printed form to be filled by applicants for TCP membership is a sheet of thick light green paper the size of a cigarette package. An applicant must give his name, date and place of birth, profession and address. Many hundreds of applications have been received by provisional section committees of the TCP since July 1981. The committees comprise both veterans who have been in the party for years or even decades and comrades who joined a short time ago.

Working people, in particular youth, have long associated the name of the Communist Party (if vaguely at times as a consequence of anti-communist propaganda) with the ideal of social justice. Legalization understandably had a strong emotional impact and was accompanied by a flow of applications for membership. But applicants were motivated by different considerations. Many of them were prompted by a perfectly conscious desire to join in organized political struggle for progressive democratic changes in the country. Others swung to the communists on impulse, because they sympathized with them or were unhappy about deteriorating conditions of life.

Be that as it may, admitting all applicants indiscriminately, en masse, was out of the question. It was indispensable to examine applications as carefully as possible so as to ascertain who was really determined to fight in the ranks of the communists. Time had to be given a chance to do its job, for it alone could show how people comported themselves in different situations, how far they were prepared to join the party and become real fighters for its cause.

I know from Ahmed Brahim, CC member and Secretary of the Greater Tunis Provisional Committee of the TCP, that the flow of applications was particularly strong before the general election held on November 1, 1981. The party limited its participation in the campaign by nominating candidates in only some electoral districts.³ Due to a rigging of election returns, over-optimistic hopes cherished by a substantial part of the public gave way to pessimism.

Needless to say, party sections did not sit back watching time "at work." Where they had competent people they set up political study classes for future party members by agreement with the Central Committee. In Gafsa there were classes lasting a week or three days, with a program taking into account the situation of the party and the extent of the students' knowledge. The aim was to provide students, mostly mining workers, with fundamental data on the party's history and to outline its approach to

problems of the country's development and to the trade union movement, that is, to extend their political horizon by supplying them with elementary knowledge.

The party could not organize classes everywhere. But speaking generally, people were getting a better idea of the party, its history and its current position and objectives. They were helped in this by the election campaign and subsequent activities devoted to various events or memorable dates, such as International Women's Day (observed for the first time) or the anniversary of independence.

At-Tariq al-Jadid plays a particularly important part. It did not take long to gain prominence in the national press. The communists' 16-page weekly newspaper publicizes Marxist-Leninist theory, spells out the party's position on key problems of social development, constructively criticizes official policy and argues for alternative solutions in the working people's interests. Its every issue is a fruit of dedicated effort by a small team of journalists and technical workers. The only full-time member of the staff is the chief editor, Political Bureau member and CC Secretary Abdelhamid Ben Mustapha. The rest, including all section hands, are volunteers who give the paper their free time.

"The weekly is brought out mainly by volunteers," Ben Mustapha told me. "There are difficulties, of course, nor are they negligible, especially because we have no printing press of our own. Even so, the paper comes out regularly."

The selection of new TCP members was completed in the main by last spring. In April and May they were issued with party cards. The membership grew considerably. This enabled the party to set about forming organizations in large enterprises and residential neighborhoods. The party's links with the working people, with the working class, gained in importance as this work went on.

The working class: awakening to its strength

There are still few workers among the communists — for more than one reason. From what Tunisian comrades said, the most general reason is the low level of the workers' class and political consciousness due to the relative youth of the class itself, the fact that a substantial number of workers are scattered over small enterprises, and the influence of various shadings of petty-bourgeois ideology. All this undoubtedly slackens the growth of the workers' ability to couple their economic demands with broad political ones.

A further reason is the fact that for a long time the DSP maintained close political and ideological control over the General Federation of Tunisian Workers (GFTW). Recent years, however, have seen appreciable changes in this respect. They call for a brief retrospect.

The trade union center, formed after the Second World War, played a big role in the struggle for national liberation. (Along with the GFTW there was a Federation of Tunisian Trade Unions in which the communists were very active. The latter was dissolved in 1956 in the interest of unity and its affiliates joined the GFTW.) After a long period of lethargy and submission to the ruling party, the trade unions tended increasingly to seek autonomy and to really defend the interests of labor. The GFTW stepped up its activity considerably in the 70s, when the regime embarked on "economic liberalism." The strike movement was on the rise and there was increasingly persistent calls for the withdrawal of the GFTW from the tandem with the DSP and for its winning the right to work out and put forward its own solutions to the country's social and economic problems.

At first the authorities resorted to repressive measures in an attempt at "pacification," as I have noted. General Secretary Habib Achour and other leaders of the GFTW were arrested and tried by an extraordinary court. Repression was applied to many other trade unionists. The regime entrusted the leadership of the Federation to its yes-men, whom the rank and file did not want.

The results proved counterproductive and a sharp political crisis set in. The workers went on strike more and more frequently, demanding respect for trade union democracy. The movement for a GFTW independent from the DSP grew fast. And just as rapidly, the "unreasoning trust" (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 24, p. 64) of the masses in the regime's social and economic policy fell away.

In these circumstances the regime was compelled to back down. Those who had been directly involved in "arm twisting" in the trade unions were removed from their high positions. There came official statements about political pluralism and a desire for greater social justice. In April 1981 an extraordinary GFTW congress elected a new leadership composed entirely of trade unionists who had been persecuted. Tayeb Bakkouche became General Secretary. Somewhat later Habib Achour was restored to his civil rights. The GFTW National Council unanimously elected him its Chairman and leader.

The powerful autonomist trend that arose in the trade unions loosened but did not sever

relations between them and the ruling party. Some union officers, mostly those leaning toward the DSP, declare for the maintenance of the earlier political relations, if on a reduced scale. Last year they succeeded — with considerable difficulty, it is true — in putting through a decision on the GFTW entering into an electoral bloc with the DSP. It is revealing, however, that most of the major affiliates, such as the unions of transport, building, textile and other workers, which account for 65 to 70 per cent of the Federation membership, were opposed to the idea.

This is a tangible indication of the socio-political radicalization of the working class. However, brutality and repression in regard to the GFTW and the resulting crisis have made the trade union apparatus allergic, so to speak, not only to DSP control but to the influence of any other party. There is now a provision in the Federation's constitution under which a trade union leader shall have no political commitments.

Such, then, is the rather intricate socio-political background against which the TCP has resumed its activity in conditions of legality. By the time the party came out of the "shadows," the bulk of its cadre was made up of professional and office workers both in the capital and elsewhere (except for the mining area in the South). As a result, they bear the brunt of the organizational restoration of the party. School and lycée teachers, college and university lecturers, office employees, doctors and engineers make up the majority of the committee secretaries and members of the party sections that I visited.

The task facing these veteran and newly admitted members is to extend and strengthen the party's positions among the working class and train cadre members from among the workers. There are now greater opportunities for this. Of course, they vary locally due to many factors, including the level of industrial development, the degree of concentration of workers, their economic condition and sentiments and the extent of TCP influence.

Continuity

The building that is to house the board of directors and various services of the state phosphate company is going up not far from the central square of Gafsa. Its framework dominates the town, as if stressing the principal economic trend of that semi-desert southern area. Of the five main deposits, four lie at Mdilla, Redeyef, Moulares and Metlaoui. Roughly five million tons of this raw material is extracted in Tunisia annually, which places it among the world's

biggest producers and exporters of phosphates. The more than 10,000 miners of the area are the oldest contingent of the working class.

Communist influence was evident in Gafsa even before the war and has increased since. Hassen Sadaoui, Chairman of the Federation of Tunisian Trade Unions, played a big role in the development of the miners' trade union movement; he was tortured to death at police headquarters after the banning of the party. The miners' union, a strong and militant organization, carried out dozens of economic and political strikes. The miners' class consciousness grew and so did their confidence in the party.

The prohibition of the TCP and long years of illegality could not destroy the deep roots struck by the party among the miners. Besides, the social and economic situation in the area is still very serious. Even official statistics speak of 20,000 unemployed in the area. Actually the number of jobless exceeds 40,000, I was told by Mohamed Alimi, Regional General Secretary of the GFTW.

Most miners' families live in crowded dwellings lacking running water and sewerage; it is only engineering and managerial personnel that the phosphate company provides with reasonably decent housing. Prophylaxis is virtually non-existent in the mines, with the result that occupational diseases, particularly silicosis, are common. Wages barely exceed the officially established minimum.

Today's economic policy of the regime offers no real prospects of solving the acute social and economic problems of the area. This breeds widespread discontent, which found expression in, among other things, massive support for the TCP in last year's parliamentary election. In Gafsa the TCP candidates won an impressive majority (the official figures were grossly doctored and the communists can prove it). In some neighborhoods the party's blue list won all votes. In the third electoral district at Lalla, a community near Gafsa, 90 of the 127 registered voters went to the polls and all of them backed the TCP.

Gafsa is not an exception, for the communists' real and potential following is nationwide. Legalization did not mean that they had to begin from scratch. Founded in 1939 on the basis of the Communist Federation of Tunisia, which had existed since 1920 as an affiliate of the FCP, the party was subsequently prominent on the political scene. It played a big role, as I have said, in the development of the trade union movement and the fight against colonial rule, and has steadfastly defended the working people's interests throughout the

period of independence. The ban certainly compounded the situation but the party lived on. In spite of the harsh conditions of illegality, the TCP improved its work and overcame left and right opportunism, following a line which developments proved correct. In February 1981 it held its eighth congress, which elected a new Central Committee and approved a program for progressive changes. The party leadership elected by the congress comprises members of different generations.

Past achievements have undoubtedly helped the party work fruitfully ever since legalization. Loyalty to the revolutionary ideology of the working class and Leninist organizational and political principles, unrelenting struggle for all-round social progress, a creative approach to problems, a correct analysis of phenomena and initiatives promoting unity lend the TCP dynamism and enable it to make headway. It is not surprising, therefore, that anti-communists do all they can to hamper the party's advance.

Difficulties of the new stage

I went to Gafsa with Housin Tlili. A native of that town and an expert in the aesthetics of Muslim art, he lives and works in the capital but makes frequent trips to Gafsa on party business. He knows people there, and so was greeted by nearly everybody who came our way. The very first man we met in the main square shortly before dusk, when the hustle and bustle is at its highest, was his namesake Hassen Tlili, a likable young postal employee. He had been put behind bars more than a month before and was just out of prison.

This is how it happened: The party was holding a series of rallies at which it revealed the causes of the socio-economic crisis in the area and set out its proposed solutions. DSP "militias" tried to prevent the rallies by cutting off all access routes and using sticks and stones. Some comrades were wounded. In Moulares the party premises were set on fire. The police winked at the provocations. In fact, it seized three communists in Mdilla, including Hassen Tlili.

The outrages drew strong protests from the TCP and other democratic forces.

Not one of the party's regional headquarters which I had a chance to visit has a sign. The local authorities raise obstacles. Often disguised economic pressure is brought to bear on communists and sympathizers. In the case of the workers it is either artificial delays in promotion, or even the threat of dismissal. Fear of this prospect at a time of mass unemployment adds to the difficulties.

Furthermore, the party comes up against

"quiet subversion" in the form of denial of access to auditoriums for this or that event. Requests are submitted in advance but are often ignored or are granted later than needed. Let me cite one of many instances. The communists had to hold a rally dedicated to International Women's Day on March 13 because "no" hall was available earlier.

However, it is not only the authorities at all levels — down to the enterprises — that raise obstacles. Their efforts are virtually backed by the essentially anti-communist activity of some ultra-left groups. Generally disunited, these groups are very active, nevertheless, and influence some young people. I heard about this in Metlaoui, Redeyef, Sousse and Sfax.

To change the situation, communists told me, the party must overcome considerable difficulties, in particular financial ones. This is a general and important aspect of the stage of restoring the TCP organizationally and politically. The several scantily furnished rooms occupied by the TCP weekly, look perfectly respectable in comparison with the premises of many party sections. The severe shortage of funds inevitably affects party life and activities. It is directly responsible for the fact that even in Greater Tunis the party only has premises for the CC, the newspaper and the City Committee.

The workers are unquestionably drawn to the party but this may be described as still instinctive to a notable extent and is seldom prompted by a more or less clear idea of the party's principles and objectives. This is understandable, for in the nearly two decades during which the TCP was "absent" from the legal political scene a new generation grew up that had little contact with the communists. In these circumstances the significance of informing people will be readily appreciated. The party attaches great importance to this work but it is short of books and pamphlets; party sections are only just beginning to set up political libraries. Of course, they also need material on the current stage and problems of the country's development and on the world communist and working-class movement.

Molding the political consciousness of the working people is considerably handicapped by survivals of tribalism.⁴ This is particularly noticeable in the South. Tribal relations and a corresponding mentality intertwine with social relations, conditioning the behavior of many workers to this day. In a mining town members of the Ouled Bou Yahia (Sons of Yahia) tribe make up the majority of competent personnel, some of them holding managerial or trade union posts. The Ouled Bou Yahia's reciprocal favoritism constantly reproduces their domin-

ant positions to the detriment of another tribe, the Abidi. This keeps up the flames of inter-tribal hostility in and outside the production sphere.

New opportunities

The difficulties facing the communists do not at all "spoil" the principal impression of the visit to the Gafsa area, namely, the solidity of the party's political positions and a social atmosphere favorable to their further strengthening thanks to a widespread democratic movement of the masses and their strong desire for progressive change. These aspects of the socio-political situation also manifest themselves in other areas of the country, which objectively offers the party ample opportunities for work. Frequent mention of these opportunities was made by comrades whom I talked with in Gabes.

A tourist paradise (apparently the only locality in the Saharan and adjacent region of Africa where the luxuriant vegetation of an oasis borders on the magnificent azure of the sea), Gabes has acquired new, industrial features in recent years. As you draw near the town you see from afar the streamlined white buildings and dense brown smoke of a chemical complex that has been operating since 1972 on the basis of Gafsa phosphates. There are plants producing flourine, cement and bricks. Like the complex, these are new plants equipped with up-to-date facilities. They employ relatively few workers. But the town's industries give jobs to roughly 5,000 people, which is a large figure by Tunisian standards.

Unlike the Gafsa area, the party in the past lacked a base in Gabes, whose principal occupations were agriculture and trade. The advent of industry altered the situation. Gabes, a provincial capital of 90,000 people, now has a substantial number of industrial workers and there are very radical-minded people among the town's trade unionists.

"There's something more," said Mustapha Ouanane, secretary of the TCP section committee. "The changed overall socio-political climate has its effect. The thinking of youth has changed too. Many of them accept our analysis of the country's problems. Indeed, we hadn't expected here in Gabes the strong support that young people gave us in last year's parliamentary elections."

The party's active presence in the area and its ability to organize rallies, public forums and other events, circulate leaflets and uphold its position are evident. The communists' commitment to the solution of the most diverse local problems makes for an entirely new at-

titude to them. Anti-communist prejudice is disappearing in spite of the efforts of hostile forces.

But what about industrial workers? Do they already lend themselves more or less to meaningful political education?

"The mass of workers," said an activist, "are closer to us than to anybody else, and so the party has unlimited opportunities for work among them. What we need is to carry on political work competently, according to the given conditions and opportunities and to the exigencies of the moment, as Lenin wrote. Remember *What Is to Be Done?* The principles of organizing the party, of the communists approaching the working people and educating communist workers, which are spelled out in the book, are particularly relevant for us today."

Social ferment and discontent are also spreading to rural areas and occasionally take very marked political forms. A Gafsa comrade told me that in Kef Derbi, a village lying some 30 kilometers from the town, small peasants and day-laborers hit by unending poverty had formed a party cell and declared for setting up an agricultural cooperative. The idea of a "Red" cooperative is unlikely to materialize, for it would be hard to obtain the necessary investment from the authorities. But the fact itself is noteworthy. Nor is it the only one by far.

There is a strong party cell in the village of Ksiba Madiouni, in the Sousse area. By the way, it was the first in the country to secure premises after the party's legalization. In the village of Nianou, not far from Nabeul, TCP CC member Habib Kazdaghli introduced me to Mohamed Aissa, a middle peasant who is a party veteran. Aissa the communist, as he is called, enjoys the greatest popularity among local fellaheen and youth.

This is not to say, of course, that there are no roadblocks. What it does mean is that the communists have reason for a sober optimism taking into account certain negative factors and their own weak points which are due to a long period of illegality.

"The general mood?" Mohamed Djedidi of the Moulares party section said in reply to my question. "We know the problems facing us and approach them seriously, from neither a triumphalist, nor a defeatist standpoint. There are many encouraging signs and we are willing to work."

I heard much the same from other comrades. "Use the new opportunities" is the TCP watchword in building up links with the working class and other working people in town and countryside alike.

Heading for a national democratic alliance

"We are in opposition and ours is a responsible opposition." This is a party slogan. What does it imply?

"The communist line," Mohamed Harmel said, "has two closely interlinked aspects. One aspect concerns the struggle for democracy. At the moment there are elements of official suppression and repression directed against opposition forces and movements. The party insists on extending democratic freedoms. The other aspect has to do with social and economic problems. We are campaigning for a revision of current policy, for renunciation of the country's orientation, which is still capitalist in spite of its 'socialist' facade and some minor modifications of recent date."

A detailed appraisal of the situation was made at a conference of the party cadre early this year. It may be summarized as follows:

The regime and the DSP have not yet exhausted their potentialities. This is not only because power is in their hands but because they have a certain social base among part of the petty bourgeoisie and new bourgeoisie as well as because their activity has some positive aspects. Even so, the ruling party is going through a crisis which expresses itself in its loss of the people's confidence, the growing autonomy of the trade unions and the increasing role of the political opposition, including the TCP. There are some unquestionable economic achievements. However, the capitalist orientation still makes it impossible to end economic backwardness and dependence and solve the problem of jobs. Social inequality is deepening and the cost of living is going up.

The party defines the present stage of social development as a protracted and contradictory stage of the national democratic revolution. Its main objectives are greater democracy, struggle for socio-economic changes, in particular by increasing the role of the home market, effecting a radical agrarian reform, promptly adopting measures for the advancement of the South, and choosing a new, progressive and democratic alternative.

Many national forces have an objective stake in the solution of these problems. But these forces must form an alliance if the national democratic movement is to expand and go from strength to strength. Only such an alliance would make it possible to bring about political, social and economic changes in the country meeting the working people's interests. It is the communists that have advanced the idea of an alliance, an idea gaining ground in the political activity of the opposition.

By seeking unity of action of the democratic forces and demanding a legal status for the entire opposition, the TCP has won high prestige among the public. The communists' sound analysis of current problems and constructive proposals have earned them wide recognition.

Loyal to its ideological principles and mindful at the same time of Tunisian realities, the TCP is establishing itself as a serious national political force. It is only natural that many foreign leaders visiting Tunisia include meetings with the First Secretary of the TCP in their program. This was done, specifically, by Muamar Gaddafi, leader of the Libyan revolution, and Premier Pierre Mauroy of France.

At a rally marking the beginning of the campaign of issuing party cards, Mohamed Harmel put it on record that in the past year the party

had taken a leap in its organizational and ideological growth and won solid political positions. You see how very right that is even during a brief visit with Tunisian communists. Increasingly close bonds with the masses and dedicated struggle for the cause of the working people and the national interest are an assurance of the Tunisian Communist Party's growing role in the life of the country.

1. That is, the transition from the policy of simultaneous development of the state, private and cooperative sectors of the economy, with emphasis on cooperatives, to a policy attaching paramount importance to private capitalist enterprise.

2. That day repressive measures were taken against the leadership of the General Federation of Tunisian Workers.

3. See WMR, March 1982.

4. In this case, human relations based on membership of a tribe or ethnic group have primacy over social relations.

New experience

OUR INTERVIEWS

DEMANDING LEGALIZATION

Ari dos Santos

Brazilian CP representative on WMR

Q. What is your assessment of the present political situation in Brazil, and what are the main lines of the Communist Party's struggle for its legalization?

A. Following the success of the democratic opposition in the 1974 and 1978 elections, the authorities were forced — in an atmosphere of deepening economic crisis and growing mass movement — to put through a number of positive reforms in the country's domestic and foreign policy.¹ And while only limited rights and liberties have been re-established in Brazil, and the situation is still controlled by the military dictatorship, the forces coming out for democracy and social progress have won positions which enable them to continue the struggle in more favorable conditions.

But the communists are still being subjected to discrimination, are entitled to carry on political and cultural work only on an individual basis, because the national security law prohibits their activity on behalf of the Brazilian Communist Party as a political organization. For instance, the communists openly explain their ideas, give interviews to the press, comment on Brazilian problems, run in elections and vie with other candidates, but in all these

cases they act as private persons. That is why we are now carrying on a nation-wide campaign for recognition of the BCP and its complete legalization.

The party's goal now is to obtain an official status that will make it possible to act legally and without restrictions, i.e., to publish newspapers, books and journals, to have openly functioning working centers and to take part independently in elections. Despite the fact that legislation in the country is restrictive and anti-democratic, the communists are prepared to abide by all the requirements laid down by the law for the official establishment of political parties. We believe that the prospects for legalizing the BCP are there, although anti-communist bias is still strong within the ruling military leadership, and this undoubtedly hampers the solution of the problem.

Q. What have the communists done in practice?

A. In the drive for legalization, we are guided by our policy of unity and seek to unite all the social forces which want to see the present regime defeated and the establishment of a government of anti-dictatorship forces capable of effecting complete democratization of Brazilian society.

In order to shape a mass movement in support of the communists' demand, publicity campaigns are being staged across the country. For instance, we have published our "Theses

for a National Discussion" which reflect the party's view of the various aspects of Brazilian reality and the international situation. These theses are being openly discussed on the pages of newspapers and journals, in the universities and social organizations, being filled out with new ideas, or criticized on some points, all of which undoubtedly helps to expand their content. The key positions of the document have the support of the overwhelming majority of those taking part in the discussion.

In order to popularize the Communist Party's ideas and to strengthen its ties with the masses, we have used the preparation for the general elections to the National Congress, the legislative assemblies of the states, and the municipal chambers. For the first time over the 18 years, i.e., the period of the discriminatory rule by the regime, there is to be an election of governors in 22 states. The communists are backing the opposition candidates for governors and senators in several large states. Many of our comrades are running in the elections to the state parliaments and the municipal chambers on the electoral rolls of other opposition parties.

In order to neutralize the casuistic electoral law imposed by the military regime,² we put forward the slogan of "democratically useful voting," i.e., we called on the electorate to vote for that candidate from the opposition parties — and there are altogether four of them — who has the greatest chance of winning. This slogan has met with broad understanding and support on the part of the public.

Yet another important line of our dialogue with the population is the public meetings and debates which are held with the participation of party leaders. For instance, at the Sao Paulo University there was a lively exchange of views between BCP CC General Secretary Giocondo Dias and a large student audience over the activity of the National Liberation Alliance³ and the role of the communists in the armed struggle in 1935. This question was discussed openly for the first time at a Brazilian university with the participation of communists.

In demanding legalization, we give the public a reminder that the BCP's history is closely bound up with all the major democratic, patriotic and progressive movements in the country over the past 60 years. The communists were among those who initiated the major national campaigns in defense of the country's industrialization, for the state monopoly in oil and other types of strategic raw materials, for agrarian reform, for the freedom and independence

of the trade unions, for a labor law and fair social security for rural working people, for a general amnesty of detainees and persons persecuted for political motives, and so on. In short, we say that a major national party, like the Brazilian CP, can no longer be ignored. Its legalization is a necessary condition for further democratizing life in the society.

Q. What is the attitude of the authorities and the public to the communists' demand?

A. Many statesmen and political leaders favor the Communist Party's official recognition, among them the Minister of Aviation, General Delio Jardim de Mattos, who declared that nothing unusual would happen if the BCP were recognized tomorrow, adding that this political problem is within the government's competence. His statement reverberated on the pages of the press. A proposal to legalize the Communist Party after the 1982 elections was also made by former foreign minister de Melo Franco, president of the Brazilian Press Union. Dr. Borbosa Lima Sobrinho, a number of senators and members of the national parliament, including some from the ruling party, deputies to legislative state assemblies and municipal chambers, mayors, lawyers, industrialists, businessmen, trade union leaders and leaders of the other mass organizations.

Virtually every day reports come in from all parts of the country voicing support for our demand on the part of the Brazilian public. Thus, a national conference of lawyers recently meeting in the state of Santa Catarina came out in favor of a democratic constitution and legalization of all the political parties, including the BCP. The legislative assembly of the state of Rio Grande do Sul reached the conclusion that the legalization of the Communist Party is necessary for democratizing national life. In Sao Paulo, the writer Moises Vinhas has published a book on the communists' struggle from 1922 to 1974 for a mass party, while *Journal do Brasil*, one of the major bourgeois papers, carried a review of the book which said that the communists were fighting for a mass party officially legalized and recognized by society, and that was necessary to establish genuine democracy in the country. These examples are eloquent evidence that more and more Brazilians regard the BCP as an organic part of national political life.

Q. Some bourgeois periodicals have carried reports that the BCP has allegedly made concessions of principle in its efforts to secure legalization. How true is that?

A. Our party has always served the cause of the working class and the whole Brazilian

people. I want to emphasize that in the 60 years of its existence, it could operate legally for a total of two years. All the rest of the time, the BCP has been fighting in the underground, being constantly subjected to brutal police persecution. Thousands of communists have been thrown into prison, they have been cruelly tortured, and many have died for the working people's interests. But while insisting on our right to act legally, like other parties, we have never sacrificed Marxist-Leninist principles for that purpose.

Relying on Marxist-Leninist theory, the BCP is working on a strategy and tactics for the Brazilian revolution in the light of the on-going changes. It is carrying on a struggle for the country's political, economic and social progress, for ensuring the rights of the working people and all the other masses, for the establishment of a democratic regime, and for socialism. The communists' main goal is a society without classes and without man's exploitation of man.

1. See *WMR*, March 1982.

2. In its efforts to hamper the opposition's victory in the elections, the military regime has adopted an undemocratic law which prescribes that the parties must win a definite number of votes in one half of the states, in order to get their candidates elected, prevents the formation of electoral coalitions, and so on.

3. A progressive anti-fascist front which operated in the mid-1930s.

WHAT IS WORRYING THE YOUNG PEOPLE OF SPAIN

José Palau

CC Alternate Member, CP Spain,
General Secretary, YCL Spain

Q. What, in your opinion, are the main lines of social activity of Spanish young people in the early 1980s?

A. For our country, these years differ qualitatively from the early 1970s. At that time, the main task of the youth movement was participation in the struggle against the Franco regime, and for the re-establishment of democratic rights and freedoms. This goal has in the main been attained, although there is still a danger that the democratic gains will be lost and the past restored. Young people now continue to act to consolidate the process of transformations, while mounting a struggle against the consequences of the economic crisis, which is being felt throughout the capitalist world.

In Spain, the crisis has sharply worsened the condition of the young people bringing unemployment, growing alienation and disappearance of prospects and hopes. The way to professional advancement and individual

development has been closed for many young men and women. That is why there is the highly acute task of fighting for a fair distribution of incomes, for ensuring social rights that would enable young people to join in work and social activity actively and with dignity.

Our generation, like all the others, is, of course, eager to have peace, because it wants to have a future. Apart from posing a threat to humankind, the continued international tension and the arms race also prevent the solution of problems stemming from the economic crisis in the light of the young people's interests.

It is said that weapons kill even if they are not used. Indeed, the arms race is killing millions of people throughout the capitalist world by dooming them to unemployment, starvation, and it also prevents the creation of conditions for life, work and education which are fit for human beings. Consequently, our young people's struggle for peace and disarmament is based not only on their ardent desire to avert a worldwide disaster, but also on their urge to secure social progress.

Q. What effect is the country's multinational character having on the goals of the young people?

A. In Spain some regions are more developed than others. The Franco regime implanted the anarchy of capitalist development, and this has resulted in tremendous internal disproportions. These are not determined either by linguistic or cultural differences, but above all by socio-economic disharmony. That is why the same problems have different forms in different places. For instance, the problems of young people in Catalonia, a highly industrialized region, where unemployment is rampant in the big cities, differ from the problems faced by young people in Galicia, a backward agricultural region, which the population has to leave in search of work.

At the same time, the youth movements in the various provinces of Spain also bear the specific national imprint of each people. Let us bear in mind that under the Franco regime attempts were made to obliterate forcibly the cultural peculiarities of the Catalonians, the Galicians and the Basques. That is why, simultaneously with the restoration of democracy in the country, there was also a tremendous revival of the national cultures in the country. The new constitution gave autonomy to various regions.

But I should like to emphasize that, regardless of national origin, all young Spaniards are faced with common problems which cannot be solved in disunity, in isolation from the popular movement, from the democratic and

progressive forces. This has further been confirmed by recent events.

You may recall that an attempted reactionary coup was frustrated in Spain on February 23. Large-scale nationwide demonstrations were staged in response to the putschists' attempt. In Madrid alone, they involved 1.5 million people. All the strata of the population were represented in the demonstrations held in towns and villages across Spain with the young people displaying special activity.

Another example is connected with the Spanish people's struggle against the country's entry into NATO. In the course of nationwide protest campaigns, rallies, meetings and street demonstrations were staged everywhere. The most impressive one was held in Madrid, with the participation of several hundred thousand, mainly young people.

Consequently, the latest major acts by the public, broadly supported by young people, were aimed to defend freedom and democracy, and to prevent Spain's entry into NATO. Both tasks are closely interwoven. The country's integration with NATO's war machine cuts across the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people, poses a threat to the consolidation of democracy, and heightens tension. That is why the public, including young people, is continuing the struggle, demanding a referendum on this issue.

Q. In the recent period, some Spanish periodicals have carried reports about a decline in the communists' influence on the young. Could you comment on that?

A. Indeed, we do have some problems, as far as ties between the communists and the young people are concerned. The disappearance of prospects, the unemployment and the other difficulties under the crisis lead to a loss of hope and to a growth of individualism among young people. Many of them come to think that it is impossible to change the existing situation. Some reject organized, collective forms of struggle, others seek to escape from reality, to find solace in drugs, etc.

But there is also another reason for the difficulties in maintaining ties with young people. I think that the communists of our country do not always manage to respond convincingly and in due time to their new requirements, to work out and propose at short notice a policy which would meet these requirements and aspirations.

I think that the peace movement, which has now gained such a momentum, provides the communists with an opportunity to consolidate their ties with the young people through the struggle against the deployment of

nuclear missiles and against the arms race. We must bear in mind that many of those who are fighting for peace and against Spain's entry into NATO are young people, whose peace-loving goals are identical with the communists' political tasks.

QUESTION-ANSWER

SHEDDING THE SHACKLES OF COLONIALISM

"In November 1981, your journal published a report on the United People's Movement in Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, which wants its country to take the socialist way. Could you turn this into a series and report on other progressive parties and organizations fighting in the Caribbean area?"

Victor Bravo
(Caracas, Venezuela)

Below, Eugenio Godfried, a public and political figure from Curacao, tells of the origination and development of the Marxist trend within the framework of the national liberation movement in the Netherlands Antilles.

Let me start with a short historical and geographical explanation which, I think, will enable the readers to gain a better understanding of the specifics of our struggle. Curacao is a part of the Lesser Antilles archipelago,* which lies in the Caribbean. In 1954, these islands, which to this day continue to have the unenviable status of a colonial possession of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, were given so-called autonomy. This enables the Antilles parliament and government, which has its seat in the town of Willemstad, the administrative center of the archipelago, to solve some internal problems. Meanwhile, foreign relations and defense continue to be within the exclusive competence of the metropolitan center, whose interests are "represented" by a governor and a sizable contingent of Dutch armed forces garrisoned at the Curacao military base.

Yet another important detail: on every island, there are political parties and movements, trade unions and other social organizations, most of whom want the Antilles to be independent and set up a federal state in place of the colony. But there is, unfortunately, no unanimity on this matter. The national bourgeoisie of Aruba, an island with proved sizable oil deposits, has put

*Apart from Curacao, the archipelago includes the islands of Aruba, Bonaire, Saba, St. Eustatius, the southern part of St. Martin and other islands. The total area is 1,011 sq. km., and the population — 246,500 (1979). — Ed.

forward the idea of winning independence only for its own territory in order to retain a monopoly on the oil earnings. These separatist claims of the Aruba bourgeoisie are being encouraged and supported in every way by the transnational oil corporations. All of this tends to complicate the internal political situation in the archipelago, which is already tense.

Our organization, Youth-70, was set up in Curacao on July 2, 1970 — hence the figure 70 in its name — on the initiative of the group which set itself the task of uniting the patriotically-minded forces in a struggle for the people's social, economic and cultural interests. It is important to note that a year before this alliance emerged, Curacao was the scene of a major action by the workers, which was followed by a string of strikes at the oil refineries. Although the strike movement was put down with the aid of an army contingent brought in from Holland, a new situation has taken shape under the influence of the working-class struggle in Curacao. The alliance emerged quite spontaneously in these conditions and gradually developed into a progressive political organization, whose leadership adheres to the Marxist ideology. It has its own statute and programmatic documents, which set forth the immediate and long-term goals. Thus, at the present stage of the struggle, which is explicitly anti-colonial and anti-imperialist, the alliance advocates national independence for the archipelago and rejects plans for partitioning this coherent state.

But we look beyond that goal, realizing that only a revolutionary party can carry on a successful struggle for full freedom and social progress. That is why, on June 1, 1981, a Socialist Movement Action Committee, consisting of most conscious and politically mature members, was set up on the initiative of our organization. *The Committee has the task of building a vanguard party based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.*

We attach special importance to propaganda and enlightenment work among the population. We seek to compensate the lack of our own information organ by publishing and circulating various agitation and propaganda material, by issuing appeals, leaflets and placards and also try to use, as far as possible, the big press, radio and television. We are gradually gaining experience in staging large-scale mass measures, notably, the culture festivals organized in 1980 and 1982. In these, despite the contradictions existing between the population of the various islands, representatives of all the territories of the archipelago took part. The mass festivals, which we invested

with a political tenor, demonstrated the wealth of national cultural traditions and helped to strengthen friendship, solidarity and unity of the peoples of the Antilles.

Our organization uses every opportunity to spread its views and goals, seeking to make a contribution to uniting the patriotic forces coming out for the independence and freedom of the Antilles. Thus, in 1979, the alliance took part in the parliamentary election campaign, without nominating any candidates of its own. Members and supporters of the organization carried on propaganda work, exposed the crude anti-communism of reaction, explained our platform and gave support to the New Antilles Movement, a social-democratic type of party which in some areas pursues a positive line. For us it was experience of exceptional importance, since it was the first time in national history that a political organization took such a progressive stand and carried on a political campaign to put an end to the harmful anti-communist traditions in Curacao.

For all that, we believe that it is necessary to reckon with the level of the people's consciousness and the peculiarity of the inner-political development of our island and the others. After all, something like 90 per cent of the economy depends on foreign capital. Thus, the population of Curacao, numbering only 160,000, is under strong colonial and imperialist pressure, living in the atmosphere of a fierce anti-communist, anti-socialist and anti-Cuban campaign which is being plugged from day to day.

All these circumstances have an influence on the character and orientation of the Youth-70. Thus, the alliance is open to all those who want to join it. For the time being we have decided not to insist on any stringent rules of selection for the organization. At the same time, we explain to the masses our ideological propositions and tenets and are guided by them in our practical activity.

We regard the struggle of the peoples of the Antilles for national independence and against imperialist domination as a component part of the revolutionary process which has markedly intensified throughout the whole Caribbean area under the influence of socialist Cuba's successes, and the revolutionary victories in Grenada and Nicaragua. After all, the peoples of the Antilles are confronted not only with the Dutch colonialists but also by the multinational corporations of the United States, Japan and other capitalist countries which are engaged in predatory exploitation of the archipelago's natural resources. Besides, there is the Dutch military base in Curacao, and the territory of the

Antilles has been repeatedly included in the zone of large-scale imperialist exercises, like Ocean Ranger-82. We believe that all the peoples of the subregion will benefit from the liquidation of the hotbed of colonialism and militarism in the Antilles.

I must express our sense of profound satisfaction over this opportunity to set forth our

views on the pages of *World Marxist Review*. The fact is that up to now there has been insufficient knowledge in the world about the political situation in the Netherlands Antilles. Your presentation of the truth about our people's just struggle will, we believe, help us to escape from the isolation in which we find ourselves through the fault of imperialism.



The USSR's historical experience and world socialism

Round Table Discussion

The Great October Socialist Revolution and the establishment, five years later, of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics were events of worldwide historical importance, and remain such to this day. The Soviet people, having built a developed socialist society, has gained invaluable experience which is of great significance for world socialism and for the future of human civilization as a whole. The round table held by the socialist countries' fraternal parties on *WMR* to analyze this experience did not set itself the aim of dealing with all the problems. It tried to consider only some of its main aspects which emphasize the novelty and the timeliness of the Soviet Union's revolutionary creative effort and forms in which the experience of the world's first socialist country has been adapted in the specific conditions of other countries.

Here is what the participants in the round table said.

TWO LINES, TWO RESULTS

Roland Bauer
(SUPG)

Back in 1850, Marx said that "Revolutions are the locomotives of history."¹ It would hardly be right to take this aphorism as being only a comparison of the revolution with a powerful engine. Etymologically, "locomotive" means roughly "move in space." The October Revolution and the formation of the USSR set in swift motion not only one country or one people, but also the deep political and social processes which in the 20th century altered the

course of history and the development of dozens of countries and nations.

Here are the most important of these changes:

- humankind began its transition from capitalism to socialism;
- after two world wars, which followed one after the other, Europe's longest period of peace in this century began;
- the imperialist colonial system collapsed and many sovereign states emerged in Asia, Africa and Latin America;
- the communist movement became the most influential political and ideological force of our day on an international scale.

Diverse social theories to this day assess differently the importance of these epochal changes: some urge their further development, others oppose this; some show their true meaning, while others distort it. Such a contest of ideas has also been under way in the working-class movement for more than six decades.

After the October Revolution, the right-wing ideologists of social democracy deliberately spread in opposition to the Soviet power the idea of a "democratic socialism" and a "third way" running somewhere in between the capitalist line of development and the trail blazed by the October Revolution. Two lines — the communist and the social democratic — crystallized within the working-class movement on a national and international scale, differing in theoretical, ideological and political ideas about the socialist revolution and socialism. They were an embodiment of two different policies which led to different results.

What has it done for the working class, for the

nations and the world? What are the results and conclusions?

In 1917, neither line could present in evidence anything except theoretical arguments and declarations of intent: before the October Revolution, neither the communists, nor the social democrats were in power, and had no responsibility for running the state. There was only one consistently revolutionary party — Lenin's party — and together with left-wing groups in other countries, this revolutionary trend involved less than 400,000 people. Meanwhile, there were over 3 million members in the 30 social democratic and socialist parties.

When Russia left the world capitalist system, the terrified imperialist powers tried to wipe out the fledgling Soviet power through military intervention and to limit the impact of the Great October Revolution on the masses in their countries. That is something they failed to do. In 1918, popular revolutions simultaneously broke out in several countries. In Germany and Austria-Hungary right-wing social democratic governments were installed in power. Although they styled themselves socialist and proclaimed the socialization of the basic means of production, their activity effectively led to the substitution of the bourgeois parliamentary form of imperialist domination for the monarchic form. This sharpened the struggle between the two lines and in 1919 led to the proclamation of the Soviet Republics: in the German city of Bremen on January 10, in Hungary on March 21, in Bavaria on April 13, and in Slovakia on June 16. In Great Britain, France, the United States, Spain, Italy, Bulgaria, Poland and many other countries, powerful mass strikes and other revolutionary action were staged. In China, India, Korea, Turkey and elsewhere there was an upsurge of the national liberation movement.

The polarization of forces in the working-class movement continued. In 1919, its two lines formalized their division organizationally. In February, 97 delegates from 26 countries met for an International Socialists' Conference in Bern to re-establish the Second International, which had earlier disintegrated because of its leaders' opportunism. In March, 52 delegates from 21 countries representing 10 communist parties, many left-wing organizations and groups met in Moscow to inaugurate the Third Communist International.

This ushered in a fundamentally new period in the history of the international working-class movement. In 1919, the very year in which the Comintern was formed, 7 new communist parties emerged, a year later — another 8, and the following year 12 more. By the time of the

formation of the USSR, there were 40 revolutionary communist and workers' parties; in 1945, i.e., two years after the dissolution of the Comintern, they numbered 71, and today, there are more than 90. But it is not only the numerical growth of the communist movement that is impressive. Even more important is that since the October Revolution, socialist revolutions were staged in a dozen countries in Europe, Asia and Latin America, the world socialist system emerged, and a community of states based on socialist principles has now been in existence for more than three decades.

The October Revolution opened up real prospects for building socialism. The transformation of the society, as exemplified by the USSR, has long since passed the stage of experiment and has demonstrated its viability in practice. Experience has borne out that the goals of social development proclaimed by the communist parties can definitely be achieved in countries with the most diverse conditions. There is hardly any need just now to present extensive evidence of this: history is a witness of utmost integrity, and it has been multiplying the evidence from year to year.

Let us now consider the balance of the activity of the other line in the working-class movement. In 1951, it was embodied in the Socialist International, which, according to its statute, is "an association of parties working for democratic socialism."

According to its own figures, it consists of 48 full-fledged members, 3 "fraternal organizations," 17 parties with a consultative status, and 8 associated organizations, a total of about 15 million members. Behind them they have an electorate of roughly 80 million. That is undoubtedly a major political force with considerable social influence. But its goal of "democratic socialism," or the effort to overcome "the capitalist system through an economic order which sets the interests of society above the interests of profit-making"² — as formulated by its 1951 program, which remains in effect to this day — has not yet been realized in a single country. Not only the main goal, but even such socio-political demands as full employment, a steady rise in well-being, social security and a fair distribution of incomes and property have not been realized either. And this despite the fact that over the past several decades the socialist and social democratic parties of many countries have repeatedly formed governments or had a major influence in coalition governments.

History warrants the following conclusion:

"democratic socialism," this so-called "third way" does not lead the working people to emancipation from the power of capital. At best, it is a utopia which, like all utopias, even if they spring from the best of intentions, is shattered by the harsh realities of the class struggle.

Every social and political movement develops, overcomes the propositions that become obsolete, the difficulties and contradictions; in order to attain success, it must duly reckon with the new phenomena which constantly emerge in this constantly changing world, and also to draw the lessons from its defeats or miscalculations. The communist movement has also had to suffer failures and to get rid of erroneous views. But none of this belittles the fundamental importance and historical justice of the cause and ideas of the October Revolution, of the experience of the USSR. Even the wildest critics of socialism are forced to admit that the USSR, despite the effects of the intervention, the civil war and the terrible destruction of the Second World War, has carried out in half a century a tremendous leap forward, although at its formation it was a country that was far behind the developed capitalist countries in economic terms, a country in which three-quarters of the adult population were illiterate. It has become a great industrial power, it has risen to a high level of education and culture, and it has pioneered the exploration of space.

Such is the comparison of the results of the activity of the two lines in the working-class movement. What could one say about the present relations between the adherents of the two lines? The differences between the communists and the social democrats on the revolution and socialism are a matter of principle. But even the greatest differences should not prevent their unity in the struggle to preserve and strengthen peace in face of the danger of an annihilating nuclear war.

Soviet historical experience serves the whole of world socialism. The communists must, of course, constantly take a stand on highly complicated new developments, to take far-reaching decisions, and to give the masses comprehensible and convincing answers to many difficult questions. In this kind of activity, there are no nostrums, stereotypes of universal models, and such can never exist. The key to success is the creative Marxist-Leninist approach, consistency and innovation, and support of everything that has justified itself in the past, while enriching experience with new and better forms and methods of work.

TRUE GUIDELINES INTO THE FUTURE

Karoly Lipkovics
(HSWP)

The influence of the October Revolution and of the Soviet example on other countries was most pronounced even in the early years of the first socialist state. Socialism, embodied in actual life, emerged in an atmosphere of international proletarian solidarity and was itself a reliable bulwark for it. This was also expressed in the fact that thousands of internationalists of various nationalities sided with the Bolsheviks in the class battles which were fought in the former Russian empire.

We, Hungarians, have a sense of legitimate pride in the fact that almost 100,000 Hungarian internationalists took part in the revolution in Russia. But, of course, that was not the only expression of the deep links between the revolutionary movement in Soviet Russia and Hungary. Many of the social contradictions which the October Revolution resolved were equally acute in our country. Austria-Hungary was rent by national strife. The Hungarian working people remained politically and socially deprived, and were subjected to savage exploitation. It is no accident, therefore, that we, too, had a socialist revolution and set up a Soviet republic on March 21, 1919.

The Hungarian revolution sprang from internal causes, but it was made possible only by the tide of the worldwide revolutionary upsurge generated by the Great October Revolution. Following the Bolsheviks' example, the Hungarian communists creatively applied the doctrine of Marx-Engels-Lenin to their own conditions and equipped the working masses with it.

As in Soviet Russia, the fledgling revolutionary system at once clearly expressed its internationalist character. In the struggle for the victory of the revolution, the Hungarian workers were joined by their class brothers: Romanians, Slavs and Germans.³ The Hungarian Soviet state, like Soviet Russia, recognized the complete equality of nations, and enabled them to use their mother tongue in schools and in the official dispatch of business. The foreign policy of the Hungarian Soviet Republic was also determined by the principles of internationalism. The document proclaiming its establishment emphasized that "in order to ensure the security of the proletarian state and to beat back the imperialism of the Entente there is a need to establish the fullest and closest military and spiritual union with the Soviet government of Russia."⁴

Let us note that not only the Hungarian communists studied the Soviet experience, but in Moscow tremendous interest was also displayed in the Hungarian events. Lenin closely followed their development. After all, Soviet Hungary had confirmed in practice that the victory of the socialist revolution and the establishment of the socialist state were not specifically Russian phenomena but the result of the operation of a historical uniformity which, sooner or later, will make itself known in all the countries with sharpening economic and social contradictions that cannot be resolved under capitalism. Hungarian practice also proved that while the socialist revolutions have common goals and similar main features, in virtue of the dialectics of the general and the particular, they may differ in ways they advance to the common goal.

On April 3, 1919, Lenin said: "People learn from experience. It is impossible to prove merely by words that Soviet power is just. The example of Russia alone was not sufficiently intelligible to the workers of all countries. They knew that there was a Soviet there, they were all in favor of the Soviet, but they were daunted by the horrors of the sanguinary struggle. The example of Hungary will be decisive for the proletarian masses . . . In a moment of difficulty there is none to rule the country but the Soviet government" (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 29, p. 271). Proceeding from the common features of both revolutions, he said that it was natural and correct that the people of Hungary "were taking into account the entire experience of the Russian revolution" (*ibid.*, Vol. 29, p. 322), although its capitalist socio-economic relations were much more developed than they were in tsarist Russia, and the bourgeois government, there, in contrast to the Provisional Government in Russia, voluntarily gave up its power.

The leader of the October Revolution emphasized not only the similarities but also the distinctions between the two revolutions. The Hungarian Soviet government enjoyed the support of the proletariat, and, for a period, also of a sizable part of the middle strata. This, together with the fact that the main forces of the Entente were distracted by the intervention against Soviet Russia, explains why the proletarian dictatorship in Hungary was established peacefully, without an armed uprising. The specific features of the Hungarian revolution enabled Lenin to draw an important conclusion. He emphasized that wherever the bourgeoisie did not put up such fierce resistance, as it did in Russia, "the tasks of the Soviet government will be easier . . . Other countries will travel by a different, more humane road,

but at the end of it lies the Soviet power" (*ibid.*, Vol. 29, p. 271). In a radiogram to Bela Kun, the leader of the Hungarian revolution, on March 23, 1919, Lenin welcomed the Hungarian communists' creative approach to revolutionary tactics: "It is altogether beyond doubt that it would be a mistake merely to imitate our Russian tactics in all details in the specific conditions of the Hungarian revolution" (*ibid.*, Vol. 29, p. 227).

The socialist republic of Hungary was defeated in an armed attack by the forces of international imperialism. Soviet Russia was itself in dire plight, straining to keep at bay its enemies which were attacking it on every hand, and so was unable to help its Hungarian brothers. Our country resumed its advance along the socialist way only in 1945, following its liberation by the Red Army from the fascists.

It must be specifically stressed that Lenin's conclusions in connection with the Hungarian revolution proved to be exceptionally important and meaningful when working people, led by the communist parties, took over in several countries of Eastern Europe. They made extensive and concrete application of Lenin's propositions concerning the dialectical correlation of the general and the particular in the socialist revolution, and the need to take full account both of their basic uniformities and of the specific conditions in formulating revolutionary tactics.

The steady consolidation of our community, and the historical achievements of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries scored in the contest with imperialism testify to the great vitality of Marxism-Leninism. It provides us with true guidelines for our advance into the future.

LESSONS OF REVOLUTIONARY CREATIVE EFFORT

Pavel Auersperg
(CPCz)

The potential of Lenin's revolutionary program — the program of the October Revolution — has proved to be so great, and the example set by the new socialist democracy as embodied in the Soviet Union, so attractive, that they have become a powerful motive force in the world revolutionary process and have exerted a tremendous influence on the historical fortunes of many countries and peoples.

The revolutions in Russia and in Czechoslovakia differed in conditions, concrete circumstances and character. But we set ourselves the same basic tasks as did Lenin's party in October 1917: to wrest power from the bour-

geoisie, to break up the old state machine, and to substitute a new one for it, so as to enable the working class to exercise its leading role. Analyzing the domestic and international situation, the Czechoslovak communists reached the conclusion that in our conditions these goals could be achieved gradually and peacefully.

Indeed, after the Second World War, the balance of forces in the world arena tilted in favor of socialism. The capitalist encirclement of the USSR, which long remained the world's only socialist state, was breached. The world revolutionary process entered upon a new stage, and the national-democratic revolution in Czechoslovakia became a component part of it. This anti-imperialist and anti-fascist revolution, which was led by the working class, was directed against German imperialism, the nazi invaders and their local henchmen, and against the big bourgeoisie, which had betrayed the Czech and Slovak peoples and had collaborated with the invaders.

In contrast to all the other parties of the First Republic, the communists entered the revolution with clean hands. Our program was not confined to wiping out the remaining influence of Hitlerism in the country, it was also oriented toward the future. Thanks to its authority, the CPCz, the only force which had never stopped fighting fascism, was able to include the basic features of its political conception into the Kosice Government Program of 1945. This helped to advance the process of transformations, creatively applying, in Czechoslovakia's concrete historical conditions, Lenin's theory of the development of the democratic revolution into a socialist revolution.

By March 1947, more than 3,000 enterprises, employing 61.2 per cent of the working people, had been nationalized. The two-year plan for the rehabilitation of the economy drawn up by the CPCz was being successfully fulfilled, and this made it possible gradually to raise the people's living standards and further to enhance the party's authority. At the elections to the Legislative National Assembly on May 26, 1946, the communists won 38 per cent of the poll, which made them the strongest political force in the country. Together with the social democrats, they had a majority in the Legislative Assembly. Our party also had a majority of nearly 40 per cent on the local national committees. Klement Gottwald headed the government, in which communist ministers were broadly represented. This strengthened the influence of the working class.

So, when in February 1948 reaction tried to stage a counter-revolutionary putsch, the work-

ing class, together with broad masses of people, responded with a revolutionary mobilization of their forces under the leadership of the communists and the revived National Front. Relying on this support from below and abiding by all the provisions of the 1920 bourgeois constitution, which was then in effect, the CPCz headed by Gottwald inflicted a defeat on the reactionaries. The working class came to power. This once again fully confirmed the justice of Lenin's idea that "the revolutionary proletariat is incomparably stronger in the *extra-parliamentary* than in the parliamentary struggle, as far as influencing the masses and drawing them into the struggle is concerned" (ibid., Vol. 26, p. 33).

One could say, therefore, that in terms of its basic features, the strategy of the revolution in Czechoslovakia was based on the experience of the October Revolution and socialist construction in the USSR, while its tactics were determined by a creative analysis of the concrete conditions in which our revolution proceeded, so that this creative approach also sprang from a good knowledge of the lessons of the October Revolution.

The solution of the nationalities question in Czechoslovakia was also found in the light of Lenin's doctrine and of Soviet historical practice. Implementation of the principle of equality in relations between the Czechs and the Slovaks cut the ground from under the feet of the reactionary forces which hoped to fan nationalistic passions, and ensured the unity of the two fraternal peoples in the construction of a socialist society. In 1969, our state was formed as a federation of equal socialist republics, the Czech and the Slovak. That was our own application of the federal principle on which the USSR state system is based. The 14th Congress of the CPCz said in its decisions: "The establishment of the Czechoslovak Federation has crowned the party's efforts for a state constitutional adjustment of the relations between the Czech and the Slovak peoples on the principles of complete equality." The new state constitutional form has strengthened the political alliance of our peoples and has had a positive part to play in the political consolidation of the Czechoslovak socialist society.

Indeed, the inspiring role of the Great October Revolution consists precisely in the fact that it provides a constant source for revolutionary creativity. The goals set by Lenin's party and already largely attained in the Soviet Union over its 60 years of development are the same social ideals which the founders of scientific socialism put forward. We must emphasize that it is not right to reduce the concept

of socialism to a set of different superstructural demands which are now sometimes put forward within the working-class movement as the "latest word" which allegedly invalidates the abiding importance of the lessons of the October Revolution and the experience of the Soviet communists.

As for the specific socialist transformations in the various countries, the whole way of our revolution shows that these specific features are expressed above all in the search for ways of combating capitalism which best meet the historical, national and other realities of each country. They do, of course, leave an imprint on the forms of the society being built. But one should bear in mind that unless the bourgeoisie is ousted from power, unless private property is abolished and socialist relations of production are established, unless there is genuine people's democracy, there can be neither a general nor a specific road to socialism — indeed there can be no road to socialism at all. History first drove home this truth through the October Revolution and Soviet experience, and then repeatedly reaffirmed it in the course of all the other socialist revolutions, including the one in this country.

DEPENDABLE MAINSTAY OF THE FORCES OF DEMOCRACY

Jerzy Waszczuk
(PUWP)

The formation of the world's first socialist state was a turning point in global development. The founders of scientific communism, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, noted that in a socialist state the proletariat is organized into the ruling class. Enlarging upon this thesis, Lenin wrote: "The proletariat needs state power, a centralized organization of force, an organization of violence, both to crush the resistance of the exploiters and to lead the enormous mass of the population — the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie, and semi-proletarians — in the work of organizing a socialist economy" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 25, p. 404). This proposition has been proved beyond the shadow of a doubt by the Soviet Union's extensive experience.

It was only because a new type of state was formed, a state embodying the interests of the working class, of all working people, and based on the principles of socialist democracy, that Soviet Russia withstood the internal counter-revolution and the foreign imperialist intervention and was able to surmount the difficulties springing from pre-revolutionary backwardness, particularly in the non-Russian regions. The stability of the multinational So-

viet Union and the correctness of the principles on which it rests withstood the test of the incredible hardships caused by the aggression of nazi Germany.

The Soviet Union made the decisive contribution to victory over fascism, liberating Poland and many other countries from nazi slavery. It cut short the attempts of imperialist powers to recarve the post-war world into spheres of influence. At the Tehran, Yalta, and Potsdam conferences the USA and Britain had to agree to a realistic approach to the solution of European problems and to go along with the USSR's striving to give the peoples the democratic right to choose their own way of development.

The principles of Europe's postwar make-up charted then, have contributed to the establishment of normal inter-state relations in this part of the world. Wojciech Jaruzelski, First Secretary of the PUWP Central Committee, has said that "the postwar make-up of our continent, defined by the Yalta and Potsdam agreements, has been paid for with infinite human suffering, with a sea of blood, with a heroic struggle. In this struggle the Soviet Union suffered enormous losses. Such, too, has been the destiny of our people, who have gone through a tragic experience. Those who today undermine Europe's postwar arrangement are desecrating the memory of those who died and rejecting the lessons of history."⁵

The Soviet Union's victory in the war was of epoch-making significance in the true sense of the word. It created the conditions enabling the peoples of Central, Eastern, and South-eastern Europe to take power into their own hands. Of course, socialism was not imposed upon them from without, it was not "brought on bayonets" as imperialist propaganda alleges. Any analysis of developments exposes these allegations. In the socialist revolutions and in the formation of the new system in these countries internal factors were decisive: the acuteness of the contradictions in the capitalist system, the balance of class forces, and the strategic and tactical guidelines of the communist and workers' parties. It is a fact that, for instance, Austria, liberated by the Red Army, has retained its bourgeois system. The revolutions I am talking about were expressed in political struggle against the forces of reaction, but in some countries this struggle proceeded mainly in peaceful, parliamentary forms, while in others (for instance, in some regions in Poland) it partially acquired the character of a civil war. The result of the process of transformation was the creation of People's Democracy, a special form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

However, it would also be wrong, of course, to underrate the external factor. Freedom was brought to the peoples of Central, Eastern, and Southeastern Europe by the Soviet Union, and this unquestionably had an effect on revolutionary processes — the world's first socialist country was a reliable ally of the left and democratic forces. The USSR erected a strong barrier to direct interference by imperialist powers, reduced their potential for supporting internal reaction, and prevented the export of counter-revolution. Last, all-round Soviet economic assistance to the People's Democracies helped the latter to overcome post-war difficulties and this in turn accelerated the transition to the building of the foundations of socialism.

The lessons of history are diverse, and the experience of building the new society continues to accumulate. Not only achievements but also the experience of overcoming difficulties when they arise are valuable. The development of socialism is not free of contradictions, twists and turns, and even momentary retreats. This has been demonstrated, in particular, by the socio-economic and political crisis in Poland.

Reactionary elements have brought our people the threat of a protracted and bloody civil war, the prospect of losing their socialist achievements and national sovereignty. In the struggle which the Polish communists are conducting against the counter-revolution, for a way out of the crisis, and for the party's rejuvenation on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, a huge role is played by the solidarity and assistance of fraternal parties and countries, especially of the CPSU and the Soviet Union, and by the Soviet experience. The diversified economic, ideological and political support that we are getting is indicative that in its efforts the PUWP is not alone. This reinforces our strength and our faith in the victory of our just cause.

INTERNATIONALISM IN ACTION: NEW SCALE

Girgin Girginov
(BCP)

The formation of the multinational Union of Soviet Socialist Republics signified the establishment of relations between big and small nations which had never before existed in mankind's history. A retrospective view of that event now shows the tremendous importance it had for socialist social transformations.

In the course of socialist construction, genuine equality, unity and friendship of the

big and small Soviet nations were asserted, and the material basis for this brotherhood was provided by the country's integrated economic complex, which has been steadily strengthened as the economy of each republic within the Union is developed. The triumph of socialist social relations has brought the working classes and social groups close together in such a way that it opens up the prospect of the formation of a classless society within the historical framework of developed socialism and leads to a consistent expansion and consolidation of the new type of democracy. The genuine flourishing of the national cultures ensures their mutual enrichment within the stream of socialist spiritual life. All these processes have been expressed in the emergence of the Soviet people, a new historical social and international entity.

The example of relations between the Soviet republics is of great international importance. In a resolution on the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR, the CC Political Bureau of the Bulgarian CP says: "The establishment of the Soviet multinational state through the voluntary unification of all the Soviet republics round the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic marked the emergence of a qualitatively new type of relations among nations which are characterized by strong solidarity, true equality, all-round cooperation and fraternal mutual assistance. This rich experience was later used in the shaping and development of fraternal relations between the countries of the socialist community."

It would, of course, be very wrong to equate the relations between the republics of the USSR and the relations between the states of our community. But it would be just as wrong to ignore the common features which spring from the same socialist substance of these two types of relations. The main trend which determines this community is, we think, that as world socialism continues to progress, and together with the strengthening of each country's independence and state sovereignty and the further flourishing of its specific national culture, the sovereign states and peoples tend to draw ever closer together along every line.

The importance of the Soviet experience, which has been tested in practice, is very great in various spheres of the fraternal cooperation between the socialist countries. In the economic sphere, it is their close economic, scientific and technical cooperation, and specialization, cooperation and integration of production within the CMEA framework. In the spiritual sphere, it is the exchange of values of the socialist way of life and culture. In the poli-

tical sphere, it is the coordination of their common line in the international arena in the interests of peace and socialism and the strengthening of the defensive Warsaw Treaty Organization. These new relations not only promote the progress of each other and of our community as a whole, but also have an increasingly greater international role to play. They create favorable conditions for the relaxation of tension and for the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, and help to assert the new international economic order and eliminate any manifestations of discrimination, dictat and exploitation. They also help to remove the obstacles which are being created by the policy of imperialism and neocolonialism in the way of the newly liberated peoples which have taken the road of social progress.

The new type of relations between states, which have taken shape as a result of the triumph of socialism in the USSR and other socialist countries, do not, of course, rule out the appearance of various difficulties and contradictions. But the strength of the vanguard system lies precisely in its capability, on the strength of the laws of social development, to notice in due time and to overcome such difficulties.

Soviet-Bulgarian ties are an instance of the creative use of the USSR's experience in the international sphere. Through the concerted efforts of the two fraternal parties — the Bulgarian CP and the CPSU — a policy aimed at the all-round approximation of our peoples has been worked out and is being steadily realized. This is done on the basis of concrete long-term and annual plans which cover every area of cooperation. From year to year, this cooperation is being deepened, it acquires new dimensions and is becoming ever more effective.

Soviet-Bulgarian brotherhood has a solid basis in history. We have kindred languages and cultures. The Bulgarian people are very much aware of the fact that it was Russia which liberated them from the five-century Ottoman yoke, and that with the help of the Red Army Bulgaria threw off the fascist slavery and carried out its socialist revolution. This strengthening brotherhood, together with the historical traditions — and perhaps to an even greater extent — feeds our present unity of goal and action. The communists and all the other working people of our country want Bulgarian-Soviet friendship to be worthy of the communist ideal, and we especially cherish Leonid Brezhnev's assessment of it as "internationalism in action."

All of this shows the comprehensive influence the Soviet Union's experience has on the

development of the modern world and on the establishment of the new type of international relations. In this context, the BCP regards anti-Sovietism not only as a manifestation of anti-communism, which constitutes its core, and not only as the main line of ideological aggression against world socialism, but also as a reactionary and anti-humanistic fight against humankind's progress.

Our party believes that to this day these remarkable words of Georgi Dimitrov preserve their strength: "There is no truer criterion, and there can be no truer one, than attitude to the Soviet Union for deciding who is a friend and who is an enemy of the working class and socialism, who is a supporter and who is an adversary of democracy and peace."

It is not someone's subjective strivings but the very course of the world revolutionary process that has determined the USSR's special place and role in the social restructuring of the society. The new type of international relations, which sprang from the Great October Revolution, is an asset of all the nations, of all those who look to a world without exploitation and bloodshed, a world without national strife, racism and genocide, without the humiliation of human dignity, a world of labor and creative effort, in which life is based on the principles of friendship and fraternal cooperation.

IT IS ALSO OUR WAY TO LIBERATION

Ho Chi Bang
(CP Vietnam)

There is a remarkable fact in the history of the Communist Party of Vietnam: in 1920, Ho Chi Minh, who then lived in Paris, was studying Lenin's theses on the national and colonial questions enunciated at the second congress of the Comintern. He was inspired by these ideas and exclaimed: "That is exactly what we need. It is our way to liberation."

When one reads Lenin's theses today, one comes to realize why they were so appreciated by the future leader of the Vietnamese revolution. They formulated the key conditions for the successful struggle of the masses headed by the Communist Party against colonial and national oppression: taking into account the historically concrete, above all economic situation; bringing out clearly the interests of the oppressed classes from the general concept of people's interests as such; and just as clear-cut a separation of oppressed and dependent nations from oppressor and exploiter nations (see V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 145).

Lenin's theses concentrated on the idea about

the need to combine the national liberation struggle with the struggle for social emancipation, because only then would the fruits of victory go to the working people instead of the national bourgeoisie.

Our people have had to make great sacrifices in order to overcome the unprecedented difficulties on the way to national liberation and social emancipation. For decades, the Vietnamese working people had to fight arms in hand, first, against the French and then against U.S. imperialism. And the victory was theirs. This became possible because over the long years of struggle for national liberation and the country's defense, the people were led by the Communist Party of Vietnam, which was set up by Ho Chi Minh on Lenin's principles, and which has always been true to them; because there was the great Soviet Union, the source of experience and support of all the fighters for freedom.

In the 1930s, when the party was set up, our economy was extremely backward; feudal survivals were still very strong in the society; the working class was just beginning to take shape. Whose interests should the communists express in such conditions above all? What goals should they set before them? Some people in the party believed that it should express the interests of the poor "generally," and confine itself to the goals of national liberation. Loyalty to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine and creative use of the experience of the October Revolution and socialist construction in the USSR helped, in Vietnamese conditions as well, to find the right answers to these questions and to turn our party into the militant vanguard of the working class. It did not confine its program to the attainment of national independence and the expulsion of the colonialists (although it fought with dedication to do so as the prime condition of freedom), but, guided by Lenin's idea that it is possible to advance from backward social formations to socialism bypassing capitalism, opened up before the Vietnamese people the prospect of building a new socialist society.

The Soviet Union's example gave the Vietnamese communists tremendous strength. Even in the colonialist torture-chambers they did not bow their heads and looked to the country of the October Revolution.

The Soviet example and experience and Soviet support now help us to carry on our construction of socialism the Leninist way. Fulfillment of the third five-year plan, which covers the united economy of the North and the South, entails the solution of the most difficult

problems in developing a large-scale industry. The party attaches special importance to applying scientific and technical achievements to production and improving the planning and management of the economy. Much remains to be done in agriculture. The tasks in overcoming the hard legacy left in the South by the U.S. invaders and their puppets are exceptionally difficult. The situation along Vietnam's northern borders remains troubled through the efforts of the Chinese expansionists, and much effort has to be expended to strengthen the country's defense capability.

But we have something to learn from in overcoming the difficulties and building the new life. The party's line in these conditions is based on two principles, which Comrade Le Duan defines as follows: "In order to solve the problems arising from the specific situation in our country, we must, on the one hand, study the experience of the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries; on the other, we must creatively apply Marxism-Leninism to our country's concrete conditions."

The Socialist Republic of Vietnam is a multinational state in which there are almost 60 big and small nations and ethnic groups. That is why the CPSU's nationalities policy and the 60-year experience in tackling the nationalities question in the USSR are highly meaningful for Vietnamese practice. The party's nationalities policy is based on the principle of proletarian internationalism, and is designed to ensure actual equality of all nations and to knit them together into a single family of builders of socialism.

The Soviet Union, the Vietnamese's true friend, has been giving us invaluable assistance and has fraternally shared "both rice and clothing," as we say in Vietnam. The Soviet state which proclaimed "Peace to the Peoples!" and "Freedom to the Oppressed!" when it emerged, is still the invincible bulwark and a reliable mainstay of the forces of peace and of the people's social emancipation and national liberation. In this noble policy, Vietnam, led by its Communist Party, has always been and will continue to be its true ally. This was reaffirmed by the CPV's fifth congress, which heard these noteworthy words: "Close cohesion and all-round cooperation with the USSR is our principle, our strategy, and simultaneously an expression of our revolutionary sentiments. Our party has the task of educating the generations in the spirit of this principle, in a profound comprehension of this strategy, so as to turn it into a powerful motive force carrying forward our revolutionary cause."

AN EXAMPLE IMPORTANT TO ALL

Raul Valdez Vivo
(CP Cuba)

History has shown that there is no force capable of defeating the Soviet Union, the first worker-peasant state on earth. Again and again, we derive from Soviet experience confidence in the future and inspiration.

A most important lesson of the history of the Soviet Union is the need to be always prepared to defend the gains of the revolution. This is particularly relevant now that U.S. imperialism is trying to play the role of world policeman as it implements its strategy of aggression against the forces of peace and progress. To defend the new system is a sacred duty of primarily the revolutionary patriots of every country. It is only thus that international solidarity can bear fruit.

Lenin considered defense of the revolution a highly important task. "Never in history," he wrote, "has there been a revolution in which it was possible to lay down one's arms and rest on one's laurels after the victory . . . If you are oppressed and exploited and think of throwing off the power of the exploiters, if you are determined to carry this to its logical conclusion, you must understand that you will have to contend against the onslaught of the exploiters of the whole world. If you are ready to offer resistance and to make further sacrifices in order to hold out in the struggle, you are a revolutionary; if not, you will be crushed" (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 29, pp. 67-68).

The path travelled by the Soviet Union, especially the heroic history of the Soviet people's Great Patriotic War against the German fascist invaders, has confirmed this truth. We, Cubans, perceive it as an indispensable objective law of revolutionary struggle.

The Great October Revolution brought the ideas of Marxism-Leninism to our small Caribbean island as well. Sceptics believed that the seed sown by the Russian workers had fallen on sand or barren rocks. It seemed as if the Cuban people were doomed for ever to suffer foreign domination and poverty, and as if geopolitical factors prevented them from playing a noticeable role in world history. After all, it is a stone's throw from Cuba to the United States, the chief exploiter and oppressor of the peoples of the Western hemisphere, the mighty center of world reaction. As for the country of October, the Soviet Union, it is separated from us by thousands upon thousands of miles.

Yet the Cuban people, being determined to win freedom, cast off the Batista military tyranny. Subsequent developments showed that im-

perialism has not abandoned its policy of enslaving the peoples, while the Soviet Union and the socialist community as a whole are, on the contrary, always prepared to defend the right of peoples to self-determination and to help them in their just struggle. "Without the resolute, firm and generous assistance of the Soviet people," said Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the CC, CP of Cuba, speaking to the first party congress, "our country would have been unable to hold out in the fight against imperialism."⁶

Just as the Bolsheviks mobilized the masses in the years of civil war and foreign military intervention and then during the Great Patriotic War, Cuba's revolutionaries made defense of the new system a cause of the people as a whole. The words "Patria o muerte!" (Homeland or death) became their slogan.

Needless to say, this is not merely an emotional phrase; the defense of revolutionary achievements requires revolutionary strategy and organization of the masses prompted by a common will. That is how Soviet people proceeded. And that is how the Cubans proceed.

We formed Revolutionary Armed Forces and established a Ministry of the Interior; the military organization that came into being during the assault on the Moncada barracks and gained strength in guerrilla struggles became a powerful shield of the revolution. The U.S. mercenaries' invasion of the Bay of Pigs was defeated in 72 hours. The invaders met resistance from the worker-peasant militia, who afterwards frustrated attempts of the CIA to implant counter-revolutionary bands in Cuba. For nearly a quarter of a century, millions of sons of Cuba have staunchly foiled all attempts at subversion, intimidation and aggression coming from the U.S. naval base at Guantanamo. In reply to the Reagan administration's plans for aggression and in response to the appeal of the second congress of the Communist Party, Cuba formed territorial people's militia units, which together with the regular and reserve units constitute the Revolutionary Armed Forces. This is a guarantee of still more dependable defense of our country.

Mass organizations, too, play an important role in the defense of national sovereignty and the foundations of our social system. One of them is the Committees in Defense of the Revolution, whose function is to prevent spies from making their way into our country and to check counter-revolutionaries. They also contribute to the people's active participation in the advancement of the economy, education and public health.

Our party is aware that the durability of the

socialist gains in Cuba largely depends on the overall situation in the world. That is why, together with all the other socialist community countries, with all the progressive and peace-loving forces, the Cuban people are carrying on a tireless struggle exposing the aggressive schemes of U.S. imperialism, against the arms race, and for peace throughout the world and social progress.

At the latest congress of the Committees in Defense of the Revolution, Fidel Castro gave this assessment of the Cubans' efforts in defending the revolutionary cause: "We consider that we have set a revolutionary example useful to the international revolutionary movement, for our country has accomplished its revolution and successfully defended it in difficult conditions, 90 miles from the United States . . . This is a great monument which the Cuban revolution has raised to liberation, to the struggle for the peoples' liberation."⁷

We have learned to defend the revolution

thanks to the Soviet Union, whose 60th anniversary is now being celebrated not only by revolutionaries, Marxist-Leninists, but by all fair-minded and enlightened people of the planet.

1. Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 10, p. 122.

2. "Ziele und Aufgaben des demokratischen Sozialismus." In: Julius Braunthal, *Geschichte der Internationale*, Band 3, Hannover, 1971, p. 615.

3. Class-conscious Slovak, Ukrainian, Romanian, Serbian, Croatian and German workers living in Hungary and foreign volunteers of various nationalities, including former Russian prisoners of war, formed their own international organization, the International Communist Federation of Hungary, and defended the Hungarian workers' state arms in hand.

4. *A magyar munkaszervezet történetének válogatott dokumentumai*, 5.köt. Budapest, 1956, 689 old.

5. *Trybuna Ludu*, March 2, 1982.

6. Fidel Castro. *Informe del Comité Central del Partido Comunista de Cuba al Primer Congreso*, Havana, 1975, p. 47.

7. Fidel Castro, *Discursos en tres congresos*. Havana, 1982, p.7.

The capitalist world in the grip of inflation

Over the past decade, inflation — together with mass unemployment — has been the most acute economic, social and political problem in the capitalist world. The depreciation of money is having an effect on the whole mechanism of capitalist reproduction. The measures being taken against inflation by the ruling circles of the capitalist countries result in stagnant production and growing unemployment; when the emphasis is switched to combating the crisis drop in production, there is again an even greater resurgence of inflation.

The WMR Commission on Problems of the Class Struggle in Industrialized Capitalist Countries arranged a discussion of problems arising from the impact of inflation on the condition of the working class. Participating in the discussion were fraternal party representatives on the journal: Robert Francis (CP Belgium), Bert Ramelson (CP Great Britain), Jeronimo Carrera (CP Venezuela), Polichronis Vais (CP Greece), Ibrahim Malik (CP Israel), Jack Phillips (CP Canada), Domingos Lopes (Portuguese CP), Erol Akan

(CP Turkey), and the Soviet economist Felix Goryunov.

The participants in the discussion started from the fact that the constant growth in the cost of living "affects most of all the condition of the workers, of the poorest sections of the population" (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 25, p. 353). This, for its part, aggravates the social antagonisms, increases the number of people demanding radical social change, urges the need for elaboration by the communist and workers' parties of new forms of economic and political struggle, and demands that they should counter the anti-inflationary strategy of the monopoly bourgeoisie with their own strategy in the interests of the working people and the majority of the population.

Below is a summary of the discussion.

Chronic defect of monopoly system

The depreciation of money which is manifested in the increase in money supply and the growth of prices is not in itself a novel phenomenon for the capitalist mode of production. Even in the period of the primitive accumulation of capital, prices soared and the working people's real wages fell at regular intervals. But at the pre-monopoly stage in the development of capitalism, the entrepreneurs'

A continuation of our series on the peculiarities of the present stage of the crisis of capitalism. For earlier discussions see WMR, June, September and December 1980; July 1981; and April 1982.

drive for profit through a spiralling of prices was limited by free competition. The relative stability in the currency of money and price-formation in that period was also due to the firm gold and monetary standard. At the end of the 19th century, the level of prices in the United States, Britain and Germany was roughly equal to that at the beginning of the century, or was perhaps even lower, although in the course of the century there had been both periods of price decline (especially during the cyclical crises of overproduction) and of soaring prices.

With the entry of capitalism upon the monopoly stage, the growth in the cost of living gradually came to be the prevailing trend whose manifestation is interrupted from time to time by cyclical crises of overproduction which tend to depress prices.

This trend became most pronounced after the Second World War: in the 1950s and in the early 1960s, there was a slow growth of prices — by 3-4 per cent a year — in all the capitalist countries, and the drop of prices in the periods of cyclical recession was highly insignificant and affected only some categories of goods. But the ruling circles were not yet alarmed by the “creeping” inflation, as it came to be known. Rather the reverse. According to Keynesian recipes for the state regulation of the economy, it was even said to do economic growth good by stimulating “effective demand.” The monopoly bourgeoisie compensated the slight depreciation of money capital by increasing the volume of profits, especially in industries working on government contracts.

Entrepreneurs found a modicum of inflation advantageous, because it enabled them to intensify the covert exploitation of the working class without exacerbating social conflicts. That a frontal attack — in the form of wage cuts — on the unionized working class was dangerous had been repeatedly driven home to the bourgeoisie, for instance, during the British miners’ general strike in 1926, which caused an acute political crisis in the country. At the time, Keynes drew the conclusion that profits could be kept on the old level and even increased without lowering normal wages or even raising them, provided the real purchasing power of the workers’ incomes was reduced through the depreciation of money which was regulated by the bourgeois state.

The issue of excessive quantities of paper money into circulation also helped to pay for the militarization of the economy and to finance the attempts by imperialism to secure military superiority over the socialist countries. This source was also used to finance the aggressive policy of “rolling back communism” in

“minor wars,” which was exemplified by the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. It cost the U.S. taxpayers \$133 billion (from 1965 to 1972) and must have given the most powerful impetus to inflation in the country.

Consequently, inflation was deliberately built into the process of capitalist reproduction by the ruling circles as a means for adapting it to the changing conditions of the class struggle and the new world situation. And so long as the rate of inflation lent itself to control, it did something to promote both the expanded reproduction of capital and the preservation of relative social stability.

The picture underwent a radical change in the late 1960s, and early 1970s, when the rate of inflation on average doubled as compared with the preceding decade. In some countries, the annual growth in the cost of living reached double digits.¹ As “creeping” inflation developed into “galloping” inflation, it turned from an ally into an adversary of monopoly capital. In the mid-1970s, it was declared society’s Enemy Number One, and even more dangerous than mass unemployment (under the pretext that only a small part of the population suffered from shrinking employment, while inflation hit the interests of all). Measures to combat inflation became pivotal to the economic policies of bourgeois governments. Its main line was macro-economic regulation of business activity: a fold-up of production demand, which, it was believed, was to reduce the rate of cost-of-living growth but to increase unemployment.

It was noted in the course of discussion that the slowdown in the growth of prices in 1982 in some countries (in the United States, for instance, down to 7-8 per cent a year and lower) had been caused mainly by market outlook factors: a sharp drop in business activity and stagnation in international capitalist trade. But that does not provide any ground for the assertion that inflationary processes in the world capitalist economy have waned on the whole and that they will not once again accelerate in the cyclical phase of revival. Consequently, while unemployment, on a level unprecedented in the postwar period, continues to be the primary problem facing the working-class movement in many countries, analysis of inflation continues to be meaningful because it remains an effective instrument for the exploitation of the working people.

Economic trends and inflation factors

For all the differences in the rate of price growth in the individual countries, the distinctive feature of inflation is that it has become

stable and has spread throughout the capitalist world. Inflationary processes do not die down even in periods of deep economic recessions. This has changed the conditions for the expanded reproduction of capital: since the second half of the 1970s, long-term stagnation and even a drop in production, coupled with chronic inflation — “stagflation” and “slumpflation” — have become characteristic.

Present-day inflation is a multifaceted phenomenon engendered by the operation of a set of inter-related trends in the economy and social relations under state-monopoly capitalism, which became most pronounced in the 1970s. In the light of the specific features of each capitalist country's national economy and external ties, it is possible to identify the prevailing factors in the development of inflation, some of which are long-term and others, short-term. But on the whole one will discern five basic and common factors behind the development of sporadic into chronic inflation:

- the domination of the economy by the monopolies, and monopoly price-formation;

- deficit financing of growing government expenditures, above all on the arms race, which results in an increase of the state debt;

- transformation of the national monetary systems of the capitalist countries and of their international monetary system, as expressed in the abandonment of the gold and monetary standard in favor of the dollar standard, and the switch from fixed to fluctuating exchange rates;

- deepening of the crisis of present-day capitalism's world economic ties, exacerbation of its relations with the less developed countries exporting fuel and other mineral raw materials, and domination of world capitalist trade by transnational corporations;

- export of inflation from the centers of world capitalism to less developed countries through the inequitable system of trade, monetary and financial relations.

Among the general qualitative changes in the economy of capitalism which have gone to create the conditions for the development of inflationary processes, one must note, above all, the unprecedented scale of the socialization of production and the concentration of capital.²

Monopoly control of a sizable sector of the market facilitates price deals, and this is largely promoted by the close ties between the tycoons of big business.³ This is especially characteristic for such highly monopolized industries as oil, steel, chemicals, automobiles and electrical engineering. Monopoly price formation is, therefore, the main price factor behind the development of inflationary processes. With its domination of the market, big capital prefers to

maintain its high rates of profit by cutting back production, but will not allow prices to fall even in time of recession.

In the course of the discussion, the view was expressed that price competition has lost its erstwhile importance within the framework of the national economy, but that it continues to be a major factor in international trade rivalry, despite the transnationals' control of a number of important commodity markets. This is evident, in particular, from the current exacerbation of economic contradictions between the United States, the EEC and Japan.

The impact of monopoly prices set by military-industrial concerns is most considerable. In the United States, for instance, these prices in the 1970s grew 50-100 per cent faster than the prices of all other goods and services. The high level of profits secured for the corporations of the military-industrial complex (MIC) by government contracts tends to whip up prices in the civilian industries as well through the mechanism of competition on the stock market and bank credit. Equally important is the fact that militarization diverts a sizable part of investments from the civilian spheres of industry and R and D. This, for its part, leads to a drop in the labor productivity growth rate, which in the United States, for instance, is now lagging behind that of Japan, where outlays for military purposes come to only 1 per cent of the Gross Domestic Product (in the USA, 6 per cent), and that of the FRG (about 3 per cent).

The swelling of military spending is also the main cause of budget deficits and the growing state debt, which are the main monetary factor behind inflation. Thus, a result of the chronic deficits of the U.S. federal budget (since 1970, it has never been in the black), the government's financial obligations in 1981 added up to more than \$1 trillion.⁴

Deficit budget financing, under which the government's growing expenditures are not covered by its tax-receipts and are paid mainly through government loans and additional issues of money, tends to increase the volume of credit and monetary facilities. These are expanded to proportions which are well in excess of the quantity of such facilities required for the normal circulation of production and consumer goods and services. Redundant and largely fictitious capital which is not connected with production and which is used for financial machinations is injected into the monetary system. This peculiarity was indicated by Lenin, who remarked that “the development of capitalism has arrived at a stage when, although commodity production still ‘reigns’ and continues to be regarded as the basis of

economic life, it has in reality been undermined and the bulk of the profits go to the 'geniuses' of financial manipulation" (Coll. Works, Vol. 22, p. 206). Present-day inflation is a reflection of the growing decay and parasitism of monopoly capitalism.

The fact that inflation has been built into the economy of state monopoly capitalism is directly connected with the transformation of national monetary systems and the international capitalist monetary system. This was expressed primarily in the abandonment of the gold and monetary standards and the final switch to credit and paper money, which deprived the financial system of capitalism of gold, its natural regulator. As a result, it has found itself completely dependent on U.S. economic policy, whose national currency since the Second World War has been playing the role of chief monetary reserve, an instrument of interstate settlements and international commercial operations.

The depreciation of the dollar and, as a consequence, Washington's abandonment in 1971 of the exchange of dollars into gold in interstate settlements, and the introduction in 1973 of so-called floating (freely fluctuating) exchange rates signified the collapse of the Bretton Woods system, which had been built on firm monetary parities. The sharpening of the monetary crisis is now combined with unbalanced international capitalist trade and interstate settlements and mass movement of speculative capital (mainly Eurodollars) from one country to another.⁵ These processes became the main external factors in the development of inflation. In the early 1980s, there was added the "interest rate war," an artificial spiralling of loan interest rates, provoked by the U.S. financial authorities. It is causing a movement of capital to the United States, an appreciation of the dollar and a depreciation of the other currencies.⁶ Apart from accelerating the inflationary processes in Western Europe, this U.S. credit policy results in protracted stagnation of the national economies in the region, because of the higher cost of bank loans for new investments.

Inflation produces serious disproportions in world trade and monetary relations. Western economists have estimated that after the 1974-1975 crisis, more than one half of the increase in the value of trade between the industrialized capitalist countries resulted from the depreciation of the U.S. dollar. There is also a feed-back connection between inflation and the sharpening crisis of the monetary system of capitalism: the growth of prices leads to sharp fluctuations in national exchange rates, and this has an ad-

verse effect on the state of the monetary systems.⁷

The 1981-1982 economic crisis has shown very well the flimsiness of the arguments put forward by bourgeois economists who insisted, from the mid-1970s, that the increase in the price of oil by OPEC was the main cause behind the stagnation of production and the sway of inflation. On the contrary, in the course of the present crisis, it was said in the discussion, the reduction in the rate of inflation in some countries was promoted precisely by a shrinking of world trade in oil (by 14 per cent in 1981) and other mineral raw materials, mainly because of the high prices. And this, for its part, resulted in another drop in the price of these commodities.

The worsening in the terms of trade for the less developed countries caused by the crisis drop in the demand for raw materials has occurred at a time when their monetary and financial dependence on the centers of world capitalism has continued to grow. The external debts of less developed countries without any oil of their own reached \$525 billion last year; two-thirds of this amount is in the form of debts under credit and loans obtained in private banks at high interest rates. Alongside the unequal terms of trade — high prices for manufactured goods and foodstuffs supplied to the Third World by the industrialized countries, and low prices for the raw materials they import — the financial plunder of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America by the transnational banks has become a key factor in expanding the export of inflation to the periphery of the capitalist economic system.

Consequently, the inflationary processes in the world capitalist economy have continued to develop in the conditions of protracted economic stagnation. The urge of the monopoly bourgeoisie to multiply its profits by spiralling prices, stepping up the arms race and by financial manipulations tends to accelerate the growth of prices even in periods of depression and crisis. This bears out Marx's idea that capitalism itself sets the limits to its economic growth.

Tangle of sharpening problems

It is hard to exaggerate the adverse economic effects of this rampant inflation. The depreciation of money reduces production and consumer demand and goes further to aggravate capitalism's constant problem of realization. While the money profits of the corporations have been growing even under the chronic inflation, the growth rate has been dropping in real terms.⁸ In order to maintain their profit rate and even to increase it, entrepreneurs seek to

hike prices even when demand is flabby or when it shrinks in the crisis phase of the cycle, and this tends to counteract the correction of prices which is habitual for crises of overproduction, a process which earlier created the prerequisites for a fresh upswing of the economy.

Inflation also hampers long-term corporate planning. But, as some participants in the discussion said, it does not prevent modernization and rationalization of production on the basis of new technology, something that is necessary to enhance competitiveness on world markets. That is true, for instance, of Belgium and other Common Market countries, where the steel and engineering industries are being restructured.

The building of inflation into the system of the reproduction of capital has brought about a marked redistribution of the social wealth in favor of the propertied classes. The increase in nominal wages which unionized working people win through wage bargaining with the employers or through debilitating strike struggles tends to lag behind the growth of the cost of living.⁹

The decline in the working people's real incomes is most tangibly felt in periods of cyclical crises, when the sharp reduction in employment produces a state of the labor market that is unfavorable for the working class. The mass unemployment which gripped the industrialized capitalist countries in the course of the 1981-1982 crisis (the number of fully unemployed in these countries by the end of last year was estimated at more than 25 million, and is expected to go up to 28 million by the end of this year), weakened the positions of the trade unions in their fight against the employers. In the course of wage bargaining in 1981, FRG trade unions were forced to accept wage rises of only 4.9 per cent a year, while inflation averaged 5.6 per cent. In Sweden, workers' incomes in 1982 are to increase by only 3.5 per cent, while inflation has been running at something like 13 per cent. The increase in nominal wages for U.S. workers will be lower than the annual growth of prices. A mouthpiece of U.S. business (*Business Week*) is jubilant over this fact: "With unemployment rising, management has very much the upper hand at the bargaining table."¹⁰ Indeed, management tries to use this advantage in order to get the trade unions to make concessions like abandonment of wage indexation depending on the growth in the cost of living and even a freeze on the level of incomes.

The working people's material condition is also being worsened by the faster growth of

prices for the prime necessities and vital services — fuel, electricity, housing and medical care — which tends to outrun the general rate of inflation.¹¹

The chronic inflation tends to aggravate the problem of poverty: according to the International Labor Organization, at the turn of the 1980s, the number of persons who had incomes below the subsistence minimum in the OECD countries¹² totalled 60 million, or 12 per cent of their total population. The problem of poverty is also compounded by the bourgeois governments' "austerity" policy of cutting back budget outlays above all on social needs. The anti-popular tenor of such "economies" is exemplified by the Reagan administration's program which sets the goal of cutting the federal budget deficit at the expense of 30 million American poor.

The uninterrupted depreciation of money tends to reduce the working people's incomes also because of the growing tax burden, because the higher the nominal wages, the higher the progressive tax-rate. In the United States, for instance, the increase in money incomes by 10 per cent in the 1970s meant an increase in tax withdrawals by 12-13 per cent. While the U.S. working people's real weekly incomes in 1980 dropped by 5.5 per cent, the inflationary rise in taxes cut these incomes by another 1.5 per cent. Indirect taxation, which has grown with the depreciation of money, also reduces the working people's incomes.¹³ The value-added tax which operates in the Common Market countries and which constantly increases retail prices, also helps to redistribute incomes in favor of capital.

Inflation leads to even greater social inequality in the young states travelling the capitalist way of development. By the end of the 1970s, for instance, 5 per cent of the population in African countries, comprising the privileged groups, received 25 per cent of these countries' aggregate income, or nearly twice as much as the 40 per cent of the indigent Africans. The international tensions being stepped up by imperialism also tend to increase inflation in these countries. The Third World's annual spending on armaments is now in excess of \$80 billion, a tremendous amount of money which is being diverted from the financing of economic and social development programs.

Through the channels of international trade, inflationary processes in the capitalist world also affect the socialist countries, especially those of them in whose economy a large share of the GDP is involved in external eco-

economic exchange. Together with the drop in demand for export goods caused by inflation, the growing cost of imports from the industrialized capitalist countries builds up foreign-trade deficits in the socialist countries, and this in some cases has an effect on the rate of their economic and social development.

The consequences of present-day inflation are, therefore, highly diverse. Its effect is not confined to the sphere of circulation: inflation has a direct influence on the reproduction of capital and on the relations of production within the system of state monopoly capitalism, introducing qualitative changes into international economic relations. The continued growth of prices accelerates the relative impoverishment of the working class in the industrialized capitalist countries, and within the framework of the world capitalist economy it is also possible to speak of its continuing absolute impoverishment. At the same time, the galloping inflation poses a real threat to the interests of the ruling circles as well. The search for nostrums to get rid of this chronic disease has become their main class assignment to bourgeois economists.

The theory and practice of austerity

The bourgeois interpretations of inflation usually lack the complex approach to this multifactor phenomenon. Four main lines have been most widely accepted among the theories now in circulation.

One of these, formulated by the economists of the neo-Keynesian school, holds that the prime root of inflation lies in the excess of demand over supply. The growth of the population's incomes, the neo-Keynesians assert, has a tendency to outrun the expansion of production, and this results in higher prices and a depreciation of money. They suggest that the disproportion between supply and demand should be eliminated through a government "incomes policy," which means the establishment of a definite correlation between workers' wages, economic growth and labor productivity.

Allied with the neo-Keynesian view is the theory of "cost inflation." Its author, the British economist Phillips, believes that inflation is rooted in the "wages-prices" spiral. An increase in employment and wages immediately causes an increase in the cost of production, which the entrepreneurs compensate through prices. The conclusion is that the greater the employment, the faster the rate of inflation, and vice versa, a high level of unemployment leads to a slowdown in the growth of prices.

The advocates of the quantity theory of money, the monetarists, believe that money depreciates because the rate at which the money supply grows tends to outrun the growth of the Gross National Product. When there is more money, and fewer goods, the monetarists assert, the population loses confidence in paper money. In order to prevent this, the governments must limit the issue of money and tie it in with the rate of economic growth. The monetarists, above all, Milton Friedman, the head of the Chicago school, deny that monopoly price formation is a prime cause of inflation. They want the government to limit its intervention in the economy, to reduce budget spending for social needs and for jobs, and advocate freedom of enterprise unhampered by state regulation.

Finally, the fourth theory in combatting inflation is supply-side economics, which has recently become fashionable and which has been adopted by the Reagan administration. It was formulated by the so-called neo-conservatives, who proposed that conditions should be created for expanding the supply of capital through the extension of tax benefits to corporations, a reduction in minimum wages, and a sharp cutback in budget appropriations for social needs. They calculate that such measures would enliven business activity, induce new investments, generally lower the level of wages and set a ceiling to their growth, reduce labor costs for business, and raise labor productivity, which all together should help to reduce the rate of inflation.

Many bourgeois economists starting from the theory of costs have also claimed that the crucial price factor behind inflation is the "monopoly power" of the trade unions, rather than monopoly-price formation and the deficit financing of state budgets. Business is allegedly forced to increase prices because the costs of production tend to grow with the satisfaction of trade union demands on wages. It was said in the course of the discussion that an increase in outlays on variable capital, of which labor costs are the main component, does, indeed, heighten the cost of production. However, with a growth of labor productivity, higher wages have but a small effect on the increase of the per unit cost price and on the decrease of the rate of profit. With the technical improvement of production, the cost price, on the contrary, tends constantly to fall, and this should, in the logic of things, lead also to a lowering of prices. But this is prevented by monopoly price-formation and the inflationary monetary policy of the bourgeois state.

Participants in the discussion said that the working class can safeguard its economic interests despite the constant monopoly drive for profit only through consistent struggle for higher wages. The "incomes policy" being imposed on the trade unions by the entrepreneurs and the bourgeois state and effected through the conclusion of "social contracts" does not meet the interests of the workers. First, it effectively leads to a freeze or even a lowering of their real incomes, and second, it tends to demobilize them, by creating the illusion that the workers can improve their condition in the society through a "class partnership." It was also said that the sustained struggle for concrete demands develops the working people's class consciousness, and in the course of the struggle they learn to see through the tricks and dodges of the monopoly bourgeoisie and its servants in the corridors of political power, who seek to foist on the working class a policy of "belt-tightening" under the pretext of combatting inflation.

For all the differences in the anti-inflationary measures being proposed by bourgeois theorists, they have a common class approach. In standing up for the interests of capital, both the liberal neo-Keynesians and the avowed advocates of "free enterprise" — the monetarists and the neo-conservatives — hold that the main way to combat inflation is to eliminate the gains of the working people and the democratic forces relating to wages and social security, and to weaken the trade-union movement. This anti-popular economic line of the ruling circles of state monopoly capital is expressed in practical terms in the deflationary "austerity" policy which they have pursued since the mid-1970s.

In claiming that these measures are necessary to combat inflation and energy crisis, the governments of virtually all the industrialized capitalist countries have started to "slow down" the economy by reducing expenditures in the state sector (with the exception of military expenditures), and to cut back appropriations for social needs. This policy is being coordinated by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the Bank for International Settlements, the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

The "austerity" policy has led to a rise in the average level of unemployment which by the beginning of the 1980s had more than

doubled (as compared with the 1960s) in the leading capitalist countries.¹⁴

The proletariat's condition is also being worsened by the anti-inflationary policy of "dear money." It has become one of the key factors of stagflation, as will be seen from the sharp worsening of the economic situation in the United States and Western Europe under the impact of the high loan interest rates. Although the growth of prices somewhat slowed down in 1981 and 1982, the high cost of consumer credit made many consumer durables and housing virtually inaccessible to the working people, and this was also ultimately reflected on the state of the civilian sectors of the economy.

The participants in the discussion drew attention to the fact that the "austerity" policy conducted by the governments of the leading imperialist powers is also being foisted by international capital on the other developed capitalist and developing states. This economic policy was tested for the Third World in Chile, where Milton Friedman, the theorist of monetarism, together with IMF advisers tried, under the wing of Pinochet's fascist regime, to defeat chronic inflation by means of massive unemployment and a sharp depression of the working people's living standards. By contrast, the attempts by the OECD, IMF and IBRD to impose a similar diktat on the Demirel government in Turkey met with stiff resistance from the trade unions. Implementation of the "austerity" program could be started there, for all practical purposes, only after the military coup in September 1980. The results are to hand: of the 24 million of Turkey's economically active population, one in three is now jobless, while the working people's real incomes have been halved as compared with the level of a decade ago. In Portugal, the working people are well aware of the need to defend the democratic order so as to beat back the onslaught by capital on their living standards. In that country, the IMF has demanded, under the pretext of combatting inflation, that a 17 per cent ceiling should be set for annual wage increases (with inflation running at over 20 per cent), but the trade unions succeeded in blocking this pressure.

At the same time, in the course of the discussion the controversial view was expressed that the trade unions could accept the need for "austerity" if it is effected for the development of the national economy and not of monopoly capital. Participants in the discussion said that such a line could be justified only when the working class is capable of exerting the decisive influence on government policy and to ensure defense of the country's interests against

pressure from the international monopolies. It was also emphasized that, in contrast to the arms race, which is a waste of social resources, state spending for social purposes — the main objective of bourgeois governments' "economies" — is not in itself the cause of higher prices. While helping to expand final demand and to increase employment in the civilian industries, such spending increases the national income, accelerates the turnover of commodity resources, enhances the efficiency of investments and ultimately promotes the growth of labor productivity, and so also cuts the cost of the product.

The worsening of the working people's material conditions because of the growth in the cost of living and the increase in unemployment has become the main reason for the expansion of the strike struggle, whose proportions in most countries have surpassed the indicators for the 1950s and the 1960s. The demands for higher wages in the 1970s were the cause of more than one half of all the labor conflicts in the United States, and they accounted for over two-thirds of the total strike time. The ever more frequent nation-wide and industry-wide strikes, and in the Common Market countries simultaneous action by the trade unions of several countries, like textile workers, chemical workers and teachers — have become a qualitatively new phenomenon. Wildcat strikes, that is, those not sanctioned by the trade unions, have also been multiplying. There is ever wider involvement of farmers, housewives and pensioners in protest marches and boycotts of higher-price goods.

Consequently, the offensive being carried on by the ruling circles against the vital interests of the working class and the macro-economic deflationary measures being taken by the bourgeois governments lead to a sharpening of the class struggle and to disenchantment of a sizable section of the working people, workers in particular, with the "class partnership" ideology. This expands the mass basis of the communist and workers' parties and creates a basis for putting forward a democratic alternative to the ruling circles' anti-popular policy and for invigorating the struggle for radical social change.

The communists' democratic alternative

The communists agree that the most radical way of defending the working people's living standards against the growth of prices is elimination of the capitalist system and construction of socialism. But, it was said in the discussion, it is possible to put an end to inflation in its chronic form or to reduce its negative

consequences even before the transition to socialism through democratic and social transformations for the benefit of broad masses of people. The content of such transformations worked out by progressive forces is determined by the specific features of the state-monopoly structure in each country and its peculiar economic problems. At the same time, the anti-inflationary measures proposed by the communists have many similar propositions because they stem from their understanding of the causes behind the falling living standards of the working people which are common to all the capitalist states. A characteristic feature of such anti-inflationary programs is comprehensive analysis of the problem of money depreciation and the establishment of the root causes of rampant inflation today.

Many communist and workers' parties, starting from Lenin's theory of imperialism, have put forward as the primary task the need to curb the economic power of the monopolies and the major banks through nationalization and the establishment of democratic control by the working people over their activity.¹⁵ These measures could make it possible, first, to eradicate or, at least, to limit the operation of such basic sources of inflation as monopoly price-formation and the excessive issue of monetary and credit instruments, and second, to effect state control over prices, above all the prices of vital goods and services. It was said in discussion that in the concrete conditions of some countries the communists could raise the question of eliminating the power of the monopoly bourgeoisie completely.

The struggle to end the arms race and to reduce the vast outlays by the imperialist states on military preparations has a special part to play in the anti-inflationary policy of the left forces. Changes in foreign policy and cuts in military programs could help to stop deficit financing and balance the state budget with a simultaneous easing of the tax burden on low-income families. The switch of financial resources and of the scientific, technical and production potential to civilian industries could help to get rid of an important source of inflation like the disproportion between money demand and the volume of the goods and services produced. The conversion of enterprises in the military industries to civilian production would create the basis for increasing employment, with a simultaneous rise in labor productivity and a reduction in production costs.

The concrete measures proposed by the socialist community countries for a military détente and for disarmament meet the vital interests of all the peoples of the world and

have found broad support in the communist and workers' parties. The practical realization of these proposals would open up the prospect for raising the living standards of the working people, who are now forced to pay for the arms race the price of declining purchasing power of their wages. Détente and disarmament would, simultaneously, help to increase financial and technical assistance for the purposes of socio-economic development in the young states of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Together with the establishment of control over the activity of transnational corporations, and the elimination of the system of neocolonial exploitation and the unjust international division of labor, this would enable their governments to allocate more resources for social needs and to wipe out economic backwardness and poverty.

The communist and workers' parties in some industrialized capitalist countries, it was said during the discussion, proceed from the assumption that the socialization of production and the development of the state sector have reached a level which makes it possible to introduce nation-wide economic planning for the benefit of the majority of the people, for the proportional development of the national economy, and for the supply of the population with the necessary goods and services at stable prices. The expansion of state investments in civilian production could promote the priority growth of industries which are most promising for a given country. Of equal importance is the introduction of democratic control over the government's monetary policy, measures to ensure the stability of national exchange rates, to limit the export of capital and to cut short monetary speculation.

The anti-inflationary programs of the communist and workers' parties in some countries also envisage measures in the provision of state subsidies for prices, above all food prices. The stability of purchasing prices and an end to the speculation by wholesalers and agro-industrial companies in foodstuffs would make it possible to guarantee a rise in the real incomes of the peasantry.

With the productive forces at their present level, inflation is not, consequently, a phenomenon that is immanent to social-economic progress. its chronic and structural character stems from the relations of production of present-day state monopoly capitalism and its deepening general crisis. The working class counters the anti-popular policy of international capital, which has been using the measures to combat inflation as a pretext for a fresh offensive against the working people's rights, with its own anti-inflationary strategy,

which meets the vital interests of the overwhelming majority of the population.

1. Up until 1973, the growth of prices in seven leading capitalist countries (USA, FRG, Britain, France, Italy, Canada and Japan) averaged 3.5 per cent a year, and from 1973 to 1979, 8 per cent. The IMF estimated that in 1980 inflation in the industrialized capitalist countries averaged 12.9 per cent, and in 1981, 11 per cent, whereas in the less developed countries the figure averaged 38 per cent. As a result of the quickening pace of inflation, the general consumer price index for the 1970s (1970=100) had gone up by 1980 to 212.5 in the United States, 360.8 in Britain, 164.2 in the FRG, 251.6 in France, 369.1 in Italy, and 236.5 in Japan.

2. See "Transnationals in the Capitalist World," WMR, April 1982.

3. According to a 1978 report issued by a U.S. Senate Commission which studied the links between 130 leading corporations, 530 of their directors were simultaneously members of the boards not only of their own but also of other corporations, while the number of their regular meetings on the board of third corporations annually came to 13,000.

4. In Western Europe, the national debt record is held by the FRG, where the federal government's debt in 1980, according to the Zurich weekly *Die Weltwoche*, totalled 450 billion Swiss francs, it is followed by Britain, with 400 billion, and France, with 187 billion. Belgium leads in the national debt per head of the population, with 12,000 Swiss francs, and Sweden and Switzerland are second and third, respectively.

5. By the end of 1981, \$1.2 trillion was in circulation outside the borders of the United States. This was more than double the quantity of money in circulation in that country.

6. In 1981, the exchange rate of the U.S. dollar increased by 30 per cent with respect to the French franc, by 24 per cent with respect to the FRG mark, and by 18 per cent with respect to the British pound sterling. In the first half of 1982, this process intensified.

7. See "Anatomy of Monetary Contradictions", WMR, July 1981.

8. *Business Week* has estimated that U.S. corporate after-tax profits in the 1960s grew at 7.5 per cent a year, but at 6.1 per cent in constant prices. In the 1970s, money profits grew at an annual 17.3 per cent, but at 3.7 per cent in constant prices.

9. U.S. economist Victor Perlo has estimated that the gap between the growth in the cost of living and that of wages has sharply widened since 1973, when real wages began to fall because of the high rate of inflation in the United States. According to Perlo's calculations, which were published in the December 1980 issue of WMR, from 1973 to 1979, U.S. monopoly profits went up by 115 per cent (adjusted for inflation — 36 per cent), while real wages dropped by 7 per cent.

10. *Business Week*, December 21, 1981, p.46.

11. In 1980 alone, fuel and electricity in Italy went up by 56.5 per cent (while retail prices generally rose by 21.2 per cent), in Japan by 38.1 per cent (8.0), in Britain and France by 26 per cent (18 and 13.7), in the United States by 16.4 (13.5), in Canada by 12.8 (10.1) and in the FRG by 10.3 per cent (5.5). The general rate of inflation was outrun by the growing cost of housing, medical care and education.

12. Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, which includes most of the industrialized capitalist countries.

13. The introduction of new indirect taxes is a central

point in the series of measures taken by the Reagan administration in August of this year in an attempt to cut the federal budget deficit.

14. From 1960 to 1969, unemployment in the OECD countries came to 2.9 per cent of the labor force, from 1970 to 1974, to 3.6 per cent, from 1975 to 1980, to 5.4 per cent,

and in 1981, to 6.6 per cent.

15. The experience of France, where the government, led by left-wing forces, was faced with fierce resistance by the national and international bourgeoisie, indicates the difficulties of even partially curbing the power of the monopolies and banks in the economy.



Anti-nuclear-war protest in North America

USA: THE SPECTER OF THE
"SOVIET THREAT" IS RECEDING

Bruce Kimmel
Peace Commission member,
CPUSA

More than once in the past six and a half decades, anti-Sovietism has been used as an ideological justification of wars of aggression. It was under the banner of repulsing a "Soviet menace" that Hitler prepared and launched the Second World War, which took a toll of up to 55 million lives. After the war many armed conflicts were provoked on the pretext of "saving the world from communism," conflicts in which over 10 million people lost their lives.

The main generator of anti-Sovietism today is U.S. imperialism. It disguises its militarist plans threatening a new world war with calls for a "crusade" against socialism and for leaving "Marxism-Leninism on the ash-heap of history."¹ This is why an urgent task facing the forces that stand for peace is to undo the dangerous consequences of anti-Sovietism fostered in people's mentality, the biggest of all lies invented by anti-communist ideology. It is an essential condition for uniting the masses in anti-war actions.

For many years, until recently, the poison of anti-Sovietism had a paralyzing influence on the peace movement in the United States. There was the misconception that to support the Soviet peace initiatives while opposing the U.S.-spurred arms race was, somehow, unpatriotic. They feared they might be labelled as spokesmen for the Soviet Union and called communist. The ranks of the peace movement were not immune to this infection. As a result, most anti-war groups maintained a silence about anti-Soviet falsehoods and some even believed them.

This reflected the intense pressures of the whole imperialist superstructure on the people and their organizations. Anti-communist liberals and the top trade union bureaucrats made common cause with the imperialists by dissem-

inating this fear among peace supporters.

Often the only voices which exposed the war-making essence of anti-Sovietism were those of the communists. We have invariably held that without striking hard blows at the main premise of the cold war militarists, it would be impossible to mobilize the widest masses in the peace struggles. As Gus Hall said, "as long as people are convinced that the United States faces a military threat from the Soviet Union... most will not join in the struggle against the mounting military budgets of the MX missile or the B-1 bomber... As long as people are convinced that the national liberation struggles are directed by the Soviet Union, or that they are a feature of 'Soviet expansionism,' either directly or by forces from other socialist countries, most will not join in the struggle against policies of U.S. imperialist aggression..."²

Still, the shrill noise of anti-Sovietism could not erase from people's memories the tragic consequences of U.S. intervention in Vietnam. Nor could the mass resolve that there must be no more Vietnams be erased, as is clear from the big upsurge of activity against U.S. intervention in El Salvador, Nicaragua and the Caribbean.

Peace sentiment is growing among the people of the United States. Polls show that the majority of the population stands for talks with the Soviet Union. It has serious reservations about the huge military build-up and has begun to question the advisability of Reagan's bid for military superiority.

Petition drives, referenda and public meetings, all calling for a reduction in military spending and a revision of the official attitude to disarmament, occur with increasing frequency across the country. Coupled with the

recent anti-war demonstrations unprecedented in scale and intensity, they indicate that there is a peace majority in the United States. A massive peace movement has emerged, a movement in which the communists are an accepted part of the leadership.

The shift in people's thinking is a reaction to Washington's increasing militarism. It began to set in about midway in the Carter administration's term in office, when the threat of an armed conflict loomed large. Apprehensions grew especially after the failure to ratify SALT-2.

More than ever before, war preparations were carried on amid talk of "defending the country and the free world against Soviet expansion." This brought home to the more dedicated, more concerned peace advocates that they could no longer ignore arguments based on lies. It was then that a number of peace organizations began to make studies of various facets of anti-Soviet myths. This new trend was given added impetus by the advent of the Reagan administration, which made anti-Sovietism the pivot of its foreign policy and military strategy.

The founding in 1979 of the United States Peace Council (USPC), affiliated with the World Peace Council, was an historically significant event. The growth of the USPC in so short a time to over 40 local chapters testifies to the fact that people are ready for action to maintain and consolidate peace and want to know how they should go about it. What adds significance to the Council's activity is the example it sets for other peace organizations on how to overcome anti-Soviet prejudice and fear.

The USPC sees one of its key tasks in telling the public the truth about the real source of the war danger. In his report to the Council's second national conference, Michael Myerson, Executive Director, said: "The falsest of paths, the greatest reversal of the truth, the biggest of lies, in fact, the only surviving ideological prop of the arms race . . . is the myth of the Soviet threat . . . One does not have to like communism or socialism or the way the Soviet system works . . . to understand . . . that the Soviets want peace."³

The USPC is distinguished among the peace organizations of the United States for the fact that by forthrightly exposing the lie of a "Soviet menace," it is able to clearly and convincingly show who is responsible for the arms race and who has brought the world to the brink of nuclear disaster. Indeed, without doing this, how can the struggle for peace be won?

However, the Peace Council is by no means the only organization pursuing this goal. Friendship societies have a long and honor-

able history in the struggle against anti-Sovietism. The National Council for American-Soviet Friendship and the U.S. Committee for Friendship with the German Democratic Republic are two of them. Committees of solidarity with the people of El Salvador and Nicaragua have gained wide influence and enjoy massive support. They owe this to their forthright refutation of the lies of Soviet and Cuban direction of the liberation struggles there.

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), founded in 1915, has been particularly active in the recent period. It shows that the initiator of disarmament proposals is Moscow while Washington rejects them, on the ground that they are "ploys" to weaken the United States.⁴ The WILPF refutes the Reagan administration's allegation that the Soviet Union is not concerned with serious arms negotiations. It insists on an unbiased exploration of the disarmament proposals made by the Soviet Union to reverse the suicidal arms race and calls on the people to answer yes to the question, "Can we trust the Russians?"

The Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, which has the affiliation of over 40 organizations, has been playing a growing role on the national scene. It publishes books, brochures and leaflets refuting the Pentagon assertion that the Soviet Union has pulled ahead of the United States in military might. Its experts maintain on the strength of factual data that the United States remains ahead in the arms race.⁵ The Coalition urges the U.S. government to ratify SALT-2 and begin SALT-3, sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Agreement and pursue mutual and balanced force reduction talks in Europe. It calls for a ban on the use of anti-satellite weapons and on the production and deployment of chemical weapons, demilitarization of the Indian Ocean and an end to sales of U.S. military hardware to China.

Thus both organizations put the focus on Washington's responsibility for the worsening international situation and want it to respond to the Soviet disarmament proposals. On liberating themselves from the intimidating influence of anti-Sovietism, they have developed an independent position based on the realities. In this they differ from other peace organizations which still tend to place the responsibility for the increased war danger on both Washington and Moscow.

A case in point is the War Resisters League, a pacifist organization founded in 1923. While rejecting the idea that the U.S. is lagging behind the Soviet Union in military might and arguing that the "Soviet threat" has no basis in

reality, it does not mention the military build-up going on in the U.S. Its essential argument is that Washington is "as bad" as Moscow.⁶ This view is more likely to generate cynicism and demoralization than help build a peace movement.

Occupying a position between those who see the real source of the military threat and organizations which hold both sides responsible is the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), a Quaker-related pacifist organization founded in 1917. The chief premise of the AFSC is that military parity exists between the U.S. and the Soviet Union and that, because of this, now is a "unique and historic moment" for fruitful disarmament negotiations.⁷ The Committee urges a mutual freeze in the production of nuclear arms and subsequent reductions in stockpiles. It expresses concern about the fact that the Soviet Union's disarmament proposals remain virtually unknown to most Americans.

The Committee for a SANE Nuclear Policy (SANE), founded in 1957, likewise plays a positive role. It refutes Washington's argument that the Soviet Union has won military superiority. It presents statements from U.S. officials and prominent politicians showing the "Soviet threat" to be, in the words of Senator William Proxmire, "nonsense, balderdash, phony, fake and . . . untrue."⁸ SANE considers that now is the time for the United States and the Soviet Union to freeze production of nuclear weapons and negotiate meaningful mutual arms reduction toward the eventual goal of "zero" nuclear weapons.

However, both these organizations betray a certain inconsistency. The AFSC, while justly criticizing Presidential Directive 59 signed by Carter in 1980 and fully embraced by Reagan and describing it as a program of preparations for a prolonged "limited" nuclear war, does not say that the Directive calls for the achievement of military superiority over the Soviet Union. Neither the AFSC, nor SANE analyzes U.S. military policy.

The reality of the threat of nuclear catastrophe has drawn into the peace movement new forces which until recently were not active in public affairs. They include the Union of Concerned Scientists, Physicians for Social Responsibility, the Center for Defense Information and the Council for a Liveable World. These and other groups conducted effective campaigns exposing Reagan's "winnable nuclear war" hoax. In the fall of 1981 the UCS organized Teach-Ins Against the Threat of Nuclear War on university campuses which involved over 100,000 students and others.

Religious leaders are joining in the peace

movement in growing numbers. They call on the government to reduce military spending so that more funds will be available for social programs. The heads of two major Protestant denominations — the three million-member United Presbyterian Church and the 1.6 million American Baptist Church — are urging their members to work and pray for a halt in the production of nuclear weapons.

A pastoral letter from Bishop Roger Mahoney to his followers denounces preparations for the use of nuclear weapons as a crime. "We are being urged," it says, "to use our nuclear arsenal as bargaining chips . . ." This policy "looks to a show of superior power and the will to use it, the aim of which is not genuine security, but extended space for diplomatic and political adventures in the world . . . We must refuse to 'demonize' the Soviets 'and caricature their views and aspirations.'"⁹

This sentiment is gaining ground among religious people. A large group of priests, nuns, church officials and members of the Archdiocese of New York criticized a statement by its head, Terence Cardinal Cooke of New York, for saying that a nuclear build-up might be "morally tolerated"; they declared that the Cardinal's views were "clearly contradicted by the position of his fellow-bishops."

There is no denying that the views of religious leaders generally coincide with the views of those who regard the United States and the Soviet Union as equally responsible for the war danger. Still, their posture helps destroy the anti-Soviet myth promoted by the U.S. administration: who will believe that priests, rabbis, ministers, bishops and nuns are "stooges" for the Soviet Union?

Visible changes are occurring in the trade unions' attitude to the issue of war and peace. Special mention should be made of the International Association of Machinists (IAM), a nearly one million-member union. Its President, William Winpisinger, has taken the lead among major U.S. trade union leaders in the struggle against the huge military budget, against militarism and for peace. The Association's stance is expressive of increasing realization of the disastrous consequences of anti-Sovietism. The trade unions and peace forces must explode the "myth of the Soviet threat," Dick Greenwood, another IAM leader, has said.

This position of the IAM is a significant departure from the dominant position of the AFL-CIO, which still holds the view that the U.S. must be prepared to "counter the Russians." However, the AFL-CIO Executive Council has issued a statement questioning the expediency of the massive increases in military

spending planned by the Reaganites. It has created a special committee to study the effect of these expenditures on the economy.

To be sure, these are limited first steps. Even so, they reflect a move-away of certain union leaders from the policy of former AFL-CIO President George Meany, who consistently stood with the militarists and anti-Sovieteers.

One should not forget, however, that many peace organizations, which call for a freeze on nuclear arms production and for negotiations, are undoubtedly influenced by the concept of "equal guilt." But their fundamental belief is that disarmament cannot be unilateral. Hence the Soviet Union's insistence on the principle of military strategic parity and equal security is fully in harmony with the common sense of the U.S. public.

Although peace organizations in the U.S. have adopted different approaches and tactics to counter the myth of a "Soviet threat," they agree on one point; none of them accepts the Reagan administration's propaganda about Soviet "military superiority" or believes that the Soviet Union is preparing to attack Western Europe and the Mideast, let alone the United States itself.

The people of the United States, like the people of any other country, want their country to be a strong and respected member of the family of nations. This leads some peace activists to erroneous conclusions. They make a point of not identifying themselves too closely with Soviet peace initiatives and not placing the responsibility for the accelerating arms race on Washington for fear that they might be accused of siding with the adversary or wanting to weaken the United States.

Others, however, have begun to show that militarism weakens the U.S. and that peace, détente and disarmament are the only way in which it can move toward strength. Many studies by peace organizations and research committees prove that peace production — civilian production — provides more jobs by far than military production and that militarization accelerates the erosion of the social, economic and financial positions of the United States.

The tremendous outpouring of people last June against the war menace and for disarmament in New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Denver and other cities was proof of how very deeply the idea of peace has become rooted in people's consciousness. It was the biggest anti-war action ever seen in the United States and it showed that the American people are

concerned primarily about the danger of a nuclear war. The demonstrators' growing political maturity also expressed itself in the fact that many peace organizations, while welcoming the U.S. administration's decision to reopen discussions with the Soviet Union on limitation and reduction of strategic weapons, called for effort to make the administration stop the massive arms build-up going on at the cost of cutting appropriations for social needs.

The communists make indispensable contributions to the struggle for peace. Fighting against the lie of a "Soviet threat," we do our best to strengthen the unity of the anti-war movement. It is beyond question that the new level of the peace movement cannot be separated from the years-long ideological activity of the CPUSA. This role of the communists is recognized, as the applause which greeted their contingent in the New York demonstration indicated.

Life furnishes more and more arguments against anti-Sovietism. The stark contrast between the rhetoric of Washington and the realistic steps taken by the Soviet Union to put an end to the arms race is becoming more pronounced than ever. Americans received with great satisfaction the Soviet pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons as well as the proposals submitted by the socialist countries to the Second Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament.

To preserve peace and ensure that a ruinous arms race endangering humanity gives way to fruitful coexistence between states with different social systems in a climate of peace, it is indispensable to defeat anti-Sovietism. We realize that this calls for still more vigorous effort to lay bare militarism in our country and show the peaceful nature of socialism still more clearly.

1. See, e.g., President Reagan's address to the British Parliament on June 8, 1982. *The Times*, June 9, 1982.
2. *Daily World*, December 18, 1980.
3. "The New War Danger: The Peace Movement's Challenge for the 80s." Report to the Second National Conference, USPC.
4. See, e.g., *The Soviet Union*. Published by WILPF.
5. See *Disarmament Action Guide*. Published by CNFMP.
6. See D. McReynolds, *The Soviet Threat — How Real?* Published by WRL.
7. See *Questions and Answers on the Soviet Threat and National Security*. Published by AFSC, 1981.
8. See *Deadly Standoff, The U.S.-Soviet Military Balance*. Published by SANE.
9. Cited in *Political Affairs*, May 1982, pp. 11, 12.

CANADA: PEOPLE'S ACTION DECISIVE

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The 25th convention of the Communist Party of Canada early this year underlined the fact that a growing number of Canadians are demanding that Canada adopt a truly independent foreign policy and extricate itself from the stifling embrace of U.S. imperialism. It also noted the growing opposition in the country to the deadly dangerous course being pursued by the U.S. administration, highlighted by its false concept of "limited nuclear war." For there can be no such thing as a "limited" nuclear war. It would be total. Neither the USA nor any other country would be immune from such a war.

The party points out the contrast in foreign policy between the capitalist United States and the socialist Soviet Union. While the USA is laying the groundwork for a first-strike nuclear strategy, the Soviet Union has pledged not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. And while Washington interferes in the internal affairs of other countries and appropriates their natural resources, the Soviet Union upholds the right of peoples everywhere to determine their destinies and use their natural resources for their own good.

The Soviet Union and the socialist community by their consistent policy and actions show themselves to be the main bulwark of peace, independence and social progress in the world today. This, the Convention noted, gives greater confidence to the peoples that nuclear war can be staved off and a lasting world peace assured. The communists stress that the problem of peace, détente and disarmament cannot be left for solution to the monopoly corporations, their political parties and governments and that action by the people is now decisive.

The upsurge in the mass movement against war which started in Western Europe has lately moved to Canada, where it finds reflection in support for the petition "Peace Is Everybody's Business" initiated by the Canadian Peace Congress, an affiliate of the World Peace Council.

The petition is directed to the Canadian government and calls upon it to press the United States for an early ratification of SALT-2 and for talks with the Soviet Union on limitation of medium-range nuclear weapons, work for the simultaneous dissolution of military alliances, the dismantling of all foreign bases in other countries and the banning and destruction of chemical weapons, and actively support

the idea of convening a conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe.

The aim of the Peace Congress was to secure one million signatures to the petition from individuals as well as trade unions and other mass organizations. As of March 1982, 65 national, provincial and regional organizations with a total membership of 1.25 million had endorsed the petition and 100,000 individual signatures had been gathered by canvassers. The organizations endorsing the petition include trade union bodies, student federations, women's associations, ethnic cultural associations, rights and environmental groups and various peace groups. The ideas set out in the petition are fully supported by the Communist Party of Canada and the Young Communist League. Individual sponsors cover a wide range of peace supporters, including physicians, scientists, educators, clergymen, trade union and political leaders, municipal and community spokesmen.

New sections of the trade unions are entering the struggle for peace and disarmament. For instance, the United Autoworkers Union, one of the largest Canadian unions, initiated its own petition "Give Peace a Chance." The British Columbia Federation of Labor (provincial leadership) plays an active part in building a massive peace coalition. Trade unions have adopted this attitude because Canadian working people are seeing that the arms race can result in a nuclear war catastrophe and is fueling inflation and mass unemployment. They realize that the fight for peace is also a fight for social and economic rights.

An important development was the decision of the most recent policy convention of the New Democratic Party (NDP)¹ to reaffirm its demand that Canada withdraw from NATO and denounce the Canadian-U.S. agreement on military cooperation in North America — NORAD. The convention declared its opposition to the neutron weapon and called for détente and disarmament, and for making Canada a nuclear weapons free zone. (The Communist Party of Canada projected a similar call in its 1971 program "The Road to Socialism in Canada.")

A factor for the growing anti-nuclear weapons sentiment was the public exposure of a secret agreement between the Canadian government and the U.S. administration that the Cruise missile be tested in the northwest region of the province of Alberta, whose terrain and climate closely resemble those of the Soviet North. (The Pentagon admittedly regards the Cruise missile as one of the main weapons of its first-strike nuclear war.) Canadian opinion reacted to the agreement as a further step to-

ward involving this country more deeply in U.S. aggressive military plans.

The peace supporters' apprehensions were made worse by the fact that a Canadian company receiving government subsidies manufactures the guidance system for the Cruise missile. This cooperation is based on a bilateral arms production agreement firmly linking Canada to the U.S. war industry.

The movement against war finds expression in mass demonstrations across the country by far surpassing those against U.S. intervention in Indochina. This was seen in massive demonstrations in Vancouver, Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, Calgary, Edmonton and Regina last spring and summer. It is indicative that the peace upsurge is beginning to enter areas previously untouched. These include smaller towns and even bigger cities long considered conservative in their outlook. Referenda on disarmament became part of activities connected with this fall's municipal elections in some 80 municipalities. Young people, such as those grouped in Youth for Peace, are among the most active components of the anti-war movement.

However, it would be wrong to ignore the roadblocks to a united anti-war front. The right wing of Canada's largest trade union organization, the Canadian Labor Congress, refused at the 1982 convention to oppose Washington's war plans and subscribed to the concept of "equal responsibility" of the two superpowers for the present dangerous situation. This resulted in a step backward from previous conventions as well as from the peace positions of certain of its affiliates and the New Democratic Party, despite strong opposition from many delegates.

In pondering on the outlook for the peace movement, the party carefully analyzes the alignment of forces in Canada. Among other things, we take into account the foreign policy of the Trudeau Liberal government, paying a great deal of attention to sources of its inconsistency and to the conclusions we must draw from it to formulate our demands and choose allies in our action for peace.

We define our position primarily with due regard to the fact that the ruling circles of Canada tend to give way to U.S. pressures, and, as the party noted in its statement, "are betraying the vital interests of Canada and her people by abjectly supporting the U.S. nuclear war policy."² The Prime Minister calls for suffocating the arms race, yet he in deeds accepts the three per cent annual increase in arms expenditures imposed by the U.S. administration. The government refused to condemn Reagan's

decision on the full-scale production of the neutron weapon, claiming that this decision is an "internal" U.S. matter, a "matter for Western Europe." It has agreed to the deployment of U.S. armed forces in Canada under the strategic "first-strike" nuclear war plan.³

On the other hand, Canada maintains good trading relations with Cuba and gives economic assistance to Nicaragua. Unlike the United States, it declares for the recognition of the rights of the Palestinian Arab people and supports a negotiated Middle East settlement in which all parties must participate. The Trudeau government appears to want to improve relations with the Soviet Union, particularly in the area of trade.

The source of this inconsistent position lies in the domestic political situation. The tendency to give way to U.S. pressures is a direct result of ruling class hostility to socialism, Canada's membership in NATO and NORAD, and expectation on the part of some sections of monopoly capital that Canada will benefit financially from the huge U.S. arms program as long as it supports U.S. imperialist aims.

At the same time the government has to take into account the views of the Canadian people, who are fearful of the Reagan administration's dangerous policies, and those sections of Canadian monopoly capitalism who are opposed to being dragged into the U.S. war economy and who support the continuation of the policy of détente.

This clash of interests is also evident in the House of Commons. The Tory opposition wants Pierre Trudeau to come out stronger against the foreign policies of the Soviet Union and the socialist community of nations. On the other hand, there is pressure from the NDP parliamentary group, which more closely heeds the voice of the anti-war movement.

The problem of war and peace is so urgent that it occasionally effaces the dividing line between parties. Last spring a minority group of members of the ruling Liberal Party and the opposition — the Progressive Conservative and New Democratic parties — who are on the House of Commons Standing Committee on External Affairs and Disarmament submitted a report dissenting from that Committee's Report on Security and Disarmament. "Security today demands more than acquisition of arms," the group stated in its report. "One of the paradoxes of the modern world is that, although defense is necessary, the arms race itself is a threat to security." The report urged the government to join in the effort for a global freeze on the testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons and their delivery

systems and to press all nuclear nations to pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons.

These proposals are similar to the demands of the Canadian anti-war movement. Thus, the people's justified alarm about peace finds reflection in Parliament, adding momentum to the movement for nuclear disarmament.

As our 25th convention emphasized, the communists in Canada have a two-fold task — to help build the peace movement and to make it a majority movement of the Canadian people. This means explaining the source of the war danger while uniting workers against the threat of nuclear war.

The Communist Party of Canada has publicly declared that the fight for a lasting and just world peace is its number one priority. Party organizations, members and supporters play an active mobilizing role on this priority front of struggle. The main direction of the struggle now is to further develop the mass movement against war, that is, to unite the majority of the people around the demand for an independent foreign policy of peace, détente and disarmament.

The party campaigns actively among the people through its press and the mass distribution of leaflets at demonstrations and factory gates. In door-to-door and street canvassing, communists spell out the party's policy and its proposals for halting the nuclear arms race and for disarmament. We expose false arguments intended to justify Canada's involvement in U.S. war preparations.

In a brochure titled *Make Canada a Nuclear Weapons Free Zone — Not a Nuclear Weapons Testing Zone*, currently being distributed on a mass scale, we take a stand against the testing of new U.S. weapons systems on Canadian soil. The brochure refutes the allegation that the arms build-up will "compel" the Soviet Union to negotiate. This is plain deceit, for the Soviet Union does not have to be compelled to negotiate. It has called time and again for negotiations to end the arms race and reduce arms, including nuclear weapons. The only condition made by it — a condition which no unbiased and sensible person can reject — is that disarmament talks be based on full respect for the principles of equality and equal security.

While exposing U.S. imperialism as the source of the war danger, the Communist Party draws attention to the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and the Peace Program for the 80s advanced at the 26th congress of the CPSU, and calls on the people to demand that the government welcome and actively support these proposals as a basis for disarmament talks.

The fundamental question facing Canadians is whether the Reagan administration is to be allowed to drag Canada into a world nuclear war. Unless this is prevented, Canada is bound to become a major theater of nuclear war and ultimately a nuclear wasteland.

In stressing that Canada's security is incompatible with the production of the neutron bomb, the Communist Party insists on banning this barbarous weapon. The party points to the likely disastrous consequences of the siting of U.S. nuclear arsenals on our territory and calls for a government declaration that Canada is a nuclear weapons free zone. We demand that the government seek appropriate treaty agreements with the Soviet Union and the United States honoring such a declaration. The communists' main proposals are as follows: withdraw Canada from NATO, renounce the agreements on military cooperation in North America and cooperation with the USA in arms production, and convert military into peacetime production.

In our everyday work among the people we emphasize that détente and peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems are the only sane alternative to the imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail and all its attendant dangers. A prime condition of establishing relations on this basis is honest and equal negotiations. This alternative can be made the centerpiece of Canada's foreign policy only by carrying on a vigorous ideological struggle against the advocates of cold war and the "inevitability" of war. It is also necessary to show the fundamental differences between the policies of the Soviet Union and the USA, between the roles of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, between policies of socialism and imperialism.

The ideological struggle needs to be spearheaded against the direct apologists of imperialism, who want to separate peaceful coexistence and the revolutionary transformation of the world and to maintain the social status quo. This task is, in the first place, the responsibility of communists and their party.

The peace policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist states blends the struggle for peace and the struggle for social progress. Peaceful cooperation and competition between countries with different social systems in no way contradict working-class internationalism. They reflect a world reality of today, the existence of two social systems. This reality can also be seen in the aid which the socialist community extends to the peoples striving for

an end to colonialism and neocolonialism and for national and social liberation.

In his keynote address to the 25th convention of the Communist Party of Canada, General Secretary William Kashtan emphasized that "U.S. imperialism has become the center of reaction, militarism and aggression, the main destabilizing force in the world, the force driving to world nuclear catastrophe. There is no place in the world not menaced by U.S. imperialism. In this situation it has become imperative to unite all the anti-imperialist forces of the world in a powerful anti-imperialist front against war and in defense of peace, progress and democracy. From this 25th convention we express full support, and pledge to work, for the formation of such a world front of the peoples, a world anti-war coalition directed against the reactionary forces of U.S. imperialism and its Reagan administration. 1982 must mark a new stage in building such a world front."⁴

While the dangers to peace are great, the party is convinced that there can be no room for

pessimism or fatalism in the struggle against this threat. The forces of peace, independence and socialism continue to grow. There may be temporary setbacks but imperialism can neither regain its lost historical initiative, nor reverse world development.

The *objective* conditions exist to compel the U.S. administration and its allies and accomplices, including those in Canada, to move once again toward negotiations and détente. The decisive *subjective* factor for this is united action by the people. The Canadian people have begun to act.

1. A social-democratic party founded in 1961 as successor to the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation. It is supported by a substantial part of the trade union movement and is an affiliate of the Socialist International. —Ed.

2. *Communist Viewpoint*, 1/1982, p. 28.

3. The government not only permits the testing of Cruise missiles in Canada. U.S. nuclear weapons are presently stored at three sites in Canada and U.S. nuclear-armed bombers make regular flights over Canadian territory.

4. *A New Course for Canada*. Documents from the 25th Convention of the Communist Party of Canada. February 13, 14, 15, 1982. Toronto, 1982, p. 23.

The strength of traditions of proletarian struggle

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CENTENARY OF THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT IN POLAND

The past hundred years have seen the Polish working-class movement travel a long and arduous path leading from a few groups, circles and resistance funds that helped counter capital in the economic sphere to the founding in 1882 of Poland's first Marxist party, the Social Revolutionary Party — Proletariat (Great Proletariat) — and from that pioneer party to a mass movement, a party of millions; from the proclamation of the idea of socialism to the materialization of these ideals in the social practice of contemporary Poland; from a movement which declared war on all that was old, stagnant, decayed and doomed to die to a movement creating a new social reality; from the overthrow of an exploiting and oppressing bourgeois and landowner state to the founding and consolidation of working people's power, a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Polish People's Republic. The movement for the liberation of the workers developed into a

movement that assumed responsibility for the destiny of the people as a whole, for their statehood, for their present and future, for their place and role in Europe and in the world socialist community.

In Poland as everywhere else, the working-class movement grew out of the struggle, interests and aspirations of the proletariat. Originally it expressed protest against machines, seen by the workers as social injustice and exploitation incarnate. Afterwards it spread to every sphere of the life of the class. The movement grew primarily out of the working man's desire to win a fitting place in society, to satisfy his requirements and aspirations, to establish a new system of values in life. But it was also a product of the history of the people, the masses, a product of struggle for social and national liberation over a long period.

The formation of the working class is inseparable from the evolution of society and they are interlinked by thousands of ties, if only because the proletariat was bound, as it began to realize its interests and aspirations, to take a stand against a society organized on capitalist

lines. It declared a resolute and uncompromising struggle against the propertied classes — their policies, their ideology and morality, the entire system of injustice and inhuman social relations created by them. Furthermore, the proletariat's program documents and concepts of a socialist future were concerned with problems partly raised earlier by progressive and revolutionary forces. Slogans demanding social justice, progress in society and state, freedom and equality, ample access to education and culture, have rung out ever since the rise of exploiting classes, ever since society was divided into exploited and exploiters, into those who have no rights and those who establish rights in their own interests. The working-class movement lent these slogans a new class content. It rose to fight for the social justice and progress championed by socialist ideas, and hence for real and reasonable social justice.

One cannot appreciate this movement without studying the struggle between progress and reaction in Poland, nor can one grasp its meaning without establishing its roots and prerequisites, which go back not only to the *Communist Manifesto*, not only to the teachings of Marx and Engels and subsequently of Lenin, but to Polish pre-Marxian socialist thought, the so-called agrarian socialism of Stanislaw Worcel, Piotr Sciegienny, Edward Dembowski, the revolutionary democratic organization known as *Lud Polski* (Polish People). The century-long history of our working-class movement cannot be appreciated without recalling such stages of the history of the country as the partitions of Poland, the Second Republic and nazi occupation. And of course, the character and gains of the movement bear a strong imprint of the past 38 years during which a people's revolution was accomplished and which were marked by socialist construction.

As we now look back we see the history of the internationalist, Marxist and then Marxist-Leninist working-class movement as a relay race of generations, each of which passed on its legacy to successors. It was a legacy of both invariable objectives and unique experience gained and values created by the given generation of fighters, activists and leaders of the movement.

That historical relay race involved many different parties as well as many currents and trends. Speaking of the centenary of the movement, we recall the Great Proletariat (1882-1886) party and its immediate successors: the Union of Polish Workers (1889-1893), Second Proletariat (1887-1893), Social Democrats of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania (SDKPL; 1893-1918), Polish Socialist Party of the Left

(1906-1918), Communist Party of Poland (1918-1938), Polish Workers' Party (1942-1948) and Polish Socialist Party (revived after the war; 1944-1948). In 1948 the Polish Workers' Party and Polish Socialist Party merged into a Marxist-Leninist party, the PUWP. We see in our mind's eye a great march of generations, parties and organizations. Some of them attract particular attention, which is due to the time in which we are living.

The Great Proletariat party has gone down in history as the "initiator party," the "party of a revolutionary beginning." It started the relay race of generations of Polish revolutionaries and created a great legacy, a great treasury of accomplishments. This party and its founder, Ludwik Warynski, may be said to have left the strongest imprint on the minds of descendants, on our socialist thought and our culture and art. By publishing its programmatic appeal in September 1882, this new political force let it be known to all that it would strive to lead the people and that while it was still weak and only just organizing itself and taking its first steps, it felt responsible, none the less, for the present and future of the Polish working class and the whole nation.

The Great Proletariat party introduced Marxist ideas into the Polish working-class movement and made them a program for action, for class struggle. It has gone down in the history of the country as a party which linked the people's destiny, their future, with socialism.

The party of a revolutionary beginning gave the movement firm principles that have retained their unfading splendor and appeal to this day. The first and highest of these principles was that the liberation of the working class must be accomplished by this class itself. By freeing itself and destroying the exploiting system, the proletariat would address itself to society as a whole, would deliver it from the social and moral evils that had piled up under capitalism. According to a second principle, the workers' main instrument of struggle for their goals was a party based on Marxist-Leninist principles and acting in close unity. Without such an organization the proletariat would be unable to achieve the goals set, to overthrow capitalism and build socialism. A third lasting principle was internationalism as expressed by the slogan, "Workers of All Lands, Unite!" In terms of Polish reality, it implied that an alliance between Polish and Russian revolutionaries was the decisive requisite of liberating both Poland and Russia. The Great Proletariat party laid the groundwork for close cooperation between the Polish and Russian revo-

lutionary movements, which runs through its century-long history.

Great historical credit is due to the Proletariat party for applying the fundamental ideas of the *Communist Manifesto* to national reality. No wonder that subsequently, every party of the working-class movement referred to the traditions of this organization. To be backed by the prestige of the Proletariat party meant winning moral superiority over numerous other currents. The legacy of this party was an object of contest between revolutionaries and reformists. We consider that its lasting ideological, political and moral values lived on in the struggle of the internationalist, revolutionary, Marxist wing of the Polish working-class movement.

The SDKPL held an important place in the relay race of generations. It was the party of Felix Dzerzhinsky, Rosa Luxemburg and Julian Marchlewski, whose ideas and deeds do not remain the heritage of the Polish proletariat alone. These great revolutionaries became symbols of unshakable faith in socialism, an uncompromising attitude toward its enemies, a fervent internationalism prompted by the deep conviction that the workers of all countries have common interests and that the revolution in Poland could triumph and consolidate itself only in collaboration with the revolutionaries of Russia, particularly the Bolsheviks.

The SDKPL rallied revolutionary forces against tsarism and fought unrelentingly against every form of revisionism, opportunism and nationalism in the Polish working-class movement. It led the revolution of 1905-1907 in Poland, where the working class showed itself to be "the heroic proletariat of heroic Poland" (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 8, p. 541), the leading force of the people's liberation. The SDKPL went into action against the imperialist war. Hundreds of its members took part in the Great October Socialist Revolution, which provided the decisive conditions and prerequisites that enabled the Polish people to gain national independence in 1918. The Social Democrats sought victory for the proletarian revolution in Poland and proceeded to set up the first Soviets of Workers' Deputies; in a number of areas of the country, these bodies became instruments of working-class struggle for power.

The SDKPL was succeeded by the Communist Party of Poland, which began direct preparations for the establishment of people's rule, for revolution. Though persecuted and compelled to operate underground, the communists worked to rouse the masses against Poland's bourgeois system. The CPP played a big role in disseminating the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. For 20 years it was a school for revolutionaries,

who took an active part in laying the foundations of socialism in People's Poland thanks to their ideological training, internationalism and revolutionary experience. Having gone through a long and difficult period of development, this cadre party succeeded in uniting large social sectors in support of its program, which called for struggle against bourgeois and landowner oppression and exploitation. It appreciated both the class and the national aspirations of the masses and closely linked patriotism with proletarian internationalism. The party realized the vast importance of taking into account the interests and needs of the countryside, which craved for land and wanted to have a say in deciding the destiny of the country.

The relay race of generations of our revolutionaries involved a participant worthy of special note, the Polish Workers' Party (PWP). This is not only because recently it was 40 years since the PWP was founded or because in the most tragic period of our history it declared that, being flesh of the flesh and blood of the blood of the people, it called on all compatriots to rise and wage an armed struggle against the nazi invaders. We recall it primarily because its leaders realized that socialism in Poland could be built only if the movement for social emancipation was coupled with the effort for national liberation. The declaration "What Are We Fighting For?" released by the PWP in November 1943 formulated a democratic program of change paving the way for socialism and presented the party's concept of establishing state power "by and for the people." This program creatively combined the general principles of socialism with the national experience of the working class and its particularities arising from our history, realities, social structure and conditions of life.

The theoretical and practical activity of the party gave forceful expression to the conviction that scientific socialism, Marxism enriched by the experience of the first socialist state founded by Lenin were the form of existence of society that could solve the country's problems in greater measure, more accurately and wisely than any other form. What it did was, in effect, to carry forward an idea proclaimed by the early Polish socialists, except that it has been enriched and was in the process of formation and materialization, of application in the socio-economic, political and cultural practice of the time. Socialism is always built in concrete historical, national conditions. The PWP searched for the most correct ways of applying Marxism-Leninism in Poland, of combining the general objective laws and principles of

socialism with national characteristics.

On the hundredth anniversary of the Polish working-class movement, we also look back on the PWP because it was prompted by the idea of unity of the working class and its trade union and political movement. The party elevated unity — not unity at any cost but on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and hence revolutionary class principles — to the rank of the chief condition for victory. It declared that success in the struggle for social and national liberation hinged on joint action by socialist and other progressive forces. The party had thoroughly assimilated Lenin's idea that communism cannot be a matter for the communists alone and that our cause is foredoomed unless millions of non-communists are drawn into it. It insisted on the need to unite all supporters of socialism and form a worker-peasant alliance.

Like the Great Proletariat party before it, the PWP was convinced that socialism alone could guarantee the independent existence and development of the Polish people. We are also linked with that party by the principles of internationalism which it applied in practice. The PWP turned the slogan "For Your Freedom and Ours," directed to the peoples of all countries, and the internationalist traditions of the Polish working-class movement into an unshakable bedrock of the policy of People's Poland.

The PWP was called the "party of struggle" with good reason, without the slightest exaggeration, for this is what it was from its founding to the formation of the Polish United Workers' Party. It carried on an armed struggle for independence and then worked to lay the foundations of socialism, cooperating steadfastly with all who it believed could side with the communists but did not do so for one reason or another even though they did not oppose them.

Also associated with the activity of the PWP are other events of immense significance that transformed the Poles' national consciousness and social psychology — their return to the banks of the Odra and Nysa Luzycka, solid guarantees of the security and inviolability of our frontiers, a radical change in relations between Poland and the Soviet Union, now based on the solid principles of friendship, mutual assistance and all-round cooperation, or, in other words, all that determines the place of Poland in Europe and its national existence today. The party firmly upheld the purity of its ranks, rejecting both sectarian, dogmatic and revisionist, opportunist trends.

Our focusing attention on the Great Proletariat party and PWP is not at all prompted by a desire to minimize the achievements of

others, to efface something from the people's memory. Honor and glory to all who made at least a small contribution to the values created in the past hundred years if their contribution marked progress and helped the working class draw nearer to its goals.

In assessing the history of the Polish working-class movement, we emphatically reject two antithetical approaches to it. We cannot accept the opinion held at one time by some of our historians that the whole movement was a continuous series of mistakes and deformations or of struggle against distortions and deviations. Equally unacceptable is the opinion of those who portray the past hundred years as an unbroken series of victories and successes. We look on history objectively and from every angle, as, indeed, all Marxist-Leninists should do. The working-class movement in Poland is a progressive process in which generations of revolutionaries contributed their mite to the treasury of experience and so handed it down to the next generations. The annals of the movement have also recorded failures and defeats, weaknesses and mistakes. This is the price of success, of what has become tradition with us and what new fighters carry forward. We do not pass over these setbacks in silence because they, too, are part of valuable experience that is a warning to others and shows them what they should avoid and how.

Each generation perceives the past in its own way and asks new questions prompted by its own time, by what agitates people at the given moment. This is particularly true of our time.

After the declaration of martial law in Poland late in 1981, which safeguarded the country against counter-revolutionary attempts to seize power, the slogan "Back to the Source" became popular in our party. What does it mean? Isn't it a manifestation of conservatism, a yearning for the past, an expression of dogmatism and the belief that somewhere at the source, in the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, as well as in the heritage of our movement — the achievements of the Great Proletariat party, SDKPL and PWP — one can find ready-made solutions for all the painful problems of today? Doesn't this slogan express the naive belief that one has only to take forgotten volumes from the shelf and open them at the right pages to derive wisdom for all eventualities?

The slogan of "Back to the Source" has a different meaning. It is based on the conviction that there are universal Marxist-Leninist values which constitute the substance of socialism and the ideological foundation of the activity of the PUWP. It is they that logically determine the character of the movement and the party

and make it possible to answer the question whether what we have is real Marxism-Leninism and scientific socialism free of deformations, or whether it is revisionism, ultra-revolutionariness and pseudo-radical phrasemongering. This slogan is expressive of the need to look back, after all the good and bad things that we have experienced, so as to advance. The struggle of our predecessors helps us decide how we should apply the ideas of scientific socialism if we do not want them to be meaningless phrases but to show how society's life is to be changed and perfected according to socialist ideals. "Back to the Source" implies, first of all, a new assessment of the revolutionary heritage which brought about a turning point in modern Polish history, namely, the founding of a people's state, an agrarian reform, the nationalization of industry, the abolition of illiteracy, and a widely circulated press.

We turn again to the legacy of our predecessors, to the PWP and its experience, not to uncritically depict the greatness and romantic beauty of the early years of people's rule, but primarily to realize more clearly how very far the country has advanced along the road opened by that party.

The history of the Polish working-class movement, especially the legacy of the PWP, has shown how very important it is to grasp the general principles of scientific socialism, since every deviation from them translates into a departure from socialism itself and leads one astray. The PUWP vindicates these principles in our state, taking account of the distinguishing aspects of our development. In his message to the nation on December 13, 1981, Wojciech Jaruzelski said that it is necessary to enrich the universal values of socialism by contributing national elements and traditions so as to bring socialist ideals near the majority of the people, those who are outside the party, working men and women, the younger generation.

The hundred-year existence of the Polish working-class movement, seen in retrospect, makes it possible in the new conditions to confirm in a new way the greatness and indestructibility of our ideas and goals, without which our struggle would have been pointless. This retrospect helps us steer clear of mistakes and errors that occurred in the past. It serves to rid our activity of all that hampers our advance while at the same time impressing on people's minds all that has been or may be a source of strength and making it a permanent factor in politics. In comparing the present with the past, we search for a confirmation of the correctness of our activity, for evidence that we are following the right path.

Thinking of the past also enables us to draw on it for moral courage and moral support. People do so frequently, above all at difficult moments; they search the past for convincing parallels, hoping that they can throw off the burden of failures and recover from them. We are searching the past for models of behavior, for examples set by leaders and other participants in our movement, so as to improve our educational work among the masses and provide incentives in keeping with the new tasks. We are not looking back out of vanity, nor because we want merely to know more about the history of the working-class movement. What prompts us to do so is the most pressing exigencies of present-day reality.

History is not only a book which can add to our knowledge if only we open and read it again; it is also a political and moral obligation, an obligation not to lose anything of what was created by our predecessors, not to allow their legacy to become valueless. We will add to what they created and put it in circulation in society, introduce it into social consciousness, primarily that of the younger generation and young party members.

Early this century Lenin, speaking of the role of traditions, said that a worker who did not know the history of his own movement was like the Ivan who did not remember his kin, did not know where he had come from and so could not answer sensibly the question where he was bound for, which way he was going. Our attitude to the traditions of the Polish working-class movement is part of a grim political struggle. Between August 1980 and December 1981, the front-line of the battle for people's thinking, for the attitude of the Polish public, against counter-revolutionary forces, also passed through the issue of the attitude to the past.

Some developments of that period were a partial repetition of events that occurred a hundred years ago, when the day of the Polish working-class movement was only just breaking. In the late 1870s and early 1880s, when the first socialists appeared in Warsaw and the early workers' circles sprang up, the propertied classes used their entire ideological and political weaponry against them. One of their main arguments against the nascent socialist forces was the assertion that socialism was alien to Poland because it had not been grown on Polish soil but had been "transplanted" from another country.

The counter-revolutionaries have been repeating the same old story to this day, as everyone knows. It was readily played up in publications of Solidarity and in demagogical speeches of its leaders as well as in anti-social-

ist propaganda of every shading. Along with this the counter-revolutionaries, who were objectively backed by revisionists and opportunists inside the PUWP, strove to depreciate traditions while canonizing all that was outdated in the working-class movement, all that had failed to pass the test of time and was discredited: the traditions of the Polish Socialist Party of the Right, nationalism, revisionism and social democracy. It is also for this reason that in commemorating the centenary we realize that publicizing the traditions of our movement is also a form of struggle to vindicate its ideals. This makes it the duty of all party members to unfailingly defend the revolutionary heritage,

socialism and socialist thought against attacks from enemies who are trying to belittle and distort them and to delete them from the people's history.

It follows that the keynote of celebrating the centenary of the Marxist working-class movement in Poland has two components: defending its traditions, and vindicating its ideas and values. This is an important part of the struggle for the renaissance of the Polish United Workers' Party as a Marxist-Leninist working-class party enjoying the confidence of the masses, an important part of the struggle to defeat domestic counter-revolution and lead Poland out of its deep socio-economic and political crisis.

Communists and pacifists

Willi Gerns

Board Presidium and Secretariat member,
German Communist Party

THE GCP'S VIEW OF THE PROBLEM OF ALLIES IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

The mass demonstrations in the Federal Republic of Germany in defense of peace show that the rise of the peace movement in our country is neither temporary nor transient. It has been growing in depth and breadth, involving fresh forces moved by a common goal: to prevent realization of NATO's dangerous decision to deploy the latest U.S. medium-range nuclear weapons in the FRG and several other West European states.

The anti-missile action culminated in a powerful demonstration in Bonn on June 10, 1982. There was broad response to the slogan "Rise Up in Defense of Peace!" which was supported by 1,900 organizations and groups. More than 400,000 demonstrators came from every part of the Federal Republic, from the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Belgium and other countries.

The Bonn demonstration showed that the protest against NATO's Brussels decisions has gathered a momentum that can no longer be ignored by anyone. The Federal government and political parties, trade unions, associations of industrialists, the church and the mass media, all the public strata and institutions have had to take a stand with respect to that protest.

The limitation of the goals of the movement to the struggle against the deployment of new U.S. medium-range missiles in the FRG has led to a marked increase in its ranks. It was joined

by the representatives of virtually all social groups: workers and employees, intellectuals, the middle strata of town and country, and even some entrepreneurs and retired generals. The anti-missile front ranges over a very broad political spectrum: communists and social democrats, "Greens" and Free Democrats, and some members of the CDU/CSU. Atheists and Christians and members of other denominations are in the peace ranks. The most numerous contingent undoubtedly consists of pacifists, that is, people who condemn the use of weapons and wars in principle and campaign against them for moral or religious motives.

The supporters of NATO's decision are aware that the strength of the peace movement lies in its breadth and unity, and that is why they look for any possible opportunities to split it. As in the past, anti-communism continues to be their main instrument.

An effort is being made to convince the opponents of military preparations that the communists are "injecting" their ideology in the movement. They are being advised to keep their distance from us, if they want to have the "confidence" of the public. The GCP is accused of an urge to "head" the movement and to employ the pacifists and other peace forces as "useful suckers" in order to establish its "domination." All of this is designed to drive a wedge into the ranks of the peace forces, and in particular to set the communists at odds with the pacifists.

In view of the need to resist such political subversions, the GCP Board issued a statement in November 1981 on the relations between the communists and the pacifists within the framework of the peace movement. The purpose of the document is to help extend and consolidate the ranks of the peace forces. In the light of the experience gained in the course of joint action, it considers the political and ideological, current and historical aspects of the problem, and analyzes both the common aspects and the distinctions in the stand taken by the communists and the pacifists.

"No task is more important than the preservation of peace,"¹ such is the principle formulated in the GCP program, which determines our view of the relations between the communists and the pacifists. This principle is predetermined by the character of the Communist Party, which is the revolutionary party of the working class.

Military preparations and wars do no good to working people and their families. It is they who have to pay in material privations, loss of health and life for the gambles on which the arms manufacturers and their political henchmen make fortunes.

Imperialist reaction uses the war fever generated by militarism in order to trample with the soldiers' jackboots the rights of the working people won by them in decades of persevering struggle. The hostile attitude to other nations aroused by the ideological advocates of the arms manufacturers is alien to the ideas and goals of the working class and undermines its international solidarity. The interests of the working class call for resolute struggle against militarism and wars. That is why the workers' policy is above all a policy of peace. That is how it has always been and that is how it will always be.

From the outset, the working-class movement exposed the social roots of wars, actively fought against them and drew up programs for ensuring peace. In their *Communist Manifesto*, the fundamental work of scientific socialism, and also in the documents of the International Working Men's Association, Marx and Engels showed how military clashes tend to break out in the conditions of exploitation and class oppression, and in this way logically tied in action for peace and the struggle against exploitation and oppression. "In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end."² The men who worked out the theory of scientific communism were convinced that "the alliance of the workers of all countries will ultimately eradicate all

wars, . . . that in contrast to the old society with its economic poverty and political insanity, a new society is emerging whose international principle will be peace, because each nation will have one and the same master — *labor!*"³

The documents of the First International, and then the decisions of the Second International adopted at major international congresses of socialists in Stuttgart (1907), Copenhagen (1910) and Basel (1912) contain the working-class movement's program of action to prevent wars. It was not realized in practice because the deep split within the working-class movement effected by opportunism, its abandonment of the main class goals and its betrayal in 1914, when the imperialist war broke out. In response to this, a revolutionary left wing took shape within the working-class movement on the platform of anti-militarist struggle, and its ideology was embodied in the October 1917 Revolution, the first victorious socialist uprising.

The workers and peasants of Russia rose to power under the slogan of peace. The Soviet Republic's first decree called for an end to the international slaughter at once and without any preliminary conditions (see, V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 26, p. 249). At the time, Lenin emphasized that Soviet Russia's policies and propaganda were "directed toward putting an end to war and in no way toward driving nations to war" (*Ibid.*, Vol. 31, p. 470). Since then, the idea of peace has made up the core of the foreign policy of socialism.

However, the revolutionary working-class movement, which has always consistently opposed world imperialist wars and any wars for plundering the peoples, has never ignored the fact that there are other kinds of wars, namely, wars of liberation. These are the wars fought by the peoples of colonial countries against their oppressors (for instance, those fought by the peoples of Angola and Mozambique for liberation from the Portuguese colonialists); civil wars fought by exploited and oppressed classes against their oppressors (for instance, that being fought by the people of El Salvador against the pro-U.S. clique); and defensive wars fought by socialist countries or states which have won national independence (for instance, the Soviet Union's Great Patriotic War against Nazi Germany's aggression or the resistance by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam against the U.S. interventionists).

There is no doubt that the distinction formulated by Lenin between just and unjust wars holds good to this day. For the communists, support of liberation armed struggle is an imperative of proletarian internationalism.

The German Communist Party unreservedly condemns imperialist wars, being true to the anti-imperialist traditions of Marx, Engels and Lenin, August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht, Karl Liebknecht and Ernst Thaelmann. It also follows the traditions of resolute resistance by the left in Germany to the militaristic forces which unleashed the First World War, and relies on the experience of struggle by the German communists against the building of battle-ships and against military preparations under the Weimar Republic, their selfless anti-war action in the fascist period, and, in the postwar period, their courageous resistance to the remilitarization of the Federal Republic of Germany and the plans for arming the Bundeswehr with nuclear weapons. At the same time, the GCP has always sought to contribute creatively to the solution of the new problems which arise in the struggle against militarism and war preparations, and for peace and disarmament.

We, communists, have never claimed to have a monopoly in defense of peace — and we make no such claim today either. The questions of war and peace have always affected not only the working-class movement. Long before its emergence, writers, philosophers and politicians spoke out against war. Even after the revolutionary working-class movement took shape, consistent opponents of armaments and international bloodshed were to be found in bourgeois circles.

We have deep respect for Bertha von Suttner⁴ and for Karl von Ossietzky,⁵ for all those who are carrying on their pacifist traditions in our day. We have much in common with them, and there are many more points of contact today than ever before in the past:

- the communists and the pacifists are at one in their understanding that war now threatens the very foundation of civilization, the whole of humankind, and that the effort to avert war is now a matter of the peoples' very existence;

- the communists and the pacifists advocate a ban on the use of armed force to settle conflicts between states, and its exclusion from international relations;

- the communists and the pacifists take the same view that most dangerous are the military-strategic conceptions which allow for "limited" nuclear wars and the possibility of winning them, and also imply the need to build up a potential for inflicting a "first pre-emptive strike"⁶;

- the communists and the pacifists believe that complete, general and simultaneous disarmament, combined with indispensable measures to strengthen confidence, is a neces-

sary prerequisite for consolidating the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems;

- the communists and the pacifists are unanimous in demanding the realization of the great ideal of a world without armaments.

As for our party, these goals are written into its program. It says: "The GCP advocates the back-up of the political détente with a military détente. The first thing that needs to be done is to prohibit the development, production, storage and use of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. The GCP demands the adoption of concrete measures to reduce military expenditures, troops and armaments, above all, in Central Europe. This would be the most important steps toward general and complete disarmament. In this way favorable prerequisites could simultaneously be created for purposefully switching the arms industry into intensive production of goods in civilian demand and a contribution made to the preservation of jobs. . .

"The GCP resolutely opposes any attempts to expand the sphere of NATO activity and to set up new aggressive military blocs. Only a consistent continuation of the policy of détente and measures for limiting armaments and for disarmament can help to create the prerequisites for overcoming the division of the European continent into opposing military blocs and creating a Europe of peace, security, cooperation and social progress."⁷

In accordance with the FRG constitution, our party demands "the exercise of an unlimited right to refuse to do military service" and wants the civilian service⁸ to be organized as a service for the benefit of peace.⁹ These or similar demands will be found in the programs of the organizations of those who are against military service, and also in statements by pacifist groups.¹⁰

Together with their common demands at the present time, the communists and consistent pacifists are united by their historical legacy of struggle against the war started by fascism and by the memory of the victims of Nazi concentration camps and prison cells.

At the same time, we also reckon with the fact that there are considerable ideological and political differences between us and the pacifists. Thus, our Marxist world view helps us to expose the social roots of armaments and wars more clearly than the pacifists do. We say that these spring from capitalist property in the basic means of production, the profits of the arms manufacturers, and the urge of the capitalist monopolies to have full control of the sources of raw materials and markets. Only if

these factors are eliminated can lasting peace be fully and finally guaranteed. That is why we tie in the struggle against war and for disarmament most closely with the struggle for socialism.

The socialist community countries, whose ideal is disarmament, have been working hard to create the conditions in which the money being spent on weapons could be used to further raise the working people's material and cultural standards. But in view of the social roots of wars, the communists believe that so long as imperialism insists on stepping up the arms race, rejects proposals for disarmament and has not abandoned its intention to reverse social progress by means of force, the working people of the socialist world must have the necessary weapons and must be prepared for defense. Unilateral disarmament in the face of bellicose imperialism is tantamount to suicide: this has been driven home by the fate of the Paris Commune, by the interventionist campaign of the imperialist powers against the young Soviet state, fascist Germany's attack on the USSR, which led to the loss of 20 million Soviet lives and, in our day, the aggression against Vietnam, Cuba, Angola, Nicaragua and Lebanon.

So, in contrast to the pacifists, who reject any armaments and any military service, the communists take a class approach to these problems.

The communists and many of their pacifist friends have the same views when it comes to the political, moral and material support of national liberation movements, but we reckon with the fact that, in accordance with their convictions, the pacifists reject armed methods of struggle. For our part, we voice solidarity with this form of resistance by the peoples as well, because they are forced to take up arms by imperialism, fascist regimes and military dictatorships.

The communists and the pacifists, as I have said, both insist on the unlimited right of FRG citizens to refuse to do military service. But we make no secret of our conviction that the fight against militarism and war should be carried just where working young people and students are concentrated. That is why the GCP supports the democratic, anti-militarist activity of young communists in the Bundeswehr.

We resolutely demand that the armed forces of the FRG should not be used for aggression against other peoples and for putting down their own people. That is the principle to which the structure, armament, training and doctrine of the army should be subordinate. The German Communist Party is at one with all the officers,

non-commissioned officers and men who share this view.

While recognizing the existence of differences with the pacifists, we have, nevertheless, invariably emphasized that which is common to us both and which unites us; we seek joint action within the framework of the peace movement, and want our cooperation with them to be broader and stronger.

In their efforts to split the peace movement and to set the communists and the pacifists at odds with each other, the advocates of the arms race seek to capitalize above all on the fact that, for objective historical reasons, in the past the communists used "pacifism" as a term to designate the most diverse forces. The name of pacifist was given to those who were opposed to war and the use of weapons in principle, like Berthran von Suttner and Karl von Ossietzky. The term was frequently used to designate those who spoke out in favor of peace and disarmament temporarily or for tactical motives. Finally, among the pacifists were classed also leaders who hypocritically spoke of peace, while preparing for war.

This broad use of the term "pacifism" will also be found in some of Lenin's statements, notably in connection with the Genoa Conference.¹¹ That was the first meeting of states in which Soviet Russia took part. The imperialist powers intended to set up a united front at the Conference against the young land of Soviets, which was still bleeding from the wounds inflicted on it by the First World War, the intervention and the civil war.

Because the country was in need of peace and tranquillity, Lenin believed that efforts had to be made to prevent the establishment of an anti-Soviet coalition. That is why he looked for forces in the bourgeois camp which could be set at odds with the most aggressive wing of the bourgeoisie and which could be characterized as "pacifists." "By the pacifist section of that camp (or some other well-chosen polite expression) we should make it clear that we mean the petty-bourgeois, pacifist and semi-pacifist democrats of the Second and Second-and-a-Half International type, and the Keynes type, etc." (see *Coll. Works*, Vol. 42, pp. 402-403).

What Lenin had in view, consequently, were not true pacifists who reject armaments and war as a matter of principle. He had in mind those who in the German Reichstag on August 4, 1914, approved the war credits and whose "pacifism" after the war was not principled, but tactical. Among them was, for instance, Germany's Foreign Minister Walter Rathenau, who was in charge of the German war economy during the First World War. His "pacifism" in

the 1920s was due to the weakening of the positions of German imperialism.

Lenin called for cooperation with "pacifists" of that stripe, and set the task of getting them out of the aggressive bourgeoisie for the purpose of concluding a treaty between Germany and Soviet Russia, which, like the former, was in international isolation. That was the only way to re-establish commercial and political relations with the capitalist states and to ensure the conditions for consolidating the young Soviet Republic. Accordingly, Lenin urged that "everything possible and even impossible should be done to strengthen the pacifist wing of the bourgeoisie and increase, if only slightly, its chances of success at the elections" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 42, p. 403).

When People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs Georgi Chicherin expressed his bewilderment and said that he had spent a lifetime fighting against such hypocrites and for that reason failed to understand why it was now necessary to establish contacts with them, Lenin stressed that both of them had opposed pacifism as a program for the revolutionary proletarian party. "But who has ever denied the use of pacifists by that party to soften up the enemy, the bourgeoisie?" (*Ibid.*, Vol. 45, p. 475). The Rapallo Treaty confirmed the correctness of that approach.¹²

Nowadays, the advocates of the arms race ignore the historical conditions and say nothing about the concrete content which Lenin put into the term, and so use his words to slander true pacifists who are now acting together with the communists against war, and for disarmament, not for tactical motives but as a matter of principle. It is these people who are now being labeled by the enemies of peace as "communist suckers."

The exposure of these and similar other tricks and dodges is of much importance for advancing joint action by the communists and the pacifists in defense of peace. But that does not mean that there are no differences of opinion between the communists and the true pacifists, a fact which neither Lenin in his lifetime nor the communists today have ever made a secret of.

The Marxist methodology requires that every social phenomenon should be assessed in the light of the concrete historical situation. If we take this approach to the problems of war and peace, we shall find two highly essential new elements as compared with the period to which Lenin's statements apply, and they go considerably to increase that which is common to the communists and the pacifists and that unites them.

First. Imperialist wars were inevitable so long as capitalism remained the prevailing socio-economic formation in the world arena. In those conditions, action against war was closely connected with the line of eliminating imperialism. Any other orientation by the peace forces would have objectively weakened their potential in the struggle against the true causes of war, and that is why it was ideologically and politically rejected by the Marxist working-class movement. In that sense, Lenin held that the abstract pacifist preaching of peace that was not tied in with the anti-capitalist struggle was "one of the means of duping the working class" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 21, p. 163).

Under the impact of the October Revolution, and above all as a result of the strengthening of existing socialism and also of the consolidation of the revolutionary working-class movement in the capitalist world and the successes of the national liberation struggle, the balance of forces in the international arena has undergone a resolute change, especially since the Second World War. Other — socialist and anti-imperialist — laws of social development began to operate ever more potently and this helped to create new potentialities for averting imperialist war.

Admittedly, imperialism in substance remains aggressive. The proposition that peace can be finally ensured only with the elimination of imperialism still fully applies, but it has ceased entirely to determine the development of world processes. That is why it is now already possible to prevent the militarists from unleashing the world war through mass struggle with reliance on the socialist countries and other anti-imperialist forces. Joint action by the communists and the pacifists has an important part to play in the struggle for this goal.

Second. The level of military technology and hardware has altered dramatically. A world nuclear war would now lead to the annihilation of humankind. The kill capacity of the explosives used in the Second World War, in which 55 million human lives were lost, and which devastated vast areas in Europe, added up to a total of 5-6 megatons of TNT.¹³ Today, the kill power of nuclear weapons alone in the possession of the military-political groupings confronting each other is 10,000 times greater.

One should also bear in mind the fatal effects of radioactive radiation. Nor should one forget about such new types of mass destruction weapons as laser and neutron weapons, biological and binary weapons, which are even more dangerous for all life than nuclear weapons.

In this nuclear age, the struggle against the

danger of a world war tends to acquire a qualitatively new importance. We fully share the view expressed by Leonid Brezhnev at the 26th congress of the CPSU, when he said: "To try and outstrip each other in the arms race or to expect to win a nuclear war is dangerous madness."

The contemporary anti-war movement emerged in response to a situation which no other earlier generations had to face. The danger of a nuclear holocaust sheds a different light on some problems. Thus, the GCP believes that it is now no longer right to campaign for converting an imperialist war into a civil war, an idea which once used to divide the pacifists and the communists.

The threat of war tends to push into the background the differences of approach on individual issues. The primary task in our day is to organize joint action by all the peace forces to safeguard the life of the present and coming generations, and the responsibility for doing so falls both on the communists and the pacifists. We are united by a common goal, which is to make the deployment of new U.S. nuclear missiles in Europe politically impossible.

The communists and the pacifists are united by the great ideal of a world without armaments. Accordingly, the GCP declares that despite the disagreements, it is eager to act together with the pacifists in the movement for peace.

1. Protokoll des Mannheimer Parteitags der Deutschen Kommunistischen Partei, 20-22, Oktober

1978, Rosengarten-Mannheim, 1978, p. 242.

2. Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 503.

3. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Works*, Vol. 17, p. 5 (in Russian).

4. Bertha von Suttner (1843-1914), an Austrian writer who was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1905 for her pacifist activity. — Ed.

5. Karl von Ossietzky (1889-1938), a German publicist and an organizer of the pacifist movement in Germany; in 1933 he was incarcerated in a Nazi concentration camp for exposing German militarism; in 1936, he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. — Ed.

6. That is why the communists and the pacifists are now united above all by joint action against NATO's missile decision and also by the struggle for general nuclear disarmament.

7. *Protokoll des Mannheimer Parteitags* ... pp. 243, 244.

8. The civilian service is an obligatory labor service done by those who refuse to do military service. — Ed.

9. *Protokoll des Mannheimer Parteitags* ... p. 244.

10. The pacifists refuse to serve in the armed forces for religious or moral motives, regardless of the social system of this or that state. — Ed.

11. The Genoa Conference (April 10-May 19, 1922) was attended by Soviet Russia, 28 capitalist countries and 5 British dominions. The Soviet delegation resolutely rejected the imperialist powers' attempts to obtain any economic and political concessions that would have led to the restoration of capitalism. It also laid before the Conference a proposal on universal disarmament. — Ed.

12. The Soviet-German Rapallo Treaty on the re-establishment of diplomatic relations, the mutual renouncing of claims, and development of trade and economic ties between the two countries was signed on April 16, 1922. It signified a breakthrough in the economic and political blockade of Soviet Russia. — Ed.

13. Together with the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.



Distorted by the prism of anti-Sovietism

Great Decisions '82. Published by the Foreign Policy Association, New York, 1982, 96 pp.

Great Decisions is an annual publication of the Foreign Policy Association (FPA), an organization founded in 1918 to conduct education on issues of U.S. foreign policy. Last year, groups in more than 1,000 cities and towns in the U.S. as well as in 8 foreign cities, involving over 150,000 people, held discussion programs based on *Great Decisions*.

The readers include public officials, foreign service officers, community and religious leaders and professional people of all kinds. Included in *Great Decisions* are questions for the discussion groups to answer, suggested additional reading, and an "opinion ballot" on each of the eight foreign policy issues discussed in the book. The results of the ballot have, on occasion, been sent by the State Department to all its overseas posts and have been reprinted in the Congressional Record.

Thus, *Great Decisions*, providing information to a more or less influential stratum of U.S. opinion makers or disseminators, is intended to guide the thought patterns of this stratum.

This year, the eight major issues projected by FPA are: America's Defense; Western Europe and the U.S.; Central America; the Palestinians; Protecting World Resources; Japan; Global Inflation; Poland and the USSR. The reader is offered the alternatives open to U.S. foreign policy in relation to each of these issues, as FPA sees them. Much useful data and background material are provided. However, the approach bears the imprint of a definite class ideology.

One is struck by the fact that in practically all cases, FPA affirms that the options before the U.S. are "difficult," "tough to decide upon," etc. As this reviewer sees it, the options presented are, in most cases, in the realm of a Hobson's choice — a choice of solutions which are, to one degree or another, evils (vote for the lesser evil!), or else unattainable. Can this be because the choice of options is limited to and by the framework of an unrealistic view of the world? And isn't this reflected in the choice of the first, the priority, issue, "America's Defense"?

Of course, if there really were a Soviet threat, as imperialist propaganda persistently claims, then defense would clearly be the top priority. But in that case there would be no problem of "difficult and tough" decisions. Everything would be clear to just about every American, including statesmen.

But what if the "Soviet threat" is merely a myth, as the majority of the world's people and the heads of government in every continent believe? What is to be done if the overriding issue is said everywhere to be peace, strengthening détente, ending the arms race? After all, peace is the best and, in fact, the only defense in this age of nuclear missiles.

This being so, what happens to the foreign policy options of the U.S. and those which *Great Decisions* puts before its readers? It is clear that they come into conflict with reality and the making of decisions becomes "tough" indeed. But this is not the important thing. What has to be understood is that insistence on the myth of a "Soviet threat," and making this the foundation stone of U.S. foreign and "defense" policy, can only end up in a nuclear war. In this context, the question of options put before *Great Decisions* readers becomes a kind of deadly game obscuring reality. The out-of-kilter frame of reference makes constructive answers all but impossible.

In the book's introduction, "The World in 1982," by S.J. Ungar the question is put: "What

are the basic tenets of the Reagan foreign policy?" (p. 6). Affirming that the answers are significant for any analysis of the problems facing the U.S. in 1982, the author notes that many wonder if Reagan has a foreign policy at all. By way of an answer, the author cites the view of many, especially Europeans, that "the Reagan foreign policy consists primarily of a defense buildup and a reflexive anti-communism" (pp. 6-7). He adds, "The fear was that such a policy, when applied to various crisis situations around the world, would lead the administration to choose sides when it was both unwise and unnecessary to do so" (p. 7).

The author points out that administration officials have portrayed the Soviet Union as "the number one threat to peace and stability in the world." And from this, he says, follows the Reagan effort to confront the Soviet Union (and, along the way, Cuba, Vietnam and other socialist countries), accusing it of "intervention" in El Salvador, Kampuchea and other "trouble spots."

The author observes that such rhetoric does not, by itself, mean major shifts in U.S. foreign policy, that it was already brought to play in the Carter administration. The difference, he says, is that "the Reagan administration has turned . . . matters of practical policy into issues of philosophy" (ibid.).

This is a greatly veiled way of describing Reagan's monomaniacal anti-Sovietism. As far as Reagan is concerned, it is enough to be rabidly anti-communist and anti-Soviet for one to qualify as his top national security adviser. Such is the case with William P. Clark, a Reagan confidante, whose confirmation hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for an earlier appointment revealed a monumental ignorance of world affairs.

What FPA calls Reagan's "philosophy" — his world outlook — is simply that Reagan sees confrontation from a position of superior strength as the keystone of U.S. foreign policy. This is what Reagan meant when he said, "the U.S.-Soviet relationship remains the most important element of U.S. foreign policy" (p. 87).

And former Secretary of State Alexander Haig put the question of U.S. anti-Soviet foreign policy this way: "A major focus of American policy must be the Soviet Union, not because of ideological preoccupation, but simply because Moscow is the greatest source of international insecurity today" (ibid.). This sounds like Reagan's pre-election statement to the *Wall Street Journal*, "the Soviet Union is the cause of all the troubles in the world today."¹ Even so, there is a shade of difference to be found in FPA's phrase, "issue of philosophy,"

and Haig's use of the phrase "ideological pre-occupation." It is in this shade of difference that roots of Haig's resignation as Secretary of State are to be found. As the *New York Times* wrote in an editorial defending Haig, "Ideology in Foreign Policy," "Mr. Reagan began with a call to arms against Moscow, scorning negotiations except perhaps from an unattainable position of superior strength. Not until the allies and his own budget office and finally even the public rebelled did the President show an interest in arms control — a belated victory for the pragmatic Mr. Haig that he was not, however, left free to pursue. The President's simplistic ideology was equally at war with other American interests."²

This is by no means a novel situation in the highest echelons of power. As Leslie Gelb, *New York Times* columnist, points out, "Most of the splits (between recent presidents and their secretaries of state or top advisers. — J.W.) boiled down to how tough to get with the Soviet Union and U.S. allies."³

One would expect that this record, this history, would find reflection in *Great Decisions '82*. And not only reflection but, more important, deep probing and analysis. Yes, the world is apprehensive of Reagan's "philosophical" anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, for this "philosopher" has his finger on the button of nuclear war and obstinately pushes ahead with history's biggest build-up of genocidal nuclear, chemical and biological weapons.

Nor should we forget that "pragmatic" anti-Sovietism (the Carter and Haig variety) paved the way for Reagan to come to the White House and to that button. The false premise of a "Soviet threat" prompts U.S. bourgeois politicians to compete in anti-Sovietism. In today's world, that is the road to nuclear annihilation.

FPA's *Great Decisions '82* is hobbled by the influence of the myth of a "Soviet threat." That is why "Defense," and not Peace and Disarmament, is placed as the first priority; that is why Poland is discussed, not as the independent nation it is, but as part of a "Soviet empire"; that is why the solution of other problems, such as protecting the world's resources, a problem which requires close cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, is considered as though these countries did not exist, and why the discussion on other areas of the world is, by and large, distorted by the prism of anti-Sovietism.

Approaching the solution of problems facing the United States and the world from the viewpoint that the Soviet Union and the socialist community of nations do not, or should not,

exist, guarantees failure beforehand. What constructive solutions can come from limiting the options before U.S. foreign policy to a choice of one or another variety of "philosophical-ideological" or "pragmatic" anti-Sovietism? No "great decisions" can possibly arise from that dismal choice.

It is time to recognize that pathological hatred of the Soviet Union is no basis for foreign policy. Indeed, as George Washington said, "the nation which indulges toward another an habitual hatred . . . is in some degree a slave."⁴ And as former Senate Foreign Relations Chairman, J.W. Fulbright, told a congressional hearing recently, "This endless series of distortions and oversimplifications, this systematic dehumanization of the leadership of another great country, this routine exaggeration of Moscow's military capabilities and of the supposed iniquity of its intentions, this daily misrepresentation of the nature and the attitudes of another great people — and a long-suffering people at that . . . are not the marks of maturity and realism one expects of a great power."⁵

You cannot but subscribe to that statement.

James West
member, Political Bureau,
CC, CPUSA

1. *The Wall Street Journal*, June 3, 1980.
2. Cited in *International Herald Tribune*, June 29, 1982.
3. *Ibid.*, June 28, 1982.
4. Cited in "Political Affairs", May 1982, p. 13.
5. *Ibid.*

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