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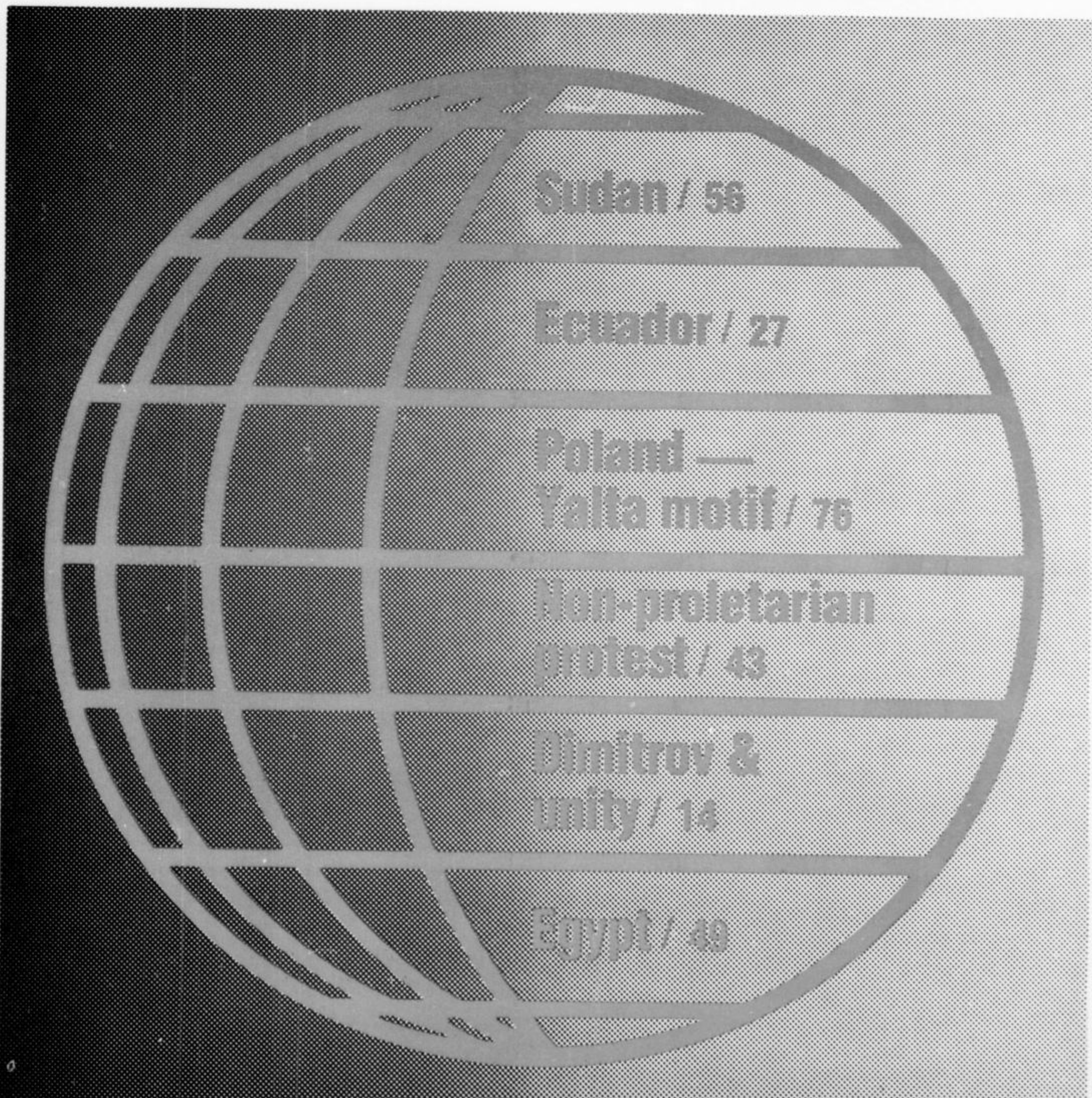
Problems of

MARXIST

Peace and Socialism

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WORLD *Problems of* **MARXIST** *Peace and Socialism* **REVIEW**

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Party policy and mass creativity

Viktor Grishin
CC Political Bureau member, CPSU;
First Secretary, Moscow City Party Committee

The main element in the activity of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is political guidance of the building of the new society. The fundamental principle of this guidance, which was reaffirmed at the 26th congress of the CPSU, is that when formulating and realizing its policy, the party sets itself the main task of providing the fullest expression, protection and satisfaction of the interests of masses of working people. The party relies on the people, constantly strengthens and deepens its ties with the people, and formulates its policy in such a way as to take account of the needs and requirements of all the classes and diverse social groups, and to rally the society for fulfilling the complex tasks of communist construction.

Defining the dialectics of the relations between the party and masses of working people in implementing socialist policy, V.I. Lenin wrote: "We can administer only when we express correctly what the people are conscious of. Unless we do this, the Communist Party will not lead the proletariat, the proletariat will not lead the masses" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 33, p. 304).

Our party's policy is solidly based on these Leninist principles: scientific grounding, class principle, democratic character, humanism and moral purity. Victory in revolutionary struggle, the winning of power and successful construction of socialism and communism can be ensured only by a new type of party which does not confine itself to the framework of parliamentary activity but goes into the midst of the masses, stands at their head as the ideological and organizationally united, militant and disciplined political vanguard of the working class and all the other working people. Such a party was set up by Lenin and his associates, and it is this party which rallied the working masses and led them to the triumph of the socialist revolution and the creation of the socialist state.

The principles on which the party is structured and on which its policy is worked out and realized have been tested by the whole course of historical development over the past 65 years, and have confirmed and continue to

confirm their vital force. Evidence of this comes from the generally recognized achievements of the Soviet Union in socio-economic and cultural development, in the solution of the nationalities question and other major problems which had defied solution for centuries, and which continue to defy solution in capitalist society even today.

Lenin's party, voicing the interests of the whole working people, above all the interests of the working class and the peasantry, undertook the responsible mission of the ruling party and has since then fulfilled it appropriately and with success. The CPSU's central position within the Soviet political system is written into the USSR constitution, which, it will be recalled, was unanimously approved in the course of discussion by the whole people. The constitution formulates the party's main purpose. It says: "The CPSU shall exist for the people and shall serve the people." Article 6 of the country's fundamental law contains a provision which is of fundamental importance: the party as a whole and each of its constituent organizations operate within the framework of the constitution of the USSR.

Party leadership makes for the indissoluble ideological and political unity of the whole society, and for the purposeful and coordinated development and functioning of all its parts. The party guides Soviet society by means of ideological and organizational methods, without substituting for state or economic institutions or social organizations.

The steady progress of society requires that the political line of the ruling communist party should precisely and comprehensively take account of the level of development of the economic basis and the socio-political structure, and that the means, forms and methods of work among the masses should be in accord with the situation, the actual potentialities and also with the main programmatic goal: the construction of communism. For the CPSU, this means the need to reckon with the potentialities and advantages of the developed socialist society which has been built in our country.

The mature socialist society has a steadily

developing economy that is crisis-free. It also has an optimal correspondence between the relations of production and the high level of the productive forces, and this opens up broad prospects for further balanced, proportional and harmonious socio-economic and spiritual development. At this stage, the finishing touches are being put to the restructuring of the whole aggregation of social relations on the basis of the collectivist principles which are intrinsic to socialism. This gives scope for the effective operation of the laws of socialism and the full manifestation of its advantages: organic integrity, dynamism, political stability and inner coherence of the social system, and growing approximation of all classes and social groups, and nations and nationalities. A historically new social and international entity — the Soviet people — takes shape. There is continued development of socialist culture and a new, socialist way of life is established.

The accumulated experience of existing socialism clearly brings out the general uniformities of socialist construction, which is why this experience cannot but be considered by any party setting itself the goal of building a new society, however specific the conditions dictating the various national peculiarities. Existing socialism's tangible historical contribution will not be decried either by its long-standing adversaries, or by those who, casting doubt on what has actually been achieved in life, have hopes of charting some "new way" in a purely speculative exercise.

The high level of material and spiritual development in Soviet society makes constantly growing demands on the political leadership, while creating favorable conditions for it. The period of mature socialism brings out, fully and comprehensively, one of its main uniformities: the steady growth of the communist party's leading role. The objective necessity of this process is dictated by the growing scale and complexity of our construction. The factors behind the growth of the CPSU's leading role are: dynamic social development; involvement of millions upon millions of working people in conscious and creative endeavor and the governance of the affairs of society and the state; the further perfection of the whole system of socialist democracy; the rising importance of Marxist-Leninist science and the elaboration and realization of the party's programmatic goals and political line, and its ideological and educational activity; the party's active influence on the state of international affairs and, finally, the constant consolidation of its own ranks.

The party's policy is an expression of the

interests of the whole Soviet society, of all the communists and non-party people. Leonid Brezhnev says: "We do not and cannot have a political organization other than the Communist Party that would take account of the interests and specifics of all our classes and social groups, all our nationalities and ethnic groups, all our generations, and would blend these interests in its policy."¹ The party has proved this by the whole of its effort, and that is why the Soviet people whole-heartedly support its policy, regarding it as their own, people's policy, and as a guarantee of further successes in communist construction in the USSR.

I

One Saturday in the spring of 1919, railway workers at the Moskva-Sortirovochnaya shunting yard decided to go on working after the end of the working day so as to help their young state which was then besieged by the forces of counter-revolution. Behind this seemingly minor fact Lenin discerned a great beginning, and that is precisely how he called his historical work which he wrote about the communist attitude to work and to its new organization, which "rests, and will do so more and more as time goes on, on the free and conscious discipline of the working people themselves" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 29, p. 420). The great initiative brought about a rise in the productivity of labor, and the creation of socialist conditions of economy and life (*Ibid.*, pp. 423-424).

Our party regards the development of the people's creative powers as one of the main lines of its policy and in doing this relies on the energy of the working masses themselves. Today, there is new and even more profound meaning in Lenin's well-known saying that living, creative socialism is the product of the masses themselves (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 26, p. 288).

The people's creative endeavor is manifested in every sphere of socialist policy, including legislation. Nor is that at all a formal declaration, as some of our opponents would like to have it. Democracy is ensured by the whole political and social system of the state. Since the early years of the Soviet power, the key draft laws, including the text of the USSR constitution, have been put up for discussion by the whole people. The same applies to the party's programmatic documents. Before the 26th congress of the CPSU, there was a discussion of the Guidelines for the USSR's Economic and Social Development from 1981 to 1985 and for the period until 1990. This went on at party and trade-union meetings and on the pages of the

press, and many sections of the final document as adopted by the congress differed substantially from the draft. All of this shows the tremendous role of the masses in the process in which the party's policy is shaped as a people's policy meeting the vital interests and aspirations of the working people. By means of this policy, an atmosphere and relations are shaped in society in which socialist construction is ever more evidently the making of history by the masses led by the party.

Lenin used to say that serious politics starts where it is taken up by millions of people, who begin to analyze events from the mass and not from the personal point of view (*Ibid.*, Vol. 27, p. 100; Vol. 29, p. 230). But the mass stand takes shape as the sum total of millions and millions of individual positions which, for their part, are largely determined by each individual's level of political consciousness. Capitalism has no interest at all in raising this level, because it stands to gain from keeping the working people in political ignorance and manipulating the masses as a blind instrument of policy. The communists, who set the interests of the working people above all else, work hard to promote the growth of their political awareness, so that the masses should be the makers of their own policy. In exercising its leading role in society, our party is true to Lenin's principle that a state is strong when the people are politically conscious (*Ibid.*, Vol. 26, p. 256).

The more reliably social confidence in the party and the socialist system is based on comprehended historical experience, the deeper the awareness of the masses and the greater their acceptance of the goals, tasks and methods of party policy, the stronger and more effective such confidence is. From congress to congress, our party has pursued a consistently principled line of equipping the communists and all the other working people with a knowledge of the laws of social development and revolutionary theory and an understanding of the current problems in the policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state.

The core of this multi-faceted work in fostering the Soviet people's communist convictions is the shaping of their scientific Marxist-Leninist world view and dedication to communist ideals. We proceed from the assumption that our successes depend directly on the level of the ideological activity of the party organizations, and their efforts to develop the political understanding of the masses.

At the 26th congress of the CPSU, matters relating to the development of the new man — an active and conscious builder of communism — were directly linked with the consolidation

of the material and spiritual foundations of the socialist way of life. The congress set the important task of making the content of ideological work much more meaningful and its forms meeting the Soviet people's contemporary needs and requirements. As Leonid Brezhnev put it, "We want party policy to fuse with the activity of the masses. We want party education to teach people, and, using Lenin's words, 'to act in the way communism really demands.'"²

The party's Moscow organization, which has more than one million members, has done much to fulfil this task. In the city, virtually all those who work — 92.3 per cent, or 4.7 million men and women, are involved in political and economic studies. This is a truly massive movement. Wherever these studies are well organized — and that is so in a majority of party organizations — their effect is very tangible: there is a growth in the labor and socio-political activity of the communists and non-party people.

Large contingents of the working class, and scientific, technical and artistic intellectuals work and live in Moscow, which is a major political, scientific, economic and cultural center. Over 800,000 young men and women are enrolled at Moscow's higher schools and technical colleges. The party's city organization seeks to take account in its mass political work of the specific features, interests and requirements of various categories of Muscovites, to analyze their opinions and attitudes, and to guide their activity and initiatives into the fulfillment of the diverse tasks at the current stage of communist construction as formulated by the 26th congress, and here the grass-roots party organizations have the primary role to play. There are almost 10,000 of them in Moscow, and they are engaged in large-scale political and organizational work among the masses, so helping to deepen the party's influence on every aspect of the economic, social and spiritual life of the work collectives.

The attractive power of the CPSU's policy is manifested in the strengthening and growth of its ranks. It is replenished with the best representatives of the people. The first thing to note here is the growing percentage of workers in the party organizations. In developed socialist society, with the CPSU being the party of the whole people, it continues to preserve its class nature as the working-class party. The filling of the ranks of the communists with workers is a steady and constant tendency which is also characteristic of the party's Moscow city organization.

Altogether, the overwhelming majority of

the new party members are persons working in the sphere of material production, which is why there are more and more communists exerting a growing influence along the main lines of our construction.

Moscow's communists carry the party's ideas into the masses, and devote their capabilities, knowledge and organizational skills to strengthening the country's might. They set an example to all the other Muscovites in work, everyday living and social life. Party organizations use the instruments of inner-party work to enhance the vanguard role of the communists and to educate them in a spirit of high ideological commitment, honest attitude to one's duties, a profound understanding of the party's policy and undeviating observance of the CPSU rules.

The working people realize that the party lives with their interests, displaying concern for the ever fuller satisfaction of their material and spiritual requirements. That is why it has won tremendous authority and has the Soviet people's solid trust.

II

Our party has always consciously emphasized the class character of its policy. Every policy is, of course, a class policy, but the communists' policy expresses the interests of the workers, which are antithetical to the narrowly egoistical interests of the exploiter classes. The working class, in the struggle to realize the advanced communist ideals, carries with it a genuine emancipation of the whole of labor, which is why the goals of the policy of the working-class party coincide with the progressive and humanistic ideals of humankind's general development. Consequently, a class understanding of the requirements of social progress and the scientific approach based on the study of its objective uniformities tend to coincide and merge into a single whole. They are based on the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of society. Only it makes a science out of politics, which ceases to be chaos and deception.

From the very first days of Soviet power, Lenin tirelessly urged that the Marxist party "must act on scientific principles" (Ibid., Vol. 31, p. 80). Reliance on the advances in the social sciences and on the methodology of Marxism-Leninism is a guarantee against erroneous policy, the crucial factor in the realization of the working people's interests and a reliable condition for successful party leadership.

The CPSU's many years' experience in guiding society shows very well how important it is for a ruling party to have a theoretical compre-

hension of the nature and peculiarity of every stage in the country's historical development and the main trends in social life. That is the only approach, it was also said at the 26th congress of the CPSU, that helps to anticipate the course of social processes, to chart the right political course and to avoid mistakes and subjectivist decisions. At the congress, Leonid Brezhnev said: "The Marxist-Leninist party cannot fulfil its role if it does not give due attention to putting into proper perspective all that is taking place, to generalizing new phenomena, to creatively developing Marxist-Leninist theory."³

Our party draws for strength on the collective reason, analyzing and summing up the phenomena and trends in social development from the standpoint of the people's interests. It has made an internationalist contribution to the treasure-house of experience gained by the world communist movement and to the development of Marxist-Leninist theory by scientifically elaborating many key problems connected with the building of mature socialism in our country, and also vital aspects of the world revolutionary process.

In the light of the general uniformities of social progress, the CPSU has taken part in formulating the strategy of development of the world socialist system and the fraternal countries' socialist economic integration. Our party believes that it has a most important internationalist duty in helping to strengthen the unity of the communist and working class movement and of all the liberation and progressive forces in the fight against imperialism, and for peace, democracy and socialism. That is the aim of the foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state, and this is promoted by the implementation of our domestic policy.

The scientific principles of party policy make it possible to map out the general perspectives in the development of society. The 26th congress of the CPSU pointed to the need for a complex approach to the tasks of communist construction, but added that the economy continues to be the main sphere in the struggle for communism. Direction of the economy constitutes the very essence of the party's entire activity, and it asserts a political approach to economics, which rests on this programmatic requirement: everything for the sake of man, everything for the benefit of man.

Concrete concern for concrete man and his needs and requirements is the be all and end all of our economic policy. At the present stage, its substance is expressed in the main task of the 11th five-year period, which is to ensure the further growth of the Soviet people's well-

being through a steady and progressive development of the economy, acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the switching of the economy to intensive development, more rational use of the country's productive potential, the utmost economies in resources and an improvement in the quality of workmanship.

The successful fulfillment of this basic task of the five-year period is promoted by an in-depth scientific elaboration in the party's documents of the recent period of a number of key orientations determining the progress of the Soviet economy over the long term. This includes concretization of the methods and forms in creating the material and technical basis of communism; perfection of planning of the country's socio-economic development and management of its economy; and definition of the ways to enhance the efficiency of social production. Much importance is also attached to improving operations in agriculture and fulfilling a food-supply program.

The USSR's economy is a well-knit economic complex, and it cannot function smoothly, concertedly and in a balanced manner without a single will directing the work of the whole people, without a centralized leadership. In fulfilling this mission, the party ensures, through state and economic institutions, a concentration of forces along the main orientations, a strengthening of economic ties between the regions, and a tightening up of state planning discipline. It works to secure the undeviating pursuit of the party's line in every sector of economic construction.

Lenin used to emphasize that the building of socialism is the building of a centralized economic system (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 28, p. 400). While saying so, he made a point of resolutely rejecting both bureaucratic centralism in economic administration and the anarcho-syndicalist urge to separate each economic unit and take it outside the ambit of state planning direction. Lenin believed that the key to the dynamic development of a socialist economy lay in an effort "to carry out democratic centralism," because "centralism, understood in a truly democratic sense, presupposes the possibility, created for the first time in history, of a full and unhampered development not only of specific local features, but also of local inventiveness, local initiative..." (*Ibid.*, Vol. 28, p. 208).

These key theoretical conclusions, which have determined the very essence of the organizational structure both of the party, the state and the society as a whole, are embodied in the practice of our socialist construction. They are epitomized in the democratic forms of admin-

istration and management and the involvement of broad masses of people in them; in the extensive spread of socialist emulation and, at the same time, in the strengthening of the planning principles of economic development; in the harmonization of local and state interests, and in the consolidation of the party and state centralized leadership. The unity of democracy and centralism is not just an arithmetical sum-total, for it has a dialectical character and implies the closest link between the center and the localities, between the party's governing bodies and the mass of party members, with these links being of a two-way character.

Our adversaries seek to distort the meaning of this unity. They separate two principles and claim that the socialist society is ruled only by centralist, and even bureaucratic tendencies. What is more, they contrast centralism with their own view of democracy, which is close to the bourgeois view, and assert that without it it is impossible to build some kind of "pure" and "humane" socialism. Such theorizing poses a threat to the unity of the forces fighting for socialism and tends to push them onto erring ways.

Our party does not separate or contrast the two principles of democratic centralism, but seeks to harmonize them by developing socialist democracy in every sphere of life and strengthening centralized leadership, and working to have the political and economic mechanism function smoothly and with precision.

In the mature socialist society, with the gigantic scale of its economy, the role of state planning direction tends to be greater than ever before. Centralization is the principle that helps to concentrate the forces of various sectors of the economy, many regions and republics on the fulfillment of large-scale and long-term programs which are drawn up for realization in the interests of the whole state, and to set the priorities in economic development; it promotes the rational location of the productive forces across the territory of the country, and helps to overcome parochial and departmental tendencies which hamper fulfillment of state-wide tasks. At the same time, the party attaches much importance to the harmonious development of the regions and the republics seeing that the differences between them are evened out. This gives great scope for local initiative and attention is drawn to the training of local personnel and the fullest use of their experience.

Centralized leadership is effective if it reckons with the vital interests of society and all its social sections. Local initiative is fruitful

when it takes account of the tasks facing the whole state. A breach of this dialectical inter-connection could be fraught with harmful consequences not only in the economy, but also in politics and in ideology.

Our party believes that socialist democracy is the common denominator of centralism and local initiative and a guarantee of successful implementation of its policy, which is why it constantly gives so much attention to the development and perfection of socialist democracy. It is the vital power of the system of socialist democracy that explains why it has been chosen by our ideological adversaries as the target for attacks against socialism and slander. By extolling to the skies some abstract "democracy in general," they seek to obscure the class substance of the problem. What they assert as the "vice" of socialist democracy is, in fact, its chief merit: it is a democracy for the working people, a democracy that is effective in action, a democracy that works.

Relying on Lenin's principles and the available experience, our party has worked out a clear-cut criterion for the development of socialist democracy, believing that it lies in the degree to which the people are active and creatively involved in the day-to-day administration of the state and society, and the management of its economy. At the stage of mature socialism, "the increasingly broad and active participation of the working people in administering the life of the country has firmly established itself as the central trend of the political development of Soviet society."⁴

III

In mustering the Soviet people's creative energies for building the material and technical basis of communism, the party works to improve the democratic methods used in directing the economy and involving the working people in management. The results of these efforts will be seen in the growth of the people's labor enthusiasm.

Together with all the other Soviet people, the people of Moscow are making a contribution to communist construction. They started out successfully on their fulfillment of the five-year plan, and met the targets of its first year ahead of schedule — on December 28, 1981. This gave our economy a large volume of much-needed products over and above the plan. The whole increment in production resulted from higher labor productivity. The remodelling and technical re-equipment of Moscow's enterprises have been started on a broad scale. New production facilities and capacities have been set in motion, many dwelling houses, schools,

child-welfare institutions, hospitals, and marketing and public catering enterprises have been built.

The Muscovites' successes in fulfilling the economic program of the party's 26th congress are the result of a great organizational and political-education effort by the party organizations, which is being carried on under a plan adopted by the CPSU's Moscow City Committee. The communists of the Soviet capital have set an example of creative activity and are always in the forefront of the working people's socialist emulation.

In the developed socialist society, with social consciousness risen to a qualitatively new level, and with scientific and technical advances in practice blended with the advantages of the new social system, the importance of socialist emulation in fulfilling the party's economic policy has further increased. To the fore have now come the qualitative factors of economic development, and the initiatives which spring up in the course of the emulation campaign help to bring out and set in motion reserves for enhancing efficiency and improving the quality of workmanship. This is well seen from the example of Moscow, where more than 4.8 million men and women are involved in the emulation campaign. Such a massive patriotic movement clearly manifests the new attitude to labor which has originated under socialism and which is based on a high level of consciousness and initiative.

The initiatives of a number of Moscow enterprises that have undertaken to make fuller use of scientific and technical advances for economizing on labor, material and energy resources are aimed to enhance efficiency and the quality of workmanship and have been spreading across the country. There is a great and widespread effort to economize and show thrift at every workplace, to extend the range and improve the quality of consumer goods, and to develop low-waste technology, all of which were also initiated by Muscovites.

More than 300,000 workers in Moscow who supported the initiatives of those workers who were delegates to the 26th congress of the CPSU met their personal annual targets by November 7, 1981. This year again, at the second stage of the five-year period, thousands of Muscovites have decided to complete their production plans ahead of schedule, by the anniversary of the Great October Revolution. They are carrying on their labor emulation campaign under this slogan: "60 shock-work weeks for the 60th anniversary of the USSR."

The upward revision of plans is one of the highly useful forms of socialist emulation in

the course of which the workers take precise stock of their potentialities and propose to attain higher production results than the management of the enterprise had initially suggested. This initiative runs consistently "from bottom to top": from a working man and woman to the team, to the enterprise and then to the industry and yields a great effect. The working people's proposals are eventually tied in with the state plan.

The 26th congress noted that this approach fully meets the nature of socialist emulation and the planned character of our economy. It is the combination of centralized administration and local initiative that helps to achieve not only an optimal economic but also an important educational result: the working people gain experience in management.

In life, things do not, of course, always run simply or smoothly. Socialist emulation, being genuine creativity by the masses, does not tolerate formalism. But some ministries and executives fail to display due concern for the upward revision of plans, so as not to have to take the trouble to find the additionally required resources and to coordinate new plan targets with those already approved. The party takes a resolute stand against such an underestimation of workers' initiatives as cutting across the very substance of its democratic policy.

The display of creative initiative by the working people in support of the party's policy is exemplified by the Muscovites' concern to turn the Soviet capital into a model communist city. This effort has a long-standing tradition and is now being carried out on direct assignments from the 26th congress of the CPSU. Let us recall that with Moscow's role as the capital of the Soviet state in mind, Lenin put before it the following task: it must set an example for the rest of the country. The working people of the Soviet capital have been inspired by the prospect of converting Moscow into a city which is a model in every respect, with the economy and science developing on a high level, providing every amenity for human life, and having a favorable moral atmosphere which is conducive to people's conscious attitude to their social and labor duties. On their initiative, criteria have been worked out and adopted for evaluating the working people's efforts in the fulfillment of this task, by awarding the title of "model" to the best enterprises and institutions of the city. Almost 150 collectives have already won this title.

The trade unions, of which all the Soviet working people are members, have an important role to play within the system of Soviet democracy and the development of grass-roots

initiative. One of the main lines in the work of the trade unions was defined at the recent 17th congress of the trade unions of the USSR as follows: to contact every working man and woman, to help them to understand and accept the requirements of the party's economic policy, and to convince them that it is this policy that meets their vital interests, which is why it is the duty of each to promote its full success through creative quest and initiative.

The Soviet trade unions look to the interests of the working people, the conditions in which they work, live and rest, they take part in socio-economic planning and management, help to develop socialist emulation and guide the inventors and new ideas' movement. In accordance with the USSR's constitution, trade unions have the right of legislative initiative, which they use extensively for perfecting labor and social legislation.

In our country, the trade unions are an independent organization which also has great potentialities for protecting the interests of the working people whenever labor legislation is breached by members of management or even by institutions, and in this important activity the trade unions have the party's support. But the party opposes any attempts to range the trade unions against the party. In a speech at the latest trade-union congress, Leonid Brezhnev gave a clear warning about the results of such attempts. He said: "The enemies of socialism — the ideologists of the bourgeoisie, reformists and revisionists — have long since put their stake on separating the trade unions from the Marxist-Leninist parties, working hard to implant the theory of trade-union 'neutrality.' But behind all this in actual fact are attempts to drag the trade unions onto the way of bourgeois politics, the way of betrayal of the interests of the working class."

Standing production conferences at the enterprises have a special place in the work of the trade unions. In Moscow, more than 200,000 industrial and office workers are involved in the work of these conferences. More than 800,000 Muscovites, who are members of the inventors and new ideas' society, and scientific and technical societies are making a substantial contribution to improving economic activity.

We believe that one of the most important tasks is the shaping of the ideological and moral foundations of the rising generation. Young communists and other young people make up 30 per cent of the working class in the Soviet capital, and also a sizable part of those working in the sectors of material production, science, culture and the services. The young

people's successes and initiatives are promoted by the thoughtful and simultaneously demanding guidance on the part of the city's party organization. The process of labor and study helps to shape a generation of men and women who are politically active, knowledgeable, industrious and skilful in their work, and always prepared to rise to the defense of their country.

Management experience and skills are acquired by the working people not only in the sphere of material production but also in the spheres of distribution and consumption. Every Moscow enterprise has people's control groups and posts through which the masses themselves control the observance of the laws and fulfillment of state plans, and the correct distribution of the material goods that have been produced.

The movement for the communist attitude to work, which has involved every section of the society, is a manifestation of the Soviet people's creative activity. While being an effective factor in mustering the working people for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of economic plans through higher efficiency of production, this

movement also exerts a tremendous influence on the consciousness of men and women, helps them to develop communist traits and qualities, gain experience in managing production and administering the affairs of the society as a whole.

Communist *subbotniks*, that is, collective and voluntary work without pay for the work of society as a whole, are a qualitatively new step in the development of the communist attitude to work. In the above-mentioned work *A Great Beginning*, Lenin dealt with the early beginning of the new attitude to labor. This has now been developed and established on a tremendous scale. Since 1969, the 50th anniversary of the great beginning, such *subbotniks* have been held annually as major socio-political functions to mark the most important political events and dates. Each of the mass *subbotniks* held by Muscovites from 1969 to 1981 involved 5-6.5 million men and women every year and their voluntary labor effort has yielded important economic results.

The Soviet people have before them inspiring, even if complicated tasks. The party has not concealed from the Soviet people the difficulties which have to be overcome in order to fulfil the plans. These are openly and forthrightly described at the 26th congress, and at the November 1981 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee. Only complete mutual understanding between the party and the people allows for this kind of sincere conversation. The people trust the party, which is why its policy is assured of mighty support. The results achieved enhance the Soviet people's optimism concerning the historical perspectives. The trail to the summit of social and spiritual progress is being blazed for our society by its reliable and well-tested vanguard, the party of communists, and its solid bonds with all the sections and classes of the working people is a principled and fundamental political line, an objective uniformity and the main condition for the flourishing of the socialist system. This conclusion was most definitely formulated by Leonid Brezhnev in his closing speech at the 26th congress of the CPSU, when he said: "The party's strength lies in its unity with the people! . . . The people's strength lies in its unity with the party and its leadership!"

Georgi Dimitrov

SELECTED WORKS

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1. L.I. Brezhnev. *Following Lenin's Course*. Vol. 2, Moscow, 1970, p. 136 (in Russian).

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Build a bastion of peace

Never since the end of World War II have the peoples of Southeast Asia and the Pacific had a reasonably long respite from armed conflict. They have had to witness and go through the most severe trials — colonial wars and the major wars of aggression unleashed by the United States in Korea and Vietnam. And now this part of the planet is again threatened with international conflicts due to the intrigues of the imperialists and the Peking hegemonists. The following articles warn against these dangers and indicate real ways to peace in Southeast Asia and the Pacific.

THE PEOPLES CAN FIGHT BACK

George Jackson

National Secretary,
Socialist Unity Party of New Zealand

Twice in this century humanity has gone through the horrors of world war. While both wars originated in the Northern Hemisphere, where they caused the greatest loss of life and destruction, their effects have led to a heightened anti-war consciousness everywhere. However, it took Europe nearly 30 years of sustained struggle to bring about a historic change with the signing by leaders of 35 states of the Helsinki Final Act, the first agreement of this nature to be reached by the nations of Europe, the United States and Canada. Contributing to this was the mass movement in the area that added many a glorious chapter to the record of the defense of peace on Earth. The movement saw many great peace gatherings and petitions up to the holding of the People's Parliament for Peace in Sofia (1980).

It is all the more alarming that the imperialists are now intent on reversing developments. Nor is this by any means the first attempt to impose confrontation on the peoples. The world still has an only too vivid memory of the infamous U.S. war against Vietnam in which the invaders were defeated. Today a global campaign against détente is under way. The USA resorts to the battered myth of a "Soviet threat" in an effort to mislead everyone, including people living tens of thousands of miles away from the Soviet Union.

Current imperialist policy in the South Pacific and Southeast Asia is increasing dangerous tensions. Past defeats and the disintegration of SEATO have failed to cool

Washington's warmongering ardor. The plan of the USA today is to revitalize the ANZUS pact born of the cold war era (it comprises the USA, Australia and New Zealand) as one of a host of global military alliances of imperialism, to work toward Japan's participation, with the involvement of China considered as a possibility. Another military bloc involving New Zealand and Australia, this time with the United Kingdom, Singapore and Malaysia, and currently being resuscitated, is ANZUK, which virtually collapsed after the historic liberation successes in Indochina.

Speaking generally, the Pacific has lately been an area of stepped-up militarist activity. U.S. warships carrying nuclear weapons visit our ports. More and more often, New Zealand and Australia hold joint maneuvers with the USA. They are strengthening what is already close military and intelligence ties among themselves. The danger to the Pacific will be further augmented when the USA goes ahead with the construction of Ohio-class submarines carrying Trident II missiles. The arms build-up, nuclear weapons tests and the dumping of lethal radioactive waste by the imperialist powers are imperilling the present and future of the peoples inhabiting the coasts of the Pacific and Indian oceans.

At the same time, resistance to the policy of aggression is growing and so is the potential of the peace movement in the region. The international trade union conference held in Vanuatu, New Hebrides (1981), showed the resolve of the working people of many countries to turn the Pacific into a nuclear-free zone. The conference brought together delegates from seven national trade union centers: Australia, Fiji, Guam, Japan, New Caledonia, New Zealand and Papua-New Guinea, and representatives from individual unions of Hawaii, Kiribati, Palau, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu and Tahiti. Peace conferences were held recently in Sydney, Auckland and Fiji. The peace movement is actively campaigning against the presence of military bases, for the dissolution of the military alliances existing in the region and for coordinated effort to give the public a clearer insight into the dangers and implications of sinister nuclear schemes.

In New Zealand too, numerous people want to see the Pacific rid of a nuclear threat and transformed into a zone of peace. While the

ruling National Party favors a close alignment with the United States and commitment to military blocs, the opposition — the Labour Party and progressive forces — rejects the policy of involving the country in the building up of an imperialist nuclear “first-strike” capability. The more reactionary forces have adopted a highly dangerous stance by admitting of the possibility of a “limited” nuclear war. We make a point of exposing all illusions of this score, in particular illusions to the effect that war may bypass some countries.

The establishment of a zone of peace in the Pacific is of vital importance. If mobilized, the masses can resist the militarists. To prevent a further involvement of our peoples in plans for aggression being laid by the United States and its allies, the fraternal parties operating in the region go on working for the common objectives of the peace forces with due regard to the situation in the given part of the Pacific. We will continue to build up the peace movement in New Zealand.

NEEDED: A NEW INTERNATIONAL ROLE FOR AUSTRALIA

Peter Symon
CC General Secretary,
Socialist Party of Australia

If we draw an arc from Japan through the U.S. bases in the Pacific, New Zealand and Australia to South Africa we shall see that Australia is at the apex of this arc. Imperialism regards our country as an anchor lying at the junction of two oceans and linking together a vast geopolitical area. From the very beginning of white settlement in Australia this continent has been conceived by the colonialists and imperialists (first British and then U.S.) as a base directed primarily against the Asian mainland. To this day our country and its neighbor, New Zealand, serve as important imperialist outposts in the Indian and Pacific oceans.

The Australian ruling class accepts this role. But even as a junior partner of the United States it has its own imperialist interests, with investments in New Guinea, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, New Zealand and Pacific islands. Nor does capitalist Australia limit its vision to nearby areas, for it is prepared to act on the Asian and African mainlands. Hence the community of interests with the imperialist capital of the USA, Britain, Japan and France although Australia plays a much lesser role as an investor. Our country is an integral part of the system of world imperialism and the Australian capitalist class is one of its contingents.

Australia's national independence is being

surrendered to foreign imperialists. This takes the form of militarist blocs and pacts and the siting of U.S. bases on Australian territory, the virtually unrestricted sell-out of Australian resources and industry to foreign capitalists and transnationals, all of which is fraught with stronger reactionary trends in foreign policy.

The foreign policy of the Australian government since World War II has been based on the American alliance. This drew Australia into participation in the Korean war and then into the Vietnam venture. And later the Fraser government, which follows the American example, was prepared to commit troops to the Sinai “peace-keeping” force. Canberra has become more active in neighboring areas where its plans link up closely with U.S. militarist plans, above all in Southeast Asia. There the aim of the Australian government, like that of other capitalist governments, is to isolate Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea and block normal relations between the Indochina states and ASEAN.* Now as in the past, Australia backs rightist and reactionary regimes in the region.

In the Indian Ocean, the Australian government does not merely identify itself with the militarist preparations of the USA, such as the build-up of the base at Diego Garcia and other measures, but regularly participates in joint U.S. and British naval maneuvers and agreed to send Australian naval vessels toward the Persian Gulf. Recently the USA was allowed to use Darwin harbor as a base for B-52 planes which carry out reconnaissance flights. U.S. “patrol” vessels, including missile-carrying submarines, are based in the west of the country at Cockburn Sound and Freemantle.

The government has been trying to develop what is called a special relation with Japan by supporting the concept of a Pacific community extolled by Tokyo and favored by Washington. The community is expected to comprise five industrial capitalist countries (United States, Japan, Canada, Australia and New Zealand), the ASEAN countries and South Korea. The aim is to preserve imperialist positions in the Pacific by using mostly economic levers for the time being, and eventually to lend the community a military political character.

The imperialists attach exceptional importance to closer relations with China. Australia, for instance, supports plans for the militarization of China and attempts to play the “Chinese card” against the Soviet Union. Anti-communism and anti-Sovietism run

*ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) comprises Indonesia, Thailand, the Philippines, Malaysia and Singapore. — Ed.

through every foreign policy statement or action of the government, betraying its close association with U.S. imperialism.

The SPA opposes these policies. We stand for an independent, non-aligned foreign policy. We are against the military bases of U.S. imperialism and its alliance with Australia. Our party, declares for détente, peace, nuclear-free zones and universal disarmament.

Changes on these lines will not, of course, come about overnight. The alliance with the United States is the cornerstone of Canberra's foreign policy, with the majority of the people accepting the argument that in today's world it is necessary for a middle-sized country like Australia to have strong and powerful "friends."

On the other hand, there are growing signs of disapproval of certain aspects of the official foreign policy doctrine. This came out as far back as the late 60s and early 70s. At that time we saw in Australia a powerful movement of solidarity with Vietnam, and the Australian Labour Party opposed the participation of the country in the U.S. aggression. Significantly, the people's refusal to support a policy alien to their interests finds expression in public condemnation of the Australian participation in the Sinai "international" force. This is the attitude of the Australian Labour Party, all left parties and the Australian Council of Trade Unions. A public opinion poll revealed that over 70 per cent of Australians were opposed to our involvement in this force. There are some other direct or indirect indications of the growing potentialities of the Australian peace movement. Its various contingents show a tendency toward unity in action.

The government is compelled to reckon with changes in the public mood, the new situation in the Afro-Asian region and the recent upturn in the liberation struggle on Pacific islands. Forced to maneuver, it has made very strong statements denouncing apartheid. But this is merely a screen with which the government hopes to hoodwink the newly-emerging African countries and prevent them from looking to their natural allies in socialist states and in other Third World countries. The SPA exposes this double-faced policy, shows a true class solidarity with the national liberation movement and resolutely supports the peoples of Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos, who have set out to build a new society. We steadfastly lay bare anti-Sovietism, whose imperialist exponents are equally hostile to existing socialism, peace, democracy and progress. Coordinated action by all champions of these great ideals is an important condition of effectively counter-

ing the war menace in our region and other parts of the globe.

WHERE THE THREAT COMES FROM

José Lava

Political Bureau member, CC,
Communist Party of the Philippines

Several decades have passed since the emergence of independent states in our region. The peoples in these countries are still preoccupied with the acute problems left as a legacy of colonialism, such as the low level of production forces and underdevelopment. The struggle for economic and social progress is going on under the leadership of Marxist-Leninist parties in three countries of Indochina — Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. The desire of the peoples of Southeast Asia for a better life and deliverance from imperialist domination is fostering the liberation movement where development is following a capitalist road. Bourgeois governments, however reactionary, are forced to heed this.

The five ASEAN countries' aspiration for economic independence expresses itself in attempts to diversify their sources of foreign investments and foreign trade outlets and extend trade and other relations with the socialist world. The victory of people's democratic revolutions in Indochina also holds the promise of greater regional cooperation on the principles of mutual benefit, peaceful coexistence and good-neighborliness.

However, this peaceful trend of development and efforts to establish good-neighbor relations are being blocked. U.S. imperialism is out to launch a further round of confrontation and is whipping up war hysteria everywhere; it wants the ASEAN countries to join in its vicious anti-Soviet and anti-Vietnamese campaign. The general trend of U.S. foreign policy in the late 70s and early 80s was marked by a swing to aggressiveness.

As for the expansionist and hegemonist policy of China, it not only coincides with this imperialist policy but draws directly on it in trying to realize its own ambitions. The Peking leadership, which has limited national means, gives considerable attention to neighboring areas in Southeast and South Asia. The changes occurring there go against the grain with both the imperialists and the Maoists. The former see the expanding struggle for economic independence and social progress as a threat to their positions while the latter regard these areas as "temporarily lost territories" or a "traditional route" of expansion. The Maoists

are uneasy about the far-reaching transformations in Indochina which have upset Peking's plan to extend its "lebensraum" and use the peninsula as a bridgehead for advancing southwards. Hence their effort to definitively make peace with U.S. imperialism on an anti-Soviet and anti-Vietnamese basis.

China and the United States put pressure on the ASEAN countries in a bid to impose on them the role of executors of subversive plans against people's Kampuchea. However, a large body of public opinion and part of the ruling circles in the ASEAN Five tend to condemn this policy. This is understandable, since it is important for countries lying close to one another to build their mutual relations on the sound principles of peaceful coexistence, good-neighborliness and cooperation which have stood the test of history. But this is precisely what imperialism and its Peking ally want to prevent. They are determined to involve Thailand on their side against Vietnam and Kampuchea, and act accordingly.

Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos take an entirely different approach.¹ They are doing their best to normalize the situation in the area of Indochina. Their position is winning increasing support in the world, primarily in Asian countries. At the same time, the Kampuchean revolution is going from strength to strength with the support of fraternal socialist countries, and the sphere of relations based on peaceful coexistence is widening. All this offers a prospect of defeating the Washington-Peking conspiracy against the peoples of our region.

No sober-minded statesman can take seriously the allegation that Vietnam or the Soviet Union is "threatening" Southeast Asia. Ploughing the waters of our region are fleets of U.S. warships, the map of the immense Pacific area is dotted with U.S. military bases and as for the sinister plans of Washington and Peking, there is an evident effort to assign Japan a more active role in them. The international experience of the Philippines, for one, shows where the threat to the independence and sovereignty of our countries really comes from.

The bourgeois regime of our country has repeatedly come up against U.S. attempts at destabilization.² The United States is concerned about the growing trend toward independence in Philippine foreign policy and the expansion in recent years of relations between the Philippines and developing countries many of which share the concept of national, regional and collective self-reliance. The USA is pushing countries of the region toward dangerous confrontation while the Philippine leadership is not inclined to get involved in war

with its neighbors. It is revealing that despite the continuing presence of U.S. bases on Philippine territory, the 1975 diplomatic agreement between the Philippines and the SRV provides that neither side will allow bases on its territory to be used for aggression against the other.

Speaking of the record of relations with China, it is a fact that despite the commitment to stop helping the Philippine Maoist party which Mao made when he met with President Marcos in 1975, little has changed. And now the Philippine regime considers the Chinese threat to be perfectly real unlike the alleged Vietnamese "threat." Some other ASEAN governments tend to take a similar stand. The facts show that today Peking, while pretending non-interference, resorts to a more flexible policy than in the past. It woos regimes in the region and even promises them its support and, on the other hand, carries on subversion against Southeast Asian countries, using Maoist factions and ethnic Chinese residents there.

Relations with the United States and China have repeatedly demonstrated that these two powers treat the Philippines as a mere pawn in their geopolitical game. And it is obvious why resistance to chauvinist policies is mounting, with patriotic views and sentiments gaining ground. Numerous Filipinos see a connection between the struggle for peace and security in the region and a constructive approach to relations with socialist countries, primarily our Indochinese neighbors.

For years past, the Philippine Communist Party has been working for the formation of a broad anti-imperialist front following a common patriotic program which includes the principles of political and economic independence, relations of friendship and mutually beneficial cooperation on an equal footing between countries of different social systems. We communists think highly of the diplomatic initiatives of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. We support the Soviet foreign policy initiatives put forward by the latest CPSU congresses and the concrete peace proposals made by Leonid Brezhnev after the 26th congress. Life emphasizes the importance of coordination and united action by fraternal parties for peace, greater international security and more far-reaching détente and for the extension of this key process to Southeast Asia and neighboring regions.

1. Nguyen Duy Trinh, "The Way to Peace and Stability in Southeast Asia." WMR, March 1982. — Ed.

2. F. Macapagal, "U.S. Imperialism and Philippine Independence." WMR, August 1978. — Ed.

AGAINST DANGEROUS PLANS

Satiajaya Sudiman

Member of the Leadership,
Communist Party of Indonesia

The late 70s and early 80s saw imperialism proceed with particular zeal to implement a long-range strategic plan aimed at "militarizing" the ASEAN alignment. The United States has been pursuing this policy for years. Gratuitous deliveries of U.S. arms to ASEAN countries over the past five years have run to \$819 million. Washington plans to increase this kind of "aid" to Indonesia by 50 per cent. The Indonesian regime is expected to reciprocate by adopting a more cooperative stand on global U.S. militarist policy. Thailand has been promised a large batch of arms. Ever since last autumn, planes of the U.S. Seventh Fleet which join in maneuvers with Thai forces have been using the Utapao air base in Thailand.

The U.S. administration has also shown readiness to grant the Philippines "aid" worth \$155 million for "security" purposes and to help Malaysia re-equip its Air Force. The Pentagon wants to take over Malaysia's Gong Kedak air base.

Singapore would be expected to function as a subsidiary regional "arms factory" and an appendage to the imperialist powers' military-industrial complex. The U.S. Lockheed Aircraft company is building a plant in Singapore for remaking and repair of military equipment, and Vosper, a large British firm, is going to build warships for ASEAN countries in the Singapore dockyard. Furthermore, an effort is being made to impose on these countries Korean arms duplicating U.S. models. During a tour of Southeast Asia countries, the South Korean President offered various governments the output of his arms factories ranging from rifles and tommyguns to tanks and guided missiles.

At a meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Five in Manila, Secretary of State Haig held forth about the importance of helping ASEAN keep the whole association and its every member in fighting trim. Also in Manila, late in 1981, representatives of the army commands of several Asian and Pacific countries held a new "seminar" under the auspices of the Pentagon. For the first time ever, the sponsors succeeded in bringing Indonesia to the "seminar," a fact which aroused deep concern in our country.

The "seminar" was one of a series of more or less disguised attempts to tie sovereign states of the region to the imperialist war machine. Not so long ago Tokyo played host to a conference on "security" in the Western Pacific. The parti-

cipants did not nominally represent their governments (the sponsor was the Japanese Strategic Research Center, a private organization). But their very composition — Japan, USA, Britain, Australia, South Korea, Taiwan and, along with them, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Thailand and Singapore — was a warning signal. And a short time ago Honolulu was the venue of a further discussion (camouflaged as an "informal meeting") on strategic problems with an anti-Soviet and anti-Vietnamese slant. This time the "host" was the USA and the "guests," the ASEAN Five. Thailand even sent Thanat Khoman, a deputy Prime Minister. The militarist gathering was sponsored by high-ranking U.S. officials. Thus the imperialists, operating methodically and steadfastly, try to involve the countries of our region in their military alliances.

Plans for U.S.-Japanese military cooperation threaten the region with lasting danger. Tokyo has promised Washington to patrol a vast area of the Pacific west of Guam and north of the Philippines. While Japanese expansion throughout the past decades has been mainly economic, Tokyo is now lending it an offensive militarist character in conformity with U.S. designs. This reminds one of the days of Japanese occupation of Southeast Asia, when the emperor's armies were trampling on the soil of Indonesia, the Philippines and Malaya.

Lastly, an enormous threat is posed by the Washington-Peking partnership. The Reagan administration even urges the ASEAN countries to normalize relations with China. Evidently, the U.S. imperialists' aim is not to put these relations, disrupted to a considerable extent during the "cultural revolution," on a sound basis but to achieve a "strategic concord" between Tokyo, Seoul and the ASEAN capitals on anti-Soviet and anti-Vietnamese lines. And this explains why they need alliance with China so badly. Peking, for its part, is ready to do its best to commit our countries to anti-Soviet positions.

In the countries of the region, the ruling quarters' reaction to the geopolitical game of Washington, Peking and Tokyo is mixed. Even so, this game is seen with universal apprehension in an area which some imperialists in the past described as a "co-prosperity sphere" after overrunning Southeast Asian countries while others, launching aggression in Indochina after World War II, tried to turn into their neocolonial domain. ASEAN countries cannot but feel concerned about the Maoists' hegemonist ambitions or the consent of the USA to supply Maoists with offensive weapons, which means

encouraging the Peking expansionists.

It should be borne in mind, however, that the Five are ruled mostly by anti-communist regimes. Steps have been taken to establish military ties between them on the plea of building up their "internal security" — an anti-communist phrase meaning suppression of patriotic opposition. The ASEAN countries are deeply involved in the capitalist economy. In Indonesia alone, foreign investments add up to 10 billion dollars and its debt to the consortium of capitalist creditors has soared to \$19,000 million. One-sided dependence, which the countries affected by it try half-heartedly to end, provides imperialism with a powerful means of pressure on sovereign states, above all where pro-imperialists are dominant or influential in the leadership.

However, there are also forces there taking a realistic view of things. They are perturbed by the prospect of Southeast Asia being drawn into the Washington, Peking and Tokyo militarists' plans. Influential quarters in Malaysia, the Philippines and Indonesia have repeatedly voiced fears in view of the danger of a remilitarization of Japan, U.S. arms deliveries to China and the militarization of ASEAN. Our

party, declaring for a sober approach to problems of the region, exposes those who reject it and strives to bring the truth home to the people.

The CPI is operating in illegal conditions. But we influence public opinion by using explanatory material and other means. More and more patriots are coming to realize the need to bring the masses into the growing peace movement to a greater extent. Our activity has a two-fold purpose — we work for democracy and defend peace. In common with other supporters of democracy and progress, we want to induce all sober-minded people in ASEAN who really seek a climate of good-neighborliness, stability and peaceful coexistence to take a favorable stand on the initiatives advanced by Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. These initiatives pave the way for normalizing relations between the three Indochina states and the ASEAN countries and turning Southeast Asia into a peace zone.

The communists of Indonesia consider it very important to promote cooperation among the communist parties of our area and neighboring areas with a view to safeguarding international security.

Unity of action — a powerful weapon

Tsola Dragoicheva

Political Bureau member, BCP Central Committee

CENTENARY OF THE BIRTH OF GEORGI DIMITROV

June 18 marks the centenary of the birth of Georgi Dimitrov, who was a great son of the Bulgarian working class, leader and teacher of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Bulgarian people, a prominent personality of the international communist and working-class movement, and an eminent strategist of the struggle against fascism and war. His inestimable services place this proletarian revolutionary and statesman among the outstanding followers of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

The Bulgarian people's victories over capitalism and fascism and their achievements in building the new society are intimately associated with the activity of this ardent revolutionary, and our successes in building developed socialism are the triumph of his behests and the embodiment of his dream.

The birth centenary of this great son of Bul-

garia is marked widely throughout the world — by communists, members of democratic parties and organizations, fighters for national liberation and social emancipation, and champions of peace and progress. Todor Zhivkov, General Secretary of the BCP Central Committee and Chairman of the State Council of Bulgaria, was quite right when he said that "not only in the mind of the Bulgarian working class, among those he grew up with, those who reared and nurtured him, not only in the mind of the Bulgarian people, with whose heroic history he is inseparably linked, there is an unfading aureole around the name of Georgi Dimitrov. His is one of the great names in the chronicle of the revolutionary struggle of the world proletariat, a name that the communists, the working people, and all progressives in the world speak of with profound respect and affection."¹

As a proletarian leader Georgi Dimitrov was formed and matured amidst the Bulgarian working class, in the ranks of its vanguard, the communists. Beginning his working life at the

age of 13, by the time he was 17 he was an activist of the nascent Bulgarian trade union movement. At 20, a print-shop worker by then, he joined the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party and seven years later was elected to its Central Committee. He studied assiduously without help, mastering scientific socialism, which determined his spiritual world and his further career. In the fire of class battles and influenced by outstanding proponents of Bulgarian socialist thought and practice — D. Blagoev, G. Kirkov, and G. Georgiev — he displayed a rare talent as a revolutionary and moved to the front rank of the struggle for the interests of the proletariat, for socialism and against capitalist exploitation.

Even as a young man Dimitrov became a conspicuous figure in the Balkan and European working-class movement; he advocated class-internationalist unity among social democrats and resistance to imperialism and war, calling for peace and friendship among the peoples of our peninsula.

The Great October Socialist Revolution laid the beginning of the epochal transition from capitalism to socialism and ushered in a new stage in the struggle of the workers for their emancipation. The present-day international communist movement came into being with the formation of the new type of proletarian parties based on the ideological and theoretical foundations of Marxism-Leninism, and within a short span of time it evolved into the most influential political force in the world.

Together with the entire Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party (Tesna Socialists)² Dimitrov unreservedly welcomed the October Revolution, seeing it as the first victory of the international proletariat over capitalism and imperialism, as the beginning of the world revolution.³ He was one of the first persons in Bulgaria to appreciate the great transformative power of Lenin's teaching, the international significance of the extensive experience gained by the Bolsheviks, and the need to assimilate and creatively apply this experience. As early as 1919 he came to the conclusion that "everything written and said by Lenin now acquires immense importance for the fighting proletariat of all countries."⁴

Inspired by the lessons of the October Revolution, he propagated Lenin's ideas indefatigably in the Bulgarian Communist Party. He was invariably in the center of the major revolutionary developments guided by the party. In 1923 he and V. Kolarov headed the world's first armed action against fascism. In the rising of September 1923 the BCP demonstrated features of the new type of party, undergoing, to quote

Dimitrov, a turning point in its development from "Tesnism" to Bolshevism. Dimitrov's articles of those days on a united front of labor against capital were the first to unmask the anti-communist, anti-people, and anti-democratic class nature of fascism with crystal clarity and unrefutable arguments. These articles were an invaluable contribution to the concretization and further development of Leninism.

The development of the party of Tesna Socialists and then of the BCP along the path charted by Lenin, and an active role in the formation of the international communist movement opened new vistas for Dimitrov's internationalist work. He helped to restore and then reanimate the Balkan Communist Federation,⁵ becoming its leader in 1923. He was a delegate to the third congress of the Comintern, and in 1929 became head of the Comintern's West European Bureau. Moreover, as Secretary of the General Trade Union of Bulgaria he was invited to the constituent congress of the Trade Union International (Profintern) and was elected as one of its leaders. Work in these international organizations, association with outstanding revolutionaries, and a meeting with Lenin, which made a lasting impression on him, were for Dimitrov a great school of political training and helped to mold him into a proletarian leader of the Leninist type.

In the early 1930s, after seizing power in Germany, Hitlerism became a serious threat not only to the cause of working-class emancipation but to the existence of entire peoples, to peace and progress in the world. The struggle against the pressure of fascism, against the menace of war became the key task of the communists, of all progressives and democrats.

Arrested in Germany and put on trial on the trumped-up charge of having set fire to the Reichstag and conspiring to organize an armed uprising, Dimitrov turned the Leipzig trial into the focus of world attention. His personal duel with the nazis was seen as a symbol of the intensifying struggle of the peoples against the brown plague. The Bulgarian revolutionary inflicted on fascism its first moral and political setback and helped give international democratic opinion a clearer picture of its brutal, criminal character, of its threat to humankind and world culture.

Dimitrov's courageous conduct at the trial made him one of the most popular and prestigious personalities of the international communist and working-class movement, a banner-bearer of the struggle against fascism and war. His moral victory over the nazi provocators reinforced the readiness of the world's progressive forces and their vanguard,

the communists, to give determined battle to fascism.

Dimitrov devoted his great prestige and vast experience to the attainment of the aims of the communist parties in the obtaining international situation. Work on a new political line proceeded in the Comintern for almost a year. After collective conferences with the leadership of a number of parties the Comintern Executive Committee generalized the struggle of the communists of France, Italy, Germany, Austria, and other countries against fascism. A conclusion of enormous political significance was drawn, namely, that it was both possible and expedient to form united workers' and popular fronts. This guideline was based on the fact that as a result of the obvious setbacks of the anti-fascist and anti-war policy of the reformists, a deep process of differentiation had commenced in the social democratic movement, and readiness for joint actions with the communists had increased. There was now an objective possibility of drawing large sections of working people, who still could see no prospect for a proletarian revolution, into the struggle against the threat of war and fascism. Such unity in the attainment of democratic aims would greatly facilitate the gradual shift of the masses toward socialism.

Misguided and obsolete guidelines that were hindering the spread of the anti-fascist movement were dropped. The Comintern leadership and the parties affiliated to it abandoned the view, widespread until the mid-1930s, that the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat was the immediate strategic aim of the communists of capitalist countries. A new approach was adopted to bourgeois democracy, which had often been likened to a fascist dictatorship. Lastly, the notorious proposition on "social-fascism," which saw fascist tendencies in the social democratic movement, was overcome. The attitude to social democracy was now reconsidered from the angle of the interests of proletarian unity of action. This signified steps toward ending the split in the working-class movement on the national and international levels, with the communists preserving their fidelity to the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Delivered from elements of schematism and sectarianism in its political orientation, the Comintern leadership headed by Georgi Dimitrov formulated new propositions that underlay the strategy and tactics of the communists in the subsequent decade. Dimitrov spelled out the key orientations of the new line at the seventh Comintern congress in 1935 in a report that has become a memorial to that outstanding

Bulgarian thinker and revolutionary.

At the congress Dimitrov dealt with the question of proletarian unity in a new light: "Unity of action by the proletariat on a national and international scale is a powerful weapon that makes it capable not only of successful defense but also of mounting a successful counter-offensive against fascism, against the class enemy."⁶ Drawing upon his own extensive experience and his analysis of the struggle that was being waged by the communists, he sought to prevent the isolation of the working class and developed the idea of cooperating with non-proletarian strata. The proposition of a united proletarian front as the core of the anti-fascist popular movement, a proposition that he advanced in his report, was of fundamental significance. The striving to free the policy of the party of the working class from the coating of dogmatism was also seen in his formulation of the question of a united workers' and popular front government, of communist support for and possible participation in such a government. The question of forming a worldwide anti-war front was also considered at length. Showing the world the danger implicit in fascism, Georgi Dimitrov ardently called upon the international proletariat, the largest possible sections of the working people, and the non-aggressive states to unite around the Soviet Union in order to prevent an imperialist war.

The course approved by the congress was the result of a collective effort by a number of communist parties, by their representatives in the Comintern Executive Committee, but at the same time it bore the stamp of Dimitrov's personality, his initiative, political courage and tact. In his contribution to the elaboration of strategy he demonstrated his devotion to the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and his ability to develop and apply them in practice.

At the seventh congress Georgi Dimitrov was unanimously elected General Secretary of the Comintern Executive Committee. He headed that international organization of the communists until its self-disbandment in 1943.

The history of the Resistance in the Second World War reaffirmed the correctness and consistently revolutionary character of the new course. The communist parties translated into practice the idea of unity of the people in the struggle against fascism flexibly, in keeping with the situation in the world and with the specific conditions in each individual country, and enriched this policy with their own ideas and experience. National, patriotic, and fatherland fronts were formed with the widest possible social base, which made it possible to draw into the Resistance people of different

political views who were opposed to Hitler and his myrmidons in the different countries. The epoch-making victory over the assault forces of world imperialism was a triumph of the course laid down by the seventh congress.

Having won the affection and confidence of the Bulgarian communists and having won recognition as an outstanding personality of the international communist and working-class movement, Georgi Dimitrov headed the BCP, which, under his leadership, finally took shape as a party of the Leninist type. An end was put to left sectarianism, and the political line was mapped out for uniting the democratic forces against the undisguised monarchic-fascist dictatorship.

During the grim war years our party pursued a correct political line. As soon as the Great Patriotic War broke out it discharged its patriotic and internationalist duty by starting a massive armed struggle, orienting it on a popular rising and the overthrow of the monarchic-fascist dictatorship. Georgi Dimitrov initiated the drive to unite the country's democratic and progressive forces in the Fatherland Front, whose program, reflecting the best national interests of Bulgaria, was drawn up in 1942 under his direct leadership. On September 9, 1944, inspired by the victorious advance of the Red Army, the Bulgarian anti-fascists with the BCP at their head roused the masses in a nationwide armed uprising, which "paved the way to the building of socialism in our country."⁷

The September Socialist Revolution was a great turning point in Bulgaria's history, in the destiny of its people. It ended the country's domination by monarchic-fascist reaction, the local bourgeoisie, and foreign imperialism, and ushered in the era of socialism, the era of true popular rule.

The revolutionary maturity of Georgi Dimitrov, who headed the party and the government, his talent as theorist and organizer of the building of the new society, his devotion to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and his creative approach to the Soviet experience were displayed at this turning point for Bulgaria. Particularly indicative in this context was his speech at the fifth congress of the BCP (1948), in which he formulated the party's program aims for the period of transition from capitalism to socialism.

Dimitrov contributed to the development of the theory of the socialist state, profoundly showing the class substance and historical significance of people's democracy as a new form of political power of the working class performing the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Under his direction the party

drew up the plan for industrialization — the key orientation of the socialist restructuring of Bulgaria's economy. While giving priority to heavy industry, the people's government began to enlarge Bulgaria's power facilities and build metallurgical, heavy engineering, and chemical industries as the sound foundation for a fuller satisfaction of the people's growing requirements. Georgi Dimitrov did much for the socialist transformation of agriculture: he formulated the guideline for the development of Bulgarian agriculture without nationalizing the land, by setting up agricultural cooperatives, and showed that it was imperative to turn small private property into cooperative and then public property. In this the leader of the Bulgarian revolution based himself on Lenin's cooperative plan, on the Soviet experience of collective-farm development. He saw the key condition for Bulgaria's rapid development in strengthening its economic potential and in expanding cooperation to the maximum with the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies.

In the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, Dimitrov regarded the building of a socialist society as the result of the conscious efforts of the people. Erudite and tactful, he attached paramount importance to problems of the people's cultural and spiritual life. Much was done with his direct participation to democratize the country's education system.

The great Bulgarian revolutionary gave much of his attention to the work of the Communist Party in the new situation, after it came to power. As the leading force it embodies the element of creativity in the development of socialist society and places the management of social processes on a scientific footing. Any weakening of its leading role harbors the threat of a reanimation of petty-bourgeois, anti-socialist activities and leads to deformations in the practice of socialist construction.

The leader of the Bulgarian communists saw the moral and political unity of the people as a condition of the utmost importance for the consolidation of the new system. This thesis was mirrored in practice in the strengthening of the Fatherland Front, which turned from a movement into an organization and was instrumental in drawing the broadest sections of the people into socialist construction. The Bulgarian Agricultural People's Alliance became a staunch ally and worthy partner of the BCP in the Front. The role and functions of the trade unions were enlarged, and a united youth organization was formed.

The spirit of Georgi Dimitrov lives on in the thoughts and affairs of our party. In continuing

the traditions laid down by him, it has steadfastly led the people along the road charted under his leadership.

The party's maturity was demonstrated at the BCP Central Committee's plenary meeting in April 1956, when it resolutely upheld the Lenin-Dimitrov style of work against distortions, and reinvigorated, developed, and enriched its policy. To the political experience accumulated by Dimitrov, the BCP added new values. His example and his immortal work served as the solid foundation for the party's April general line. "Without Dimitrov but on the road paved by him" is the immutable formula of our country's advance, both today and in the future.

The post-April period became the most dynamic and productive stage of the building of the new society in Bulgaria. Our teacher's behest has been honorably fulfilled — it was that within 15-20 years we should achieve what in other countries (with different social systems) took centuries. Socialism triumphed finally and irrevocably on Bulgarian soil; we are working on the program, adopted by the party's 10th congress in 1971, for the building of a mature socialist society and the creation of the conditions for the transition to communism.

Dimitrov's dream of industrialization, of a large-scale mechanized agriculture, and a cultural revolution in Bulgaria has come true. More, what has been achieved far exceeds his expectations. In a historically short period of time, a nation that was once poor and backward became a politically stable, swiftly developing industrial-agrarian state with a steadily high rate of economic growth, a country where the living standard of the people is continuously rising and a socialist way of life has become a reality. The republic enjoys considerable international prestige.

The successes of People's Bulgaria are exemplified by its economic advance. Within the past quarter of a century the national income has risen 6.5-fold (i.e., by an annual average of 8.1 per cent), industrial output has grown 11-fold, agricultural production 3.4-fold, the volume of construction 8-fold, social labor productivity 7-fold, the real incomes of the people 4.3-fold, and the social consumption funds nearly 16-fold. Our industrial output every three days is equal to the total output for the whole of 1939.

The past decade, when the program for building developed socialism was started, has been particularly productive. During these 10 years the nation's economic potential has doubled. To use T. Zhivkov's words, we have built a second Bulgaria.

All these achievements stem organically from the spirit of innovation, realism and revolutionary optimism inherent in the April line of the BCP, in the work of its Dimitrov Central Committee. A particularly great personal contribution has also been made by Todor Zhivkov to build up a creative atmosphere and chart and give effect to our party's general line. Recognized leader of the BCP, an eminent theorist, and a distinguished and esteemed personality of the international communist movement, he enjoys the deserved affection and gratitude of the Bulgarian people, who see him as the worthy successor and continuer of the work of Blagoev and Dimitrov. At the 12th congress in March-April 1981 our party's general line was justifiably characterized as the fruitful development of the finest traditions of the Blagoev and Dimitrov periods of its history.

This is a line toward the intensification of the economy and all other spheres of public activity, the perfection of the society's political system, the consistent development of socialist democracy, and the steady promotion of the people's living standard. Our work in ideology, culture and education is aimed at molding the all-sidedly and harmoniously developed individual, the active builder of the new society. A salient feature of the management of social processes in Bulgaria today is its increasingly scientific and democratic character, the direct involvement of the people in the attainment of set aims.

The historic decisions of the 12th congress are being carried out by our people with great enthusiasm. New successes along this road have been registered by the socialist emulation movement in commemoration of the Dimitrov birth centenary.

Georgi Dimitrov was a passionate patriot. At the same time, throughout his life he championed proletarian internationalism as a powerful weapon of the working class against the united forces of imperialism, as an immutable principle of the work of the communists, stressing the dialectical link between internationalism and patriotism. He saw education in the spirit of proletarian internationalism as uninterrupted work in the name of unity of views and actions in the communist movement. Proceeding from this premise, he formulated the basic principles of the foreign policy of people's Bulgaria. These principles include: all-sided development and consolidation of fraternal friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, internationalist solidarity with the forces of peace and progress, peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems on the basis

of equality, struggle against imperialist aggression and militarism, and preservation and consolidation of world peace.

The internationalist traditions upheld by Blagoev and Dimitrov have profoundly influenced the life of our party and become a paramount feature of its work. Today these traditions continue to be developed and enriched and this is enhancing the prestige enjoyed by the BCP and reinforcing the confidence that revolutionaries throughout the world have in it.

A true Marxist-Leninist, Georgi Dimitrov regarded the attitude to the world's first socialist state as a criterion of proletarian solidarity. He spoke the following memorable words: "The touchstone of the sincerity and honesty of every personality of the working-class movement, of each workers' party and each organization of the working people, of each democrat in capitalist countries is the attitude to the great socialist country."⁸ The justification of this attitude was borne out vividly during the Second World War, when all progressive humankind linked the defeat of the fascist aggressors and its own future with hopes for the victory of the Soviet people.

This formulation of the question by Dimitrov has not lost its urgency to this day. "In our time," Todor Zhivkov recently said, "when the question of war or peace has become decisive in the life of humankind, the attitude to the Soviet Union has become the criterion of the attitude to war and peace. To support the Soviet Union now means to be against war. This is the principal truth of our time of change."⁹

Dimitrov's life and work demonstrated the great strength that lies in combining patriotism with affection for the homeland of socialism, for the great Soviet Union. These feelings inspired him, giving him courage and optimism. During the bitter years of struggle against fascism he brilliantly formulated the significance of Bulgarian-Soviet friendship: "No sober-thinking Bulgarian who loves his country fails to see that for Bulgaria's national independence and prosperity sincere friendship with the Soviet Union is as necessary as the sun and air are to life."¹⁰ At the party's fifth congress in 1948 he spoke of Bulgarian-Soviet ties as the decisive factor of our all-sided socialist development, as a striking manifestation of the ideological, political, economic and spiritual unity of fraternal peoples.

The Bulgarian people revere and fulfil Georgi Dimitrov's behest on strengthening friendship with the USSR. This friendship has become part and parcel of our national spirit, the motive force of progress, the guarantee of success in

socialist construction and of national security, and the mainspring inspiring and promoting the national consciousness. The BCP's April line opened particularly wide scope for the all-sided strengthening of this friendship. Under the leadership and with the most active direct participation of Todor Zhivkov and Leonid Brezhnev, Bulgarian-Soviet friendship has entered a new stage, the stage of comprehensive cooperation and drawing together of the two parties, countries and peoples, becoming a magnificent gain of the two socialist states. Our future relations will be a model of communist brotherhood.

More than three decades have passed since the death of Georgi Dimitrov. During that time the revolutionary, democratic, and peace forces have made further noteworthy advances: the communist vanguard of the working class has consolidated its position in the world; the might and international prestige of the USSR have reached new heights; the world socialist system has been joined by more countries and peoples, and is now the factor determining the main directions of social progress.

The life-span of one generation is much too short to make an exhaustive assessment of Dimitrov's work. His legacy in revolutionary theory and practice and his personal example as a revolutionary and citizen teach, inspire and encourage. The experience of the communist movement accumulated with the active participation of this great son of the Bulgarian people in the struggle for the cohesion and unity of the anti-fascist forces and the ideas formulated by him in the 1930s-1940s, retain their urgency to this day. Many communist parties are again and again analyzing the history of the Popular Front in France, the civil war in Spain, and the anti-Hitlerite Resistance. The evaluations of various aspects of this past and the political conclusions being drawn from these evaluations likewise differ. The experience of the relations between the parties in the Comintern, the participation of communists in coalition governments, and other matters are considered from the angle of present-day political practice. However, the question of political alliances in the best interests of the working class, a question of which Georgi Dimitrov devoted so much of his energy, is today particularly topical.

The united front policy — precisely because it was very effective — had many opponents before and after the war, and there are still many today. They are trying to smear the efforts being made by the communist parties to unite the people against war and imperialist reaction, alleging that for the communists the popular

front is a means of camouflaging narrow party interests. At the seventh Comintern congress Georgi Dimitrov ridiculed untenable arguments of this sort. He bluntly stated: "... we want working-class united action so that the proletariat is stronger in its struggle against the bourgeoisie, so that as it today defends its day-to-day interests against the assault of capital, against fascism it will tomorrow be in a position to create the conditions for its final emancipation."¹¹ The united front slogan was on no account a ploy. The subsequent struggle against fascism proved that the communists did not dissemble when they offered to act jointly with social democrats, the socialists, and progressive and democratic parties. With the same sincerity and seriousness they are now taking steps to safeguard peace and form an anti-imperialist front.

As in the 1930s, unity of action is often rejected with the allegation that the communists are adversaries of democracy, proponents of dictatorial methods. The charge that the Soviet political system is totalitarian, made by Karl Kautsky and his supporters and now directed by bourgeois and social-democratic propaganda at existing socialism, has greatly prejudiced the interests of the international working class. In exposing these allegations and charges of the enemies of unity, Georgi Dimitrov said: "... are we now suggesting a united front in order to proclaim a dictatorship of the proletariat? This we are not suggesting ... we are proponents of Soviet democracy, of democracy of the working people, of the most consistent democracy in the world. But in capitalist countries, because this is dictated by the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat, we are defending and shall continue to defend, every inch of bourgeois-democratic freedoms, which are under attack by fascism and bourgeois reaction."¹² The communists have consistently abided by and will continue to uphold this principle wherever democracy is threatened. We see, and this is not accidental, that the problems of democracy and personal freedoms are accorded an important place in the ideological life and program documents of the communist parties of capitalist countries. Nor is it accidental that the process of further democratization of social life is proceeding uninterrupted in countries of the socialist community.

The communists of some European capitalist countries often encounter the charge that their parties are insufficiently large numerically to be a political force worth the attention of the social democrats as a partner, that in the face of extreme danger an alliance with them will not

strengthen a democratic coalition, that it will only frighten away the non-proletarian strata, pushing them into the embrace of fascism and reaction. Numerical strength is unquestionably important, but it alone does not put the historical truth on the side of a party. It was not the Austrian Social Democratic Party, Georgi Dimitrov pointed out, but the small Communist Party of Austria that first signalled that fascism was threatening the nation. "The whole experience of the working-class movement," he said, "has shown that even where their numerical strength is relatively small the communists are the motor of the militancy of the proletariat."¹³ In our view these words acquire a special significance relative to the present anti-war, democratic, and anti-monopoly movement in capitalist countries, a movement in which the communists play an important cementing role.

The generation of pre-war participants in the united front drew many lessons from the past. They left us an indisputable truth: had it not been for the split in the international working class, fascism would not have had its way and humankind would have saved the lives of the 55 million people who died in the war and from fascist persecution. A lesson of history is that it is necessary to act resolutely and opportunely against the imperialist policy of pressure and aggression, to cut it short at the very beginning. Another important lesson is that active opposition to anti-communism and anti-Sovietism is a guarantee of success in the struggle against imperialist reaction and fascism. It is only united action by all revolutionary, progressive, and democratic forces headed by the working class, Georgi Dimitrov never tired of saying, that can inflict a crushing defeat on imperialist policy, remove the threat of war, ensure peace and friendship among peoples, and make it possible to advance toward socialism.

Dimitrov's contribution to revolutionary theory and practice helps the communists in their efforts to unite the working class and the broadest possible democratic and peace forces in order to resolve the key issue of our day, namely, the preservation of peace and the promotion of social progress. The significance of the united front and the creative use and enrichment of its experience in the new historical conditions were emphasized in the documents of three international meetings of communist and workers' parties.

The importance of unity in the struggle of revolutionary, democratic, and peace forces for national independence, social progress, democracy and peace was forcefully reiterated in the 1970s at the conferences of communist par-

ties of European capitalist countries, the Arab nations, and Latin American states, and also at the conferences of European communist and workers' parties in Berlin (1976) and Paris (1980). When representatives of 115 communist, socialist, democratic, national liberation, and other parties, organizations and movements convened in Sofia on the occasion of the 90th anniversary of the birth of Georgi Dimitrov, they reaffirmed the urgency and unfading value of the strategy and tactics of united proletarian and popular fronts.

In our day the world communist movement has undergone a profound change, as has the make-up of the world. There is now a socialist community and a number of newly free nations have embarked upon the building of the new society. Communist parties exercise a greater influence in the decision of national and social problems in many industrialized capitalist countries, and the national liberation movement has won historic victories. The communists now bear a larger responsibility for the preservation of peace and the unity of the forces of progress. All the greater then is the importance of the ability to draw upon the experience of the past, assimilate it, and put it to creative use. We believe that today it is particularly important to be unshakably faithful to the principles of proletarian internationalism, of cohesion and unity of action by the revolutionary forces, which Georgi Dimitrov upheld by personal example.

Following the emergence of the socialist community, proletarian internationalism evolved into socialist internationalism, rising to a new level reflecting the further internationalization of social life. Our community is the leading force of world progress, while the interaction and solidarity of the socialist countries and the international communist and working-class movement with the peoples who have won liberation from colonial oppression comprise the basis and mainstay of proletarian internationalism.

Unity of action by revolutionary, democratic and peace forces has been and is one of the underlying principles of the international activity of the BCP, especially in resolving the main issue of the day, namely, how to avoid a thermonuclear war and preserve peace. The party of Dimitrov will continue to work with dedication to consolidate the unity of the communist movement and deepen cooperation with the revolutionary-democratic parties and movements, with all the progressive forces waging a struggle against imperialism and reaction, for freedom, independence, peace and social progress.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria is an inalienable part of the socialist community. It participates in coordinating the foreign policy line of fraternal states, and pursues a policy of peace, security and cooperation in Europe and the rest of the world. In keeping with the behests of their teacher, our party and government support the initiatives of the USSR and the Warsaw Treaty Organization, coming forward as a major factor of stability in the Balkans. Bulgaria has advanced many proposals for settling outstanding international issues.

The ideas and cause of Georgi Dimitrov call upon the communists, upon all the forces of progress and peace to secure a limitation of the arms race, assert the principles of peaceful co-existence, and ensure unity of action in the name of the ideals of peace and socialism. His legacy in the sphere of theory and revolutionary practice will live on in the struggle for a bright future for humankind.

1. Todor Zhivkov, "Priceless National Treasure" in *Recollections About Georgi Dimitrov*. Sofia, 1972, p. 13 (in Bulgarian).

2. In 1903 the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party split into two parties — the so-called broad (reformist), and close or Tesna (revolutionary) Socialists. In 1919 the Tesnyaks joined in forming the Communist International and proclaimed themselves the Bulgarian Communist Party. — Ed.

3. Georgi Dimitrov, *Works*, Vol. 5, Sofia, 1952, p. 495 (in Bulgarian).

4. *Ibid.*, p. 228.

5. This federation, which united the communist parties of Bulgaria, Greece, Romania, and Yugoslavia, operated within the framework and under the guidance of the Comintern. Its predecessor in the Balkan working-class movement was the Balkan Socialist Federation founded in 1910 by the social-democratic parties of the same countries. — Ed.

6. Georgi Dimitrov, *Works*, Vol. 10, Sofia, 1954, p. 53 (in Bulgarian).

7. Georgi Dimitrov, *Works*, Vol. 14, Sofia, 1955, p. 271 (in Bulgarian).

8. Georgi Dimitrov, *Works*, Vol. 10, p. 392 (in Bulgarian).

9. *Rabotnichesko delo*, February 12, 1982.

10. Georgi Dimitrov, *Works*, Vol. 11, Sofia, 1954, p. 129 (in Bulgarian).

11. Georgi Dimitrov, *Works*, Vol. 10, p. 55.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 56-57.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 57.

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Imperialism in Africa: stake on force

Semou Pathe Gueye

CC member, Party of Independence and Labor of Senegal,
WMR Editorial Council member

COMMENTARY

The African continent is now an arena of a large-scale multi-level counter-offensive by imperialism. The reasons for this are obvious, especially in view of the fact that, as modern history shows, imperialist aggressiveness tends sharply to increase whenever the peoples demonstrate in some form their intention of putting an end to exploitation and oppression.

The imperialists have been seriously alarmed by developments on the African scene over the past several years. After all, these ongoing developments, considered as a whole, make it possible to say without any exaggeration that, despite the retreats and some marking of time, despite the uneven development of countries themselves, the main tendency — *the inexorable growth of the revolutionary process in Africa* — remains in force. We are witnessing the collapse of the last few colonial bastions and the emergence of states resolutely declaring their choice in favor of socialism (despite many unfavorable objective circumstances, like the hard historical legacy, the hostile regional environment, etc.); the crisis of the neo-colonial state structures and the mounting drive by the patriotic and democratic forces winning ever greater influence among broad masses of people; and the ever greater urge of the peoples of the continent to fight for a radical restructuring of international economic relations on a just basis. The imperialists' attempts to put pressure on independent African countries are ever more frequently resisted on a continental scale, as will be seen from the important decisions adopted by the Organization of African Unity over the past several years.

Ever since the MPLA-Party of Labor in Angola, FRELIMO in Mozambique and the revolutionary leadership in Ethiopia began to lead their peoples along the way of strengthening national independence and economic and social progress, these countries, which have made a socialist choice, have been ceaselessly subjected to acts of aggression and destabilization. Imperialism is especially terrified over the events in the south of Africa, where a heroic

battle is under way for freedom, and against colonialism, racism and apartheid. The prospect of the inevitable defeat of the henchmen of reaction and its predictable and terrible consequences for imperialist strategy as a whole have sharply intensified fears in Washington, London and other centers of the capitalist world.

Finally, imperialism is extremely worried by the broad spread of the ideas of scientific socialism throughout our continent, as will be seen, in particular, from the growing influence of the communist parties in countries with neo-colonialist regimes. The African communists have been making an important contribution to the struggle for genuine national independence, democracy, social progress and peace. Neocolonialism is incapable of preventing the rise of forward-looking social forces even where they have never existed, and a further stepping up of liberation battles.

Such is the objective course of developments on our continent today, in defiance of the schemes and plans of the neo-colonialists. This kind of development is not, of course, a part of the plans of the enemies of the peoples rising to freedom: imperialism seeks to frustrate it in every way. Even before his election as president, Ronald Reagan eloquently demonstrated his anxiety over the process of change in Africa when he remarked that the African problem was a Russian gun pointed at the West, and added that he, personally, took a great interest in developments there and was even scared by them.¹

Alas, what is behind all this today is not just the feverish imagination of those who grieve the loss of the colonialist right to impose their will on others by means of force, but the policy of the major capitalist country of the world with respect to an entire continent. It is true that in the United States itself such a narrow-minded approach, which is a far cry from any sober consideration of African realities, above all of the entrenched racism in the south of the continent, does not meet with complete unanimity. Ronald Dellums, a U.S. congressman and a member of the Senate's Armed Services Com-

mittee, says that for the members of the present U.S. administration "Africa . . . is another place where we act out this grand struggle against the Soviet Union."² Nevertheless, this "global" approach, which ignores the truly burning African problems, has completely prevailed over common sense. The U.S. President and his entourage are aware of only one mythical problem which they seem to discern virtually everywhere, be it Africa, Asia or Latin America. "The Russians are coming" is the propaganda thesis about a "Soviet threat" that has become the most popular ideological stimulant in Washington.

But politics does not tolerate stimulants. It requires sobriety and an ability to see the world not only in terms of black and white, but in its diversity, including all the existing and developing realities. Incidentally, thinking in primitive categories, global, or to be precise, geopolitical categories, has ceased to be a prerogative of the leaders who are at the helm in capitalist America. Men of a more common run, like mercenaries, have also learned to operate successfully with such categories. A member of a pirate gang which intended to overthrow the patriotic government of Albert Rene in the Seychelles declared flatly in an interview with a South African newspaper: if the operation succeeded, "it would have altered the whole balance of power in the Indian Ocean to the benefit of the entire Western world." We find that even the "dogs of war" recruited from the riff-raff regard their dirty work as just falling short of messianism aimed to rescue capitalist civilization.

Let us see what the application of geopolitical propositions under the imperialist line means for Africa in concrete terms. First of all, the cold-war period conception which regarded the African and Asian countries as the outposts of imperialist defense is being revived in a new form. In countries with regimes suitable to the United States and its NATO allies a chain of staging military bases is being built up for use by the 200,000-strong U.S. rapid deployment force, the material is being stockpiled to be used in the event of possible invasions of sovereign states. The United States has already managed to obtain bases in Kenya, Somalia, Egypt, and the Sudan, and is negotiating for such bases in Morocco and other countries. Just as Israel is the mainstay of U.S. imperialism in the Middle East, racist South Africa performs the same role of regional gendarme in the South of Africa, with Washington's blessings. It tramples on the peoples' freedom and rights and threatens aggression, above all against the "front-line" states.

The goal of imperialist strategy is to be the "rolling back of communism," which allegedly not only poses an "external threat," but is also capable of undermining from the inside the regimes connected with imperialism. References to the "communist menace" are being used in such cases in an effort to justify aggressive acts against the liberation movement.

There is a growing danger of ever broader aggression designed for destabilization and the forcible overthrow of governments of sovereign states rejecting alien diktat. Some military specialists predict that, following Angola and Ethiopia, subsequent invasions could be mounted against Ghana, Libya, Madagascar, Zanzibar and the Seychelles once again. Let us note that all these countries are not only in the front line of the struggle against racism and neocolonialism, but are also situated in the key strategic points which imperialism needs to realize its sinister plans for domination over Africa and other regions of the globe.

Imperialist strategy is now using, more extensively than ever before in the past, the complexities of the situation in a number of regions of our continent, while the policy being pursued by the neocolonialists goes to complicate the situation further. The legacy of colonialism is being overcome with great difficulty. Experience shows that complications in interstate relations on the basis of territorial disputes are not ruled out, while territorial claims by some states on others could now and again develop into serious collisions or even wars. There is a danger of separatist attempts, especially since the process of national and state consolidation tends to run into considerable difficulties in countries inhabited by many ethnic groups and tribes and separated by religious and various other local-interest barriers.

How difficult the way of a young African state is today will be seen from the example of the Republic of Chad, a country with a population of four million lying in the very heart of Africa. After nearly two decades of fighting neocolonialism, which subsequently developed into a civil war, the prospect of normalization first appeared there by the beginning of the 1980s. The positions of the central government headed by the President of the Republic Gukuni Oueddi and Chad's independence have been strengthened and the positions of the rebel troops, supported by the Sudanese and Egyptian regimes and external imperialist forces, have been pushed back. But the destiny of this long-suffering country has now once again become a source of alarm in Africa and throughout the world. A contingent of troops called an inter-African force which is

provided with material and technical aid by France and the United States has been sent into the country. The imperialists are aiming to impose a "peaceful settlement" on the Republic that would make it possible to bring their agent Hissen Habre onto the political scene once again. The rebels he leads have been getting all kinds of aid from the United States and have once again captured a number of strategically important areas. Of course, the imperialists are not worried about the destiny of the people of Chad; they are attracted by the country's vast natural wealth and its strategic position on the borders of Libya, Nigeria, the Sudan and other states which could be advantageously converted into a bridgehead for fighting the liberation revolutions in Africa.

The line of forcibly resisting the liberation movement of the Africans is now assuming the most diverse forms. This includes outright aggression, as has already been said, and the balancing on the brink of armed intervention, which is the way the Reagan administration is behaving with respect to anti-imperialist Libya; economic and military pressure is being exerted on it, and this threatens not only the countries' sovereignty, but is also fraught with the danger of another major armed conflict in the Middle East. This policy is also being pursued in an indirect form: for instance, large consignments of U.S. weapons are to be delivered to Libya's neighbors — Egypt, the Sudan, Tunisia and Morocco. A spokesman of the POLISARIO Front told a recent press conference in Nairobi about the presence of U.S. military advisers with the Moroccan troops in Western Sahara, where the Sahraoui people are fighting to assert their right to self-determination. Washington's militaristic activity threatens a dangerous escalation in North Africa, is designed to bolster the camp of the local regimes connected with neocolonialism and is aimed to weaken the national liberation movement in this region. As a result, there is growing tension and a danger of confrontation between countries with different socio-political orientations. The bourgeois press has even mooted the possibility of an "internationalization of conflicts," whether in Western Sahara or Chad.

The imperialists' arms deliveries to reactionary regimes, like the whole of their policy aimed to involve some countries of the continent in one form or another in the imperialist mechanism for the material preparation of war are fraught not only with a growth of regional tension and complication of relations among neighboring states. This kind of policy infringes on the national sovereignty and inde-

pendence of countries and governments involved within the orbit of the aggressive schemes of imperialism and impels them to conduct a debilitating arms race, which falls as a heavy burden on their backward economies. In these countries, realization of the cherished hopes and the aspirations of the masses for a happy and peaceful future and for social justice are being postponed indefinitely. That is why the broad worldwide movement for peace, disarmament and détente has met with a growing response among the African peoples, which have demonstrated their resolute opposition to the policy of imperialism, Zionism, racism and apartheid.

Ever since the failure of the attempts at a neocolonialist solution first in Angola and then in Zimbabwe, and their obvious lack of success in Namibia, the stake on force has inevitably emerged as the main element of the whole imperialist line in the South of Africa as well. While encouraging the racist aggression against Angola and the other neighboring states, U.S. imperialism has consciously distorted the meaning of the struggle going on there, interpreting it in the terms of a "world" confrontation between the "free West" and a "communist East."

Washington's logic on these issues was presented by a British journal, *New African*, as follows: "In the context of Southern Africa, Angola is the East in the American mind, while racist South Africa finds itself in the Western camp. The Reagan administration apparently feels it has a duty to destroy the Angolan revolution before it has a chance to grow. What the Americans fear most is an independent Namibia with what they see as a Marxist government existing side by side with another, stronger, Marxist state (Angola) and not far from a third in Mozambique, with Zimbabwe, of whom they are still deeply suspicious, in the middle. In this scenario, the West loses its grip on Southern Africa, South Africa soon falls prey to the same Marxist contagion and the whole thing becomes a sort of Soviet empire."³

In this way efforts are made to implant in the mass consciousness the myth of a mortal danger to the "free world" as a result of the spread of "communist" domination to the southern tip of the African continent. Actually, the situation there is a source of tremendous alarm for very different reasons. The tilt to force in imperialist policy has been most pronounced every since racist South Africa frustrated the implementation of Security Council Resolution No. 435 on Namibia, providing for an end to the occupation regime in the country and its attainment of independence.

Encouraged by Washington, the racists have behaved more brazenly than ever before: acts of aggression, destabilization, and sabotage are being mounted virtually against all of South Africa's neighbors — Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Zimbabwe. At the recent conference of the "front-line" states in Maputu, it was pointed out that Pretoria's occupation of Angola's southern areas and its support for the puppets from the pro-imperialist UNITA outfit are designed to create an international precedent which could apply not only to Angola but also to any other state in the region. This will be seen from the stepped up activity of the racists' agents in Mozambique, Lesotho, Zimbabwe and other countries where the apartheid regime would like to install its own henchmen in place of the legitimate governments.

As for Angola, the United States is no longer content with its semi-official support of the UNITA gangs, and their chieftain Savimbi is now being received in Washington on head-of-state level. Plans are being fostered for reviving yet another anti-popular grouping, the FNLA, which used to be led by Holden Roberto, another traitor. Neocolonialist and unconcealed military pressure is being exerted on the country. Before last year was out, South Africa carried out 100 bombings, 53 troops landings and occupation acts against Angolan territory and more than 1,500 reconnaissance flights. There have also been fresh large-scale incursions just lately. The racists have made broad use of toxic substances in the area of military operations.

This fit of bellicosity springs from South Africa's urge to make the "front-line" states more docile and willing to accept terms for the solution of the Namibian problem that would give power to a regime suitable to the imperialist powers. The activity of the well-known "contact group" for Namibia⁴ has also, objectively, played into Pretoria's hands; the diplomacy of the "contact group" is clearly one-sided: concessions are being made mainly to the racists, to the detriment of SWAPO, the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people. The recent proposals of the "contact group" are designed for a "settlement" under which the positions of the local white minority would remain intact. These proposals provide, for instance, for a tricky procedure for elections to Namibia's Constituent Assembly, under a "one man, two votes" system and an artificial division of the territory into electoral districts — all for the purpose of additionally getting more puppets into the legislative body and undermining SWAPO's positions. The im-

perialists are aware that SWAPO is bound to win if the elections are truly free and democratic. But that is precisely what they want to prevent. The latest scenario proposed by the "contact group" is no more than a rehash of the above-mentioned ones, and makes no change in substance.

Freedom-loving Africa has rejected the neocolonialist moves. The OAU Council of Ministers' session held in February of this year condemned the attempts by the "contact group" to depart from the Security Council resolution, which is the only basis for a settlement of the Namibia issue, and demanded its immediate and unconditional fulfillment. The participants in the session called on the "contact group" to cease any form of cooperation with the racists. A conference of the leaders of the "front-line" states which met after that, stated with satisfaction that, in response to Pretoria's punitive operations, the people of Namibia, under SWAPO's leadership, have been intensifying their national liberation struggle, and that in racist South Africa itself the masses, led by the African National Congress, have been stepping up their strike movement and armed acts against the apartheid regime.

However, the threat to freedom and peace in Southern Africa remains. Having assigned to Pretoria the functions of a regional gendarme, the imperialists, above all the ruling circles of the United States, have abetted its present strategy in the region. The racists believe that an offensive is the best defense, and so more and more new states on the continent are being turned into the objectives of undeclared war. With direct assistance from the imperialist powers, there is a rapid build-up of the military potential of racist South Africa, where a military-nuclear program is being carried out in collaboration with Israel. According to some reports, both these countries already have nuclear weapons. The U.S. congressman Dellums, for instance, has declared: "I don't think South Africa is above using nuclear weapons, if they felt threatened by a united Black African challenge."⁵

Actually, however, it is the racist regime that has issued a challenge to the continent and to the whole of humankind. Its nuclear plans cannot but worry the peoples of Africa, especially in the light of the U.S. imperialist circles' conceptions according to which it is possible to fight "limited" nuclear wars. The "Group of 77" which consists of more than 120 less developed states, has advocated negotiations on effective measures to halt the nuclear arms race and to bring about nuclear disarmament, while

the overwhelming majority of the African countries have issued calls from the UN rostrum on all states urging them to regard the continent of Africa and the surrounding islands as a nuclear-free zone. Warnings have also repeatedly been sounded from the same rostrum that Pretoria's nuclear program poses a tremendous threat to international peace and security and increases the danger of a further spread of nuclear weapons. Finally, the Organization of African Unity has itself convincingly demonstrated its determination to turn Africa into a region free from the nuclear threat.

The way to genuine national independence and peace is a hard one, and the main obstacle to this is the imperialist presence on our continent, South Africa's undeclared aggression against independent states, its colonialist and neocolonialist ambitions, and the simmering inner-African conflicts which are being fanned by the United States and other NATO powers with the connivance of the reactionary regimes. But as in any other part of the globe, the peoples here yearn for a life in peace, they are fully resolved to put an end to oppression and exploitation, and demand a halt to the imperialist intervention which threatens to involve the African countries in a global confrontation on the side of the forces of international reaction and war. In order to block intervention and indirect pressure by means of economic "aid" instruments, especially with respect to those who refuse to bow to the will of the imperialists, forward-looking and democratic Africa has increasingly turned to the policy of cooperation, mutual assistance and solidarity.

A striking manifestation of this tendency is the growing cooperation between the newly liberated states not only in the political, but also in the economic sphere on a regional and continental basis. The arrangement of economic ties between them is accelerating. In the first half of this year, several highly important functions have already been held, among them a meeting of the energy ministers of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference, and a meeting of 16 states of Eastern and Southern Africa, which adopted a four-year program for cooperation in agriculture, industry, trade and the use of manpower and natural resources. The latter's communiqué emphasized the need for pooling efforts to create a metallurgical industry, and build complexes for the production of fertilizers, foodstuffs and the processing of timber. A decision has been taken to set up inter-national research centers to study methods for the most rational use of mineral and energy resources. A number

of major plans for economic development within a continental framework, like the laying of a trans-Saharan artery, are being implemented.

A fundamentally important aspect of the growing regional and continental cooperation in the economic sphere is its anti-neocolonialist, liberatory tenor. The urge for economic independence is quite clearly, even if in varying degree, evident in the acts of the African countries with different orientations. It is not accidental at all that the review of the old policy of external economic ties oriented exclusively toward the capitalist world has gone hand in hand with the growth of economic contacts with the socialist community countries, which have established a reputation for themselves not only as reliable trade partners, but also as allies in the struggle for genuine independence and socio-economic progress. This will be seen, in particular, from the Soviet assistance to Nigeria in building a large metallurgical plant, and the large-scale plans for constructive and mutually advantageous cooperation between the CMEA countries and Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia.

It is true that there are still many African states which remain on the sidelines of these processes, captive to the externally imposed relations of economic and political dependence, something that promotes the reproduction of the imperialist policy of partitioning the continent into "backyards." In this way, a part of the African countries are prevented from diversifying their economic contacts, although this is something that objectively accords with their national interests. But on the whole the situation has been changing in a positive direction.

Africa's urge for freedom, peace and economic and social progress has met with broad support in the international arena, in the socialist and newly liberated states of other continents, and from democratic opinion in the capitalist world. This cannot but have an effect on the behavior of capitalist governments. It is symptomatic that France and the FRG have established contacts with SWAPO and want to extend economic ties with Angola and Mozambique, even if in doing so they have an axe to grind. The French socialists and the West German social democrats cannot remain indifferent at a time when South Africa's unlawful and inhuman policy is condemned by the whole of democratic opinion in their own countries. Capitalist Europe is now forced to reckon, in one way or another, with the aspirations of the peoples of the African continent. In the light of this, all the more sinister,

anachronistic and defiant of common sense appears the stand taken by those imperialist circles, notably in the United States, who in alliance with the racists and local reaction, would like to reverse the wheel of history by turning our continent into an arena of confrontation, armed conflicts and even of a nuclear "clash."

Africa, seeking freedom, justice and peace, has no intention of closing its eyes to the machinations of its enemies and is putting up resistance. The imperialists are responsible for the difficulties which hamper it in even more resolutely moving toward the construction of an independent economy and the establishment of full control over its natural resources and all-round realization of the peoples' sover-

eign rights. But we are sure that history will testify that no one will be able to divert the countries of the continent from the highroad of genuine national liberation and social emancipation, the highroad of consistent struggle for independence, democracy, social progress and peace, which the African peoples have been carrying on shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries, and with all those who cherish the ideals of freedom and justice.

1. *Africa Report*, July-August 1980, p. 4.
2. Quoted in *New African*, November 1981, p. 55.
3. *New African*, February 1982, p. 27.
4. The "contact group" includes the United States, France, Canada, Britain and the FRG.
5. *New African*, November 1981, p. 55.



Turbulent times in a "quiet" country

Rene Mauge
General Secretary,
Communist Party of Ecuador

COMMUNIST CONGRESSES

Growing tensions in Latin America are a source of public concern the world over. There are many hot spots, and so it is no wonder that a "quiet" country such as Ecuador is in what may be called the background of the regional panorama. However, events of recent years have shown that Ecuador is not immune from the more acute problems of the continent.

Early last year the Cordilleras resounded with the echo of cannonade in the Ecuadoran-Peruvian border area. A decades-long border dispute had developed into an armed conflict. The actual instigator of the incident, U.S. imperialism, was not hard to detect. The Ecuadoran-Peruvian clash was not merely a new instance of border war provoked by the Pentagon in Latin America. The conflict pursued far-reaching aims — undermining President Roldos' progressive foreign policy, neutralizing the Andean Pact,* settling for good the issues of the 200-mile coastal economic area in favor of U.S. monopolies, pene-

trating into the disputed Cordillera del Condor area rich in minerals and, last but not least, stepping up the arms race in the interest of the military-industrial complex.

The military conflagration in the Andes was extinguished somehow but never since then has Ecuador been able to return to a peaceful life. President Roldos lost his life in obscure circumstances. He had deeply irritated the White House by helping Central American revolutionaries, maintaining friendly relations with Cuba and "too close" ties with socialist countries, and so on. It took the new President, Osvaldo Hurtado Larrea, a few months to "put things right." Assistance to national liberation movements was stopped, relations with Havana were spoiled and agreements on co-operation with socialist countries shelved. Differences among bourgeois parties as well as among their men in the government, already sharp, became sharper still and discord set in among the top rulers. All this was coupled with a steady decline in the standard of living and an equally steady upturn in popular discontent.

There is every reason to expect substantial changes in Ecuador in the foreseeable future. Accordingly, the 10th congress of the Communist Party of Ecuador (late 1981), devoted

*Subregional economic alignment formed by Bolivia, Venezuela, Colombia, Peru and Ecuador in 1969 to strengthen the economic potential of the member countries and limit the influence of foreign capital. — Ed.

special attention to the domestic situation. What do the communists see as typical of it?

In February 1972, power in Ecuador was taken over by the military. The new regime declared that it would prevent the small number of privileged families and individuals from appropriating the fruits of the nation's efforts and its wealth, which should serve the people. Conditions for achieving this objective seemed to be shaping favorably. In a country traditionally famed for sugar cane and bananas (a fame shared by any country of the region), oil, gas, uranium and other minerals were found; they became a powerful catalyst of economic development. Industry showed appreciable growth at the time, the infrastructure began to develop at a brisk pace and a fairly strong state sector came into being. A major enterprise, the Ecuadoran State Oil Corporation, was set up; it is the mainstay of this important industry. Transnationals promptly took advantage of this trend to reach out for the country's resources. It was not very long before they carried their expansion into all economic and political spheres. Industrial development gave rise to domestic monopolies. These are mostly mixed enterprises of national and foreign monopoly capital, with foreign companies holding the greater part of the shares. Ecuador was not allowed to abandon the cheerless if well-trodden path of dependent capitalism.

That was when an unexpected circumstance emerged — scientists discovered that the country's oil reserves are limited and may run out in the next decade, cutting off the flow of petrodollars. When this happened how was the country to pay its enormous foreign debt which swallows an annual 25 per cent of budget allocations? How to manage an economy left without fuels and lubricants? The outcome of all sorts of booms and the euphoria they lead to is well known from history. The government flatters itself that the oil prospectors working on the littoral will soon strike new oil. If no fresh oil gushes, the result will be something more than a devaluation of the sucre, one of Latin America's most durable currencies (it has been stable for 25 years). The economic failure that would inevitably ensue would confront the country with a choice between fascist dictatorship and revolution.

Substantial economic and socio-political changes have occurred in Ecuador since oil, gas and other minerals were found. Rapid economic growth and an abrupt shift of the emphasis from some branches to others have caused profound changes in the social composition of society. The proportion of the peasantry

has decreased in 10 years from 68 to 52 per cent, the rural proletariat still exceeds its industrial counterpart to a notable extent. The liberation from semi-serfdom bondage brought about by the agrarian reform has not delivered the peasantry from landlessness, poverty and hunger. Landed proprietors still control vast tracts of land. They get the lion's share of the credits granted by the National Development Bank while the majority of peasants have no such means and those who cannot pay their debts because of a bad crop or low prices for their output are put behind bars. Under dependent capitalism, not all who are "free" from land can find a job with landed proprietors or kulaks — far from it. The result is a massive exodus to the towns, where only a few manage to find employment while the rest become marginal people, the largest population group in Ecuador today, a group made up of hungry, sick and disinherited outcasts. Two-thirds of the 1,200,000 inhabitants of Guayaquil, one of the biggest cities, are marginal people, mostly from the countryside, seeking their fortune.

However, townspeople who have jobs are not much better off. Nor is this because the price of sugar went up recently by another 40 per cent. The prices of other staples, too, have been rising fast. Apart from the disastrous effects of the impending crisis and the lack of housing and elementary amenities, tranquillity and security are surely out of the question since there is a huge army of jobless people willing to replace the "lucky" ones at a machine or behind the counter for a mere pittance.

A notable proportion of the urban population are handicraftsmen and the faster industry grows, the greater the losses they incur. Some of them contrive to make a career as small employers but the majority are doomed to be ruined and to sink to the bottom of society. Office employees, who are close to the proletariat in living and working conditions as well as in methods of organization and struggle, are ruthlessly exploited. The condition of intellectuals — both technological personnel and members of the professions — is deteriorating.

The bourgeoisie, which is far from homogeneous as a class, has undergone substantial changes. The oligarchy, represented by the financial bourgeoisie, big industrialists, bankers and merchants, has built up its power. Financial magnates who have made fabulous fortunes lay claim, not without reason, to a leading position. The oligarchy, including latifundium owners, feels quite comfortable under the protection of foreign monopoly capi-

tal, on which it depends entirely and which it is ready to serve unquestioningly.

The armed forces play by tradition an important role in national politics. They are something of a barometer showing the "weather" that may be expected. In the early 70s the predominance of patriotic sentiments, which spread among army officers under the influence of the Peruvian military supporting General Juan Velasco Alvarado, preceded the onset of a period of progressive change. The removal of progressive officers from the army in the mid-70s resulted in a cooling of the political climate. The democratic trend in the armed forces was ended. The regime neutralized the organizers and inspirers of the 1972 coup; some of them were discharged or transferred to the reserve, others were appointed military attachés in various countries and still others had to take up posts in out-of-the-way places from which they can exert no real influence on politics. As a result, the Ecuadoran armed forces have no democratic wing today and one may only speak of individual progressives.

The military triumvirate which in 1976 ousted General Rodrigues Lara not only set out to destroy all the positive that had been accomplished by the previous government but hastened to carry out a reactionary reform of the law on army personnel to bring into being a caste-like, élitist army.

Taking advantage of the recent clash with Peru, the Ecuadoran military began to talk about the need to arm more without delay and to find someone who would offer the country his tutelage. Casting about for a candidate, the government sent President Hurtado to Brazil. It is a historical paradox that Ecuador thus solicited the protection of a country which had seized a huge part of Ecuadoran territory. The Brazilian President assured Hurtado that he would not leave him in the lurch.

This promise is pretty abstract, unlike the very concrete economic concessions wrested from the Ecuadoran government and immediately put to use by the Brazilian government. A tariff agreement lifts duties on 53 items of which only 11 are made in Ecuador. Agreement has been reached in principle on putting San Lorenzo, a deep-water port on the Pacific coast of Ecuador, at the disposal of Brazil. When this agreement goes into effect it will give Brazil access to the vast market of the area. Lastly, Brazil, a country poor in fuels, is to be supplied with oil at lower prices than are exacted on the world market. Besides, it will have no problem with delivery, for Ecuadoran vessels will carry it at low freight. True, the potential defender must pay for oil in something

more than promises. And so Ecuadoran vessels return to their home ports carrying Brazilian arms. Early this year an agreement was signed on the delivery of 300 million dollars' worth of Brazilian arms to Ecuador. A modest 20 per cent of this amount will go to generals whose pockets are bulging indecorously with money as it is.

The top military has made a handsome fortune in the past decade. As a result, there are now many nouveaux riches — big industrialists and stockholders — among army officers of middle and high rank. Today's Ecuadoran general is a typical millionaire. The Ecuadoran army can no longer be regarded as merely the shield and sword of the bourgeoisie, for it is associated most directly with the economy and is thrusting deeper and deeper into it, and directly controls the state apparatus. This means that defense of the bourgeois order has become self-defense and a vital cause of the present-day Ecuadoran military.

Changes in the economic and social structures of Ecuadoran society, the 10th CPE congress stressed, have led to changes in home policy. Ecuador is a bourgeois democracy under constitutional rule. Its government bodies have grown stronger in the last years. One reason for this is that the partial nationalization of the oil industry has earned the state a great deal of money. However, an excessive officialdom serving reactionary interests and carrying on an anti-popular policy is obviously no factor for the prosperity of the nation. The working people's interests were hit hardest of all by the enactment of a national security law drafted according to recipes of the Pentagon and neo-fascist theorists of Latin America. Control over the activity of political parties was tightened. New laws contain anti-democratic provisions whose purpose is to guarantee the hegemony of organizations representing big capital. Speaking generally, the whole legal system was recast in the interest of the more reactionary sectors of the oligarchy and transnationals.

The political parties of Ecuador are understandably involved in the ongoing processes. Some parties, such as the traditional Liberal Radical and Conservative parties or the Revolutionary Nationalist Party, which tries to dissemble its oligarchic aspirations, are losing ground; other parties, mostly reformist ones, hope to succeed. Jostling against one another as they scramble up the political ladder, the bourgeois parties change places so often that it is all but impossible to say which of them is on the highest rung at the moment. The balance of forces varies from one election campaign to

another and there can be no question of a permanent, undisputed leader. The elections set for 1984 prompt all political alignments to seek support among diverse population groups, with parties hurriedly touching up their tactics and programs, looking for new allies and doing their best to discredit rivals beforehand. The chain reaction of splits and the formation of innumerable new political organizations and groupings, which began in the 60s, is continuing. Whatever the distinctions, their tactics are alike in that they pay lip-service to the people's interests while striving to preserve the class domination of the bourgeoisie.

However, these are no sunny days for the left, either. The Revolutionary Socialist Party, which had sprung up as the result of a split in the Socialist Party, recently broke up into several factions. Also operating in the country are the Second Independence Movement, Left Christian Movement and other groups, including Trotskyist and Maoist ones.

The Communist Party of Ecuador is, now as before, the only organization consistently defending the working people's interests and backed reliably by the masses. The 10th CPE congress, a memorable event in national politics, examined the situation in the country and set the party new tasks.

The congress pointed out that the working class, which has lately grown both numerically and organizationally, has carried out a series of important actions in support of specific demands and put forward a unity program meeting the interests of the whole nation. The main points of the program are nationalization of oil, electric power, foreign banks and foreign trade, an agrarian reform, and a policy of peace and friendship between countries based on equality.

A major achievement is that the country's three national trade union centers have reached mutual understanding and set up a Workers' Unity Front as a result. It is common knowledge that Ecuadoran employers and imperialism spare no resources in trying to split the trade union movement. They get a good deal of help from ultra-leftist groupings, including groupings of a Maoist or Trotskyist type. The communists' most important tasks include resistance to divisive and liquidationist trends in the trade unions as well as to economism, bureaucratic practices and ideological subversion.

We believe greater attention should be given to handicraftsmen, who realize more and more that their destiny is linked with that of the working class and its party. The 10th congress also called for the early organization and co-

ordination of actions by transport workers, teachers, office employees, building workers, housewives and inhabitants of marginal neighborhoods.

The peasants demand a democratic agrarian reform providing for the transfer of land to them as well as for other changes in rural Ecuador. The peasant movement is plagued by disunity of action and the existence of numerous trade union centers. To strengthen the movement is an urgent problem and after it has been solved, it will be necessary to achieve organizational unity and strengthen the alliance with the working class and other working people.

The communists are particularly strong in the coastal areas, on banana and sugar-cane plantations, where wage labor has been used from of old. The peasants there are grouped in trade unions and many of them belong to the CPE. In Guayas Province alone, we have 105 peasant party branches. But the situation is different in the mountain area, or the "Andean side-street," where the foundations of a semi-feudal system are only just beginning to crumble and most peasants are downtrodden, indigent, illiterate and politically backward Indians. The positions of the CPE (as, indeed, those of other organizations) are still weak there. The class enemy, however, has devised forms enabling him to gain influence and hamper the unification and struggle of Indians. Numerous Protestant sects operating as imperialist outposts thrive in these areas. Until recently the Summer Linguistic Institute, a notorious CIA subsidiary, was engaged in subversive activities among Indians; it was expelled by a decree of the late President Roldos. The 10th congress urged the communists to evolve a clear-cut policy toward the Indians and to carry it on with due regard to the peculiarities involved.

In 1984, all illiterate Ecuadorans will vote for the first time. As this means that the vast mass of Indians will participate in elections, the political parties may be expected to begin contending for the Indians' "souls" any moment now, nor will it be an easy contest. The entire political situation may change according to how the Indians vote.

A further unsolved political problem facing us is the marginal population. The two biggest cities, Guayaquil and Quito, are surrounded by a belt of plywood hovels and cane huts. They are affected by the worst evils of capitalist society — unemployment, crime, drug addiction. No party can claim that it has a reliable following among the slum people or is in a position to lead them. Our work is compounded by the fact

that this environment is badly infected with anti-communism. Many of the slum people are typical lumpen-proletarians. Frankly speaking, our party did nothing in these areas for a long time. At present we are trying to establish some contacts through proletarians closest to marginal people.

I believe we have made a modest beginning. We have come to realize that the population of marginal areas is no amorphous mass as it might seem at first sight. It is wrestling with numerous difficulties. Housing is one of its biggest problems. Seizing land, securing "building materials" and defending hovels against police are all activities in which we could be helpful. It has been noticed that when major political events occur in the country and the class struggle reaches a high degree of intensity, marginal people, too, take to the streets. Their actions, organized and led by nobody, generally end in defeat. But they can fight. We think comrades from fraternal parties who have useful experience in this field would do well to tell about it in the journal.

In any revolutionary movement, the paramount question is the road to follow. We Ecuadoran communists know by experience that we must neither make an absolute of a particular form or method of struggle, nor underestimate it. These depend not only on the given situation or the revolutionaries' wishes but on the activity of reaction and imperialism. For example, the communists' participation in the armed uprising on May 28, 1944 was justified and brought success. But it was wrong to include in the CPE program in 1960 (under pressure from an ultra-leftist group which afterwards broke away from the party) a provision saying that the Ecuadoran revolution would only follow a non-peaceful road. In accordance with this provision and in deference to advocates of the concept of "hotbed war," the CPE boycotted the 1963 elections, organized armed clashes with government troops and carried out military actions in cities. These actions had no chance of succeeding. On the contrary, the regime imposed a reactionary dictatorship and tried to justify its brutality by referring, among other things, to the Communist Party's violent tactics. The CPE and other working people's organizations were outlawed and our party has yet to recover completely from the effects of that crackdown.

The thesis of the inevitability of armed struggle has lately been gaining in popularity under the impact of developments in Nicaragua and El Salvador. This also finds reflection in Ecuador. Some left-wing parties simply see no

point in election campaigning. But we consider this approach unwarranted.

The 10th congress defined the current stage as a period of mustering forces and described as the main task facing us the struggle for the promotion of democracy even if it is limited. As matters stand, the destruction of bourgeois democracy would by no means further the victory of the revolution but would, on the contrary, pave the way for a putsch leading to a reactionary military dictatorship. The communists' task today is to work for the formation of a broad front to participate in the coming election campaign.

Our strategy is aimed at uniting all anti-imperialist, democratic and patriotic forces in the name of a national liberation revolution. In striving for unity, we must build up the CPE as well as preserve and strengthen relations with all left-wing organizations. The CPE, a relatively small party, is the most consistent and ideologically mature force equal, as left-wingers see it, to uniting them to form a single whole. When the Socialist Party of Ecuador called for the unification of the left to the exclusion of the CPE no potential party to the proposed alliance responded, saying that forming such an alliance without the communists was unthinkable. In fact, the influence of the CPE is greater than its numerical strength suggests; our party is the decisive political force in the Confederation of Workers of Ecuador, Federation of Agricultural Workers of the Littoral and Ecuadoran Federation of Indians. We also influence the student movement. However, recognition of the communists' important role does not at all imply that other organizations are willing to concede the CPE the role of vanguard of the revolution.

Groupings that have nothing in common with the left but have usurped names and slogans used by it do much harm to left-wing forces. Recently the Maoist "Marxist-Leninist" Party wormed its way into the Electoral Register;* it used communist slogans and secured the support of the Popular Democratic Movement, an alignment formed on the initiative of the CIA and fulfilling assignments of the Ecuadoran secret police. We have evolved a perfectly precise criterion to the effect that it is not enough for a party to declare itself vanguard, for it must actually become a vanguard. Besides, inasmuch as the Ecuadoran revolution will be national, anti-imperialist, democratic and, lastly, agrarian, it is bound to involve the most diverse forces ranging from the working

*Officially approved list of parties authorized to nominate candidates for election. — Ed.

class to some sectors of the bourgeoisie. The communists' approach is based on a policy of broad alliances excluding no one from the revolutionary process.

We have already gained some positive experience. A Broad Left Front was established during the previous general election. We must go on strengthening bilateral relations with other progressive parties. Our activity should not be restricted to cooperation with Marxist-type organizations. It may extend to reformist currents, the aim being joint struggle to democratize society and improve the people's condition while combating every attempt at a coup. It is important to seek at least minimum agreement on ideological issues, for experience has shown that alliance with forces engaged in divisive, anti-communist and anti-Soviet activities never leads to success.

The 10th congress called for the transformation of the CPE into a militant mass party based on the organizational and ideological

principles of Marxism-Leninism, a party that can honorably fulfil its historic mission. The destiny of this party will be linked by durable bonds with the destiny of the working class, of the people, of the Ecuadoran nation as a whole. Our party will win the role of vanguard in everyday struggle, by evolving tactics on the basis of an in-depth and strictly scientific analysis of national and world realities, which are complex and contradictory and change continuously. To this end we must gain greater competence in combining courage with prudence, loyalty to principle with maximum flexibility, and the greatest devotion to communist ideals with the ability to compromise where necessary.

The organizational strength and keen political awareness of the Communist Party of Ecuador, the cohesion of its ranks, and its close links with the working class and other working people will enable our party to lead the people's struggle to final and complete victory.

What it takes to be a revolutionary

David Khenin

Political Bureau member, CC Secretary
Communist Party of Israel

THE CHARACTER OF A COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION

"It is not difficult to be a revolutionary when revolution has already broken out and is in spate, when all people are joining the revolution just because they are carried away, because it is the vogue, and sometimes even from careerist motives . . . It is far more difficult — and far more precious — to be a revolutionary when the conditions for direct, open, really mass and really revolutionary struggle do not yet exist, to be able to champion the interests of the revolution (by propaganda, agitation and organization) in non-revolutionary bodies, and quite often in downright reactionary bodies, in a non-revolutionary situation, among the masses who are incapable of immediately appreciating the need for revolutionary methods of action" (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 97).

What it takes to be a revolutionary. What does it mean in the conditions prevailing in our country, the conditions which have many points in common with the conditions described by Lenin in the above excerpt from *Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder*?

What do we imply when we characterize the Communist Party of Israel as a party of patriotism and proletarian internationalism? I should like to comment on some aspects of these questions in connection with the discussion in *WMR* of the features of a modern communist organization.¹

Throughout its history our party has had to contend with enormous difficulties. Bad as they were, the conditions under which it functioned deteriorated markedly after the war of June 1967. For 15 years now Israel has occupied seized Arab lands and has been intensively pursuing a policy of annexation. The Knesset has enacted laws on the annexation of the Arab part of Jerusalem and the Golan Heights to Israel. In the occupied territories, colonial settlements are being established at an increasing pace, while toward the local inhabitants the policy is one of repression and suppression. The course toward continued occupation and territorial expansion has been manifesting itself in particularly extremist forms since the Likud bloc headed by Menachem Begin came to power. To implement this course the government needs the relevant background

and it is doing everything to foster an atmosphere of anti-Arab nationalism and clerical mysticism and promote anti-Soviet and anti-communist feeling in the country.

The policy of aggression pursued by the ruling circles is aggravating Israel's social and economic problems. Military spending amounts to nearly two-thirds of the state budget,² the inflation rate is one of the highest in the world (101 per cent in 1981), and unemployment is growing (5.5 per cent in 1981). The government and its backers have begun an all-out assault on the living standard and social gains of the working class and are discriminating against the Arab population and the Jewish oriental communities.

How does our party respond to this socio-political situation and what options is it proposing?

An accurate analysis, a sure policy

The prime element of a correct, scientific policy and the ensuing principled, firm line of the communists is an analysis of realities from Marxist-Leninist class positions. This is the only approach that can guarantee an accurate assessment of the situation and produce explicit answers to complex problems, help to resolve the nationalities question above all, and lucidly define the party's immediate and strategic aims.

The CPI was the only political force in Israel which opposed the 1967 war of aggression. The communists were the first people to demand withdrawal from all occupied lands, the granting to the Arab people of Palestine of the right to self-determination and the establishment of their own independent state alongside the State of Israel, and also recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Today these demands have ceased to be a monopoly of the communists. They have been adopted by ever-growing sections of Israeli society, including people belonging to parties that officially deny the rights of the Palestinians.

The main provisions of the CPI's peace plan are laid down in the fundamental lines of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality. This front, set up in 1977 on our party's initiative, embraces, apart from the communists, the Black Panther organization, the Left Socialists, civic personalities, Arab mayors, leaders of the Union of Arab Students, the Druse Initiative Committee, workers, farmers and intellectuals. At the CPI's 19th congress in February 1981, it was stated that the "experience of the Democratic Front over a period of almost four years has proved to be positive and of great signi-

ficance. The initiative of our 18th congress has justified itself as a major contribution to the efforts to unite the forces of peace, democracy and progress in Israel, Jews and Arabs, on the basis of a program mapping out the way to resolving the main problems confronting Israel." The cardinal points of this program are: a plan for an all-embracing just and lasting peace; protection of the working people's rights and interests; an end to the policy of discrimination and oppression against the Arab population of Israel; an end to communal discrimination against Jews from communities in Asian and African countries; guarantee of democratic rights.

The formation of the front and the elaboration of its program have made it possible to foster broader cooperation among organizations and persons with different ideological views and have allowed uniting in a political organization anti-Zionists and people influenced by Zionism, secular and religious persons, party and non-party people, in short all people united by a desire to put an end to the occupation and bloodshed and achieve a just and stable peace in our region. The CPI sees no contradiction between the ideological struggle and unity of action on specific issues. For our party the decisive element is class demarcation, which runs between workers and capitalists, the peace forces and the militarist, annexationist circles, the forces of democracy and the proponents of a turn toward fascism. We know that even among those who have fallen captive to Zionism there are people who take an unprejudiced, sober approach to this or that social or political problem, and we believe that it is possible to cooperate with them in the front regardless of obvious ideological differences.

Thus, while developing its own political line and spreading the influence of Marxist ideas, the CPI attaches considerable significance to consolidating its links with the masses and to its work in mass democratic organizations. In this, it was emphasized at our 19th congress, lies the key to making the party's work more effective among the working class, slum dwellers, intellectuals and young people, the key to enlisting more members and achieving its revolutionary aims.

Commitment to principle and creativity

In order to reinforce the common aspirations and will of all its members, the CPI combines a correct political line with skilful organization. Experience continues to teach us the vital importance of firmly abiding by the Marxist-Leninist organizational principles of a party of a new type.

Indeed, if these principles are abandoned is it conceivable that ideological, political, economic and police pressures can be withstood? Would it be feasible without them to bring the class patriotic and internationalist truth to the workers, to the popular masses? Despite the visibly more difficult conditions for the work of communists, the latter play their inherent role in the struggle for peace, democracy and equality, for the interests of the working people. We hold that this is due to the organizational principles on which our party is based.

The chief of these is democratic centralism, which rallies the communists in their stand against the attack of the class enemy, in the efforts to carry the party's printed and living word of truth to the masses and to mobilize sympathizers for the campaigns conducted by it. Democratic centralism enables the party to respond quickly to changes in the socio-political situation and make the maximum use of the party's potential in its various activities, including election campaigns. It helps to establish cooperation and form united fronts with various forces and political circles, with public figures, workers, inhabitants of the poverty-stricken neighborhoods, and intellectuals on economic, social and democratic issues and in the struggle for peace.

Democratic centralism has been and remains a target for the class enemy. The reason calumnies are heaped upon it is that abandonment of this guiding organizational principle inevitably undermines unity among the communists and thereby makes the party unable to fulfil its historic mission. It will be recalled that during the crisis in the CPI, nationalistic and divisive elements called for the preservation of "democracy" and "freedom of action" in an effort to compel our party to abandon its organizational principles, notably democratic centralism.

We strive to combine two elements — centralism and democracy — not in words but in fact. It is a source of pride for us that the CPI is the most democratic party in Israel. It is dedicated to serving the interests of the working people and the nation as a whole, the interests of peace and progress. Its organizational principles enable its members to articulate their common aspirations by means of democratic discussion and the adoption of decisions by democratically elected party organs.

The reason we give so much attention to inner-party democracy is by no means to vindicate ourselves in the eyes of enemies and critics. Democracy is needed to perfect the party's policies and activity and enrich them with the experience of the entire membership. Inner-

party democracy enhances the party's influence and makes the work of its organs and individual members more effective.

Thus, the significance of inner-party democracy is that it fosters revolutionary action. Democracy for the sake of "just talking," without concrete work and discipline, leads to anarchy and ultimately to the destruction of the party. Discipline without democracy causes petrification, bureaucratizes party structures, and paralyzes the party's inherent collective wisdom and strength.

Democratic centralism, inner-party democracy and discipline, the combination of collective leadership with individual responsibility, criticism and self-criticism, verification of the implementation of decisions, and strict observance of the party rules are principles that are not realized of themselves. Constant attention must be given to their theoretical substantiation and practical implementation. A formal approach emasculates their in-depth meaning and weakens the party.

It will be recalled that it was Lenin's view that parties functioning in different situations cannot have an identical structure. Organizational forms depend entirely on the specific situation and do not tolerate stereotypes.

Let me illustrate. Some local branches of the CPI suggested a new form of work among young people. Youth Clubs were set up in Tel Aviv and other towns. These sponsor lectures and debates on current political and social problems, and theoretical seminars and combine them with entertainment conforming to the age interests of the participants. Evenings for young people at which discussion of serious problems is coupled with cultural events and artistic programs have become very popular in Nazareth and in many rural communities. In a number of local branches, cells consisting of young party members have been set up. A new form of organizational work consonant with the requirements of life has thus emerged.

A creative approach and renunciation of routine are thus not only admissible but essential in organizational practice. Within the framework of underlying principles ample opportunities exist for initiative and hence for adapting forms to the content of party work. The ability to use these opportunities while giving priority to the ideological, political and organizational unity of the party's ranks is one of the main requirements made of revolutionaries.

Day-to-day revolutionary work

The success of the party's political line depends largely on the level of the leadership

provided by the various party organs, and on the initiatives of the primary branches and their members. Perfection of the quality of leadership requires constantly raising the ideological and political level of leading cadre and the closest possible links with the party base, with rank-and-file communists. The entire system of party leadership is rendered helpless if the branches are passive. Without them, without their direct participation, the campaigns conducted by the party acquire the nature of propaganda actions conducted exclusively by functionaries and the press. However, when the branches are vigorous they furnish the needed flexibility for the party's work, help it to react correctly to problems and surmount difficulties, keep abreast of the questions asked by public opinion, know the extent of the masses' readiness for struggle, and promote their consciousness.

Our experience is that the results of the work of primary organizations depend on how correctly the sphere for the application of effort is determined and on how perseveringly the set tasks are fulfilled. Also, success depends on whether the work has been properly apportioned among the branch members with account of the abilities and inclinations of each comrade. To this end a correct individual approach must be found.

Determining the sphere of action of a party branch does not mean that a branch active in, say, an industrial area or slum district should confine its interest to industrial or municipal activities. Naturally, it learns specific problems and on the basis of this analysis takes action to organize the workers or the local residents in order to draw up concrete demands together with them and initiate a struggle for the satisfaction of these demands. Party members and the branch should develop forms of explanatory politico-educational work with individual workers or slum dwellers as well as conduct propaganda by word of mouth among larger groups of the population. It is important that local problems are tied in with general policy in a way the people can understand. Let us discuss how this is done.

For instance, the communists explain to the people that billions of shekels are allocated to colonial settlements but there is no money for the abolition of slums. The occupation policy costs huge sums of money, with the result that social services are cut and the budgets for education and health services are slashed. The government gives foreign and local capitalists huge grants and, at the same time, acts to lower the living standard of the workers. People are asked whether it is feasible to ensure life in

peace and security without recognizing the rights of the Palestinians and without putting an end to occupation? Precisely this is the policy of the Israeli government and it has brought not peace but bloodshed and wars.

Vigorous explanatory work among different sections of the population yields results not only in the sense that it helps people to understand their problems and fosters their preparedness to fight for their rights. It also changes their attitude toward the communists — from one of hostility to at least neutrality. Many become sympathizers or join the party. Practice has shown that a lack of purposefulness in the work of a party organization, leaping from one sphere of activity to another or from one issue to another bears scanty results.

The success of any action of a party branch or a leading party body also depends on the efficiency of its secretary or secretariat, on the level on which a session or meeting is prepared, on how concrete the aims are, and on verification of how decisions are carried out.

The Israeli communists abide by Lenin's behest to work among the masses. In our country, where no revolutionary upsurge is to be observed, this is no simple task and the communists bear a heavy burden. However, the day-to-day, systematic distribution of leaflets and newspapers, the organization of meetings and demonstrations, and the efforts to make the workers see that the stand taken by the Communist Party is correct are revolutionary work of paramount importance.

Combining internationalism and patriotism

In a country where large sections of the population are influenced by Zionism, where the entire atmosphere is poisoned with anti-Arab nationalism and anti-Sovietism, the questions of molding a genuinely internationalist and patriotic consciousness are of special significance for the communists. Our party's congress last year stressed the need for a more militant and systematic struggle against ideological and political adversaries, against Zionist ideology and practices, against every manifestation of chauvinism, whether Jewish or Arab, and more energetic efforts to spread the truth about the Soviet Union and socialism. The CPI sees this as vital not only for the defense of the communist world view but also for delivering workers, democrats and peace fighters from the vice of anti-Marxist ideological influences.

Internationalism is a major attribute of our party, which unites Jews and Arabs. Although they do not enjoy mass backing, the commu-

nists have been able to enlist the support of almost half of the country's Arab community, which comprises nearly 15 per cent of the population. The CPI is the only Israeli party in which Jewish and Arab members have equal rights, are united ideologically, and together work out the political line. They act together to carry out the party's program and attain its ideals.

Resting on a solid politico-ideological and organizational foundation, Jewish-Arab unity in the CPI is a powerful factor. In our country the Communist Party is the standard-bearer of the ideas of Jewish-Arab brotherhood, which cannot be swept away by the tide of ruling nationalism and chauvinism. These ideas are in practice embodied in the joint day-to-day struggles of the workers, students and peace fighters.

Unity between and joint actions by Jews and Arabs demonstrate that equality, goodneighbor relations, cooperation and friendship are possible among the peoples and states of our region. There is no doubt that the internationalism of the party whose historic aim is to weld such solidarity and brotherhood, points to the prospects for future Israeli-Arab relations. Attainment of this aim depends on the level of the struggle against the policies of the Israeli ruling circles, against imperialism and its reactionary allies in Israel and the Arab world.

Jewish-Arab unity in the CPI has always been the target of attacks by imperialism and by Israeli and Arab reaction, which seek to divide the communists. In 1965 nationalistic elements in our ranks, supported by the authorities and the Zionist leaders, attempted to break this unity and, with it, the party itself. The attempt failed. But the Israeli communists are ever vigilant, and at their 19th congress they found it necessary to reiterate that the CPI considers as a supreme precept the maintenance of internationalism is its struggle against national oppression, against discrimination against the Arab population in Israel. The party's stand is unity is an eyesore.

Yet another aspect of the CPI's internationalism is its struggle against national oppression, against discrimination against the Arab population in Israel. The party's stand is profoundly patriotic. It inspires the finest people of the two population groups of our country to act together for equality, democracy and independence, for the interests of the working class, for socialism.

Together with the Arab population the Israeli communists have been fighting for many years to prevent the confiscation of Arab lands and

Zionist colonization that is proceeding under slogans like the "Judeaization of Galilee." The most striking mass form of joint action is the annual "Land Day."³

Further, the CPI's internationalism signifies a deep-rooted feeling of friendship for the USSR and other countries of the socialist community. The Zionists villify the Soviet Union, spreading malicious inventions and distorting its image. Our party sees one of its patriotic and internationalist duties in countering the anti-Soviet and anti-communist ideology and practices of Israel's rulers and of Zionist leaders in the capitalist world. The purpose of any form of anti-Sovietism is to erode the faith of the working class in the socialist ideal. Any retreat in the face of anti-Sovietism, or even neutrality at a time when a new slander campaign against the Soviet Union is gathering momentum, is a concession to the class enemy.

Israel is one of the countries where anti-Sovietism is official policy. Anti-Sovietism and anti-communism underlie Zionism, which portrays the Soviet Union as Israel's main enemy. But the fact is that the Soviet Union's principled Middle East policy is consistently one of peace and its implementation would equally benefit the Arab peoples, including the Palestinian people, and the people of Israel.

Bourgeois ideologues, nationalists, and renegades of all stripes interpret the internationalism of the communists and their attitude to the USSR as "insularity from national interests," "treachery," and preference to internationalism over patriotism. There is no basis for these charges. A lesson of Marxism-Leninism is that true national ideas are at the same time true internationalists ideas, as Engels wrote in his letter to Bovio of April 16, 1872. In a class society, patriotism, as any other social phenomenon, always bears a class character. The patriotism of the working class and its revolutionary party spells out not only devotion to the motherland but also the striving to turn it into a true homeland for the people, to bring about revolutionary changes in the interests of the working class and all other oppressed people.

There is no patriotism that conflicts with internationalism. These are an indivisible whole. Engels wrote that no people that oppresses other peoples can be free. Accordingly, the CPI sees its role in solidarity with the struggles of the forces of peace and progress in the Arab countries against the expansionist ambitions of Israel's rulers, against the occupation of Arab lands, for an all-embracing, just and lasting peace. The internationalism of the Israeli communists manifests itself in their unshak-

able solidarity with the Arab people of Palestine. Our party's political guideline is: "Not with imperialism against the Arab peoples, but with the Arab peoples against imperialism."

For more than 60 years the CPI has been fostering in its members a sense of fidelity to Marxism-Leninism, profound understanding of true patriotism and internationalism, and staunch Jewish-Arab unity of the party ranks. These values are assimilated by new generations of Israeli revolutionaries, who, we are cer-

tain, will honorably carry on the party's magnificent traditions and achieve the aim of creating a democratic, peace-loving and socialist Israel.

1. WMR, January, February, March 1981.

2. This indicator includes the repayment of loans for the purchase of equipment and primary materials for the war industry and the payment of the interest rate on loans.

3. A day of mass actions by the Arab population of Israel and Jewish democratic forces for the equality of Arabs, for the defense of their rights and democratic freedoms.

New experience

OUR INTERVIEWS

WITH THE PEOPLE

Sampilyn Zhalan-Azhav

Political Bureau member, CC Secretary,
Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party

Q. What steps is your party's Central Committee taking to ensure a further strengthening of its primary branches and enhance their role, efficiency, and activities? What motivated these steps?

A. Let me begin with what is for us an immutable truth, namely that primary branches are the foundation of the party's structure, a foundation that has to be dependable in all respects — politically, ideologically, and organizationally. Further, every party cell and every party committee must be a "base for agitation, propaganda and practical organizing work among the masses" (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 15, p. 354). This is an indispensable condition making the party's policies effective and giving it a larger leading and guiding role to play in a socialist society.

Party branches are an important vehicle for steeling the communists ideologically and politically, for raising the level of Marxist-Leninist education. Our system of party-political studies is based on the rising general education level of party members and probation members: 72.8 per cent of the members have a higher or secondary education. Active forms of political study such as independent analyses of specific economic problems, generalization of the advanced experience of organizing production and work, and the writing of papers on the subjects being studied have become widespread. As many as 96 per cent of the propagandists have a higher education, and most of them work in accordance with plans drawn up by themselves. In short, our aim is that knowledge should be part and parcel of the

views of students in the system of party-political education, that it should be an aid in building an active stand in life, that the communists, as Lenin said, should knowledgeably defend their case against anybody and at any time (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 29, p. 471).

Through the many primary branches the party influences all areas of society's life. At present there are nearly 3,000 primary branches. Of these, 60 per cent are in the sphere of material production. Moreover, within these branches there are over 2,300 party groups (which can be formed wherever there are at least three communists). In accordance with a decision passed by the MPRP Central Committee in 1979, such groups have been formed also at places of residence and this has given the party greater influence among the population. We are more and more often resorting to the practice of forming temporary party and party-Revolutionary Youth Union groups for the period of major agrarian campaigns. In the republic we have no work collective in which a primary party branch or group does not operate. This is important, for the destiny of economic development plans is decided, material wealth and cultural values are created, and the finest qualities of the new citizen are molded there, at the workplace.

A key aspect of the party's work and, consequently, that of its lower links, has always been the leadership of economic and cultural development. In carrying out the assignments set by the party's 18th congress, the primary branches work on a wide spectrum of tasks such as introducing scientific and technological innovations and advanced work methods, perfecting socialist emulation, and tapping new potentialities for boosting production efficiency and quality.

The party's Central Committee gives much of its attention to studying, generalizing and dis-

seminating the experience of primary branches. National and zonal conferences of their secretaries are being held. Important resolutions have been passed approving the experience of the best primary branches and calling for the dissemination of this experience.

In order to further the influence of the communists on production, we have set up experimental factory department party organizations. With large production associations being formed, the introduction of this additional element, we believe, will make it possible to give more consideration to the specifics of their work and link party organizational work more closely with the day-to-day concerns of work collectives. A positive appraisal is also merited by the newly-formed councils of secretaries of primary organizations of kindred or cooperating industrial facilities.

Some difficulties are encountered in rural communities. In Mongolia the rural population is scattered over a huge territory, agricultural enterprises are far apart, and their departments are remote from the central estates. Efforts are now being made to specialize and concentrate agricultural production, and this generates its own problems. It is therefore important to perfect the structure of rural party branches and develop new, effective forms and methods for their work.

The primary branches bear most of the responsibility for enlarging and reinforcing the party ranks, improving the party's social composition, and ensuring the vanguard role of the communists. Here a new element is that the primary branches are ever more widely employing various forms of individual work with people. Party members speak at meetings, reporting on how they discharge the duties spelled out in the rules. It has become a practice for members of party committees to talk with communists about the latter's work, problems and difficulties.

In accordance with the decisions of the party's 18th congress the primary branches are doing much to perfect control and verification. The CC gives them the orientation that this vital element should concern more than half of the measures mapped out in current work plans. On no account can this be seen as a formality. It dovetails with the interests of the work on hand. We say that primary branches should not confine themselves to merely noting shortcomings and negative phenomena. They should seek out and remove what causes them.

Q. How does the system of keeping primary branches abreast of developments operate?

A. The guideline principle underlying the organization and work of our party, as of other

Marxist-Leninist parties, is democratic centralism. This makes it mandatory for party organs to report periodically to the party branches, to the membership. This is recorded in the party rules. We make it our concern to keep the communists and working people abreast of the life of the party, of its affairs, and give them a good understanding of its policies, in short, the aim is that the people, as Lenin said, should know everything, be able to judge everything, and do everything consciously.

We have a coherent system of inner-party information that allows communicating vital information to the communists quickly. Through the media the CC regularly informs the primary branches, party members, and all working people of its stand on basic issues of policy, of the work of the MPRP, and of the home and international situation. CC departments issue special bulletins, for instance, "Collection of MPRP CC Resolutions," "Information on Inner-Party Life," and others. The press gives extensive coverage to party conferences and plenary meetings of party committees, and the content of adopted decisions. Aimak, town, and district party committees issue their own information bulletins that print decisions and resolutions of party organs, recommendations and other materials for party activists and all communists, and information on experience of party work.

Local newspapers regularly run features on the life of party organizations, report on the steps taken by party organs to correct identified shortcomings, and publish the replies of the heads of organizations and offices whose work has been criticized. The significance of information of this kind is very great: it reinforces the confidence of the communists that no criticism or useful suggestion will be ignored.

An established practice of aimak, town, and district party committees is that members are informed of how the resolutions of previous plenary meetings have been carried out, of the work of the bureau in the interim between plenary meetings, and of the steps that have been taken in response to remarks and suggestions of communists.

A large role in the system of party information is played by statements by leaders of the party and government, CC functionaries, and members of aimak, town, and district party committees, and officials of government and public bodies to communists and non-party people. Our established procedure is that the decisions of party bodies are disseminated by the entire body of elected party activists, by leading cadre and rank-and-file communists. Special classes are held at least twice a month

in towns and aimak centers and once a month in agricultural associations and state farms.

Most of the forms of work I have mentioned are also used as reverse link channels, from bottom to top. This allows keeping track of the fulfillment of party directives, knowing what the communists and all other working people do and think, and respond to their needs and sentiments opportunely, in other words, this is one of the important sources helping to chart substantiated policy. This was indicated also at the party's 18th congress, which called for a further improvement of the entire system of party information.

I believe readers of this international journal will be interested to learn that we accord much importance to keeping the communists informed about the experience of fraternal parties. Special significance is attached to assimilating the vast experience of the CPSU, which, to quote Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal, General Secretary of the MPRP Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the Great People's Khural, is an "infinite source of study and growth, an invaluable store of what is wise and fine, an inextinguishable beacon of the highest model in the effort to build the new society."* In Mongolia the Soviet experience is studied in diverse ways. For instance, in the traditional and effective form of exchanging delegations, circulating Soviet periodicals and books and pamphlets by Soviet authors, and studying by our party functionaries in the Soviet Union. The Department for Party Organizations at the MPRP Central Committee issues a quarterly bulletin, "From the Experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union," which is sent to all primary party branches and carries articles translated into Mongolian from *Pravda* and from *Kommunist*, *Partiinaya Zhizn*, and other Soviet journals.

In keeping with the plan of cooperation between the MPRP and the CPSU the secretaries of all our rural primary party organizations study in the Soviet Union and this helps them to learn new forms and methods of party work.

COMMUNIST PARLIAMENTARY TACTICS

Costas Cappos

CC member, Communist Party of Greece,
Secretary of the CPG parliamentary group

Q. The conspicuous success of the left forces at the elections in October 1981 has dramatically changed the situation in the Greek parliament and in the country as a whole. What issues hold the attention of CPG deputies in the first place,

and what are their relations with the other party factions in the legislative body?

A. Yes, you are quite right, the situation in the parliament differs strikingly from what it was like prior to the elections, when the majority of the seats was held by the right, who thus had the decisive say. The Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) advanced a fairly wide-ranging program of democratic reforms and won 174 of the 300 seats in parliament; it became the ruling party and formed the government. The bourgeois-conservative New Democracy Party, which came to power after the fall of the military junta in 1974, now has 113 deputies (or 59 fewer mandates than it received at the previous elections) and has been compelled to move to the opposition. The Communist Party of Greece won the third largest number of seats in the parliament. The communists polled over 10 per cent of the vote and this gave them 13 seats and enabled them to form a full-fledged faction (according to the regulations a party has to poll at least 10 per cent of the vote in order to have such a faction and, among other things, the right to participate in law-drafting parliamentary commissions).

It would seem that having such an impressive majority the left forces could turn the parliament into an effective instrument for democratizing socio-political life and changing the practices that had become standard under reactionary regimes into a means of ending Greece's economic, military, and political dependence on imperialism. However, though quite a lot of time has elapsed since the elections, the achievements in this context are very modest. Why is this? Chiefly on account of the conciliatory stand adopted by the PASOK, which hesitantly, with its eye on the interests of big capital, accedes to democratic changes and refuses to cooperate with the Communist Party in enforcing these changes.

This situation poses the CPG parliamentary faction with a difficult task: to ensure society's effective democratization and get the socialists to live up to their election promises without opposing the PASOK and its government. In working on this task we, the communist deputies, proceed from our party's concept of democratic changes, its guideline towards transformations that would meet the people's aspiration for genuine democracy.*

Q. Would you say a few words about the parliamentary tactics of the communists?

A. On the one hand, we resolutely repulse

*Unen, April 26, 1979.

*Charilaos Florakis, "Our Concept of Democratic Change," WMR, May 1982.

the attempts of the right-wing deputies to sabotage the process of democratization and support the PASOK's legislative steps, which, though moderate, conform to this process to a certain extent. While actively participating in the discussion of the bills advanced by the government, the communists seek to invigorate their democratic spirit by moving relevant amendments or criticizing provisions that are a concession to the right. We have followed this pattern in, for example, the parliamentary debates of bills on lowering the age requirement for electors, on the reorganization of the state apparatus with the purpose of democratizing it, on the introduction of civil marriages, and so on. By and large, the aim of this course is to deepen the democratic content of reforms and, at the same time, stimulate the swing to the left in PASOK's legislative activity.

On the other hand, in the parliament the communists advance their own initiatives aimed at eradicating the political legacy of reactionary regimes and democratizing all areas of society's life. Above all, we are trying to secure the abrogation of anti-democratic laws that limit the rights and freedoms of citizens and fetter the work of trade unions, public organizations, and municipal councils. We are pressing for a broad democratization of the armed forces, the judiciary, and the public education system, and for the implementation of anti-monopoly measures in the economy. The CPG parliamentary group attaches immense significance to foreign policy issues, whose settlement we regard within the framework of the general tasks of ensuring the conditions for Greece's radical turn from a policy subordinated to the interests of U.S. imperialism and NATO to an independent policy of peace expressing our people's national interests on the world scene. The party is demanding the removal of nuclear weapons from the Greek soil, the dismantling of foreign military bases, and Greece's withdrawal from NATO.

Q. In what is the efficacy of the work of the communists in the parliament expressed?

A. First, we are managing (true, not always to the extent we should like) to reinforce the democratic orientation of the laws being adopted and help to ensure that they are strictly implemented. Second — and this is of great significance — by their principled, consistent struggle for society's democratic renewal the communist deputies are setting the people an example of devoted service to the cause of democracy, thereby inducing them to step up the pressure on the ruling party and government to deepen the process of democratization.

The work of the communists in the parlia-

ment is inseparable from the work of the party outside the parliament — among the people, at factories, and in public organizations, in other words, from the entire popular democratic movement.

In order to bring their actions to the notice of as many people as possible and enlist their support for these actions the communist MPs address rallies at which they spell out the CPG's stand, take part in political demonstrations, and tour the provinces to meet their constituents. MPs are doing much for the political education of working people, helping mass organizations to raise important social problems before the authorities and press for their solution. Some of the bills, questions to the government, and speeches are aimed, for example, at democratizing the trade unions, affording maternity protection, and resolving other matters. They mirror the demands of the workers and democratic organizations and are drawn up with the participation of their representatives. In short, our work consists of putting into effect at the parliamentary level the same policy that the CPG pursues at other levels, by other means in Greek society.

DOCUMENTS

DENMARK

An appeal to trade unions

The Communist Party of Denmark convened a conference of communists representing trade unions at industrial facilities with the aim of developing the ways and means of fighting the effects of the deepening crisis of capitalism. The conference adopted an appeal to trade union members, noting that the crisis of the capitalist system is rapidly undercutting the living standard of wage workers. However, the nation's trade union movement is strong enough to secure a national policy meeting the interests of the working people. To this end, the communists believe, it is necessary to renounce once and for all the passive line of class collaboration pursued by many higher echelons of the trade union leadership. A reinvigoration of the trade unions and switching over to an offensive line will help to restore the militant image of the trade unions.

The Communist Party of Denmark, the appeal says, considers that the trade unions should step up their struggle for higher wages and more jobs, against the swiftly growing unemployment. The communists are urging the working people to demand from the employers the creation of new jobs, conditions for professional training, a 35-hour working

week without pay cuts, an end to pay discrimination against young people, and a halt to the practice of installing new technology without first agreeing on the conditions of its use with the workers. The appeal calls upon trade unionists to challenge the right of entrepreneurs to uncontrolled management of factories and the economy, and to demand worker participation in decision-making in production.

The struggle for détente and disarmament, the appeal declares, must likewise become part and parcel of the activities of the trade unions. The billions being spent on the unneeded and dangerous arms race should be used to finance the economy. The struggle for peace is also a struggle for employment.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESS

CAHIERS MARXISTES

Immigrants must have rights

Over the past few years this journal of the Communist Party of Belgium has been carrying on a militant campaign for political, including suffrage, rights for immigrant workers, who comprise 10 per cent of the country's active population.

Recognition of immigrants' rights, the journal notes, should not depend on the whims of the authorities, who in many cases discriminate against this section of Belgium's population. With the municipal elections scheduled for next October the Communist Party is urging all progressive people to step up the struggle for active and passive suffrage for immigrants. The communists regard this struggle as being in keeping with the tradition of the Belgian people's long struggle for civil and political rights and freedoms.

In order to expedite an affirmative settlement of this issue the communist MPs have moved the relevant bill in the Chamber of Representatives. This bill proposes granting immigrants, who have reached age 18 and have resided in Belgium for at least five years, active and passive suffrage at elections to municipal and federal councils. The five-year residential period, the communists believe, is needed to enable immigrants to adjust completely to life in Belgium and understand the nation's complex socio-political and economic problems.

THE STORY BEHIND THE FACT

CHANNEL OF TRUTH

Dial our Disarmament Telephone. Experts will answer your questions.

— from an announcement in *Unsere Zeit*, newspaper of the German Communist Party

How this service, organized by *Unsere Zeit*, functions is described by Wolfgang Breuer, member of the newspaper's Editorial Board.

The routine issue of our newspaper had been put to bed long ago, but the phone kept ringing in the editorial office. Responding to our initiative readers in many parts of the FRG were asking questions such as: "How is one to understand the U.S. President's proposal for a 'zero option' for the Soviet-U.S. talks on medium-range nuclear weaponry in Europe?" "Why are the Geneva talks shrouded in secrecy and why are people told nothing about them?" and, "can the FRG influence the Geneva talks although it does not directly participate in them?" Each question is answered exhaustively. This has become part of the newspaper's work: readers ask questions and the answers are given by experts.

The idea of questions and answers by telephone was conceived in the editorial office at the close of 1980 at a time when resistance to the plans for siting new U.S. missiles was growing rapidly in the FRG. Uniting in the Krefeld Forum, the nation's peace forces urged the federal government to rescind its agreement to the deployment of Pershing and Cruise missiles. Peace initiatives and groups mushroomed everywhere and collected signatures under this appeal, known as the Krefeld Appeal. The peace movement was joined by new organizations, youth and student unions, women's organizations, trade unionists, members of the clergy, academics, and cultural personalities. All were united by their determination to act together against the threat of war, by the consciousness that the settlement of the main issue, rightly seen by them as that of war or peace, cannot be the prerogative solely of the bourgeois parties in the Bundestag.

The GCP has set itself the aim to do everything possible for peace, to disseminate the arguments put forward by peace opinion, help to explain the questions remaining open in the anti-war movement, draw more people, chiefly workers, into the movement, and conduct a solidarity dialogue with the various forces represented in the movement. These issues have also been dealt with by the party's newspaper. The Disarmament Telephone has become one of the means for carrying out this program. It allows responding to the most pressing problems of the peace struggle, first by telephone and shortly afterwards in *Unsere Zeit*, which prints the questions and answers.

Each session of direct contact with readers is

announced in the newspaper, and on the scheduled day two experts answer questions at the scheduled time: from 18.00 to 20.00 hours. Between 20 and 30 groups of questions are answered at every session. Sometimes there is no time for a short respite, even for a cup of coffee. Let us consider what readers want to know.

The first session was held in February 1981, and most of the callers asked: "Do the USA and NATO actually have to increase their armaments?" "Is there a real threat of nuclear war?" "What is the view about Soviet SS-20 missiles?" And, "what could be the impact of a collection of signatures under the Krefeld Appeal?" Journalist Lorenz Knorr, member of the Directorate of the German Peace Union, and Kurt Steinhaus, staff member of the GCP Board, made it clear in their replies that the military equilibrium in Europe would be upset not by the Soviet SS-20 missiles but by the new U.S. nuclear weapons; that the purpose of collecting signatures is to demonstrate that a large section of the people is opposed to the deployment of U.S. missiles and create an atmosphere making a NATO "double option" unrealizable.

The latter idea was the keynote of the second session. At this session questions were answered by Gijs von der Fuhr of the Dutch Stop the Neutron Bomb and Stop the Nuclear Arms Race Committee and by Achim Maske of the Federal Committee for Peace, Cooperation and Disarmament. The Dutch expert used many examples to show convincingly that in his country the initiatives of the peace movement and the signature campaign created an atmosphere in which even many politicians spoke against the deployment of U.S. nuclear missiles and the manufacture of the neutron bomb.

At the 26th congress of the CPSU Leonid Brezhnev proposed a moratorium, to be effective immediately, on the deployment of new NATO and Soviet medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe, and disarmament talks with the USA. These and other Soviet peace initiatives were the subject of the third session of the Disarmament Telephone. Questions were answered by Lev Bezymensky, APN Bureau chief in Bonn and Alexei Grigoryev, chief TASS correspondent in Bonn. They explained the significance of the Soviet proposals formulated at the 26th congress of the CPSU and made it plain that the purpose of a moratorium was not to consolidate any "Soviet superiority," as bourgeois politicians assert, but to create the foundation for talks on a reduction of the network of medium-range missiles. Many callers not only asked questions but also de-

clared their support for the Soviet initiatives.

Since the specious argument about military production ensuring employment is being pushed vigorously, especially among workers, *Unsere Zeit* focused attention on it at the fourth session. The Munich journalist Dr. Fred Schmid cited a survey made in the FRG, according to which the 10 billion marks invested in military production are making it possible to create 180,000 jobs. However, the same sum of money would have created 240,000 jobs in the health services and as many as 245,000 jobs in the municipal services. Disarmament, he said in his replies, held out no threat of reducing employment, while if military production were to be switched to civilian production this would ultimately give jobs to more people than today.

The fifth session of the Disarmament Telephone was held soon after it was learned that Reagan had decided to go ahead with the manufacture of the neutron bomb. Those answering readers' questions included Professor Gerhard Kade, an eminent researcher into peace problems, and Georg Polikeit, Editor-in-Chief of *Unsere Zeit*. They offered incontrovertible arguments giving the lie to the FRG government's assertions that the neutron bomb is "no more" than an artillery shell. It was shown that the neutron bomb and nuclear missiles are not two different things, but dangerous weapons, especially in the hands of the USA, which is counting on a so-called limited nuclear war in Europe. Professor Kade reminded people of the almost forgotten fact that the Soviet draft convention banning the neutron weapon has been on the table of the Geneva disarmament committee since early 1978.

The subject of the sixth session of communication with readers was the Geneva negotiations between the USSR and the USA on medium-range nuclear missiles. Questions were answered by Gerd Greune, Secretariat member of the International Peace Bureau and one of the Federal Chairmen of the German Peace Society and Association of Military Service Objectors, and the author of these lines, who represented *Unsere Zeit*. We exhaustively analyzed the U.S. President's notorious "zero option," which requires the Soviet Union to destroy all its SS-4, SS-5, and SS-20 missiles, while leaving inviolable the forward-based U.S. medium-range nuclear systems. This proposal is nothing more than a gambit calculated to confuse the peace movement and achieve military superiority over the USSR. Moreover, we spoke at length about the Soviet proposals and the USSR's unilateral initiatives aimed at dramatically abolishing medium-

range weapons and attaining a genuine zero option.

Our Disarmament Telephone has justified it-

self and has to a large extent made the GCP newspaper a recognized source of information and a forum of discussion for peace forces.



Non-proletarian protest and the Marxist working-class movement

Robert Steigerwald
German CP Board member

That which in the FRG is called the "alternative movement"¹ is a form of non-proletarian protest. It involves young people from the higher stratum of employees and the intelligentsia, most of whom are engaged in study. In the FRG, its active nucleus is estimated at 80,000-100,000, and the number of sympathizers, above all among young people from the same strata, at roughly 1.5 million.²

Let us look at the peculiarities of non-proletarian protest as exemplified in the FRG.

Non-proletarian protest is rooted in the problems generated by the sharpening general crisis of capitalism. The growing need under state-monopoly capitalism and the scientific and technological revolution for intellectuals to carry on research, production, management and ideological manipulation can be met only through an enlargement of the social sphere from which such personnel are recruited. They begin to involve the upper strata of employees and skilled workers. This tends to change the social make-up of the intelligentsia. At the same time, there are sharp shifts in the conditions of its occupational training, and working and living conditions. These changes boil down to a decline of privileges, the loss of freedom and increasing regulation, all of which are seen as an erosion of the creative and spontaneous elements characteristic of intellectual occupations and induce democratic protest.

The numerous proclamations of "No!" issued in this context against the capitalist way of life or its several aspects are non-proletarian in class content. Indeed, the social basis of such protests is a non-proletarian one, and they come from a non-proletarian environment. Moreover, those who issue them frequently make a point of dissociating themselves from the existing working-class movement. They also take a characteristically non-proletarian view of the world. They do not pin their hopes

on a substitution of socialism for capitalism, although some of them are adherents of non-Marxist socialist doctrines.

Of considerable importance for understanding the nature of contemporary non-proletarian protest is the collapse of many bourgeois-democratic "values," once accepted in the middle strata, as a result of the acts of the leading imperialist powers. One need only recall the war in Vietnam.

Added to all this is the fact that non-proletarian protest reflects anti-communism, which is deeply entrenched in our country, on the one hand, and the difficulties and actual problems existing in the socialist countries, on the other; in other words: non-proletarian protest advances, while distancing itself from existing socialism.

Two stages can be brought out in the development of non-proletarian protest in the Federal Republic. The first covers the period from roughly the late 1960s to the early 1970s, when the protest was carried on above all under the slogans of the "new left" or "neo-Marxism," and also the "student revolt." There is no need here to analyze these phenomena in detail. Let us merely note that those who were then involved in the non-proletarian protest claimed to be Marxists or "neo-Marxists." They wanted to be revolutionaries and believed that they had to act in place of the working class, which had allegedly lost its revolutionary spirit. They rejected both the traditional working-class movement and existing socialism as allegedly "non-revolutionary forces." Inspired by developments in some countries fighting for their independence, they tended to absolutize the armed struggle. Accordingly, in inner-political life they rejected reforms, and in foreign policy — the policy of peaceful co-existence which they misinterpreted as a "deal" with imperialism.

The romanticized notions of revolution, the high-handed attitude to the traditional working-class movement, the rejection of its forms of struggle and organization, and the assertions that it had lost its revolutionary spirit — all of this led — and continues to lead — to an urge to dissociate themselves from the workers' class action. But for all that, they were involved — in the FRG, at any rate — in joint action with other democratic forces in the struggle against the extraordinary laws, the nuclear armament of the Bundeswehr and the U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

The ideological and political profile of the present, that is, second stage of non-proletarian protest, is somewhat different. At any rate, this movement differs from the earlier one in its ideological principles, if not in terms of its component parts.

Over the past decade, the crisis of capitalism has deepened. But there was no instant collapse of the system, as the participants in the late 1960s-early 1970s protest in our country had expected. This brought on a crisis of the old illusions, that is, a crisis of their "neo-Marxist" conception, of their "anti-traditionalism," and of their mode of action as the "new left."

Nevertheless, in the midst of non-proletarian protest the old positions are only rarely being subjected to self-criticism. Their own crisis is mostly being wrongly interpreted as a crisis of Marxism. This has substantial ideological and political consequences. The basic propositions put forward by the former "new left" — denial of the role of the proletariat, the importance of existing socialism, and so on — while being preserved, are now fitted into a different ideological context.

Today, the participants in non-proletarian protest no longer want to be either Marxists or "neo-Marxists" even by name. There is an overt switch to leftist varieties of the "philosophy of life." We say "overt," because even in the past the "neo-Marxism" of, say, Herbert Marcuse, was, in effect, motivated by the self-same "philosophy of life." The adherents of non-proletarian protest accept the technical determinism proclaimed by that philosophy as something that is self-evident. But they regard it as a factor producing negative social consequences. This results in a negative version of the industrial society theory. It now merges with the old conception of the allegedly ongoing convergence of capitalism and socialism. The latter is also interpreted in a negative sense: neither capitalist, nor socialist societies are capable of solving the problems of our day since both are industrial and are directed by technical determinism. Consequently, al-

though one has to contend both at the first and at the second stage of non-proletarian protest with its concrete "criticism" of existing socialism and the organized working class, a different ideological self-perception of the movement now reveals itself, namely, the unwillingness of its participants to continue to rank themselves as "Marxists."

There are also important political distinctions. First, non-proletarian protesters today intend to have a "totally different" lifestyle, while remaining in the self-same society. This means a refusal to accept and a rejection of the existing way of life. It is a non-acceptance which does not develop into an urge to break with it altogether or to isolate oneself from it.³ On the contrary, they strive to create a "second culture" within the existing one. We have here, in effect, a version of the old conception of the "free space," with which Marxism had to contend at one time in combating utopian petty-bourgeois socialism.⁴ At any rate, the non-proletarian protesters do not consciously oppose capitalism as a system.

Second, a measure of political consciousness is characteristic of the forces of non-proletarian protest. From the standpoint of content, it involves criticism of the existing state of affairs in moral rather than theoretical terms, something that was typical even 15 years ago. Furthermore, there is a widespread notion within the present movement that the political distinctions between the right and the left are obsolete (fortunately, this notion is now being once again overcome). They seldom pose questions relating to the capitalist system, and if they do, their formulations are false, for they stem from the negative interpretation of the theory of convergence: capitalism and socialism are seen as similar systems.

In terms of the mode of practical implementation, the non-proletarian protesters' political consciousness is characterized by a negative attitude to so-called "big politics." It is perceived as being too abstract and remote. By contrast, there is advocacy of action coming from individuals, "from below," the establishment of small societies and the winning for them of the above-mentioned "free space" in the capitalist system. Such new enclaves of the "better life" are designed to serve as an example for imitation. Persuasion and political calls are absolutized as methods, and this manifests a revival of the illusions of rationalism. The "free spaces" won by means of such methods are to be linked up into a network as a way of "bypassing" the capitalist economy and toppling it in some way, say, by introducing barter in place of money relations.

We have here a fundamentally reformist conception, even if it is not reformist in the social-democratic spirit. That, too, is a distinction from the non-proletarian protest of the late 1960s and early 1970s, which was mainly oriented toward putschist activity. At the same time, the overwhelming conviction in the "new youth movement," which brings together more proletarian elements, is that reforms are unfeasible and useless. "Quiet action" is allegedly futile, and there is a need for "scandalous" and "riotous" behavior. That is a kind of "leftist" antithesis to the said reformism.

Consequently, in ideological terms, present-day non-proletarian protest is not socialist. Some of the anti-imperialist elements that will be found in it frequently blend with conservative and even reactionary aspirations. Let us also note the resemblance of some conceptions which have spread among the participants in non-proletarian protest to earlier petty-bourgeois anti-capitalist ideas which Marx and Engels criticized in their *Communist Manifesto*. Here, one must not, of course, fail to reckon with the historically changed role of non-proletarian protest as compared with the petty-bourgeois "socialist notions" of the period of rising capitalism. The essential distinction here is that present-day capitalism has not become more progressive, to put it mildly, which is why petty-bourgeois protest against the decaying system is invested with a historically different meaning.

What the communists have in common with non-proletarian protesters is the concern for peace, the struggle against the arms race, a serious attitude to ecological problems, resistance to the plunderous exploitation of man and nature, and defense of democracy. These common strands are manifested in numerous joint actions.

But there are also considerable and fundamental distinctions. In characterizing these, we shall not refer to the forces which have gone over to anarchistic terrorism. Let us consider above all the ideological conceptions of those participants in the movement who disavow both capitalism and existing socialism. They want to attain a "third" goal with the aid of "third" forces, advancing along a "third" way. We have here, in effect, the ideology and policy of non-proletarian middle strata which now no longer regard themselves as a force acting instead of the proletariat, which has allegedly either lost its revolutionary spirit or has yet to acquire one. They now lay claim to leadership of the process of social change. In this sense, their ideological and political contradictions with the Marxist working-class movement are

deeper, more pronounced, and more "conscious."

That is, incidentally, only one side of the coin. The dialectics here consist in the fact that because non-proletarian protesters do not argue with us about priority in the affairs of Marxism, our relations both in political activity and in theoretical discussions are more business-like than they were with many student leaders in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Besides, it would be wrong to see only this aspect. Two or three years ago, their differences with the Marxist forces in the FRG were more pronounced than they are today, when non-proletarian protesters have moved markedly nearer to anti-capitalist positions. This concerns above all the problems of democracy, peace and protection of the environment.

Let us dwell briefly on some of the differences. From the standpoint of the "philosophy of life," the causes for which democracy is being undermined in the industrial capitalist countries are rooted in the organization of the society and large-scale production, a fact that determines the growing importance of the management of large-scale, society-wide processes and the necessity for their centralized regulation. But if such is, indeed, the cause of the decline of democracy, its consequent interpretation as the self-assistance of the lower orders against the upper orders, of the localities against the center, of the "small" against the "big" and the corresponding mentality contains everything necessary for using democratic protest for self-seeking purposes and for channelling it along anti-communist, anti-socialist lines. After all, there is no socialism without the organization of large-scale production, management and centralized regulation. Just as there is no successful working-class struggle without big, mass working-class parties. Consequently, in our propaganda work it is important not only to explain convincingly the need for organization under socialism and within the working-class movement, but also to show just where the real danger to democracy in our day comes from.

Or consider the ecological problems. The attitude to these problems on the part of non-proletarian protesters is determined by the crisis myth, which is based on the "philosophy of life." There is a conception according to which we are faced with a crisis of "man's being" caused by science and technology. Marxism says that the productive forces consist of human and material forces. The former include labor-power, working experience, etc., and the latter, the means of labor and the instruments of production (including hardware and technolo-

gy), on the one hand, and the objects of labor (in effect, nature), on the other. But according to the views being considered here, the basic conflicts in society are presented in such a way that it is not the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production that is seen as the main contradiction. Crucial importance is attached to problems which spring from a different sphere of material productive forces, from the sphere of the instruments of labor, the instruments of production, from hardware and technology. The assertion is that the accumulated scientific knowledge and technology run into contradiction with human "nature," with man's anthropological potentialities, so causing his alienation from nature, from life. We find a corresponding revival of the views of Nietzsche, a ground-swell of nostalgia, new discoveries of the "youth" style and culture in a "world fabricated by one's own hands" (in wood, ceramics). And so on, and so forth.

Such views are variously expressed, and have a right and "left" version. One of them is repudiation of science and technology in accordance with the teachings of Nietzsche, Heidegger, Adorno and Marcuse.⁵ There is a demand for an end to rationalism, which is allegedly giving way to a "latter-day" mythologization.⁶

Sometimes the right regard the technico-rational as something that is inevitable, but of a "lower" order of activity. They rank Marxism with the technico-rational mode of thinking. They claim that it fails to attain the higher, irrational being. Consequently, this conception fits into the criticism of Marxism.

Another variant is the formulation of the problem of institutions. It is asserted that because of human weakness there is a need for powerful institutional supports. Democracy alone does not suffice. It is allegedly beyond man's powers to cope with it. Such is the right-wing version of this variant.

But there is also a "left version" (something that is frequently lost sight of) in which all social institutions are given a negative assessment as the determining factor. In the latter instance, the blow is directed against institutions, instruments, the "establishment," and so on, "as such," because it is they that allegedly produce the problems. That is also a false theoretical approach. In philosophical terms, such views signify that it is not man but the material, spiritual and organizational instruments he creates (instruments of production, concepts, institutions, etc.) that operate as the determining factors. The proposed way out is contained in the demand to "revolutionize" the

means, "things," tools, instruments of production, institutions, products of the mind, etc., by replacing them, for instance, with an "intermediate technology." We have here a purely technocratic method for "liquidating" evil, which is itself seen in purely technocratic terms. In short, the reasoning runs something like this: if society is to be different, the hardware and technology must be different. In other words, if a new man is to emerge, there is a need to replace the neon light with a kerosene wick lamp! And it is not the workers, but the technocrats who are to organize the "intermediate technology" that should direct this process of "revolutionizing things."

There is no room here to deal in detail with the numerous concrete and serious problems raised in conceptions of this kind. But some of these problems deserve attention and critical analysis, for instance, in connection with the view that if these conceptions were realized man would be released for greater creative effort. But can the abandonment of large-scale production actually create the conditions for easing human life and for filling it with more creative content? After all, such an approach would inevitably entail — on the scale of society as a whole — larger inputs of labor, materials and energy for the production of the same mass of goods, and consequently, a longer period of arduous work. The defect of these conceptions lies in the fact that they fail to derive the loss of creativity and spontaneity from the actual process of alienation which emerges under private property in the means of production, when even such a social good as the social division of labor becomes a torment. They declare large-scale technical facilities to be the cause behind the loss of creativity and spontaneity.

From its myth of crisis, the "philosophy of life" draws the conclusion that the technological mode of thinking (metaphysics) which is allegedly intrinsic to us, generates an urge for growth. Hence the neo-Malthusian view of the conflict between limited nature and unlimited growth. The problems stemming from the actual limits of our planet and its resources are set up as an absolute which is predetermined by destiny. There are, of course, real problems in this sphere and humankind has to face tremendous tasks of exploration. But in philosophical terms, such interpretations mean that it is not man and his means of labor and instruments of production, but another element of the material means of production, namely, the object of labor, nature, that allegedly operates as the determining factor. From this is drawn the following conclusion: ecology instead of econ-

omy. This ignores the fact that any formulation of ecological problems and their solution rest on an economic foundation.

At any rate, this system of conceptions gives primacy to the material factors of production, to the means of production, and not to man; not to his labor, not to the relations into which he enters in the process of labor, in short, not to the relations of production, not to property relations. From the standpoint of philosophy, this approach is *objectively* anti-humanistic, and from the standpoint of politics, it is oriented toward abandonment of the struggle against the capitalist mode of production. In economic terms, these conceptions, with their preaching of a return to petty-commodity production in town and country amount to a retreat from the level attained in the socialization and division of labor, a reactionary illusion that the proletarian can be reconverted to a petty-commodity producer.

It goes without saying that the illusions concerning the possibility of doging the problems which face humankind with the aid of some "intermediate technology," the illusions that freedom can be ensured through the establishment of decentralized self-managing organizations of basic democracy require of Marxists more than denial and criticism. They also call for thorough analysis of economic processes, a study of the "free space" conceptions, of the so-called sub-culture, and questions of alienation, democracy, creativity and spontaneity. Let us note that these problems, outlined here in the most general terms, are manifested in many spheres of social life. That is why the non-proletarian conceptions we have been considering will be found not only in economics and politics, but also in aesthetics and pedagogics. The fact is that wage-earners from the middle strata are beginning *independently* to make known their views in the sphere of ideology and politics and to formulate a conception of *their own*.

Let us consider, finally, the attitude of non-proletarian protesters to the questions of peace. In a situation in which U.S. ruling circles have been trying to substitute confrontation for the policy of détente, a rapidly growing and powerful movement in defense of peace has originated in Western and Central Europe over the past two years. An alliance of the most class-conscious section of the working class and wage-workers from the middle strata is also emerging in this front of political struggle; in the front ranks of the class-conscious section of the working class in the Federal Republic are the communists, the Marxist-oriented youth

movement, and the left-wing social-democratic trend.

The fact that a sizable section of the working class in the FRG has, *for the time being*, to some extent refrained from taking part in the movement for peace is due to the predominant influence of social democracy. Because of the assertions being spread by various circles — from Strauss to Schmidt — about "Soviet superiority" in armaments and a "Russian threat," a large part of the working class has voiced some consent (if with vacillations and indecisively) with the political moves of the adversaries of international détente. Such moves, contrary to their objective significance, are being wrongly seen as steps to ensure peace. This has made it much more difficult to explain the interconnection between the arms race and the reversal of social gains, Bonn's policy of cutting back appropriations for social needs.

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, support for the peace movement in our country came from the men and women who had experienced the horrors of war. By contrast, most of the activists in the contemporary movement in defense of peace are young people without any immediate knowledge of war.

In their midst there is a growth of a new, democratic national consciousness whose core is the understanding of the imperative need for peace: "We do not want to die as America's helots!"

This gives rise to many problems, for instance, the problem of perspectives. What will the FRG be like within a few years from now, if the large and growing peace potential of the present-day anti-war movement can be stabilized? What are the potentialities for developing an alliance between Marxists and those who are pacifists as a matter of principle? How are we, Marxists, to present our arguments in this sphere? Problems in the further development of our policy of peace, its perspectives, etc., also arise. Let us note that these problems are formulated in a situation in which the struggle for peace tends to involve sizable non-proletarian contingents, wage-workers from the middle strata. They do not motivate their participation in the movement with any proletarian class considerations, but regard the policy of U.S. imperialism and militarism as the main danger for the cause of peace. From this there follows something important which erodes the "stability" of anti-Sovietism, of that "image of the enemy" which is being spread in our country by bourgeois propaganda, especially in view of the mounting action and ini-

tiatives in defense of peace on the part of the communist movement.

The new aspect here is also that the peace fighters of the 1950s in our country carried on a struggle against a government headed by the CDU. At that time, the social democrats and the trade unionists under their influence could, even if with all manner of reservations, join in the movement, and this gave it some support in the working class as well. At that time, for instance, strikes were held against "tank shifts" in the Federal Republic. Today, things are different. When prominent social democrats — Eppler, Hansen, and Koppick — oppose NATO's arms-race policy, they thereby objectively also criticize the Bonn policy of the SDPG leadership. That is why it is very hard for the social democratic comrades to be active, and their activity deserves our full respect. But that is precisely the fact which also tends to produce in the FRG a marked gap between the contemporary peace movement and the working-class movement, which is under the preponderant influence of social democracy. On the other hand, the danger of war has increased, and it now threatens the very existence of the human race. That is why there is a growing protest even in SDPG organizations against the U.S. policy which poses the threat to peace. New opportunities are created for action in defense of détente and for disarmament.

It is highly important and instructive that Reagan's "zero option" proposal to the Soviet Union on medium-range nuclear missiles has neither stemmed nor weakened the anti-war struggle, despite the jubilation with which the trick was met by Schmidt and others. On the contrary, despite all the manipulations (as a result of which there are many people even among the peace fighters who still believe that the Russians could "come," and who ask themselves what they would have to do in that case) anti-war activists are sufficiently well informed about the arms problems and have not been duped by the primitive hustler move in the style of a cheap cowboy film.

Finally, yet another distinction of the contemporary peace movement. It is much broader than it was in the 1950s, and involves even some of the former leading members of NATO military circles and prominent churchmen. Besides, it is on a totally different international scale.

The main differences between the Marxist working-class movement and the non-proletarian protesters on the question of peace consist in the class comprehension of the problem. It is, in particular, expressed in the following:

— They believe that weapons as such are the

gist of the problem. When explaining the error of this view, one could recall a historical analogy, the mistaken view that exploitation could be eliminated through the liquidation of machines, instead of capitalism. In this case, the technico-determinist conception is applied to the problems of war and peace.

— In explaining the vital necessity to avert a nuclear catastrophe, it is highly important to present a truthful account of the fatal consequences a nuclear war would have for humanity. However, non-proletarian protesters present these consequences in such a way that the class forces and policies which could spark off such a war tend to be pushed into the background, thereby weakening the main line in the struggle for peace and disarmament. It is after all precisely because we want to avoid such "consequences," that there is a need for a clear analysis and a lucid understanding of the main line.

— Often under the influence of the "super-power theory," imperialism and socialism are put on the same footing. The participants in the movement do not engage in a substantive analysis of the kind of policy being pursued by the United States and by the USSR. In consequence of the formal approach, the qualitative distinctions between the two states are obscured. In addition, the role of countries like the Federal Republic is underestimated.

— The formal-structural view of democracy accepted by non-proletarian protesters, according to which its substance consists in the struggle of the base against the leadership, of the lower against the upper orders, is being used to back up the demand for the establishment of a peace movement in the East as well, without any effort being made to sort out the substance of the socialist countries' policy. What is ignored here is that under socialism there is an indissoluble unity between the "lower" and the "upper" orders, and this includes the question of peace, and that the socialist society — from its rank-and-file members to the leadership — is unanimous in its urge for peace.

— The policy of war and arms build-up is countered with the conception of "objection" ("Just imagine: they declared war, and nobody came!"). Although this conception does have some positive aspects, on the whole it breeds illusions with respect to the actual social roots of aggression and war. Besides, it could disorient the liberation struggle in developing countries where imperialism again and again forces the peoples to defend even their most elementary rights arms in hand.

— Views which are hostile to economic growth make it more difficult to understand the

interconnection between the policy of armament and the policy of cutting back appropriations for social needs, and hamper the development of cooperation on the questions of peace between the socialist working-class movement and the non-proletarian protest.

Consequently, in assessing the questions of war and peace there are many very serious ideological and political differences on which there is a need for a comradely but principled discussion.

The potential of non-proletarian protest, sketched out here in general lines, is of great importance. Its social and political role will grow in connection with the scientific and technological revolution and the further development of state-monopoly capitalism. For the Marxist working-class movement in the FRG this suggests the need to conduct a serious, well-argued and resolute polemic against erroneous views, while maintaining the maximum possible solidarity with those who voice such views and developing the possibility of agreement and alliance with them. The most important thing (and this also tends to tell on the style of the polemics) is to make every effort to achieve joint action in the actual anti-imperialist struggle.

1. In the FRG, this includes a section of the peace movement, new (youth, women's and democratic) movements and the movement for a new way of life, which goes well beyond the framework of the demands being made by the "greens" and other environmentalists. It requires a

special analysis to establish what is actually new and what merely appears to be new in each of these movements.

2. According to a representative poll in 1979, out of the roughly 5.4 million young people in the FRG between 17 and 23 years, 700,000 felt that they had "broken with society." Another 2 million were dissatisfied with the existing social and state system (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, November 2, 1981).

3. These urges, too, will be found under capitalism, but they are expressed by other forces which are not being analyzed here.

4. Say, the efforts to create in capitalist conditions other forms of social life like model farms and settlements immune to the influence of the uniformities of capitalism (for instance, its economic laws). Those who advocated the creation of such free space, or spheres (or enclaves in the capitalist world) suggested that they would set an example to the surrounding world so as to convince other (including the monarch or entrepreneurs) of the need to live in a new way, so helping to transform the society without revolution. This idea, first put forward by pre-Marxist utopian socialists, has been spreading among present-day non-proletarian protesters. It is a sign of the movement's reformist and utopian character.

5. Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900), Martin Heidegger (1889-1976), reactionary German bourgeois philosophers. The activity of Herbert Marcuse (1898-1979), a follower of Heidegger's, was anti-fascist and he was involved in the anti-imperialist struggle. But he was simultaneously an active purveyor of a mixed bag of petty-bourgeois and ostensibly progressive ideas, which ultimately boiled down to a revision of Marxism.

6. Nietzsche, in particular, proclaimed that conceptual thinking, which was introduced into philosophy by Socrates (469-399 B.C.), tried to subordinate the individual (individual things, properties and aspects) to the universal (concept). That is the origin, he claimed, of domination and subordination. If we want to combat them, there is a need to abandon conceptual thinking and to return to the pre-Socratic level and use pre-conceptual forms of cognition, namely myths, instead of conceptual thinking.

A natural outcome of the neocolonial orientation

We continue publication of articles analyzing the contradictory and crisis-ridden capitalist development in countries of the Afro-Asian region.* The articles below examine, in the main, the social, economic and political consequences of such development under regimes which have thrown in their lot with neo-colonialism.

FROM COLLABORATIONISM TO DEPENDENT "PARTNERSHIP"

Michel Kamel

CC Political Bureau member,
Egyptian Communist Party

The crisis of the Egyptian regime reached its

peak even before Sadat's assassination. In a situation fraught with major upheavals, the authorities mounted a series of suppressive acts against the opposition. On September 5, 1981, an especially extensive campaign of repression was started, and in the course of it representatives not only of national and radical forces but also of leading strata of the local bourgeoisie were subjected to persecution and arrest.

At that time, the full-grown social contradiction was manifested in a two-fold manner. On the one hand, as an *antagonistic contradiction* between the ruling clique and the genuinely patriotic circles — they personify a radical alternative to the existing system and are united with the bonds of a strategic alliance in which the Egyptian Communist Party, having consolidated its influence, has a steadily

*WMR, December 1981; January and March 1982.

growing role to play. On the other hand, as a *secondary contradiction* — within the bourgeois Establishment itself — which flared up under the influence of the upswing in the national movement and the struggle of the masses, and in defiance of the arbitrary acts of the most backward, parasitic and corrupt sections of the bourgeoisie represented by the Sadat clique. Having bolstered its positions at the expense of the other partners at the helm of power, and having monopolized the right of “decision-making,” this clique was prepared, for the sake of its own advantages, to neglect the interests of the whole capitalist “family,” and so conducted a line that was fraught with the dangers of upheavals for the predominant order as a whole.

Although up to a point the Egyptian bourgeoisie did act together in an effort to put down resistance by the oppressed,¹ in the latter half of the 1970s, which was marked by a growing struggle by the working people, and especially after the January 1977 general popular uprising, there was an evident polarization within the ruling bloc. With the assistance of the world counter-revolution, led by the United States, and Israel, its regional handyman, the top Egyptian circles, which had established close ties with them, began to blatantly collaborate in this line as embodied in Camp David. Although a majority of the local bourgeoisie did initially support the line of a capitulationist settlement of the Middle East problem and its corollary — the Camp David accords — subsequent developments determined by the slide in the rut of anti-Arab policy, and also the revival of the radical alternative forces, accelerated the process of polarization within the bourgeois camp itself. The earlier groundswell of struggle between the various factions of the bourgeoisie grew into an open and ever sharper stand in opposition to the governing clique leading to confrontation that was demonstrated by the campaign of repression in the autumn of last year.

The outcome was an exceptional situation: even bourgeois strata opted for an alliance with the radical opposition to the extent of accepting slogans that went beyond the framework of their own class orientation. That is the impact of the atmosphere of struggle, of the dynamic activity of the revolutionary vanguard, whose organizational potential has substantially grown over the recent period. On the initiative of the Egyptian Communist Party and the National Progressive Unionist Party, it was possible to formulate the principles for a broader class alliance: “national coalition,” “salvation front,” and so on. The concept of such an al-

liance transcended the framework of the *strategic front* formula envisaging above all an alliance of radical and patriotic forces, and was designed to unite *all* the elements, trends, groups and personalities in opposition to the ruling circles. In 1981, their relations were substantially developed, reflecting the universally antagonistic attitude to the order established by Sadat and to his policies, and a protest against the concessions to imperialism and Israel.

It was expected that on the eve of the Israeli forces' withdrawal from Sinai, the capitulationist concessions would reach their highest point: “normalization” of relations with the Zionist rulers would be completed, the two parties would sign an agreement on the notorious “autonomy” for the Palestinians, and the U.S. military presence in Egypt would be finally legalized. In preparing to do all this dirty business, the former president hastened to strike out at the Communist Party and the cadre of the National Progressive Unionist Party, whom he saw as the mainstay of a broad opposition front.

On the strength of its realistic assessment, our party believed that the ruling clique was on the brink of a collapse, but that, despite the great popular upswing, the strategic radical alternative forces had not yet reached the necessary degree of maturity in order to take power into their own hands. The resultant situation soon gave ground for the assumption that the regime was prepared to drop into the “basket” held up by other factions of the same bourgeois “family.” After all, it is not only the masses of people that yearned for change. The strata of the local bourgeoisie which had the strongest roots in society and which had displayed some foresight, had already begun to act in an effort to impose their own “transformation recipe” for the purpose of *rationalizing* the regime and regrouping the forces within the ruling camp. This was required by their own interests, above all their urge to preempt the strategic alternative.

Consequently, whereas in the ranks of the opposition some demanded a radical *revolutionary* change and the establishment of power by a national-democratic front, others expected no more than purely superficial and minor transformations, resulting in a modification of the regime's policies, but with a maintenance of its old structural dependence on imperialism. In the latter instance, the aim was limited to ending the omnipotence of the clique which had monopolized the right to take state decisions, and to curbing its influence and re-establishing the balance within the ruling class bloc. More concretely, the aim was to ensure a

tangible representation for the opposition circles in state institutions and in key posts within the framework of the ruling bourgeois coalition, while checking and neutralizing the internal contradictions which erupted within it from time to time. Haunted by the specter of the "Iranian syndrome" and fearing a total collapse of its positions in so strategically important a region, Washington also strove, relying on its ties with other groups of the Egyptian bourgeoisie, partially to modify the policy conducted by the Sadat clique, especially in the economic field.

We had expected that such a moderate "transformation" would be effected after April 1982, at the end of the critical period earmarked for the fulfillment of the "dirty business." Thereupon, the renovated regime, outwardly cleansed of the sins of the past, could have claimed that a new page was being opened in the history of Egypt, while changing nothing in essence, and preserving the old social ties and making some modifications only in the forms and methods of the ruling classes' activity. But Sadat's assassination came before the conditions matured for the planned smooth changes, plunging the Egyptian ruling circles and the whole of the imperialist camp into confusion. For a time, the ruling circles found themselves in an impasse: there was still the need to fulfil the tasks of the Sadat period which had not been fully carried out, and there was also the need at least to announce the arrival of a "new era," with promises of adjusting the line of movement and purging the "sins" of the predecessor.

Changing balance of forces in the bourgeois camp

Let us now see how the balance of forces in the local capitalist circles evolved under the Sadat regime. Once installed in the leadership of the state, Sadat actively got down to re-establishing the rights, influence and property of the traditional exploiter classes. However, the main strike force of the counter-revolutionary turn-about in May 1971 was the highest strata of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and its parasitic "offshoots" in the private sector. While not having any direct genetic bonds with Egypt's traditional capitalist enterprise groups, these strata nevertheless began to act as their legitimate heir. It was the bureaucratic bourgeoisie that undertook the mission of ensuring a measure of "accord" and "equilibrium" in the camp of the exploiter classes, for the sake of the common interests of capital and as a safeguard against "extremes" in the behavior of this or that bourgeois faction. Having actively supported

Sadat's turn-about, it also went on to recruit for the ruling clique its most odious representatives.

However, when the president displayed one-sided sympathies, fostering the most parasitic stratum and sliding ever deeper into the bog of outright collaboration with imperialism, relations within the ruling class bloc were markedly upset. An organized opposition emerged and demanded changes. Resistance began after the ruling clique, headed by Sadat, slid into total capitulation and coalesced with Tel Aviv and Washington. This was evident from the behavior of some circles in the foreign ministry which voiced disagreement with terms of the Camp David accords. Democratization was demanded by persons connected with the judicial system and the press. The most serious symptom of discontent with the ruling clique was the criticism of its economic policy by most executives in the state sector and prominent economists.

Indeed, in the Sadat period serious disproportions developed in the structure of the economy. The sphere of the services was inflated out of all proportions. Parasitic earnings and consumption became widespread. Unrestricted imports led to the stagnation of local industry and to a drop in demand for home products, which resulted in a glut: by mid-1981, stocks of unmarketed goods were valued at 5 billion Egyptian pounds. At present, 80.3 per cent of state revenues come from oil extraction, the operation of the Suez Canal, foreign loans and remittances from Egyptians working abroad,² while agriculture, industry and other sectors yield less than 20 per cent. Egypt has to import 40 per cent of its food and 70 per cent of its wheat requirements.

Despite the rapid growth of financial revenues from new sources of income, the external debt, far from declining, has in effect grown from year to year: from \$2.2 billion in 1973 to over \$20 billion in 1981. In the mid-1970s, the balance-of-trade deficit totalled \$2,850 million, and reached \$5.1 billion five years later (as compared with \$173 million in 1970). When presenting the budget for 1982, the deputy prime minister for financial and economic matters asserted that the previous year had been the first one in which revenues had exceeded expenditures. It later turned out, however, that local means of financing investment did not exceed 400 million pounds, while the investments were ensured mainly through loans from foreign banks, saving banks and the insurance sector, all of which totalled more than 3 billion pounds.³

Although foreign capital obtained tremen-

dous privileges through the "open door" policy, it confined the sphere of its involvement in developing the Egyptian economy to the oil industry and the commercial banks.⁴ As a result the projects envisaged by this policy were financed mainly out of local sources (67 per cent of investments). Funds from the United States came to only 3 per cent, from the EEC countries to 10 per cent, from the Arab states to 9 per cent, and from other countries to 11 per cent.⁵

In the 1970s, prices for the basic consumer goods rose steadily, and in 1980 the inflation rate was over 50 per cent, while wages went up by no more than 10 per cent. In the past decade, the share of the richest 5 per cent of the population in the national income increased from 17 per cent to 22 per cent, while that of the poorest 20 per cent dropped from 7 to 5 per cent. Official data indicate that 1.5 million persons are unemployed, and more than 2 million Egyptians have gone to work abroad. Those are only some of the features of the generally dark picture of the socio-economic situation, which worsened in the years of Sadat's rule.

This background brought out in stark contrast the extremely narrow-minded and short-sighted approach to the socio-economic problems by the ruling clique, consisting mainly of members of the new comprador bourgeoisie, above all of its financial, banking and commercial strata, of elements involved in parasitic types of enterprise: middle-man deals, brokerage, and so on. Relying on their dominant positions in the apparatus of power (their true "capital"), and having secured for themselves the lion's share of the wealth, the people of this circle got down to enjoying their "easily won" booty, much like the barbarian conquerors before them; they were indifferent to their partners in the ruling class bloc and were not worried by their country's future, by alarming symptoms like the deterioration and decline of the national income (under the impact of inflation and the neglect of material production), all of which naturally also had an effect on the share of the local capital in it. The acts of the clique could not be justified even by the big bourgeoisie, including the strata directly connected with foreign capital. Egyptian entrepreneurs lost many of their positions on Arab and African markets and — worst of all — lost their share of Arab oil revenues. For them, that was truly a "paradise lost," although, with the exception of the imperialist powers, Egypt and its bourgeoisie could expect, more than anyone else, to have a place in the sun. Finally, there were highly negative consequences from the end of trade and economic ties with the social-

ist countries (the ban on the export of cotton, yarn, leather goods and furniture, etc.; and the expulsion of Soviet specialists working in basic sectors like ferrous metallurgy).

Economic matters constituted the prime basis for the contradictions within the bourgeois camp. These contradictions subsequently involved a broader range of problems of a national, pan-Arab and general democratic character, and as a result of this the inner struggle within the ruling power bloc became much more acute and less veiled in form. While the local bourgeoisie had initially supported the Camp David deal, it subsequently came out against it, fearing that the "normalization" of relations with Tel Aviv would increase competition from Israeli capital, making Egypt dependent on Israel and containing it within Israel's sphere of influence. The stand of the local bourgeois circles was also influenced by the general Arab boycott of Egypt after Camp David.

The in-fighting within the bourgeois Establishment was a reflection of actual contradictions. The exceptional state imposed on the country by the ruling clique, which had a temporary, transitional role confined to undermining the national socio-economic, political and ideological structures for the purpose of establishing organic ties with imperialism, not only outlived itself but also led to the gravest consequences ending in an impasse. The interests of the class forces seeking stability, even if within the framework of structural dependence, required that events should be channelled into a "smooth" course, with the establishment of an equilibrium within the ruling class bloc. Sadat's line of bolstering dependence through collaborationism no longer suited a majority of the local bourgeois strata which wanted to elevate relations with international capital to the rank of "partnership." Incidentally, since the 1970s, neo-colonialism has pursued a similar line.

Why is it then that the tendencies of the "rationalization" of the regime and of its "transformation" have been so delayed? Why have the transition period and the survival of the dominant clique itself been so dragged out? In seeking to answer these questions, we think that there is a need to bear in mind the much greater aggressiveness of the imperialist line and the subjective factors, above all, the complicated state of the Arab national liberation movement.

The Arab-Israeli conflict, the basic problem, continues to leave an impression on the whole situation in the region. Washington would like to "settle" it in its own way, so as to impose on

the Arab region a new form of dependence, making use of Israel as the vehicle for its plans of dependent integration. The schemes of U.S. imperialism provided for the pursuit of this policy in the military and economic field. Cairo's ruling clique, personifying the corrupt parasitic stratum, acted as one of the mainstays of this neo-colonialist strategy, skilfully fulfilling the mission assigned to it.

The struggle is not over

Developments since Sadat's assassination are well known. Washington at once put its military forces on combat alert and sent its Mediterranean fleet to Egypt's shores in an effort to convert Cairo into an operational headquarters for mounting political and combat action. The funeral, boycotted by the masses, was attended by statesmen from the United States, the FRG and France, which displayed their support for the new administration.

But neither these, nor other expressions of imperialist solidarity could lighten the burden of those who took over the reins of power. The formula for moving out of the impasse proposed by President Mubarak, his new assistants and U.S. advisers, was embodied in a complicated and contradictory policy.

Its main purpose is to win back the strata of the bourgeoisie which had moved away from Sadat and which had joined the opposition: that is an attempt to re-establish the upset unity of the class by overcoming the secondary disagreements for the sake of maintaining the existing regime. The ruling circles have tried to spread confusion and paralyze activity of the vacillating centrist forces. The policy being pursued with respect to the left is designed to isolate it, to disrupt its ranks and put down those who refused to be "tamed." Mubarak is probing the ground for building bridges with reaction in the pan-Arab arena in an effort to undermine the revolutionary movement in the region.

The new president is aware that only by disassociating himself and taking a distinct stand from his predecessor will he be able to ensure the security and stability of the system. Mubarak is even prepared to accept many of the slogans and demands of the opposition, but after emptying them of any radical content. The authorities are now talking about the need for a "dialogue" with various circles of the legal opposition, calling for an end to disagreements and mutual hostility "for the sake of building Egypt in love, hope and work." Orders have been issued to stop provocative campaigns in the mass media against the "brother Arabs." Giving assurances of loyalty to a non-align-

ment policy, the government has promised to "balance out" international relations. The intention has been declared to correct the "open door" policy by veering toward the development of the production sectors. Until recently, all these declarations were accompanied with hints of a prospect for more profound changes, but — after the Israeli troops have pulled out of the Sinai Peninsula. In other words, the line pursued was one of *temporizing* — under the pretext of the Sinai factor, and references to the threat of another flare-up of confessional strife, which would allegedly have activated the terroristic forces and, accordingly, triggered off government repression.

The Egyptian Communist Party had no illusions as to the nature of power after Sadat's removal. A statement issued in October 1981 by the CC Political Bureau of the Egyptian CP said: "Our position has been defined in perfectly clear-cut terms: the regime, in the whole aggregation of its component elements, has not ceased to be what it was. And our attitude to it is still what it was. Hosni Mubarak has reaffirmed that he fully adheres to Sadat's line. In response to this far from groundless statement, our answer is that we also adhere to our own attitude to the regime.

"Our struggle against the regime continues. We shall go on in the future as well to advocate the establishment and strengthening of the foundations of a national democratic front, a front of all the patriotic and progressive forces, of all the masses, and for the establishment of the power of this front."⁶

This evaluation helps to understand why there is no potential possibility for the team in command of the state to shift to national, truly patriotic positions. It is hardly admissible either to have illusions about the existence of such intentions among the other strata of the local bourgeoisie — their class commitments and interests should not be discounted. We have always believed that an alliance with these strata is *transitional and temporary*, especially since imperialism will not fail to neutralize the discontent of certain bourgeois circles and could even try to use them as a shield against any possible progressive currents.

It was already emphasized that just before Sadat's removal from the political scene, there was the prospect of developments toward a rationalization of the regime, while the relations of dependence were maintained. At the same time, in the present conditions it would also be wrong to rule out other possibilities and "variants." The point is: are the president and his entourage capable of somewhat renewing

the facade of the existing power? Or will an effect be exerted by the old ties, the adherence to the line, methods and ideology of the stratum in which the new administration originated? In view of the complicated pattern of internal forces, the situation in the Arab world and in the international arena, is it possible that, if the administration fails to effect some cosmetic transformations, it, too, could face an attack? On the other hand, could there be other alternatives, for instance, the establishment of a military semi-fascist regime? Let us see how the actual situation is taking shape in the light of these questions.

Mubarak is not inclined to give up the extreme centralization and monopolization of power which characterized the rule of his predecessor or claims to the peremptory character of his own authority. With typical Sadat haughtiness, he has declared his intention to "sponsor democracy," "guarantee" the activity of other parties and to treat them "fairly." But for the time being the opposition has received nothing more than a "right to dialogue" under the state of emergency, with continued repression, arrests, and confiscation of printed matter. In short, the other strata of the local capitalist "family" have not been permitted to take part in the real exercise of power, although they have fought for it. They will hardly be satisfied with personal guarantees and nominal participation in government through "representatives" who are dependent on the "patronage" and "justice" of the ruler. They want to have legislative guarantees and see the changes institutionalized in the light of their interests.

Although a majority within the ranks of the bourgeois opposition did hasten to voice support for the new president, even refraining from any condemnation of the Camp David deal, and although these circles did start a campaign against the left forces and repudiated their ties with these forces, there are a number of symptoms indicative of a resumption of open friction in the bourgeois camp. For instance, Chairman of the Socialist Labor Party⁷ Ibrahim Shukri has demanded the dissolution of the People's Assembly and new elections, and has insisted on a re-organization of state institutions, a lifting of the state of emergency, and substitution of "honest men" for the "hypocrites" in governing posts.

One should also reckon with the public response to the regime's policy of "normalizing" ties with Israel. Even sections of the right wing of the bourgeoisie — big capital — which are prepared to accept imperialist domination, refuse to find themselves in the same kind of dependence on Israel. Meanwhile, the more

realistically-minded section of the local bourgeoisie is highly alarmed by the prospect of Egypt's further involvement in the aggressive plans of the U.S. militarists, close contacts with the United States in the military field, and consent by the state leadership to the siting of foreign bases on the country's territory and participation in joint exercises (Bright Star and others).

In order to enlist the support of broad social strata, to consolidate its positions and to undermine the influence of rival forces, the new administration has started a campaign against corruption and vice, but this is being conducted more on the pages of the press than in practice. Such methods cannot help to end the evil which is deeply rooted in the existing order. Addressing themselves to local capital, the authorities have put forward the "production infitah" ("open door" policy) slogan actively advocated by the bourgeois opposition, which is designed to replace Sadat's line of "consumer infitah." But regardless of whether it is oriented toward production or consumption, the "open door" policy cannot release the country from the fetters of structural dependence on the imperialist monopolies. Characteristically, the man who formulated that policy, Dr. Abdel Moneim al-Kaisuni, was given the high post of head of the Economic Consultative Council under Mubarak.

Finally, when it comes to democracy, the rights and freedoms of citizens and the cancellation of repressive laws, the "achievements" of the new authorities do not evoke anything but disappointment. The state of emergency is in force. One legislative amendment has deprived arrested persons of the right to file complaints with judicial agencies, and it is now the president alone that is empowered to consider the question of terminating an arrest. The huge arsenal of suppressive legislation which tramples elementary human rights is still in force. Although assurances have been given that persecution will be directed only against persons involved in Sadat's assassination or other "acts of violence," the regime has started a massive campaign of arrests in which hundreds of communists and representatives of left-wing, national and liberal circles have fallen victim. Democratization continues to be a vital demand both of the radical and of the moderate conservative opposition.

In view of what has been said it is hardly right to assume that the positions of the new administration have already been stabilized. It is more probable that Mubarak will find himself forced to make partial concessions to the opposition forces, arranging these concessions in

such a way that, while emitting as much "sparkle" as possible against the background of his predecessor's authoritarian extremes, they would give the president definite room for maneuver. That is how the main orientation of the state line appears for the time being.

On the other hand, there is a group of factors which tend to limit the possibility of the regime's evolutionary "transformation." These are:

- the crisis which has gripped the country, above all in the socio-economic sphere, is so profound that it is hard to find a way out of it through half-measures and the maintenance of a dependent economy suffering from the effects of upheavals in the world capitalist economy. The only thing that can be expected is merely a temporary toning down of the crisis symptoms;

- the masses are being rapidly convinced from their own experience that the "new" power is, in effect, a continuation of the "old." Nor has the bourgeois opposition, discontented with the continuing omnipotence of the most parasitic circles, any intention to go on giving the president "carte blanche" without any limits and for free. Although there should be no overestimation of the acuteness of the contradictions in the bourgeois camp either: they have a secondary role to play with respect to the main antagonism, that between the regime and the revolutionary forces;

- in the context of the social shifts which have taken place over the past period, the chances of "playing at democracy" have been objectively reduced. The working class has reached a high level of development and the consolidated national movement has become radical. Any rift within the existing system of class rule could be the start of its collapse under pressure from the growing popular discontent;

- nor is it right to underestimate the influence of the traditionalist groupings whose representatives manage to infiltrate existing state institutions.

Among the foreign policy factors which limit the clique's room for maneuver, it is important above all to mention the growing aggressiveness of the line of the present U.S. administration and, as a consequence of it, the heavy-handed pressure on Cairo, to which the imperialist plans attach a special strategic weight; tightly lashed to the United States, the ruling clique is deprived even of a semblance of independence. Second, even after Israel's withdrawal from the Sinai, the government will hardly manage to go back on a part of its commitments to its Camp David partners. Third, Egypt's anticipated return to the Arab ranks (it is envisaged as adherence to Arab

reaction) is no simple matter either; there could be rivalry with the other pole of the Arab world — Saudi Arabia — which has its own interests, relies on its own financial strength and aspires to the leading position in that world. Fourth, the specific condition of the Egyptian bourgeoisie with its traditions and weight in a country with a large population and a rich cultural heritage, make the imperialist and Zionist circles apprehensive even of the extremely limited freedom of action which this bourgeoisie has within the framework of the continuing structural dependence.

We have tried to examine mainly the possible changes in the structure of power, in the regime's policy in the light of the present situation. The state of expectation cannot last long, because of the sharpening crisis, and the inability of the ruling class and all its strata to find a way out of the impasse. The most important thing to emphasize is that the winds of radical change have been steadily gathering force.

Let us assume that the authorities will manage to secure greater stability and some cohesion of the ruling classes by renovating some aspects of the political line pursued for many years and even blunting the sharp contradictions within the bourgeois bloc. But all of this will produce no more than a temporary effect, without affecting the solution of truly explosive problems. Such a transitional period of development will also have its positive aspects: the watershed between the camp of revolution and the camp of counter-revolution will be more clearly brought out, the forward-looking forces will shed their alien influences, and their immunity to diverse illusions will be strengthened.

The CC Political Bureau of the Egyptian CP has defined our primary tasks as follows: "To mobilize the masses everywhere. To carry on to the utmost the struggle for the organization of the masses, linking up their particular problems with the general problems facing the country and the nation. To find and use every available form of legal, semi-legal and clandestine activity, working to have our movement advance in step with the movement and potentialities of the masses."⁸

The Egyptian Communist Party has repeatedly demonstrated the correctness of its line, which is a blend of the sober approach to reality with reliance on the working people's movement. Adhering to this principled line, while simultaneously applying flexible tactics, the communists are working to prevent the vanguard from losing touch with the masses, from being isolated from them, or from tamely following in the wake of events. By maintain-

ing close ties with the movement of the oppressed, the party remains true to its chosen revolutionary way.

1. The social struggle in Egypt did not wane after the establishment of the Sadat regime. In 1971 and 1972, there were important actions by the working people, students and other social forces. The strike movement did not stop. The strike in the mid-1970s, in the old center of the textile industry, the town of El Mahalla el Kubra, was an important milestone.

2. From 1975 to 1979, oil earnings went up from \$164 million to over \$3 billion, Suez Canal revenues from \$85 million to \$800 million, and tourism, from \$332 million to \$800 million. Remittances from Egyptians working abroad went up in the same period from \$365 million to \$3 billion, coming to \$4.25 billion in 1981. *Al Ahram al-Iqtisadi*, No. 628, and also *Al Shark al-Ausat*, December 28, 1981 (in Arabic).

3. *Rose el-Youssef*, December 28, 1981 (in Arabic).

4. From 1973 to 1979, foreign investments in the oil industry totalled \$1 billion, and were recouped within four years. *Al Ahram al-Iqtisadi*, No. 628 (in Arabic).

5. *Al Ahram al-Iqtisadi*, No. 635 (in Arabic).

6. *Al Intisar*, special issue, mid-October 1981, p. 4 (in Arabic).

7. A party of the middle bourgeoisie.

8. *Al Intisar*, Special issue, mid-October 1981, p. 6 (in Arabic).

NO LONGER A DEAD-END, BUT A PIT

Ahmed Salem

CC Economic Commission member,
CP of the Sudan

In late 1981 and early 1982, the internal political situation in the Sudan was sharply exacerbated. Powerful popular action swept across the whole country, from Wadi Halfa in the North to Juba in the South, from Port Sudan in the East to El Fasher in the West. Strikes were staged by university and secondary school students. Solidarity with the young people's struggle was manifested by teachers, doctors and engineers, who resolutely condemned the authorities' massacre of the strikers. The disturbances spread to the industrial centers. A general strike was begun by working people in the textile and food industries. Workers took over enterprises and set up "people's committees," demanding that the authorities should conduct an inquiry into the unlawful acts and abuses of management and that exemplary punishment should be meted out to the guilty persons. In many towns, mass demonstrations of protest were staged against the anti-popular policy of the regime. In Khartoum, people driven to desperation by the intolerable burdens of life, smashed shops and stalls, burned tires, and stoned cars. The city was, in effect, in a state of siege, it was surrounded by units of the regular army, and governmental buildings, bridges and other important points

were guarded by troops. Fire-arms were used to disperse the demonstrations, and this led to loss of life.

What was the real reason for these tragic events? There is only one answer: the grave socio-economic and political crisis that has gripped the country, and the blame falls on the regime, which has now been in power for 13 years. It has turned the Sudan into a dependent "partner" of imperialism and reduced it to a state of neocolonial vassal. The state, which has immense natural resources, is forced to humiliate itself by begging for financial handouts. While the bulk of the Sudanese lack the means of subsistence, foreign monopolies have been raking in fabulous profits in the country, a handful of local parasites is growing fatter and fatter, regarding the country as nothing but an object of graft and plunder with impunity.

For a long time, the ruling élite depicted the situation in radiant colors, covering up the sad state of the national economy, which has been developing along the lines of neocolonial capitalism. Those who spoke out the bitter truth were driven from their jobs, thrown into prison and forced to leave the country. President Nimeiri and his entourage tried hard to spread the myth of "prosperity and well-being" allegedly provided by their efforts, and about the "blessings of civilization" allegedly conferred on the masses. Data on the growing consumption of toilet and household soap, for instance, were advertised as just short of an epochal achievement. One could assume that the Sudanese learned of the benefits of washing hands and laundering their linen only under the May regime.¹

In order to cover up the countless failures, new "reforms" were constantly announced, to be followed by "measures to correct the situation." The causes of the crisis situation were brazenly distorted, the facts falsified and the statistical data doctored. Meanwhile, the manifestations of the crisis were increasingly acute. Suffice it to say that by the early 1980s national production had dropped to one-half the 1971 figure. The balance-of-payment deficit reached \$1 billion, and the external debt — \$4 billion. The Sudan is totally ruined, it is incapable of paying its bills and is not credit-worthy, said one British journal.²

The country's credit and financial system is in profound disarray. It is now quite obvious that the banks put under the control of the state have, in effect, helped in the formation of a parasitic bourgeoisie. Credits and loans were made available without due security, and no effort was made to discover whether the financed projects made economic sense or

could be profitable. The main thing was the personal links between the recipient of the credits and high-ranking government officials or the post he occupied within the political system of the regime. The state treasury was depleted. Vast amounts of money were spent on subsidies to unprofitable enterprises in the state sector. They were unprofitable mainly because of the extremely low level of economic management, outright plunder and waste of state property.

National industry is in a state of decline. Dozens of enterprises have been closed and the rest are operating at no more than a quarter of capacity, because of the acute shortage of electric power, the lack of foreign exchange reserves for purchasing raw materials and spare parts, the embryonic state of the industrial infrastructure, and so on. Operating hand-in-glove with the top bureaucracy of the state apparatus, the big bourgeoisie has used money appropriated for stimulating industrial production for speculative commercial operations that rapidly yield a large return.

Specialists estimate that the Sudan could become the bread-basket of the Arab and African world, but it is incapable of feeding itself. Foodstuffs now rank first on the list of Sudanese imports. The food shortage is such that there is a real prospect of mass starvation. The production of all farm crops has been declining disastrously. The 1981 cotton crop was only half that of the 1973 crop, although cotton is the basic export item. Areas under crop are being contracted, and only about 10 per cent of the farm land is now being cultivated. The ruined peasants are moving into the towns. One in four able-bodied Sudanese is now forced to look for work, if only to gain a miserable subsistence.

Emigration has become a truly national calamity. The young and the most educated people, skilled workers and specialists are leaving the country; 40 per cent of all the Sudanese doctors, 25 per cent of the engineers, and 20 per cent of the university lecturers work abroad.

Those who remain at home — with the exception, of course, of the handful of embezzlers of public funds, bribe-takers and speculators — have increasingly to tighten their belts. The cost of living has been growing without let-up, and the rate of inflation comes to at least 50 per cent a year. Most of the prime necessities can be obtained only on the black market at dizzy prices.

The sharp growth of discontent is a natural response on the part of the masses to the material and other burdens and the stifling overall atmosphere. The recurrent anti-government ac-

tion is undermining the foundations of the regime. The authorities have stepped up their repression so as to dampen the popular struggle. Hundreds of members and sympathizers of opposition parties and mass organizations — among them communists, National Unionists, Baathists, followers of the Al Ansar sect, and others — have been thrown into prison and concentration camps. Heavy blows have been inflicted on the trade-union movement. Trade-union activists and leaders are being dismissed and arrested on a massive scale. Forty members of the Central Committee of the Railwaymen's Union, whose general strike in May and June of last year effectively paralyzed the country, have been imprisoned, while the trade union itself, like many other workers' organizations, has been disbanded.

New draconian laws are being passed to put the working people's movement under the control of the security service, which is operating behind the front of the ruling party, the Sudanese Socialist Union. In the course of a purge of the state apparatus, people have been dismissed just for having received their education in the socialist countries. Even some local businessmen have been arrested, allegedly for "falling under communist influence."

But terrorizing the country does not amount to governing it. Nimeiri has blamed anyone but himself for all the troubles that have visited the country. Under the pretext of total "incompetence" of the members of the Cabinet of Ministers, he has dispersed the government and dissolved the People's Assembly (parliament) of the Sudan on the plea of its impotence. The leader of the regime has made the ridiculous claim that the economic difficulties have been produced by the "subversive acts" of Libyan agents, who have allegedly bought up foodstuffs in the market-place early in the morning and then thrown them into the waters of the Nile, so causing snags in supply. The head of state is inclined to blame literally all the social strata and groupings for his own failures. He has made the supremely cynical statement that the main responsibility for the dislocation in the country falls on the working people, who, he claims, have not displayed "enough diligence" in their work and readiness to forgo their own interests.

The working people are not the culprits but the prime victims of Nimeiri's policy. The people are entitled to ask: who, if not the president, should bear the main responsibility for the fact that the living standards of the masses have been steadily falling while commission agents, middlemen and real estate speculators have been making new million-dollar

fortunes? Why have tremendous amounts of money been going into patently prestige projects, and for the maintenance of a bureaucratic apparatus and repressive and punitive organs that have been inflated out of all proportion? How is it that in decision-making on economic policy more importance is attached to reports by the security service and the recommendations of the court camarilla than to the opinion of specialists and experts?

The ruling clique is no longer capable of ignoring the effects of the disease that has infected the country. But this clique, the people in our country say, is trying "to use poison to heal the poisoned." The "economic revival" program proclaimed in the autumn of last year amounts to an unconditional surrender to the diktat of the International Monetary Fund. Its main purpose is to create the most favorable conditions for operations by foreign monopoly capital and the local parasitic bourgeoisie, its junior and dependent partner. "This is a cruel world," Nimeiri declared when announcing the program. He was clearly hinting that the burden of the crisis will have to be borne by the working people in the future as well. Under the May regime, the world presents its most cruel face to the working people, while the concessions go to the imperialists and their local agents.

The IMF insisted on a new devaluation of the Sudanese pound (by 12.5 per cent), a 10 per cent increase of import tariffs, a 40 per cent increase in the tax on oil products, and an end to the subsidies used to maintain the prices of staple foods: vegetable oil, bread and sugar. The authorities announced their readiness to hand enterprises in the state sector to foreign and local private capital. Spendings on education and public health have been sharply reduced (and this in a country where illiteracy and epidemic diseases are a veritable curse). It is not surprising that the masses responded to these decisions with an explosion of indignation that was manifested in the events described above.

The fortunes of the agrarian sector of the economy are a source of special alarm. Efforts are being effectively made to do away with the role of the state in financing and organizing agricultural production, giving a free hand in the area to private enterprise. As a result, the small and middle producers will be made totally dependent on the rural rich, the big capitalists who own the farm machinery, and the wholesale merchants. In short, this is to be a realization of the recommendations, which the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development has been plugging for years, for

the utmost promotion of private enterprise in the less developed countries' agriculture.

In the fact of growing discontent, Nimeiri has been forced to camouflage the disastrous consequences of the socio-economic measures he has approved. Thus, he wants people to believe that appropriations under the first item of the budget (expenditures on wages and salaries to workers and employees) are to be reduced in the course of this financial year by only 20 million pounds, that is, by roughly 1.3 per cent. But the IMF insists that spending under this item should be cut by at least 20 per cent. It is inconceivable that the regime for whom the will of those who run the imperialist powers' fund has become law, would dare to contradict his patrons.

Upon sober reflection, one cannot but reach the conclusion that the realization of the "revival" program imposed on our country will turn out to be the last act in the tragedy of the final collapse of the Sudanese economy. But the condition of the masses is desperate as it is. There are growing manifestations of chaos and anarchy, and multiplying signs of impending disintegration of the whole social organism. Corruption reigns everywhere, there is a growth of crime, and increasing cases of robbery and banditry.

Nimeiri's 13-year rule testifies to the fiasco of the way of dependent development, and shows that the neocolonialist methods of tackling the problems of economic growth, overcoming backwardness and underdevelopment are totally unworkable. One must most definitely emphasize that the disastrous situation is not the result of some "mistake" here or "miscalculation" there. It is a natural and inevitable outcome of the capitalist orientation, of following in the wake of Sadat's policy of "infitah," which means flinging wide open the doors to the imperialist plunderers. It is no longer enough to say that the line has run into a dead-end; it has run into a pit.

The Sudanese now say: there is a need to find a way to national salvation. That is truly the slogan of the day. It is now especially important to guide the thoughts and mood of the masses into the course of political action.

The way to salvation will not open up of itself. It is useless to seek it outside the day-to-day persevering political and organization work in the midst of the working class, the toiling peasantry, the patriotically-minded intelligentsia, the artisans, the small and middle entrepreneurs, and the military men who have not cast in their lot with the ruling regime. In the hard battle against the dictator-

ship, there is no other alternative to uniting the efforts of all those who find it intolerable to see their country in a state of decline and dishonor. The masses are acutely in need of a nationwide forum or center to coordinate and guide their daily struggle, to indicate the prospects and to define the primary tasks and slogans. It would raise the working people to action on concrete domestic and foreign policy problems, strengthen solidarity and mutual support among various contingents of the movement, instilling into the hearts of the fighters the confidence that the tide of popular resistance will ultimately sweep the tyranny away.

That is why the Sudanese communists address all the political parties and organizations which have a base among the masses and which are in opposition to the personal power regime, urging them to unite into a broad Front of Struggle for Democracy and Salvation of the Country. We believe that the Front should also be open to all the trade unions, workers' and peasants' associations, students', women's and young people's associations, regional organizations, especially those in the south of the country, opposition-minded members of the armed forces, and influential public and political figures. This will help to make it truly popular and reflecting the present arrangement of forces.

We think that the common struggle against the military-bureaucratic dictatorship should be carried on above all through action for the re-establishment of the basic democratic rights and freedoms, for repeal of the repressive laws, above all of the so-called law on state security, and the closure of concentration camps. The trade unions should be protected from the "tutelage" of the authorities and the arbitrary acts of the corrupt leadership installed from above. It is important to fight for the repeal of the decisions on the disbandment and suspension of the activity of some trade-union organizations, for release of the arrested trade-union leaders, and an end to the dismissals and for reinstatement of those who have been fired. Resistance to the fatal socio-economic measures of the authorities should not be relaxed. Special importance in the present conditions is attached to consistent action in defense of national sovereignty and independence, against the country's subordination to the neocolonial diktat, and coalescence with the forces of African and Arab reaction.

We assume that a more detailed minimum program could be worked out at a nationwide

congress convened to consider the causes and the scale of the crisis which has gripped the Sudan and to determine the extent of the damage inflicted on the country by the rule of the Nimeiri regime. Backed by the whole people, a radical alternative program could provide the basis for the people's unification in the struggle for the country's salvation from the autocracy and the impending anarchy.

The communists believe that the economic aspect of the program is of exceptional importance. The measures it provides, being concrete to the utmost, should not, however, be in the nature of "ready-made recipes" abstracted from the actual development of the struggle of the political and class forces. It is useless to put forward less than realistic, ambitious demands, for the main task is to convince ordinary people that it is possible to bring about a turn for the better, and that they will be actually assured of their daily bread. It is not right to neglect the most modest steps, like a deferment of debt payments, a review of the priority of mooted projects, a gradual increase in the loading of production capacities at industrial enterprises, and so on. It would appear that there is nothing radical in such steps. But the whole point is that the present regime is incapable of actually doing anything in this sense, above all because the parasitic bourgeoisie, shaped on the basis of the administrative-bureaucratic and technocratic élite of the civil and military apparatus, is weighted down with self-seeking interests.

The emergence of a new power siding with the working people is made imperative by life itself. This could be a provisional coalition government of national salvation formed after the dictatorship collapses under the blows of mass popular action, which, we assume, will take the form of a general political strike.

Our party attaches special importance to the question of the way in which the united forces of the opposition win political power. The communists are resolutely opposed to using the Front of Struggle for Democracy and Salvation of the Country as a screen for adventurist putschist aspirations which have been revived in the recent period. The history of the Sudan provides many examples of the dangers latent in elitist military coups. The destiny of the revolution will be in reliable hands only when these hands are those of the people. The rise to struggle by broad masses of people will also ensure the involvement in action of the democratic elements of the

armed forces. We realize that the ruling clique will hardly give up power voluntarily. In order to ensure victory for popular action and to safeguard the revolutionary gains there may be a need for the use of armed force. Only the people are capable of defending the revolution, as they are of carrying it out.

The bankrupt personal power regime is in a state of profound isolation and its social basis has narrowed down to the utmost limits. There is ever sharper in-fighting within the ruling élite itself. At the beginning of this year, Nimeiri held a number of meetings with the country's senior leaders to discuss the existing situation. He had to hear many unpleasant words. Sharp attacks on the president were made even by such apparently loyal allies as the spokesmen of the reactionary Moslem Brotherhood. They levelled withering criticism at the Sudanese Socialist Union, the country's only legal political organization, and even at the whole of the Sudan's political system, which, in their words, "does not reflect the people's will." Representatives of the army high command, a most important pillar of the regime, accused Nimeiri of an urge to establish an unlimited dictatorship, and declared that under him corruption has penetrated even into the presidential palace.

The President responded in the manner of a

captain stubbornly sailing his ship straight ahead into the reefs, while naively hoping that by jettisoning some cargo that has become unwanted, he will save his ship. Twenty-two generals, including the first vice-president, who was concurrently defense minister, had to retire. All the governing bodies of the Sudanese Socialist Union were disbanded. In desperately clinging to power, Nimeiri now tries to resort to maneuver and now to the weapons of repression and terrorism. The only thing which still enables him to keep his head above water is the lack of unity in the ranks of the opposition.

Impelled by a sense of historical responsibility for the future of our long-suffering country, our party declares: history will not forgive the political forces and leaders who are procrastinating and vacillating at this critical moment. It is necessary to do everything today, just now, to unite all those who want to see the Sudan truly independent and prosperous, and who are prepared to join in the fight against the tyranny. Our people have no way out except resolute struggle against the existing order for the re-establishing of democracy and a restoration of the country's sovereignty, which the regime has trampled.

1. The present Sudanese regime was installed as the result of a military coup on May 25, 1969. — Ed.

2. *The Economist*, February 20, 1982, p. 55.



United front against militarist insanity

International Solidarity of Peace Fighters. Defeat the Plans of Nuclear Maniacs. Who Is Stepping Up the Arms Race. How Much Can Municipalities Do.

TOWARD THE UNITY OF ANTI-WAR FORCES

Aurel Duma

Secretary, National Council,
Democracy and Socialist Unity Front,
Minister-Secretary of State,
Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SRR

Defense of peace has become the common plat-

form of widespread mass actions. The attention of all peoples, all social forces, humanist philosophical currents and religious groups is focused on this objective.

Recent years have seen the international situation deteriorate, with the result that the peoples' peaceful development and independence are threatened more than ever. This is why the struggle for peace and international security, the prevention of a new war, is a prime component of all revolutionary, progressive and democratic movements. The workers, peasants, intellectuals, women and youth are a tremendous force that can influence the deci-

sions of political leaders and shape the course of events in favor of international security and cooperation.

Socialist Romania, which strives for economic and social progress and a higher living standard, is deeply interested in the creation of an atmosphere of peace on earth. The policy line of the Romanian Communist Party is aimed at helping unite all forces seeking this, extend cooperation among states and peoples and ease international tensions. "We are firmly convinced that by acting together, the peoples can stop the uptrend in international tension, ensure the settlement of disputes by political negotiation and carry on a policy of détente, peace and cooperation all over the world."¹

In the world arena socialist Romania steadfastly upholds the principles of sovereignty, national independence, equality and non-interference in the international affairs of other countries, and insists on the need to rule out force and the threat of force in international relations. It considers that every people has an inviolable right to choose freely the road of its internal development and that all countries have a right to participate on a completely equal footing in the discussion and solution of problems confronting humanity. This position is backed up by our actions in favor of intensifying the process of détente begun at Helsinki and continued at the Madrid meeting, holding new meetings of a similar nature to ensure peaceful cooperation in Europe, and calling a disarmament conference on the continent.

Romania has repeatedly declared against the manufacture of neutron weapons and their stationing in Europe and against the deployment of new medium-range missiles on the continent.

"Everything must be done," said Nicolae Ceausescu in his speech on the 60th anniversary of the RCP, "to stop the stationing and deployment of new nuclear missiles in Europe. In this connection we consider that the proposals put forward at the 26th congress by comrade L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, are very important for the convening of a disarmament conference and the launching of talks on stopping the stationing and deployment of new missiles. The convocation of a disarmament conference and the organization of talks must, of course, guarantee participation on an equal footing by all states."² During the official visit paid to our country by K. Carstens, Federal President of the FRG, the President of Romania said: "We consider that today, when Europe has become a huge arms dump capable of destroying the whole planet several times over and when the idea of a limited nuclear war

is being advanced, everything must be done to prohibit the stationing and deployment of new medium-range nuclear missiles on the continent and stop the manufacture of the neutron bomb in order to save Europe from destruction in a nuclear war between the great powers."³

These statements, made by the General Secretary of the RCP, President of the SRR, in conditions which assured his words a powerful response at home and abroad, express the Romanian people's will for peace, the most valuable patrimony of humanity. We consider that peace can be defended, preserved and consolidated by political means and that the countries concerned should participate in the settlement of differences and conflicts. Actively putting this principle into practice, Romania has in various situations taken steps to ensure that the parties to a conflict searched for mutually acceptable solutions by negotiation, calmly and with restraint.

I have pointed out that socialist Romania has always supported the idea that all countries can, irrespective of their size, military and economic power or social system, state their views as equals on every world issue within the framework of international organizations and forums. It is on this principle that we base our activity in the UN and at its regular and special sessions. The SRR is the initiator of many positive resolutions; it is co-author of a number of constructive initiatives aimed at establishing the principles of peace and helping safeguard it. Romania has moved resolutions on actions within regions to improve good-neighbor relations between European states, peaceful settlement of international differences and the promotion of good-neighbor relations between states. Mention should also be made of efforts to bring about effective measures for a ban on the threat or use of force in relations between countries, and for the elaboration of a universal code of behavior establishing the fundamental rights and duties of states. This brief list alone shows that the RCP does much for the promotion of good-neighborliness and security on Earth and for the inclusion of our country in the effort to base relations between countries on new international legal principles, which is a durable guarantee of peace and cooperation.

Romania's steadfast policy of improving such relations and contributing to détente and disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, is also embodied in other specific proposals. I mean the proposals to freeze and cut military expenditures and allocations for armaments, dissolve simultaneously the NATO bloc and the Warsaw Treaty Organization, withdraw troops from foreign territory and abolish for-

eign bases there, adopt confidence measures and create nuclear-free zones in various parts of the globe.

All this was the object of the measures which the Committee of Foreign Ministers of the Warsaw Treaty Member States approved at its meeting in December 1981 and which were fully supported by Romania. The communiqué adopted by the Committee expressed the resolve of the governments concerned to take a firm stand for the "resumption of all the negotiations broken off in the recent period," an end to the manufacture of nuclear arms, the elimination of all stockpiles of these arms, a ban on neutron weapons and abstention from the stationing of nuclear weapons on the territory of states where there are none."⁴

As regards the regional plane, the Romanian position is expressed in our proposals to transform the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone of peace and cooperation. This position, which is part of the common struggle for peace and good-neighbor relations between countries with different social systems, coincides with the position of the other countries of South-eastern Europe and of a large body of public opinion there.

The RCP combines Romania's peace effort at the state level with large-scale political actions going beyond the bounds of bilateral or multilateral relations between countries. Its aim in so doing is to bring about the broadest possible front of social forces and trends, of all who cherish peace.

Our actions on the international scene are based on the internal unity of the Romanian people. It is a unity finding institutional expression in the RCP-led Democracy and Socialist Unity Front (DSUF), which groups all mass organizations, the trade unions, women's and youth organizations, cooperative unions, unions of creative workers and the working people's councils of ethnic groups living together, as well as the Front's own organizations. The DSUF has over three million members representing all social strata and all nationalities — Romanians, Hungarians, Germans, Serbs and others. Operating through its territorial organizations, the Front encourages citizens to join in political activity and the construction of a fully developed socialist society. It actively helps implement RCP policy aimed at uniting all progressive forces at the international level to defend peace and promote international cooperation. To this end the Front extends and strengthens relations with similar organizations of other countries and with diverse political currents, and cooperates fruitfully with all democratic groups in the

struggle for détente, disarmament and a new international economic order.

A meeting of the Executive Bureau of the DSUF National Council held in October 1981 expressed its unanimous approval of President Ceausescu's estimation and views of the contemporary international situation and ways of solving serious problems encountered by humanity, as well as the initiative taken to launch mass actions accordingly. The Front recommended its organizations and all citizens to hold meetings, demonstrations and peace marches in support of stronger resistance to the intensifying arms race and the growing threat of a new war and in defense of disarmament. "We call on the mass and public organizations and the peoples of all countries of Europe, America and the other continents," a document adopted by the meeting states, "to act in close unity in order to proceed to the fulfillment of priority tasks in the interest of security, détente and international cooperation."⁵

The new steps to station U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe have drawn more emphatic protests from the Romanian people, from all their political forces, against the increasing threat to civilization and the very existence of humankind. At a joint meeting of the CC RCP and the Supreme Council of Economic and Social Development of the SRR (November 1981), Nicolae Ceausescu resumed the proposal directed to all governments to freeze military spending at the present level and reduce them subsequently by not less than 10 per cent. The Grand National Assembly adopted an appeal to the parliaments, governments and peoples of European countries, the United States and Canada to stave off the danger of atomic war. It empowered the President of the Republic to send personal messages to the Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the U.S. President, as well as to the heads of state or government of the other signatories to the Helsinki Final Act, stressing the need to do everything for the success of the Geneva talks on ending the nuclear arming of Europe and for the removal of all atomic weapons from the continent.

"We attach exceptional importance," N. Ceausescu wrote in his message to L.I. Brezhnev, "to your statement . . . that the Soviet Union declares for a complete renunciation by both sides — the West and the East — of all medium-range nuclear weapons trained on targets in Europe and for the transformation of Europe into a continent free from nuclear arms."⁶ In his message to the U.S. President, Ronald Reagan, the Romanian President stated: "We welcome the beginning of the Geneva

talks. Like all other peoples, the Romanian people expect the parties to the talks to reach agreement from the very beginning on renouncing for the duration of the talks the implementation of the NATO decision to station new medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe and the stockpiling of existing ones by either side . . ."⁷

This campaign culminated in a popular meeting (Bucharest, December 5, 1981) attended by 300,000 inhabitants of the capital and delegates from the 40 districts of the country. "Everything must be done," said the Romanian President in his address to the meeting, "to make Europe a continent of peaceful cooperation among all states irrespective of their social system, a continent without nuclear arms . . . We declare for the simultaneous dissolution of both military blocs."⁸

The meeting fully approved an appeal reading in part as follows: "On behalf of the Democracy and Socialist Unity Front of the Socialist Republic of Romania and on behalf of the Romanian people, we earnestly appeal to all the peoples of the world, to the peace forces of the globe, to unite in struggle for disarmament and peace."⁹

Speaking of the new peace initiatives set out by L.I. Brezhnev at the 17th congress of Trade Unions of the USSR last March, N. Ceausescu said at a rally dedicated to the 60th anniversary of the Communist Youth League that they are of exceptional importance, for they make a contribution to the actual implementation of measures for the complete removal of medium-range nuclear missiles from Europe.¹⁰

Experience has shown that in the struggle against the war danger there is a trend toward a broad alliance of the communists with petty-bourgeois and peasant parties and with some religious organizations advocating peace. To be sure, the actual forms and methods of strengthening these relations depend on the historical conditions in the country concerned and on the strategy and tactics of the working class and its political parties at the given stage. It is particularly important to estimate these factors realistically, to make a correct assessment of the scope and diversity of the forces participating in the implementation of revolutionary, social and national changes. The developing revolutionary process and the interests of progress and peace make cooperation among these movements and their closer cohesion and solidarity objectively necessary. There is no doubt that this solidarity and joint action should be based on respect for autonomy and independence.

"The fiery revolutionary appeal launched by

Marx and Engels nearly a century and a half ago — 'Workers of the world, unite!' — is more relevant than ever," said N. Ceausescu at the 12th RCP congress (1979), speaking of the strategy of the struggle for peace. "In the new historical context, it is supplemented by the appeal: 'Workers, peasants, intellectuals, progressive, anti-imperialist forces of the world, peoples of all countries, unite in struggle for progress and peace, for the abolition of imperialism and colonialism, for national and social freedom, for free and independent development! Take a resolute stand for cooperation, détente and security, for a better and more just world, for peace!'"¹¹

Proceeding from its comprehensive approach to internationalism in today's conditions, the RCP cooperates with 92 communist and workers' parties; 23 socialist and social-democratic parties and 24 other democratic organizations of developed capitalist countries, and 21 parties and progressive organizations of developing countries, as well as with national liberation movements. It is indicative that the 12th RCP congress was attended by 162 delegations from 105 countries.

A factor of the first importance in the international activity of our party and state is personal meetings between Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the RCP, President of the Republic, and many heads of state or government, party leaders, leading world figures active in the political, economic, scientific or cultural sphere. This method encompasses direct steps or initiatives supported by Romania and aimed at establishing a new international economic order and backing the efforts of non-aligned countries, the struggle of peoples against colonialism, neocolonialism, racism, apartheid, hegemonism and diktat in the political, economic and cultural spheres.

In declaring for a new international economic order, relations between states based on equality and justice and the availability of modern technology and scientific achievements to underdeveloped and developing countries, the RCP proceeds from the undeniable fact that unequal development levels are a permanent source of tension and conflict. Underdevelopment is largely a consequence of colonial and imperialist oppression and domination, of neocolonialism in its every form. Hence to close gaps in social and economic development is a prerequisite of promoting peace. Every objective student of contemporary relations between states realizes that the enormous gulf between countries differing in development level virtually affects the interests of all people to one extent or another as a factor

aggravating the economic crisis and adding to political instability. The underdevelopment, poverty and want persisting in some countries are not conducive to peace and the creation of a world climate of confidence and cooperation.

Strengthening the unity of all progressive forces in the struggle for these great goals is a complex and long process that needs to be supported in every way. This is why the RCP devotes special attention to likely allies in the anti-war struggle in industrialized capitalist countries.

World development in general and constructive changes in international relations in particular depend on close cooperation, on a merger of the trends described above into a common anti-imperialist stream. This new type of international solidarity imperatively demands of us close cooperation with all socialist countries and all communist and workers' parties, with socialist and social democratic parties, the progressive ruling parties of developing countries, national liberation movements, and the largest possible social strata and groups interested in preserving and strengthening peace.

The worsening of the international situation, which is fraught with most dangerous consequences for peace and international security, is a direct result of the fact that a number of tense situations verging on conflict have not been settled, the persistence of open seats of war, the rise of new conflicts, and other phenomena, mentioned earlier. More than ever, this necessitates a broad front of the peoples, of the progressive, anti-imperialist forces of all countries, to prevent still greater international tension. The need is for a front against the imperialist policy of pressure and diktat, interference in the affairs of other nations and curtailment of their freedom and independence. To achieve such unity is a most important prerequisite of universal security and détente. The peace forces, though different in shading, have demonstrated on more than one occasion that they can bar the road of cold war, make its proponents among statesmen approach the framing of foreign policy with a keener sense of responsibility, and hold them back from dangerous moves.

Our party's confidence in the possibility of resuming the process of détente and improving the international climate flows from its confidence in the might of the peoples striving for peace and progress. "Complicated as the present international situation is, we are certain that the peoples of the planet, peoples acting by joint effort, can say a resolute "no" to the policy of force, a resolute "no" to the policy of arma-

ments, a resolute "no" to the policy of reverting to cold war, and achieve victory for the policy of national independence, détente, disarmament and peace."¹²

1. Nicolae Ceausescu, *Romania pe drumul construirii societati socialiste multilateral dezvoltate*, Vol. 19, Bucharest, 1980, p. 549.

2. Nicolae Ceausescu, *Expunere la adunarea festiva consacrata aniversarii a 60 de ani de la faurirea PCR*, Bucharest, 1981, p. 40.

3. *Scinteia*, October 27, 1981.

4. *Scinteia*, December 3, 1981.

5. *Scinteia*, November 1, 1981.

6. *Scinteia*, December 4, 1981.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Scinteia*, December 6, 1981.

9. *Scinteia*, December 8, 1981.

10. *Scinteia*, March 20, 1982.

11. Nicolae Ceausescu, *Romania pe drumul construirii societati socialiste multilateral dezvoltate*, Vol. 19, p. 283.

12. Nicolae Ceausescu, *op cit.*, p. 379.

NO TO NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN PORTUGAL!

Domingos Lopes

Portuguese CP representative on WMR

The attempts by U.S. imperialism and its most aggressive allies to plunge the world into a cold-war atmosphere once again, pose a real threat of a global armed conflict, this time with the use of nuclear weapons. Their policy has thrown an even more glaring light on the aggressive and expansionist substance of imperialism. This adds the greatest urgency to the struggle against militaristic gambles in the present conditions.

The broad tide of anti-war demonstrations which has rolled across Western Europe shows that masses of people are beginning clearly to realize the impending danger and the need to avert it. A broad social movement in defense of peace and against the arms race is gathering momentum. It has assumed various forms, depending on the concrete conditions in this or that country. The loudest call is for efforts to prevent the deployment in Western Europe of new U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles targeted on the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries.

In Portugal, the peace movement has its specific features because of, among other things, the growing interest among the Atlanticists in our country. This interest is enhanced by its geographical location, for it lies at the western tip of the European continent, and this makes it a strategic hinterland of the North Atlantic bloc. Across the territory of Portugal and the Azores and the Madeira archipelago which belong to it run air and sea routes linking

North America with the Old World and the Middle East and with many countries in Africa.

That is what should explain the deployment on Portuguese territory of NATO installations, which are being actively used. The U.S. Air Force base at Lages (Azores) has been repeatedly used as a trans-shipment point for the provision of military aid to Washington's allies and vassals and for the ferrying of the troops of the United States and other imperialist powers to the "hot spots" of the world.

In early 1982, the Portuguese press reported that large-scale work was about to start on the reconstruction and modernization of Lages, with the U.S. authorities controlling the building operations, which are expected to cost a total of nearly a quarter-billion dollars. Representatives of the U.S. Navy are to be in charge, with the building farmed out to seven U.S. corporations, which are to be joined by seven Portuguese companies approved by the U.S. Navy. Informed circles connect the decision to expand the U.S. military presence on Portuguese territory with the recent visit to Lisbon by U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig.

These and similar other facts have long been a source of legitimate concern for Portuguese public opinion. But imperialism's recent efforts to tie Portugal even more tightly to the militaristic chariot have begun to assume a qualitatively new character: there is a real threat that nuclear weapons will be deployed on or moved across its territory.

Press reports have brought to light the fact, for instance, that in the first half of 1981 a group of U.S. experts came to Portugal to study the possibility of setting up an anchorage for nuclear aircraft carriers in the country's territorial waters. The newspaper *Expresso* wrote: "The visit, carried out in an atmosphere of strict secrecy, enabled the United States to collect a series of data on the basis of which it could select one of the ports situated on our territory." The newspaper, linked with the Social Democratic Party, which is a member of the government coalition, suggested that Portugal could "authorize the entry of U.S. and NATO nuclear submarines into our waters."¹

The notion that all of this was the idle invention of journalists instead of being a reflection of actual policy, was dispelled by Amaro da Costa, a former leader of the Social Democratic Center. At the time when he was Minister of Defense, he declared: "If the maintenance of world peace should make it necessary, Portugal could become a candidate for the installation of nuclear weapons on its territory within the NATO orbit."⁴ He was echoed by Foreign Minister Andre Goncalves Pereira, who sought

hypocritically to cover up the readiness to convert Portugal into a nuclear firing range by similarly holding forth on the "interests of peace."

The new Defense Minister, Freitas do Amaral, has, in effect, voiced the present Portuguese government's solidarity with Washington's military-strategic line as a whole, and this just when President Reagan has formulated the mad idea about the possibility of a "limited" nuclear war in Europe. Fully in accord with this line, the government has actively supported the decision to deploy new U.S. medium-range missiles in a number of European NATO countries.

These facts leave no doubt that Washington has found a set of eager partners among the leaders of the Democratic Alliance, the ruling coalition of reactionary forces. And they have displayed eagerness not only in military preparations.

The Democratic Alliance government has missed no opportunity to demonstrate its solidarity with the bellicose circles of imperialism. Thus, the Portuguese government "resolutely condemned" the wave of demonstrations in defense of peace which last autumn spread across the whole of Western Europe; it cut off cultural ties with the Soviet Union; it refused, without any good reason, to issue visas to Soviet citizens; it broke off relations with republican Iran; it demanded the reduction by one-third of the diplomatic personnel of the USSR, GDR and Poland, expelled the Cuban Ambassador under a provocative pretext; it has sold weapons to the South African racists; through a nationalized bank it has extended loans to Pinochet's Chile; it is actively involved in all the anti-communist and anti-Soviet campaigns mounted by imperialism.

Progressive opinion in our country cannot but be alarmed over these and other similar facts. All true democrats are profoundly indignant over the fact that in Portugal, whose people are inspired by the noble ideals of the April Revolution, the Democratic Alliance parties are slavishly submitting to Washington's reactionary, militaristic policy.

There are inner-political factors behind the fact that the Alliance has charted its course in the light of Atlantic beacons. The present Portuguese government is putting through a plan whose purpose is to change the constitution by unconstitutional means and to eliminate the democratic system, to establish a dictatorship of forces catering for the interests of the monopolies and latifundists allied with international capital. In "gratitude" for support from abroad, it is prepared to tie Portugal even more tightly to the Pentagon's strategy and to commit its

armed forces to a foreign command, in other words, to pay the bill by selling the country's sovereignty, its national interests and its very future. Such are the secret springs behind the plot hatched by internal and external reaction.

The impending threat of Portugal's involvement in the U.S. nuclear missiles strategy has converted the problem of the deployment of nuclear weapons on or transit across our territory into one of the key ganglions of political life.

It stands to reason that a ban on the deployment and transit of nuclear weapons across our territory would, in the event of a war, prevent the country from becoming a missile target, even in the event that Portugal should prove to be incapable of breaking with NATO. After all, back in 1978, the Warsaw Treaty states issued a declaration announcing their readiness to take steps "to strengthen security guarantees for non-nuclear states, including repudiation of the use of nuclear weapons against states which do not possess nuclear weapons and which do not have such weapons on their territory."

In November 1980, having thoroughly analyzed the situation, the Political Commission of the PCP Central Committee, drew the attention of Portuguese public opinion to the government's secret "nuclear" negotiations with Washington. It branded the ignominious surrender of the Democratic Alliance to U.S. imperialism and added in its statement: "There is a need to start a broad public movement and to organize appropriate action. This will help to safeguard Portugal's independence and to ensure its security, and will enable Portugal, while safeguarding its international prestige won through the April Revolution, actively and with a sense of responsibility to promote the cause of peace, cooperation and friendship among the nations."³

The danger threatening the Portuguese people has brought to life a social movement whose slogan is "No to Nuclear Weapons in Portugal" (NANP). Its purpose is to prevent — before it is too late — the deployment of any type of nuclear weapons on our territory or in our territorial waters, or their transit across the country. It is an independent and patriotic movement which is not connected with any parties, and which is ever more actively involving men and women from various social strata and with differing views and convictions.

The movement was initiated by a number of social organizations, among them unions of writers, economists and architects, the leading trade unions, workers' commissions, and numerous women's, student, youth and reli-

gious associations and municipal bodies. Among its participants are several former presidents of the Constituent Assembly and the Assembly of the Republic, members of Parliament and other prominent public and cultural figures. They are united by the awareness of the need to oppose the threat of nuclear disaster. The proclamation issued when the movement was started said: "We, men and women of Portugal, acting in the interests of the homeland and the preservation of peace, demand: 'No to Nuclear Weapons in Portugal,' regardless of where they come from, whose they are and designed for what purpose."

This call has met with wholehearted support. NANP committees are already functioning in Lisbon, Porto, and other cities. The call to prevent the appearance of mass destruction weapons on Portuguese soil has been echoed by the municipal councils of Almada, Alenquer, Couco and a number of other cities. A wave of rallies was staged throughout the country under the slogan: "For Peace, for Life on the Earth!" Mass marches in defense of peace were held in Lisbon and Porto in the middle of January of this year. They were attended by hundreds of thousands of people.

The ideas on which the NANP's activity is based were clearly formulated in its first proclamation, which declared that the movement "expresses the unanimous opinion concerning the danger which could impend over all Portuguese, regardless of their class origin, or party, ideological or religious affiliation, the danger of a deployment of nuclear weapons that, in the event of a conflict, could turn our country into one of the main targets to be destroyed by a single missile." It emphasized that the public movement is inspired by the struggle to check the arms race and that it is a genuine national and patriotic force which puts first Portugal's independence and continued existence in an atmosphere of peace.

A characteristic aspect of the movement is that it has been spreading without any rigid organizational framework. It is decentralized both geographically and functionally. The NANP's main task is to coordinate anti-nuclear action. Its meetings are open to one and all and its decisions are based on consensus.

Activity in the movement takes on the most diverse forms, including the collection of signatures to a national anti-nuclear petition presented to the President of the Republic (it has been signed by over 200,000), meetings, discussions and talks, the publication and circulation of pamphlets and leaflets, the staging of plays and expositions, the issue of placards, mass demonstrations, rallies and so

on. The movement is actively involved in the anti-war acts of official bodies, various political parties and international organizations.

In the autumn of 1981 a meeting of the NANP Coordination Committee was attended by prominent representatives of public and political circles, and it took yet another fundamentally important step in the fight against the nuclear arms race. The Committee issued a call for a broad campaign in support of the demand to turn the Pyrenean Peninsula into a nuclear-free zone. It emphasized that the realization of this idea would provide a solid guarantee for the preservation of peace in our region.

There is every indication that we are witnessing the formation in Portugal of movement that is diverse in social and ideological character but united in purpose. Its participants have already gone over from the comprehension of the impending dangers to action in defense of true national interests, to struggle against encroachments on the people's sovereignty, and against the sinister plans and fatal gambles of the most reactionary imperialist circles. Assessing this fact, the PCP's theoretical journal, *Militanti*, wrote: "In democratic Portugal, the Communist Party is continuing the struggle in defense of peace in a new internal and international situation. The struggle against the deployment of nuclear weapons is an organic part of the Portuguese people's struggle against the policy of subordinating its interests to imperialist purposes."

For the communists, the defense of peace is indissolubly linked with the struggle to consolidate and extend the gains of the April Revolution, for social progress. We are sure that the resignation of the Democratic Alliance government could be a major contribution to Portugal's struggle for peace, because it would mean the removal of the forces which are catering for and actively promoting the bellicose policy of international imperialism. On the other hand, large-scale action in defense of peace and for disarmament would help to narrow down the government's social base, and intensify the popular struggle for ousting the right-center coalition from the political scene.

We believe that objective conditions now favor action demanding the resignation of the pro-NATO government. The mass strike staged by the General Confederation of Portuguese Working People, National Intersindical, in February 1982 showed that with the present balance of the political forces in the country, an early election could well result in the emergence of a democratic majority in the Parliament and the formation of a new government on its basis. Such a course of events

would mean that the country was entering upon a new road both in domestic and foreign policy.

The Portuguese communists are aware of the great importance of unity of all the anti-imperialist and peace forces for the cause of peace. They are also aware of the tremendous role of the communist and workers' parties in this important line of struggle to save humankind from destruction in a nuclear holocaust.

We stand for joint action by everyone who is prepared to defend peace, irrespective of class origin, ideology or religious beliefs. Thousands of our party members are taking an active part in the "No to Nuclear Weapons in Portugal" movement, alongside other patriots and democrats. We shall continue to do so in the future as well.

However, in considering the problems of war and peace in the light of its class analysis, the PCP is convinced that the working class should not be dissolved in the general mass of peace forces. But it does not believe that this kind of approach could hamper cooperation with other political, public, trade-union, religious and other bodies.

The communists' class stand in every sphere of social life and their Marxist-Leninist view of the international situation do not conflict with their participation in anti-militaristic movements on a national and international level in the same ranks with all the other peace forces. Those who want to preserve peace, to have effective disarmament, and to assert the principles of peaceful coexistence in relations between states are our allies. Creatively applying Marxism-Leninism, we have actively sought and have successfully found ways of joint action with all patriots and democrats — party and non-party, believers and atheists, workers and peasants, students and soldiers, workers in science, culture and the arts.

The communists constitute the most militant contingent of the peace fighters, because they rely on an ideology which is permeated with the ideas of humanism, because they have unflinching faith in humankind's revolutionary future, and because they are convinced that human beings need peace as they do the very air. Our own experience, and the experience of the fraternal parties teaches us that the stronger the communists' influence, the broader and more vigorous the struggle against war. That is our starting point.

In framing and implementing its militaristic plans and trying to create a material basis for its "strength" policy, imperialism pins its hopes on divisions in the revolutionary ranks and a weakening of the movements carrying on a

principled struggle for peace and progress. These dangerous strivings are countered by the PCP with its consistent line of strengthening the unity and cohesion of the international communist and working-class movement on the basis of principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. It has been working to enhance the solidarity and the all-round cooperation of the great revolutionary forces: the Soviet Union and the socialist community, as a whole, the progressive states, the working class of the capitalist countries, and the national liberation movement.

The PCP believes that it is its duty to spread the truth about the peace proposals of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries making a tremendous contribution to the strengthening of peace. It regards the preaching of anti-Sovietism as an attempt to undermine the solidarity of the communist parties and to split the revolutionary and democratic forces in their struggle for peace and security, and for cooperation among the peoples. The Portuguese communists believe that acts which objectively coincide with imperialist conceptions do nothing to promote the struggle against militarism.

While being aware of the dangers posed by the aggressive policy of imperialism, we are convinced that the fresh flare-up of international tension provoked by reaction and the adventurist schemes of the military circles are doomed to fail, because they conflict with the alignment of forces in the world arena. At the beginning of the 1980s, imperialism is not stronger than it was 10-15 years ago, when the ruling circles of the capitalist world were forced to accept the need to restructure international relations on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

Although the revolutionary process has not run an even course by far, an impartial political analysis shows that over the past historical period it is the camp of war and reaction that has suffered the greatest losses. Evidence of this will be found in the revolutionary victories of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Guinea-Bissau, the Cape Verde Islands, Sao Tome and Principe, Benin, South Yemen, Nicaragua, Afghanistan and Iran. In that period, despite the blows coming from reaction, the progressive forces in the economically developed capitalist countries have also grown in stature and in strength. Finally — and it is hard to exaggerate the importance of this — the economic, political and defense potential of the socialist community countries has grown. All of this, taken together, produces the objective

conditions which are the source of our historical optimism, and which confirm us in the confidence that it is possible to stop the counter-offensive of imperialism and to defeat it, and then to advance in consolidating peace and international security, and humankind's social and economic progress.

The Portuguese communists look to the future with confidence. They resolutely distance themselves from those who have announced the "funeral of détente." The anti-imperialist and peace forces are capable of thwarting the militaristic policy of imperialism, and their cohesion for vigorous joint action is the key condition for doing so.

1. *Expresso*, August 23, 1981.
2. *O Dia*, November 15, 1980.
3. *Avante!* November 27, 1980.

POLICY COURTING DISASTER

A letter from the USA

Gus Hall's article, "U.S. Imperialism in the Real World,"* lays bare the roots of the U.S. imperialist strategy of winning world domination. I would like to comment on some dangerous aspects of U.S. foreign policy and the U.S. bid for the role of world policeman.

Immediately after World War II President Truman said: "Whether we like it or not we must recognize that the victory which we have won has placed upon the American people the continuing burden of world leadership."

Ever since then, the foreign policy of the White House has been inspired in one way or another by the ideas of "world leadership" and the "American Century." Both during the cold war, which lasted for 25 years, and the period of détente Washington invariably pursued this goal, if by varying methods.

As the Soviet Union is the chief obstacle to these ambitions, U.S. foreign policy has concentrated on "detering" and "rolling back" that country. Hostility to the Soviet Union and the socialist world at large is the pivot of Washington's strategy, prompted not so much by ideological distaste for socialism as by the global interests of U.S. monopoly capital.

Compelled to join in the process of détente, Washington hoped to use it as a means of curbing the world revolutionary process, undermining the socialist community and expanding imperialist penetration into former colonial areas. But as détente produced no such results, the White House fell back on its policy of confrontation and of building up tensions.

*WMR, January 1982 — Ed.

This policy was adopted by Carter and found reflection in his Presidential Directive 59, which provides for the eventual use of nuclear arms in Western Europe. The Reagan administration has stepped up the arms race and shows particular zeal in militarizing foreign policy and fomenting hostility to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Time and again, Washington makes bellicose statements about the neutron bomb, the MX missile, the B-1 bomber, and war gases or other super-modern weapons. In mid-October 1981 President Reagan stated his belief that it might be possible to fight a limited war in Europe using tactical nuclear weapons. And on November 4, 1981 Secretary of State Alexander Haig told a Senate Committee that NATO had "contingency" plans to detonate a nuclear weapon "demonstratively" in Europe.

These statements understandably angered both Europeans and Americans. James Reston pointed out in the *New York Times* that nuclear weapons "are too dangerous to be left to the play of national politics."

Nevertheless, the Reagan administration goes on swinging its club, posing a threat to other countries as well as to the United States itself by undermining the security of its own people. A former CIA Deputy Director, Herbert Scoville, now head of the Arms Control Association, said that the probable result of using nuclear arms in Europe would be "no Europe left, no Soviet Union left, no United States left."

Washington is just as reckless in disrupting economic relations with the socialist countries, in attempting thus to "punish" the Soviet Union. The following example gives an idea of the consequences.

Last fall Americans learned that declining sales by the International Harvester Company (makers of trucks, agricultural machinery and construction equipment) were threatening to cause the layoff of thousands of Harvester workers. The Department of Commerce had approved the signing by the company of a \$300 million deal with the Soviet Union, which was sure to mean jobs for many Harvester employees threatened with finding themselves jobless. But Reagan suspended the deal. And who was the loser? An American company and American workers. At a time of mass unemployment, antics like this deteriorate the situation on the labor market and injure the U.S. economy.

It is only natural that many U.S. allies refuse to subscribe to Reagan's ill-advised policies. He was unable to dissuade the West German and French governments from concluding a long-term agreement with the Soviet Union on the

construction of an international gas pipeline which is promising substantial benefits to European countries. A large body of opinion in Europe considers that by imposing on their NATO partners a policy of economic sanctions against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the U.S. imperialists want to inflict losses on both the socialist community and their competitors, shore up their own positions at the expense of their allies and tie them still more to their policy of aggression.

This is also the purpose of attempts to extend NATO's "responsibility" to geographic areas far from the original scope of the North Atlantic Treaty. As in times past, the lie about the "Soviet threat" is used as an excuse.

It is important to stress at this point that the peoples of many countries which have freed themselves from colonial tyranny and imperialist domination draw strength from friendship and cooperation with the socialist community. The U.S. imperialists do not relish this, for they would like to retain their influence in vast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America. They view the three continents as a sphere of U.S. monopoly expansion and exploitation rich in important raw materials and energy resources.

This explains why Washington fiercely resists any move by the people of a newly-free country to control their own resources and their own political fate. It interprets this as a response to Soviet promptings that justifies U.S. intervention.

To provide the requisites of armed intervention, the Pentagon is expanding its network of military bases dispersed all over the globe. (The turning of Diego Garcia into a U.S. base in the Indian Ocean is a recent case in point.) A rapid deployment force is being trained for action outside the United States, wherever monopoly interests are felt to be threatened by the legitimate measures of developing peoples for greater independence. Ruling circles in the United States want to have, in effect, an expeditionary force that would quickly stamp out liberation struggle and export counter-revolution. They are quite comfortable with the notoriously bloodthirsty ruling cliques of South Korea, South Africa, Chile, Paraguay, Uruguay and El Salvador. This list included such "champions of democracy" as the Shah and Somoza until the people swept them away. No one could serve foreign monopoly interests more faithfully than these regimes.

This explains why they are rewarded by lavish financial and economic aid. It is to such countries that U.S. arms are sold first and foremost. While one of the main recipients of these

arms on the Asian continent in the past was Iran, today it is Pakistan, with which the Reagan administration recently signed a \$3 billion arms deal.

As regards developing countries whose governments have incurred Washington's displeasure, they are subjected to a variety of pressures ranging from economic blackmail to armed intervention. The world knows who talks about combating terrorism while resorting freely to terroristic methods, conspiracies and attempts on the lives of foreign leaders and is responsible for the assassination of Patrice Lumumba and Salvador Allende.

At last year's meeting of industrial capitalist and developing countries in Cancun, Mexico, Reagan ignored the developing countries' call for equitable economic relations. He recommended that they open the door to "free enterprise" (read: monopoly capitalism) wider still if they want to solve their problems. The attitude of the United States to developing countries whose policies do not suit it was illustrated when the World Bank voted to provide a \$5.7 billion loan to India. Only the United States voted against it.

By proclaiming vast areas of the globe a zone of their "vital interests," the U.S. imperialists are turning them into seats of international tension and conflict. This is a further indication of how the Reagan administration's shortsighted global strategy imperils the United States itself and its real national interests. After all, it is evident that new seats of war danger and the resulting growth of international tensions can bring no benefits to the American people, any more than to the peoples of other countries. We Americans can gain nothing from tension and arms race and, worse still, stand to lose everything.

Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, stated the Soviet position at the 26th party congress. "A war danger does exist for the United States, as it does for all the other countries of the world," he said. "But the source of the danger is not the Soviet Union, nor any mythical Soviet superiority; it is the arms race and the tensions still prevailing in the world. We are willing to combat this true and not imaginary danger hand in hand with the United States, with European countries, with all the countries of our planet."

All who really cherish peace in this country think highly of this reasonable approach to the solution of world problems, an approach contrasting with the global insanity of imperialist strategists.

Arthur Zipser
author, historian

CITIES SPEAK UP

Time was when great historical and cultural centers, such as Babylon, Tyre or Athens, successively dominated the political scene. City states are a rare exception today and most of them play no independent role in international affairs. And it would seem that cities which are part of a country have no chance at all of pursuing an independent foreign policy. Yet recent developments tell a different story.

In January 1982 the municipality of Leghorn declared that Italian city and the adjoining countryside a nuclear-free zone to preclude in this way the eventual deployment of U.S. nuclear arms at the U.S. and NATO bases there. Last March the municipality of Naha, the capital of Japan's Okinawa Prefecture, passed a resolution banning the deployment of nuclear weapons in Naha and vicinity. Two other Japanese cities, Tsushima and Toyoda, declared themselves nuclear-free zones earlier.

The population of West Germany's Helgoland has demanded that the island be declared a nuclear-free zone. Wollongong, an Australian town, has become a nuclear-free peace zone. Following the example of Greater Manchester, which in November 1980 prohibited the manufacture, stockpiling and transport of nuclear arms on its territory, 170 British municipalities have declared the area within their jurisdiction a nuclear-free zone. They include the municipalities of all the counties of Wales, which in February 1982 became the first major area of Britain to bar nuclear weapons. On all the main roads leading to Wales and in seaports and airports, signs reading "You are entering nuclear-free territory" are to be put up.

The cities' resistance to the nuclear plans of Reagan and NATO varies in form. The United States itself furnishes revealing examples. Vermont holds elections for city councils every year, on the first Tuesday of March; they are coupled with referendums on the most diverse matters under local jurisdiction. This year the electorate was invited to discuss a petition to the Federal government demanding an end to the arms race and acceptance of the idea of the United States and the Soviet Union freezing nuclear arms (it may be recalled that the Soviet Union has made repeated proposals to this effect). The outcome of the discussion leaves no room for doubt — the overwhelming majority of ordinary people supported the petition in 170 urban communities of Vermont and approved it unanimously in West Windsor. Under pressure from a mass movement, resolutions calling for an end to the arms race and a nuclear arms freeze were passed by the legis-

lative assemblies of New York State, Massachusetts, Oregon, Connecticut and Wisconsin.

The movement is fostered by general alarm at the prospect of nuclear destruction. Experts consider that the use of nuclear arms would be particularly disastrous in cities. To safeguard themselves against so dire a fate, some people are moving into sparsely populated areas. However, many doubt the possibility of escaping death, for the Pentagon stations its objectives in the most distant parts of the planet. And this explains why more and more people advocate active civic resistance to the nuclear menace and call for a constructive solution of major military strategic problems on which the fate of humanity depends. They are the backbone of a movement for the transformation of cities into small nuclear-free zones. The movement involves communists along with members of other parties, political and other organizations and trade unions, people of science and culture, atheists and believers.

It would be wrong, of course, to overestimate the ability of local authorities to influence the foreign policy of imperialist powers. Bourgeois democracy is anti-democratic by nature. Whenever faced with the demand that it guarantee man's prime right, the right to live, it operates as a machine enabling the ruling class to ignore the demand "on legitimate grounds." Thus, at a telecast news conference on March 31, President Reagan attacked the movement for a nuclear arms freeze that is growing in the USA. He made it clear to the millions of his

countrymen that he had no intention of heeding their demand.

The West German, British and other governments of NATO countries reacted in an equally undemocratic manner to massive anti-war actions over plans to deploy U.S. Euro-strategic missiles in Western Europe. A revealing example of recent date is the fact that when the administrative council of Norway's Troms County resolved to call on parliament and the government to rule out for all time the possibility of using nuclear arms from Norwegian territory and to take concrete steps leading to the creation of a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe, the Foreign Minister virtually refused to discuss the matter, saying that it was not for local authorities to concern themselves with foreign policy issues.

Nevertheless, the peace initiatives of local authorities are bound to have an effect on the international political climate. Expressing the people's will, these authorities set in this particular case a constructive example of solving a cardinal international problem. They show the way to achieving real results. If *all* the cities of a country declared themselves nuclear-free zones the possibility of siting means of mass destruction would be considerably reduced. The joining of local government bodies in the peace movement is becoming an important form of the peace forces' struggle, helping strengthen the positions of all who want to head off the war menace.

Walter Woolly



Socialist countries' good will; NATO's response

The Second Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament (June 1982) is an important international event. The first such session was held four years ago and adopted a Final Document, which called for urgent negotiations to stop the qualitative improvement of nuclear weapons, and production of all types of weapons and delivery vehicles, and to work out a comprehensive program for reducing and subsequently liquidating the stockpiles of nuclear weapons. It em-

phasized the need to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons, and to ban the development, manufacture and stockpiling of all types of chemical weapons, and the development of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction. It also recommended that the members of the UN Security Council should reduce their military budgets and limit and gradually reduce their armed forces and conventional armaments.

What are the attitudes and policies of the

various states in the light of the decisions of the first session and with an eye to the second? This question is dealt with in the following survey prepared by the *WMR* Commission on the Problems of Scientific Information and Documentation.

Working for a resolute check on the arms race, the Soviet Union put before the First Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament a document containing a broad complex of constructive initiatives, including the proposals:

- to halt the production of nuclear weapons of all types, and then to start on a gradual reduction of their stockpiles up to their complete liquidation;

- to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons;
- not to deploy these weapons on the territory of states which do not have them at the present time;

- to prohibit the development of new types and systems of mass destruction weapons, in particular, neutron weapons;

- to accelerate and successfully complete the negotiations already under way on a bilateral, regional and international levels (talks between the USSR and the USA on limiting strategic offensive weapons; between the USSR, the USA and Britain on a complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapons tests; on a prohibition of the development, manufacture and stockpiling of chemical weapons and on the destruction of their stockpiles; negotiations on arms and troops cuts in Central Europe, and so on);

- to reinforce the effective international treaties and agreements aimed to limit the arms race, to make them universal, with the participation of all the states without exception;

- to reduce, in absolute terms, the military budgets of states in possession of large economic and military potentials, including those of all the permanent members of the Security Council, with an allocation of concrete amounts for the purpose of increasing assistance to less developed countries.

All of the USSR's proposals were reflected in the Final Document of the session, thereby providing fresh confirmation that the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries are in the forefront of the international efforts to solve the disarmament problem. Let us see how these efforts were expressed in concrete terms, and how the NATO countries responded to them in the subsequent period.

1978

At the talks in Vienna on mutual arms and

troop cuts in Central Europe in June, the socialist countries made new proposals: they expressed a readiness to accept the establishment of equal and common "ceilings" for the numerical strength of the armed forces of the NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries in the center of the continent, something on which the NATO countries had earlier insisted. The socialist countries proposed the setting of these "ceilings" — as a result of reductions — at the level of 900,000 men, including 700,000 for ground troops. They provided for a clear-cut definition of the size of troop cuts for each state.

In November, the Soviet Union, together with other Warsaw Treaty countries, proposed that the five nuclear powers — the USSR, the USA, Britain, France and China — should hold talks for the purpose of excluding nuclear weapons of all types from the arsenal of states and converting nuclear energy exclusively to peaceful uses. The Warsaw Treaty countries also declared that a substantial contribution to the strengthening of mutual confidence could be made by commitments not to build up troops and armaments on the territories of other states and not to use nuclear weapons against each other. They proposed a limitation of the scale of military exercises in Europe and expressed a readiness to negotiate on a reduction of the components of the military potentials of both sides in Europe which are a cause of anxiety. The USSR and its allies also called on their partners in the Vienna talks to undertake the commitment to refrain from increasing their armed forces and armaments in Central Europe for the duration of these talks.

At the 33rd session of the UN General Assembly (September 1978 — January 1979), the Soviet Union proposed that the commitments of states to end the manufacture of nuclear weapons in every form should be formalized in a treaty so as subsequently to go on to a gradual reduction of their stockpiles, including their complete liquidation.

At the session, the Soviet delegation also came forward with other initiatives: on the non-deployment of nuclear weapons on the territories of states which do not have them, and on the conclusion of an international convention on strengthening security guarantees for non-nuclear states.

However, there was no positive response from the NATO countries to these initiatives. In view of the non-constructive character of the stand taken by the United States and Britain, work on an agreement on a general and complete prohibition of nuclear weapons tests was not finalized. What is more, under U.S. pressure a long-term armaments program was

adopted by the NATO Council, which met concurrently with the UN session, a program whose implementation will cost \$80 billion over a period of 10 years. The NATO Council session reaffirmed its decision, taken a year earlier on orders from Washington, to increase military spending by 3 per cent a year in real terms. The build-up of NATO military forces in Europe continued.

1979

In March, the Soviet Union called on the NATO countries to reach agreement on the non-first use both of nuclear and of conventional weapons.

In June, the USSR and the United States signed SALT-2. It was based on the principle of equality and equal security. Implementation of SALT-2 would open up real potentialities for halting the build-up of nuclear missile weapons stockpiles and ensuring their effective limitation in quantitative and qualitative terms.

In October, the Soviet Union announced its readiness to reduce unilaterally the number of its medium-range nuclear weapons deployed in the western regions of the USSR, provided that there is no additional deployment of such weapons in Western Europe. The Soviet Union simultaneously proposed that negotiations should be started without delay on a reduction of these systems of nuclear missile weapons deployed in Europe.

In addition, the USSR, by agreement with its Warsaw Treaty allies, adopted and carried out a decision to unilaterally pull out 20,000 Soviet military personnel, 1,000 tanks and other military hardware from the territory of the GDR.

The NATO countries were also invited, for the purposes of strengthening mutual confidence measures, to agree on procedures of notifications concerning military exercises; on a temporary abandonment of such exercises involving more than 40,000-50,000 men; and on advance mutual notification not only about military exercises, but also about the movements of ground troops totalling more than 20,000 men. Meanwhile, the other, earlier proposals made by the socialist countries concerning notifications about large-scale air-force exercises, naval exercises, and so on, remained in force.

How did the United States and other NATO countries respond to these proposals?

The USSR's initiative for an agreement on the non-first use both of nuclear and of conventional weapons did not meet with a positive response. At the Vienna talks, all of the socialist countries' constructive proposals were also rejected. The patently unacceptable idea was put

forward for an "asymmetrical" reduction of the ground forces of both sides, with the Warsaw Treaty countries reducing the numerical strength of their armed forces in Central Europe by more than three times as compared with those of the NATO countries. At the same time, the United States dragged out the ratification of SALT-2. Under Pentagon pressure, the NATO Council session held in Brussels in December adopted a decision on the manufacture and deployment in the countries of Western Europe, from 1983 on, of new U.S. nuclear missile weapons: the Tomahawk Cruise missiles and the ballistic Pershing-2 missiles. Washington announced a five-year program for further building up U.S. military strength providing for an annual increase in real military spending by an average of 4.5 per cent.

1980

In May, the Warsaw Treaty countries once again put forward a complex of proposals aimed to strengthen peace and détente, to check the arms race, to promote disarmament and develop international cooperation. Among them was a most important initiative on holding a summit meeting of the leaders of states of all the regions of the world to discuss the problems in eliminating the hotbeds of international tension and preventing war.

In July, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries introduced a new proposal at the Vienna talks: to reduce the numerical strength of the American and Soviet troops in Central Europe, respectively, by 13,000 and 20,000 men (in addition to the Soviet contingent already withdrawn from the GDR in a unilateral move). The Warsaw Treaty countries expressed their readiness to have a collective "freeze" of the numerical strength of the troops of the direct participants in the talks for the period between two reduction stages and to the establishment of a mechanism for controlling the total numerical strength of the armed forces of the military-political groupings in Central Europe under which the troops of none of the states could be in excess of 50 per cent of the total collective levels of 900,000 men for each of the alignments.

In July, there was yet another peace initiative on the part of the USSR, which proposed a discussion, simultaneously and in organic connection, of matters relating to medium-range nuclear missile weapons in Europe and to U.S. forward-based nuclear weapons.

At the 35th session of the UN General Assembly (September-December), the Soviet Union tabled a draft resolution "On Some Urgent Measures for Reducing the Danger of

War," which called on the states within military alignments to refrain from acts leading to an enlargement of the existing military-political groupings through the inclusion of new members. It was proposed that all the states, primarily the permanent members of the Security Council and countries linked with them through military agreements, should not (beginning from January 1, 1981) increase their armed forces. The draft contained a provision on the non-use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states which do not have such weapons on their territory. The need was emphasized for the earliest conclusion of a treaty on complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapons tests. In order to facilitate the attainment of this goal, the Soviet Union proposed that the nuclear powers should not stage any nuclear blasts in the course of a year, starting from a date to be agreed by them.

All these initiatives ran up against stiff resistance from the NATO countries. The United States broke off negotiations with the Soviet Union on the prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons. The Carter administration's final acts were to produce the concept of "limited" nuclear war and to adopt the notorious Directive No. 59 envisaging the delivery of a first nuclear strike.

1981

The 26th congress of the CPSU put forward its Peace Program for the 1980s. Let us recall its content in brief. The Soviet Union is prepared, first, to extend the confidence-building measures in the military field to the whole of the European part of its territory, provided there is also a corresponding enlargement of the confidence measures zone on the part of the NATO countries as well; second, to conduct concrete negotiations on confidence measures in the Far East with all the countries concerned; third, immediately to resume negotiations with the United States on the limitation of strategic weapons and their reduction; fourth, to limit the deployment of new submarines in the United States and the USSR, and to prohibit the modernization of existing and the development of new ballistic missiles based on these submarines; fifth, to reach agreement on a moratorium on the deployment of new medium-range nuclear missile weapons in Europe by the NATO countries and the USSR, that is, to effect a quantitative and qualitative freeze on the existing level of such weapons, including U.S. forward-based nuclear weapons in the region; sixth, to reach agreement on the establishment of an authoritative international committee to demonstrate the vital necessity of

averting a nuclear holocaust; and seventh, to call a special sitting of the Security Council, with the participation of the top leaders of the member-countries, so as to do everything necessary to improve the international situation and to avert war.

At the 36th session of the UN General Assembly (September-December), the Soviet Union put forward for discussion a declaration on averting a nuclear catastrophe. It was adopted by an impressive majority of the votes. The NATO countries, which voted against, found themselves in clear isolation.

The Soviet Union also proposed the conclusion of a treaty on the prohibition of the deployment of any type of weapons in cosmic space. The purpose of this treaty is to check the arms race, and to reduce the level of tensions and military confrontation between states.

In November, the USSR came forward with four new important initiatives on deepening international détente; they were set forth by Leonid Brezhnev in Bonn in the course of his official visit to the FRG.

First. After the start of strategic arms limitation talks and throughout their entire duration, the United States and the USSR should refrain from deploying new and modernizing existing medium-range nuclear weapons.

Second. The Soviet Union is prepared to reduce its medium-range nuclear weapons in the European part of the USSR not by tens but by hundreds of units of this class of weapons.

Third. If the other side is prepared to rid Europe of medium-range nuclear weapons altogether, the USSR would accept this as well.

Fourth. The Soviet side is prepared to reach an agreement on ridding Europe of tactical nuclear weapons as well (heavy artillery nuclear shells, nuclear mines, etc.).

Consequently, the Soviet Union wants to see Europe ultimately free both from medium-range and tactical nuclear weapons.

Virtually at once, the U.S. administration rejected all the proposals made at the 26th congress of the CPSU. Extensive preparations were started in Western Europe for the siting of new U.S. medium-range missiles. Seeking to encourage the hesitant allies, U.S. Secretary of State Haig declared that some things were more important than peace. In August, President Reagan issued an order on the large-scale production of neutron weapons. Finally, in November, the White House made public its "zero option" for medium-range missiles. It boiled down to the idea that the USSR was to dismantle all of its medium-range missiles set up to counter the nuclear missiles of the United States and its allies in Western Europe targeted

on Soviet territory. In exchange, Washington would only agree not to deploy its new missiles in Europe, maintaining all the existing arsenal.

1982

In February, Leonid Brezhnev made a number of new and important initiatives in the course of a reception of representatives of the Socialist International's Consultative Council for Disarmament. He proposed that the Soviet Union and the United States should reduce, by 1990, the number of their medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe by three and more times. He emphasized that a genuine "zero option" in Europe would be the dismantling of all the medium-range missiles, something that the USSR advocates. However, if Washington is not prepared to take such a step, the Soviet Union could agree to a substantial reduction of missile weapons. Another proposal was to have both sides at Geneva issue a declaration of intent from which it would follow that they not only want a positive completion of these talks but are also prepared to negotiate on strategic weapons, that is, effectively to continue the strategic arms limitation talks.

In March, the Soviet Union put forward new proposals, in particular:

- on a resumption in the near future of the dialogue between the USSR and the United States on strategic nuclear weapons which should not be preceded by an opening of a new arms race channel, the deployment by both sides of long-range marine and ground-based Cruise missiles;

- on the mutual limitation of the activities of the naval fleets of the USSR and the United States, including the withdrawal of missile-carrying submarines of the sides from the present vast areas of their combat patrols, and on confining their cruise areas to mutually agreed limits.

There was also an announcement of a unilateral moratorium on the deployment of medium-range nuclear weapons in the European part of the USSR. Such weapons already deployed there were quantitatively and qualitatively frozen by the Soviet Union. The replacement of old missiles, known in the West as SS-4 and SS-5, by new ones — SS-20 — was suspended.

This year, the Soviet Union intends (provided, of course, there is no fresh exacerbation of the international situation) to reduce a definite number of its medium-range missiles. This is a decision of tremendous and funda-

mental importance which is designed to strengthen peace.

Meanwhile, what has the United States done? Official Washington has refused to support the new Soviet initiatives. It is true that, in an effort to tone down the impression created in the world and to pacify public opinion, U.S. President Reagan announced at a press conference that it was the U.S. goal allegedly to bring about a sharp reduction in nuclear weapons and to ensure lasting peace and security. But this announcement was not followed by any constructive steps. On the contrary, the Reagan administration even rejected the proposals made by prominent political leaders in the United States itself for a moratorium on nuclear weapons. Work is in full swing to develop an even more lethal nuclear "gamma bomb." A decision has been taken on the mass production of a new chemical weapon, with the expenditure of almost \$6 billion over the next five years.

Such are the facts. And they show who has consistently displayed good will in striving for a fulfillment of the decisions of the First Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament, and who has been sabotaging these decisions.

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"Yalta motif" of subversion against People's Poland

In his recent statements before the Sejm and at the seventh plenary meeting of the PUWP CC, Wojciech Jaruzelski emphasized the importance for Poland of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements as the foundation of peaceful relations in Europe and mentioned the attempts to undermine these foundations and destabilize the situation on our continent. What are these attempts, and what is their purpose?

Vasil Stefanov
Varna

The political struggle within and over Poland in the course of the past two years has clearly brought out the "Yalta motif," a reading of the agreements reached by the heads of government of the three great powers — USSR, United States and Great Britain — at the Crimea Conference in February 1945 which is directed against our country's social system and its international alliances. At the beginning of this year, some leading West European politicians referred to these agreements when voicing their dissatisfaction over the introduction of martial law in Poland. The bourgeois press carried a series of publications on the Yalta agreements.

What is the political and ideological purpose of this revival of interest in the diplomatic history of the Second World War? The purpose of the propaganda campaign over the 37-year old events clearly stands out against the background of the attempts by the Reagan administration to internationalize the "Polish question," thereby paving the way for intervention in the internal affairs of our state. Capitalizing on the fact that some of those who are now involved in politics were born and bred after the war, so that for them Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam are rather vague notions of the past, some bourgeois propagandists have tried to throw a false light so as to make history work for their current political needs.

The gist of their interpretation was perhaps expressed most concisely by the Hamburg weekly *Der Stern*, which said: "As a result of the division of Europe, which the West has accepted since Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam, Poland has been one of the countries in the Soviet sphere of influence."¹ This version was also supported by *Der Spiegel*, which alleged that in the Crimea, the heads of the great powers, in

between jokes "changed the map of the world, shared out Europe and decided Poland's future."² The Yalta and Potsdam agreements are also similarly interpreted by the *International Herald Tribune*, which says that "Washington and Moscow have based their alliances — even their superpower status — on Europe's division. However much each seeks the demise of its foe, it also recognizes that peace in Europe hinges on political stability."³

There is hardly any need for more quotations, because those given above reveal all the basic elements of the political myth which has long been spun round the Crimea Conference. It is designed to convince readers that at Yalta the Big Three had struck a bargain on spheres of influence in Europe, as a result of which the bourgeois social order was retained in one part of it, and profound social transformations began in the other part which was liberated by the Red Army. From this general premise is drawn the conclusion that socialism was allegedly imposed on the peoples of Eastern and Southeastern Europe against their will. That being so, any form of struggle against it acquires legitimate grounds, any external support for such resistance becomes morally justified — and that is the loophole provided for intervention in the internal affairs of the socialist countries, notably Poland. Besides, the Yalta documents are cited to back up the allegation that the contemporary world is being run by the two "superpowers."

After the war, the preparatory documents containing the recommendations of the experts, the verbatim reports of the sittings and the final communiqué, the protocols and the agreements signed by the participants in the Crimea Conference were published,⁴ and anyone who can read will see for himself that such an interpretation of Yalta is no more than a malicious invention. At the Crimea Conference, no one laid down any divide between the capitalist system and the socialist system. The participants in the conference held that humankind's peaceful and secure future depended on the principle of unity: that is the basis of the UN Security Council's activity. Indeed, the Conference documents make clear that Yalta was the antithesis of words like "partition" and "confrontation"; its participants held to the principle of "Europe for the Euro-

peans." At that time, the United States made no attempt to strike the pose of mentor and to lecture its partners. The turn to confrontation came later.

It is true that an attempt to discuss the post-war destinies of the peoples was made by Winston Churchill in the habitual colonial power language, but not at Yalta. In the autumn of 1944, during a dinner at the Kremlin in Moscow, he jotted down some figures which the Soviet protocol of the conversation politely called a "table": the British Prime Minister proposed the establishment in Romania of a 90 per cent Soviet influence, in Greece, a 90 per cent British influence, and in Yugoslavia, 50 per cent each. After a painful silence, Stalin returned the "project" to the British Prime Minister and advised him to keep it for himself.⁵ This was an unambiguous rejection of Churchill's approach to the solution of the post-war arrangement problem.

At Yalta, none of the participants brought up the idea of establishing spheres of influence. Indeed, it is well known that no decisions on the borders of European states were taken there at all.⁶ The Polish question was not discussed from the angle of the social system in a future Poland, but from the standpoint of the security of the Soviet Union's western borders. It was more than understandable that a country in its fourth year in a sanguinary war against invaders, who had come across Poland, wanted to have firm guarantees against any repetition of this kind of aggression. At the Crimea Conference, the head of the USSR delegation declared: "For the Russians, the question of Poland is not only a question of honor, but also a question of security. It is a question of honor, because in the past the Russians sinned much against Poland. The Soviet government is trying to redeem these sins. It is a question of security, because with Poland are connected the key strategic problems of the Soviet state . . . Throughout history, Poland has always been a corridor along which an enemy attacking Russia proceeded . . . The Polish corridor cannot be closed mechanically from outside only by Russian forces. It can be reliably closed up only from within by Poland's own forces. For this there is a need that Poland should be strong. That is why the Soviet Union wants to see the establishment of a powerful, free and independent Poland. The question of Poland is a matter of life and death for the Soviet state."⁷

In the opinion of the Soviet delegation, the political guarantees for the security of the USSR's western border could be provided only by a friendly Polish government. Let us recall that at the time there were two provisional

Polish governments: the *Krajowa Rada Narodowa* headed by Boleslaw Bierut in the country, and the emigré government in London.

Following a circumstantial discussion on the composition of the Polish government, the participants in the Crimea Conference adopted a text based on the Soviet conception.⁸ In this way, the anti-Hitlerite coalition recognized that the USSR's security required the existence of a friendly Polish state. Such an approach, however, did not in any sense decide beforehand the matter of post-war Poland's social system. It is now possible only to speculate on the kind of political system our country would have if after the war the centrist and conservative groupings had decided to maintain good-neighbor relations with the Soviet Union. But in the late 1940s, the bourgeois opposition, far from providing any actual guarantees of that kind, in effect refused even to give any verbal assurances of friendship. On the contrary, its foreign policy orientation was patently anti-Soviet.

It is, of course, absurd to deny the importance of the external factor of the social and political processes under way in this or that country. From the standpoint of the future balance of forces on the European continent, the Big Three understandings were, of course, of considerable importance. This applies especially to the Tehran Conference, which reached an agreement on the concentration of military operations by the armies of the United States and Great Britain in Western Europe, instead of the Balkans. This strategic decision, which was taken after a fairly acute struggle, but still taken unanimously, signified that the allied troops, moving from West to East, would meet each other somewhere on the territory of Germany, so that the states of Eastern and Southern Europe would be liberated by the Soviet Army. This alone substantially limited the possibility of direct political action by the capitalist powers in these regions as, incidentally, it also reduced similar potentialities for the Soviet Union in Western Europe. The war had a most potent effect on the sociopolitical reality in the European countries by intensifying the radical attitudes of the masses. It could be anticipated in advance that in the countries of Eastern Europe the Soviet Union would support the left-wing forces, and that in the West and the South of the continent, the United States and Britain would prevent their strengthening. Thus, from the outset, the geography of the fronts opened up different potentialities for the political forces existing within the individual European countries.⁹

At the same time, the post-war history of Europe has shown very well that neither Tehran, Yalta nor Potsdam did anything to predetermine the further ways of socio-political development of the states situated on the territories liberated by the Soviet Army. Of crucial importance here were the internal processes that were certainly accelerated by the sharp increase in international tension in the late 1940s. Wherever there were no prerequisites for socialist transformations, the capitalist system continued to exist, and this is instanced by neutral Finland and Austria, which maintained good-neighbor relations with the USSR. Socialist Yugoslavia, as everyone knows, has become one of the founders of the non-aligned movement. Poland, like a number of other countries in Central and Eastern Europe, got down to building a new society and subsequently joined the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the CMEA.

But the transition to socialist construction in Poland and in most of the other countries of Central and Eastern Europe did not begin at once, not as a result of the export of revolution, as our ideological adversaries claim, but only as a result of complex internal processes. In accordance with the decision of the Crimea Conference in June 1945, the President of the Krajowa Rada Narodowa formed a Provisional Government of National Unity, which included representatives of the Polish Workers' Party (PPR), the Polish Socialist Party (PPS), and the Democratic and People's Parties. For a year and a half, reactionary and centrist bourgeois parties operated openly and legally in Poland, to say nothing of the numerous underground outfits which took an openly hostile stand against the people's power. In some parts of Poland, the fight against the forces of reaction for the consolidation of the people's power was in the nature of a civil war. It took the lives of 22,000 communists, members of left-wing democratic parties, and also soldiers and militia men. But the PPR's flexible domestic and foreign policy, which won support not only among the workers but also among a sizable part of the intelligentsia and the peasantry, its struggle for the unity of the Polish proletariat, and the cohesion of all the democratic forces markedly eroded the social basis of reaction and led to a political polarization and a weakening of the underground. Following the first major victory scored during the national referendum of 1946, the bloc of democratic parties secured a decisive preponderance during the elections to the Sejm (1947), when over 80 per cent of the electorate voted for the common list of deputies from the PPR, PPS, the Democratic and

People's Parties and the trade unions. Mikolajczyk's bourgeois Polish People's Party suffered a heavy defeat (10.3 per cent) and its leader left Poland. The 1947 elections marked the end of the period of struggle between the democratic forces and the legal opposition over Poland's subsequent development and the nature of its system. The bourgeois forces were excluded from the country's political life. A people's democracy, as a form of the proletarian dictatorship, was established in Poland.

From the historical standpoint, the Yalta myth is so untenable that it is not accepted even by many bourgeois journalists.¹⁰ But it would have had no sort of "revival," had it only been a matter of assessing the past.

Regardless of the actual content of the documents signed at the Crimea Conference, "Yalta" has become a political concept used to denote the balance of forces which took shape in Europe as a result of the post-war development, the status quo which has enabled the peoples of this continent to live in peace for nearly 40 years. In the early 1980s, the leaders of the Polish counter-revolution were undoubtedly aware that the elimination of socialism in our country and a re-orientation of its foreign-policy line would upset the existing equilibrium and, in consequence, result in the gravest international complications. The politicians responsible for the destinies of their peoples have also been equally aware of this.

What could one say in conclusion?

In our day, in the face of a growing threat of nuclear war, the movement for disarmament and peace has been sharply activated everywhere. Even in the capitalist countries, only avowed retrogrades dare flatly to advocate naked confrontation, the use of force, and a change of the social system in one of the European countries by means of a civil war and eventually, perhaps, at the price of a world armed conflict. Such an approach would certainly not have many supporters either in Poland itself or in the West European countries, even among those who are remote from the communists. That is why the idea of changing the balance of forces is being spread about covertly, and one of the forms of this camouflage is the discussion over "Yalta." Between its advocates and adversaries runs the watershed in the matter of maintaining or disrupting the post-war system in Europe, and ultimately the attitude to war and peace in Europe.

The statement in the Polish Sejm on January 25, 1982, by First Secretary of the PUWP CC W. Jaruselski concerning the readiness of the Military Council of National Salvation and the

Polish Government to abide by the treaties which summarized the results of the Second World War and to safeguard the foundations of peace in Europe was yet another unambiguous assertion of the principles underlying the foreign policy of socialist Poland.

Jerzy Waszczuk
PUWP representative on WMR

1. *Der Stern*, January 14, 1982.
2. *Der Spiegel*, January 11, 1982.
3. *International Herald Tribune*, January 14, 1982.
4. *The Soviet Union at International Conferences in the Period of the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945*, Vol. IV. Moscow, 1979 (in Russian); *Foreign Relations of the United States. Diplomatic Papers. The Conference at Malta and Yalta 1945*. Washington, 1955.
5. W.S. Churchill. *Triumph and Tragedy*. Boston, 1953, pp. 356-357.
6. The allies had reached an agreement in principle on the territory of post-war Poland back at Tehran (1943): its eastern borders were to run along the so-called Curzon line (Grodno-Brest-the River Bug, with small departures in favor of the Poles), and its western borders along the Odra.

Considering that in July 1944, at the signing of the agreement with the USSR, the Polish Committee of National Liberation raised the question of a transfer of the territory to the west of the middle reaches of the Odra and the establishment of the new border along the Odra-Nysa line, these additional territorial demands were discussed at Yalta. The Big Three did not reach agreement on this point and the problem was postponed until a peace conference. Poland's post-war border along the Odra-Nysa line was finally approved by the Potsdam agreements.

7. *Tehran-Yalta-Potsdam. Collection of Documents*. Moscow, 1970, p. 144 (in Russian).
8. The Americans proposed the establishment of a Presidential Council consisting of B. Bierut (from the Krajowa Rada Narodowa), S. Grabski (from the London government) and Archbishop A. Sapieha. The British project provided, in general terms, for the establishment of a government resting on all the democratic forces in Poland. The Soviet Union believed that it was advisable to include in the provisional government — the Krajowa Rada Narodowa — democratic leaders from among those who were at home and abroad.
9. See the articles by W. Kowalski in *Trybuna Ludu*, January 3 and 4, 1982.
10. See, for instance, *Die Zeit*, January 15, 1982; *Vorwärts*, January 14, 1982.



A great son of the U.S. working class

Arthur Zipser, *Working-Class Giant, The Life of William Z. Foster*, New York, International Publishers, 1981, 219 pp.

This concise but lively account of the life of William Z. Foster, outstanding organizer of the American proletariat, communist leader, distinguished personality of the international communist movement, and Marxist-Leninist theoretician, was published on the centenary of his birth (1881-1961). The author, Arthur Zipser, was Foster's research assistant and secretary when the latter was Chairman of the party's National Committee. Drawing upon Foster's own writings and recollections and material from other sources he gives a vivid account of events that shaped Foster as a party leader and unlocked his great energy and ability, which in turn influenced the development of the working-class movement in the USA.

This book covers the principal landmarks of Foster's life. It is also a reference outline of the major U.S. trade-union struggles of the first half of the 20th century and of the history of the Communist Party of the USA.

Foster did what was considered the impossible in the USA by successfully rallying the bulk of steel workers to industrial unions. Although the steel workers' strike of 1919 was defeated as a result of American Federation of Labor treachery, the working class thoroughly frightened the bourgeoisie.

In the spring of 1921 Foster went to Moscow as an invited observer of the First Congress of the Profintern and as a correspondent of a U.S. news service. After three and a half months in the Soviet capital he was satisfied that the working class of Russia led by the Communist Party with Lenin at its head was successfully fulfilling its mission. He also saw "the applicability of (communism) to the United States" (p. 70), and upon his return he joined the young U.S. communist movement. Foster brought his rich trade-union experience and considerable reputation to the Communist Party, which, in turn, helped the Trade Union Educational League, which Foster had founded, to struggle for industrial unions.

The "good times" of Coolidge prosperity were hard times for the Trade Union Ed-

educational League and its campaign for industrial unions, a labor party, and official U.S. recognition of the USSR. But with the Great Depression of the 1930s, the left base Foster had led in building the labor movement, and the stronger Communist Party were able to lead the organization of the unemployed and be of decisive help in building the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Foster was involved in all three of the major battles against right-opportunist "American exceptionalism" in the U.S. Communist Party. First in the late 1920s when the Lovestone faction declared that the economic crisis forecast by the sixth congress of the Comintern (1928) would not take place in the United States, which "possessed a superior variety of capitalism." Foster and others challenged this line, and the Lovestonites were defeated just before the great October 1929 crash.

The idea of "American exceptionalism" surfaced again in the 1940s in the thesis of Earl Browder (then General Secretary of the Communist Party of the USA) that U.S. imperialism had changed and become benign during World War II. On this basis the party was actually dissolved into a "Communist Political Association" in May 1944. This was opposed by Foster and other Marxist-Leninists. In July 1945 a special convention reconstituted the Communist Party of the USA.

The third struggle against right-opportunism took place in 1956 (Foster was in his 75th year), when a group around John Gates, then editor of *The Daily Worker*, proclaimed a course toward the immediate formation of a "mass party of socialism" and advocated scrapping Leninist

norms of party policy and organization. Gates was joined by others who were enamored of the U.S. "welfare state" capitalism. Although Foster was beset with severe health problems he took part against the new opportunists. A party split was prevented at the 16th convention, held in early 1957. The isolation of the rightists continued until the party was fully restored to Leninist norms after the 1959 convention and under the leadership of its new General Secretary, Gus Hall.

Foster was a genuine working-class intellectual. He wrote 14 books and innumerable pamphlets and articles. These included well-known works: *History of the Communist Party of the United States*, *The Negro People in American History*, *Outline Political History of the Americas*, and *Outline History of the World Trade Union Movement*. *American Trade Unionism* and *Pages From a Worker's Life* are now regarded as classics on the history of the U.S. working class.

Foster won the right to travel in 1960, and soon arrived in Moscow for medical treatment. His 80th birthday was celebrated there in February. Despite the finest available resources for his treatment and convalescence, the long years of intensive activity had taken their toll. Foster died on September 1, 1961. The funeral took place in Red Square.

To quote Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the USA, Foster "was the very best that the U.S. working class has produced." Zipser's book bears out these words.

Betty Smith

CC Political Bureau member,
CPUSA

In memory of Konstantin Zarodov

The international collective of *World Marxist Review* has suffered a grave loss with the death of Konstantin Zarodov, who gave nearly 14 years of his life to the highly responsible and creative work of Editor-in-Chief of the common theoretical and information journal of the communist and workers' parties.

Konstantin Zarodov was born in 1920. He joined the Communist Party of the Soviet Union at the age of 20, and from then on carried high throughout his life the honor and dignity of communist of the Leninist mold.

From the first to the last day of the Great Patriotic War, Konstantin Zarodov was on active service in the Soviet Navy. After demobilization he did important socio-political and journalistic work, first in Vologda, his

home town, and then in Moscow. He worked at the CPSU Central Committee from 1956, headed the newspaper *Sovetskaya Rossiya* from 1961 and served as First Deputy Editor-in-Chief of *Pravda* from 1965 to 1968.

Konstantin Zarodov was elected alternate member of the CPSU Central Committee at the 23rd, 24th, 25th and 26th party congresses.

His extensive experience of party work, profound knowledge, capacity for organization and journalistic gift manifested themselves vividly in the long years of his fruitful work in *World Marxist Review*. He gave the journal all his energies and strove indefatigably to ensure that our periodical reflected most fully the theoretical thought, rich practical work and

manifold exchange of experience of the fraternal parties.

A sensitive editor, Konstantin Zarodov knew how to inspire his colleagues, how to fire them with a topical idea or a new approach. Scholar, analyst, professor, and doctor of historical sciences, he worked on problems of history and the contemporary world revolutionary process. His writings, published both in *WMR* and other periodicals and in book form in many languages, were marked by a creative approach.

Marxist-Leninist loyalty to principle, unshakable faith in the communists' revolutionary ideals, discerning vision and an incisive understanding of the problems of our movement earned him the deep esteem of everyone who had the opportunity of working with him.

The radiant memory of Konstantin Zarodov, a Soviet communist who devoted himself to the cause of international cooperation among communist and workers' parties, will always live in the hearts of those who knew him.

In connection with the death of Konstantin Zarodov, Editor-in-Chief of *World Marxist Review*, the Editorial Board and the Editorial Council have received numerous messages of condolence from fraternal parties, the editors of national editions of *WMR*, international democratic organizations, and prominent party leaders and public figures.

The Editorial Board and the Editorial Council express their gratitude to all those who join the journal's international collective in voicing a sense of profound grief.

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