

WORLD

Problems of

MARXIST

Peace and Socialism

REVIEW

February 1983, Volume 26, Number 2 \$1.00





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Theoretical and information journal
of Communist and Workers' Parties

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Voice of Peace from Moscow

Moscow is a multilingual city, with a population representative of almost all of the nations and nationalities inhabiting the Soviet Union. Add to these the tens of thousands of people coming from abroad and also speaking a good hundred languages. The city's motley character was underscored by the festive atmosphere during the celebrations of the 60th anniversary of the USSR. All the union and autonomous republics and the autonomous regions and areas were represented at the anniversary meetings, evening functions, rallies, exhibitions and concerts. The holiday cheer of the Soviet people was shared as friends by 134 delegations from 112 countries. At the celebrations in the Soviet capital there also was a delegation from *World Marxist Review*, of which we were members. The main impression that we carried away with us was the feeling that the 60th anniversary of the USSR was an event of worldwide significance.

During the festival many languages were spoken in Moscow, but the principal of these was the language of peace. As we listened to Yuri Andropov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, addressing the anniversary sitting in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses we, as everybody else, were acutely aware of the immense importance and topicality of the proposals he was making to preserve world peace, relax international tension, halt the arms race, and avert a nuclear catastrophe. We were profoundly moved by the measured words of the Appeal of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Central Committee of the CPSU "To the Parliaments, Governments, Political Parties and Peoples of the World." This document, based on the principles of foreign policy developed by Lenin, articulates the peaceful ideals of the world's first socialist state, gives a deep-going and sober assessment of the present international situation, which is fraught with the nuclear menace, and suggests the steps needed to preserve peace in the world.

"For the sake of these aims," it declares, "the Soviet Union is prepared to cooperate with all the countries of the world regardless of their political and social systems."

*"The Soviet people are convinced that if countries and peoples combine their efforts they can defeat the threat of war, preserve and consolidate peace in the world, and ensure the human right to life."*¹

The appeal for peace from Moscow on the eve of 1983 was seen as an expression of the most urgent, most pressing of humankind's aspirations. We communists take pride in the fact that the world's first socialist country comes forward as the spokesman of the interests of the overwhelming majority of people regardless of color, nationality, and social status.

In rereading the anniversary speech, which we see as an immensely important document of creative Marxism-Leninism profoundly showing the regularities and specifics of present-day world development, we appreciate how deeply it substantiates the premise that the striving for peace is rooted in the nature of the new society. The main purport of the cardinal, epoch-making transformations that have been accomplished in the USSR during the past 60 years is compressed, as it were, in the laconic but extremely meaningful formulations of the speech:

"— History has fully borne out the theory of Marx and Lenin that the nationalities question can only be settled on a class basis.

"— It has been compellingly demonstrated that the Communist Party and its scientific policy are the guiding force in the socialist settlement of the nationalities question and the guarantor that this settlement is correct.

"— Backward outlying regions populated by ethnic minorities, in many of which feudal-patriarchal and even clan relations were still dominant, have disappeared.

"— An integral union-wide economic complex has formed on the basis of the dynamic economic growth of all the republics, a growth guided by the general state plan.

"— There has been a qualitative change of the social structure of the republics: a modern working class has emerged in each of them, the peasants are moving along the new road, that of collective farming, a people's intelligentsia has been created, and skilled cadre have been

trained in all areas of the life of state and society.

"— A socialist multinational culture has burgeoned on the basis of progressive traditions and an intensive exchange of cultural values.

"— Socialist nations have formed, and these now comprise a new historical community — the Soviet people."²

There is something common in all these changes — they are permeated with the striving for equality and unity among people. The development of nations is levelling up; discord of all kinds — social, national, and racial — is being eradicated; the relations between peoples are increasingly determined by unity and concord, and are characterized by growing harmony. There were innumerable examples to illustrate that all this is in no way a flight of fantasy but the essence of life in the Soviet Union. In Moscow, with all its multilinguality and dazzling variegation, we constantly felt the beneficial influence of the great centripetal force called friendship among peoples.

This force of friendship, of socialist internationalism, is seen strikingly not only in the relations between the nationalities of the Soviet Union but also on a state-to-state level — in the relations between the countries of the socialist community. We heard compelling evidence of this in the speeches of leaders of the fraternal parties and countries at the anniversary sitting in the Kremlin. The same principles underlie the support being extended by the socialist world to the new nations that have liberated themselves from colonial tyranny.

The socialist community, it was emphasized in Moscow, is the factor stabilizing the entire system of international relations. Lenin had laid the foundations of the policy of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, and the Soviet Union has been consistent in implementing it. While maintaining its class positions in politics and opposing the capitalist world ideologically, socialism calls for goodneighborly and mutually beneficial relations with all countries. The socialist countries urge settling the disputes arising out of this confrontation exclusively by peaceful means, by negotiations and agreements.

Many of those who took the floor in the Kremlin noted that developments over the past decade have most vividly and fully mirrored the CPSU's foreign policy of peace. The principal milestones of the tireless efforts made in behalf of peace during these years by the Soviet Union, with the support of other socialist countries and of progressives throughout the world, are the Peace Programs for the 1970s and 1980s

adopted by the past three congresses of the CPSU, the efforts to carry out these programs, the vigorous preparations for the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the signing of its Final Act, the dramatic initiatives in the United Nations that became the basis of many of its resolutions on peace and disarmament, and the tireless work of Soviet representatives to conclude agreements with the USA on limiting and banning strategic armaments.

We should like to accentuate some features of the Soviet stand in this struggle, notably the realism and integrity of the Soviet approach to the talks on peace, disarmament and the prevention of a nuclear war. Realism is seen in the Soviet stand that the talks on peace must provide for the preservation of equal security for the two contracting parties. Integrity lies in the recognition of the now existing relative parity in armaments of the USSR and the USA, of the Warsaw pact and the NATO bloc. This has been demonstrated beyond the shadow of a doubt in the latest speeches of Soviet military and political leaders and of persons who only recently were at the helm of the U.S. military machine, including former U.S. President Jimmy Carter. It is this realistic and integral approach that motivated the USSR's fundamental proposal in disarmament policy, namely, a freeze on armaments at their present level and then a gradual lowering of that level while preserving equality down to the lowest indicators.

In Moscow it was reiterated that the Soviet Union was prepared to take many concrete steps, both those that were proposed earlier, and entirely new ones leading to this road. The General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee said in the Kremlin that the USSR would continue to honor the pledge to refrain from a nuclear first strike, a pledge made in the UN on June 17, 1982, which in itself is a most vivid illustration of the Soviet Union's peaceful aspirations, and added: "We are also prepared to agree that the sides should renounce first use of a conventional, as well as a nuclear arms first strike."³ Further, it was declared that the USSR was prepared to reduce all types of strategic weapons by more than one-fourth provided, of course, a similar undertaking was pledged by the USA. Lastly, a new proposal was made also in regard to security in Europe: the Soviet Union was prepared to limit the number of its missiles in Europe, including the latest types, to the combined total of the NATO countries.

The question of missiles in Europe is the touchstone of the integrity and realism of the approach to the disarmament problem as a whole. And here again, instead of realistically

recognizing the equilibrium, the politicians championing imperialist interests are vainly hoping, and suffering one fiasco after another, to draw a fantastic picture of Soviet military superiority in the world and, particularly, in Europe. Instead of coming to an honest agreement on reducing the nuclear threat they are having recourse to subterfuges in order to "pull a quickie" on their negotiations partner. Such is the purport of the U.S. "zero option": they want the Soviet Union to pull out its medium-range missiles in exchange for a U.S. promise not to deploy its latest Pershing and Cruise missiles. Meanwhile, the NATO missiles with nuclear warheads targeted on the USSR would remain in place. The Soviet people we spoke to during the celebrations said: Fine terms, these; what they mean is that they would keep their armaments at the present level if we disarmed. And they call an agreement along these rules fair!

We could understand their indignation: they see their country proposing one variant of agreement after another, seeking understanding, and suggesting mutually acceptable compromises. But what does it get in reply? A wall of silence, a practical zero of counter proposals. The Soviet Union is showing its fidelity to peaceful coexistence, while from the USA all one hears are calls for a crusade against communism and arguments about the possibility of winning a nuclear war. Lastly, in violation of all agreements, they are allocating billions for the production of an offensive weapon of horrible destructive power, the MX missile. At the rallies we attended in Moscow and Leningrad, people asked: Is it possible, in this situation, to surrender equal security, to let the imperialists have military superiority? And they were unanimous in answering in the negative. The voice of the Soviet people is heard in the words of the anniversary speech: "... let no one delude himself: we will never let our security or the security of our allies be jeopardized. It would also be a good thing if thought were given to the grave consequences that the stationing of new U.S. medium-range weapons in Europe would entail for all further efforts to limit nuclear armaments in general. In short, the ball is now in the court of the USA."⁴

The celebration of the 60th anniversary of the Soviet Union forcefully demonstrated socialism's might. It now has all the potentialities for defending itself against aggressive encroachments. The Soviet leaders stated can-

didly and bluntly that the nation has new weapons that would be deployed if by their reckless decisions the imperialist circles forced the socialist countries to further reinforce their defense capability. It is a fact, and no decent person can ever forget it, that the Soviet Union has never been the initiator of the arms race, that it was compelled to join in it under threat of aggression, by the efforts to force it to its knees, by the striving to halt the building of the new society, by the mad plans to dig a nuclear pit on humankind's road to progress. To this day the world's first socialist country addresses the peoples not with a sword but with words of peace. In this it is supported on all continents by hundreds of millions of people. In marking, together with the Soviet people, the 60th anniversary of the union of free and equal nations, all of us, friends of the USSR, felt that this was our festival, a festival of the champions of peace and progress in the world.

This common sentiment was excellently expressed at the reception in the Kremlin by Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the CPCz and President of Czechoslovakia, who spoke on behalf of foreign guests. He said, addressing Soviet people: "We extend our sincere gratitude to you ... for having in the past decades made and continuing to make a large contribution to the development of socialism in the world, to the victorious struggle of the peoples for their freedom. For them the USSR has become an example in this just struggle, a source of inspiration and a dependable mainstay. During these days the voice of peace again came over from Moscow very forcefully and with great conviction."⁵

Indeed, peace and socialism are indivisible, and the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the USSR gave us, as to many millions of people throughout the world, greater confidence that the future belongs to socialism, that the cause of peace will triumph.

— *Members of the WMR delegation: Roland Bauer, CC member of the SUPG; Rupert Lewis, CC member of the Workers' Party of Jamaica; Hamid Majid Mussa, CC alternate member of the Iraqi Communist Party.*

1. *Pravda*, December 23, 1982.
2. *Pravda*, December 22, 1982.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Pravda*, December 23, 1982.

Revolution and democracy

Antonin Kapek

CC Presidium member, CPCz

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LESSONS OF THE VICTORIOUS FEBRUARY AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE TODAY

Thirty-five years have gone by since the February days when a decisive change in favor of socialism came about in Czechoslovakia and a period of fundamentally new social development set in. The significance of the events of 1948 has not diminished since then. Looking back and assessing the experience gained in building socialism, we still turn time and again to the lessons of the revolution to see the outlook for further advance all the better and gain a deeper insight into developments around us.

The February events were neither a nationally isolated, nor an accidental act of history. They were the culmination of a long period of development of the Czechoslovak working-class movement and Communist Party. Also, they were a component and continuation of the world revolutionary process begun by the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Our party, led by Klement Gottwald, creatively applied Leninist theory to ensure the development of the national-democratic into a socialist revolution. This took place in a country having developed capitalist production relations, a sufficiently mature working class, deep-rooted traditions of bourgeois democracy, and lastly, a large body of small and middle urban strata playing a notable role on the political scene.

During the revolution the CPCz showed itself to be the real vanguard of the working class precisely because it was prepared from the theoretical point of view to accomplish the tasks set by history. Its entire activity was intended "to seek, find and correctly determine the specific path or the particular turn of events that will lead the masses to the real, decisive and final great revolutionary struggle,"¹ or, in other words, achieve what Lenin defined in his time as the main objective of the communist movement in Western Europe and in America.² The party, striving to win over the masses and fighting for democracy and socialism, searched for appropriate ways and means of approaching the socialist revolution. The issue of

democracy held an important place in this search.

I

In the years of the bourgeois republic, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia had to operate in distinctive conditions that were, none the less, largely typical of a number of West European countries; it was necessary to defend democracy, national independence and the social rights of labor against the onslaught of internal and external fascist reaction. Every stage of this struggle demanded a concrete and principled class approach by the party to the estimation of social phenomena, including democracy. What does this mean?

The communists fought for radical social changes and against bourgeois democracy at a time when this democracy was a real instrument of the bourgeoisie defending capitalism. But the CPCz took up the defense of bourgeois democracy when it was attacked from the right, by fascism.

The complexity and distinctive character of the situation which had shaped by the late 30s were less due to a change in the communists' attitude to bourgeois democracy than to the fact that this democracy itself tended to curb to a considerable extent those who wanted to defend it, or tied their hands to be exact, by its very substance and its concrete class framework. The Communist International and the CPCz along with it realized that the defense of democracy against fascism called for changing it, since democracy must be able to defend itself.

Speaking to the seventh CPCz congress (April 1936), Gottwald listed the main conditions of effective resistance to the fascist threat as follows: "A first condition is to meet the social and economic demands of the working people of town and countryside . . . It is clear that in the interest of really defending the republic, the people must be given what belongs to them. A second condition is freedom, greater democratic rights, a democratization of the whole regime, or, in short, rights for the working people . . . A third condition is national rights, the national equality of all the peoples of Czecho-

slovakia . . . A fourth condition is to democratize the army, to purge it of fascist generals, and to grant all civil and democratic rights to the rank and file."³

With due regard to the situation that was taking shape, the CPCz stepped up its effort for the achievement of working-class unity of action and the unification of the overwhelming majority of workers irrespective of political views, nationality or world view. At the same time the communists worked for the formation of a broader popular front as an alliance of all classes and social strata having an objective stake in the defense of democracy from the fascist danger. The party realized that whether the threat to the republic was removed would depend on something more than the outcome of the fight against betrayal on the part of the extreme right-wing bourgeoisie and against the intrigues of domestic fascism. It was also necessary to stop the spread of dangerous illusions entertained by a large section of our people, chiefly the middle strata, who believed in the "democracy" and "patriotism" of the Hrad Group.⁴

The experience of our country shows that the sooner the masses take the defense of democracy into their hands, refusing to rely on the rulers' "democracy" and "patriotism," the more successfully the political struggle against fascism goes on. It was the policy of surrender adopted by the "Hrad bourgeoisie" that hampered the unification of democratic forces, preventing the formation of an efficient broad, united anti-fascist popular front.

In spite of the Communist Party's efforts, patriots and democrats proved unable in the hour of decision to defeat the plans of foreign and home reaction: Czechoslovakia was surrendered to Hitler. To quote Gottwald (1945), "the people, who wanted to defend themselves, were not united and organized enough, nor had they attained a political level high enough to impose their will. The people were caught unawares by the Munich betrayal."⁵

March 14 and 15, 1939⁶ became the logical if not inevitable finale of the process begun at Munich. A new domestic situation was created; the alignment of class forces changed and contradictions between the people and the alliance of domestic and foreign fascism took other forms. Not only the working people but a section of the bourgeoisie came to feel the burden of the distressing and menacing situation which this class itself had helped bring about through its vacillation, inconsistency, pro-Western orientation, fear of socialism, and lastly, direct capitulation to the aggressor. The contradictions between the overwhelming

majority of Czechs and Slovaks, on the one hand, and the invaders and traitors, on the other, sharpened greatly. In the circumstances the party defined the immediate task as overthrowing fascist domination, a regime which was expressive of both national betrayal and foreign occupation. It saw the achievement of this goal as the beginning of a revolution democratic and popular in social, economic and political content and forcible in character and forms of resistance to the fascist regime and the internal forces responsible for the Munich tragedy.

The party considered that the national liberation and anti-fascist fight would give rise to a new type of democracy differing from bourgeois democracy in class content and meaning. In other words, a democratic revolution could result in establishing a regime that went beyond the framework of nominal democracy — skilfully used in the past by the bourgeoisie — and operated from the start as an effective instrument of primarily the motive forces of the revolutionary process.

Needless to say, the orientation to a national-democratic revolution did not mean that the CPCz was renouncing its historical mission — building socialism. But every attempt to "hasten the advance to the goal" would actually result in moving farther away from the goal and complicate the struggle. Conversely, the policy directed toward national liberation and democratic changes in the country was opening, in fact, the shortest way to socialist transformation. First of all, it made possible real steps forward in the chosen direction, and secondly, it allowed the party to win mass support for decisive revolutionary actions. This position of the party was prompted by a proper understanding of the people's role as the active subject of the national-democratic revolution and by a firm orientation to the Soviet Union, seen by the masses as the chief force of the anti-Hitler coalition — a circumstance which in the opinion of the CPCz created what were most favorable conditions from the class point of view for the liberation struggle of the Czech and Slovak peoples.

Revolutions are not accomplished by external forces but by the masses, and as for the forms of political and social changes, they depend above all else on which of the main classes of society becomes political leader of the revolutionary movement and whose program wins over undecided population groups. The selfless staunchness and courage with which the communists defended the republic and fought in the anti-fascist resistance that ultimately translated into the Slovak National

Uprising (1944) and the Czech people's uprising (May 1945), a consistent class policy line, a firm orientation to the Soviet Union, and the revolutionary maturity of its leadership added to the prestige of the CPCz among all population groups, made it the undisputed leader of the working class and elevated it to the role of leader of the national and democratic revolution. The decisive influence of the party and the working class manifested itself particularly during the drafting and implementation of the Kosice government program⁷ as well as in the communists' activity in the first National Front government.

The CPCz insisted that the republic freed by the Soviet Army be built on new, people's democratic lines as a state of not only national but social justice. By fighting for the implementation of the Kosice Program (which was general national and anti-fascist in character), the communists extended their influence on the masses and succeeded in influencing the whole revolutionary process. Practice showed that the country's fundamental problems could only be solved from the positions of the working class, in terms of advancing to socialism; this applied in equal measure to fundamental social problems, a democratic social and political system, relations between nationalities, and the foreign policy orientation of Czechoslovakia.

"In fighting against fascism and for national liberation," said Gustav Husak, President of the CSSR, General Secretary of the CC CPCz, at the meeting dedicated to the 30th anniversary of February, "we brought about a fundamental change in our peoples' political leadership. They came to be headed by the working class, the most progressive class of contemporary society. All progressive, truly democratic forces of our peoples united gradually around the Communist Party. The armed struggle against fascist oppression, the Slovak National Uprising and the May uprising of the Czech people showed our peoples' determination to shape their future as they saw fit."⁸

II

The sovereign and renewed Czechoslovak Republic was formed as a people's democratic state during the liberation of the country's territory. It differed in essence from the bourgeois democratic regime of the pre-Munich republic, even while retaining some of the latter's forms (presidential government, parliament, pluralism). But politically the new people's regime was based on the National Front, which represented every segment of the population, including a section of the bourgeoisie un-

tarnished by links with the nazis. The working class headed by the Communist Party played the leading role in the Front.

Within a relatively short time the entire mechanism of government was thoroughly restructured and its redundant elements were abolished. It was a question of renewing old, long-standing constitutional forms of parliamentary government, bringing them nearer to the masses and lending them a new content. A unicameral parliament was constituted and government activity democratized; government acquired a new quality, certain bureaucratic echelons of the judiciary were abolished and so were the old police and gendarmerie. New security agencies came into being on new class foundations and with new class functions. The groundwork was laid for forming an army with a new class mission. Its core was the Czechoslovak Corps led by General Ludvik Svoboda, which together with the Soviet Army had freed the territory of the country; the Corps commander entered the first National Front government as Defense Minister. The mass political and ideological media were concentrated in mostly working-class organizations and institutions.

Government bodies were rid of collaborationists and obvious reactionaries and staffed with people supporting the people's democratic system. For the first time in the history of the Czechoslovak Republic, the CPCz could assign its members to jobs in the state apparatus. Communists were employed in ministries, the armed forces, National Committees (NCs), courts and nationalized enterprises.

The national-democratic revolution restructured state power itself. There arose a new system of local government in the form of National Committees, which became the active core of the whole of political organization and the mainstay of the process of democratizing public life and government. Set up at the grass roots as an expression of the revolutionary will of the working class and other working people, the NCs embodied our peoples' most progressive traditions. The NCs, above all their lower echelons in urban and rural communities, played a big role in the consolidation and advancement of the alliance of the working class led by the CPCz with other working people, primarily small peasants and progressive intellectuals. More and more, they became vehicles of revolutionary changes in society, a new public-law form of people's democracy, a mass political organization of the working people. The rise and activity of NCs in liberated Czechoslovakia, and their development after February

1948 as at once an instrument and a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat made, in our view, an important contribution to the Marxist-Leninist theory of the socialist revolution, a contribution adding to the experience of the international communist and working-class movement.

The democratization process spread to the socio-economic sphere as well. The revolution ensured worker participation in the implementation of the decree on nationalization, the protection of nationalized property, and the management and supervision of production. The powers of factory councils were extended, and the revolutionary trade unions stepped up their activity in the social sphere and their role increased in the defense of the workers' interests. By setting up peasants' commissions, the revolution also brought rural working people into the implementation of a land reform and other measures in the sphere of agrarian relations. It was only natural that the bourgeoisie responded with frank hostility to these democratic changes in society, which tended to really weaken its dominant position.

It is part of the dialectic of revolutionary development that the achievement of common objectives by a broad progressive front leads to substantive changes in the alignment of social and class forces. Czechoslovakia was a case in point. While it is true that the early weeks and months after the liberation of the country saw effort to carry out the common program of the National Front, as we have shown, the bourgeoisie soon turned its back on the revolution and began not only to check its progress but to encroach on the people's gains. Class solidarity with collaborationists was gaining the upper hand over the past contradictions. The bourgeoisie came out against the confiscation, and subsequently against the nationalization of the property of traitors for all that these measures were a natural continuation of the revolutionary struggle against domestic fascism and its roots.

However, the revolution must go on; it cannot stand still if its motive forces want to consolidate and carry forward what has been achieved. Since the bourgeoisie took a stand against consistent completion of the democratic revolution, it was necessary to press forward with it in spite of the resistance of that exploiting class.

The CPCz was prepared to beat off reaction's attacks by every means and firmly upheld the line of the national-democratic revolution. The bourgeoisie betrayed its anti-popular nature to the masses by resisting this line and trying to undermine the pillars of the new state.

The bourgeoisie's room for maneuver was shrinking. Even so, it was anything but helpless, for it still had considerable strength and reserves. To begin with, big and middle capital still held certain positions in the system of political power and in government bodies. It strongly influenced some political parties and organizations which grouped mostly petty bourgeois and intellectuals and whose leadership were linked with the one-time ruling class ideologically and politically. In spite of the nationalization of large-scale industry, the bourgeoisie still controlled an appreciable part of the means of production. Potentially, the nearly 90,000 employers active in the country in 1945, the 6,000 landowners who held over 50 hectares of land each, and the 40,000 kulaks could rely on 310,000 former civil servants and private employees, and lastly, the owners of 1,180,000 small and medium peasant households.

The party's mounting influence over the masses played a tremendous role in the ongoing struggle. Its unity with the working class was growing. The latter was the biggest political force in the country. In 1946 and 1947 there were over 2,200,000 workers in the Czech Republic and roughly 600,000 in the Slovak Republic; they made up nearly 60 per cent of the economically active population. By fighting for the consistent fulfillment of the democratic program and the settlement of the agrarian question on the principle "The land belongs to those who till it," the party gradually rallied the majority of the peasantry to the side of the working class. Its principled policy on the nationalities question, a policy coupling internationalism with real patriotism, showed the masses that the party was fighting for the interests of all the peoples of the country and defending the equality of Czechs and Slovaks. Backed by the working people and creatively applying the Marxist-Leninist theory of the revolution in Czechoslovak conditions, the CPCz steadfastly forced the bourgeoisie onto the defensive.

Late 1947 and early 1948 were marked by a vast offensive of the party, which wanted to win over the majority of the people. This task, set by the CC CPCz meeting in January 1947, specified the general line of the eighth party congress (March 1946) on the issue. The party worked for the unfailing implementation of the Construction Program⁹ and the two-year plan. Early in 1948 it took the offensive after the September 1947 plenum of the CC CPCz had carefully analyzed the situation and worked out a comprehensive action program against

the eventuality of the right trying to turn back the revolutionary process.

The bourgeoisie, finding itself in increasing isolation from society, resolved to counter-attack in order to stem the advance of the country to socialism. Using an insignificant excuse, 10 members of the Gottwald government who represented right-wing parties and the center tendered their resignation. They expected that in the circumstances President Benes, who backed the right, would be able either to dissolve parliament, appoint a virtually anti-communist caretaker government and set new elections at which reaction could prevail, or to wrest concessions from Gottwald, so that their resignation would end in a triumphal comeback of the right, a major moral and political reverse for the communists and the whole revolutionary front.

They also calculated on the heterogeneity of the revolutionary movement and on the section of the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie involved in it. The latter's views are admittedly influenced by both the force of argument and the argument of force. Reaction expected numerous sections of the petty bourgeoisie to break away from the revolution at the very first, if only partial, setback of people's democracy, at the very first failure of the communist-led Front.

However, the CPCz did not allow the struggle to be imposed on it on bourgeois terms. As the ministers who had resigned were fewer than half the cabinet, Gottwald proposed in conformity with the constitution that the President accept their resignation and appoint in their stead National Front spokesmen who had always been loyal to the government's Construction Program. The President refused at first, trying to put off decision. But the CPCz did not allow the government crisis to be settled behind the back of the people, by the lobbying methods of bourgeois coalition politics. Thanks to the party, the masses, primarily the working class and working peasantry, took a most active part in the political contest that began. The communists succeeded in mobilizing all their allies at the decisive moment. Action committees of the revived National Front sprang up in NCs, factories, offices and even the leading bodies of non-communist parties; they encompassed all sincere partisans of a new Czechoslovakia, of a society of national and social justice. An armed workers' militia not only took over the defense of enterprises but expressed readiness to defend the gains of the revolution. The Revolutionary Trade Union Movement (ROH) declared for the CPCz line. It was backed by the Congress of Factory Coun-

cils held in Prague on February 22, 1948. Earlier, in the autumn of 1947, the policy of the CPCz and the National Front had won the support of the Bratislava Congress of Resistance Fighters. Numerous demonstrations of working people demanded that Benes accept Gottwald's proposal. Reaction's potential accomplices were handicapped by the powerful action of the masses, the rapid course of development and the fact that bourgeois politicians had had no positive program from the outset. Benes had to give in. Reaction lost the battle.

February confirmed in practice that every abortive attempt at counter-revolution speeds and deepens the revolutionary process. Early in 1948 this process in our country was at a stage at which its acceleration implied qualitative changes in it.

February settled the issue of power, the key issue of every revolution, and most changes concerned the content of state power. It enabled the people's democratic system, whose class substance in the initial period was determined by the revolution accomplishing chiefly national and democratic tasks, to perform every function of a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. That was also when the development of the national-democratic into a socialist revolution was completed. This decisive change in favor of socialism came about peacefully, as a result of steadily weakening and isolating reactionary elements while strictly respecting constitutional norms.

III

The socialist revolution, as well as definitively charting the development path of Czechoslovak society, tackled the paramount issue of democracy, the issue of whose interests and will were to play the chief role in the destiny of the country. From February 1948 on, the working people, headed by the working class and its Communist Party, moved into the center of all public life. Experience had shown the working class to be the only exponent and guarantor of the democratic development of society in contemporary conditions. What exactly took place?

First, the transition of all power to the working class and other working people did not narrow but, on the contrary, broadened the basis for people's rule by making it impossible to prevent satisfaction of the working people's interests.

Second, the victory in February 1948 showed that it is not always necessary for the working class and other working people to fully destroy the democratic organizational forms of public

life evolved before the revolution, and that they can use these forms, recasting them and lending them a truly democratic content.

These two conclusions and their inner unity underline the value of the democratic legacy of the victorious February. Naturally, Czechoslovak counter-revolutionaries always directed all their efforts toward denying it and revising the turning point in the history of our country. This stood out during the 1968 social crisis. The counter-revolutionary forces, "Lessons of the Crisis Development in the Party and Society" notes, called openly for a "revision" of February, arguing that this decisive advance to a real democratic life in our country was, in fact, "undemocratic." But when they demanded an "anti-February" and a return to the situation before February 1948 under the slogans of "democratic socialism," these slogans did not, and could not, imply any further development of socialist democracy. They merely expressed, if anything, a desire to restrict real democracy, rob the working people of the right to rule the state and society and go back first by transferring part of power to the bourgeoisie, and then by leading the country to a restoration of capitalism.

February 1948 is often, and with good reason, associated with our peoples' democratic traditions. When speaking of these traditions, we certainly do not mean the bourgeois democracy of the pre-Munich republic or its parliamentary forms which capital used for maintaining its rule, exploiting millions of working people, and subsequently for betraying the people's interests. We mean, first of all, the class content of the history of our peoples covered with glory by their century-long struggle for national independence and against national and social oppression at the hands of foreign and domestic tyrants. This struggle was carried on primarily by the working people and led by the working class, for it alone was equal to leading the masses and paralyzing vacillation and betrayal on the part of the bourgeoisie. Secondly, we mean the fact that the workers' strength, multiplied by the alliance with the working peasants and intellectuals, prevented the exploiters, for all their efforts, from openly introducing brutal forms of dictatorship, for they were compelled to adopt certain bourgeois democratic measures in order to hold power.

It stands to reason that the bourgeoisie refused to be reconciled to its defeat in Czechoslovakia. For three and a half decades now, it has been saying that communists renounce democracy in building a socialist society. Yet the innermost significance of socialist construction, of our whole life since the victorious

February, consists in constant encouragement of the creative effort of the masses, and this is also shown by documents of the latest CPCz congresses. Never before have the working people of our country had so many real rights or such possibilities of deciding their destiny as today. Socialism has surpassed all previous forms of democracy and all levels of freedom achieved in the course of history, for it has settled the issue of democratic rights and freedoms in favor of the workers, peasants and intellectuals and really extended their influence in every sphere of social life, including government and production management.

To encourage the creative, conscious activity of the masses is the chief content of socialist democracy and one of the most important objective laws of socialist construction. Under capitalism, the task of encouraging the initiative of the masses in governing society has never been set anywhere. While bourgeois democracy has proclaimed universal equality, all that it has actually done is merely establish people's nominal equality before the law. It has declared equal rights but has not eliminated inequality in ownership of the means of production. By contrast, socialist democracy has done away with private property and provided truly equal rights for all citizens in regard to the sources of social well-being, and applies the principle of remuneration according to the quantity and quality of work.

Now as in the past, the problem of democracy is definitely a class problem. Lenin's idea of the need to encourage the creative initiative and effort of the working people in every sphere of socialist construction has been the starting point in the guidance of social processes in our country ever since February 1948. In Czechoslovakia as elsewhere, socialism has opened a new area of freedom unknown before. The advancement of socialist society is becoming a matter of purposeful creative effort by millions of working people as they build up new social relations, bring them under their political control and regulate them in mutual cooperation according to requirements. The real process of history is becoming the free shaping by the masses themselves of their own future governed by the objective laws of development of society.

1. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 97.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Klement Gottwald, *Spisy*, VII, Prague, 1953, p. 96.

4. Political group formed around President Tomas Masaryk and President Eduard Benes. The Hrad (Hradcany castle in Prague) is the residence of the President of the Republic. — Ed.

5. Klement Gottwald, *Spisy*, XII, p. 75.

6. Following the annexation of border areas of Czechoslovakia and the disintegration of the Czechoslovak state in the autumn of 1938, nazi troops occupied Bohemia and Moravia on March 14 and 15, 1939. In Slovakia it came to the establishment of a clerical fascist puppet state entirely dependent on Hitler Germany. — Ed.

7. The Kosice Program, platform of the first government

of the National Front of Czechs and Slovaks, was announced in Kosice, eastern Slovakia, on April 5, 1945. Worked out by the CPCz, it expressed the main demands of the national-democratic revolution — Ed.

8. *Rude Pravo*, February 24, 1978.

9. Program advanced in July 1946 by the third National Front government under Gottwald. — Ed.

Loyalty to the chosen goal

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THE HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE OF SUHE BATOR'S LEGACY

Great historic changes — events altering the course of development of human society, and outstanding deeds by persons opening the road to a new life for their people — have a remarkable quality. Their value and significance grow as time wears on, for the innermost meaning of these changes, embodied in new achievements of the people, comes out more and more. To us Mongols, it is Damdiny Suhe Bator's revolutionary legacy that has such lasting value. The founding of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the victory of the revolution and the formation of the Mongolian people's state are inseparable from his name.

I

In 1893, when Suhe Bator was born, Lenin concerned himself for the first time with the national and colonial problem in his work *On the So-called Market Question*. The problem was gaining urgency in Mongolia as in dozens of other Asian countries. The leader of the Great October Socialist Revolution, analyzing the peculiarities of the new stage of capitalism's development, foresaw its failure and the inevitable piercing of imperialism's colonial chain in Asia. Afterwards Lenin was to formulate the important conclusion that the national liberation movement in colonial and dependent countries, extremely backward in that period, would become, along with the working-class movement, a powerful force in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and capitalism generally. Closely following developments in the East, he wrote in 1913 that a new source of great world storms had opened up in Asia. "... No power on earth can restore the old serfdom in Asia or wipe out the heroic democracy of the masses in the Asiatic and semi-Asiatic countries."¹

Mongolia, too, was living through turbulent years. It had for centuries been held down by a brutal Manchurian yoke and had to bear a double burden of backwardness as it were — its own and that of foreign oppressors. The plight of arats, or livestock-breeders, the only laboring class of the country, was particularly hard. In addition to foreign oppressors, they had to maintain the domestic spiritual and secular feudal lords. Few Asian countries were poorer or more backward than Mongolia.

The knot of contradictions between the working people and the exploiting classes, between the indigenous population and foreign oppressors, was a source of permanent popular discontent which led to repeated uprisings. But these failed to bring about any change. In 1911, following the overthrow of Manchurian rule, Mongolia proclaimed itself an independent state. The spiritual and secular feudal lords who came to power established a theocratic monarchy which was unable to solve any one of the acute problems of the country. Mongolia's case showed that national self-determination cannot result in improving the people's life unless coupled with a social transformation of society.

That was what our country was like when, in 1917, the October Revolution took place. Relations between Mongolia and Russia were extensive enough, being determined by geographical proximity, and October had a powerful impact on our country. It was October that opened the eyes of progressive Mongols to the new promise of development, of both winning real national independence and ending colonial dependence, of coming out of the impasse of feudal backwardness to embark on all-round social and economic progress. Suhe Bator was among the most gifted and persevering revolutionaries who believed wholeheartedly in the example of October, in the cause of Lenin and his party.

What were the historical circumstances that made Suhe Bator a revolutionary? What personal qualities enabled him to become leader of the Mongolian people's revolution?

Suhe Bator was born into the family of a poor arat. Want made his father join the ranks of the urban poor. Suhe Bator came to know the bitter lot of the oppressed when still a child. He was a son of the people, lived among the people and went with the people through all the trials of that struggle.

Called up for military service in pre-revolutionary Mongolia, Suhe Bator was on active duty for several years and repeatedly took part in battles against the Chinese invaders and their agents. It was in those years that the people came to call him Bator (hero) for his staunchness and bravery. He took an active part in the soldiers' actions against ruthless army discipline and the harsh living conditions of the rank and file. The participation of the future leader of the revolution in army unrest marked the beginning of his struggle for the working people's liberation from various forms of oppression. Working afterwards in Urga² as a compositor, Suhe Bator met and made friends with Russian revolutionary workers living there. They told him about the October Revolution, the worker-peasant state and the struggle of the world proletariat against capitalism. The fact that the fundamental interests of the oppressed of all countries are identical strongly appealed to him. He worked hard to educate himself, realizing that he needed knowledge for revolutionary struggle.

The armed occupation of Mongolia by the Chinese militarists in 1919 and the imposition of a terroristic regime exhausted the people's patience. Nation-wide anger at the tyranny of the foreign invaders and the feudal lords collaborating with them gave rise to two illegal revolutionary groups in Urga seeking national liberation and independence.

Suhe Bator became one of the leaders of these groups and the initiator of their merger. He was deeply convinced that to deliver the people from national and social oppression, it was necessary to form a political organization of working arats equal to rousing the people to a revolutionary struggle to end the rule of foreign and domestic exploiters and leading this struggle.

The ideas nurtured by Suhe Bator and Khorlogiyn Choibalsan, his close associate, provided the basis for the political platform of Mongolia's revolutionaries. Well knowing that the people, who found themselves "under the threefold oppression of lamas and princes, the Chinese militarists, and world capital,"³

needed effective assistance from the revolutionary proletariat of a more advanced country if they were to achieve victory, they felt confident that that assistance would come from Soviet Russia, which had made proletarian internationalism a key principle of its foreign policy. A delegation of Mongolian revolutionaries was sent to Soviet Russia to ask for help.

While the party was being formed, Suhe Bator showed himself to be an outstanding political leader and organizer. In March 1921, the first (founding) congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party⁴ met under his chairmanship to adopt the first party program. The program called for the winning of national independence, the transfer of state power to the working people and the subsequent transformation of society.

The founding of the MPRP played a decisive role in the victory of the people's revolution in July 1921. The revolution was markedly anti-feudal and anti-imperialist. It overthrew the colonizers and feudal puppets, proclaimed national independence and formed a popular government. Mongolia entered a new era, the era of transition from feudalism to socialism.

On becoming the ruling party, the MPRP led the struggle to consolidate, defend and further the gains of the revolution, and to effect far-reaching democratic changes in every sphere of public life. Suhe Bator joined in this struggle and led it with the tremendous energy and dedication typical of him. Defining the main internal and external factors for the solution of the new historical tasks of the republic, he said that the internal force of the existence and prosperity of our Mongolian state was the people, with the Land of Soviets as their external mainstay. This most important mandate has always constituted the very foundation of the activity of the party and the people's state.

In the autumn of 1921, or shortly after the victory of the revolution, a delegation of the Mongolian people's government went to Moscow. On November 5 a historic meeting and talks took place between the great leader of the world proletariat, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin and Damdiny Suhe Bator. The chief result of the Mongolian-Soviet talks was an agreement establishing friendly relations between People's Mongolia and the RSFSR. It incorporated Lenin's principles of the new type of relations between states, complete equality, mutual respect and trust, fraternal cooperation and mutual assistance. Thus durable foundations were laid for everlasting friendship between the Mongolian People's Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This friendship became the prototype, so to speak, of the relations

that developed between all the members of the socialist community.

The great leader of the October Revolution spoke highly of the founding of the MPRP and the victory of the people's revolution in Mongolia. "Although Mongolia is a cattle-breeding country and the bulk of her population are nomad herdsmen," he said, "she has achieved great progress in her revolution, and, most important of all, has made good these successes by creating a People's Revolutionary Party."⁵ Lenin stressed that this opened the prospect of non-capitalist development for our country. In offering us his advice, he outlined the pressing tasks of party and state building in the republic.

The road chosen by the party and the people was exceedingly difficult. Defining the nature of the people's democratic system to be created in Mongolia, Suhe Bator pointed out that "to establish people's rule means ending the domination of the upper over the lower strata as well as the oppressed condition of the lower strata in relation to the upper ones, abolishing the despotic exploiting system, granting the people freedom, and achieving prosperity."⁶ From the early years of people's rule on, the state began with Suhe Bator's active participation to carry out most important measures, such as the abolition of serfdom and feudal privileges and the democratization of government at the central and local level. The first democratic elections were held; they resulted in electing arats for local government bodies.

The government had to pursue its policy against the bitter resistance of the overthrown class of feudal lords and their flunkies.

Suhe Bator invariably defended the working arats' interests. His testament urged his associates "always to gear the party's policy and government measures to the working arats' interests, cherish the freedom won by the people, and lead the defense of the masses, who have freed themselves from the yoke of internal enemies and foreign oppressors."⁷ It was expressive of his firm class position accounting for his uncompromising struggle against the intrigues of class enemies and their agents who had made their way into the party leadership, and against various attempts to disrupt the party's ideological, political and organizational unity. The leader of the Mongolian revolution was in daily contact with ordinary people, to whom he spelled out the goals set before the people by the party and the government. He did much for the organization of a Revolutionary Youth League, the emancipation of women and their participation in public life, and the setting up of public education and health centers.

Suhe Bator gave his all to fostering the working arats' class consciousness and political activity.

II

In February 1983, the Communists and all other working people of socialist Mongolia celebrate together with their friends the 90th anniversary of the birth of Damdiny Suhe Bator, a fiery revolutionary, a great son of the Mongolian people.

The party founded by Suhe Bator is loyal to his legacy. Continuing its founder's class line, it defeated at its third congress (1924) certain rightists advocating capitalism, and announced the party's general line calling for the non-capitalist development of the country. In 1925 the party adopted its second program, whose provisions gave specific expression to this general line.

The first period of development of the MPR consisted chiefly in eliminating feudal relations and forming what Lenin described as "islets of the new economic way of life."⁸ To this end, the state began to implement such revolutionary measures as cancelling the debts owed to foreign merchants and usurers, withdrawing capitalist currencies from circulation, setting up a national finance and credit system, adopting a tariff policy in the interest of the people's state, establishing a monopoly on foreign trade, and many more. A series of measures which culminated in expropriating the feudal lords eliminated these as a class. A socialist sector began to take shape in the economy. The country set out to build its early industrial plants, establish government enterprises in the sphere of transport, communications and trade, and promote consumer cooperatives.

Revolutionary changes were effected gradually but they encompassed all public spheres. As a result, the state firmly took over the commanding heights.

The 10th MPRP congress (1940) holds a prominent place in party history. It adopted the third party program, which set the task of laying the ground work for socialism. A most important result of this period was the transformation of Mongolia from an agrarian into an agrarian-industrial country. In the late 50s the massive voluntary joining of agricultural associations by arats marked the definitive adoption of socialist principles in agriculture. In the same period, an end was put to economic multi-formity, with socialist production relations winning the upper hand in the country.

"The establishment of socialist production relations throughout the national economy," Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal wrote, "marked the

*final victory of the party's general line for the non-capitalist advance of the country to socialism, the irreversible transition of the MPR to a higher social system."*⁹

Thus it took our country the lifetime of one generation to accomplish the transition from feudalism to socialism. In the early 60s the MPR entered a new period of development whose chief objective has been to complete socialist construction as the first phase of the communist social formation.

The big historical goal set before the country necessitates the solution of a priority problem, namely, completing the provision of the material and technical base for socialism. In view of this, decisions of the 14th MPRP congress (1961) and the party's new program, the fourth, adopted by the 15th congress (1966), stress the need to transform the country from an agrarian-industrial into an industrial-agrarian one. This is why socialist industrialization holds a central place in the program for setting up the material and technical base.

As a result of the effort of the people led by the party plus all-round fraternal assistance from the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, industrialization has been making steady headway. Industrial output has increased more than sixfold over the past 20 years. The place and role of industry are growing, its structure is improving and large enterprises employ increasing numbers of workers. Industry is spreading to further areas, and valuable natural resources in which the republic abounds are being put to use. New industrial centers are developing fast. Besides Ulan Bator, they are Darhan, Erdenet, Choibalsan, Baganuur, Hutul. Industry today supplies over 46 per cent of the gross social product.

Enormous transformations are taking place in agriculture. The rural working people's way of life is undergoing radical changes. Livestock-breeding is still the main branch of agriculture and accounts for three-quarters of farm output. But crop-farming, virtually non-existent in pre-revolutionary Mongolia, is also developing successfully as a result of the cultivation of virgin lands. It meets the population's basic demand for grain, potatoes and vegetables and makes an increasing contribution to the supply of feed. The area of arable land is now over one million hectares to which another 250,000 hectares of virgin lands will be added under the current five-year plan.

Transport, communications and trade are making rapid progress.

To provide the material and technical base for socialism is the paramount requisite of steadily raising the people's living and cultural

standards and assuring the harmonious development of the new man. Care of people and their welfare is a key principle of party and state. In the past 20-odd years, during which the population has nearly doubled, real income has grown by 270 per cent, with the pay of workers and other employees going up by 210 per cent. In the sixth five-year plan period (1976-1980), twice as many houses were built as in the previous five years.

One in every four Mongols is a student today. The problem of introducing universal eight-year education has been solved in the main. More and more people receive a secondary specialized or a higher education. One of the major achievements of the people's state is the creation of health services commanding a large network of in-patient and out-patient hospitals, medical stations and dispensaries.

Modern science is advancing in socialist Mongolia. The arts and letters have risen to a new plane. The overall result is that a new man has emerged, an exponent of socialist social relations, a full-fledged master of his country, an active builder of socialism devoted to the communist ideal.

To a tremendous degree, our people owe all that they have achieved in consolidating their independent statehood and in building socialism to fraternal friendship and all-round cooperation with our great neighbor, the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community.

New important incentives for building socialist society were provided by the decisions of the 18th MPRP congress (1981). The "Main Lines of Development of the Economy and Culture of the MPR for 1981-1985," approved by the congress, are a vast socio-economic development program. The national income is to grow by 41 per cent in five years and capital investments, by 26 per cent.

Agricultural output is planned to increase by an annual average of 23 per cent as against the previous five years and industrial output, by 60 per cent compared with 1980. Real per capita income is to go up 11 per cent.

By decision of the 18th congress, work has begun on a long-term comprehensive program for the steady development of agriculture and better food supply. It closely links the accomplishment of tasks in the sphere of the economy and production techniques with the fulfillment of social tasks.

The party sees the achievement of high indicators in efficiency of social production and high standards of quality of output as a key problem of economic progress. Accordingly, the 18th congress worked out a set of important

measures aimed at, among other things, ensuring a steady increase in productivity, applying achievements of science and technology and advanced experience in production, making better use of capacities and resources, improving the working people's skills and encouraging their initiative. Forms and methods of planned management of the economy are being improved, which makes it possible to strengthen the impact of the economic mechanism on the efficiency of production and the quality of work.

To be sure, the progress made to date does not mean that we have no more problems or difficulties. Much will yet have to be done if the country's economic, scientific and technological potential is to grow. We must perfect socialist social relations and steadily improve the people's material and cultural standards.

"The fulfillment of these tasks," Y. Tsedenbal pointed out, "will lead in the end to completing the provision of the material and technical base for socialism in the MPR, which will create the prerequisites for the gradual transition of the country to the historical period of building a developed socialist society."¹⁰

The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party is confidently leading the country to the complete victory of socialism as it follows Suhe Bator's legacy. Thereby it is contributing its share to the great cause of transforming the world on revolutionary lines. The party sees its internationalist duty in vigorously fighting against bourgeois ideology, for the purity of Marxism-Leninism, the internationalist unity of communists, and the consolidation of world socialism. It maintains businesslike, friendly relations with nearly all communist and workers' parties.

Today's Mongolia is an equal member of the socialist community; its relations and multilateral cooperation with fraternal socialist countries are expanding and strengthening. Our country, a member of the CMEA since 1962, plays an active role in the implementation of the Comprehensive Program for the Development of Socialist Economic Integration and long-term goal-oriented programs. We fully share the conviction that socialist economic integration is a powerful and durable factor for the all-round progress of socialist countries. Cooperation with socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union, has always been a condition of the first importance for the successful construction of the new society in the MPR.

The foreign policy of our state for peace is based on Leninist principles and Suhe Bator's legacy. It is aimed at preventing nuclear war

and establishing relations among all peoples based on equality and friendship, and is supported by progressive forces, who have shown appreciation and expressed approval for Mongolia's proposal to conclude a Convention on Non-Aggression and Non-Use of Force in Relations Between Asian and Pacific States.

A UN member since 1961, the MPR maintains diplomatic relations with more than 90 countries. We are cooperating with nearly 30 of them in trade, economy and culture. We are also active in many intergovernmental and public organizations of the world.

The historical road travelled by our country under the party's leadership has been marked by great dynamism, a steady uptrend, and major achievements in every field. This is the most conclusive proof of the correctness and fruitfulness of the Leninist policy of non-capitalist development. Great credit is due to Suhe Bator for following this policy without hesitation and for the fact that under his leadership the MPR took its first steps toward a new society bringing real liberation to all working people. Loyalty to Suhe Bator's legacy, a loyalty expressing itself in competent and creative continuation of his cause, allowed the party to evolve the right strategy ensuring adherence to the general laws of socialist construction in the course of specific political activity taking account of the historical, national and other particularities of the country. Suhe Bator's forecast saying that "with the moral and material support of Soviet Russia . . . the working people of Mongolia will in the near future take the road of culture and progress and join the united working family of humanity"¹¹ has come true. His legacy has lasting international value precisely because it has a direct bearing on the formation of the state which was the next after the Soviet Union to demonstrate in practice the possibility of transforming backward outlying colonial regions into countries with prospering economy and culture, countries whose masters are the people themselves. Many new Asian and African countries now have an opportunity for such transformation. We are glad to know that according to the testimony of numerous spokesmen of these countries, Mongolia's experience helps them find correct solutions to complicated problems relating to the choice of the shortest and most effective road to the heights of progress.

1. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 18, p. 584.

2. Now Ulan Bator. — Ed.

3. Damdiny Sukhbaatar (Suhe Bator), *Namtar*, Ulan Bator, 1973, p. 105 (in Mongolian).

4. Called the Mongolian People's Party till 1925. — Ed.

5. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 42, p. 360.
6. Sukhbaatar, *Barim bichgiyn tuuver*, Ulan Bator, 1971, p. 43 (in Mongolian).
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 99-100.
8. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 42, p. 361.
9. Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal, *Sotsialist Mongolyn Kheg-*

zhil devshliyn tuukhen zamnal, Ulan Bator, 1976, p. 486 (in Mongolian).

10. Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal, *Mongol Ardyn Khuv'sgalt Namyn XVIII ikh khurald tav'san Namyn Tov Khoroon tailan, oiryn zhiluudiy zornilt*, Ulan Bator, 1981, p. 47 (in Mongolian).
11. Sukhbaatar, *Barim bichgiyn tuuver*, p. 94.

"Big stick" policy doomed

Giocondo Dias

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The beginning of the 80s has been characterized by an upsurge of the world liberation movement. While imperialism still has great economic and political might, it bears the stamp of doom. It is putting up fierce resistance and can still gain temporary superiority in some areas, but on the whole it is surrendering its positions step by step.

The imperialist forces, an embodiment of the past, cannot stand the historical competition with socialism — the future of all humankind, which is already a reality for many peoples. Certainly, day-to-day life in the socialist countries is not some kind of far-fetched idyll, is not without contradictions and the necessity to fight against various shortcomings and for an improvement of the social structures. Socialism's overt and covert enemies try to use the difficulties in the development of the new system to undermine its foundations or at least to slander and discredit its experience.¹ But despite this the world's peoples strive ever more consciously for socialism, which they see as an advanced society, a guarantee of their political rights, social justice, economic progress and human dignity.

As a decisive factor of world development, a powerful counterweight to the main centers of capitalism, the socialist community helped to bring about the conditions for the former colonies and semi-colonies to turn from an object into a subject of international relations. The historical liberation process of the dependent nations cannot now be reversed, but the most reactionary imperialist circles, whose interests the Reagan administration expresses, refuse to face this fact.

The Reagan team's aggressiveness and adventurism are reaching an extreme in Latin America, where U.S. monopolies have long been lording it. The main direction of the team's activity in our region boils down to this: following the logic of the "crusade" against the USSR and its allies, the Washington strategists

are tightening the political and economic blockade ring around Cuba, and are trying to break the Cuban people's spirit with military threats and ideological subversion. In addition, all and sundry means are being used to destabilize the revolutionary power in Nicaragua and Grenada, and invasion forces are being prepared and are awaiting the right moment to intervene. At the same time, the White House is bent on intimidating and terrorizing the parties and movements making progressive changes in their countries.

The present U.S. administration openly supports the reactionary military dictatorships, which are "most favored regimes" in both the economic and the political sense. Also on the receiving end of the administration's support are the pro-imperialist "controlled democracy" governments, while Washington persistently pushes to the right those states in the region which maintain some attributes of representative legislative power.

The USA is seeking to "internationalize responsibility" by strengthening the positions of its local allies and, of course, its monopolies. It is to this end that Reagan has been "rallying" the reactionary Latin American militarists, encouraging the formation of new blocs and mini-blocs, and allowing free flow of military aid to those who are prepared to take on a part of the function of "collective gendarme."

Great efforts are being made to incorporate Latin America into the NATO plans. This has already begun: the ships of some countries in the region take part in NATO maneuvers in the Atlantic and the Caribbean. But the point is not just that Latin American states are de facto being drawn into the activity of imperialism's main military organization; Washington is seeking little by little to extend NATO's sphere of influence to our region, thereby upsetting the world strategic balance in its favor.

The secret service has a special role to play. Reagan did his best to minimize U.S. Senate

and Congress control over the CIA and considerably increased its "external" powers. Whereas CIA operations used to be directed largely against the left forces, they are now aimed against all progressive leaders and democratic movements that in a measure stand in the way of U.S. imperial plans.

True to the "divide-and-rule" principle, Washington has been stirring up border disputes and territorial conflicts between neighboring Latin American states, disputes and conflicts in which not only the reactionary politicians but also the military-industrial corporations — i.e. those forces that put Reagan in power — now have an interest. At a time when the USA is experiencing a very grave economic crisis, these corporations have been resorting to every means to "stimulate" demand for their dangerous goods.

In the ideological sphere, the United States government lays emphasis on primitive anti-communism, defamation of revolutionary leaders and progressive movements, and distortion of the reasons for the popular protest. All resistance to oppression and exploitation is called the intrigues of "international terrorism" and is made out to be a link in the strategic "East-West" conflict. The filthy political insinuations and the false press, radio and TV rumors are all designed to drive a wedge between existing socialism, the communist parties and the other democratic forces. In addition, there are mighty efforts to revive the myth of the USA's special leading role in the western hemisphere.

Foreign economic blackmail, a weapon to get submission to White House policy, is widely practised, and those who are "stubborn" risk trade and financial "suffocation." But some moves by Washington would seem to suggest that the "carrot" goes along with the "stick." For example, Reagan's Caribbean Basin initiative.² But this "initiative" itself shows that the present U.S. administration doses out "aid" very strictly, giving it to only the most "reliable" states, especially if they are in a critical situation. At the same time, Washington is generous with recommendations "to improve the economy," recommendations which sound more like orders. If such "advice" were followed it would mean maximum freedom of action for the big business bosses, and belt tightening and political repression for the rest of the people.

It is obvious that the U.S. government now prefers coercion and great power diktat to the means of normal international intercourse. Does this mean some kind of strategic turn-about in its policy, a new content of its foreign

policy objectives? History gives a convincing answer: Washington has never renounced either interference in the internal affairs of other countries or threats and aggression. All that changed was the degree of adherence to those methods, and the way they were combined with diplomatic maneuvering. The people of our region have understood this from their own experience.

Washington's present course reminds Latin Americans of the "big stick" policy pursued at the beginning of the century by the USA, which had only just become an imperialist power and had begun greatly to expand southwards of the Rio Grande. The "big stick" remained the USA's constant argument for decades and was only amended during the Second World War when Franklin Roosevelt was president. Strategic interests arising out of the fact that the USA had gone to war against militarist Japan and fascist Germany required that paternalism in relations with the Latin American neighbors be replaced with flexible diplomacy. But in the long run this departure from the former course turned out to have been just for that period. After the war, the USA reverted to its initial position worked out by Theodore Roosevelt at the beginning of the century. The essence of this policy is that Latin America is a region governed by the United States.

Truman gave fresh impetus to the "big stick" policy in the cold war climate. At the close of the 1940s, the USA created a new mechanism to interfere in the internal affairs of countries in the region, a continent-wide system relying on the Inter-American Mutual Aid Treaty (TIAR) and the Organization of American States (OAS). Despite their international status, these organizations mainly functioned as a driving belt of the U.S. foreign policy apparatus. Appealing for joint defense of the "free world" and of the "Western Christian civilization," Washington imposed the stereotypes of pro-imperialist thought on our countries' ruling circles. Using external and internal channels for ideological and propaganda influence, and relying on the TIAR and the OAS, Washington secured a new function for the armed forces of many states in the region: according to the "continental defense" strategy worked out by the Pentagon, the military became occupantists in their own country.

However, the possibilities to pursue a policy of diktat were considerably reduced at the end of the 1950s-beginning of the 1960s. The strengthening of the socialist community, its resistance to imperialist aggression, the peoples' better understanding of the peace-loving policy of the USSR and the other socialist

states, the upsurge of the national liberation movement in Asia and Africa, and the intensified rivalry between the leading capitalist powers — all showed that the correlation of forces was not changing in favor of the USA at all. Major changes were taking place in our region as well: the Latin American peoples' resistance to oppression and exploitation was growing, and the mass struggle for better conditions of life was becoming closely linked with anti-imperialist protest. Experience was teaching the broad masses that the reason for many of their troubles was the United States' policy, and that social progress is impossible without the destruction of local reaction's alliance with imperialism. And that became especially clear after the victory of the Cuban revolution.

The new situation forced the Washington strategists to make adjustments, to reconsider some of their conceptions. The change in U.S. Latin America policy takes on a clear outline in the 1960s. The lesson learned in Cuba and the "risk" of intensification of the revolutionary movement in the other countries of the region led the White House to conclude that there was a need to exercise greater flexibility and take a differentiated approach to the Latin American republics, and the "big stick" absolute therefore gave way to a double game. While continuing to set its sights on suppressing the revolutionary centers, Washington opened somewhat the valves of the seething social cauldron. There was talk on the continent about development, reforms, and a new type of relations with the "great northern neighbor." It seemed that the United States had gone a far way since the Teddy Roosevelt epoch when conflicts in the Latin American "backyard" were settled with marine landings. Washington appeared willing to make concessions, but those concessions were to preserve imperialism's main positions.

The strategy of forestalling social explosions became a complex one, witness the Alliance for Progress³ and the other less important reformist projects implemented in many countries of the region in the 1960s and 1970s. The declared aim of such programs was to produce a "democratic alternative" to revolutionary violence, but in fact it was to adjust the socio-economic structures of the Latin American states to imperialism's new requirements. The USA was no longer interested in having the entire region underdeveloped in the traditional sense of that concept, i.e., only exporting raw materials and importing manufactured goods. The Washington-imposed "development plans" cleared the way for the further economic expansion of U.S. monopoly capital. However,

the reforms of the Alliance for Progress were also accompanied by crude repression against the popular movement. It is true that the repressive measures have undergone change: Washington began avoiding direct clashes between the popular masses and the U.S. armed forces.⁴ The direct punitive functions were handed over to the Latin American armies, which had adopted the reactionary "national security" doctrine, a copy of the Pentagon "continental security" strategy. The 1973 Chilean army coup against the Popular Unity government confirmed that Washington had begun to give preference to "other hands" when taking revenge.

The "development" ideology was thus integrally bound up with reactionary political concepts. According to the imperialist strategists, the reforms were to overcome the social conflicts and cut the ground from under the class struggle, whose instigators (the communists and other "subversive elements") were to be kept in check by the army and police, who know only one means — repression.

And so, although there is reason to speak about a new U.S. approach to Latin America in the 1960s and 1970s, Washington's strategic interests have remained the same as before, and it has never put away the "big stick." Every time other means failed, the stick was brought into play. *Tactical innovation did not at all change the essence of the imperial claims.* The main objective was still to perpetuate the region's dependent position, strengthen the system of economic exploitation and social oppression there, and ensure Washington's political domination. In other words, *to keep our countries as a reserve of U.S. imperialism.*

The period of the United States' "new" policy was marked by important economic changes in Latin America. Firstly, the productive forces were raised to a higher level, and a modern industrial sector appeared which supplemented the economic system of the imperialist centers in one branch or another. Secondly, the foreign monopolies intensified their penetration into all the countries of the region through various channels. Thirdly, the concentration of capital was accelerated in the economically more developed states of Latin America. Finally, the interests of the financial-industrial circles of imperialism and the local monopoly bourgeoisie intertwined. In other words, the economic subjection of the Latin American countries to the imperialist centers became more complex and profound and was supplemented by a new form of dependence — technological dependence.

Meanwhile, the consequences of the process

of the socio-economic evolution in the region went far beyond the imperialist plans. The development of capitalism in Latin America did not lessen the social tension as it did not improve the condition of the masses but rather reduced their living standard in some cases. As a result, the discontent became more radical, and even the ruling circles often had differences with U.S. global strategy. But the most important thing was that *the structural crisis in the Latin American states was aggravated and paralyzed the entire social organism.*

It became more and more difficult for the United States to control events in the region. The traditional puppets like Stroessner became increasingly isolated, or, like Somoza, were overthrown by an uprising of the whole people. But the conflicts caused by the local ruling circles' obstinacy could no longer be wiped out by shouts or sops. Washington had to disperse its forces in an attempt to stop the upsurge of the liberation movement of the developing world on three continents. In addition, the capitalist competitors from Western Europe and Japan had to be checked. The burden of the economic stagnation in the USA itself increased.

In the long run imperialism's renovated policy, which pursued the same old aims, proved bankrupt. *The people's struggle was not stopped but continued to broaden and acquire clearer political direction and class content.* The victories of the progressive forces on the continent increased. Not even Carter's demagoguery helped, though he tried to make the White House foreign policy actions look more respectable with talk about "human rights." The failure of the United States' Latin America policy is an instructive chapter in the history of its futile claims to world domination.

However, the Reagan team does not want to learn the lessons of the past. The ideologists of the present United States administration see the root of the past failures only in the previous administration's spinelessness and "liberalism," thus sinking to the most vulgar subjectivism.

As a matter of fact, at the end of the 1970s-beginning of the 1980s, there was *another change of tactics to achieve the traditional imperialist objectives*, a change which does not increase the chances of restoring objectively lost positions. Although the present diplomacy of force uses improved means of political, economic and military diktat, its character remains that of the infamous "big stick" method.

Brandishing the modernized stick, Washington has been showing even more clearly that U.S. policy is coming full circle. Blind belief in

the magic of force, a belief maintained with the dope of anti-communism, is making the imperialist circles' subjective plans more out of touch with the real situation in the modern world. That is why Reagan's policy is even flimsier than that of his predecessors.

The contradictions dividing the Latin American peoples and the USA are now so deep that they can no longer be resolved by an act of will. These objective differences stood out in especially sharp relief during the Malvinas crisis. The United States once again exposed itself before all the peoples of the region when it supported the Thatcher government's demonstration of imperial force and thus broke its commitments to Argentina arising out of the TIAR Treaty imposed by Washington itself. The "inter-American system" has entered a new and graver crisis, which threatens the TIAR's viability and is seriously undermining Washington's positions in the OAS.

The conflict in the South Atlantic exposed the "continental security" rhetoric. The illusions created by some courtseys made by Washington to "pro-Western" circles and by assurances about the "common destiny" of the two Americas are being destroyed. Addressing the Latin American delegates at the OAS headquarters in February 1982, Reagan said: "We are representatives of a new world, a world of sovereign and independent states marching together now, shoulder to shoulder, with mutual respect for each other and great tolerance . . ." And further: "As is known, the United States used to pursue a policy of neighborliness, and it has done a lot of good. But that policy is no longer suitable. I assure you that my country is now willing to be more than a good neighbor, is willing to become a true friend and brother . . ."⁵ Are there any naive people in our countries who doubt that these declarations are false?

The White House's extreme hypocrisy only underlines the greater and greater moral collapse of the Washington politicians. The Vietnam syndrome and the Watergate scandal have a "worthy" continuation: Reagan is not, as he tries to present it, restoring the USA's international prestige, but rather is undermining it still further with his own hands.

Not only the USA's political prestige but also its real economic weight in the capitalist world has been falling. The share of the biggest imperialist power in the industrial production of the capitalist world dropped from 50 per cent in 1950 to 34 per cent in 1980, and in total export — from 18 to 12 per cent. And this tendency is continuing. Almost 15 million able-bodied Americans are unemployed, in-

flation continues in the country, and the cost of living is increasing. Colossal funds are being taken out of the national income to finance the senseless arms race. But today imperialism cannot change the military-strategic balance, given the economic and military potential of the USSR and the whole socialist community.

In this situation the White House has been acting like a "wounded beast," being extremely aggressive and seeking to decide international affairs with "big stick" threats. Many politicians in the USA itself now understand that this course is inappropriate and has no future, and they publicly dissociate themselves from the adventurist actions of Reagan and his team. The governments of many capitalist states do not wish to follow Washington's lead, and this was manifested clearly in their approach to the situation in Central America.⁶

Despite all its efforts, the present U.S. administration is losing its Latin American footholds one by one: the reactionary dictatorship in Bolivia has come to an inglorious end; the terrorist regimes in El Salvador and Guatemala are being shaken loose by the blows of the mass insurrectional movement; the fascist cliques in Chile and Uruguay are at a political and economic deadend. In Argentina prospects for democratization have opened up as a result of the upsurge in the popular struggle, democratization which could become a reality if the progressive forces manage to impede reaction's intrigues. Brazil is awakening after a long domination by the brutal military regime: the labor movement is strengthening and a campaign has been mounted to legalize the Communist Party.⁷ The Figueiredo government has begun to pursue a more independent foreign policy, thereby expressing the local bourgeoisie's striving for more independence and taking into account the pressure of the popular masses, who reject subjection to the USA.

In December 1982, Reagan made a trip to some countries in the region, including Brazil, in an attempt to mend relations with the states of Latin America and to get them to agree with his policy. But his tour was unsuccessful: he was met by mass anti-U.S. demonstrations and by press criticism and even criticism in government circles of U.S. positions. Reagan's assets are few: a hearty welcome from the Presidents of Costa Rica and Honduras, who are hoping for Washington's sops, and mutual understanding with the leaders of the El Salvador and Guatemala dictatorial regimes.

The forces of the anti-imperialist movement on the continent are growing and the left parties and organizations and all the democratic

circles are learning to work jointly. The working people of Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada have been resolutely upholding their gains. Broad international solidarity is a powerful factor supporting the liberation struggle of the Latin American peoples, who have the socialist community, the working people of the capitalist states, and the progressive world public on their side. Nicaragua's election to the UN Security Council is an example of the growing authority of the democratic forces on the continent.

A new system of international relations is taking shape among the countries of Latin America whether Washington likes it or not. This system has been and will continue to be formed not only by the insuperable contradictions between imperialism's strivings and the interests of the Latin American states, but also by how concretely the anti-imperialist protest of the peoples in our region is manifested.

At the national level, consistent anti-imperialism promotes unity of the forces of a broad social spectrum. This opens the way to the alliances necessary to carry out radical social transformations. And the success of every anti-imperialist action objectively benefits peace and the democratization of international relations, which is supported by the socialist states, the non-aligned movement, and the working people of the capitalist countries.

The lessons of history teach us that whatever changes there might be in U.S. imperialism's approach to our continent, to its revolutionary and democratic movements, the Latin American peoples should not expect any favors from Washington. The return to the "big stick" policy — in Reagan's hands or in someone else's — only shows the inability to find solutions in accord with the new realities. Our peoples are going to be ever more persistent in championing the right to decide their own destiny. Every version of the "big stick" policy is doomed to failure.

1. The October 1982 "conference on democratization of the communist countries" organized by the U.S. State Department gives indication of the unprecedented scale of the subversive activity against the socialist countries. The conference openly discussed practical ways to carry out Reagan's "crusade" against the socialist community and the communist and working-class movement.

2. Reagan announced this "initiative" in February 1982 when he promised the Caribbean and Central American countries about \$350 million in "aid" in the 1982 fiscal year, and a ready U.S. market for some of their traditional exports. In their turn the countries were expected to create favorable conditions for the U.S. monopolies, and fully to go along with Washington's policy. — Ed.

3. The Alliance for Progress program was worked out by the USA and presented to the Latin American states in 1961. — Ed.

4. The landing in Santo Domingo in 1965 by the U.S. Marines (as a part of the "international forces") was carried out because the Dominican army was split and was no longer able to guarantee the survival of the oligarchic regime.

5. See *Respuesta de Cuba. Reagan ante el Consejo de la OEA*. La Habana, 1982, pp. 53, 64.

6. The Mexican-French 1981 communiqué, which recognized the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front and the Revolutionary Democratic Front as an important political force in El Salvador, was like a challenge to Washington. The Presidents of Venezuela and Mexico demonstrated their opposition to Reagan when they sent a joint letter to the White House head in September 1982

expressing their deep concern about the dangerous situation in Central America.

7. On November 15, 1982, there were elections in Brazil to the National Congress, local government bodies, and also the governorships. The discriminatory manner in which the elections were held placed the opposition in a clearly unequal position, but the democratic forces demonstrated their growing might, even though the majority of places remain with the ruling party. Henceforth those forces will have the majority in the lower chamber of the National Congress. Representatives of the opposition were elected governors in the minority of states, but in those where most of industry and almost half of the whole population are concentrated.

Non-alignment today: a time of responsible decisions

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COMMENTARY

More and more facts indicate a steady growth of the role of the non-aligned states in world affairs. There has been a broad response to their international activity aimed to eradicate every form of imperialist oppression and violence, and to change the system of inequitable economic ties with the capitalist world. On many occasions in the past several years, the group of non-aligned countries has come forward with initiatives motivated by concern for the future of humankind in an effort to ward off the threat of a nuclear holocaust. Cooperation between the newly-liberated countries and the socialist states is becoming ever more important as a factor in strengthening world stability and helps to assert democratic principles in international relations.

The non-aligned movement, which has gathered strength from conference to conference, is now preparing for another summit meeting. The seventh conference, this time in Delhi, in a sense signals the maturity of the movement, which is more than 20 years old. On the eve of this outstanding event, it is natural to take a retrospective look at the fortunes of the non-alignment policy, to bring out the reasons for its worldwide recognition and success, and also to indicate the dangers now faced by the non-aligned, especially now that the international situation has been sharply aggravated.

Every historical movement has a future and develops along an ascending line, if it is equal to the tasks of the times. Let us illustrate this well-known idea by considering the origins of the non-alignment policy. Today, it is still im-

bued with anti-colonialism, anti-imperialism and the ideals of independence. The struggle for national sovereignty by countries enslaved by alien oppressors and simultaneously for the assertion in relations among all states of the principles of peaceful coexistence in the settlement of any international conflicts through negotiations, keynotes the whole history of the movement. In the 1960s, it mobilized the peoples for a resolute struggle against the colonial system and neocolonialist moves, drawing additional strength and vigor from the ever greater numbers of newly liberated states. Every defeat of imperialism and colonialism on the continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America all but automatically led to the growth of the ranks of the non-aligned countries.

The movement continued to develop together with life itself even after the liquidation of the colonial empires when the winning of economic independence and the reassertion by the young states of their sovereign rights over their natural resources became problems of unprecedented acerbity. With the adoption in the 1970s of a broad program for restructuring the system of international economic relations, the struggle for which was carried on under the slogan of a new international economic order, it markedly advanced the cause of unifying the majority of these states round the tasks of economic decolonization and a radical change in inequitable economic ties with the capitalist powers.

The insight of the founders of the movement on the issue of war and peace — the fundamental one for humankind's future — needs to

be specially considered. In the period when imperialism still quite seriously expected to use its erstwhile colonies as a reserve for an offensive against socialism, and when the call for peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems came mainly from the socialist countries, the voice of the far-sighted leaders of the emergent developing world rang loud and clear, as they resolutely condemned the cold war and showed how dangerous it was both for the emergent nations and for the whole of humankind.

The first conference of the movement in Belgrade (1961) proclaimed the principles of peaceful coexistence as the alternative to a universal nuclear disaster, and as "the sole basis for all international relations." Since the idea was that these principles should be consistently asserted in the practice of inter-state intercourse, the positions of the non-aligned countries and the socialist world coincided. The similarity and proximity of their foreign-policy orientations were clearly manifested in the past decade: it was the developing world, together with the socialist world, that then urged a further spread and deepening of the process of détente.

The 1970s generally have a special place in the history of the non-aligned movement. It was a period when the power of the collective experience of the anti-imperialist battles was perhaps most fully manifested and when its returns became so evident. The acts of the developing countries on the economic front of struggle against imperialism, the successful completion of the liberation battles in Vietnam, Laos, Mozambique, Angola and Kampuchea, and the radical revolutionary changes in countries like Ethiopia, Iran, Afghanistan, Nicaragua and Grenada substantially advanced the worldwide liberation process. This was also reflected in the radicalization of the movement's stand on the key political and economic problems of the modern world. It was the sixth non-aligned countries' conference, which was held in Havana in the autumn of 1979, that in a sense summed up an entire historical period.

The Havana forum reflected the unquestionable growth of the movement. The basic propositions of the line formulated earlier were not only reasserted but also developed in an anti-imperialist, liberation spirit. The political declaration adopted by the conference said that the quintessence of the non-alignment policy, in accordance with its initial principles and basic character, consists in struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, apartheid and racism, including Zionism, and also against every form of foreign aggression,

occupation, domination, intervention and hegemony, and against great power and bloc politics.

It is noteworthy that the participants in the Havana conference laid emphasis on collective methods of the anti-imperialist struggle and on the unity of the non-aligned ranks. They frustrated the attempts by international reaction to use some states for its purposes in order to split the movement and paralyze it. The fierce anti-Cuba campaign mounted by the imperialist circles of the United States was a resounding fiasco. Cuba's great contribution to the preparation and holding of the conference is acknowledged by all; its prestige as chairman of the movement has been very high throughout the past period. What Fidel Castro said then is still valid today, three and a half years after Havana: "At this conference, we have analyzed the most important, the most urgent problems of our time. There has not been a single just cause, a single hope of our peoples that has not been fully considered and supported at this conference. At this conference, we have spoken, as never before, of the problems of peace. At this conference, we have spoken, as never before, of economic problems and it was rightly said that economic problems should be at the heart of our concerns and our work."¹

Lastly, in view of recent developments, another point needs to be noted: the extremely negative trends in the development of the international situation which are now generally identified with the activity of the Reagan administration were, perhaps, not as acutely or as blatantly manifested during and just after the conference, as they are today. At that time, in Havana, the prospect for the drive against détente, which has now been mounted on a global scale, did not yet appear to be so menacing. The forum in Cuba reflected the clash between contending international trends in a period when it was not apparent which way developments would run.

Within the framework of this commentary it is hardly necessary to detail the causes of the shifts in the late 1970s and the early 1980s that are exceptionally dangerous to peace. Having frustrated the efforts to reach any understandings with the Soviet Union that could improve the international climate, the Reagan administration is out to achieve military superiority over socialism, primarily in nuclear missiles. Nowadays the USA and NATO do not only speak about additional arming, about changing the global balance of military forces in their favor: in various regions the aggressive acts of imperialism are sharply increasing the danger of local conflicts developing into worldwide

cataclysms. Such is the reality at the beginning of the 1980s, and the non-aligned movement was confronted with it immediately after Havana.

The extremely tense situation which has taken shape in the world is a stringent test for all the non-aligned states together and for each one of them individually. Not all have managed to stand their ground in the face of imperialist pressure. But considering the movement as a whole, despite the complexities of the present period of world development, it has once again demonstrated its realistic view of current tasks. The meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the non-aligned states held in Delhi in February 1981 expressed profound concern over the continued growth of international tensions and the declaration it adopted condemned the attempts to propagate the exceedingly dangerous doctrine of limited nuclear war, and to efface the boundary between nuclear and non-nuclear weapons. In the United Nations and other forums, the governments of the newly-liberated countries have spoken out with ever greater resolve against the monstrous schemes of imperialism. The peace fighters met with satisfaction the initiative of Mexico and a number of non-aligned states calling for a worldwide campaign for disarmament, which is regarded in the socialist countries and by democratic opinion in the capitalist West as an important means of invigorating action for peace. New major campaigns against the imperialist policy — the basic cause of sanguinary conflicts, be it in the region of the Arab East, the South of Africa, or the South Atlantic — are getting under way.

An approach to international events which is infused with a growing concern for the future of world peace is gaining ground within the non-aligned movement. There is a positive trend which sees the relevance of the movement's activity in its efforts to relax tensions, although the latter is now and again being interpreted as something that is derivative of the "rivalry" of the great powers, an approach which tends to obscure the true causes of the worsening political climate. On the eve of the seventh conference of the movement, the peoples hope that, as on so many other occasions in the past, the initial guidelines of non-alignment — anti-imperialism, and a commitment to freedom and world peace — will be further constructively developed at the conference.

The non-aligned countries' contribution to improving the international situation acquires growing importance with the step-up of the imperialist attacks on such historical gains of

humankind as the swing to détente and the winning of independence by once colonized countries and peoples. The attacks are concentrated not only on the socialist but also on the non-aligned countries, and the non-aligned movement itself is one of the major targets of this subversive activity. The preparation of virtually every one of its major conferences has been accompanied by a sharp step-up of pressures and behind-the-scenes moves by imperialism. In such periods, ideological subversion by forces hostile to the movement is especially intensified.

The imperialists can no longer declare non-alignment to be "immoral" and to claim that the only true virtue is their satellites' unquestioning loyalty. The main purpose of international reaction and neocolonialism is to split the movement or to separate it from its allies in the anti-imperialist front. The thesis of "equidistance," which is used as a cover for all kinds of subversive schemes, has been set up as virtually a full-fledged theory.

While the hypocritical concern on the part of imperialism to have the non-aligned countries maintain "equidistance" from the "superpowers" and "world blocs" is a constant magnitude, the arguments for this propaganda thesis tend to change with the circumstances. In the context of the 1981 Delhi conference, there was once again talk of "equidistance." The movement, wrote one British paper, had to some extent gone back to its origins, to the principle of "equidistance" from the two superpowers.² Actually, that was an attempt by some of the countries following in the wake of imperialism to divert the conference from a constructive discussion of the real problems by concentrating on the so-called Afghan and Kampuchean questions.

One could well expect that once again some will be willing to act as advocates for the Pol Pot butchers or the Afghan counter-revolutionaries. But there is, in fact, an alternative to these moves: efforts to settle any acute situations by proposing constructive solutions, taking account of the existing realities and of the main trends in the zone of the national liberation struggle.

Hypocritical calls for "equidistance" will still be heard today. While the tune is not new, the arrangement is, and it is so dear to the ears of the imperialist politicians with a hawkish profile. Gaining currency in the capitalist press is the idea that on the key issue for the future of humankind — the need to avert a worldwide nuclear conflagration — the non-aligned countries cannot rely on the "superpowers," be it the United States or the Soviet Union. The two

being linked by the bonds of nuclear deterrence, they tend to take a similar approach, and both hold that the state of peace depends exclusively on the balance of Soviet and U.S. forces. The logic of such reasoning is superficially aimed to make the "equidistance" formula as being just short of the only available alternative. Be independent of both Moscow and Washington for they are equally to blame for the aggravation of tension, suggest the advocates of "equidistance" as though they are concerned (but are not, of course, in actual fact) about the independence of the non-aligned movement in world affairs.

It is an obvious fact that the non-aligned states acquired their influence and weight in the international arena thanks to their own major actions and initiatives in the struggle to gain and strengthen their national sovereignty, lessen the military threat, and change the unequal economic ties with the imperialist states. Today it can be seen that the movement's role as an important independent political factor of international relations has increased, and with it its responsibility for humankind's future, for the destiny of the national freedom gained by the peoples, and for the strengthening on the international plane of the democratic principles dear to all the peoples. But such an approach, which is shared by the overwhelming majority of the non-aligned states, essentially has nothing in common with the "equidistance" formula. This concept is used by imperialism to split the anti-imperialist movement of the peoples and weaken their common struggle for a peaceful future, to which the non-aligned movement makes an essential contribution.

The futility of such attempts is shown by every new step of the non-aligned and socialist countries in defense of peace, as witness, for example, the recent 37th Session of the UN General Assembly. Nothing is more dangerous in our day than the approach which puts the USSR and the United States on the same footing; Moscow, which has undertaken (unilaterally) not to use nuclear weapons first, and Washington, which advocates a "limited" nuclear war and other equally monstrous scenarios for regional and local wars with the use of sophisticated nuclear weapons.

There is a reverse side to the "equidistance" formula propagated by imperialism, namely, the actual policy of the imperialist powers, the United States in the first place, in different regions of the developing world, and in the South-Asian subcontinent in particular.

Imperialism cannot ignore the fact that in that area lies a great country that has won uni-

versal respect for its principled policy in the international arena. India's consistent policy of non-alignment, with which Indians generally identify the struggle for national independence, and against imperialism, and the danger of nuclear war, shows that a major and influential state in the developing world can do much, in concert with all the others, in averting the dangers impending on humanity and in eliminating the causes of war. There is good reason why the United States has been keeping a close watch on India, is trying to pressure it and, under the Reagan administration, has turned it into just about the chief objective of its flirtations in Asia.

The propaganda attacks on the anti-imperialist line and friendly ties with the USSR are being repeatedly mounted behind the smoke-screen of "equidistance." Renounce your "pro-Soviet trend," the imperialist advocates of "aseptic" non-alignment suggest, and you can then expect more economic aid and a comprehension of your needs. What is more, Indians who want peace in South Asia are being tempted with the prospect of a "regional détente." But what kind of détente? One Hong Kong weekly writes just that: "Washington feels that regional détente is the best way of encouraging the anti-Soviet tendencies in the sub-continent."³ Even a reactionary journal has been forced to admit that the real meaning of Reagan's policy in our region is to stimulate anti-Soviet moves staking more and more on changes in India's foreign policy that would suit imperialism and keep India far away from its allies in the anti-imperialist struggle.

What these circles find most unpalatable is the growing cooperation between the non-aligned countries and the socialist world. This cooperation has great potential, because it rests on the principles of anti-colonialism, anti-imperialism and peaceful coexistence, which are common to the two groups of states.

International developments demand vigilance. The chief imperative today is the cohesion of all the peace-loving, anti-imperialist and anti-war forces. On the eve of the seventh conference of the non-aligned countries, I should like to recall these words of the very first declaration issued by the movement: "War has never threatened humankind with graver consequences than it does today. On the other hand, never before has humankind had at its disposal stronger forces for eliminating war as an instrument of policy in international relations."

The communists and all the other democrats share this historical optimism. On the eve of the

Delhi conference, hundreds of millions of people throughout the world pin their hopes on further vigorous action by the group of non-aligned countries in order to relax tensions and return the world to the way of détente. The more effective the battles on the economic front in resisting the imperialist policy of oppression, diktat and blackmail, the more united the non-aligned countries round the liberation

tasks, the more successful will be the struggle for peace. Here again, one hopes, the program of non-alignment for the 1980s will reflect the task of our time.

1. "Addresses delivered at the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries," Havana, 3-9 September 1979, La Habana, 1980, p. 910.
2. See *The Financial Times*, February 17, 1981, p. 16.
3. *Far Eastern Economic Review*, August 6, 1982, p. 13.



Help those who seek

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THE CHARACTER OF A COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION

We continue publication of the series on "The Character of a Communist Organization" which was started in 1982. The representatives of 16 parties have taken part in its discussion. However, not only communist readers, but also those from revolutionary democratic parties in countries which have taken the socialist road have shown an interest in the problems of party construction and the character of the revolutionary party in present-day conditions.

The political experience of the masses is one of the main starting elements in the activity of the Marxist working-class party. The specific features of its work and its very character are determined by the goals it sets itself and the conditions in which it has to carry on its struggle and which have an influence on the level of the working people's class consciousness. In this context, the new situation which has taken shape in the FRG's political arena provides much food for reflection and conclusions, and not only concerning its consequences and perspectives, but also the conceptions of the party's organization and functioning and much food for comparison and verification of the different theories of party construction now being elaborated in the FRG.

The fall of the Federal cabinet led by the social democrats was a significant development. It threw a sharp light not just on the kind of government, the kind of coalition or the kind of chancellor the country was to have, but on

the choice of way for the FRG to travel in the atmosphere of the sharpening crisis of the capitalist system.

Such a crisis inevitably entails changes in the thinking and behavior of masses of people. The resignation of the social democratic chancellor was preceded by a switch in some of the states by millions of voters from one party to another, and this upset the parliamentary balance of forces that had existed for three decades. In three Federal states, the Free Democratic Party (FDP) failed to win the statutory five per cent of the votes and had to withdraw from the state parliaments. Meanwhile, the "Greens" and the "Alternativists" made marked progress and got into several of the state parliaments for the first time. They could well manage to carry their success to the Federal level. When the Communist Party of Germany was banned and the communists were stripped of their parliamentary mandates, the classical parties of the bourgeois society established undivided domination in the state parliaments. The situation is now different, and new forces are represented in some state parliaments.

Changes have occurred not only in electoral preferences, but also in the numerical strength of the parties. This applies above all to the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SDPG), which in the recent period has lost almost 200,000 members, of them 30,000 in one year alone, and this in the state of North Rhine-Westphalia, where the social democrats had the biggest regional organization. The same is happening with the FDP. Meanwhile, despite all the crises which have shaken the parties of

the Establishment, the CDU/CSU has managed — judging from the growth of its membership — to win fairly massive support. In 1950, the CDU/CSU, a classical party of the social élite, had roughly 100,000 members; today, it has more than a million.*

The crisis of the system is ever more obvious. The unprecedented scale of unemployment (the FRG now has over 2 million jobless, and their number is growing), the uncontrolled growth of prices, the cutbacks in social spending, the job bans and other curbs on democracy have shown many, young people in particular, what the existing system actually is. Most industrial workers, employees, farmers, intellectuals and members of the middle strata belonging to the post-war generation have come face to face with the consequences of a capitalist crisis for the first time in their lives. Here, one should also bear in mind that for nearly 30 years, the economy appeared to be in a more or less prosperous state, so that there was a definite improvement in the social sphere. This naturally had an effect on the working people's class consciousness and behavior, with right-opportunist, social-reformist ideas, mainly advocated by the social democrats and their trade unions, having the greatest influence on the public frame of mind.

The blasting of the blind faith in the system and its mainstay, the bourgeois and the reformist parties, should now have a stronger effect on the thinking and actions of the masses in the conditions of the crisis. Hundreds of thousands of men and women, with virtually no practical experience in the class struggle (involvement in strikes, demonstrations, take-over of enterprises, etc.) are now losing their jobs, and the working class needs to be prepared to see future battles for its rights, especially at critical periods, not only become more acute but also acquire a totally new quality.

It is, therefore, on the whole quite understandable why there is a discussion of the forms of organization that are most appropriate and effective in the fight for the vital interests of the masses within the powerful peace movement, and also within the ecological movement, which, along with other factors, has for several years now largely determined the political climate in the country. It is becoming clear to many that the SDPG, which was in the government until October 1982, has ceased to be an organization representing the interests of broad circles seeking reform. Many of its supporters — who well remember how, in the early 1970s,

Willy Brandt spoke of the need "more boldly to develop democracy, to secure greater social justice and to continue the policy of détente," those who had trusted the SDPG for a long time — now feel themselves deceived in view of its economic, and especially military-political steps, like support for NATO's "additional armament" decision. Accordingly, many have turned away from the party. There is also growing resistance to the government's social policy within the trade unions. The demonstrations and rallies staged by the Federation of German Trade Unions against the plans of the new CDU/CSU — FDP coalition to curb the working people's social gains drew hundreds of thousands of participants.

It is the young generation that has above all raised the question of organizational forms. Some of its members have had to learn from bitter experience that the diverse leftist groupings which emerged in the late 1960s and early 1970s proved incapable of action and, as the German Communist Party had predicted, have all disappeared from the political arena without exception. New groups oriented toward so-called grass-roots democracy have been emerging, thousands of civil initiative committees have been set up, and the "Greens" and the "Alternativists" have been gathering strength. Besides, the social democrats who have either been expelled or who have left the SDPG have been trying to set up their own left-wing socialist party. Those who have left the FDP are taking similar action.

What has impelled all these people to form new organizations?

The classical parties of the bourgeois society have discredited themselves among critically-minded citizens by their policies in the economy, armaments, environment and social relations. The parties' shady financial transactions and failures in cadre policy (which are best described as cadre leapfrog) and also the machinations, manifestations of clannishness, nepotism, corruption and rejection of critical opinions, all of which tended to upset the established notions of democracy, resulted in these parties' loss of their much-vaunted "democratic right to leadership." Bourgeois and reformist party theorists in vain seek to present this process as being no more than an aberration, as a result of incorrect decisions taken by individuals, and to claim that it will take no more than a few reforms to set things right. In saying this, they studiously avoid referring to the objective reasons for such phenomena in the Establishment parties, to say nothing of casting doubt on the whole system of parties in the

*The figures are given for the CDU and the CSU together since they are linked in a parliamentary union. — Ed.

bourgeois society and their approach to inner-party democracy.

The main problem facing the forces in search of new orientations is, without doubt, that the starting point for this quest lies outside the framework of conscious class struggle. The motives by which the radical-democratic trends are guided are highly diverse, are frequently based only on emotions and have no solid anti-capitalist positions to rest upon.

The role and responsibility of the Marxist working-class party, such as the GCP, consists in arranging ties with these trends, and in establishing its positions vis-a-vis a disappointed electorate as an alternative. On the other hand, those seeking a social alternative need to be shown that the GCP is the only party meeting their hopes in terms of political program and inner-party democracy. The communists, we believe, should above all work to shape in the public mind correct ideological views of the role and nature of the parties in the bourgeois society, with a correct understanding of the character of the working class and its organizations in a highly developed industrial country like the FRG. In short, relying on these forces' urge for reform in the key areas of political life, they must carry them closer to the principled class positions and get them to understand that the existing type of society is not the only possible one, and that they will have to choose which side of the barricades to take a stand. There is also a need to explain the truth that the struggle must be carried on in an organized manner and that here the key role belongs to the Marxist working-class party.

Failure to understand the role of the working class in the present conditions is one of the factors which prevent the new forces from moving closer to the GCP. That is not surprising. It is the historical mission of the working class that is denied by classical-type bourgeois politicians in the conservative camp, and also by other forces, ranging from the social democrats to the "Greens" and the "Alternativists." But they do not always trot out the same theoretical justification for their stand. Some claim that the modern society simply no longer has a working class, others insist that it has given way to new social strata, and still others assert that "the consciousness of the working class is immature" and that it has lost its capacity to act as a generator of social transformations. All these arguments, which are a far cry from the reality, ultimately serve to justify the opportunistic conception of some "people's party," which is to be set up in place of the working-class party.

But can one deny the fact that a strong Marxist class party is simultaneously a *people's* party in the sense that it expresses the interests of the working people as a whole? Is it right to contrast the two, when all the sociological pointers and characteristics indicative of the leading role of the working class — numerical growth, concentration in the major industrial centers and areas, direct participation in material production, etc. — far from declining, as compared with the lifetime of Marx and Engels, have in fact become much more pronounced?

Of course, it is wrong to ignore the deep changes in the economic structures, the sizable share of wage-workers by brain, and the relatively larger share of foreign working people, to say nothing of closing one's eyes to the fact that new industries have replaced the traditional, mainly manual-labor industries. While retaining its orientation toward the working class, the GCP seeks to gain a deeper comprehension of the ongoing socio-economic changes which set new tasks before it.

Nor is this approach a tactical one. It is a principled approach. And being a component part of the GCP's policy it opens up fresh opportunities for acquiring allies. If these opportunities are to be successfully used, there is a need for a strong Marxist working-class party. Speaking at the party's sixth congress in 1981, party Chairman Herbert Mies said: "For the GCP, the preservation of its worker party character is an abiding task. Our class stand determines our approach to any question. The GCP believes that its strength lies in its ideological and moral firmness. That is organically linked with the need to strengthen the party organizationally . . . To be a party of the working class means above all winning the trust of the working class and reinforcing the party with its active representatives.*"

The Marxist party's principled orientation toward the working class dictates the task of defending the specific character of the communist organization, of the Marxist view of inner-party democracy, against attacks both from right and left opportunism.

Such attacks are not new, for they were staged as long ago as the time of Lassalle, Bakunin, Bernstein and others who strove to hit out at the fundamental elements of the party's *policy and ideology*, and attacked its coherent organization, which, as Lenin said, is the most important instrument of the class struggle.

Approaches to organizational matters and their practical implementation are different in

*Protokoll des 6. Parteitags der Deutschen Kommunistischen Partei, May 29-31, 1981, Hannover. p. 91.

the Marxist and the bourgeois theories in principle. In the bourgeois parties, organization is taken to mean no more than a fairly tenuous regulation of the behavior of party members by means of statutes, instructions and procedural rules. In these parties, the view of inner-party democracy is patently geared to the group and class interests of the various capitalist circles.

The Marxists have a different conception of organization. It was developed in contest with bourgeois views and differs from the latter not only in orientation toward socialism — which means not only in political and ideological terms — but in all its well-known organizational principles. These could be generally formulated as follows:

- in order to end the rule of the capitalist class, however small numerically, but in possession of the whole of political and economic power, with a powerful state machine at its disposal and making use of the mass media to spread its ideology, there is a need for a well-knit mass political organization of the numerically much stronger exploited class;

- the organization cannot be set up merely in formal terms; it requires constant involvement of all its members in political, ideological and organizational work, which is carried on in accordance with the existing political situation and the conditions of the struggle; all members of the organization must participate in formulating party policy, and in framing and implementing decisions.

Marxists should not close their eyes to the fact that the current mass movement away from the bourgeois parties in the FRG — however positive as a whole in our overall assessment — does not signify a movement closer to the Marxist alternative (to the GCP or Marxist youth and student organizations friendly to it). Moreover, one has to state that in consequence of the influence of anti-communism in the course of many years and the ignorance about the substance and character of the Marxist party, the just criticism addressed to bourgeois political formations is frequently also applied indiscriminately to the GCP or any other Marxist association. As a result, on the strength of their own experience of contacts with bourgeois parties and organizations and taking the widespread anti-communist slander of the policy and practices of the Communist Party at face value, many critically-minded people, especially the young, frequently arrive at a total rejection of any organizational forms of political activity.

One should take into account that those who spread such ideas and theories, like most of the

present "Alternativists" generally, are predominantly people from the middle strata and the intelligentsia, who have always been prone to underestimate organization.

By issuing their "We are the Anti-Party" slogan, the "Greens" have undertaken to eliminate the social troubles according to their own lights. They have extolled "grass-roots democracy," which they present as a new conception of organization, while claiming that the crisis of the various sectarian leftist groupings, from which many of the present supporters of the "Alternativist" movement come, proves that Marxism is allegedly worked out. As further confirmation they also cite the relative numerical weakness of the GCP. Spontaneity as a form of struggle is contrasted with classical organization, while the "Alternativist" movement is presented as a "third force" (known for many years from the theory of convergence between socialism and capitalism).

The communists are faced with the task of reviving the concept of "organization" in its true sense, for it has been discredited by bourgeois practices. At the same time, they must show that the search for organizational forms without the elaboration of a general political program is doomed to failure, and that their rejection (as allegedly undemocratic and always connected with coercion and suppression of individuality) is not at all justified with respect to the Marxist parties in view of their substance and character.

The strength and superiority of our conception of organization lies, on the one hand, in the party's scientific elaboration of basic political tenets and their consistent implementation, and on the other, in the fact that through its political organization mechanisms the party promotes the development of mass creativity, ensuring a maximum of inner-party democracy and guaranteeing the necessary unity and cohesion in the class struggle.

Lenin's idea that socialist democracy is a thousand times more democratic than bourgeois democracy is fully borne out in a comparison of bourgeois and Marxist parties. Nowhere is there so much democracy at the grass roots, such conditions for direct involvement of each member in general affairs than there is in the Marxist party. Nowhere are there so many mechanisms of control over the activity of elective bodies, or so many opportunities for criticism and self-criticism as there are in the Marxist party. Creative application of the organizational principles worked out by Marx, Engels and Lenin raises a barrier to the bureaucratic practices, careerism and abuse which are commonplace in bourgeois parties. Practical

realization of these principles is based on the communists' common view of democracy in the future social system: involvement of all citizens in the administration and the manage-

ment of production and the organization of the society, which help to create the basic prerequisites for democratic life not just in rhetoric but in actual fact.

Firm principles, flexible tactics

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The Palestinian Communist Party has marked its first anniversary. Heir to our people's fine traditions of struggle for national liberation and social emancipation, it is an alloy of rich experience in revolutionary battles and the vibrant energy of youth (the average age of PCP members is no higher than 24 years). The party has deep roots in the masses of Palestinians, above all in the midst of the working class in the territories occupied by Israel as a result of the 1967 aggression. Forty-five per cent of its members are workers. The Palestinian communists take pride in their wide-ranging international ties and display constant concern to strengthen these.

The birth of the PCP, which was hailed by the fraternal communist and workers' parties of the Arab countries and of the rest of the world, became an outstanding event in the life of the communists of our homeland, and of the Palestinian working class and national-patriotic movement as a whole. The historical gestation of the necessary objective and subjective prerequisites has run to its natural completion.

The socio-political role of the working class in the Palestinians' national struggle has grown, and this includes its main contingent, the workers in the occupied territories. Let us recall that important quantitative and qualitative changes have taken place in the make-up and structure of the Palestinian working class in the years of the occupation.

The Israeli invaders have arbitrarily confiscated more than a third of the lands belonging to the local inhabitants. The Arab population is subjected to economic oppression and expulsion: it is burdened with excessive taxes, and is forced to market its products on unfair terms with a swelling flood of Israeli-made goods. This has led to the ruin of a large number of small producers and traders, who were forced to go on the labor market as wage-workers. The number of wage-workers in the Israeli-occupied areas has reached 64 per cent of the able-bodied Palestinian population, and

that in a society which is at a relatively low level of development, with a prevalence of petty-commodity production.

Being subjected to a two-fold — class and national — oppression, but having a conscious and well-seasoned revolutionary leadership in the communists, the working class has moved into the leading positions in the national struggle. This is epitomized in the recent popular action against the invaders' conspiratorial plans.

The changes in the condition of the working class cannot be considered outside the context of the changes that have occurred in the Palestinian society in the occupied territories since the 1967 aggression. Until then, the West Bank of the River Jordan (the main tract of the Palestinian territories occupied by Israel) was a part of Jordan and differed markedly in socio-economic terms from the Gaza Strip, which from 1948 to 1967 was under Egyptian administration. But over the past 15 years under the occupation, socio-economic ties and political interaction have been re-established between these two Palestinian regions. On the other hand, relations between the West Bank and Jordan have been markedly restricted. As a result, an integral social organism differing from the Jordanian society — and this is especially true from the standpoint of its class structure — has taken shape in the occupied Palestinian territories of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

Simultaneously yet another shift of exceptional importance has occurred. Over the past period, the right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination and the establishment of an independent national state on its native soil has won broad international recognition. One could say that all the basic prerequisites for the formation of such a state are now there. The only impediment is the continued Israeli occupation.

In the light of all these facts, the formation of the Palestinian Communist Party was in accord with the fundamental principles of our doc-

trine, which even in the specific conditions of the Palestinian arena is a blend of Marxism-Leninism and the working-class movement.

The birth of the PCP was also promoted by historical circumstances. The party inherited and carried on the struggle which the Palestinian communists had carried on from day to day for nearly 60 years, acting within the framework of various organizations: the Communist Party of Palestine (under the British mandate), the League of National Liberation, the Jordanian Communist Party, and so on. The communists represent the longest-standing political movement of the Palestinian people.

Perhaps the most characteristic feature of this movement, with its record, is that it has never ceased to exist, despite the tempestuous turns in the development of events involving exceptional complications and entailing tremendous sacrifice. In these battles, the communists have gained rich experience and also — and that is of much importance — established broad international ties. The formation of the PCP helps to make full use of these ties for the benefit of the Palestinians' national cause.

One of the main features which distinguish the communists from the adherents of other Palestinian political organizations is that the main basis of their activity lies in the occupied territories. The significance of this fact stands out in ever bolder relief as the center of gravity in the liberation battle increasingly moves into these territories.

This feature is determined above all by historical factors. Even before the emergence of the state of Israel in 1948, the alliance of imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction began to implement a plot against the people of Palestine in order to prevent it from realizing its right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent democratic national state. Almost a million Palestinians were expelled from their homeland. The bulk of the refugees settled in Jordan and on the West Bank, and the rest in other Arab countries.

The communists, then working within the framework of the League of the National Liberation of Palestine, first saw through the Zionist scheme of obtaining "land without a people," the dimensions and goals of the plot and the nature of the forces involved. That is why they did not leave hearth and home, did not join the mass exodus despite the bloody terrorism inflicted on them by the rulers of the newly established Israel and the reactionary Arab regimes.

Following the partition of the territory of mandated Palestine, the communists, who did not join the refugees in their flight, found them-

selves within three organizations: the Communist Party of Israel, the Jordanian Communist Party,¹ and the section of the League of National Liberation in the Gaza Strip.² Groups of Palestinian communists which emerged later, in the 1960s, were set up within the framework of fraternal communist parties (like the Syrian) and worked under their leadership. Among the motives behind the formation of the PCP was the urge to bring the Palestinian communists into one party.³

The fact that the communists concentrated their efforts above all in the occupied territories is due both to historical and other circumstances. In these territories is concentrated the national working class, as a full-fledged class, as compared with the individual groups of workers, however numerous, of which many will be found in the countries of the Palestinian diaspora. The West Bank and the Gaza Strip are becoming the main arena of the fight against the enemy, and this shows that our understanding of the nature of the ongoing struggle is correct. This is evidenced by the continuing mass action against attempts by the United States, Israel and Arab reaction to impose their scenarios for a capitulationist settlement cutting across the Palestinian people's national rights.

Though the emphasis on developing work directly in the occupied territories had unquestionable advantages, it also gave rise to some complications. Thus, the communists' activity, their sacrifices and their true role in the national struggle were less well known (especially in the international arena) than the acts of other Palestinian organizations based abroad and in possession of relatively sophisticated means of information and propaganda.

The formation of the PCP was preceded by a number of organizational measures. In 1974, as the Arab world and the international community recognized the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as that people's sole legitimate representative, and the embodiment and personification of its independent national existence, the Jordanian Communist Party⁴ adopted a programmatic document "On the Right of the Arab People of Palestine to the Establishment of an Independent State in the Lands Occupied in 1967 After Their Liberation." This approach to the problem of self-determination was formulated for the first time, and in its decisions of that period, the National Palestinian Council (a kind of Parliament in exile) invariably spoke of a Palestinian entity.

In the light of the provisions of this document, the JCP Organization on the West Bank,

which had the largest group of Palestinian communists, adopted the name of West Bank Palestinian Communist Organization. The change of name was regarded as a step toward the establishment of an independent Palestinian Communist Party. The organization subsequently spread its activity to the Gaza Strip and began to call itself West Bank and Gaza Strip Palestinian Communist Organization. At about the same time, the JCP organization in Lebanon, which united Palestinian communists was renamed the Palestinian Communist Organization in Lebanon.

Within the framework of preparations for the setting up of the PCP, the West Bank Palestinian Communist Organization issued an important political document of a programmatic character in 1979. It contained an in-depth analysis of the situation in the Israeli-occupied Palestinian territories and of the changes that had occurred under the occupation in the pattern of social forces, especially the condition of the working class. The document formulated the immediate goal of the current stage in the Palestinian people's struggle and examined the questions of class and political alliances and tactical line.

This whole effort culminated in the establishment of the Palestinian Communist Party, which was announced on February 10, 1982.

At every stage in the development of the Palestinian problem, the communists, in contrast to other contingents of the national-patriotic movement, have always displayed political realism in their approach to it, being guided by the experience of the Arab people of Palestine itself, and also by their Marxist-Leninist view of the nationalities question. The communists' principled policy won the sympathies and support of the broadest strata of the Palestinian people, of its patriotic forces, of the international communist movement, and of progressive world opinion. Steadfast adherence to this policy acquires special importance now, when imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction have stepped up their encroachments on our people's legitimate rights, while the rulers of Israel have been perpetrating monstrous crimes against the Palestinians, both on the occupied territories and elsewhere.

The main thing for us, internationalist-minded communists, has always been and will continue to be the Palestinian people's right to self-determination as the pivot and cardinal immediate goal of its struggle, on the one hand, and as the objective of all the plots by its enemies, on the other. It was the communists who, in 1945, issued the slogan of the establishment in Palestine of an independent,

democratic, and secular state. They did not close their eyes to the changes that had occurred, above all the fact that alongside the Arab community, a Jewish community had taken shape,⁵ though they came out resolutely against the imperialist-encouraged Zionist colonization of Palestine. The communists were the only ones who in taking a stand which demanded self-determination, an end to the British mandate in Palestine, and withdrawal of British troops from there also took into account the changes in the demographic situation in the mandated territories.

However, the forces of imperialism, Zionism and local Arab reaction, which made a deal with them, managed to block the optimal solution of the Palestine problem by stoking up sharp communal clashes between Arabs and Jews, which obscured the true substance of the struggle of the people of Palestine. Accordingly, when the UN General Assembly adopted its resolution on November 29, 1947, on the partition of Palestine into two states — Arab and Jewish — the communists accepted it.⁶ They did so because, while it did not fully accord with the interests of the Palestinians, it did assure them of the right to set up an independent state and averted the tragedy of their expulsion, something for which the dark forces of reaction were actively preparing.

We believe that our people's right to self-determination is now embodied in the immediate goal of its struggle: the establishment of its own independent state on the territories occupied by the Israelis in 1967, and the realization of the refugees' right to return home in accordance with the UN decisions, and the PCP Constituent Manifesto says as much. At the same time, in the light of the content of the above-mentioned goal, one has to admit that the Palestinian people are making a tremendous sacrifice. They are doing so in order to be able to decide their own future in a situation in which serious and unfavorable shifts in the balance of forces in the region have taken place as a result of the 1967 aggression and Egypt's subsequent withdrawal from the arena of the fight against the Israeli aggressor, following its signing of the Camp David accords.

On the part of the Palestinians, this sacrifice is a contribution to the efforts to surmount the crisis which has gripped the Arab national liberation movement; it is designed to help beat back the ever fiercer attacks of imperialism and Zionism. It is simultaneously a step helping to strengthen world peace, which is bound to benefit from the elimination of the most dangerous seat of tension that could at any moment flare into an international conflict.

We are convinced that the Palestinian problem, like any other nationalities question, can be given a definitive, most just and consistent solution only under socialism. Meanwhile, the lines and features in the development of this problem, including the nature of the political and legal relations between the Palestinians and their surrounding peoples, will be determined by the course and outcome of the struggle to eliminate the interests and influence of imperialism in the Middle East and to cut short the Israeli rulers' aggressive expansionist moves, the struggle for Arab unity and social progress.

The settlement plans now being mooted within the Palestinian national movement testify to the existence within it — in terms of the approach to the return of the occupied territories and realization of the right to self-determination — of two contending trends. Both take a one-sided approach, though the leading tendency is on the whole one of realism.

The advocates of the first trend express a readiness to accept a Palestinian state set up on any liberated sector of the territory of Palestine. By so demonstrating their adherence to the idea of self-determination, they suppose that the newly formed state should be used as a basis for carrying on the struggle to attain an unrealistic goal, which they formulate as "liberation of the whole of Palestine."

The advocates of the other trend want the question of territory to be settled at the expense of the Palestinians' right to self-determination and the establishment of their own national state. This defective approach provides camouflage for Ronald Reagan's Middle East plan⁷ and also for the project for a United Arab Kingdom⁸ put forward by Jordan rulers, as also its recent modification, which accords with the purposes of the U.S. plan, the proposal for a confederation between Jordan and the Palestinian territories now occupied by Israel.

In effect, these trends are a manifestation of two harmful tendencies of a broader character. They spring from the stepped-up attacks by imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction against our people's legitimate rights, and ultimately from the fact that in the atmosphere of this protracted and intense battle some strata of the Palestinian bourgeoisie are beginning to lose their patience and steadfastness.

The first of these two tendencies consists in the putting forward of unrealistic extremist slogans, and the staging of reckless acts which harm our people's struggle and give world opinion the wrong impression about the substance of its just cause. The second is expressed

in the inclination to take a conciliatory stand and to entertain illusions about U.S. "solutions." While appearing to be contradictory, they actually feed and maintain each other. By its very existence, the conciliatory "compromise tendency" invests the adventurist "rejection tendency" with the garb of "political truth-seeking" and principled "loyalty to ideals," while the latter, for its part, invests the former with the features of "realism" and "prudence."

The Lebanese war, which involved the monstrous massacre of Palestinians,⁹ showed once again how unrealistic the "rejection tendency" slogans are, and led to a narrowing of its socio-political base, consisting mainly of Palestinian refugees settled on the territory of Lebanon. Most of them come from areas incorporated in Israel. For them, the slogan of establishing an independent Palestinian state on the territories occupied in 1967 does not provide an immediate solution of the problem of a return to hearth and home. But the bestial butchery perpetrated by the Israeli criminals and their agents, the Lebanese fascists, has driven home the fact that the Palestinians have a vital need for their own state as a reliable refuge against fresh persecutions and massacres, and as the shortest and most realistic way to the land of their native country from which they had fled, a way that runs through struggle for fulfilling the UN decisions concerning the Palestinian refugees' right to return to their homeland.

At the present stage, especially after the withdrawal of the PRM contingents from Beirut, the main internal danger for the Palestinian revolution stems from the "compromise tendency." The strata of the Palestinian bourgeoisie which advocate it have fear of Israel's expansionist plans to expropriate lands belonging to the Palestinians, to deprive as many of them as possible of their property and drive them abroad. These circles fail to see the potential threat to their economic interests from the U.S. plan to re-establish the power of the Jordanian monarchy on Palestinian territories and do not understand that Reagan's plan is above all an attempt, so to say, to apportion duties between Israel and Jordan with respect to the territories now occupied by the invaders. In content, this project is not at odds with the Camp David accords, and does not go beyond their framework, as the U.S. President himself has affirmed. The Middle East initiative of the White House assures Israel of the possibility of establishing its economic domination over the remaining part of the territory of Palestine to be returned under Jordan's administration. In these conditions, inevitable ruin is the only

prospect in store for the Palestinian bourgeoisie.

So far, the bourgeois strata have yet to see the truth of this. Their illusions with respect to dubious projects clearly tend to erode their political positions and to limit their role in the Palestinians' national struggle. Besides, the acts of the Israeli authorities have already weakened the local bourgeoisie in the occupied territories, while expanding — contrary to the will of the invaders — the social base of political steadfastness and consistent adherence to the national goals among the working masses.

We communists are convinced that the liberation of the lands occupied in 1967 and the exercise by our people of its right to self-determination are indissolubly bound up with each other. The overwhelming majority of the Palestinians in the occupied areas and elsewhere are rallying round these demands, which enjoy recognition and ever greater powerful support from the international community.

Our people's patriotic unity is an effective weapon in realizing its national aspirations. It acquires exceptional importance in the extraordinary conditions in which the Palestinians find themselves, when one part of them languishes under the yoke of the invaders, and the other has to live in exile.

At a definite stage in the development of the struggle, the Palestine Liberation Organization became the embodiment of this unity. The communists unreservedly sided with the PLO, which is now the legitimate representative of our people. The attempts to undermine this role come only from the agents of the Israeli occupation authorities or the henchmen of the Jordanian regime, which has not given up its attempts to get hold of what belongs to the Palestinian people. We have not only supported the PLO but have actively promoted the consolidation of its positions, especially at critical moments. This has done nothing to deprive us of our independence, to obscure the class substance of our political line, or to waive our reservations with respect to the make-up of the various PLO organs. The communists' representation on these organs is not in accordance with their real weight in the national struggle, and this introduces an element of discrimination.

The problem of preserving and strengthening Palestinian national unity has become most acute since the withdrawal of the PRM contingents from Beirut, since when there has been a succession of plots designed to pit various Palestinian groupings against each other, and to create the conditions for undermining the

unity and infringing on the independent decisions taken by the Palestinians. Our party has been doing its utmost to enlarge the base of the patriotic movement and to enhance its cohesion. At the same time, it does not divest itself of responsibility for the defense of the interests of the working class and all the other working people, especially in view of the attempts by some short-sighted circles of the Palestinian bourgeoisie in the occupied territories to have the working people bear the whole brunt of the battle. Similarly, our urge for broad national unity, concern for strengthening it, and resistance to any moves aimed to weaken and undermine it, do not prevent us from giving especially close attention to progressive pro-Marxist trends in the Palestinian arena. An impetus to the development of such trends also comes from our people's suffering over the years, and from the triumphant advance of scientific socialism throughout the world.

Consistent pursuit of a principled political line does not rule out, but in fact implies the most flexible use of the most diverse forms and methods of struggle with an eye to the specifics of the concrete situation. This is especially true for our party, which has to act in the most diverse conditions: in the occupied territories, and beyond their boundaries.

The communists took up the struggle against the invaders immediately upon the 1967 aggression. Subjected to savage persecution by the Jordanian authorities, they still managed in cooperation with other patriotic forces, to do what they had failed to do in 1948, namely, to stem the tide of refugees fleeing from the interventionists' terrorism. Having convinced many not to leave their homeland, the communists soon went on to further steps: rousing the masses to combat action in order to restore their faith in themselves, in their capability of beating back the invaders through joint action. The first such battle was the general political strike staged on the initiative and under the leadership of the communists in the Arab sector of Jerusalem (August 1967). It was an open challenge to the Israeli aggressors, who had announced the annexation of East Jerusalem a few days after its occupation. At the same time, the strike demonstrated to the traditional leaders of the national movement, most of whom were then in Jerusalem, that any attempts to ignore the communists in this movement were doomed to failure. Our comrades subsequently always had the central role in all the national front type associations and in every joint action in the occupied territories.

The popular struggle has steadily gained in scope, the strikes developed into demonstra-

tions, which, for their part, grew into powerful mass action. In the course of the ceaseless battles, the communists' tactical line was put to a comprehensive test, as they won ever greater respect and authority among the Palestinian patriots and the masses of people. We achieved this largely through a correct formulation of the immediate tasks and precise choice of methods of struggle. There are numerous examples of this. Let us consider only one question: attitude to the Arab municipal councils.

In 1976, the occupation authorities announced their intention to hold elections to municipal councils on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip. Their purpose was to knock together a Palestinian leadership that would provide an alternative to the PLO, and to issue a challenge to it, above all in the occupied territories. The idea was that the patriotic forces would boycott the elections held under the occupation, so leaving the arena free for the vacillating and suspicious elements.

Whereas all the other patriotic forces were at first hesitant or even refused to participate in the electoral campaign, the communists urged the people to join in it without hesitation. Our assumption was that if the elections were held in an atmosphere of even minimum democracy — and the Israeli invaders loudly advertised their intention to ensure it — the national movement had an opportunity to convert the municipal councils into its additional citadels. If the authorities resorted to ballot rigging, this would provide yet another convincing argument in exposing the spurious "democracy" of the occupation regime.

Life itself proved that we were right. Despite the terrorism against the communists and the other progressive leaders, the patriotic forces scored a resounding victory in the elections. Their common electoral rolls won everywhere. The plans of the Zionist rulers were a resounding fiasco.

Roughly three years later, the occupation administration decided to dismiss the Mayor of Nablus, the prominent Palestinian patriotic leader B. Shakaa, from his post and to deport him to Jordan. The communists proposed that the members of all the municipal councils should collectively hand in their resignation, thereby putting — alongside the strikes and demonstrations — additional pressure on the authorities to force them to back out of that arbitrary act. Many forces enjoying influence in the PLO did not dare to take such a step and even tried to prevent it. But there again, our stand proved to be the right one. Under popular mass pressure, the collective resignation was made and had the desired effect. The enemy

was caught unprepared and had to repeal the decision on B. Shakaa's dismissal and deportation. Yet another victory was scored by the national movement.

Israel's rulers tried again to saddle the Palestinians with a "civilian administration" stemming from the notorious Camp David accords and signifying preparations for the final annexation of occupied territories. The population responded with powerful mass action, which began in November 1981 and continued for almost six months. In the course of it, dozens of people were killed and hundreds wounded.

The dissolution of the elected municipal councils, especially those which were actively involved in the national movement, was part and parcel of the Zionist plot. When the occupation authorities dissolved the first of them — the municipal council of the town of El Bira — some patriotic forces called for the collective resignation of all the municipal councils on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip. However, we were resolutely opposed to such a step because it played into the hands of the invaders. We urged action in such a way that every fresh act dissolving a municipal council or dismissing a mayor should provide an impulse for a further step-up of mass action. Once again our correct line won the day.

Thus, depending on the changing conditions, the communists modified their tactics, and life invariably showed that it was correct and well grounded. The same could be said of the other problems relating to the mobilization and organization of the masses. The capacity to formulate and conduct a tactical line in accord with the requirements of the moment reflects, on the one hand, the influence which the communists enjoy in the occupied territories and, on the other, springs from the fact that they are guided by the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, an effective instrument in solving the problems of strategy and tactics.

The Palestinian Communists, the advanced contingent of the fighters for the people's cause, confidently face the battles ahead in the ceaseless fight against the occupation, against the plots of the U.S. imperialists, the Israeli Zionists and Arab reaction, and for realization of the Palestinians' right to self-determination and the establishment of their own independent state on the soil of their homeland liberated from the invaders, for ensuring their return to hearth and home, for safeguarding and preserving the Palestinian cultural values and sacred places which are being subjected to desecration and are threatened with destruction. Moved by unflinching resolve, equipped with rich com-

bat experience, and true to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, we are deeply convinced in the justice of the struggle and in the ultimate triumph of our cause.

1. Formed in 1951 through the unification of Marxist circles in the country with the League of National Liberation, which operated within the new boundaries of the Kingdom following its annexation of the West Bank of the River Jordan in 1950. With the establishment of the JCP, a part of the Palestinian communists from other regions moved into Jordan in accordance with the adopted organizational plan and merged with the newly formed party. The PCP's Constituent Manifesto says that it "will always take pride in the history of the common struggle of the Jordanian and Palestinian communists, displaying tireless concern to maintain the closest relations with the fraternal Jordanian Communist Party."

2. In 1953, it adopted the name of Gaza Strip Palestinian Communist Party.

3. This did not apply to members of the CP Israel and members of the Jordanian CP resident in Jordan.

4. At that time the Palestinian communists worked mainly within the JCP.

5. At that time, there were about 650,000 Jews, and roughly 1.3 million Arabs on the territory of Palestine.

6. The area of the Jewish state was to have been 14,100 sq. km or 56 per cent of the territory of Palestine, and of the Arab state — 11,100 sq. km, or 43 per cent of the territory of Palestine. The remaining one per cent was to have been the international zone of Jerusalem and its environs. As a result of the 1948-1949 war, Israel occupied 6,700 sq. km of the territory allotted for the establishment of the Arab state and also the Western sector of Jerusalem.

7. For details see: Meir Vilner, "Break the Vicious Circle of Bloodshed," WMR, No. 11, 1982.

8. For details see: Naim Ashhab, "Beating Back the Drive by Imperialism, Zionism and Reaction", WMR, No. 6, 1980. — Ed.

9. Concerning the Israeli aggressors' crimes and the courageous stand of the contingents of the Palestine Resistance Movement (PRM) and the National Patriotic Forces of Lebanon, see R. Samhoun, "When Masks Are Discarded," WMR, No. 8, 1982; N. Ashhab, "The People's Will Is Unbroken — the Struggle Goes On," WMR, No. 10, 1982. — Ed.

New experience

THE STORY BEHIND THE FACT

FOR THE RIGHT TO PARTICIPATE IN ELECTIONS

Under the slogan of "The Nation Needs a Strong Communist Party. Join Its Ranks!" the Argentine communists have begun a campaign to win the right to participate in the national elections scheduled to be held in 1983. (From press reports.)

The following comment is by Mario José Grabivker, Central Committee member of the Communist Party of Argentina.

After more than six years of military rule, under which political parties and trade unions were banned, Argentina's President General Reynaldo Bignone promised to hold elections in order to restore constitutional norms of administration. The military junta published the election rules, which prescribe that each party must finalize its structure and request the authorities to grant it the right to nominate candidates and function legally.¹ The CPA and other political groups, although they objected to these rules as spelling out interference by the junta in the internal affairs of parties, got down to obtaining official recognition of their status.

The campaign for the right to participate in the elections was launched by the Communist Party on September 3, 1982 with a mass rally in the largest covered stadium in Buenos Aires. Actually, this drive had been started several

months in advance. Operating at factory gates, residential neighborhoods, farms, and student campuses, more than 2,200 primary organizations of the party and the Communist Youth Federation conducted propaganda and membership campaigns; some 100 party centers were opened in many parts of the country, chiefly in proletarian districts.

The communists worked in the face of many difficulties. Suffice it to note that during the preparations for the campaign more than 200 of them were arrested. But the solidarity committees were vigilant, securing the release of those who were detained and informing the public of all cases of torture or harsh treatment of prisoners.

On the day of the rally the center of Buenos Aires was filled with thousands of militants carrying national flags, red banners, and posters and distributing printed matter. The stadium could accommodate only 35,000 and as many people gathered around it. There were delegations from the various provinces. The reactionary press noted with alarm that most of the people who came to the rally were workers, young people, and members of grass-roots pro-Peronist organizations.

The rally showed conclusively that the party was an inalienable component of the nation's social structure and that it was united politically, ideologically and organizationally. It demonstrated that despite the difficulties of the past few years, the CPA not only continued

functioning but that its proletarian and internationalist stand, revolutionary Marxist-Leninist banner, and political line had won more support from the Argentine people than ever before.

The preparations for and the rally itself accelerated the party's transition from semi-legal to legal activity. In the course of the campaign there were many hundreds of actions in various parts of the country, with 200 demonstrations in only the three days from November 19 to 21. It was not accidental that the Communist Party organized the largest rally following the lifting of the ban on political activity and was the first to amass the number of registration cards needed to secure recognition of its right to participate in the elections.

The road traversed by the working-class and popular movements during the past six years has borne out our analysis of Argentine reality and of the work of the communists both before and after the events in the Malvinas. "Today," said Athos Fava, General Secretary of the CPA Central Committee, in October 1982, "we can take note of a number of important achievements: the process begun in 1976² was seen as being untenable as a result of the failure of its motivating concepts and the struggle started by the people. It collapsed finally in the war for the Malvinas and in the efforts to resolve the nation's pressing problems. It was an achievement that our people were able to bar the road to Pinochetism; quite obviously, the energetic actions taken by the masses and the political parties led, despite the dangers, to significant changes."

In order to appreciate what was achieved it should be borne in mind that the recent period was the most difficult in the party's history of 65 years. It faced the task not only of surmounting vicious harassment but also restructuring its entire work in a situation in which there was a decline of the mass struggle and the people were despondent, disenchanted, and passive; preventing the CPA's political isolation and the establishment of Pinochetism, and helping to build up forces for a new offensive. In that situation the party concentrated on invigorating the activities of its members, strengthening its political ties to the people, and combining an underground struggle with all possible forms of legal work.

A major role was played by the movement for the immediate demands of the working people, a movement which acquired immense significance on account of the aggravation of the socio-economic crisis. Coalescing ever more closely with the action for democratic freedoms, this movement helped to restore the faith

of large sections of the working class and the people in their own strength.

The communists acted not only among the workers but also in other areas of national life: in residential neighborhood organizations, and among peasants, women, young people, intellectuals, and entrepreneurs. They developed contacts with other political forces and the church and supported all mass democratic campaigns, for instance, the actions of religious organizations for democratic freedoms and a peaceful settlement of the border disputes with Chile. Moreover, it would be hard to overestimate the broad and coordinated movement for civil rights and freedoms, against repression, kidnapping, and torture, for the development of which it was necessary to overcome fear and defeatism. A massive scale was acquired by actions in defense of national property, for world peace, for solidarity with the democratic and anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples and, in particular, against the persecution of Latin American patriots, one of whom was Antonio Maidana.³

Without belittling the difficulties and shortcomings in their work, the communists take pride in the fact that they were the main inspirers and organizers of the mass struggle, supported the formation of the Multipartidaria,⁴ and helped to turn it into the directing center of the people's movement for democracy.

We did everything to make the demands of the people known in the military garrisons and among the officers, who carry out the will of the government. All this fostered differentiation and also democratic, anti-imperialist feeling in the armed forces.

The communists, if we speak of their work as a whole, helped to vitalize the activities of the human rights committees, the trade unions, political parties, communal organizations, peasants, women, young people, intellectuals, and the national bourgeoisie. This contributed to raising the organizational level of the masses.

A particularly large role was played by the patriotic movement of the Argentine people, a movement that came to life during the Malvinas events. The communists were active in this movement.⁵ Neither the imperialists nor the military junta expected that the Argentine people would take matters into their own hands and link the Malvinas events to the struggle for democracy, for a change in economic policy, in defense of national property and territorial sovereignty, and ultimately wrest from the government a promise to hold elections.

In the new situation only a militant people can make the nascent process irreversible, en-

sure the full democratization of the government and halt the intrigues of the reactionaries seeking to return the nation to the past. Of great significance in this context were the national strike of December 6, 1982, the largest in recent years, and the massive demonstration in Buenos Aires on December 16, in which 150,000 people representing all democratic parties, trade unions, and public organizations took part under Multipartidaria slogans.

Acting on their program guidelines and mobilizing the people, the communists are trying to enlarge Multipartidaria by drawing into it other political parties and public organizations, notably of the working class. Multipartidaria should have a solid base consisting of thousands of grass-roots organizations, a large network of parties, and the existing mass movements. Only then will the democratic forces be in a position to form a powerful and dynamic front capable of frustrating all attempts at a putsch and create the conditions for a transition to democracy and, in particular, for the work of the future government.

Unquestionably, the present situation poses the CPA with new important tasks. A large section of the people regard us as their party, evidence of this being that in the course of the campaign for recognition of the CPA's right to participate in the elections the ranks of its supporters were joined by many people, particularly working people with leanings to the Peronists. Now, as never before, success depends on the CPA's strength, on its ability to accumulate a potential, enlist more members from among workers and the masses, promote the activity of the masses, and coordinate and direct their struggle.

Our party and the Communist Youth Federation are working on the pressing problems facing the country in the new conditions. To a large extent these conditions have been created by the work of the CPA in all directions. But however important the CPA's achievements are, the communists now have the opportunity to play an even larger role as the core of all progressive streams and left forces in the country. For that reason it is crucial to use the present legal conditions to consolidate the political life of the party's primary organizations, appoint leading cadre, look for new forms of disseminating the communist press, and improve the level of propaganda and political education.

In Argentina the revolutionary process requires a mass communist party. The campaign for the right to take part in the elections is the key element of our struggle to achieve this aim.

1. Under these rules, in order to be able to take part in the elections a party has to have 36,000 officially registered members and obtain the status of a participant in the elections in at least 5 of the 24 districts.

2. Following action taken by the army in March 1976 the reins of power passed from the constitutional government to a military junta. — Ed.

3. Antonio Maidana, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Paraguayan Communist Party, was kidnapped in Argentina in collusion with the secret police of the dictator Stroessner. — Ed.

4. Formed in 1981, Multipartidaria consists of five organizations: the Civilian Radical Alliance, the Justicialista Party, the Movement for Integration and Development, the Christian-Democratic Federation, and the Party of Intransigence. — Ed.

5. The stand of the Communist Party of Argentina on the events in the Falklands (Malvinas) is discussed in WMR, No. 7, 1982 — Ed.

Marxist Philosophy at the Leninist Stage

L. Suvorov

How Lenin developed to a higher stage the philosophy of Marx and Engels, and an analysis of the current ideological struggle between Leninism and the various doctrines claiming to be Marxist.

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Lenin's concept of hegemony in the ongoing class struggle

International Scientific Seminar

World Marxist Review sponsored an international scientific seminar in Prague on the subject: "The Problem of Hegemony and Power. State and Society." The seminar was attended by Marxist scholars representing communist and workers' parties in 33 countries: Argentina, Austria, Bolivia, Britain, Bulgaria, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Guyana, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Lebanon, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Portugal, Senegal, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Uruguay, USA, USSR, Venezuela, and Vietnam.

The following are some of the papers (abridged) presented at the seminar.

Other papers of this seminar will be published.

TWO TYPES OF SOCIAL ALLIANCES

Yuri Krasin
Professor, Ph.D. (USSR)

Political power, the state as an instrument of class domination, is the key question of Marxist political theory and of the revolutionary policy of the working class, of the communists. It has been elaborated substantively by the founders of Marxism-Leninism and has always held the attention of Marxist theoretical thought. New aspects of the problem of the interaction of state and society have now surfaced. Some of the new approaches to it require study.

The reasons for this are, first, the development of state-monopoly capitalism and the accompanying dramatic expansion of the functions of the bourgeois state. State-monopoly regulation has spread not only to the economy but also to social relations (reformist social policy), culture, and ideology. In fact, there is hardly a sphere of social life into which the capitalist state has not extended its tentacles. In this context people often speak of the state having absorbed "civil society" in most of the developed capitalist countries. Second, the politization of society is proceeding apace. This is seen in the growth of the political conscious-

ness and political culture of the different sections of the population, in their striving to participate in political decision-making. In particular, a powerful upsurge of various sociopolitical movements is to be observed. They are sometimes called "new movements" to emphasize the fact that they are unfolding outside the established party-political structures. Third, the significance of the problem we are considering is predicated on the fact that the working-class and democratic movements have won important springboards in the bourgeois political system itself, including the institutions of state power.

There are two antipodal trends relative to the forms of political domination in capitalist countries: liberal-reformist and conservative-totalitarian. On the one hand, while to a certain extent they strengthen the positions of capitalism, state-monopoly regulation and the associated policy of bourgeois and social democratic reformism sometimes bring it much too close to the dangerous borderline beyond which the need arises for society's revolutionary transformation, for the transition to socialism. Hence the efforts of the reactionary segment of the monopoly bourgeoisie to return to totalitarian methods of domination. On the other hand, the correlation of class forces in capitalist society is now such that capitalist domination can no longer be maintained solely by totalitarian methods. It needs a relatively broad social base, whose creation is fostered by reformist social policy and, with this policy as the foundation, large-scale ideological activity, notably, to cultivate conformist consciousness in the working-class and democratic movements.

What is the way out of the contradictions encountered by the bourgeois state? There is no way out. There are only palliatives, rushings from one extreme to another — from a hard-line conservative policy to a more flexible reformist policy and back again.

Given all the variations of the specific forms of political domination by monopoly capital, it is symbolic that today the state-monopoly elite is trying to maintain its hegemony in society by

creating, so to speak, a secondary system of alliances that does not coincide with the class structure. And if we are to speak of what is most significant in the present problem of the relationship between state and society, we feel that attention must be drawn to the fact that today the bourgeois state has a ramified system in different areas of society. The economy, of course, remains its foundation. But, in addition, the bourgeois state is creating new artificial social, cultural and ideological bulwarks.

It would seem that the social base of state-monopoly domination should be quickly eroded by the conflict between the interests of the ruling élite and those of the vast majority of the people. There is virtually not a single large social group, including the working class, and the "old" and "new" middle classes, that is not exposed to one or another form of oppression by the state-monopoly system. The deep-seated conflict between this system and the basic interests of the people intertwines closely with the conflict between labor and capital. Hence the polarization of social forces. However, one may ask: Why, despite all this, does the state-monopoly system of domination continue to exist and function?

The crux of the matter, I believe, is that the polarization of forces does not follow one and the same pattern at the socio-class and, much less, at the political level. It does not spring automatically from the conflicting social interests of these forces, but paves the way for itself through complex and contradictory processes hindering or blurring this polarization. For instance, we are witnessing an intensive social differentiation generating the distinctions in the composition of the classes and strata objectively opposed to the state-monopoly élite.

In the working class and the middle strata this differentiation gives rise to different views, attitudes, and interests, and this enables the ruling circles temporarily and to a certain extent to blunt the sharpness of the conflict between their interests and those of the democratic majority of the people. The monopoly bourgeoisie uses reformist policy and the apparatus of ideological pressure to create a system of social alliances to prop up its domination. A matrix of secondary alliances, cultivated by the ruling class, is thereby superimposed, as it were, on society's class structure.

While one pole of bourgeois society is relatively homogeneous — the state-monopoly élite is concentrated in it — the other is not so clear-cut. The force of attraction created by the people's majority opposed to the power of big capital is weakened by the differentiated ap-

proach employed by the ruling class to disunite this majority.

The aforesaid leads us to an important conclusion for the class alliance strategy of the revolutionary working-class movement, namely, that among the political forces opposed to the system of state-monopoly domination unity is achieved by overcoming contradictions and is itself characterized by internal contradictions. While linked by unity, these forces retain their own special group interests. There is thus a need for an enduring and, at the same time, sufficiently flexible mechanism for taking the complex and contradictory dialectics of diversity and unity into account. This problem is becoming central to the democratic and revolutionary process in the capitalist world.

The shaping of anti-monopoly unity is a dynamic process that passes through many stages. Its initial basis is a platform of immediate demands. These have more points in common and are seen sooner than others by democratic socio-political currents from the latter's own experience. Moreover, relative to longer-term aims there may be substantial divergences.

Of course, under these conditions the platform of anti-monopoly unity will always be based on compromise. But this compromise does not amount to subordinating some political forces to others or to a compulsive imposition of ideological principles. Anti-monopoly unity may be successful and proceed to more stable forms if its inner mechanism makes provision for taking into account and respecting the independence and identity of each democratic force taking part in the political struggle. The essence of compromise is that the principles on which there is disagreement are not incorporated into the common short-term action program. These principles are retained in the programs of political parties and remain a subject of ideological debate, but are not played off against the program of joint demands.

What then are the prospects for unity? Are we having to do with shortlived, unstable unity that inevitably falls apart as soon as some headway has been made?

There is this danger if the model of unity is static. To ensure stable unity among the democratic forces it is necessary to take into account the dynamics of unity, the actual, day-to-day political process. Thus, as the revolutionary process reaches new milestones, greater opportunities emerge for working out a forward-looking platform of unity based on a convergence of interests that diverged at the previous stage. Progress is achieved in this direction as the

participants in united action learn from practice, which brings points of view and attitudes closer together and disposes of many issues on which there was disagreement earlier.

Of course, this is not a spontaneous development. There is a continuous exchange of experience and ideas. The sense of responsibility of each of the political forces involved and their willingness to engage in a meaningful quest for common longer-term interests and aims are of enormous importance, for this leads to democratic unity not only on the basis of opposition to the system but also on the constructive basis of an identity of the fundamental interests of the working class and other democratic forces.

Under capitalism the essence of the struggle for working-class hegemony is, we believe, to destroy the matrix of secondary alliances formed artificially by the ruling élite and serving it as the basis of a policy of "national consensus," and to form around the working class a system of broad alliances, reinforcing primary class relations and putting forward democratic alternatives to state-monopoly capitalism and its policies.

The question of how the struggle for such hegemony, for enlisting the support of the majority of the people for the socialist aims of the working class, relates to the winning of political power by the working class is of paramount importance. Is it at all possible for the working class to achieve hegemony without simultaneously winning political power? On the basis of Marx's theory and the experience of the Russian revolution Lenin drew the conclusion that the working class should first win state power and then use it "as an instrument of its class for the purpose of winning the sympathy of the majority of the working people."¹ Further, Lenin concretized this proposition, writing that the proletariat could win allies with which it would have the support of the majority of the population "only with the aid of an instrument like state power, that is to say, only after it has overthrown the bourgeoisie and has destroyed the bourgeois state apparatus."²

Nor is it today conceivable that the working class should anywhere first win ideological and political hegemony in society and then raise the question of power. It is inconceivable that the people's majority should support socialist aims if the most active forces of the working class do not forge ahead, winning one political position after another, and on that basis, giving potential and vacillating allies conclusive proof that their interests, too, are

more consistently championed by the working class than by anybody else.

A peaceful transition to socialism would evidently entail a different momentum and procedure of the development of the revolution than a transition preceded by armed struggle. In this case the inversion will probably be not so distinct: first a political convulsion and then the totality of measures with the use of the state to enlist the entire people to the side of socialism. However, the general law of socialist revolution remains unchanged: the establishment of working-class hegemony in society is linked intrinsically to the winning of state power by the working class. We feel that it would be wrong to expect the peaceful way to socialism to presume an orientation first toward hegemony in society and then toward power. On the contrary, we are more inclined to see an orientation toward parallel and closely interrelated actions in the struggle for hegemony and for power. Along this path the working class will have the possibility to win some positions in the power structure, and establish transitory types of revolutionary-democratic authority where it already holds important, if not dominant, positions. As early as at these intermediate stages it will have the possibility of making some use of the levers of state administration to win ever larger sections of the population to socialism. This will give the masses substantially greater opportunities for acquiring the political experience vital to adopting socialist aims.

We speak of "transitory types of social transformations" and, correspondingly, of "transitory types of power" in keeping with the Lenin heritage. Just before the socialist revolution in Russia, Lenin wrote an article, "The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It," in which he dealt with the highest forms of capitalist development and coined the term "revolutionary-democratic state." This authority is called revolutionary because it operates with revolutionary methods, and democratic because it implements changes of a transitory nature. To use Lenin's words, this is "still not socialism", but it is "no longer capitalism."³

Bourgeois reformists and social democrats frequently seek to sidetrack the communists into integration in the capitalist system. It is unquestionably possible to avoid this integration and, at the same time, use the levers of power in the interests of the working class. This is a contradiction but it is part of the political reality of capitalism as the balance of strength changes in favor of the working class.

Communist participation not only in government but also in the work of various

state institutions can, in principle, help to promote the development of the class struggle if its aim is a broad assault on the power of capital. Of course, it would be impossible to participate in a non-socialist government without abiding by definite rules of the game. But even within this framework there are possibilities for accumulating and mustering forces to break through the system in keeping with the interests of the working class, to mobilize the masses for profound, revolutionary changes embracing the political superstructure and the whole of civil society.

There is a law common to any revolutionary process, namely, that it is discrete, that it goes through definite stages. There can be no total gradualness, no absolute continuity. There are two basic reasons for this. First, present-day capitalism consists of contradictions piled up on top of each other, and this pile cannot be destroyed at once. Had that been possible a revolution would have been a single act of the simultaneous settlement of all contradictions. The top layer of contradictions is today the most important, for it allows uniting very wide democratic forces around the working class on a platform of profound anti-monopoly changes that do not directly lead to the attainment of socialist aims. Second, a revolution is a movement of the masses and requires the prior accumulation of revolutionary energy and its release at the stage of fundamental changes. In other words, to use the terminology of physics, what takes place is a radiation of quanta of revolutionary energy.

Why is it important to emphasize the discrete character of the revolutionary process? Because the gradualism penetrating our theory chiefly from reformist concepts is extremely dangerous. The danger is that it sows the illusion that it is possible to advance to socialism by means of ordinary day-to-day reforms, and does not call for preparations for a deep-going, revolutionary upheaval. Concepts of this sort disseminate the belief that changes may be effected somewhere at the top: within the framework of parliament, of the existing state through an insignificant gradual reshaping of individual institutions. However, society cannot be changed fundamentally if measures of this kind are not combined with a profound mass grassroots movement.

The prospect for a broad assault on the power of capital has been theoretically expressed in the anti-monopoly democracy concept elaborated by the communist movement. This democracy spells out the process of assault with all its contradictions. True, this concept does not work in some capitalist countries possibly

because it is, in our view, focused much too sharply on a special, clearly-discernible stage, even on a relative stabilization of the anti-monopoly regime.

However, it may be assumed that in many capitalist countries it will evidently be a matter not of a stabilization but of a growing escalation of profound democratic changes. Of course, in all cases this will be a discrete process and, consequently, it will go through several stages. Their boundaries within the integral process of approach and transition to radical revolutionary changes may, of course, be blurred on account of the speed of the process. Besides, anti-monopoly democracy will, evidently, not be irreversible. It will rather be a stage of the class struggle opening up new opportunities for progress but by no means excluding reverse development.

If we accept the need for transitory forms of social changes and transitory types of power, we should always remember that since they are transitory they are projected not only into the future but also into the past. Consequently, it is necessary to be prepared for transitory forms that are burdened by reality and are not always pleasant to us, not always consistent with our desire. In particular, speaking of the prospects for anti-monopoly democracy we should be prepared to see the entire process of the establishment and development of such democracy bearing the stamp of the identity of social democracy, since the latter would take part in this process. Of course, we can count on its transformation, but it is hard to assume that this transformation will take place very quickly. That is why anti-monopoly democracy is not a smooth, paved road that at once leads to socialist aims. Anti-monopoly democracy spells out a struggle for the aims of the communists, not the attainment of these aims.

The concept of anti-monopoly democracy seems to need further discussions, specification, and concretization.

1. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 263.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 274.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. 25, p. 360.

THE BOURGEOIS STATE AND THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT

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The high level of development reached by state-monopoly capitalism in the FRG is mirrored in the character, functions, structures and specifics of the state and the entire political system. The many ongoing debates in the coun-

try are linked to understanding and assessing this influence and its results. In explaining our stand, we show, above all, the futility of the attempts being made by the ideologists of the bourgeoisie and the right-wing social democrats to deny the class character of the modern state and also the hollowness of the views propounded by ultra-left elements, who belittle the significance of bourgeois-parliamentary democracy to the struggle of the working class.

A bourgeois state in historical terms, the FRG is characterized by the predominance of the power of monopolies.

The monopolies and the state intertwine in a close-knit system of economic and political rule, in which they permeate and influence each other, while preserving relative independence. The decisive role in upholding monopoly interests in the FRG in political terms is played by the entrepreneurial associations, which are a sort of hinge between the monopolies and the state. State decisions mirror the balance of strength between the various monopoly groups and the latter's influence on the centers of state power (government, state apparatus, parliamentary factions). However, there may be situations in which the monopolies come forward as rivals in determining policy, economic and fiscal measures, and so on. Nonetheless, all have a stake in sustaining and stabilizing the system.

Under present-day capitalism the bourgeois state has retained all its traditional functions. At the same time, on account of the close intertwining of the monopolies and the state there has been a significant extension of the latter's functions. Capital's susceptibility to crises on account of its monopoly character has led to a new stage in the evolution of the state's economic function. Further, closely linked to general economic development and springing from the class struggle there is now a socio-political function of the state (the social services system), which has become vital to the process of reproduction and to ensuring the existence of the capitalist system.

The correlation between the repressive apparatus and the consensus in support of the class domination of the bourgeoisie is now widely debated in the FRG. Given the significance of the consensus established by means of ideological apparatuses (state and non-state), repressive violence remains the "conclusive argument" of the state. It has expanded dramatically over the past few decades.

The development of statehood in the country is characterized by a scaling down of democratic mechanisms and rights, an emasculation of parliamentarism. We observe an aggravation of

the central contradiction between the bourgeois-parliamentary form of the political system and its actual class content. This antagonism is felt in all areas of political life. The claim that there is equal participation of "all major interests" in state consultative agencies and in parliamentary debates of draft laws is no more than a fiction. A characteristic indication of the state in the FRG is that parliament has lost direct power. Members of parliament carry out decisions that have been taken by the government coalition, by the leadership of parties, and by parliamentary factions. The same mechanism operates for the opposition. "Pluralism" is thus also a fiction.

Naturally, the struggle of the working class and other sections of working people influence the power of monopoly capital, but it cannot be said that it is tangible in many political institutions and the state apparatus of the FRG. If we are to speak of the limits of this influence, it affects, despite the assertions of non-Marxist ideologists, the form and not the character of state power (which depends on the property relations underlying it).

The hegemony of monopoly capital in the system of class rule in the FRG is exercised chiefly through the party system. The parties represented in the Bundestag — CDU/CSU, FDP, and SDP — enunciate monopoly interests directly or indirectly.

The parties in the Bundestag have become, in absolute terms, mutually replaceable in preserving the economic domination and privileges of monopoly capital. Big capital gained strength in the FRG during the years the social democrats were in power. Its concentration and centralization proceeded faster than, say, during the Christian Democratic administration. Of course, where specific issues of domestic or foreign policy, democratic rights, and other specific issues are concerned, it is by no means a matter of indifference whether the helm of power is in the hands of the social democrats or the Christian Democrats.

While we stress the class character of the state as fundamental, we do not underestimate the form of power. The bitter experience of the struggle against fascism showed, especially to the German working-class movement, the significance of safeguarding bourgeois-democratic rights and freedoms against encroachment by reaction and authoritarianism. In its program and its day-to-day policy, the GCP's point of departure is that the class and democratic struggle of the working class and other progressive forces can influence and change state-political relations.

Already today the bourgeois parties cannot represent the interests of the monopolies without making concessions to the non-monopoly bourgeoisie and the artisan and agrarian sectors that provide them with their mass social base, and also to the working class, depending on the strength of the trade union movement and political clout it can throw on the scales. In the Social Democratic Party, the predominant right wing helps to uphold the interests of monopoly capital.

Many other organizations and associations, down to sports societies, are likewise important to the maintenance of the hegemony of the big bourgeoisie in the FRG. Although, given a different alignment of class forces, these organizations can join in enforcing social changes, they nevertheless act mainly as a factor giving stability to the system of class domination. In the trade unions the line toward cooperation between capital and labor is pursued by Christian-Social forces and right-wing social democrats. The economic associations of peasants and of the various allied trades of the middle strata are likewise strongly influenced by big capital.

Governmental and non-governmental ideological agencies and the mass media are largely controlled by the big capitalist concerns or preach harmony between capital and labor. Extremely important to maintaining the hegemony of the big bourgeoisie, this ideological influence is propped up by illusions about "bargaining equality" in labor relations and political "equality" under bourgeois democracy, illusions that have struck deep roots in the working class. Illusions of this nature stem from capitalist relations of wage labor and from bourgeois democracy.

Recent developments in the FRG show that monopoly capital exercises hegemony even in periods of acute crises of the party-government system. When powerful circles of the monopoly bourgeoisie are dissatisfied with the situation and feel that not enough of the burden of crises is shifted to the working class and other working people, when they want a harder reactionary social policy, they can compel the leadership of this or that party (the Free Democrats in the given case) to go back on its promises and change partners in the governmental coalition.

In the FRG the relations between the working class and the state are characterized by both alienation and integration. There are various committees, for instance, parliamentary committees with representatives of the monopolies and trade unions, although the latter are incomparably less influential. Such in-

tegration may be observed everywhere — in economic, political and ideological life. However, a specific feature of this process is that in the decisive, main issue the policy pursued by the state is consistent with the interests of monopoly capital.

The mechanism used to implement the political power and hegemony of the monopoly bourgeoisie can function as long as — on account of the dominant role played by the right-wing social democrats and also of the "social partnership" practised by a segment of the trade union leadership — the working class can be integrated into the capitalist system and its consciousness can be fettered by reformist views and ideas about bourgeois parliamentarism.

In the social and political life of the Federal Republic the hegemony of the working class is conceivable only as a result of long historical development and presupposes, above all, a dramatic change in the consciousness level of the working class and its readiness for political action. This is a problem of a long struggle for changes in the alignment of forces in the working class, in the trade unions, and the Social Democratic Party. The working class can exercise full hegemony in society only when it comes to power. There may be exceptions to this rule, but the lesson of experience is that this is hardly probable. Nonetheless, it would be wrong to discount the significance of the working class winning elements of hegemony in society *before* it comes to power.

For the time being the deep economic crisis of state-monopoly capitalism in the FRG has not led to a radicalization of the working class. The people's disenchantment with the state of the economy, the huge growth of mass unemployment, the substantial curtailment of social achievements under the government headed by social democrats have — on account of the absence of a left alternative that would have mass support — given the bourgeois camp many votes that are ordinarily given to the social democrats. Moreover, a result of disenchantment among young people is that the powerful youth protest benefited not the working-class movement but the "Greens" with their specific ecological preaching.

Generally speaking, in countries like the FRG no serious changes in the interests of the working class are possible without conspicuous changes in favor of the left forces (the communists, the social democrats, and the uncommitted), without a bloc with the expanding left-wing social democratic circles, who enjoy considerable influence in the trade unions, without an alliance with the democratic protest

movements, and without a growth of mass extra-parliamentary movements such as the movement in defense of peace. We hold a consistent, yet flexible stand, without fearing contact with different movements, political forces and parties. This stand has been worked out gradually. In the beginning our attitude to the ecological and feminist movements drew attention to differences in views. Of course, these differences have remained, but we urge political alliances with movements of this kind. These involve diverse sections of society and are very broad. For instance, along with working people there are members of the non-monopoly bourgeoisie in the peace movement. Even some members of the monopoly bourgeoisie urge a realistic peace policy.

A central problem of the development of the working-class and other progressive movements is to strengthen and enlarge the alliance on which the peace movement in the FRG rests. The GCP and militant forces in the trade unions are working to reinforce the role of the working class in this alliance so as to give it more socio-political clout. It is only through such non-parliamentary movements that the working class can today create the conditions for winning hegemony in society in the future.

In order to implement urgent social and democratic changes there must be, above all, unity of action by the working class in defense of the living standard and jobs, against the lowering of real wages and the suspension of state social benefits and services. The next few years will see the struggle for a shorter work day acquire priority as a consequence of capitalist rationalization, which is cutting the demand for human labor. The success of this struggle depends to no small extent on cooperation between social democrats and communists at industrial facilities and in the trade unions, on the strengthening of the left forces in the Social Democratic Party.

The economic crisis and the "shift to the right" seen in the change of the FRG government are accentuating the defensive character of the coming social and political battles. Since the trade unions are now free of the need to reckon with social democratic government policy, new possibilities may arise in this struggle for cooperation between the social democrats and the communists, for joint action by them. Our party urges the formation of a left alternative alliance in parliament in opposition to the new right-wing coalition and the right-wing social democratic policy, an alternative consonant with the interests of the workers and the people as a whole.

We have set our sights on a change in the

alignment of political forces that would allow establishing anti-monopoly democracy and opening the road to socialism. In the social context, we have in mind a state power free of monopoly capital domination, a state power that can come into being only through the joint action of the working class, through cooperation between the communists and the social democrats, through a broad alliance with other working people and their political representatives.

We can speak only of the future, because the political forces that can give effect to anti-monopoly democracy have yet to mature in the FRG. We do not regard such democracy as mandatory, but we see it as the most favorable way for the working class and its allies in the conditions obtaining in the country. On this point, the GCP program states: "By anti-monopoly democracy the GCP means a period of fundamental changes that will give the working class and other democratic forces the political strength and the parliamentary influence to form a coalition government representing their common interests." This formation of the aim spells out a fundamental shift of hegemony in the relations between classes, between social strata, and a qualitative reshaping of the class foundation of state power.

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DIALECTICS OF THE GENERAL AND THE SPECIFIC IN SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

Communism appeared as a proletarian, anti-capitalist ideology and proclaimed itself as such from the very beginning. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, who placed their talent as scientists and their knowledge of politics in the service of the revolutionary proletariat, described its role at the time with a marvellous figure of speech, writing: "A specter is haunting Europe — the specter of communism."

Continuing the work of his great predecessors, Vladimir Lenin drew the conclusion that from a specter communism had evolved into the force that could breach the chain of imperialist world domination in its weakest links. The first breach was made by the Great October Socialist Revolution. The next links of the imperialist chain dropped out after the Second World War, during the years marked by an upswing of the revolutionary and national liberation movements. Since then communism has registered many advances. Twenty-four years ago imperialism suffered defeat also in Cuba. It was still hard at the time to evaluate the significance of the revolution and the prospects opened by it. The Vietnamese poet To Huu called it "a bee winging its way to the flower." But even then it was obvious that the Cuban revolution was reaffirming the fact that the transition from capitalism to socialism was on the agenda of the entire planet, that it was inevitable even if the revolutionary movement experienced temporary retreats and setbacks, for it was consistent with the laws of historical development.

As any other revolution, the revolution in Cuba has its own identity and is inimitable. There are no "models" for the restructuring of society applicable to all countries. Every party looks for and finds the solution that fits the specific conditions of its country. However, although there are no general "models," there are general laws of socialist construction, laws revealed by Marxist-Leninist theory and tested in

practice. The Declaration of the 1957 Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Socialist Countries listed them in their totality, which define the content of the leap that takes place during the transition from capitalism to socialism. This totality cannot be broken down into components, and in abiding by some of these laws none of the others can be ignored. If they are ignored there are bound to be serious errors in the building of socialism, and any of these errors, if it is not rectified opportunely, facilitates counter-revolutionary activity by our enemies, overt and covert, especially by members of imperialist circles.

Each communist party bears an immense responsibility for the destiny of the revolutionary process in its own country. Although each party is entirely independent in shaping strategy and tactics, it would be a most serious mistake to underrate the significance of proletarian internationalism, which is a key principle underlying the unity of the world communist movement. Fidelity to this unity in the face of anti-communism, which by no means camouflages its striving for consolidation, is the source of our movement's strength in resolving all the problems of strategy, including the most pressing and urgent, namely the preservation of peace, the prevention of a nuclear war, and the attainment of disarmament. The principle of proletarian internationalism provides the basis of the alliance of the communists with the national liberation movement. Disregard of this principle calls in question a party's affiliation to the communist orientation in the working-class struggle for emancipation.

Of course, the underlying principles, the general laws of socialist construction, the "specter of communism" so to speak, acquire flesh only in the realities of this or that country. In this article I shall try to analyze how some general laws and principles of building the new society were refracted in the specific conditions of Cuba.

A victorious revolution and the subsequent building of socialism are inconceivable without a militant political vanguard leading the people in their struggle for liberation. This regularity has been conclusively borne out by

This article continues the series begun with Roland Bauer's "Regularity Springs from Experience" in WMR, No. 8, 1982.

experience. However, in Cuba the political, social, and even geographical conditions were such that although the nation stood in need of radical revolutionary changes these were seen as totally unrealizable. The chief reason was that Cuba is situated in direct proximity of the USA, the strongest imperialist power in the world. (Cuba's territory is over 80 times less than that of the USA, and its population is about 24 times smaller in numerical terms.) Under U.S. pressure the Cuban economy shaped out as a weak appendage of the American economy. The hallmarks of the Cuban economy before the revolution were an extensive agriculture on land belonging to big landowners and foreign companies; a monoculture (sugar) and rigid U.S. control of export production; a miserably low living standard of the working people and appalling unemployment. Understandably, Cuban policy was also determined without challenge by pro-imperialist bourgeois ideology.

Holding the Cuban people in contempt, the imperialists believed that their domination over Cuba was unshakable. They believed that this was dependably guaranteed by their naval base in Guantanamo, a site wrenched away from the nation during the military intervention of 1898-1902. Moreover, they felt that the Batista dictatorship on which they relied was firmly entrenched. Set up in 1952, this dictatorship deprived the Cuban people of all, even of the negligible freedoms won in a long struggle.

The overthrow of the dictatorship was further complicated by the fact that by that time the people had been confused in many things by the bourgeois parties, were disunited, and a segment had lost faith in the possibility of victory.

How, in this situation, was it contrived to bring down the dictatorship, accomplish a people's democratic revolution, and move on to a socialist revolution? It will be recalled that at the first stage of the struggle against the tyranny the proletarian communist party, which was linked to the international working-class movement, was not in a position of unchallenged leadership. Outside Cuba some quarters were inclined to use this circumstance to question the need for working-class leadership of the revolutionary process and of the building of a new society. However, albeit in unique forms, this regularity manifested itself in the Cuban revolution as well.

The Cuban Marxist-Leninist organization counts its history from the year 1925. In the 1950s it was called the People's Socialist Party. The immediate aim of the communists was to overthrow the dictatorship, which, like the pres-

ent juntas in El Salvador and Guatemala, elevated crime and violence to the level of state policy. To achieve its aim the PSP set about organizing a broad opposition movement capable of ensuring a democratic way out of the situation in which the nation found itself. Provision was also made for the possibility of a general strike that would evolve into an uprising, as happened during the revolution of 1933.¹ However, these plans were more than the party of the proletariat could cope with at the time, although the work accomplished by it seriously hindered the development of events in the direction wanted by the dictatorship. In his assessment of the PSP's condition at the time Fidel Castro noted that the imperialists were able to isolate the proletarian party politically and thereby deprive it of the means of influencing the majority of the people.

A sure road was taken by Fidel Castro and his associates, who headed the new revolutionary force known as the Movement of July 26. They began the armed struggle against the tyranny with an assault, on July 26, 1953, on the Moncado army barracks in Santiago-de-Cuba, then the second most significant military fortress.

Let me make myself clear from the beginning. The participants in this assault did not see it as a single action. They counted on capturing weapons for future insurgent units, awakening the masses, getting a response from them, and showing by example that the tyranny could and had to be fought.

Although from the military standpoint the attack on the Moncado barracks was a failure, it exercised a powerful revolutionizing influence for it showed the people that in Cuba there were elements prepared to make any sacrifice for the nation's liberation. The new movement was joined by working people. These events gave the leaders of the movement their baptism of revolutionary fire. At the trial of survivors of the attack on Moncado, a trial staged by the dictatorship, Fidel Castro proclaimed a liberation program around which the majority of the people could unite. In it he insisted that it was not only a right of but also an imperative for revolutionaries to study the heritage of Lenin. He and his associates were already turning toward Marxism-Leninism, but at the first stage of the struggle they gave priority to organizing militant resistance to the dictatorship on the basis of a broad national liberation platform. For that reason socialist aims were not given prominence.

The appearance of the July 26 Movement on the political scene shook the dictatorship. It responded to the actions of the revolutionaries with repression, but these only fuelled popular

anger. Students, who set up their own organization — the Revolutionary Directorate — became particularly active in this situation.

A new stage of the armed struggle began after December 1956, when Fidel Castro (released from imprisonment earlier) and his comrades landed from the yacht *Granma* in Oriente Province. At this stage the struggle acquired a mass character.

The Insurgent Army was formed and for 25 long months it fought sanguinary battles with the tyranny. The People's Socialist Party and the Revolutionary Directorate² did not cease their revolutionary work. The war against the dictatorship, begun in mountainous regions with the active support of the peasants, developed into a resistance movement in the towns, where it assumed different forms.

The question of the relations between the three main forces of the Cuban revolution's political vanguard was often raised in the past. There were divergences between the PSP and the July 26 Movement, but these were over tactical issues only. Fabio Grobart, a veteran Cuban communist, writes that "during the years of struggle against the Batista dictatorship, which ended in the triumph of the revolution, and in the subsequent period of socialist transformations there were no significant differences in ideology, principles and program between Fidel Castro and the top leaders of the July 26 Movement, on the one hand, and the People's Socialist Party and the leadership of the Revolutionary Directorate of March 13, on the other."³

The facts bear out this conclusion.

The revolution was thus becoming imminent. The main causes leading to it were of an objective character. But the existence of only the objective factor (which is basic) is not enough for victory. There must also be an active subjective factor — the will of the people to restructure society. This factor was activated by all three of the above-mentioned forces of the political vanguard — they helped the people to understand the aim of the struggle and the ways of achieving it.

In the course of the struggle the revolutionary forces drew closer together, chiefly because they complied with the requirements that — according to the well-known propositions formulated by Lenin — must be met by a genuinely revolutionary party that differs fundamentally from reformist organizations.

A factor that helped to draw them closer together was that during the revolutionary war the proletariat's role as its leader grew steadily, and for that reason the posture of the July 26 Movement and the Revolutionary Directorate

of March 13 was increasingly determined by proletarian ideology, by Marxist-Leninist theory.

Such were the hallmarks of the political vanguard in the Cuban revolution. Fidel Castro noted that victory was won "not only through the efforts of the July 26 Movement. The Marxist-Leninist party, which united the finest people of our working class paid for victory with the lives of many of its sons. Fighters of the Revolutionary Directorate performed many feats of bravery and were active in the insurgency. These were the sources from which our glorious Communist Party sprang."⁴

Brought to life by the revolution, the party grew and gained strength together with the revolution. This was a complex process. The insurgent army, which articulated the will of the workers and peasants, won real power in the country, but influential positions were received in the first government by representatives of the bourgeoisie, who, as it soon transpired, were championing the interests of imperialist circles instead of those of the people. That was why this government was in power for only one month and the further development of the revolution brought Fidel Castro to the post of prime minister in February 1959. The revolutionary tide swept away bourgeois politicians. The first stage of the agrarian reform was launched in May 1959, marking the final assertion of the people's democratic phase of the Cuban revolution.

The agrarian reform was aimed against the North American corporations in the sugar industry and livestock-breeding, and against the big landowners. However, it left wide scope for the middle strata. These strata withheld support for members of the oligarchy and the right-wing of the petty bourgeoisie, most of whom saw that the revolution's development in depth was inevitable and emigrated, joining the enemies of the Cuban people. Political changes, reforms in the economy and in culture, and the awakened patriotism of the people gave the Castro government a mass base. Simultaneously, the people's government brought the Batista secret agents and hired thugs to justice.

Imperialism was by no means idle in the face of the radicalization of the revolutionary process in Cuba. It sought to blackmail the people's government and sabotage the reforms it was proposing. Finally, a vicious economic blockade was enforced. However, Cuba did not retreat from its chosen path: the Soviet Union and other socialist countries came to its assistance, organizing the export of Cuban sugar and the import of oil and many other items.

By the autumn of 1960 the main prerequisites for beginning socialist construction had been created in our country: the exploiting classes had lost their command positions, power had passed to the people, and public property in the means of production became predominant in the economy. True, in that period the question of the socialist stage of the revolution was not raised in Cuba for tactical reasons, but it could already be seen in the basic realities of Cuban life. It was not accidental that in the spring of 1961 the imperialists and their mercenaries undertook direct aggression against Cuba — they feared to lose their last chance to throttle the first socialist state in Latin America. In the face of mortal danger Cuba openly proclaimed its historic choice. On April 16, 1961, at the funeral of victims of a bombing raid that preceded the landing of mercenaries in Cuba, Fidel Castro called upon the people to take up arms and defend their gains to the last drop of blood under the slogan of "Long Live the socialist revolution."

In that bitter moment of our history, the USSR again came to our assistance. On the blood-stained sand dunes of Playa Giron the imperialist mercenaries were crushed. In that same year, 1961, the main forces of the revolutionary vanguard — the July 26 Movement, the People's Socialist Party, and the Revolutionary Directorate of March 13 — merged to form a united party that became known as the United Revolutionary Organizations.

The facts I have cited show that in the history of our revolution there are two clearly delineated and inseparably linked processes: a rapid radicalization, transition from the bourgeois-democratic to the socialist stage, and the steadily growing cohesion of the political vanguard, the strengthening of its unity on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory, of the organizational principles laid down by Lenin. The political and economic conditions in which these processes took place have features all their own, but in essence they reaffirm the general law of socialism, namely, the steady growth of the party's role in the building of the new society.

This process steadfastly gained strength although, of course, it entailed overcoming various prejudices, distrust, and manifestations of sectarianism. The party's organizational structure was also improved. In 1962 and 1963 the URO was reconstituted into the United Party of the Socialist Revolution, which in turn adopted the name Communist Party of Cuba in 1965 and formed its Central Committee. Fidel Castro became its First Secretary. Our socialist revolution thereby acquired an adequate, united and

effective political organization, a Marxist-Leninist party of the working class and the entire people with close links to the international working-class movement; a party with the building of socialism and communism in Cuba as its main aim and leading the people in their work of achieving that aim.

The first congress of the Communist Party of Cuba was held in December 1975. It defined the commencement of the final stage of the road to socialism and adopted a program platform, which maps out a comprehensive plan for the building of the new society.

From the outset the leaders of our revolution clearly saw that the people faced a two-fold task, for, as Fidel Castro pointed out, "the task of liberating the nation from imperialist domination was inevitably accompanied by the task of putting an end to exploitation of man by man in our society."⁵ Speaking in more general terms, the struggle for national liberation was not separated from the struggle for social emancipation. The solution of social and economic problems (as the basis of the former) required the surmounting of immense difficulties, chiefly of an objective character, caused by the exceedingly low development level of the productive forces and the people's wretched living standard, as we have already said.

Nonetheless, the people's state achieved no little progress. The living standard in our country is still modest, but it is incomparably higher than it was before the revolution. An end has been put to chronic undernourishment (the daily per capita ration averages 2,900 kcal). We no longer have unemployment, and have eradicated such social vices as vagrancy, prostitution, and drug addiction. Considerable headway has been made by the health services. In the year the revolution was accomplished Cuba had 6,000 doctors, but half of them fled in the wake of their clients — they had served mainly the higher classes. Today there are 17,000 doctors in Cuba and they are working not only in the capital, as was previously the case, but throughout the country and even outside it, in many Asian, African and Latin American countries, where they are helping to improve the health services.

In Cuba the child mortality rate has fallen sharply (it is now well below that of other Latin American states), and the mean expectancy of life has risen from 62 years before the revolution to 73 years.

We have wiped out illiteracy. Most of the population has at least a six-year education, while the education level of many workers is not below nine classes of a secondary school.⁶ The number of students at institutions of higher

learning has grown seven-fold. One-third of the entire population is studying.

Things were difficult for people's Cuba in the initial years of the revolution, when a considerable number of specialists emigrated. Leading posts were filled with ordinary people who had no special training but burned with the desire to work. Today this contradiction has been resolved. Our specialists, members of the people's intelligentsia, combine a high level of training with devotion to the ideals of socialism.

What are the principal reasons for these achievements? Notably, that without vacillation Cuba restructured its economy in accordance with the fundamental laws of socialism. Today the socialist sector embraces the whole of industry, domestic and foreign trade, and finances, and 75 per cent of agricultural production.

In the building of socialism a major role continues to be played by Cuba's cooperation with fraternal countries, by Cuba's membership in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, which it joined in 1972. This cooperation is helping our republic to surmount various obstacles (for instance, the fall in the world market of the price of sugar, which is our main export commodity), and improve the structure of its economy by developing industries like heavy engineering (notably farm machinery), non-ferrous metallurgy, paper and pulp, and latterly, electronics.

Membership in the socialist community, which is the main factor of stability in the world and the chief guarantee against a nuclear holocaust, reinforces our country's independence.

The nation's achievements in all areas of life, in domestic and external policy, are inseparable from the party's successes. Leadership by the party allows rectifying subjective errors that sometimes make themselves felt. These included voluntarism in the economy. As in the initial years of Soviet power in Russia, in Cuba there was a striving to achieve communism without passing through the stage of socialism. Those who advocated this striving rejected control and accounting, did not want to hear of the role of the law of value and commodity-money relations under socialism, and underrated the significance of material incentives. The party showed that these views were wrong, but made the point that the return of material incentives to the role they merit should not lead to neglect of moral incentives, for both the former and the latter are vital in stimulating the labor initiative of the people.

Another mistake stemmed from the absolutizing of Cuba's specifics in the charting

of policy and from underestimating the experience of other socialist countries. This led to the abandonment of economic planning, of the efforts to improve the state's democratic institutions, and of support for the cooperative movement. Of course, the party corrected the situation in these spheres as well. Today our people are working on the second five-year plan. Medium and long-term programs are being charted. Great attention is being devoted to the promotion of socialist democracy, to enlisting the working people into the administration of the state at all levels.

Voluntaristic errors had a particularly prejudicial effect in agriculture. For instance, during the early years of the revolution the area sown to sugar-cane began to be reduced because it was felt that this would deliver the economy from its monoculture orientation. True, on Fidel Castro's initiative large plots of land were preserved to the sugar industry, despite those who suggested distributing this land among farm laborers.

Why was this a mistaken attitude? Because it ignored the distinctions in the character of the relations of production under capitalism and socialism. In a situation of subordination to the imperialist economy a monocrop agriculture was a factor conserving Cuba's all-sided backwardness. But with the nation taking part in the international socialist division of labor, sugar is becoming a key item of mutually beneficial trade and makes it possible to pursue a policy of industrialization.

The growing of sugar-cane and the production of sugar now receive priority attention from the state. Cuba, which before the revolution did not have even a factory manufacturing machetes and shovels, now produces cane-harvesters. At present 50 per cent of the harvesting is mechanized, and work is proceeding on a new technology that will entirely mechanize the growing and processing of sugar-cane. The output of sugar continues to grow at a rapid rate. As regards progress in industrialization, let me give two figures to illustrate: since the establishment of the people's government, the capacity of the power generating industry has increased five-fold and the freight capacity of the merchant fleet has grown 18-fold.

The quality of the leadership of the building of the new society depends largely on how profoundly the communists themselves assimilate Marxist-Leninist science, on how they apply this science in practice, and on how effectively they shape a socialist consciousness among the masses.

A major contributing factor here is systema-

tic political training, which is conducted by the party among its members on the needed theoretical level. Much attention is given to how the theory of the founders of Marxism-Leninism is developed in the experience of the communist parties. The motto guiding the Cuban communists in elaborating ideology has been formulated by Fidel Castro: "The cardinal principle is to abide by principles." This spells out total rejection of revisionism.

The communists have an extremely important mission in fostering political education among the people. They rallied the people round the party by building a state free of racial and sex discrimination, a society in which human dignity and citizens' rights are respected, and in which the people breathed the air of freedom for the first time. In fighting for socialist ideals the Cuban people got rid first of exploiters and then of elements called "escoria" or slag — a small minority with the thought pattern of lumpen-proletarians, whose appearance in Cuba was due to the corrupting influence of imperialism: products of the decaying society, they were egotistic, refused to work, and engaged in crime.

Meanwhile, there has been a steady enhancement of the leading role of the working class, which has command of the socialized means of production and wields state power. At the first congress of the Communist Party of Cuba it was stated that the party draws its cadre chiefly from the ranks of the working class, the leader in the building of socialism who carries out this mission in alliance with the working peasants and other sections of the working people, in other words, in alliance with the vast majority of the population.

The party and the working class lead society through innumerable organizations — the Committee for the Defense of the Revolution, the Trade Union Center of the Working People of Cuba, the Federation of Cuban Women, and the National Association of Small Farmers, to mention a few. Special attention is given to the education of the Young Communist League, from which the party draws its replacements. One of the key regularities characterizing all socialist countries manifests itself in the work of the party jointly with public organizations.

The clear-cut orientation on general laws in the building of the new world and the creative application of these laws in specific conditions are the secret of the continued growing enthusiasm of the Cuban people and their devotion to the cause of the revolution. With the constant observance of the principle of criticism and self-criticism, this orientation is the cardinal guarantee that the Cuban people, led

by the vanguard of the working class, the Communist Party, and united by internationalist solidarity with the peoples of fraternal countries and all other progressives forces in the world, will continue to emerge victorious in the struggle with the sinister forces of imperialism.

1. The revolution of August 1933 overthrew the Machado dictatorship and proclaimed democratic reforms. However, the right-wing parties subsequently regained power and nullified the gains of the working people. — Ed.

2. This organization led the assault on the presidential palace on March 13, 1957, and since then it became known as the Revolutionary Directorate of March 13. — Ed.

3. *Cuba Socialista*, No. 1, 1981, pp. 64-65.

4. *Primer Congreso del Partido Comunista de Cuba*, Informe Central, Havana, 1975, p. 29.

5. *Primer Congreso del Partido Comunista de Cuba*, p. 15.

6. The school system in Cuba consists of the primary school (1st to 6th classes), secondary school of the first degree (7th to 9th classes), and secondary school of the second degree (10th-12th classes). — Ed.

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Crisis of the "Scandinavian model"

Ib Norlund

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Communist Party of Denmark

In the past the impression in foreign countries was often that Denmark was developing at a steady, stable rate. In the 1960s, more than ever before, it was publicized as a "welfare state," as exemplifying the "Scandinavian model of society" making the transition to socialism unnecessary. On the eve of the next decade, J.O. Krag, Chairman of the Social Democratic Party, declared: "In the 1970s we shall transform Danish society. We shall dream. And we shall work steadfastly to acquire the political strength to turn our dreams into reality."¹

But it was not these dreams that determined the character of development. The nation was hit by mass unemployment and other effects of a crisis that the optimistic propagandists of the "welfare state" said would never recur. Instability and decline have become hallmarks of economic and political life in Denmark. For many people abroad this came as a surprise.

Actually, the myths about the "welfare" of the nation were based on superficial judgments from the outset. To a large extent their ideological significance was to conceal acute social contradictions. The communists had warned that the favorable state of the capitalist economy was transient and unstable. They said that the talk about a "welfare state" was a cover for reinforcing the state-monopoly character of capitalism, which was aggravating the class contradictions between monopoly capital and the working people, and that volatile material, presaging instability, was accumulating in society.

That this analysis was correct was borne out by events in the 1970s. It was not only a matter of Denmark being shaken by further cyclical crises: it was a question of a deepening of the capitalist system's general crisis and of its global effects. Besides, because of its position in the structure of world imperialism Denmark found itself carrying additional burdens. For that reason, as the communists noted in 1976, the question arose of a special "crisis of Danish society." The final push came when our country joined the EEC in 1972.

Pressure from the monopolies

As Denmark entered the 1980s its people en-

countered formidable and steadily growing difficulties. Unemployment went up from 125,000 in 1975 to 260,000 in 1982, in other words from 5.1 to 9.8 per cent of the workforce. In the winter of 1981-1982 all records were broken when the number of unemployed exceeded 320,000. In the period between 1975 and 1981 real wages dropped by 15 per cent. At the same time, the balance of payments deficit soared from 3,200 million to 12,800 million kroner. The external debt increased from 27 billion to 140 billion kroner, or from 3.2 to 12.8 per cent of the gross national product. The debt interest alone was larger than the entire sum of allowances paid to the huge army of unemployed. Moreover, the state budget deficit leaped from 1,200 million kroner in 1975 to 74 billion kroner (this is the official estimate for 1983).²

The monopolies pursued their policies largely with the help of the government. In parallel with political maneuvering they intensified their ideological brainwashing of public opinion into accepting the belief that the demands of the working people were the cause of the balance of payments and state budget deficits and to get the latter to accept want and privation voluntarily. This, it was said, would help to boost profits and thereby allow capital to be invested and create new jobs. Actually, the profit rate of the monopolies remained unchanged or even rose, while productive investments plummeted from 22 per cent of the gross income in 1979 to 14 per cent at present. At the same time, there has been a growth of speculative investments that are contributing, in particular, to the preservation of record profit rates.

Until the mid-1970s state intervention in the capitalist economy was based on the assumption that soon there would be another cyclic upsurge. But it never materialized: the crisis dragged on. As a result, the governments that replaced one another began hardening the "incomes policy" with the alleged purpose of regulating the growth of all incomes in the face of inflation. However, this policy was no more than an assault on wages, while in the "free" market economy profits eluded control. The

"incomes policy" boiled down to state regulation of collective bargaining, the freezing of wage rises to offset the rising cost of living, and so on. The working class responded with an energetic struggle for higher wages.

Political maneuvering

In 1978 the Social Democratic Party made an attempt to form a coalition government with Venstre, the bourgeois conservative party, in order to harden the "incomes policy" still further. This brought down the government's prestige, and even the trade union élite entered into conflict with it. That was why in the autumn of 1979 the Social Democratic Party adopted new tactics: it terminated its coalition with Venstre and called for elections. A section of the workers hoped that the Social Democratic Party would pursue a new policy and this ensured its success at the polling booths.

However, the new Social Democratic government failed to live up to these expectations. On top of everything, in December 1979 it introduced a set of laws that spelled out a general assault on real wages and in fact disregard of operating collective bargaining agreements. The government joined forces with small reactionary parties in order to command a majority and enlist support for its policy of reducing state allocations for social requirements, which it portrayed as an "anti-crisis measure." This course aggravated the situation, bringing about a further sharp rise of unemployment.

Disenchantment and a sense of desperation became rife among the working people, and in 1981 a resumption of collective bargaining was imposed on the workers on terms that were totally inconsistent with the demands of the trade unions.

Political instability compelled the government to hold new elections in December 1981. The right-wing parties unceremoniously insisted on further cuts of allocations for social requirements, as the monopolies wanted. Steps of this kind, which were a regress in the social sphere, were a blow to the influence of the Social Democrats. On the other hand, gains were made by the Socialist People's Party, which proclaimed a more leftist social democratic policy.

The elections returned the Social Democratic government, but the latter did not honor its election promise to fight unemployment. The "package of laws" on measures against unemployment among young people (March 1982) was received with distrust by the working-class movement. Even the SPP congress characterized it as a "concession to the

bourgeoisie . . . further enriching private capital through the granting of government subsidies to entrepreneurs." However, this did not prevent the SPP from voting for this "package." Subsequently, the SPP went so far as to claim that it thereby "turned social democracy to the left."

Actually, the SDP policy moved increasingly in the opposite direction. The government sought agreement with the right-wing bourgeois parties or at least with one of them. Finally, with this in mind, it produced a "general plan" envisaging a further reduction of real wages and the granting of subsidies to capital, and also "trilateral" talks (between the government, the entrepreneurs and the trade unions) to settle the question of new collective bargaining agreements for 1983. This policy led to a further growth of unemployment.

Who opened the door for the right

The plan worried the Social Democratic rank and file. The trade union leadership had to dissociate itself from this plan. But the right-wing parties, which felt that the situation was developing in their favor, wanted more. In this situation, the Social Democratic government preferred to resign. It did not invoke its right to call for new elections. Besides, the "general plan," it must be noted, was not a suitable basis for attracting the votes of workers at elections. Government power thus passed to a coalition of right-wing parties (for the first time in this century headed by conservatives). A minority government was formed (in September 1982), and political instability continued.

This was a serious setback for social democratic policies and, to some extent, for the policies of the SPP, which, as people are beginning to see more and more clearly, is following in the wake of the SDP. It is particularly important to note that in the obtaining situation the potential of the working class to influence political life has been reduced. The working-class movement still faces the task of paving the way to unity in the struggle against the monopolies and the growing pressure brought to bear by them.

The communists gave advance warning of the pernicious effects of the social democratic policy of concessions to the right-wing forces and were the first to declare that a general assault had been started on the interests of the working people in December 1979. We had no opportunity to use the parliament because in the elections, held under a complicated system, we did not surmount the barriers to obtaining representation in it. But the CPD stepped up its work in the trade unions and other working people's organizations, explain-

ing the development trends of the aggravating class struggle and insisting on compelling big capital to pay for the effects of the crisis caused by it instead of shifting the burden to the shoulders of the working people.

The working class lost some of its positions in the course of the political maneuvers I have mentioned. Backstage talks and the outward activity of both the SDP and the SPP misled the workers. The communists were tireless in pointing out that a new political situation could be created in the country as a result of militant and consistent struggle for the interests of the working people. This, we said, was the only way the right-wing forces and big capital could be compelled to make concessions. This was the only way to mobilizing the forces for an offensive on the monopolies. For a long time these warnings went unheeded. But now both the SDP and the SPP have to face the reality that their underhanded policies have brought a right-wing government to power. This is making representatives of the working class ponder over the course to be followed in the future.

A vital necessity

Alongside economic problems, the struggle for peace is of paramount significance for our people.

Denmark's history and geographical location make the preservation of peace vital. The people's traditional anti-militarism has been thoroughly aroused by the nuclear threat.

The government has always had to reckon with this feeling, and ever since the 1950s Denmark has been denying its territory for the peacetime deployment of nuclear weapons and for foreign military bases (with the exception of Greenland). But with the intensification of the aggressive tendencies in the policies of U.S. imperialism in the latter half of the 1970s, there has been increasing pressure on Denmark. The purpose of this pressure was to compel the Danish people to abandon their reservations about NATO policy. Moreover, it has been demanded that Denmark increase its military spending. Secret agreements have been signed on "reception facilities," i.e., unmanned bases that can receive "reinforcements" for foreign NATO troops in Denmark. Further, the government intimated that its peacetime rejection of nuclear weapons was inapplicable in a situation considered fraught with the danger of war.

Imperialism's increased aggressiveness has led to a growth of the militancy of the peace forces. Various peace movements have appeared, and their participants — in some cases after long discussion — have jointly organized

rallies, demonstrations, signature campaigns, marches, bicycle processions and so forth. A number of large peace conferences have been held by the trade unions.

The peace actions have reached a scale compelling the government to reckon with them. It could no longer, as in the past, simply shrug them off with the allegation that they were "communist intrigues." However, its stand has invariably borne the stamp of vacillation and opportunism.

This has been seen, for instance, in connection with the NATO decision to deploy U.S. medium-range missiles. The first reports about this decision caused considerable anxiety in Denmark, not least in the SDP itself. It was believed that the SDP Foreign Minister would demand a postponement of the decision at the NATO sitting in 1979. But he was hastily called to the USA, and no reservations were made.

Government spokesmen have responded positively to some of the Soviet peace initiatives. They took a negative stand on Reagan's "sanctions" against Poland and the Soviet Union. However, in the long run they agreed with the White House stand.

The demand for the creation of a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe has begun to play a special role in the development of the Danish peace movement. While formerly ideas like this were rejected out of hand, in the autumn of 1981 a conference of foreign ministers of northern countries declared that the question merited careful study in a "positive spirit." To a large extent this was due to the USSR's constructive approach to this problem.

The Soviet Union's unilateral commitment on the non-first-use of nuclear weapons gave a striking instance of what a genuine peace policy is like. This initiative affected the very essence of the question, removing the artificial barriers erected by those who would like to prevent the spread of the peace movement.

The formation of a right-wing government requires a further activation of Denmark's peace forces. From the outset the new ministers declared they would be more consistent than anybody in abiding by NATO and EEC decisions. However, the government thereby challenged Danish peace opinion. The resultant tide of indignation influenced the stand of the Social Democratic leadership. It began demanding a halt to Denmark's contribution to bankrolling the building of installations for Euromissiles. A majority in parliament went along with this demand. The government endeavored to stop this course of events but was rebuffed: there were mass protest demonstrations throughout the country.

The EEC is used as an instrument for pressuring Denmark not only economically but also in its foreign policy. This has set important tasks to the People's Movement for Withdrawal from the EEC, which was formed when Denmark joined the Common Market; it now has the largest Danish group in the so-called European Parliament. To dispel the false belief that Denmark has to do anything the EEC wants it to do, the People's Movement has started a broad discussion on how our country can retain its independence outside the EEC. People of different political persuasions are joining in this discussion, with the result that there is now one more forum for debating Danish society's problems and, at the same time, stepping up the struggle against the country's continued membership in the EEC. Our party has joined the discussion, stating its concepts and making its recommendations on how to reinforce anti-monopoly actions.

Devotion to socialist ideals

The communists have always rejected the "theories of the growth of poverty," according to which the spread and deepening of capitalism's crisis would automatically bring about its collapse. Long periods of crisis can make a section of the working people feel there is no way out. The shattering of habitual notions does not mean that people's eyes will be opened, that they will come round to revolutionary thinking. On the contrary, many are confused and bewildered. It may be said that in Denmark one of the greatest obstacles to the growth of the struggle against capitalism is that a section of the working people has lost faith in its own strength.

The ruling class is well aware of this and is bringing increasing ideological pressure to bear in order to stifle the militancy of the workers. Its principal weapon is anti-communism, which it uses also in its attempts to trigger mass hysteria in the crisis situation, to hinder the spread of the struggle for peace, and to prevent large sections of working people, suffering from crises, from understanding that the triumph of socialism would open up new prospects for them.

The sense of desperation can be surmounted only by an active struggle by the people against the power of the monopolies. The latest political changes in Denmark have further underscored the need for such a struggle. The newspaper *Borsen*, mouthpiece of financial circles, welcomed the new right-wing government with the headline: "Entrepreneurs Can Now Expect To be Indulged;" the working people, the

newspaper, opines, should "show more restraint."³

A CPD conference held in September 1982 defined current aims in the statement "Prepare for Struggle," which declares: "The stepped up class struggle by capitalism must be answered with a reinvigoration of the struggle of the workers. When we are slow to act, capital increases its pressure . . . Big capital and its government must be given to understand that the demand for jobs is serious and there will be a fight for it. But we should also mobilize forces in support of long-term aims affecting the wealth and power of big capital."

These are the nationalization of the banks and big industrial facilities; effective measures to ensure employment; a housing program; a reduction of the profit rate and a rise of real wages; the introduction of taxes on non-taxable funds and incomes; an extension of the internal market; and deliverance from EEC directives.

All this must be linked to a further activation of the struggle for peace, against the NATO policy pursued by the right-wing government.

The conference gave much attention to the condition of young people in society. They are particularly hard hit by the crisis and they react more sharply to it than others in order to find answers to the questions posed by life. The conference, attended by 700, mainly young, communists showed that Denmark's rising generation has a militant reserve.

Our party is to begin a discussion in connection with its next, 27th congress, scheduled for the spring of 1983. Among the main issues before it will be the ways and means enabling the working people to win more influence in society and further activate their struggle for their rights.

The Danish communists see the difficulties of the crisis period, but they consider that these difficulties can be ended if the struggle is waged on the basis of a consistent defense and assertion of socialist ideals. We oppose those currents in the working class movement that succumb to pressure from bourgeois ideology, deny the triumphs and achievements of socialism in the modern world, or refuse to recognize that socialism is achievable anywhere. The CPD believes that the settlement of major national problems is linked inseparably to the common struggle of the international communist and working-class movement for peace and socialism.

1. See J.O. Krag, K.B. Andersen, *Kamp og fornyelse*, Copenhagen, 1971.

2. *Finanstidende*, September 10, 1982.

3. *Borsen*, September 13, 1982.

The British trade unions: opposition to the Tories

Mick Costello
CEC Political Committee member,
Communist Party of Great Britain

The Trades Union Congress which meets annually occupies an important position in the calendar of the labor movement in Britain. It is a meeting of the representatives of the overwhelming majority of British trade unions and most of its constituents are directly affiliated to the mass political organization of the working class, the Labour Party. TUC decisions find a direct reflection inside the Labour Party, in which the trade unions command a majority of votes.

The Trades Union Congress cannot be seen as an event standing on its own, for it reflects the general state of the trade union movement in Britain and is a barometer of the stage reached. Last year's congress (September) took many important decisions that can help develop the mass struggle, led by the working class, for the defeat of Tory policies and to win understanding of the alternative economic and political strategy being put forward by the left within the labor movement.

The Executive Committee of the Communist Party's estimate of these developments is that their effectiveness will be decided by the extent to which they are taken up in the course of struggle, by the rank and file of the movement. It is a question of encouraging the labor movement to go on to the offensive, for jobs, against all the Tory attacks; to stop the decline in living standards and defend democratic rights. A central issue is the battle against the Thatcher government's new anti-trade union laws.*

For over a decade now, various governments have attempted to use the machinery of law-making and the courts to discipline militant activity. All previous attempts, both by right-wing Labour and by Tories, have ended in failure because of massive opposition, and then mass defiance of such laws. Almost 10 years ago pickets were imprisoned, but were freed from jail within days as a general strike was developing in protest.

Now such laws to punish trade union activity are again on the Statute Book. Massive unemployment has not succeeded in being a sufficiently intimidating weapon against militancy.

According to these new laws, workers who strike in support of others, or who press for action against employers not most directly involved in a battle over wages and conditions, are open to being fined the costs of their actions. Should they refuse to pay, they can be imprisoned.

On one occasion this law has been used, against the leader of a group of printworkers who stopped the national newspapers for a day, in support of health workers. But the protest was so great that a derisive fine of little more than a printworker's weekly wage was all that was demanded by the court. Yet the newspaper bosses lost millions. What is more, the employers feared that even this sum of money might not be paid by the workers concerned. Such a refusal to pay would have brought the matter back to the court, for further action. There was a realization that the newspaper employers had bitten off more than they could chew. In the event, the fine was paid "anonymously." It is widely rumored that a group of employers "not far removed" from Fleet Street itself had paid the money.

On the second occasion, when printworkers again stopped national newspapers to make their protest against government attacks on the wages and conditions of the hospital workers, no newspaper owner dared seek redress in the courts. What is more, no employer in the length and breadth of Britain went to the courts on that same day, although millions of workers took part in solidarity action.

These laws also aim to penalize trade unions financially for the industrial action of their members. They would effectively impose financial penalties on all workers engaging in effective solidarity action.

The correct answer obviously lies in mass action. The TUC (1982) decided that industrial action was "imperative" to defeat the legislation. How very important this is in its present context was demonstrated by the massive struggles in the second half of 1982. They owed much of their effectiveness precisely to support and solidarity action by other workers, of the kind the legislation makes unlawful.

Above all in this context must be mentioned the months-long struggle by workers in the hospi-

* Known as (Employment Secretary Norman) Tebbit's laws. — Ed.

tals to secure decent living standards and to resist the program of cuts and lay-offs that the government plans in the context of attacks on the social services generally.

Indeed, the TUC was meeting at a high point of the health workers' struggle and in the run-up to the national day of industrial action and solidarity, September 22nd. The TUC General Council was coordinating this industrial action in a fashion never seen before in our movement. Joint action went beyond the immediate issue of health workers' pay itself. It represented a new level of unity and solidarity in the fight against government policy to hold down incomes.

This is still a new path for the TUC and its steps are sometimes a little faltering. Thus, the unions in the railway industry were not so united. But the prospects are improving. There are initial moves for joint defense of the educational system against cuts and to protect the conditions of the employees in education, through a nascent "Education Alliance." Public sector unions are being encouraged by the TUC to maximize their impact through united action. In the civil service, unions are coordinating activities as never before.

The debates at the annual congress were very much influenced by the imminence of this Day of Action. The whole congress gave a standing ovation to health workers who came as visitors. The voice of the rank and file truly entered the conference hall. It was in this sense true to say that the TUC debates were dominated by the need for struggle.

But congress is not a gathering in isolation. Everything that takes place there is only part of the process of struggle and the battle of ideas within the working class. With proud and recognized participation by members of our party, the left carried this note of struggle into the congress and thus truly spoke to the people outside.

It was in the course of the sharp debates in the hall and in the battles fought out within the various delegations that many doubts and pessimism were largely overcome. The new mood expressed itself most sharply in the rejection by the congress of wage restraint, incomes policy, even to be agreed with another Labour government.

But, of course, winning the vote at the congress is not enough. If this needed emphasizing it was certainly done by the warning given by right-wing trade union leaders that they would seek to get a reversal of this current militant congress policy. There can thus be no illusions that the victory against wage restraint is a permanent one. It can only be made so if the question is again taken to the grass roots of the movement, argued for, and deeper conviction won.

Among other, seemingly impossible victories

was the emergency resolution on the Middle East. "Don't raise it," said some, "it will be defeated." The left refused to accept this and, despite opposition from the General Council to condemning the Israeli aggression in Lebanon, the congress passed the resolution.

On many other issues, left and progressive forces won the vote. This was true on the questions of peace and disarmament, Britain's withdrawal from the Common Market, the alternative program for economic policies, resistance to denationalization within the public services and industries, equality for women at work, and a host of international questions.

It is worth stopping for a moment on the resolution on peace and nuclear disarmament. This said, "nuclear bases in this country, or for that matter, in Western Europe, do nothing to enhance the prospects of world peace." It called for removal of all nuclear bases from British soil and waters; full support for the world disarmament campaign.

Of the greatest importance is the fact that disarmament did not only come up in the debate on the resolution specifically devoted to it. It came in naturally in many other debates, especially dealing with where money to fund progressive economic policies might come from. This was a genuine reflection of the mass character of the demand in Britain for cuts in military spending.

The elections to the TUC General Council strengthened the left component and within this three members of the Communist Party, the largest number in the history of the TUC.

But another manifestation was also evident. The right wing was able to come together more effectively than in the past two decades and to secure certain gains. This was particularly shown by the passing of a decision to restructure the General Council. This could have very serious negative consequences arising from a cut in representation for unions organizing in manufacturing and the extractive and transport industries. Despite their decline in membership, reflecting changes in the industrial composition of the working class, these sections play the leading role within the working class. They will continue to do so and no reduction of their weight on the TUC General Council can change this. The danger is that the General Council itself will be weakened by becoming less representative of industrial reality.

There is an important lesson for the left in this setback. For some years there have been noticeable changes in the composition of the working class and the trade union movement. This has also involved the growing integration of workers in services and white collar occupation within the trade union movement. Yet the left failed to

propose changes in the composition of the leadership on the General Council to reflect, sufficiently, these changes. Thus a legitimate grievance of these new forces created a vacuum which the right took advantage of, gaining some support from the center, which could have been won by the left had it put forward more constructive proposals. The important lesson for the left is always to be alert to changes and to take the initiative.

Despite the adoption of broadly positive resolutions there were major policy weaknesses. Nothing on Ireland. There was generally much too little in the resolutions that tied the General Council to specific forms of struggle, going beyond general policy statements. This applied, above all, to the burning question of unemployment. Clearly, the situation demands an ongoing campaign drawing in the widest possible strata of the community alongside the labor movement and the unemployed in the first instance. The government's mini-budget shows that the Tories plan to increase mass unemployment further, and to cut benefits. This is the price for reducing the rate of inflation as they see it. Public opinion polls show that 62 per cent of the population consider unemployment problem number one. The people, thus, reject the Tories' priority.

The struggle against unemployment was the subject of a special discussion at the Executive Committee of the Communist Party in November 1982. Its propositions are for developing every form of struggle for jobs, for the use of all available forms of democratic mass pressure on the government and the employers because the effects of unemployment are felt by everybody. It is not a problem only for the unemployed but for the broadest sections of the population. Unemployment is used to divide the working class: to play off the unemployed against those with jobs. This is shown most clearly in the using of the phoney incomes policy argument that it is the size of wages that is responsible for unemployment. It pits white against Black, youth against older people and men against women in the struggle for work. It dampens down expectations, demoralizes sections of the working class and is the breeding ground both for the most reactionary and for adventurist, ultra-left ideas. Its corrosion is felt in all parts of the labor and democratic movement.

The policies of the alternative economic and political strategy as agreed already by the TUC, Labour and Communist party conferences, would begin to tackle this urgent problem. This strategy both requires and would make possible increases in real purchasing power, benefits, pensions and services. It would be the framework for rebuilding much of Britain's industrial

base and facilitate the introduction of new technology in a way that would create jobs, raise living standards and cut the working week. To argue this is not to create any illusions that unemployment can be eliminated under capitalism.

Some elements of this program of the left — the demands for cuts in arms expenditure and nuclear disarmament, for withdrawal from the Common Market — are today receiving growing massive support. It is imperative that we find ways to make other elements of the alternative program the subject for mass campaigning.

We applaud the Transport and General Workers Union for direct action against imports which destroy industry in our country. The Vauxhall car workers have taken up this struggle. There is a lesson here for workers in other firms and industries.

The steel workers' unions have picketed ports to prevent the unloading of imported steel of a kind that is available from the crisis-hit nationalized British Steel Corporation. For the first time, on October 22, 1982, the steel workers employed by BSC took national industrial action in protest against lay-offs. The nascent triple alliance of steel, coal and railways in Scotland showed its mettle in the splendid 1,000-strong deputation to London and Downing Street on October 26, against closures.

The coal board's documentation of its threat to close one-third of Britain's collieries shows how callous is the disregard for people in just one industry. In industry after industry, from teachers to miners, from civil servants to engineering workers, a fight is taking place. But it is also true that, despite the many examples of struggle, despite the widespread concern and horror of unemployment, workers at the plant level have not been won for the fight for jobs as such and in all cases.

That this has not so far been done indicates a deep ideological problem. It shows that the propaganda of the ruling class still dominates the minds of the mass of workers, convincing them, still, that there is no real alternative to the harshness of mass unemployment today, and that to resist it as a matter of course is only to weaken the prospects for economic recovery. Therefore, alongside the most direct action must go the arguments put by our party, the left and the *Morning Star* for the alternative program.

Today only a tiny number of the unemployed themselves have been involved in campaigning for jobs. Therefore, the question has repeatedly come up as to whether there should be established an organization of the unemployed themselves. Sporadic attempts have been made to form such organizations on a nation-wide basis but without success. Does this mean that the

demand is an unreal one? Certainly, the circumstances of the 1920 and 1930s, when the trade union movement was much weaker, worse led and smaller than in our times and concerned itself almost exclusively with the direct interests of its members who had jobs, are no longer with us. Today trade unions retain unemployed members; some recruit them. The TUC has sponsored a network of over 160 Centers for the Unemployed. In the great People's March for Jobs in 1981, and in the many other activities of a similar broad character, the trade unions have taken campaigning initiatives. The unemployed are in no sense, then, "on their own."

But does that invalidate the need for the unemployed to have their own campaigning organizations? The discussion on this could continue till the cows come home. We must endeavor to test the need in the only valid way, in practice. This means, in the first instance, consulting the jobless and developing initiatives involving the unemployed. This can stimulate campaigning by unemployed workers on a continuing basis. It could provide vehicles for direct action to demonstrate that continued unemployment will not be tolerated.

Here the campaigning by the unemployed of pre-war years does have lessons for today. We will encourage the unemployed to occupy tables in the plush restaurants, on the sites of rich parts of London, where there is no whiff of crisis for a very different category of people who do no useful work. There are such places in every town in Britain. We will support and promote expressions of such class anger. Forms of activity along these lines can involve the unemployed in a fashion not open to them through traditional union activities.

The experience gained in the 1981 People's March for Jobs and the subsequent events that this gave rise to, shows that more such broad initiatives are needed. Our concept of that march was in no way to counterpose it to any other forms of struggle for jobs. It was to stimulate all sections to do more and to bring in other sections of the people that can be won. The march of 1981 did provide a vehicle for substantial sections of the churches, for a very wide spectrum of politicians, for local authorities, a wealth of democratic organizations and, yes, even some employers, to speak out against the crime of unemployment.

In the debates about the People's March for Jobs some argued that the single slogan was a wishy-washy liberal one, that could not help the creation of one single job, nor challenge the government's policies. We rejected that view then, and will have to do so again. The slogan "Make full employment priority number one" is a challenge to Tory priorities, is objectively

anti-Tory. It rejects cutting the rate of inflation as top priority, regardless of its impact on unemployment.

Nor does the fight for that change of priorities mean in any way that we accept the Tory and right-wing Labour argument that "inflation or unemployment" are the only alternatives. The measures proposed by our party's alternative economic and political strategy could lead to both a reduction in unemployment and stabilization or even reduction of prices, and so contain or even reduce inflation. Provided the fight for jobs is tackled from every possible angle and draws in the most varied sections of the population, the mood can be changed from anger to militant resistance.

The Communist Party's proposals arouse growing interest in the trade union movement. At this year's TUC the *Morning Star* was truly the voice of the left. Its sales were roughly one for each two delegates throughout the week. Unprecedented at our TUC, the Transport Union leader, Moss Evans, paid tribute to the paper when introducing the report of the General Council on the press and mass media. There was a record collection for the *Morning Star* and attendance at its dance and social toward the end of the week brought some 500 of the just over 1,000 delegates. These included general secretaries, executive committee members of the unions and rank and file delegates. In the country as a whole we were able to achieve a bigger extra sale of the *Morning Star* during the week of the TUC.

On the basis of a report presented by Michael McGahey, the Executive Committee of the party affirmed its belief in the need to develop struggle and step up the battle of ideas. How to contribute more to building the mass movement against Tory policies, to force the Tory government to go to an early general election, and to bring about the change in Labour's policy with the incorporation of a left program was the essence of our Executive meeting. All-out support for the health workers and others in struggle was agreed. There will be more colorful mass propaganda material, with the largest possible number of meetings organized by the Communist Party. It was agreed (and there was some success in this) to press for extra readers.

If one were to sum up last year's TUC and the subsequent struggles of the working class, one might say that, overall, the policies adopted at the TUC are progressive and will help the development of mass struggle. But these policies will become a reality and a real weapon in the fight for real advances in our movement only if backed massively by the working class and other democratic sections of the people.

What is the Aboriginal demand in Australia?

Hannah Middleton

CC member, Socialist Party of Australia

The national question is assuming increasing political significance in Australia today. It is manifested in three distinct, interrelated forms: the struggle for Australian national independence and sovereignty, directed against monopoly economic domination and the ANZUS (Australia, New Zealand, USA) military alliance as well as U.S. bases in Australia; the influence of the diverse national origins of the Australian working class; and the national liberation struggles of the two indigenous national minorities in Australia: the Aborigines and the Torres Strait Islanders.

The two national minorities, within the Australian state but separate and distinct from the Australian nation, are waging an ever sharper struggle which is anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly in essence.

The right to land and natural resources

Since the late 1960s, the focal point of the Aborigines' movement has been the demand for land rights which "contains a significant revolutionary aspect, the demand for the basic means of production. Aboriginal groups are resisting the exploitation of their ... lands by mining companies and directly play a part in the fight against monopolies and imperialism. Others are confronting representatives of overseas (mainly British and American) monopoly leaseholders of pastoral lands" (*The National Question in Australia*, document adopted by the third congress of the Socialist Party of Australia, 1978). This SPA document also points out that the Aboriginal demand for rights to land and natural resources has never been for private property that an individual or group own and can sell whenever they wish. The aim has always been to gain communal and inalienable rights. The 1978 party policy document continues: "Primitive communal land rights are not an advanced form of ownership but under capitalist conditions the demand for these rights is progressive and forms an element of the struggle for socialism. Equally the need for mineral rights as national Aboriginal property, leading to the development of Aboriginal communities from economic backwardness, is a progressive step ..."

"The demand for Aboriginal communal and inalienable landed property under capitalism,"

the document says, "has an anti-monopoly and revolutionary character. In essence it puts forward a case for the expropriation of private property generally and it creates an alternative to state monopoly (government) and to private landed property. The establishment of pastoral and other collective or cooperative enterprises by Aborigines on the basis of communally owned land possesses the same anti-monopoly content. It is also a form of struggle and organization of national liberation against capitalist exploitation and racial discrimination."

The demand for land and mineral rights by the Aboriginal national minority was a qualitatively new stage in their development and political organization and unity. Behind it lay a complicated process of class and national formation that is still under way today.

The Aborigines' ancestors came to Australia at least 40,000 years ago. They developed a classless semi-nomadic, hunting and gathering economy based on communal use of the main means of production, the land, and developed relations of production, distribution and exchange, expressed through their kinship system, of co-operation and reciprocity.

The socio-economic basis of this society was destroyed as British imperialism from 1788 onwards colonized the Australian continent. Land was the key to the struggle that developed as settlement expanded despite a prolonged and bitter guerrilla struggle fought by the Aborigines.

The Aborigines were gradually drawn into the money-commodity economy of British and Australian monopoly capitalism, exploited as cheap labor or a form of reserve army. A process of forced socio-economic integration in production activity began, taking the form of proletarianization, with racial discrimination, isolation and segregation contributing to forcing Aborigines into the lowest stratum of the Australian working people under imposed conditions of backwardness, extreme poverty and deprivation.

Two processes

Today the Aborigines are at a number of stages in a continuing process of development: from groups with much of their social organization and

ideology still largely traditional through rural workers to urban workers and some members of the industrial working class, all with unemployment levels on average at least 6 times higher than the national average of about 10 per cent, and in some Black communities up to 100 per cent.

Under conditions of racial prejudice and discrimination, exploitation, oppression and isolation, the process of spontaneous (objective) assimilation into the Australian nation (a process inevitably initiated by integration into the capitalist system) has been significantly held back. This has been compounded by the Aborigines' imposed low economic and social standards and the degree of their cultural and linguistic differences from white society. By contrast, factors such as the small number of Aborigines (about 180,000 today in a total population of 15 million), their scattered distribution and an accelerating trend toward urbanization have encouraged the assimilation process.

At the same time, involvement in a money-commodity economy has promoted ethnic consolidation among the Aborigines.

The new material conditions provide a basis for unity and common identity. Ethnic consolidation is reflected in this growing consciousness of common identity and interests. It has developed to a stage where it can be said that the national formation is taking place, with the Aborigines assuming national traits in the form of an oppressed national minority.

The development of a movement with the demand for land and mineral rights as its core is both a product of and a contribution to ethnic consolidation as well as holding back assimilation into the (white) Australian nation. In their resistance to racial discrimination and deprivation, the Aborigines are developing an Australia-wide common consciousness of themselves as a people of their own and distinguished from the "white" nation and are organizing themselves and campaigning on a continent-wide level.

Federation of Land Councils

The recent formation of the Federation of Land Councils is a manifestation of this Australia-wide unity and organization. Since the early 1970s, when ultra-left tendencies were used to exploit and destroy the national Aboriginal organization existing at that time (the Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders), the only Australian-wide body had been the elected National Aboriginal Conference. Set up by the Whitlam Labor Government, this body has no power and has been used to buy off and/or frustrate many Aboriginal activists.

The Federation of Land Councils, however, is independent of government finance and control. Furthermore, it speaks for the various regional Aboriginal Land Councils which unite all Aborigines around the crucial issue of land and mineral rights. Since the demand for land rights frequently involves Aboriginal communities in direct confrontation with monopoly and transnational (mainly mining) companies, the Federation—and the Aboriginal movement generally—has been moving to a consciously anti-monopoly position, so strengthening their political position.

At this level, the Aboriginal national liberation movement is in advance of considerable sections of the progressive movement, including the trade unions. One of the weaknesses of the overall situation is that the considerable support from a large number of trade unions for the Aboriginal (also known as Black) movement is based on a humanitarian and somewhat paternalist approach. Even the most politically advanced unions tend not to see the political content and importance of the Black movement and so offer it "help" and "support" instead of fighting with it on the basis of solidarity against the common enemy.

Recent meetings of the Federation of Land Councils have taken decisions on some matters of considerable significance today in the Black movement. They were to support demonstrations at the time of the Commonwealth Games.

The Commonwealth Games were held in September 1982 in Brisbane, capital of Queensland, a state which still controls almost all areas of the lives of its Aboriginal residents through a series of infamous racist laws.

The Queensland Government is committed to natural resources exploitation by local and foreign monopolies and spends considerable amounts of public money for tax concessions, infrastructure construction and other steps to encourage this. Part of this policy is complete rejection of Aboriginal land rights demands, hidden behind farcical legislation dealing with leases for Aboriginal reserves (which fools no one) and loud claims that "everyone should be treated equally and the same."

Queensland Aborigines have been fighting for their land and civil rights for years and the issue was focused around the demand for a boycott of the games and/or demonstrations at the time of their opening.*

Aboriginal representatives travelled to Africa and the Caribbean seeking support for a boycott

*Such demonstrations were staged and led to fierce clashes with the police as they tried to disperse the demonstrations. — Ed.

of the games. These visits came after the National Aboriginal Conference appeal to the United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva, the World Council of Indigenous People conference in Canberra, Aboriginal visits to New Zealand and Papua-New Guinea and the World Council of Churches tour of Australia.

The call for massive peaceful demonstrations at the opening of the games in Brisbane with simultaneous manifestations of protest in other major Australian cities received wide support in both the Aboriginal and the non-Aboriginal communities. The reactionary Queensland Government has responded by passing "police state" laws of disturbing scope and ferocity in an attempt to stifle any political activity during the games, and Aboriginal activists in Brisbane were subjected to raids and various other forms of harassment and intimidation.

This pressure has caused some divisions over the best tactics for the Black movement to develop around the games protests and several competing "coordinating committees" have been formed. Despite these problems, there is no doubt that the campaign for a boycott of the Commonwealth Games, or at least massive demonstrations, has lifted to a new level the Aboriginal movement's demand for their rights.

The Makarrata

The Makarrata is a treaty to be negotiated between "the Aboriginal nation and the Australian

Federal Government." The proposal has been supported by some Aboriginal activists and many Black government employees (the public service is the largest single employer of Aborigines in Australia today, assisting in the development of the small Aboriginal petty-bourgeoisie and a far larger influence of petty-bourgeois ideology in the Black movement). Much of the work developing and publicizing the Makarrata has been carried out by a prestigious committee of non-Aboriginal public figures, mainly professionals and academics. In contrast, the majority of Aboriginal activists, particularly the most politically advanced, have opposed or expressed reservations about the Makarrata and it has gained little if any acceptance among grass-roots Aboriginal organizations and local communities. It is also opposed by the Federation of Land Councils.

This opposition was shared by the Socialist Party, which pointed out that the Makarrata would have frozen and given legal force to the current situation in which some Aboriginal communities in the Northern Territory and South Australia have a limited form of bourgeois property rights to some land but without mineral rights or control over the depredations of mining monopolies and the great majority of Aboriginal groups have no land rights whatsoever.

The Makarrata would also have stifled the further development of the Aboriginal national liberation movement, inevitably diverting it from the anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly fight for land and mineral rights into important, but secondary, issues such as housing, health, education and employment. The part that the Aboriginal movement must and will contribute to winning socialism in Australia would be seriously retarded by the Makarrata.

The Socialist Party of Australia policy document *The National Question in Australia*, calls for communal, inalienable land rights, including full rights to minerals and other natural resources, for Aboriginal communities and the establishment of Autonomous Areas where the communities, on the basis of their communal land, "can develop their own economic, social and cultural life."

While standing for the right of Aboriginal and Islander people to determine their own future, the Socialist Party places emphasis upon winning them to the working-class struggle against monopoly and for a socialist Australia. The SPA fights for the elimination of all oppression and recognizes that the ending of the exploitation of the white working class cannot be achieved without at the same time liberating Black workers from both national oppression and class exploitation.

But now we want the land back

Hannah Middleton

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Peace March 82: an inside story

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TOWARD THE WORLD ASSEMBLY FOR PEACE AND LIFE ON EARTH

This story began on the road of Peace March 82, or rather on its leg from Stockholm to Vienna via the USSR and Czechoslovakia. We spent a few days with peace marchers from Western Europe, the USA, Japan and Latin America, sharing their lodgings, listening to them at public meetings and informal gatherings, talking to them, asking them innumerable questions — in short, trying to get a clear picture of the new mass anti-war movement, not frequently described as the Phenomenon of the 80s.

What is the driving force that has rallied all these people, young and old, affluent and poor, representing different countries, ideologies and parties around the same platform of disarmament and peace? What are their impressions of the march? Is there any truth in the statements that it is fear alone, fear of death, that causes hundreds of thousands in London, Bonn, Paris, Washington and Tokyo to campaign for peace? And what about the spiteful allegations that the entire peace movement is orchestrated by the World Peace Council and communists on Moscow's instructions?

Needless to say, this story does not provide an exhaustive answer to all these questions that will probably remain a subject of study for a long time. It is merely a step toward such an answer.

It was great!

A striped swing-beam went down on the Soviet-Czechoslovak border beyond Uzhgorod, and the road began to wind up the steep Carpathian slopes. The peace march buses had rolled into Czechoslovakia, leaving behind Karelian birch-trees, the straight avenues and exquisite bridges of Leningrad, Byelorussian and Ukrainian villages, meetings in Moscow, Minsk, Smolensk, Kalinin and Kiev, over 2,000 miles covered in the Soviet Union. What did they see there? And what about the warnings of sundry well-wishers and ill-wishers who told them that their march to the USSR would come to no good? For just before the march an Associated Press correspondent in Stockholm hinted at some secret arrangements according to

which the peace marchers would be denied free contacts with the Soviet people. He also referred to the *Stockholm Expressen* which with a serious air maintained that the peace marchers would never succeed in "opening Soviet citizens' eyes" to the fact that their country is one of the powers committed to a mad arms race . . .

Actually, these speculations were nothing new.

Even President Reagan himself declared from no other place than the UN rostrum that in the USSR all who advocate peace are inevitably arrested and jailed. And as to the various "experts" in the capitalist world that for more than six decades have been trying to prove that beyond the "iron curtain" lies a "realm of silence and terror," their number is truly legion.

Did these speculations have any effect on the marchers?

It must be admitted that they did but not on all and not to the same extent. Those less familiar with Soviet realities began to have some doubts.

"Frankly, there were some doubts in my mind before I arrived in the Soviet Union," said David Brown, an American sculptor who crossed the ocean to Scandinavia to take part in the peace march. "Would we be able to communicate freely, people-to-people, without any formality, or would everything boil down to thoroughly prepared and rehearsed protocol meetings?"

"I have taken part in peace marches before, and I know that all kinds of warnings, both from enemies and well-wishers, should be taken with a grain of salt. And yet before we marched through socialist countries I thought that the peace movement there was very insignificant," said Roger Nordmark, a young engineer from Sweden.

Others, as, say, Labourite Gordon Shaffer, the prominent British peace activist, were either unaffected or just annoyed by such warnings.

"When I was told, 'You will find lack of freedom in the USSR,'" he said, "I replied: 'I have been there lots of times and have seen more freedom than you can imagine.' When I was asked, 'Why don't the Soviet peace activists oppose the nuclear policy of their government the way the British do?' I replied: 'Supposing the

British government favored nuclear disarmament, as the Soviet government does, would we be opposed?" "

In a word, the propaganda, disseminated when Peace March 82 was about to start, had a different effect on the marchers. But the impressions they formed in the course of the march were very similar.

"What were the new notions you formed while in socialist countries?" we asked peace marchers. Here are the answers:

"It was great! There were no restrictions. In each city, in each community, at each enterprise we visited, and even on the road we were welcomed by nice and warm-hearted people who saw eye to eye with us and did not want either our two countries or any other countries in the world to experience the horrors of war, particularly nuclear war. There were more people like that than even the boldest imagination could picture" (R. Nordmark, Sweden).

"I am quite happy with what I saw. For I could talk to Soviet people without any obstacles or formality. I have picked out the people I wanted to talk to, and, I think, have shaken more hands and kissed more babies than I have done in all my life. I looked at these people and saw in their eyes the same cares as in the eyes of many of my countrymen. And there was no hatred, no suspicion. There was goodwill and a desire to come to an agreement how to live together on the same planet" (D. Brown, USA).

"We saw that people in the socialist countries are just as interested as we are in putting an end, as soon as possible, to everything that contaminates the international atmosphere. Just as we do, they say 'No' to Euroshima, and just as we do, they believe that to campaign for peace today is to cement our relations in economy, culture and science on the basis of sovereignty and equality, as illustrated by cooperation between the USSR and France in the first space flight of a French cosmonaut ..." (C. Charbonier, France).

Who lays mines and who removes them

The conversation about the contribution of the socialist community to the fight for peace began in the Slovak city of Banska-Bystrica. We were walking down Slovak National Uprising Street toward the Slovak National Uprising Museum where a rally was to be held and suddenly saw a sign at a street corner: "Block checked. No mines." Signed: "First Lieutenant Rvalov."

"The sign has been preserved in memory of 1945," explained Josef Fira, formerly a partisan and a lumber-man and now an old-age pensioner, who came to welcome the peace marchers. "The Soviet comrades then removed many mines, left in our cities by the Nazis. And, figuratively

speaking, they are doing the same job now as they remove in Europe and all over the world mines that can trigger another world war."

The conversation was resumed a few hours later in a students' cafeteria. Its new participant was Gordon Shaffer, a veteran of the British and world peace movement. It was a long multifaceted conversation, touching upon Europe, Great Britain and the situation in the contemporary world, and though the participants held different political views, we had little difficulty in reaching the same conclusions.

And the conclusions were significant. To Soviet communists, a former Slovak partisan and a British Labourite who, it is true, told us that in this particular case he did not express the views of the entire party, but those of a sizable like-minded group, one thing was clear: the major source of the threat of a worldwide holocaust is imperialism and, notably, U.S. imperialism.

And it was equally clear that socialism does not pose any threat to peace. It rather poses a threat of peace to those who have subjugated other countries for ages and would like to perpetuate this unjust system.

"Taking part in the peace march," Shaffer said, "has reinforced my belief how important it is to explain to people in non-socialist countries where the real danger comes from. And this should be done not by unsupported statements but by citing facts, by showing how the disarmament proposals of the socialist countries accord with the demands of the anti-war movement and how the imperialist powers respond to these proposals."

We have tried to draw a list of the most important of these proposals. Here it is:

Peace movement participants: no nuclear arms in Europe!

The USSR. A proposal to proceed stage by stage to the elimination of all nuclear weapons in Europe. A unilateral cessation of the deployment of medium-range weapons. Support for the idea of establishing nuclear-free zones and denuclearization of Europe.

The USA. A demand for a "zero option," i.e., the elimination of Soviet medium-range weapons while retaining the U.S. forward-based weaponry as well as the French and British nuclear capability. Preparations, in defiance of public protests, for the deployment of new U.S. medium-range weapons in Western Europe.

Peace movement participants: no military bases on foreign soil!

The USSR. Prepared to sign at any moment an agreement to reduce the level of armaments

and armed forces in Central Europe as the first step toward the dissolution of military blocs, opposed to each other. A unilateral reduction of Soviet troops and armaments in the GDR.

The USA. Protracting Vienna talks on the reduction of armaments and armed forces in Central Europe. Consolidating NATO, building new military bases in various parts of the world, setting up new military blocs. Building up the armed forces in Europe.

Peace movement participants:
ban nuclear arms!

The USSR. A solemn pledge not to be the first to use nuclear arms.

The USA. Official "preemptive strike," "limited" and "protracted" nuclear war doctrines.

The conversation, naturally, went beyond this comparison, but nevertheless the following conclusion seemed obvious: it is naive to accuse the anti-war movement of supporting blindly all the proposals of the USSR and other socialist countries, i.e., of trailing in the wake of the international policy of socialism. On the contrary, it is the international policy of socialism that expresses due to its very nature the hopes and aspirations of not only citizens of socialist countries, but of the entire progressive public, concerned for peace.

That was our common view.

"As a matter of fact," said the former partisan Josef Fira, "what I cannot understand is why even some of those who say that they sincerely want peace cling so stubbornly to Reagan's 'zero option.' Well, supposing we, Czechs and Slovaks, also came into possession of medium-range nuclear weapons, like the French and the British, and supposing Soviet forward-based missiles, targeted on Western Europe, were deployed in the territory of our republic where there are no nuclear arsenals now ... Would the governments of the USA and other NATO countries not insist that any agreement on nuclear arms in Europe should also take care of this potential? Why do they dismiss their own potential then? Why lay mines on the road to agreement?"

Nobody needs mines on the road to accords lessening the danger of nuclear war. This view was shared by everyone we talked to. But there was also something else in the conversations: the awareness of the danger facing humankind is growing more slowly than the danger itself. There can be no let-up in the efforts to alert more and more millions of people on all continents to this fact.

The bird Phoenix — never more?

One day peace marchers started a philosophical conversation on the meaning of life and death. Somebody quoted Marx who defined the meaning of life of an individual and a society as approximation to the ideal of a human man, a man, free from such vestiges of a distant past as selfishness, aggressiveness, greed, cruelty ... Talking of death, someone recalled the ancient legend about Phoenix, the magic bird that died in flames every hundred years to rise again from ashes, young and beautiful. It was pointed out that throughout its history humankind had more than once closely resembled Phoenix. It was struck by the icy breath of glaciers, stealthily attacked by cholera, plague and small-pox, overrun by invasions, scorched by wars — the hundred-year war, the thirty-year war, two world wars ... quite a few of them. People died, tribes and peoples vanished from the face of the earth. And yet humankind emerged from its most gruelling trials, smaller in numbers, but without losing its history, its traditions and its ability to live on and develop its life.

And when locked in fierce battle with invaders, disease, or with unconquered forces of Nature, man was aware that even his death would not be senseless or useless, that it would serve to perpetuate the life of his family, tribe or country, to promote the triumph of ideas or broaden the horizons of knowledge. And the poet had every reason to say that everything that spelled death carried the seed of immortality.

The threat of nuclear war which will leave no victors or vanquished, no families, no countries, indeed no life, has demolished this conception, evolved over centuries and millennia. Death in nuclear flames became meaningless. And as participants in our improvised debate pointed out, it was not fear of death as such but an awareness of the total meaninglessness of death, which various plans for "limited" and "protracted" nuclear wars have in store for humankind, that has drawn them into the fight against war.

"Young people are joining the peace movement because they do not want to be the last generation on earth," Almir Amorimo, a Brazilian student, summed up this idea.

"In Latin America too?"

"Yes, in Latin America too, although it is still the only nuclear-free continent in the world. But the conflict around the Malvinas demonstrated that imperialists are prepared to go as far as to use nuclear weapons if they consider it necessary in order to achieve their

goals in this or that region. And global nuclear war will not spare anyone. It's beyond imagination, it's unbelievable, but to prevent a tragic end everything should be done to make as many people as possible clearly realize this danger and come out against it."

"In other words," we asked him, "you believe that the peace movement is expanding because people, aware of the nature and scope of the menace and determined to fight it, are joining it?"

"Naturally. People have no other choice, if they want humankind to have a future."

"And what about the allegations that the movement against nuclear war is the handiwork of communists?"

"Nonsense! Communists are participating in this movement side by side with socialist, non-party people, churchmen, for all of them are human."

"In Scandinavia," the engineer Roger Nordmark entered the conversation, "one of the principal 'agitators' for joining the anti-war movement and, primarily, the anti-nuclear movement was the notorious Alexander Haig who by no stretch of the imagination can be described as a communist. While he was Secretary of State, he said that it would not be a bad idea to explode an atom bomb over the Baltic as a demonstration shot to scare the Poles and the Russians. The response of my countrymen was demonstrations of protest. For nobody wants his country and its coastal waters to become a testing area where a transatlantic power would demonstrate its nuclear might to intimidate our next-door neighbors with whom we live in peace."

"Yes, paradoxically as it may seem, the main impulse to trigger the present-day peace movement (and this is where it differs from the peace movement in the 1950s) came not from communists," Gordon Shaffer expressed his opinion. "I would even say that some communists, and not only communists, among the people who devoted many years to the fight for peace, were at first taken aback by the scope, spontaneity and diversity of this new movement. In Britain mass demonstrations for nuclear disarmament were set off by the government's pamphlet on defense and survival. This booklet was so absurd and so senseless that the initial reaction was laughter. But then people paused to reflect: after all, it is not so funny, if the government that issued the pamphlet is thinking in terms of nuclear war."

"This caused a reassessment of values. The authorities' assurances that they needed the nuclear bomb only as a deterrent carried less and less conviction. And Reagan's statements on the first-strike capability, the possibility of nuclear war in Europe, etc., showed that Britain's No. 1 ally and partner was prepared to fight to the last

European. Those opposed to it joined the CND and other anti-war organizations. So 'Moscow's hand' has nothing to do with it."

"The point is that humankind does not want to be a Phoenix burning for the last time never to revive again," said the American sculptor David Brown. "In the socialist countries, as we saw for ourselves, they understand it. That is why you cannot but admire the wise restraint and great patience of their policy."

All we need is our arms

After a long ride, a few official meetings and many unofficial ones, we walked out of the hotel into the cool shades of tree-lined streets. Children were playing in a public garden, surrounded by new houses. Dusk was thickening. Lights were going on in the houses, and mothers' voices, high and tender, rang out from the windows: "Kajo! Ivanku! Olo! Peto! ... Come back home!"

And from dark lilac and jasmin bushes, from sandpits and swings under the trees came the traditional reply that is the same everywhere: "Coming!"

David Brown who had been talking about his work, his exhibitions and his life paused and, listening to these familiar evening exchanges, said:

"You know, many Americans joined the peace movement because they began to realize — and this was first stated by Helen Caldicott, a leader of the U.S. doctors' movement for nuclear disarmament, that a Russian child and an American child would burn alike in the flames of nuclear war, if it broke out."

"And this horrible picture set the masses into motion?"

"No, it was not as simple as that. Politically, many people in the USA were like children. Now we are becoming mature, coming to grips with the problem. But the threat of nuclear war had an overwhelming and mobilizing effect. That's why the anti-war demonstration in New York drew more than a million people, more than ever before in our history. This, I would say, is of monumental importance."

David Brown was one of the sponsors and participants of this demonstration. It showed, in his opinion, that the political apathy of a sizeable part of the U.S. labor movement and of Americans generally, their desire to keep out of politics is beginning to crack. The problem now is how to mobilize and unite people in order to turn anti-nuclear sentiments into effective political action.

"What are the difficulties?"

"There are quite a few. It is the political apathy I have mentioned, as well as individualism and

anarchism, so widespread among Americans. And, finally, it is the extremely heterogeneous social make-up of the anti-war movement; the threat of using nuclear weapons affects everybody. Therefore, at demonstrations against Reagan's war plans we see members of all classes, of all social strata. This is the strength of the movement, but it is also its weakness, because it is clear not only to Marxists that a movement without a solid class base may prove unreliable. It may be easily sidetracked to something else, something unnecessary, and its powerful emotional charge may be exploited against positive goals with relative ease. It would be naive to believe that the Reagan administration and its supporters are not trying to do it."

Participants in the New York demonstration, David Brown told us, set up a continuations committee to oppose such attempts, to introduce elements of organization into the movement and to draft a common program in order to enable diverse social strata to cooperate. The U.S. Peace Council and other anti-war organizations cooperate with it. Here is, for instance, a letter that came from the U.S. Peace Council:

"To: Members of June 12 Rally Committee (or what is to follow)

"Re: Proposal for action

"From: U.S. Peace Council

"When we speak of 'reversing the arms race' this is no mean feat. As difficult as is, say, stopping military aid to the El Salvador dictatorship (by the Reagan administration), or stopping the Trident II or MX, or imposing sanctions on the apartheid regime in South Africa, these are miniscule compared to 'reversing the arms race.' For, in fact reversing the arms race means to bring under control, reduce and eventually eliminate the military-industrial complex, the very heart of the present economic and political system ...

"What is necessary for 'reversing the arms race' is the active, conscious, united activity in struggle of the great majority of the people of the U.S., most especially the working people in their multi-racial, multinational composition, i.e., those who have the greatest stake in reordering the country's priorities and making social change ..."

The letter then proposes a specific action with certain basic requirements:

"(1) It must build the grass-roots coalitions which, by the thousands, grew out of the mobilization for June 12 and was June 12's greatest product;

"(2) It must not conflict with and should in fact complement the tremendous grass-roots movement for the Bilateral Nuclear Freeze, and at the same time emphasize the importance of cutting

the military budget and funding human services;

"(3) It must relate to the November elections, the main focus for most of the country in terms of political expression this year ... We press each candidate for the House and Senate for a public pledge somewhat along the following lines:

"If elected, I will vote in Congress for a binding resolution supporting an immediate U.S.-Soviet mutually verifiable freeze on the further development, production and deployment of nuclear arms as a first step toward reducing and eliminating nuclear stockpiles.

"If elected, I will vote for real reductions in military spending, eliminating all funds for the further development, production and deployment of nuclear arms, with the money saved being transferred to essential human services.

"If elected and I don't vote as I have pledged, I deserve to be voted out of office."

And, finally, the letter proposed mass anti-war demonstrations for disarmament during the UN Disarmament Week in October 1982.

When we read this letter, we could not yet visualize how its proposals would be implemented. Today it is already clear that the activities of the U.S. peace supporters are becoming increasingly organized and determined. The action week against the arms race and the mid-term Congressional elections bear it out. Not only is the Reagan administration clearly losing its foothold in the House of Representatives of the nation's legislature. The U.S. organizers of the anti-war movement successfully pressed for referendums in a number of states on a nuclear freeze, i.e., on a suspension of all nuclear weapon tests, production and deployment while the U.S.-USSR talks on these problems are in progress.

The results of these referendums graphically demonstrated the disagreement of Americans with the hawkish policy of their administration. In Washington 68 per cent supported a freeze of nuclear stockpiles. Millions of U.S. citizens in other cities and states also said "yes" to the freeze. At the time of this writing, 16 million signatures were already affixed to nuclear freeze petitions.

In spite of the White House efforts to dismiss the referendums as a "brain-child of those who want to weaken America" and in spite of the statements by Defense Secretary C. Weinberger that a vote for a freeze means "a growing war danger," the vast majority of referendum participants favored an end to the arms race. This, commentators in the USA and in many West European capitals pointed out, sounds a serious warning to the White House which finds it increasingly difficult to continue with its foreign policy line.

But then, we repeat, it all lay ahead — demonstrations, referendums, elections. And, without making any forecasts, we merely spoke of the awakening of an average American, whose ancestors had for generations lived for their home, occupation or business, leaving governing to government, politics to the politicians and wars to the generals. And in so doing, they were quite confident that the rulers, politicians and generals would solve all the problems in the best possible way. Today the American sees with pain and horror on his TV screen civilians facing firing squads in El Salvador, bombs exploding in the Falklands, Beirut in flames, attacked from the sea, from the ground and from the air. And also gangsters, police, the Ku Klux Klan, the unemployed, murder, violence, generals and politicians trying to sell him “limited” or “protracted” nuclear war as well as economic, chemical or space war . . .

And a feeling of anxiety seizes the man in the capitalist world, anxiety, not always fully rationalized, but always justified, for the present and for the future, for his children and next of kin, for his cause and for the human race. And he is beginning to have — cannot but have — quite understandable, though not always explicitly articulated doubts about the wisdom and competence of the generals, politicians and rulers who are leading him to the brink of disaster. In the world which a dead tradition still calls free, common people cease to believe their presidents, premiers, members of parliament and party leaders. And he goes out in the street to protest and to

demand. This is how most of the anti-war demonstrations begin . . .

We recalled at this point that the idea of the first peace march was said to have originated not in the headquarters of some political party or organization, but in a kitchen where some Norwegian housewives, not affiliated with any party and — it seems — not even trade-union members, decided to get together their neighbors and friends and march all the way from Scandinavian fjords to Paris, demanding: “Down with nuclear arms!” Just like that — shoulder to shoulder — marching along the roads of Western Europe to demonstrate to the rulers of their countries the true sentiments of the people who want to take their own destinies and the destiny of the world into their own hands.

As we were talking about it, night was quickly descending on the city. It grew dark, and the moon bleached the yellow sand of the garden lanes, criss-crossed by black shadows, cast by the trees. The traffic noise died down. Lights were going out in the windows.

“You know,” David Brown said, “I would like to make a sculpture, inspired by an English poster. It shows two kids, clasping each other’s hands, with the caption: ‘The only arms we need are our arms.’ If we do not want everything we treasure to perish, we have to realize that we alone, as heirs and successors of many generations whose hands, whose efforts and whose imagination have produced this world, can save it for those who are alive today who will live after us.”

Bishops censure the nuclear threat, the White House snubs the Bishops

COMMENT

Nuclear war and the intention to start one are amoral. This was the conclusion of the November 1982 National Conference of Catholic Bishops held in Washington.

The theological forum of the 50-million strong church in the USA in essence rejected any use of nuclear weapons or the threat to do so. The draft “Pastoral Letter on War and Peace” considered by the bishops denounces the first use of these weapons under any circumstances, and also their use against populated centers and military targets in their proximity under any pretext. The draft sees it as the church’s role to help to shape the country’s public opinion “to resist resort to nuclear war as an instrument of national policy.” It calls for the exposure of the strategy of “limited” and “protracted” nuclear wars as well as of the

rhetoric that such wars are “winnable” or that one can “survive” an exchange of strategic blows. The draft proposes an immediate mutual freezing of the U.S. and Soviet nuclear arsenals.

A special meeting of the bishops to be held in Chicago in May 1983 will give the final opinion on the text of the Pastoral Letter. But whatever happens to the document, it seems fair to say that the U.S. Catholic hierarchy has never before made such a serious attempt to find an answer to the moral problems which the nuclear threat places before the believer’s conscience.

A refusal morally to sanction nuclear war would undoubtedly be a historic landmark for the Roman Catholic church. Since the time of St. Augustinus (4th-5th centuries), who broke with the theological arguments against war developed before his time by Clemens and Origenes, the

Christian theologians have been reconciling the religious conscience to war. In 325 A.D. the idea of "just" (according to the holy fathers) wars was approved by the church and became firmly rooted in the consciousness of Catholics during the more than 1500 years following. The crusades and the colonial wars of the Christian colonizers in the New and Old Worlds give an idea of just what was meant by "justice." But in our time as well this idea has been used by the reactionary forces in the USA since the beginning of the nuclear era morally to justify a policy whose core is the criminal intent to use nuclear weapons. However, serious doubts have now come to light in the country's Catholic theological circles as to whether such intent "can be truly reconciled with traditional principles of self-defense and just war."

This declaration in the draft Letter evoked a sharp negative reaction from the White House and those who support its course aimed to heighten the nuclear danger. The U.S. press raised a hue and cry, saying that "the bishops have departed from the traditional justification of war when it is in self-defense."¹ But such criticism leads away from the essence of the matter. The Catholic bishops do not at all reject the traditional church doctrine of "just" wars, as is done by the religious pacifists, who also accept the Christian doctrine. At the same time, the bishops believe that it would be no less than dangerous thought inertia to apply that doctrine to nuclear conflicts.²

In connection with the Pastoral Letter, William Clark, presidential national security aide, sent a wordy letter to Archbishop Joseph Bernardin, chairman of the war and peace committee of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, who had headed the work on the draft, a letter in which, on behalf of Reagan, State Secretary Shultz, Defense Secretary Weinberger, and Rostow, director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, he reproved the archbishop for the fact that the draft "continues to reflect fundamental misreadings of American policies."³ The presidential aide ventured directly to interfere in theological matters, demanding that the conference of bishops should "resolutely support" Reagan's foreign policy. As we see, the U.S. administration has a very peculiar idea about freedom of conscience. The administration has begun to brainwash members of a religious organization which, incidentally, as U.S. analyst James Reston noted, is "often regarded as a militant anti-communist organization."⁴

In an attempt to whitewash United States policy, Clark made the unsubstantiated statement that "our decisions on nuclear armaments and

our defensive posture are guided by moral considerations as compelling as any which have faced mankind."⁵ These words, which have gone the round of the U.S. press, show that there is no end to the cynicism with which U.S. officials fasten "compelling moral considerations" to a policy built on the cannibalistic right to deal the first nuclear blow, thereby pushing humankind into an abyss. Washington has turned a deaf ear to the bishops' call to abandon this policy and, judging by Clark's letter, has not heeded those very moral considerations spoken of by the church leaders.

In justification for their position the bishops say: "Today, the destructive potential of the nuclear powers threatens the sovereignty of God over the world he has brought into being," and add: "We could destroy his work." They also proclaim that "Christians cannot long live by the sign of the mushroom cloud."

Certainly one may not share the Catholic theologians' world outlook, but even so it is difficult not to discern what is behind their theological opinions: their argument proceeds from a realization of the *eschatological* consequences of a nuclear war, i.e. of the indisputable circumstance that it could turn out to be humankind's death, could become a *global omnicide*, the destroyer of life on the Earth. And in keeping with their understanding of morality the bishops reject as blasphemous the very idea that omnicide can be justified at least as not "the worst of all evils."⁶ According to this line of reasoning, it is not only values — secular or theological — which serve here as the criterion for making a moral assessment, values which, in the event of a nuclear war, would inevitably be upheld by the people drawn into it. The amoral essence of such a war is determined precisely by its *eschatological* results, and justice therefore means avoiding such a result by not allowing the use of nuclear arms.

It follows from this that it is impermissible to draw humankind into a catastrophe, even if one is defending one's just cause, which is how many Catholics in the USA, under the influence of the militarist anti-Soviet propaganda, see opposition to the mythical threat from without, which is supposedly hanging over the values and ideals of Christianity. The U.S. bishops still believe in this myth, and how strongly it has been hammered into their consciousness can be seen from the answer given by Bishop Thomas Gumbleton, one of the authors of the draft Letter, to a provocative question put to him during a TV interview. Gumbleton was asked if he was not frightened by a situation like this: the Western nations follow the theologians' call to reduce their nuclear arsenals, but the Russians fail to do so. It is an absurd

supposition since, as is well known, the Soviet Union firmly and unswervingly supports mutual reduction of nuclear arms, up to and including their full liquidation. But Gumbleton's reaction was characteristic. He said that Christians had been ready to martyrdom in the past . . . In short, the bishop is prepared to be a martyr as long as there is no nuclear war! Moral conviction always inspires respect, but the trouble is that here it is being applied to a completely false dilemma imposed by the opponents of détente and disarmament: either get on with the nuclear arsenals or say goodbye to your ideals and values.

And so in bringing out the peculiarities of the present-day moral theology of war and peace, one can hardly ignore the circumstance that the Catholic bishops appeal to a religious conscience warped by anti-Soviet prejudices and are themselves under their yoke. And this makes their moral attack on the nuclear threat less compelling, an attack which they have been waging under the theological banner.

Nevertheless, the moral theology of the U.S. Catholic bishops forms a serious opposition to Reagan's nuclear confrontation policy, loosening its moral hold on the minds of a substantial part of the population — millions and millions of Catholics. And not only Catholics, and not only in the United States.

FRG government circles were highly annoyed by the draft Pastoral Letter. Throwing aside all the rules of propriety and with Chancellor Kohl's approval, Alois Mertes, State Secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, told the U.S. bishops in plain terms that their opinions "encourage in a non-nuclear Germany the strategy of the neutralists, the pacifists and the Soviet Union, because they weaken the credibility of the American deterrent."⁷ What an extraordinary demarche. But the intention is clear: to protect the Catholics of his country from "negative" spiritual influence by branding the U.S. bishops as accomplices of "Soviet policy." (Incidentally, in the FRG itself the Catholic bishops have, to put it mildly, been avoiding taking a definite position in relation to the nuclear threat, but debates not to the government's liking have been taking place in the country's non-clerical Catholic organizations on the NATO plans to deploy the new generation of missiles.)

The U.S. government has been using very varied means in the struggle against the Catholic opposition forming on questions of war and peace, including the closed door meetings of high U.S. administration officials with delegations of the National Conference of Bishops, the pressure through diplomatic channels via the Vatican, the crude public cries like those referred to above, and the completely biased criticism in the mass

media portraying the bishops as apostates, rebels, red pacifists, Russian agents, preachers of "anti-Americanism," and so on. Apparently those who support Reagan's policy simply do not want to believe that it does not suit a considerable part of the "establishment," including the Catholic circles, which have traditionally been noted for their conservatism. Also obvious is the instigatory character of the pro-communist labels struck on the bishops by their opponents. It is as if the critics say "Prove that you are not a facade hiding the communists" in the hope that the bishops will do their bit toward anti-communism and anti-Sovietism in justifying themselves.

Let us look more carefully at the specific features of the U.S. bishops' position already dealt with above in order to understand the bishops' real place and role in opposition to the nuclear threat.

The bishops — and this is the most important thing — condemn their government's policy for the fact that it threatens peace. But they condemn it only to the extent that it is oriented toward the use of a means like nuclear arms to achieve its aims. The aims themselves are by and large not called into question as long as they can be interpreted as self-defense, defense of the faith, the fatherland, and so on. "Traditional" non-nuclear means of waging war are also not called into question if they are not weapons of genocide. This position is fully in keeping with the "establishment," though the latter is deeply split politically by the moral problem in the form in which it is posed by the Catholic theologians: what means may Christians use to defend their values and "Western civilization" if it is suicidal to rely on a nuclear war? Is it moral for believers in the United States to base a "defensive posture" on nuclear force? The bishops open wide the doors to criticism of the "nuclear deterrent," with which all past U.S. administrations — from Truman to Reagan — have been justifying their military policy.

As if defining the direction of further elaboration of the moral theology of war and peace, Bishop Michel Kenny said at a Washington theological meeting: "If such an examination of the Gospel . . . forces us to place greater limits on what is morally admissible in the name of self-defense, so be it." These words give an idea of the ideological limits of the present-day moral theology of war and peace. Those limits can only be extended by explaining a fact of the situation in today's world, a fact which is hardly theological but rather political: Is there really a threat to the USA from outside and do the American people really need to worry about self-defense, or — as it is in actual fact — does the ghost from the ill-in-

tentioned tales of détente's enemies still hover over the theologian-moralists, and is the "defensive posture" spoken of by Clark in his letter to the bishops, as we saw above, a deliberate lie and pharisaism?

Of course, there is a lot of scope, even within the ideological framework set by the bishops, to place new moral barriers to war. The supreme religious Catholic authority in the USA has in essence taken the first — and very important — step along this path, making a moral censure of Washington's military policy in connection with the militarist course of the Reagan administration aimed "to strengthen the deterrent weapons" and achieve "indisputable military superiority."

The critics of the U.S. bishops' position say that priests and preachers do not have a monopoly on the solution of the moral problems of the nuclear era. This is so, but in a completely different sense. Assessments of which line in world politics is moral is now being worked out with a tremendous variety of philosophical motivations, and be they religion, enlightenment atheism, or communism, they could agree that the elementary norms of morality demand that one:

- is not the first to use nuclear weapons;
- reduces the level of military confrontation, above all of nuclear confrontation, taking into

account the interests of international security;

— moves toward unconditional banning of nuclear arms and destruction of all nuclear stockpiles via disarmament.

This is the only way to remove the threat of a nuclear catastrophe and guarantee humankind's ineradicable wish to live.

Eugene Jorgen

1. *International Herald Tribune*, November 15, 1982.

2. There are some U.S. bishops, however, who even today continue to suggest that a nuclear war is not reprehensible. For example, in a *U.S. News and World Report* interview, one of them referred to church dogmas and took great pains to explain the "justness" of using nuclear arms first. He said that according to the theological "just-war theory you can use nuclear weapons to destroy military targets" (*U.S. News and World Report*, December 20, 1982, p. 48). It was with just such interpretations of theology, interpretations which end up as a direct provocation of a nuclear attack, that the majority of prelates at the National Conference of Catholic Bishops did not agree.

3. *The New York Times*, November 17, 1982.

4. *International Herald Tribune*, October 28, 1982.

5. *The New York Times*, November 17, 1982.

6. Here is one example of such justification: U.S. church historian James Hitchcock of St. Luis University is up in arms against "the habit of saying that a nuclear holocaust would be the greatest of all evils." Seeking to confuse believers, he holds forth that "in religious terms, physical destruction, no matter how horrible, can never (sic) be the worst evil" (*Time*, November 8, 1982, p. 22).

7. *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, December 2, 1982.



Indictment of imperialism

SURVEY FIVE

Two years ago (January 1981) *WMR* carried Survey Four of "Indictment of Imperialism." Since then humanity has witnessed a new escalation of imperialist crimes. The reckless, adventurist policy of the enemies of peace has greatly increased the war danger and confronted our planet with a real threat of nuclear annihilation. Imperialism responds to the oppressed people's aspiration for freedom and justice with massive terror and acts of genocide. The United States and other industrial powers of the old world are intensifying the neocolonial exploitation of developing countries. The capitalist system multiplies the hardships of the working people, dooming

more and more of them to material and moral privations caused by unemployment. Subversion against countries of the socialist community on the part of bellicose imperialist forces has reached unprecedented proportions.

All this is the subject of Survey Five of "Indictment of Imperialism," prepared by the journal's Commission for Scientific Information and Documentation.

Imperialism is guilty of the disruption of détente, the growing war danger and the criminal escalation of the arms race

The crucial question and problem of problems of today's world is that of removing the threat of

nuclear war, ending the insane arms race and renouncing force as a means of settling international differences and disputes. Recent years have repeatedly shown that imperialist policy, primarily that of the United States, is the main — indeed the only — obstacle to this. Washington is obsessed by a truly maniacal desire to impose its will on other nations. This obsession materializes in an obstructionist rejection of every initiative toward a sound, constructive solution of international problems, an aggressive foreign policy and a militarist frenzy that makes the country's rulers regard the attainment of military superiority over the Soviet Union as their chief priority.

Under the Reagan administration the decisive role of the military-industrial complex, that alliance between a reactionary military establishment and arms manufacturers, in the framing of the foreign policy of the chief imperialist power has increased more than ever before. The interests of big military business and related interests are behind the negative stance of the United States on virtually every proposal for the promotion of international security.

This criminal negativism was manifest during the latest two sessions of the UN General Assembly (36th and 37th) and its Second Special Session on Disarmament as well as in the work of specialized UN agencies.

Nor does the USA show any desire to seek progress in the Soviet-U.S. talks (begun in 1982) on strategic arms limitation and reduction, the talks on nuclear arms limitation in Europe, or the talks on a mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe that have been going on for nearly 10 years.

The imperialists certainly realize that millions of people would inevitably lose their lives in the very first hours of a nuclear war. Experts' calculations leave no room for doubt on this point. One megaton bomb dropped on a city of a million inhabitants would instantly wipe out from 300,000 to 350,000 people and doom another 200,000 to an inescapable and painful death. Yet it is plain that in the event of such a war more than a one megaton charge would be used.

Putting a good face on their criminal gamble, U.S. militarist maniacs have been promoting the idea of "limited" nuclear war. This is a fraud. Now that monopoly on arms of mass destruction has long been a thing of the past and existing arsenals can destroy all life on earth many times over, any "limitation" of a nuclear war by those who were to start it would be absolutely unrealistic. But even a "limited" war would reproduce the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki dozens and hundreds of times over and with far more terrible consequences. This being so, there is no need to spell out the effects

of a "protracted" nuclear war, whose doctrine and strategic plan have been worked out by the Pentagon on Reagan's instructions.

The obstructionistic approach of the USA and its closest allies to measures intended to remove the nuclear threat, and Washington's steps toward planning a nuclear war are diametrically opposed to the vital interests of humanity and are a heinous crime against nations.

However, there is something more to the imperialists' recurrent torpedoing of the initiatives of peace forces. Their own "initiatives" are generally aggressive; they deteriorate the international situation, add to world tensions and undermine détente, whose beneficial effects became evident in the 70s. This applies above all to Europe. U.S. policy toward Europe is, in effect, a great-power anti-European policy clearly militating against the interests of peace, security and mutually beneficial cooperation on the continent. Its two main pivots are, first, the transformation of Western Europe into a potential theater of hostilities involving the use of the latest medium-range nuclear systems as well as nuclear and chemical weapons, with all the ensuing disastrous consequences, and second, the disruption of European cooperation in various fields, primarily the economy, to the detriment of both socialist countries and the West European competitors of the USA.

It follows that Washington is out to destroy the sound foundations of international relations laid by the Helsinki Conference, whose Final Act was also signed by the U.S. President. Washington is pushing Europe to confrontation between countries of different social systems, with growing political and military tension as a result. One indication of this is Washington's persistent effort to complicate the Madrid meeting of the CSCE states.

Lately the USA has proceeded with increasingly provocative arrogance as a world gendarme trying to check developments that do not suit Washington, in particular the upsurge in liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America. To this end it has formed a rapid deployment force as a means of promptly "normalizing" the situation where it takes a turn dangerous to present-day colonialists.

The force exceeds 230,000 in strength and may be substantially increased if necessary. It is, in fact, a powerful mobile contingent in addition to the more than 500,000 troops that have long been stationed on foreign soil. The USA has about 2,500 military bases and installations, including 400 major ones, in as many as 114 countries; 380 of its bases are situated in the immediate proximity of the Soviet frontier and none but naive

people could doubt their aggressive purpose. Roughly one-third of the U.S. nuclear potential is sited outside the country. It comprises 12,000 warheads, including some 7,000 in Western Europe, 1,800 in Asia and from 2,500 to 2,800 on ships cruising in the ocean round the clock.

Imperialist policy is to blame for the rise of conflicts and "trouble spots" in the Middle East, Southern Africa and the African Horn, the South Atlantic, Central America and the Caribbean. The Middle East crisis, a product of the policy of aggression of Israel abetted by U.S. imperialism, is the most protracted and painful one.

A typical expression of imperialist aggressiveness, of brazen disregard of the will of nations, is the imperialist powers' opposition to the transformation of the Indian Ocean into a peace zone as envisaged by UN resolutions. The growing U.S. military presence in the region, which lies farthest of all from the American continent, poses a grave threat to the security of the littoral states. Over 25 military installations of the Pentagon are situated there today. The most important of them, the naval and air base at Diego Garcia, is equipped with nuclear and chemical weapons. These installations are manned by 140,000 troops, and the USA goes on building up its military infrastructure in the Indian Ocean. Press reports say that Washington has worked out a five-year program under which \$30 billion is to be spent for the purpose.

To lend its global interventionism a semblance of legitimacy and tie its military and political allies to the same course, Washington is trying to extend the geographical bounds of the NATO sphere of action. The likelihood of this extension was formally recorded by the Military Planning Committee and a NATO Council meeting in May 1982 and June 1982 respectively.

These schemes amount to arbitrary action in regard to Asian, African and Latin American countries on the part of imperialist powers headed by the United States under the spurious pretext of defending their "vital interests." Nor does this only affect countries adhering to an explicitly anti-imperialist position. "Collective action" by NATO powers in support of Britain's aggression last year hit Argentina, whose military regime is markedly conservative. It is clear, therefore, that extension of the NATO sphere of action would expose the independence and sovereignty of all developing countries to imperialist blows.

The Reagan administration's term in office has been marked by a further rapid increase in military spending. Budget appropriations for military purposes went up from nearly \$160

billion in 1981 to \$232 billion in 1983. A "five-year plan" has been launched to escalate the arms race. Real military expenditures in the 1983-1987 period, that is, expenditures allowing for inflation, are to increase by an annual 7 per cent against 5 per cent under the Carter team. The American press sets the cost of this militarist program at somewhere between \$1.5 and \$2.25 trillion. Provisions have been made for the construction and deployment of 100 ICBMs of the MX type, seen by the Pentagon as a first-strike weapons, 100 strategic B-1B bombers, Stealth bombers "undetectable by radar," atomic missile-carrying Trident submarines and several thousand Cruise missiles. The U.S. strategic nuclear arsenal is to be increased from the more than 15,000 warheads today to 20,000 by the early 90s.

The propaganda smokescreen for the militarists' plan is the battered lie about the "Soviet threat." The actual aim is to achieve military superiority for the USA and tip the present rough parity between the USA and NATO, on the one hand, and the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty Organization, on the other, in favor of the former group. A particularly dangerous aspect of this policy will be the NATO-decided employment of new U.S. intermediate-range nuclear missiles — nearly 600 Pershing-2 missiles and Tomahawk Cruise missiles — in European countries. Preparations for their stationing are under way in the FRG, Britain and Italy.

Millions are allocated for the manufacture of chemical ammunition, above all binary gas, intended chiefly for Cruise missiles. At this writing there are over three million items of chemical arms in U.S. dumps situated in the United States, Europe, Japan and Johnston Island (Pacific Ocean), or enough to annihilate the world's population several times over, according to the *Washington Post*.

Washington is stepping up the development of new nuclear weapons systems. One indication of this is the increased number of test explosions: the first 10 months of 1982 saw 17 such tests, or more than in any one of the previous 12 years. To untie its hands, Washington has broken off talks with the Soviet Union and Britain on a general and complete prohibition of nuclear weapons tests. Indeed, the present administration contemplates carrying out nuclear blasts exceeding 150 kilotons in power although the relevant Soviet-U.S. treaty prohibits this.

Washington's militarist designs and activities are not restricted to the surface of our planet but extend to outer space. The Reagan administration plans, according to the U.S.

press, to increase military spending on space "exploration" in the next five years at a rate surpassing the growth of military spending as a whole. It pins special hopes on spaceships of the Shuttle type. (Realization of the intensive Shuttle program — up to 52 flights a year — is fraught, among other things, with serious negative consequences for the earth's climate, as even U.S. experts admit.)

A system for the destruction of man-made satellites is being developed at a fast pace. Work is under way on laser and other weapons. The U.S. Air Force now includes a Space Command.

All this is irrefutable evidence of the imperialists' criminal policy of undermining détente, stepping up international tensions, reverting to the cold war and pushing humanity to self-destruction in a nuclear holocaust.

Imperialism dooms more and more working people in industrial capitalist countries to social hardships and privations

The arms race which imperialism has launched and continuously steps up swallows an increasing part of the material and financial resources of nations, reducing the possibilities of economic and social progress, of greater production for peaceful purposes. This criminal policy directly affects the everyday lives of the working people of industrial capitalist countries.

The capitalist world is going through its third economic crisis in 10 years, a crisis comparable only to the Great Depression of the 30s. In these circumstances monopoly capital is trying harder than ever to remedy the ills of bourgeois society at the expense of the masses. *The attack on their living standards is intensifying. Government spending on education, health, social security and housing is cut back everywhere. Wages and salaries are frozen or even reduced.*

This policy is most pronounced in the *United States*. Under the 1982 federal budget, appropriations for social needs were curtailed by more than \$35 billion. Cuts bit into 250 programs, or the whole system of assistance won by the disinherited through long years of hard struggle. Here are some of the Reagan administration's anti-social measures. It has:

- abolished the vocational training program for members of national minorities and unskilled workers;

- reduced the term of unemployment relief from 39 to 26 weeks;

- abolished food relief to 875,000 needy families;

- sharply reduced it in the case of five million Americans;

- curtailed appropriations for medical aid to low-income categories, old people and invalids — a measure affecting 29 million people;

- lowered the subsidy for rent in the case of 2.4 million families;

- considerably reduced allocations for public schools, with the result that 55,000 teachers lost their jobs in 1982.

The federal budget for the 1983 fiscal year provides for a further curtailment of social spending by a total of \$25.9 billion. The axe of cutbacks has hit medical aid to poor and old people, food relief, vocational training and employment programs, aid to large families, subsidies for schools, public transport and other services.

Spending for social needs is also under attack in many other countries. In 1981 the "red pencil" of reductions left many a mark on the social items of the budget of the FRG. Appropriations for unemployment relief were cut by 250 million marks and for education, by 100 million. This year "austerity" will bring down social spending by 14 billion marks.

In Britain the monopolies and ruling quarters are carrying on a "crusade" against the working people. The Thatcher cabinet has scaled down expenditures on education, the health service, social security and housing.

Overall social conditions are declining in Italy. In 1981 and 1982 the government suspended the building of schools. University tuition fees are up. In 1982 appropriations for public health were cut by five trillion lire.

In Canada, taxes are going up, pensions are being reduced and the government is taking certain other steps that will tell on the interests of large sections of the population.

The trend is similar in other capitalist countries, and this at a time when more and more people find themselves below the official poverty line, that is, are virtual paupers. In the United States their number in 1982 was nearly 32 million, or 14 per cent of the population. In Italy there are eight million people living below the poverty line, according to an EEC commission estimate. Data released by the International Labor Organization show that in the 24 member states of the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) 60 million people, or 12 per cent of the population, have an income falling short of the subsistence minimum.

The working people are plundered on an unprecedented scale in the interests of monopoly. In the USA, income tax on companies and the wealthiest population groups has been substantially reduced. This enabled them to

"save" an impressive \$50 billion in 1982. The CPUSA estimates that in the next six years corporate taxes will be cut by \$164 billion. In the FRG deductions from the working people's incomes in the first half of 1981 increased by 6.3 per cent while tax on employers' profits was cut by 6.2 per cent. There is a similar trend in a number of other countries.

We are thus in the presence of a large-scale offensive of the monopoly bourgeoisie against the social and economic rights of the masses. This anti-popular policy translates into a real tragedy for millions of ordinary people.

The current economic crisis in capitalist countries has led to a sharp upturn in unemployment. In the USA the right to work is denied to 12 million people, or about 11 per cent of the able-bodied population — a post-war high. A similar "record" was registered in the EEC countries, where the unemployed at the close of 1982 added up to 11.5 million, or 10.3 per cent of the work force. Britain is in the lead with more than 3.3 million. In Italy the jobless exceed two million and there are as many in France and Spain; in the FRG the unemployment rate is close to two million, in Canada it exceeds 1.5 million and in Japan it stands at 1.3 million. In all, 31 million people in 24 industrial capitalist countries are jobless. What is more, these are official bourgeois statistics, which are far from mirroring the real state of affairs. In the USA, for instance, there are 15 million unemployed and not 12 million, according to trade union sources, and most of them get no relief at all.

Unemployment is a scourge for all categories of working people. It hits women, youth and elderly people hardest of all. In the USA, over 20 per cent of white youth and nearly 50 per cent of Black youth are jobless. Time magazine comments: "To be young and female is double jeopardy." People up to 25 years of age exceed 40 per cent of the unemployed in West European countries. In the early 80s women accounted for 51 per cent of the unemployed in the FRG, 53 per cent in France and 60 per cent in Belgium.

Typical of the situation on the capitalist labor market is structural unemployment, a consequence of the decline of "traditional" industries, which are concentrated, moreover, in definite geographical areas. This virtually makes it impossible for an unemployed person to find a new job because numerous members of the same trades or professions and having the same qualifications are jobless already. And the barriers which under capitalism must be overcome by those who want to learn a new trade doom them to a protracted and often fruitless search

for work. In Britain over 70 per cent of the unemployed in 1981 had been out of a job for more than 13 weeks and 26 per cent, for more than a year. In the USA unemployment lasting over 15 weeks affected about one-fourth of the jobless. In France 74 per cent of the unemployed had had no job for three months or a longer time and in the FRG their proportion was 66 per cent.

In addition to economic privations, mass unemployment in industrial capitalist countries is a source of severe nervous strain and a cause of mental and heart diseases. U.S. experts estimate that 1 per cent increase in unemployment in their country raises the incidence of deaths from heart failure to nearly 2 per cent; the number of mental patients goes up by 4.3 per cent among men and 2.3 per cent among women; suicides show a 4.1 per cent increase.

In France six or seven suicides a month are a direct consequence of unemployment. Cambridge University economists estimate that in Britain the Tories' current policies doom about 50,000 people to premature death from various strains due to unemployment and reduced social spending. They believe that for the same reason another 50,000 people will find themselves in hospitals or mental institutions by 1984.

Behind unemployment growth figures are the untold hardships, shattered hopes, disappointments, crippled destinies, distress and despair of millions who find themselves on the margin of the capitalist system, called the "welfare state" and the society of "equal opportunities" by bourgeois propaganda. It is an incontrovertible fact that the severe tragedies of these people are a direct outgrowth of social-economic relations under the capitalist system.

Imperialism and its underlings go on committing atrocious crimes

Recent years have witnessed acts of aggression and genocide committed with the direct complicity of imperialism and comparable in some cases to nazi crimes.

The world was horrified by the bloody aggression which U.S. imperialism's "strategic ally," Israel, perpetrated in Lebanon. The result was 60,000 dead and wounded civilians, six cities reduced to ruins, over 30 villages burned out, 14 refugee camps razed to the ground and about a million people left homeless. Specialized UN agencies have reported that from June 4 to August 15, 1982 it came to the killing or wounding of 11,840 children below 15 years of age, 8,688 women and 2,409 people above 60. The tragedy of Oradour, Khatyn, Lidice and Son My was repeated in the Palestinians' Sabra and Shatila camps, where 7,000 civilians, including old

people, women and children, were victims of genocide.

U.S. imperialism was an accomplice in these crimes. It gave the aggressor arms and inspired his criminal activities. In the first half of 1982, or shortly before the aggression, Washington rendered Israel massive military aid worth \$1.8 billion; 90 per cent of the guns which devastated Beirut with cluster shells came from the Pentagon's arsenals. As many as 457 of Israel's 567 combat aircraft have been supplied by the United States. Vacuum, phosphorus and pellet bombs of U.S. make were dropped on the densely populated neighborhoods of Lebanese cities — imperialism made Lebanon a testing ground for the most up-to-date weapons. Under Articles 39, 41 and 42 of the UN Charter, effective coercive measures should and could have been adopted to stop Israel's aggression. But due to the use of the right of veto by the USA as a Security Council member, which has prevented the UN from curbing Israel, the aggressor continues committing crime after crime with impunity.

Imperialism is extending its undeclared war against the people of Afghanistan. In 1982 the U.S. Senate voted for increased military and financial aid to Afghan counter-revolutionaries, which in late years has reached \$217 million. Under the direction of U.S. instructors, about 60 subversive centers in Pakistan train bands of mercenaries who are then sent into Afghan territory. Thousands of Afghan civilians have suffered at the hands of counter-revolutionary bands armed and inspired by imperialism; to date the bandits have destroyed 1,500 schools and hundreds of houses.

Imperialism is directly involved in the atrocious crimes of the military dictatorship of El Salvador, which is waging a war of extermination against its own people. U.S. aid to the Salvadoran junta in the 1980-1982 period totalled \$400 million. In the same period, the number of victims of genocide in that country topped 40,000. Imperialism stands accused of the tragedy that occurred in Morazan Department, where murderers trained in the USA and using U.S. arms killed 1,009 civilians, from newly-borns to 95 year-old people, in the matter of a few days.

Imperialism is to blame for the fact that Guatemala is becoming a "second El Salvador." In 1981 alone, the USA granted Guatemala's rulers \$3.2 million in aid. In the same year the Guatemalan junta destroyed over 13,500 people, 80 per cent of whom were civilians. Another 2,600 people were killed from March to October 1982.

Extending its secret war against Nicaragua, U.S. imperialism has set up 17 army camps in

Honduras, from where more than 80 armed invasions leading to massacres among civilians were carried out between 1980 and 1982. Late in 1982 the U.S. administration authorized a new CIA action program directed against the Sandinista government.

The USA-South Africa tandem has stepped up attempts to destabilize the situation in Angola, using the presence of Cuban troops there as an excuse. In 1981 and 1982 South African troops effected several large-scale invasions of Angola resulting in the destruction of towns and villages and in the death or wounding of hundreds of people.

The sabotage units that have been formed by the imperialists and racists and cause death and destruction in Mozambique are over 10,000 strong.

Imperialism keeps up its economic, military and diplomatic aid to South Africa, which is waging a colonial war against the patriotic forces of Namibia. In 1980 alone this war took a toll of 1,500 lives. Operating there is a "destruction force" patterned by the South African racists on Hitler's Sonderkommandos SS.

Imperialism and its hirelings resort to the criminal methods of physically eliminating fighters against imperialism — politicians and other public figures, leaders of the working-class and liberation movement, communists.

The list of those who lost their lives at the hands of butchers and hired assassins in recent years comprises Kemal Turkler, member of the World Peace Council, trade union leader (Turkey); Enrique Alvarez Cordoba, Chairman, Revolutionary Democratic Front (El Salvador); Nazir Abbassi, youth leader (Pakistan); Gerardo Cuesta, Secretary, National Convention of Workers, EC member, Communist Party of Uruguay; Magid Abu Sharar, noted Palestinian writer and journalist, CC member of Al-Fatah, a Palestinian organization; Avelino Ul, leader of the Indian Rights Movement (Colombia); Pio La Torre, Leadership member, Italian Communist Party, Secretary, Regional Committee of the ICP, MP; Neil Aggett and Ruth First, leaders of the trade union and anti-racist movement (South Africa); and many other noted progressives.

The lives of many universally known fighters for freedom, democracy and social progress imprisoned by reactionary regimes are in danger. This is the case of Antonio Maidana, CC First Secretary, Paraguayan Communist Party, and Emilio Roa, General Secretary, Paraguayan Confederation of Workers; Rock Deroose, member of the Secretariat, United Party of Haitian Communists, and Sylvio Claude, leader, Christian Democratic Party of Haiti; Jaime Perez, CC Secretary, Communist Party of

Uruguay, and José Luis Massera, CEC member, CPU, a prominent scholar; Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress of South Africa.

Imperialism is responsible for the increasingly arbitrary police methods used by regimes which it supports politically and financially. U.S. allocations for the maintenance of their repressive machinery have increased to \$8.6 billion a year; new thousands of citizens are victims of persecution.

In Chile under the brutal Pinochet regime over 30,000 people have been behind bars. Over 2,500 people have "disappeared." The torturing and killing of innocent people continues.

In Turkey upwards of 200,000 people were arrested in 1981 and 1982; 50,000 of them are still in jail. The regime put 52 leaders of DISK (Confederation of Revolutionary Workers' Trade Unions) on trial; hundreds of persons charged with Communist Party membership were tortured to death in prison.

Paraguay has 20 concentration camps where thousands of patriots are being held without charge or trial.

The military regime of Pakistan has 15,000 political prisoners behind bars.

South Africa has 120,000 political prisoners, or the largest number compared with the population. It accounts for 90 per cent of the death sentences passed throughout the so-called "free world."

Massive repression persists in the Sudan, Haiti and South Korea.

More and more often, imperialist reaction openly uses force against the masses through various terroristic groups and neo-fascist organizations.

In the United States, the rate of heinous crimes committed by ultra-rightist organizations like the Ku Klux Klan, Omega-7, Alpha-66 or the Jewish Defense League increased more than five-fold in 1980 and 1981, according to official statistics.

In Italy 1,200 acts of terrorism were recorded in 1980 alone. They resulted in killing 123 and wounding 253 people, including old people, women and children.

In the FRG neofascist organizations and groups in 1981 committed about 2,000 criminal offences, or twice as many as in 1980.

In Spain political violence caused the death of 85 persons in 1981 and 1982. In a single October day of 1982, on the eve of a general election, the ultra-rightists exploded over 20 bombs during an anti-democratic action.

In Greece the neofascist National Renaissance Organization carried out about 70 explosions in Athens in 1980 and 1981.

In South Africa the year 1980 saw 1,600 cases

of officially registered shooting, arson and assassination which hit opponents of the apartheid regime.

Lately a wave of terror has swept France, Britain and some other capitalist countries.

The instigation of acts of genocide and aggression against freedom-loving peoples, the physical elimination of fighters for the working people's interests, and lavish political and financial support for anti-popular dictatorships are part and parcel of imperialist policy.

Imperialist activity aggravates urgent problems of the peoples of developing countries

The marked socio-economic backwardness of many Asian, African and Latin American peoples is a legacy of the period of colonial empires. Today humanity is entitled to present imperialism with a new bill for the hardships and privations which it has caused to millions of people in developing countries over the recent period.

Every year sees about 50 million people starve to death in this region of the globe. Meanwhile the number of those who are starving goes on increasing, according to FAO statistics. Whereas there were 420 million of them in 1976, their number in 1981 came close to one billion. In Asia this concerns 27 per cent of the population of developing countries, in Africa, 22 per cent and in Latin America, 13 per cent.

The reason why people are starving is not that there is not enough food in the world, for the world's annual output of grain alone averages 330 kilograms per person. Malnutrition is a result of the criminal system established by imperialist monopolies which control deliveries and prices of foodstuffs. The chief purpose of "food relief" from industrial capitalist to developing countries has never been to feed the hungry. The aim is to sell surplus foodstuffs with a profit, tie the countries concerned with fetters of dependence and impose imperialism's diktat.

From 700 to 800 million adults in the developing world are completely illiterate and 1.5 billion people lack elementary medical aid, according to UN sources. Child mortality there is six times as high as in industrial countries. Nearly 40 per cent of the population of Asian, African and Latin American countries live in "absolute poverty" and some 450 million have no hope of ever getting a job.

These and other pressing social problems could be solved all the more easily by acting on the socialist countries' proposal for the early reduction of military budgets to use part of the funds saved in this way for aid to peoples in need of it. But the imperialist powers, far from accept-

ing this reasonable and humanist proposal, go on increasing their military budgets, as has been shown.

Taking advantage of the economic backwardness of developing countries, imperialism exploits their difficulties and extends outright plunder of newly-free peoples.

Over the past 30 years, imperialism is estimated to have pumped a larger amount of real values out of these countries than the one-time colonial powers pumped out of their colonies in three centuries. Every year imperialist monopolies take out \$100 billion. Each new dollar invested in the economies of these countries earns foreign investors an average of \$2.40 in net profit. As for Asians, Africans and Latin Americans, they only get from 10 to 17 per cent of the real market value of their natural resources, since the rest goes to the bank accounts of monopolies.

Imperialist plunder aggravates economic backwardness. While per capita GDP in developing countries 20 years ago equalled 1/26 of the corresponding indicator of industrial capitalist powers, today it is only 1/44 of it. Meanwhile government "aid" from the latter has been steadily decreasing. In recent years 17 of the wealthiest capitalist countries have reduced it substantially (the USA by 26 per cent), according to the OECD. This goes hand in hand with rising rates of interest on loans to developing countries. In 1981 the World Bank raised them by 2 per cent. One per cent increase means that newly-independent states must spend an additional \$2 billion a year. Due to imperialism's predatory practices, the foreign debt of developing countries in 1982 skyrocketed to \$540 billion.

In escalating its political interference in the affairs of developing countries, imperialism has never scrupled to resort to plots or sabotage. This is attested by facts dating from 1981 and 1982 which have come out.

In India the authorities discovered a plot against Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. Behind it was home reaction closely collaborating with the CIA and other imperialist intelligence services.

In Mozambique U.S. agents operating in the army and state apparatus and plotting to assassinate President Samora Machel and other leaders of the country were unmasked.

In Zambia U.S. diplomats turned out to be involved in a conspiracy against the government of Kenneth Kaunda.

A secret U.S. intelligence plan to physically destroy Muamar al-Gaddafi, leader of the Libyan revolution, became known.

In Ghana the authorities discovered an imperialist plan for a landing of mercenaries to overthrow the Rawlings government.

In Mauritius a CIA plot to assassinate Paul

Berenger, leader of the opposition party, was revealed.

In the Seychelles mercenaries made a raid planned and financed by imperialist secret services and racist South Africa with the aim of carrying out a coup.

In Zimbabwe a major act of sabotage was committed at the Thornhill air base, with the CIA participating.

In Democratic Yemen the authorities arrested a group of saboteurs trained by U.S. instructors in special centers on Saudi Arabian territory.

In Grenada the CIA and its agents made several attempts to carry out a counter-revolutionary coup and assassinate leaders of the country.

Imperialist activities in developing countries — whether exploitation of the troubles and suffering of millions, economic plunder or political intervention — can only be defined as crimes.

Imperialism is stepping up interference in the affairs of socialist countries

Lately imperialism has launched large-scale actions in the way of sabotage and subversion against socialist countries.

The main target of these actions is socialist Poland. By June 1981, over 400 centers had been set up in NATO countries to conduct subversion against people's power in that country. Large quantities of printing equipment and radio transmitters were smuggled into Poland and put at the disposal of counter-revolutionary groups; also, thousands of balloons with subversive literature in containers were floated in. In 1981 the number of attempts by imperialist secret services to recruit Polish citizens for spying and subversive activities increased by nearly 40 per cent, according to the Polish Ministry of the Interior.

Instructions and whole scenarios for the organization of riots were prepared and broadcast over CIA Radio "Free Europe." In January 1982 the U.S. rulers staged an unprecedented act of subversion against Poland on television. In September 1982, a provocative raid inspired by imperialist secret services was made on the Polish Embassy in Switzerland.

Extensive economic "sanctions" were adopted against Poland, with the result that consumption of many food products, the production of medicines, and so on fell off noticeably. These practices are incompatible with the universally recognized norms of international law; they constitute gross interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state and can only be described as a crime against the Polish people.

Taking advantage of events in Poland as an excuse, the imperialists staged new acts of provocation against the Soviet Union. Late in 1981 the Reagan administration announced the sus-

pension of Aeroflot flights to the USA, the postponement of talks on sea shipping and grain trade, restrictions on Soviet-U.S. scientific and technological contacts, and other measures. It imposed and in June 1982 substantially extended a ban on deliveries of oil and gas extracting and transporting equipment to the Soviet Union. Although these attempts at economic pressure miscarried, they considerably worsened the international situation nonetheless and injured cooperation and mutual understanding among peoples.

In recent years Cuba has remained an object of active imperialist subversion. The methods by which the U.S. imperialists have been clearing the decks for new provocations against the Cuban people include a tightening of the economic blockade, saber-rattling, stepped-up espionage and sabotage and threats of "punitive" actions. In 1981 it emerged that the Pentagon and CIA had prepared scenarios for a complete naval blockade of Cuba and even a landing on the Cuban coast.

Arms deliveries, dollar shots in the arm, political speculation and slander are all used by imperialism as means of galvanizing the criminal Pot Pot bands entrenched in the jungle along Kampuchea's border. Imperialism picks up counter-revolutionary rabble to form various "coalitions," hoping to overthrow people's rule in that country with their aid and so to prevent the Kampucheans from laying the foundations for a socialist society. Using the same device against the people of Laos, the imperialists in October 1982 announced the formation of a "Laotian government in exile."

Imperialism's psychological war against the socialist countries has gained sharply in scope.

The main foreign political propaganda agencies of the USA spent \$489 million for the purpose in 1982 and demanded over \$640 million for 1983. Operating against the Soviet Union today are about 400 propaganda centers and organizations of imperialist countries; 40 radio stations broadcast calumnies in 23 languages — a total in excess of 200 hours a day. Broadcasting to Poland are three times as many stations as exist in the country itself; on West German territory alone there are 326 transmitters and 38 relay stations. The amount of anti-Polish broadcasts has tripled of late.

In 1982 allocations for the CIA's Radio "Free Europe" were raised to \$100 million.

In the 1980-1982 period imperialism's propaganda media mounted vast falsification campaigns over alleged human rights violations in socialist countries, the so-called "Soviet military threat," Soviet "complicity" in international terrorism, and so on, the aim being to undermine

the positions of socialism. Efforts intended to destabilize and "erode" the economic and social structures of socialist countries were stepped up. A revealing case in point was the series of seminars for U.S. propaganda personnel organized in Washington in 1981. One of them concerned itself with misrepresenting the prospects of Soviet economic development and another, with providing conditions for the "gradual evolution" of socialist countries in a capitalist direction.

An instance of ideological subversion fitting into the concept of the "crusade" against communism announced by President Reagan was the conference on the "democratization of communist countries" held in Washington in the autumn of 1982. It involved CIA experts and high-ranking U.S. propaganda personnel, who planned counter-revolutionary conspiracies in Hungary and Czechoslovakia years ago and in Poland recently.

Imperialist subversion against socialist countries is an open challenge to the universally accepted norms of international relations, the UN Charter and the Helsinki Final Act, all of which explicitly prohibit interference in the affairs of other states. It is criminal because it endangers peace, security and progress in co-operation among nations.

The increased militancy of imperialism is indicative of attempts to alter the course of world development, block the progress of peoples and regain lost positions. These attempts are as hopeless as they are desperate, and hence all the more dangerous for peace on earth and the destiny of humanity.

Determined resistance to imperialism in every sphere of its reactionary, criminal activity is now more imperative than ever.

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Peace for the Indian Ocean

The Indian Ocean in Global Politics. Edited by Larry W. Bowman and Ian Clark, Boulder, Colorado (USA), Westview Press; Nedlands, Western Australia, University of Western Australia, 1981, 260 pp.

The authors of this book are bourgeois politologists working in U.S., Australian, French and West German universities.

The preface, written by Professor Larry W. Bowman of the University of Connecticut, USA, says that the purpose of the book is to present "a comprehensive (my italics. — R.C.) survey of the main international issues that affect the nations of the Indian Ocean region" (p. 2). It points out that the authors differ on the problems under discussion.

On reading the book, however, one realizes that if they do differ at all, it is only on details. As for the main issue, they are at one on it, so that they may be said to argue among themselves as like-minded people. They examine the tension in the Indian Ocean in terms of the interests of the imperialist powers directly responsible for it. And they see the principal factor influencing the situation in the region in "superpower rivalry."

From this point of view, the book contains nothing new. By far most bourgeois politologists prefer to attribute every problem of the planet to the "game of the giants," the United States and the Soviet Union, without trying to probe any deeper.

Even so, the book is likely to be of interest to anyone who is concerned about the problem of the Indian Ocean, for it gives many facts showing, whether the authors like it or not, who is really to blame for the tension and resists all effort to end it.

The book has been published against the background of an intensifying struggle between imperialist countries, with the USA in the lead, and countries advocating the transformation of the Indian Ocean into a peace zone. The Sri Lanka government proposed this as far back as 1971. That same year its proposal was included in the agenda of the 26th Session of the UN General Assembly, which discussed it and passed a resolution proclaiming the Indian Ocean a peace zone. The resolution called on the great powers

to proceed immediately to consultations with the littoral states, stop the build-up of a military presence in the region and dismantle all military bases and installations so as to ensure that the ocean ceased to be an area for the siting of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. An important advance for this initiative was the Conference of Littoral and Hinterland States of the Indian Ocean (1979), which outlined the future peace zone. Certain concrete steps to implement the resolution were also taken by the UN Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean established in 1972. Incipient détente was helpful in this. Under pressure from world opinion, with the Committee playing an active part, the United States in 1977 was compelled to start talks with the Soviet Union on limiting military activity in the Indian Ocean. However, it unilaterally broke off the talks in February 1978. Ever since then it has obstructed the efforts of the Ad Hoc Committee and all constructive proposals aimed at implementing the UN resolution. It frustrated the holding of the UN Conference on the Indian Ocean which was to have been held in Colombo in 1981 (put off now to the first half of 1983).

What is the reason for this policy of the United States and other imperialist powers? The authors offer a banal explanation, claiming that the persistent build-up of the U.S. military presence in the region, begun immediately after World War II, was prompted by a desire to safeguard "vital U.S. interests" against the "Soviet military threat." Any reader who was to ask how the Soviet Union can endanger "vital U.S. interests" since it does not even have access to the Indian Ocean would be seen by the authors as very naive indeed. Their logic is simple to the point of being primitive. They consider that since the Indian Ocean area is rich in economic resources badly needed by imperialist powers, above all oil, an excuse must be found for defending these resources by armed force. That the "Soviet threat" is no more than an excuse is betrayed by Geoffrey Jukes, an Australian expert in Soviet military history (or so the book says). Jukes affirms that the presence of the U.S. Navy is "really determined by a perceived Western need to maintain a means of bringing pressure on oil producing states, in protection both of West-

ern oil supplies and of Western investments in the area" (p. 179). It follows that the purpose is pressure.

Professor George W. Shepherd of Denver University, USA, stressing the great economic importance of the Indian Ocean for the United States, adds that U.S. strategy in this part of the world is directed, among other things, toward suppressing national liberation movements and "preventing communists or other unfriendly groups from coming to power" in littoral states (p. 233). It follows that pressure is to be coupled with suppression.

This explains why Bowman describes the construction of the U.S. base at Diego Garcia as "perhaps the most important development of the past decade in the Indian Ocean" (p. 94). This small island, obtained from the British, has been assigned the function of the main base enabling the troops, warships and aircraft stationed there to invade any "trouble spot" around the ocean at any moment. According to the book, the base is to supply the task force in the region led by an aircraft carrier for 30 days without back-up. A deep-water lagoon at Diego Garcia has been dredged to harbor 12 warships, including aircraft carriers, simultaneously. U.S. reconnaissance and patrol planes based at Diego Garcia carry out flights over the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea and East Africa. The island is a central link in the U.S. worldwide military satellite communication system (see pp. 94-95). Furthermore, this "superbase" is now used by nuclear submarines, has runways for B-52 bombers and transport aircraft, large arsenals, including chemical and nuclear arms dumps, fuel supplies and stationary launching installations for Polaris and Poseidon missiles. The first contingents of U.S. Marines forming part of a rapid deployment police force have already installed themselves at the base.

One of the authors is Ashok Kapur, a politologist at the University of Waterloo, Ontario, Canada. He rightly points out that never since the beginning of talks with the Soviet Union to reduce military activity in the Indian Ocean has the United States been really interested in their positive outcome. President Carter, he writes, agreed to start them in order to "dilute" what was seen as a "Soviet propaganda advantage." "Talk is cheap," Kapur comments, "and there was nothing to be lost by speaking about Indian Ocean demilitarization," and besides, it "could buy time against" carrying out the UN resolution (p. 144). Since the beginning of talks with the Soviet Union (1977), U.S. naval strength in the Indian Ocean has increased five-fold. In view of this, blaming both sides for the breakdown of the talks — which is what the very same Kapur does — is truly a clumsy stand to take.

The Soviet answer to the U.S. policy of counting on force is a policy intended to restrict military activity in the Indian Ocean and turn it into a peace zone. This policy, which meets the fundamental interests of the Indian Ocean nations, was reaffirmed by Moscow during the Soviet visit of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India in September 1982. Both sides called for the early implementation of the UN Declaration establishing the Indian Ocean Peace Zone, pronounced themselves in support of the UN decision to hold a conference on the Indian Ocean and reaffirmed their support of the legitimate demand of Mauritius, an independent state, for the restoration of its sovereign title to Chagos Archipelago, including the island of Diego Garcia.

The book betrays a tendency, typical primarily of the present U.S. leadership, to complicate the already difficult problem of the Indian Ocean by insisting on the solution of an assortment of "subproblems" (which do exist, of course, but should not overshadow the key issue). These relate to trade, national liberation movements, conflicts between littoral states, and so on. It was this stratagem that the Reagan administration used to block the UN Conference on the Indian Ocean in 1981. In a peremptory form, the U.S. delegate insisted on ignoring the work done over a decade by non-aligned countries to promote the idea of a peace zone in the region, asserting that the very concept of a peace zone formulated in the UN Declaration of 1971 and specified in subsequent resolutions of the UN General Assembly and the Final Act of the Conference of Littoral and Hinterland States (New York, 1979) was entirely outdated and should be radically revised. The threat to security in the region, he alleged, did not at all come from the concentration of U.S. military strength but the presence of Soviet armed forces in the Caucasus, Central Asia and even Western Siberia (sic). For as long as the U.S. concept of peace zone was turned down, he said, the UN Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean should desist from preparing for the conference.

That peremptory statement drew emphatic objections from Committee members. They asked the U.S. delegate outright whether his country was willing to renounce its bases in the region, but got no explicit reply.

In the light of the foregoing, the irony used by Philip Towle of the Strategic and Defense Studies Center of Australian National University is misplaced to say the least. He writes that resolutions in favor of establishing the Indian Ocean Peace Zone are passed annually because Third World countries make up the majority of the delegates. He is plainly annoyed because the time has gone when the imperialist powers controlled the activity of the largest international organization. The

reason for the recurrent approval of these resolutions is the strong desire of the Indian Ocean nations to live in peace and defend their independence and sovereignty. Nor is it surprising that their arguments carry real weight in the UN. And this means that all the would-be subtle

arguments which the authors of the book trot out to justify imperialist obstruction are powerless.

Raja Collure
Representative of the
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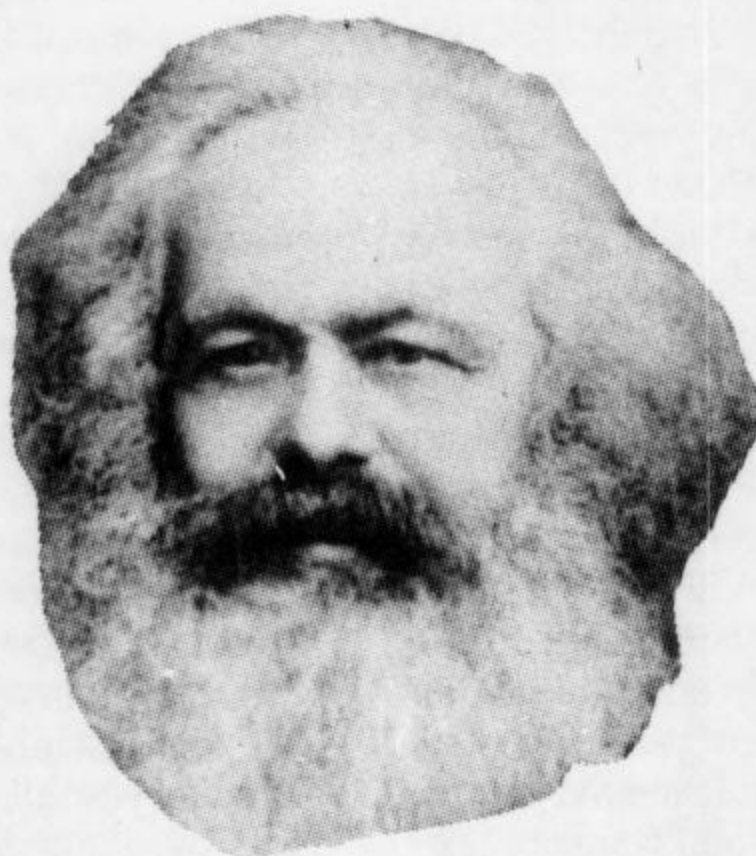
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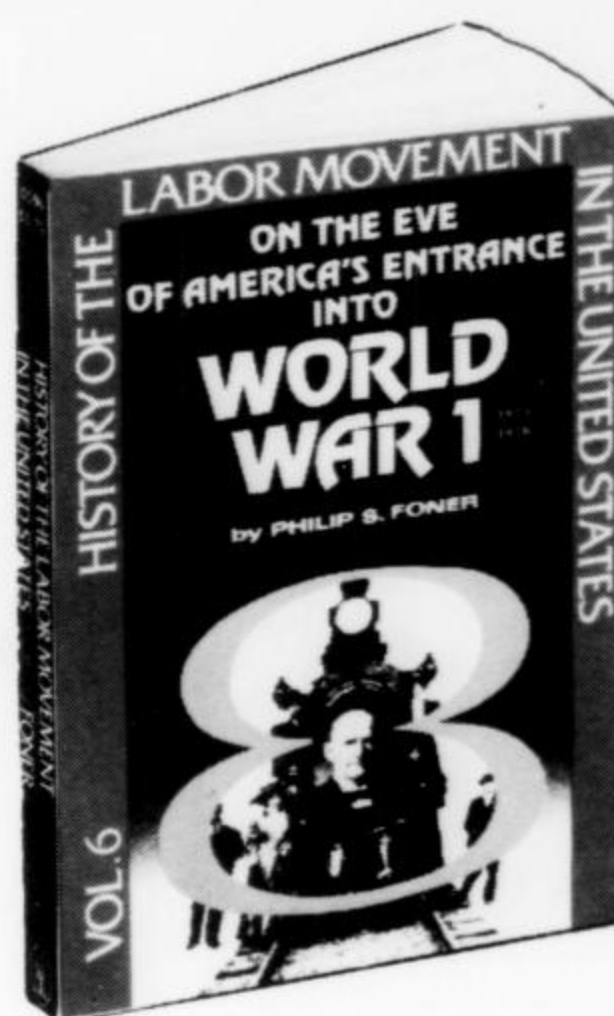
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Second class mail registration number 2352.
Printed in Canada. ISSN 0043-8642

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW is the North American edition of the monthly journal PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM published in Prague.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: Canada and U.S., \$12.50 a year. Institutions, double rate.

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