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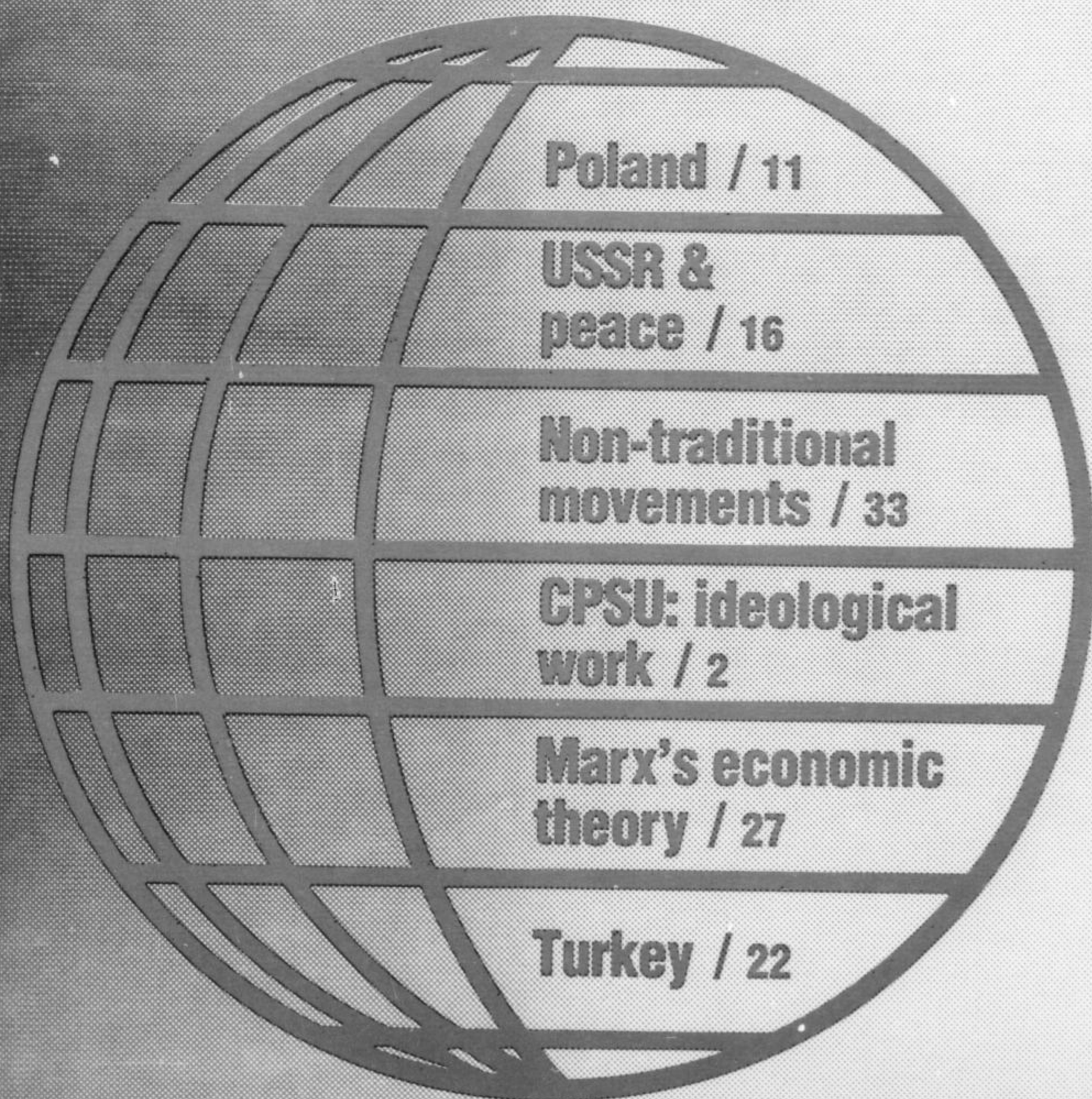
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*Problems of
Peace and Socialism*

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25th anniversary

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Our journal's 25th anniversary

A ceremonial meeting of the *World Marxist Review* Editorial Board and Editorial Council dedicated to the 25th anniversary of the journal was held in Prague on September 14.

Attending the meeting were guests of the journal — prominent figures of the international communist movement, leading party workers, veterans of the journal, and persons from various countries of the world responsible for publication of national editions of the *WMR*. The journal received greetings from Central Committees of communist and workers' parties, party and state leaders, revolutionary-democratic parties, communist press organs, international democratic organizations, and numerous readers. (A round-up of the greetings is published in this issue.)

Yuri Sklyarov, *WMR* Editor-in-Chief, spoke about the road traversed by the journal in the quarter century.

The speeches at the meeting noted that the journal's development and its ever increasing circulation throughout the world shows the continuously growing interest in Marxist-Leninist teaching, the theory and practice of scientific communism, and the revolutionary experience of the fraternal parties. The speakers pointed out that throughout all these years the journal has focused its attention on the most urgent problems of the day — the struggle for peace and against the nuclear threat, and the development of existing socialism, the working class and national liberation movement. Elucidation of the parties' creative work on a Marxist-Leninist basis, exposure of their many-sided experience, and distribution of information on the communists' activities in their countries and in the international arena is the journal's weighty contribution to the struggle against the forces of imperialism and reaction, for the triumph of the ideals of peace and socialism, the speeches emphasized.

The letter published below to the fraternal parties was passed unanimously at the meeting.

Dear comrades,

The *World Marxist Review* Editorial Board and Editorial Council at their ceremonial meeting to mark the 25th anniversary of the journal express deep gratitude to the communist and workers' parties for their greetings in connection with this important date.

The guidelines for the present stage of our work are determined by the November 1981 meeting of the representatives of fraternal parties on the work of the journal. Guided by them in preparing each issue, we seek, through our collective publication, to bring to the masses the great ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, more fully and vividly to bring out the parties' valuable experience, the achievements of their theoretical thought and practical struggle, and the development of the world revolutionary process, to show the successes of existing socialism, the working class movement in the capitalist countries and the national liberation forces. In the present-day international situation, with the nuclear threat hanging over humankind, the communists attach special importance to opposing imperialism's aggressive military plans and uniting all who defend peace. The journal will continue to do everything to promote this more actively and to carry out more effectively the responsible tasks set for it by the fraternal parties.

The journal's international collective warmly thanks the communist and workers' parties for their fruitful cooperation with and assistance to the journal, and sees their help as a reliable basis for all its further work for the triumph of the ideals of peace and socialism.



The ideology of revolutionary creative effort and peace

Konstantin Chernenko

CC Political Bureau member, CC Secretary,
Communist Party of the Soviet Union

As Lenin reflected on the historic exploit of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in developing the theory of the revolutionary transformation of society, he drew attention to the fact that the founders of our doctrine raised "the proletariat of the whole world above the level of petty, common-place and trivial tasks."¹ They showed the meaning of the working people's daily struggle for their vital rights and human dignity, and indicated its ultimate goals: the break-up of the old and the building of a new society, free from exploitation, national oppression, and social and political inequality. Therein lies the true humanism and the abiding spiritual value of Marx and Engels' theory, which was enriched and developed by Lenin. Therein lies the tremendous attractive power of Marxism-Leninism, the ideology of revolutionary creative effort and peace.

Armed with this ideology, Lenin's party led the workers and peasants of Russia to the first victorious socialist revolution, which aroused in the masses a craving for creativity, and drew them into a historic endeavor inspired with the comprehension of the vital interests and an understanding of the lofty ideals of the working class. The viability and effectiveness of the ideology of the communists have been confirmed in practice by the Soviet people's actual achievements in the actual construction of a socialist society over the 66 years since the Great October Revolution.

In the light of the experience gained by us, by the fraternal socialist countries, and by the international revolutionary and liberation movement as a whole, there is now no need to prove that Marxism-Leninism is a powerful weapon in the class struggle and a tremendous transformative social force. The question that needs to be asked is: how is this weapon, this force to be used in the changing concrete historical and local conditions? That is the question which arises before all the Marxist-Leninist parties, and especially when one stage of development ends and another begins. In such instances, the communists have always striven to comprehend the way that has been passed, to

give greater precision to their strategy and tactics, to formulate slogans appropriate to the moment, and to find the means to mobilize the masses for active support of their party policy.

The Soviet Union is now setting out on a new stage of socialist construction: perfection of its developed socialist society. Our social requirements have noticeably increased, and so have our potentialities. The character of our tasks has changed substantially: they have become larger in scale, more diverse and complicated. Besides, these tasks have to be tackled in a gravely exacerbated international situation. It is marked by a sharp increase in the danger of war, and unprecedented intensity of contest between socialism and imperialism, between their political lines and between their antithetical world views.

In these conditions, for all the importance of the ripened economic, organizational and other problems, as CPSU CC General Secretary Yuri Andropov has emphasized, ideological work increasingly comes to the fore. It is a matter for the whole party. In the light of the decisions of the 26th congress (1981), the CPSU CC plenary meeting held in June 1983 scrutinized circumstantially and in depth the pressing questions of the party's ideological and mass-political work.

I

The June plenary meeting has become a major event in the country's ideological and political life. It concentrated on the key problems now facing our party. It concretized the guidelines for work in perfecting developed socialism. Briefly, this is a line of effecting profound qualitative changes in the productive forces and a corresponding perfection of the relations of production, a radical boosting of labor productivity, a tightening up of labor and social discipline, and further development of the masses' labor and political activity.

The plenary meeting demonstrated the CPSU's creative and scientific approach in evaluating the present stage in the development of Soviet society, and put forward ideas

and drew conclusions of a programmatic character which are of fundamental importance for the party's activity over the immediate and more distant perspective. It determined the ways of improving ideological and political education work, pointing to the need to raise it "to the level of the great and complicated tasks which are being tackled by the party in perfecting developed socialism."²

By what was the party guided in assessing ideological work, its quality and effectiveness? There is here one criterion, and it is, Yuri Andropov said at the plenary meeting, the level of the political consciousness and labor activity of the masses. Our experience shows the party's ideological activity accords with such a high and exacting criterion only with the fulfillment of some key requirements.

First of all, there is the need both in theoretical work and in propaganda to rely undeviatingly on the fundamental theoretical and methodological principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Taken as a whole, the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin continue to be the most reliable instrument for the cognition of the world in which we now live and in which we shall continue to live tomorrow. There has not been a single considerable process or phenomenon in 20th-century social practice whose substance has not lent itself to clarification in the light of Marxist-Leninist theory. It is a true compass of the communists' party policy.

Marxism-Leninism has been established in our country for good as the ideology of the whole Soviet people. But we are fully aware that not all the problems in forming the socialist consciousness in our country have already been solved. We still have to do much to turn every Soviet citizen into a conscious political fighter, capable of independently evaluating the complicated phenomena of sociopolitical life, of seeing the connection between current affairs and the long-term development of society, and of giving effective rebuffs to our ideological adversaries.

The strength of the influence exerted by the communist ideology lies in the party's loyalty to revolutionary theory, the clarity of its class stand, and the ideological precision and methodological discipline of its thinking. This puts a high responsibility on communist theorists and propagandists and requires of them the capability of going to the living substance of Marxism-Leninism and carrying it to the consciousness of the masses. Here inertia of thinking, dogmatism, and the thoughtless stringing of quotations are absolutely intoler-

able. That is what the June plenary meeting of our party's CC considered.

This question is also important from the standpoint of the international ideological contest. It is, after all, well known that our class adversaries, together with diverse "renewers" of Marxism-Leninism, seek to "prove" that it is the communists' steadfast loyalty to their revolutionary doctrine that makes them incapable of understanding new social processes and of providing answers to the problems posed by life. The groundlessness of such assertions is just as obvious as their political purpose. But one should not lose sight of the fact that the ideologists of the bourgeoisie and reformism make use, for purposes hostile to socialism and the working class, of every failing in the communists' ideological activity, and every instance of the simplistic and superficial attitude to the Marxist-Leninist science.

In politics — domestic and foreign — the Soviet communists take a firm internationalist stand. Our theoretical views also eschew any kind of national narrowmindedness. It is absurd for some of our critics to claim that we have created or are creating a special "Sovietized" version of Marxism-Leninism. The whole of our experience, like the experience of other Marxist parties, shows that it is altogether futile to try to invest the communists' scientific theory with national or regional exclusiveness. Science generally defies any division into "Eastern" and "Western," it cannot be "Africanized," "Europeanized," and so on. And Marxism-Leninism is a science. The specifics and the peculiarities of the concrete conditions of the revolutionary struggle and the building of the new society cannot be understood or taken into account without reliance on the time-tested truths of Marxism-Leninism. That is the assumption from which the CPSU has always proceeded in its theoretical work.

Our doctrine requires that the world should be seen in its ceaseless movement, taking into account the constantly growing changes in the life of society. Hence another important requirement in our ideological work: the development of the creative element in it.

The party which Lenin brought up believes that it has an unconditional duty to take the Leninist approach to scientific theory, that is, not to regard it as a set of dogmas, but as a living doctrine requiring constant self-renewal and development in accordance with the growing experience, both Soviet and international. From that angle, the June plenary meeting took an innovative approach to the examination of pressing theoretical problems.

We are now faced above all with the task of further concretizing the conception of developed socialism and analyzing new phenomena in Soviet society. Serious theoretical problems also arise in connection with the need to raise substantially the efficiency of the economy, with the formation of our society's classless structure, and the consolidation of the leading role of the working class, the dynamic of the relations between nations, the development of the socialist people's power and the perspectives for the Soviet state system growing into social self-administration.

The plenary meeting oriented Soviet social science toward an all-round study of developed socialism in the interaction of all its basic components: the productive forces and the relations of production, the basis and the superstructure. It gave a reminder that it is the duty of our social sciences to respond sensitively and swiftly to the new processes and phenomena of life, to provide well-grounded recommendations for practice, and to overcome resolutely all kinds of routine, schematism, and scholastic theorizing.

The creative approach is, of course, of equal importance in propaganda and ideological-education work. Whether propaganda is understandable and carries conviction largely depends on the constant enrichment of its content and forms, on the ability to find a fresh angle of thought and just the right word. Otherwise, it is impossible to achieve the main thing in ideological work: to enhance the working people's political activity, their initiative and creative energy.

Lenin remarked on an important feature of the communist ideology: the inherent "revolutionary dialectics of Marxist realism."³ The CPSU attaches tremendous importance to having our theory and propaganda take a realistic account of the actual state of our domestic and international life. Consequently, the *strictly realistic approach* is yet another requirement which, we believe, ideological work must meet without fail.

To think and act in accordance with this requirement means avoiding mistakes of a two-fold character. On the one hand, Marxist-Leninist realism safeguards against any exaggeration of the successes achieved, like attempts to interpret the transformation of our society into a society of developed socialism as its perfect state, which has got rid of all problems and difficulties. On the other hand, this realism rules out any underestimation of our accomplishments, gains and growing potentialities. Fidelity to the truth of life invests ideology with great power and turns it into an

effective means for mobilizing the masses for the fulfillment of the largest and most complicated tasks of social development.

It is worth while to recall the following: a few years after the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin resolutely demanded that, now that they were getting down to the practical construction of the new society, the Soviet communists should understand that they "must not approach socialism as if it were an icon painted in festive colors."⁴ The thing to do is to roll up one's sleeves and get down to work. Lenin's idea is still fully valid. Today, it also urges us to work indefatigably, conscious of all the difficulties and of all the contradictions which need to be surmounted on the inevitably long — it now transpires — way to communism.

In this context, I should like to deal with the question of contradictions, their character and peculiarities of resolution under socialism. This was also dealt with at the June plenary meeting.

Materialist dialectics does not recognize any development without contradictions. And this naturally also applies to socialism. Lenin said that "dialectics in the proper sense is the study of contradiction in the very essence of objects."⁵ This means that it is not right, as some do, to give the concept of contradiction only a negative meaning. One must be able to see it as the source and stimulus of all development. That is the only approach which is in accord with the substance and spirit of our dialectico-materialist doctrine.

To adhere to the profound and clearcut Marxist-Leninist conception of contradiction and to devote untiring attention to their study and practical resolution means substantially to reduce the probability of errors in actual policies. In the process, it is important, of course, to draw a distinction between the objective contradictions of the socialist society and those which do not spring from its nature, but are produced by incompetence, miscalculations, and subjectivist and voluntarist mistakes. Those are the errors that could produce contradictions capable of assuming conflicting forms and doing considerable harm for the cause of socialist construction.

For us, standing firmly on the ground of the actual realities does not at all mean taking an attitude of uninspired pragmatism or abandoning our ideals. On the contrary, we regard — and have always regarded — the Soviet citizens' ideological commitment, which inspires their life and work and makes them conscious participants in socio-historical creativity, as our most valuable asset. We do not contrast realism and ideal. On the contrary, we say:

what is required in successful struggle for our ideals is realism.

Another highly important requirement guiding our ideological work is tying in current practices with our ideals, and seeking to make present-day activity promote the advance to the communist future.

The 26th congress of the CPSU adopted a decision to write a new text of the party program. This expresses our intention to analyze realistically the existing situation and to give greater precision to our strategic reference points that would tie in the enhanced wealth of our experience with the communists' ultimate goals.

The June plenary meeting gave a powerful impetus to the party's theoretical thinking in its work on the new text of the program. The guidelines and the substantive basis of this work are determined by the ideas put forward and elaborated in his speech at the plenary meeting by Yuri Andropov, which have been approved and accepted by the whole party. It was emphasized that in the present conditions, the CPSU program should above all be a program of balanced and all-round perfection of developed socialism, which also means further advance to communism. The main lines of our society's economic, social, political and spiritual progress have been mapped out. The tendencies determining the development of world socialism have been shown. A principled and well-considered evaluation has been made of the peoples' gains in the liberation struggle against imperialism. The main aspects characterizing the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism have been brought out. Propositions of exceptional importance bearing on the main issue for the destinies of humankind — the preservation of peace — have been formulated. Consequently, these are ideas ranging over the main problems of social development both within the framework of our state and on the international scale.

In our work on the new text of the program, we attach fundamental importance to the consideration of actually available experience. It is being critically comprehended with a view to not omitting anything valuable that it contains, while not allowing any "easy" repetition of what has been condemned by the past."⁶ The emphasis is being laid on having the analysis of the specific features of the present stage in our own and world development provide the basis for bold theoretical conclusions enriching Marxism-Leninism and providing a reliable scientific basis for the party's strategic decisions, for its practical work over the short and long term.

All of this, we are convinced, will make it possible to give a full reflection in the new text of the program of the vital connection between the present time and the future. The task has been formulated in such a way as to give the party a document that could be described in Lenin's words: "The basis of actions to be undertaken" and giving us "confidence in these actions."⁷

II

The decisions of the June plenary meeting have met with full support from the communists and all the other Soviet people. Important political and organizational work ranging over every sphere of social life has been started in our country in a businesslike and creative atmosphere. An extensive complex of measures is being implemented to improve economic activity, restructure the forms and methods of administration and management, and convert the national economy into a highly efficient and well-adjusted mechanism; to accelerate scientific and technological progress and have its accomplishments more swiftly applied to production; to carry out a reform of general education and the system of technical-trades education, so as to align them with the requirements of the time; and to strengthen discipline and order in every area of state and social life.

The better the awareness by the masses of the substance and goals of the party's present policy, and the fuller and deeper their acceptance of it as their own policy meeting their vital interests, the greater will be, understandably, the success of the ramified and intricate work which we are carrying on for the perfection of developed socialism. In other words, the fulfillment of our economic and social plans depends to a tremendous extent on the ideological back-up, on how *ideology helps to fulfill the key tasks of social development*.

It is impossible, for instance, to imagine the switch of the national economy to intensive development without the shaping of a new type of economic thinking. This means above all the thinking of a thrifty and enterprising master who is well aware of the value of time, resources and money. That is undoubtedly the most important aspect of the matter.

But then enterprise is also displayed by the capitalist, who seeks to ruin his rival; thrift is displayed by the banker, who is prepared to take the shirt off everyone's back in his drive for profit; exemplary discipline is displayed by the employee of the capitalist firm constantly facing the threat of being fired. But we are concerned with socialist enterprise, socialist thrift, socialist discipline. Nor do we say this for the

sake of the "ideological cliché," something of which we have been repeatedly accused. We seek and apply in practice forms of economic activity meeting present-day requirements which make it possible to enhance the efficiency of our socialist economy, an economy that is developed in a balanced way on the basis of democratic centralism and serves the interests of the all-round development of the working people and satisfaction of their vital requirements and interests. There is here an obvious and fundamental distinction between the purpose, content and forms of economic efficiency under socialism and capitalist enterprise. Under socialism, efficiency is permeated with a high sense of political and moral responsibility. It raises the individual interest to the level of the social, state interest.

The working out of a new type of economic thinking is favored by the collective forms of labor organization, which have been widely adopted in the Soviet Union in the recent period. Among them is one which we call the team method. Each member's contribution to the common effort is assessed by the work collective itself. Incomes are determined accordingly. This kind of labor organization fosters among its members a collectivist mentality and morality, and a careful attitude to socialist property. It disciplines people by means of the mighty power of collective influence and everyone's concern for one and all.

The work of ideological education has a great role in what could be called the bringing of all social relations up to forms which are mature in socialist terms. The party seeks consistently to establish in the minds of the Soviet people the truth that everyone can ultimately receive from society not more and not less than what he or she has given it through work. That is our socialist justice, and it is not only the economic but also the moral basis for the distribution and consumption of goods under socialism.

The attention which the party gives to *distributive relations* is, therefore, quite natural. The levelling of payments for unequivalent labor has nothing in common with the scientific concept of equality and justice under socialism. It inevitably results in the actual equation of the idler with the honest worker, has a negative effect on labor productivity, and produces living-off-others attitudes.

The shaping of the individual's requirements and interests is closely bound up with the perfection of distributive relations. At the June plenary meeting, the importance of this line of the party's social policy and ideological education work was emphasized. Culture in consumption is just as much a part of spiritual

culture as are political, moral and aesthetic culture. Regarding the full individual as someone with the richest possible qualities and connections, and therefore also requirements, Marx also stressed such a person's capacity to use a great number of things, for doing which "he must be a person of a high standard of culture."⁸

Developing and educating such a culture means standing for the individual's collectivist, instead of individualistic, orientation. Socialist society finds it unacceptable to compete with bourgeois society in the cult of money and things, in conspicuous consumption, in egoistical, uninspired and philistine existence.

Our party has always centered its attention on raising the Soviet people's material well-being. We have much that can be contrasted in this sphere even with the most developed capitalist states. The advantages of socialism are witnessed by the volume and rate of economic growth, living standards, outlays on culture, education, social security, housing construction and many other things. We have never feared and cannot fear quantitative comparisons with the capitalist world.

It is clear, however, that the nature of the two *opposite social systems* is revealed most fully in what each can do to improve the qualitative aspect of the working people's living, to ensure a full-blooded human life. Such a life cannot be reduced to material comforts. The status of the working person — true master in his country, taking part in the administration and management of the affairs of state, society and production, the absence of unemployment and of the constant fear of losing one's job, internationalist brotherhood, relations of mutual assistance and cooperation, the creation of prerequisites for the all-round development of the individual, social optimism and humanism — those are the organic features built into the very nature of socialism, which make our society fundamentally distinct from the world of exploitation and oppression. That is the truly *new quality of life* which is assured under socialism.

The convincing nature of the propaganda of our accomplishments is closely bound up with its truthfulness, with the assertion of a style in the whole of ideological work that is realistic, free from illusion and ostentation. The best propaganda for socialism is a frank, business-like and constructive conversation with the masses and a profound explanation of the vital questions of our development, including the most acute and difficult ones. A clear understanding of the kind of struggle, of the kind of

effort it takes to overcome the obstacles and difficulties for the new to be born and asserted, shows just how weighty and considerable the socialist gains and achievements are.

Not a single step in perfecting developed socialism is conceivable without the extension of socialist democracy. Here again, the importance of ideological education work is exceptionally great. A high level of consciousness and of general and political culture among the masses is a necessary prerequisite for the working people's fruitful enjoyment of all the democratic forms and norms of our social and political life.

The June plenary meeting called on all the party organizations and the communists working in the Soviets of People's Deputies, in the trade unions and in the Young Communist League, to combine the political education of the masses with their active involvement in running the affairs of the society and the state, and in organizing control. It oriented the party toward the utmost use of the well-tried means and forms of socialist democracy. This implies emphasis on publicity in the activity of state organs, in every area of social life, the requirement of regular progress reports from the leaders to the population, and enhancement of the role of the mass media in involving the working people in the discussion and solution of current problems. This also means a systematic study of public opinion and a considerate attitude to letters from the working people, a form in which popular initiative is manifested.

Since the plenary meeting much has been done in practice, notably in terms of legislation, to extend the working people's right to manage production and the affairs of society. Following its discussion by the whole people, the Law on the Work Collectives has become a legal act of fundamental importance. It gives the collectives of working people greater powers in tackling production, social and educational tasks, and has raised their importance in the political system of our society to an even higher level.

The comprehension by every member of the society to his or her civic responsibility is an organic element of political culture. The Soviet people do have such a sense of responsibility. This will be seen, among other things, in their active participation in implementing the measures aimed to raise the level of organization, tighten up law and order, production and state discipline, and to eliminate shortcomings. The working people of our country see this as an expression of their will, a necessary guarantee for the fulfillment of plans, further consolidation of the democratic principles of the whole of social life, and a reliable barrier in the way of

those who may be inclined to neglect the people's interests and abuse the humanism of the socialist system.

Bourgeois propaganda has hastened to declare that we are "tightening up the screws" and that we have even "mounted an offensive on the working people's rights." To say that is deliberately to distort the very substance of socialist democracy and of our actions which are designed to consolidate it. Indeed, some "screws," to use the expression, "are being tightened," but only where we have some mismanagement and lax discipline, bureaucratic practices and formalism, breaches of socialist law and order or morality, regardless of whether the fault lies with a rank-and-file worker or an executive. In our drive against the negative phenomena, we rely on the strictness of our laws and on the working people's growing social activity.

Concerned for the maximum practical effect of our ideological work, we attach tremendous importance to perfecting the style and methods of guiding it. The June plenary meeting put the duty on ideological cadre and party committees as a whole, above all on their first secretaries, to deal constantly with the problems of ideology and education, and consider the content of ideological processes in depth. The party's influence among the masses is largely determined by the personal qualities of those who exercise this influence and by their understanding of their high responsibility. That is why the plenary meeting set this task: to raise the level of educational and ideological work within the party itself. Being a communist means setting an example of Bolshevik ethics and discipline. The CPSU makes this Leninist requirement on each of its members and holds it to be an essential condition for strengthening the authority of the party itself. The results of our ideological work largely depend on how each communist, especially communist leaders, asserts loyalty to the principles of communist morality by his or her own labor effort, participation in social activity, behavior in everyday life, and by his or her whole personality.

Attaching exceptional importance to their activity in shaping public views and attitudes, the Soviet communists see its close dialectical interconnection with the practice of perfecting developed socialism. Yuri Andropov has emphasized: "Speaking about the improvement of ideological work, we have before us complex and multi-tiered tasks whose solution implies vigorous action along every line."⁹ This means that the field of our ideological, theoretical and educational activity is wide, that it will con-

tinue to widen, and that the wealth of its forms and means has been growing and will continue to grow. But this also means that living practice in socialist construction is a necessary prerequisite for the success of any and all the most correct words. We well understand that while the party's economic and social strategy is in need of ideological back-up, ideological work itself is truly effective only when it rests on a sound foundation of socio-economic policy.

III

The strategy and tactics of the communists' struggle in each country are in many ways determined by external conditions, above all by the balance of class forces in the international arena. That is a well-known truth. But just now there are at least three fundamental circumstances which, we believe, make it imperative to give special attention to this truth.

The first circumstance is the outcome of the almost 40-year nuclear arms race imposed by imperialism on the world. There can be no winners in a nuclear war, and it cannot help to attain any political goals. Any attempt to make use of nuclear weapons will inevitably develop into a catastrophe jeopardizing the future of life itself on the Earth.

That is why the sharp aggravation of the international situation to which the aggressive policy of imperialism, U.S. imperialism above all, has now led, is a source of great alarm: it pushes humankind to the brink. To avert the fatal development of events and to ward off the war danger is a problem that is exceptionally complicated but actually soluble. The balance of socio-political forces and the military equilibrium which have taken shape in the international arena bear out the communists' conclusion that a world war is not fatally inevitable, and that world peace can be maintained and strengthened on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

Consequently, the realities of the so-called nuclear age have produced a situation in which international conditions acquire definitive, priority significance from the standpoint of the international interests of the communist movement. And, we think, also from the standpoint of the struggle by each party for its programmatic goals.

These are the considerations which lie at the basis of the CPSU's approach to international affairs. Concern for the preservation of peace on the globe has been and will continue to be in the foreseeable future the pivot of our party's Leninist foreign policy line, the continuity of whose basic orientations was reaffirmed by the November 1982 and June 1983 plenary meet-

ings of the CPSU CC. That is also the meaning of all the concrete initiatives of the USSR in the recent period and of the broad complex of constructive proposals put forward by Yuri Andropov and designed to halt the nuclear arms race and to promote disarmament.

We are grateful to the communist parties of the non-socialist part of the world for their work in explaining in their countries the foreign policy positions of the CPSU and the other ruling Marxist-Leninist parties. That is tangible assistance to the peoples of the socialist states carrying on a consistent struggle against nuclear war.

The myth of a "Soviet military threat," of the "excessiveness" of the Soviet Union's measures to strengthen its defense capability, of our "intransigence" at the Geneva talks — all of this together with the talk about some allegedly equal responsibility of the "two superpowers" for the arms race, is being used by bourgeois propaganda not only against the USSR and its socialist allies. Anti-Sovietism has become imperialism's main ideological weapon in its fight against all those who oppose its line of unrestrained build-up of nuclear arsenals. It is on the platform of anti-Sovietism that a military coalition of the major capitalist powers is now being knocked together. By means of anti-Sovietism, imperialism tries to obtain mass support for its militaristic policy, weaken the potential of the communist movement, and split and undermine the anti-war forces as a whole. While spearheading its aggressive policy against the USSR and the socialist community as the bulwark of peace, U.S. imperialism threatens the security of all the peoples, seeks to bend them to its diktat, and assure its monopolies of maximum profits. That is why we regard rebuffs to anti-Soviet speculations as one of the most important ideological lines in the struggle against the danger of war.

"Those who treat frivolously the defense of the country in which the proletariat has already achieved victory are the ones who destroy the connection with international socialism," says Lenin.¹⁰ Today, this connection is vitally necessary. It provides the indispensable prerequisite for overcoming anti-communist prejudices and preconceptions among a definite part of the working class movement, among the political forces and social groups which, like the communists, are acting in defense of sound principles in international relations. Their cohesion in a worldwide anti-war coalition could erect a serious obstacle in the way of a world thermonuclear war.

The second circumstance is connected with the unprecedented growth of diversity in the

problems and tasks which the communists have to tackle in the various countries and regions, something that is not least importantly generated by the uneven development of the world revolutionary process. All the more important therefore, we believe, is the collective quest for relevant forms of the communist parties' bilateral and multilateral cooperation.

Special attention needs to be given to matters relating to the approach to differences of opinion and disagreements which now and again arise in our movement. We believe that these cannot be a justification for relaxing our international ties. That has always been true. But today it is not just true: it is one of the indispensable conditions for consolidating the political positions of each party, and of the whole of our movement, and so also for success in the struggle to preserve peace. Our party, as the June plenary meeting stressed, believes that one of the most important tasks before it is to make an objective analysis of the substance of the difficulties and disagreements, the causes for which they have appeared, and to seek ways of overcoming them on a Marxist-Leninist basis.

Imperialism seeks to weaken the communist movement precisely as an international force cemented by its common ideology and programmatic goals. Bourgeois propaganda has been trying to teach the communists how they should arrange their relations with each other, and wants to become something of an arbiter in the discussions which are being carried on in our movement, arrogating to itself the right to judge what in it is "good" and what is "bad." Its purpose is quite obvious: it wants the fraternal parties to fall out with each other, it wants to range the communists of the socialist countries, for instance, against all the others, it wants to separate the communist parties by their national or regional "lodgings." The attack is spearheaded against the CPSU, which is accused of trying to run the communist movement "from Moscow."

Our party attaches tremendous importance to the explanation of its positions on these matters both at home and abroad. They are well known: the CPSU has scrupulously conducted the line of the 26th congress for strengthening the unity of the communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. It sets itself the task of developing with all the fraternal parties, as the document of the Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties says, "internationalist, comradely and voluntary cooperation and solidarity on the basis of the great ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, strictly adhering to the principles of equality and sovereign

independence of each party, non-interference in internal affairs, and respect for their free choice of different roads in the struggle for social change of a progressive nature and for socialism."¹¹

Finally, the third circumstance is that the future of humankind now largely depends on the outcome of the struggle for the hearts and minds of billions of people on the globe, as Yuri Andropov said at the June plenary meeting. Nor is there any exaggeration in putting the matter in this way.

Imperialism has always tried to back up its political offensive against the socialist world with an ideological offensive. Just now, however, we find a qualitatively new phenomenon. A veritable "psychological war," planned, financed and directed by the governments of the imperialist countries, and coordinated on an international scale (notably within the NATO framework) is now being conducted not only against the USSR and its socialist allies, but also against the anti-war, working class and the whole revolutionary movement. As the "crusade for freedom" announced by the U.S. President some 18 months ago also testifies, this is now part and parcel of the government anti-communist strategy of imperialism.

It regards its relations with the socialist world, with the working class and democratic movement through the prism of confrontation: both in the sphere of "pure politics" and in the sphere of ideology, imperialism equally strives to step up tensions without restraint. In view of this, at the June plenary meeting, we considered a complex of pressing questions in the party's propaganda and counter-propaganda work, adopted a number of concrete measures aimed to improve and extend it, and are already putting them into effect. The plenary meeting drew attention to the need to carry on ideological struggle vigorously, with dignity, and without succumbing to provocations.

I should like to emphasize the latter point. The CPSU has no intention of "playing up" to bourgeois propaganda, which, to put it mildly, is unscrupulous in the use of its means, and acts brazenly and cynically. We are resolute opponents of "psychological warfare" and have no intention of helping to fan it. But there can be no question of being passive in the ideological struggle, to say nothing of giving up our principled positions. On the contrary, success here can be attained through vigorous, sometimes pre-emptive, action, exhaustive information, and circumstantial arguments on all the key issues.

Let us consider one of these, perhaps the chief one. Imperialism is trying to discredit the

way traversed by Lenin's party. Incidentally, this provides indirect but highly eloquent recognition of the truly attractive power of the whole of the CPSU's more than 80-year practice. Our class adversary, seeks to smear the Soviet experience and has resorted to ever more refined arguments borrowed from all kinds of opportunists in the working class movement.

Thus, the socialism which has actually been built and which exists in the USSR is depicted as some kind of completed model which allegedly differs from the notions which Marx and Lenin had of the new society. Our adversaries insist that the CPSU has been trying to impose this "model" on one and all, presenting it as a mandatory one, and claim that that is the cause of all the problems and complications in the other socialist countries. Another trick is to present the diversity of ways of socialist construction which is ever more manifest in the practice of states lying on three continents as being virtually a "revision" of the Soviet experience and proof of its "irrelevance." Unfortunately, now and again this kind of propaganda trick leaves an impression even in some circles of the working class movement.

Attitude to the mutual use of experience has been and continues to be a key element of the communists' international cooperation. There is good reason, therefore, why bourgeois propaganda has engaged in political speculations on this problem. Everyone knows that Lenin warned against imitating Soviet Russia's experience in every detail, and required an understanding of the peculiarity of its conditions which produced the various solutions, insisting that instead of the letter, the spirit and meaning of the Soviet experience should be comprehended and thoughtfully modified in application to different situations.¹² That is the only approach to the CPSU's past and present practice that can help any fraternal party to benefit from our "dearly bought experience," as Lenin put it.¹³

Indeed, our party has made mistakes and has had its failings. Perhaps only the philistines are insured against them, and they "pride themselves on the infallibility of their revolutionary inaction."¹⁴ But it is not the mistakes or the failings that determine the substance of the USSR's rich and instructive history, and the formation and shaping of the world socialist system. That history is a living embodiment of the basic uniformities of revolutionary development discovered by Marxism-Leninism. It also provides convincing confirmation of Lenin's prediction that each nation will reach socialism in its own way. Indeed, the experience of the fraternal socialist countries

differs in many ways from the Soviet experience, for it typically has a great diversity of solutions and forms, and demands a creative application of the general principles of socialist construction to concrete conditions. This shows the inexhaustible power of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine and gives a reminder of the need for the most thorough study by the communists of each other's practice.

Our party's June plenary meeting once again drew attention to this aspect of the matter. The CPSU believes that one of its most important tasks is a detailed and objective comprehension of the experience of socialist construction in the other countries, and requires that communists working in state organs, in the economic and ideological spheres, should introduce the best of everything discovered by the other ruling parties and tested by time, naturally in application to Soviet conditions. This, we are convinced, is a necessary prerequisite, on the one hand, for our country's rapid and effective advance, and on the other, for the further consolidation of the CPSU's cooperation with the communists of the other fraternal countries, and consolidation of the friendship of the peoples of the socialist states.

The whole of the CPSU's ideological work is now being carried on under this slogan: match words with deeds. This is nothing but a translation into the language of current, concrete practice of Lenin's requirement that the communists' ideological and organizational work should be an organic whole. We know that this task cannot be fulfilled once and for all. It needs to be fulfilled again and again, with an eye to the changing conditions, taking care to perfect the whole style and atmosphere of inner-party life, and providing timely, well-grounded and realistic answers to the pressing questions posed by life. By fulfilling this task, the party enhances its authority, and acts in the way required by its role of the guiding political force of the socialist society.

1. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 12, p. 378.
2. *Information Bulletin*, Numbers 17-18, September 1983.
3. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 9, p. 149.
4. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 442.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 253-254.
6. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 195.
7. *Ibid.*, Vol. 26, p. 359.
8. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Works*, Vol. 46, Part I, p. 386 (Russian edition).
9. *Pravda*, August 16, 1983.
10. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 332.
11. *WMR*, No. 8, 1976, p. 4.
12. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 227; Vol. 32, pp. 316-318.
13. *Ibid.*, Vol. 5, p. 370.
14. *Ibid.*, Vol. 12, p. 378.

The message of the Polish experience

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We have entered upon the 40th year of People's Poland. It is a period of crucial importance for our people. At the same time, 40 years in the history of our thousand-year statehood is a very short period of time, while 40 years in the hundred-year annals of the Polish organized working class movement come to almost one-half. In these four decades, the 1980-1983 period is no more than an episode, but its importance springs both from its unusual and dramatic complexity, and from the fact that it represents the present day, which, for well-known reasons, is perceived most acutely. But not only for that reason. For the first time in our party's history, an extraordinary congress was convened in July 1981. A comprehensive Marxist analysis of this period will subsequently give the clue to a scientific evaluation both of the ninth congress of the PUWP, and of the counter-revolutionary forces' offensive against the socialist state, and also of the martial law introduced on December 13, 1981, of its character and implementation, and finally, of the prerequisites for its lifting on July 22, 1983.

As a result of contradictions in socialist development which had not been overcome in due time, a sharp political and socio-economic crisis broke out in Poland at the end of the 1970s.

The extraordinary ninth congress of the PUWP gave a critical and self-critical assessment with the utmost frankness of the mistakes made over the past period. It showed that the source from which the crisis situation originated consisted above all in a serious departure from the principles of Marxism-Leninism in the process of socialist construction. This was especially manifested in breaches of the norms of inner-party life, in bureaucratic and autocratic restrictions on the people's socialist power, in a simplistic approach to and neglect of the work of ideological education in society, and especially among the young people, in voluntaristic decisions in economic policy, above all the excessive extension of the front of investments, and also in our national economy's considerable dependence on Western credits. The opponents of our system used

these mistakes for total attacks on the party and socialism.

The resultant situation cannot be considered outside the context of the international class struggle. Socialist Poland has always had an important place in the anti-communist strategy of the West, and for a number of years was the object of special attention, infiltration into various spheres of our life, and anti-communist ideological propaganda pressure. That went to fortify the positions of the adversaries of socialism in our country, for which a favorable climate was created by the spreading feeling of bitterness in society. This had a considerable role to play in the swift infiltration by the anti-socialist forces of the strike movement and also of the processes in the subsequent period with the aim of diverting the working people's discontent into a channel which cuts across their true interests.

An analysis of the development of the situation in Poland clearly shows the close and coordinated interaction by the internal and external adversaries of socialism. Their efforts were aimed, first, to discredit Marxism-Leninism and to present it as being "alien" and "irrelevant" to Polish conditions and the Poles' way of thinking; second, to undermine the party's leading role; third, to slander and disrupt our alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and fourth, to discredit the whole people's property in the means of production through destructive activity in the economic sphere, and to prove that the socialist economy was allegedly inefficient, and that it was incapable of satisfying the working people's material requirements.

According to the plans of our political opponents, the period from August 1980 to July 1981 was assigned for bringing anarchy and spreading a corrupting influence throughout society. At the same time, it was assigned for eroding the state and especially the party, making use of the centrifugal and actually liquidationist trends which were growing within it. Unfortunately, the first part of that program was realized to a considerable extent. This happened for many reasons, among which of some

importance was the fact that the party's energies were absorbed by its internal affairs, in which, alongside correct and sharp criticism, there were also unwarranted accusations and emotional "self-flagellation." However, as a result of the enlivening of inner-party life, above all in connection with the ninth congress, the second part of the counter-revolutionary plan was a fiasco. The basic units and organs of the people's power remained loyal to the cause of socialism. Despite the anti-socialist forces' onslaught and the activation of the right-opportunist trend, despite the erosion of public confidence in it, that is, despite the palpable political losses, the vacillation and weakening, the party did not disintegrate, but on the contrary, began to determine its face more clearly, putting its reliance on the ideological commitment and steadfastness of its activists. It distanced itself from the mistakes condemned by the working class, and put forward the idea of a socialist renewal, thereby preserving itself as a Leninist type of party, and creating by means of internal reappraisals, substantial prerequisites for the re-establishment of its leading role.

The party's ninth congress elected a Central Committee with a strong workers' core, mapped out a line of democratic reforms and broad national consensus on the basis of constitutional principles, and formulated the only realistic program for getting out of the crisis. This program began to command ever broader understanding and support on the part of society. As a result, it became the objective of extremely sharp attacks by the opponents of socialism. The national economy, the enterprises, became the main arena of the struggle, and this tended to bring production processes to a standstill on an ever more extensive scale. The material foundations of national existence were put in jeopardy. It was then up to the society, the working class in the first place, to decide what the next stage would be like, and what its political and social costs would be.

The response to the introduction of martial law and subsequently the extent of economic and socio-political normalization during the 19 months of its operation showed that the working people had neither been blinded nor deceived by their opponents' crafty manipulations. A sizable section of them saw through their opponents' covert and essentially anti-labor objectives which did harm to the people. As a result, despite all kinds of moral discord and the ceaseless psychological and propaganda pressure by Western anti-communist propaganda centers, despite the tangible material hardships in everyday life, our so-

ciety succeeded in taking the way of prudence, a search for accord, the way of overcoming the crisis in the country. That choice, made by the majority of the working people at a dramatic moment, represents the fundamental and most far-reaching victory of the line of the ninth party congress, which is called the line of accord and struggle. It has been further developed and concretized at the regular meetings of the Central Committee, and is the basis for the party's practical actions, and the ideological and organizational platform for consolidating its ranks.

In Poland, we are not starting anything from scratch, either as a people, or as a party. The 40 years of the people's power have radically changed the state and the society, carried the country from its economic and cultural backwardness, resurrected it from the post-war ashes and ruins, and have for the first time in many centuries given her secure borders and solid alliances, the most valuable of which is the alliance with the Soviet Union, assuring Poland of a fitting place in the family of socialist countries and among the peoples of the world. The majority of Polish society consists of men and women who were born, bred and formed under socialism, who know no worries about having a job, who have a sense of social certitude, attachment to such socialist values as social justice, social property in the means of production and social control over the distribution of material values, and access to education and culture for one and all. In the course of that 40-year period, the party has acquired a wealth of experience, both from its successes and its failures, and has drawn a great many useful conclusions. When we now put forward the proposition of returning to our origins, we invest it with hopes that are connected with universal values: the Marxist ideology, the Leninist science of the party, and also with a century of assets in the form of ideas and experience in the struggle of the Polish working class movement. The experience gained by the party in the early years after liberation and the conception of building a broad front of patriotic forces, worked out by the Polish Workers' Party (PPR), appear to be especially fruitful today.

It is no accident that the achievements of People's Poland were among the main objectives of the sharp attacks by the adversaries. Making use above all of the inexperience of the generation of young people who have no remembrance of the distant past, anti-socialist propaganda tried to smear or at least to minimize everything the people have achieved over the past 40 years. That was an exception-

ally cynical attempt to discredit socialism's major material, social and moral achievements in Poland. Wherever such propaganda was successful, it inflicted spiritual mutilation which it will take us a long time to heal.

But for all the efforts, despite the use of large material and technical resources, despite the unprecedentedly wide and aggressive propaganda by the subversive centers, the adversaries did not manage to switch the working people's dissatisfaction into struggle against the socialist system. Not a single one of the fundamental principles of socialism was subjected to attack or even questioned by the working class. The widespread doubts expressed in society were addressed to something quite different. The nature of our experience and the recurrence of acute crises in the course of socialist construction generated and, in fact, are still generating fears about whether the way we have travelled up to now is not infected with some kind of error. From this mood, which is not free of what Marx called "false consciousness," that is, anarcho-syndicalist economic illusions, orientation toward elements of the free play of political forces, etc., our adversaries sought to create a mechanism impelling society toward anti-communism with a heavy dose of anti-Sovietism. In accordance with these aspirations, for instance, the so-called self-governing *Rzeczpospolita* was advertised as a state that was "more socialist" than our own socio-political system, which safeguards the whole people's property in the means of production, the leading role of the party, and the alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union. That was done for the purpose of pushing the working class into a struggle against socialism with the aid of demagogic slogans.

Let us add that some objective factors facilitated the adversaries' perpetration of this gigantic political fraud. With mainly a high standard of professional training, a certain part of the Polish working class whose first-generation origins are non-proletarian has yet to acquire a profound class consciousness. The emotional reaction on the part of a section of Polish society continues to manifest many old ideological survivals, vestiges of nationalism, mental sluggishness and bellicose clericalism. The general level of genuine historical, economic and juridical knowledge still remains unsatisfactory. The keenness of the class perception of reality has been dulled and the impending threat minimized by the past decade, which proceeded under the influence of the thesis of a so-called "moral and political unity of the people," which is wrong in view of the substantial social stratification in the society. Fail-

ings in work with the young have also had an effect. All these factors, and also the ideological vacillations within the party, the play-it-safe approach and procrastination, with the resulting inability to take over the political leadership of the mass movement in due time enabled the anti-socialist forces in the country linked with imperialist centers in the West to transform "Solidarity," which most of its honest members wanted to see as a genuine trade union organization, into a political movement with an objectively anti-labor, counter-revolutionary character.

The course of events, of necessity presented here in a much abridged and oversimplified form, suggests some fundamental conclusions concerning the formula of accord, struggle and socialist reforms, and especially on combining in the practice of socialist construction its universal principles and specific features. Poland's example, unfortunately, shows not for the first time, the high price that has to be paid for departures from the universal principles and the wealth of positive experience of existing socialism. It also shows that one of the serious consequences of such departures is inept application of these principles to the concrete conditions of the society building socialism. After all, the principles of socialism cannot be divided into two "types": the universal and the national. They are all universal, but their effective implementation is possible only with a thorough evaluation and correct consideration of the historical and contemporary realities which have taken shape in a given country. That is what Lenin undoubtedly had in mind when he wrote in his fundamental work *The State and Revolution* about "a tremendous abundance and variety" of forms of transition from capitalism to socialism, and also that "the essence will inevitably be the same."*

No one emphasized more clearly and aptly than Lenin did the fact that no communist party, not even the working class of any country, is capable of building a socialist society on its own, and that success in its construction always and everywhere depends on the extent to which the party succeeds in winning the trust of and involving in its program, in the historical class interests of the working class, broad strata of the working people and the society in which it acts. From this fundamental principle it follows that the social accord which the PUWP wrote into its program at the ninth congress is not a tactical ploy, but a strategic conception with a straightforward class character.

*V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 413.

It is based on the party's close and sincere ties with the working class which accord with Lenin's precepts.

It is around the working class, which has a correct understanding of its historical role and responsibility, it is around its party that the other social forces, above all the other classes, strata and groups of working people, can unite. As a result, social accord becomes a broad alliance of various forces taking the stand of socialism, an alliance in which the hegemony of the working class and the leading role of the party remain. Here, correctly understood national interests blend with the tasks of socialist construction, while the natural striving for civil liberties and a smoothly functioning state blends with the development of socialist democracy.

In Polish conditions, which have been formed in the process of the historical development of our people and its statehood, there is a need for such an accord to reflect the actually existing ideological distinctions with the Catholic beliefs which dominate among a sizable section of society. From this follows both the significance and the complexity of the relations between the socialist state and the church. The principles of these relations are determined by Poland's constitution, which provides for the separation of church from state, while guaranteeing to citizens the freedom of religious creed and the exercise of religious practices. It is the party's duty to ensure the growth of the Marxist influence in the main spheres of the people's spiritual life. But the most important task is to create the necessary social, political and organizational conditions for active participation by believers in socialist construction, in the functioning of all the elements of socialist democracy and in strengthening our fatherland, the Polish People's Republic.

Martial law, which halted the offensive of the counter-revolution, was introduced in Poland in December 1981 in accordance with Lenin's ever-valid call to be prepared to defend socialism. It was introduced by the legitimate organs of power in accordance with the laws in force, and was effectively a form of defense of the supreme vital interests of the working class and of the whole people.

Neither the inevitable turmoil caused by the application of extraordinary measures, nor the gradual normalization which proceeded under their protection, nor even the lifting of the restrictions as soon as the political and economic situation made it possible to do so, ended the political struggle, to say nothing of the ideo-

logical struggle.

The public mood has been undoubtedly calmed over the past several months, making it possible for the collective reason to gain the upper hand over unruly public emotions. The balance of forces has changed and continues to change in favor of socialism. An ever more sizable part of society is shedding the intoxication of demagogic and anti-socialist slogans and influences. Even if complete agreement with the ideological content of the party program is not voiced, there is ever wider recognition that the party's political line is correct.

However, the adversaries have counted on too much and have put in too many resources to lay down their arms so easily. The amnesty, together with the lifting of martial law, does of course induce people to break with the underground and return to a normal working and social rhythm of life. But there is no reason as yet to assert that this process is a demobilizing one for the whole of the underground without exception and the forces siding with it. This is all the more so, considering that within this vicious circle there is moral coercion, especially stepped up from abroad for the purpose of keeping the underground going until "favorable circumstances." The unprecedentedly aggressive psychological war unleashed by imperialism, led by the U.S. administration, against socialist Poland is going on and has not been relaxed in any way; the poisoned seed tends to germinate in some strata of Polish society in the form of a dwindling though still existing passive opposition and "internal exile," apathy and mental decay. We display understanding and patience with respect to the manifestations of despair, vacillation and doubt. But any manifestations of anti-state action are being cut short and will be consistently cut short both by political means and by the legitimate measures of administrative coercion. No one either in Poland or abroad should have any doubts or illusions on this score.

The struggle in the sphere of ideology simultaneously continues to be just as pressing. The anarcho-syndicalist attitudes, which tend to put individual and group interests over and above the social interest, and which lead to a stratification and deepening of contradictions within the working class and among the working people, have left a definite mark. Contemporary reformism, which does not openly come out against socialism, but which tries to invest its political and economic system with a form and orientation of development that would in practice deprive it of its class substance, is still able to influence some of the less mature individuals and social groups. The

ideological pluralism which actually exists in Poland could provide a nutrient medium for advertising a totally different, political pluralism, which is typical of bourgeois democracy. Consequently, the struggle against diverse bourgeois-reformist and adventurist neo-Trotskyite trends continues to be the party's primary task over the long term. This requires a further strengthening of its unity and militancy, additional ideological equipment of its ranks and an extension of the hinterland of the theoretical base. At the same time, this calls for resolute resistance to any repetition of the dangerous deformations and compromised methods, and also an improvement of the party's style of activity that would give the working people a deep feeling that it is close to their hearts and is vitally necessary, and that it is "the same but not the same kind of party," as the seventh plenary meeting of the Central Committee put it.

We must approach this task in all seriousness, in the light of the past bitter experience. Successful realization of the line of accord and struggle largely depends on the consistent implementation of the reforms of the political and economic system determined by the ninth congress and approved by the Sejm. In accordance with the general uniformities of socialism, they are aimed to extend the working people's participation in administering the state and ensure the growth of the direct influence of work collectives on the development of the national economy. This is served by the strengthening of the institutions of the people's power: the Sejm, the people's councils, local self-administration, various forms of the working people's volunteer organizations and especially the trade unions and workers' self-management, publicity in public life, the development of the system of consultations and social controls, announcement and implementation of a rational cadre policy, and a deepening of socialist legality in every sphere. Such a form of organization of social life combines within itself a strong and well-run state with a developed system of socialist democracy, a correctly and efficiently functioning economy with broad powers for the workers, the party's leading role with its good-will-and-partnership attitude to the allied political forces. This approach has been made the basis of the now developing Patriotic Movement of National Revival. It is open to all citizens who, regardless of their ideological views or ethical inducements, recognize the socio-political system of People's Poland and want to serve such a Poland. The movement could be an exceptionally important means for overcoming the

socio-political and economic crisis and re-establishing Poland's fitting place in the socialist community and in the modern world.

Poland is only one of the units of the socialist system, and that is the only angle from which its experience can be considered. However, this experience also confirms some general uniformities. Above all, the global contest between imperialism and socialism is reflected in all the countries and in each of them individually. At a definite stage in that struggle, Poland became a weakened link and found itself in a forward position of the frontline as a result of the coincidence of various circumstances. With respect to our country, imperialism has shown its true face with exceptional brutality. It is the same face that it daily demonstrates to the peoples of Latin America, Africa and the Middle East: brazen intervention in the internal affairs of independent states, neglect for the destinies of peoples, an urge to reverse the tide of history at any price, and whenever this proves to be impossible, as it did in Poland, the use of political boycotts, economic weapons and propaganda aggression.

Our experience bears out the oft-tested thesis that the actual building of socialism is not a mere summing up of its socio-political and economic elements, but is a complicated class process with unavoidable obstacles and breakdowns. Polish experience has also forcefully reaffirmed the historically justified truth that only a communist party consistently guided by the principles of scientific socialism and capable of rebuffing both revisionist and dogmatic demagogy, and having the potentialities for creatively overcoming the arising contradictions in due time can act as the leading force in this process. Marxism does teach, after all, that contradictions are inevitably attendant on development, which is nothing but the overcoming of contradictions. Only those contradictions which are left to themselves, which are wilfully ignored or demagogically exaggerated, tend to generate social crises.

On the way from capitalism to socialism, there are not only the contradictions which are rooted in the old formation, but also new ones, like those between the development of the productive forces and the organization of labor, between the level of consciousness and the methods of administration, between the short-term and the long-term interests of the working class, between the interests of the individual classes, strata and social groups, etc. It is the task of the Marxist-Leninist party not only to keep analyzing and resolving these contradictions before they produce a crisis, but also to

employ the propelling power they contain. Those are the conclusions the PUWP seeks to draw from its experience, fully conscious of the tremendous complexity of the task which is being tackled not in laboratory conditions, but on a living social fabric of socialism that is still sensitive to pain. Despite these difficulties, there is gradual and consistent advance virtually in every sphere of life of the party and the country.

During the past few years, which have been exceptionally difficult for us, the world socialist system has been true to its internationalist principles with respect to Poland. We are sincerely grateful to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to the other fraternal parties for their great economic assistance, above all from the Soviet Union, for their support at international forums, and equally for that which is exceptionally valuable for the communists, namely, for their trust in us and in the way along which we are advancing.

The PUWP is aware that its internationalist duty to world socialism and to the whole of progressive humankind is to overcome the socio-economic crisis as soon as possible and to assure Poland of further stable socialist development. This effectively signifies yet another defeat for imperialism hoping for socialism to "collapse" at least in one country. It signifies a strengthening of the positions of socialism in the world balance of class forces, and this has a great influence not only on the spread of the ideas of Marx and Lenin, but also on the efforts to avert the threat of a nuclear war and preserve life on the Earth.

In its heroic and tempestuous history, the Polish communist movement has repeatedly demonstrated its loyalty to its patriotic and internationalist duty both to its own working class and people, and to the international working class movement and the forces of world progress. For the Polish United Workers' Party, this heritage is a source of strength, pride and duty.

The call of the October Revolution resounds over the globe

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COMMENTARY

The longer the time span between us and those distant days of 1917, when the radio operator of the cruiser *Aurora* tapped out "To Whom It May Concern..." announcing to the whole world the victory of the socialist revolution in Russia, the bolder the relief for the whole of humankind to see the incomparable scope and abiding importance of the Great October Revolution, the main event of this 20th century of ours, which abounds in historical accomplishments. It is of lasting importance because, while the October Revolution naturally first of all tackled the problems of Russia posed before its working class and the rest of the people by the concrete historical situation in the former tsarist empire, these problems were at root not at all narrow or local, but general and affecting every country and nation, and the whole course of social development on the globe.

After the October Revolution, the world was no longer the same. It was a world which was "moving forward under the impact of revolutions that are shattering the old order and pregnant with the victory of the new," as Dolores Ibarruri graphically characterized the situation. "The roots of these revolutions are nourished by the same sources as the October Revolution."¹

It is probably impossible to find any major historical event of our day — be it the victory over fascism in the Second World War, the emergence of the socialist community, or the collapse of the old colonial empires — that is not illuminated by the light of the October Revolution. There is possibly no significant domestic or foreign policy act by any big or small state that is not in one way or another aimed to continue and develop the ideas and goals of the October Revolution, or conversely, to suppress these ideas and to try to cut short

the succession of revolutionary transformations and reverse the tide of history.

Without considering the highly diverse and exceptionally broad spectrum of impulses given by the October Revolution to the various spheres of historical development, let us try here to examine the approach to the solution of one of the key questions, even the paramount one facing humankind today: the question of war and peace.

Before the October Revolution, when capital was the supreme ruler of the world, the question of war and peace was decided at will by the financial oligarchy. One could say that in that period it was not wars that disrupted the peace, but rather that peace was a forced interval between wars. The October Revolution signified the emergence in the international arena of a working class organized in the form of a state, the emergence of a new historical formation — socialism — for which, in contrast to all the earlier formations, peace and free cooperation among nations, instead of war and violence, became both the moral ideal and the goal of practical policy.

"It is our duty to do everything . . . we promise the workers and peasants to do all we can for peace. This we shall do,"² Lenin, the leader of the proletarian revolution, declared on behalf of the young socialist state. From its very first day, the Soviet power of the Republic of Soviets put forward a program of struggle for a just and democratic peace between nations ensuring their security. The Decree on Peace, which was adopted on October 26 (November 8), 1917, formulated for the first time the basic propositions of the peace-loving foreign policy of the workers and peasants' socialist state. Those propositions provided the basis for the principles of peaceful coexistence between the two different social systems.

The triumphant revolution proposed that the belligerent parties should conclude a just peace without annexations or indemnities. How did international capital respond to these proposals and actions? The incumbent U.S. President Woodrow Wilson, who was subsequently invested with the unmerited halo of "peace-maker," was quick to reply: "Every day my heart bleeds when I think of what is happening in Russia; the same danger threatens the whole world. We must see to it that the form of 'popular rule' should not take root over here or anywhere else." Indeed, the counter-revolution in Russia was given generous material support by international imperialism. Something like 900,000 soldiers of the interventionist armies of Great Britain, Japan, the United States, France

and Germany invaded Soviet Russia; even a part of the imperialist-duped legionnaires of the Czechoslovak Corps was involved in the anti-Soviet venture, and so on. The October Revolution, which began as one of the most bloodless revolutions in history, had to take up arms and recreate the armed forces on new principles in order to defend its gains and the new social system.

Looking back over the past years, one will easily discover the constant presence in the post-October period of two main foreign policy lines which kept crossing each other and clashing at all the sharp historical turns: the line of socialism for peace and peaceful coexistence of states with different socio-political systems, and the line of capitalism for suppressing, by force of arms, not only the new and emergent socio-economic formation, but also all the manifestations of the social emancipation and national liberation process generally.

Let us recall some of the facts which have a direct bearing on the fortunes both of my own country, Czechoslovakia, and other countries.

To the USSR's proposal in the 1930s to set up a system of collective security in Europe, the reactionary imperialist circles responded by setting up the anti-communist Rome-Berlin axis, and then the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo triangle. Imperialism was prepared to sacrifice and did sacrifice one and all — Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland and China — so long as the fascist aggressors were incited against the USSR, so long as the world's first workers' and peasants' state was destroyed.

Soon after the Second World War ended in the rout of fascism and at the cost of more than 50 million human lives and immense suffering for all the peoples, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and the other young people's democracies which set off along the road of socialist construction took new important steps to strengthen peace. Reckoning with the lessons and experience of the past, they called for the establishment of a system under which the security of each country, whether big or small, regardless of its social system, would be the basis of security for all. How did imperialism respond? By aligning the most aggressive forces of international capitalism. By setting up NATO, SEATO, CENTO, a network of military blocs and bases surrounding the socialist states, and preparing for a nuclear war against the USSR. Imperialism was then forced to put off the realization of its prepared plans for wiping socialism off the face of the Earth only by the counter-measures taken to set up the Warsaw Treaty Organization, socialism's defensive al-

liance, and the liquidation of the U.S. monopoly of nuclear weapons.³

It was forced to put off those plans, but it did not abandon them.

Between 1948 and 1970, the United States mounted military operations under the slogan of "containing communism" on average once in 18 months.⁴ Altogether, since the Second World War, imperialism has started more than 100 local wars and armed conflicts, involving more than 12 million servicemen. The total losses in only 36 of the largest of these clashes came to roughly 20 million people, or almost 40 per cent of the human losses during the Second World War.⁵

The rise to power in the United States of the most reactionary, militaristic imperialist grouping which is behind the Reagan administration, and the shift to the right in the sphere of power in a number of NATO countries, have recently led to the reanimation of the absurd plans — long since debunked by historical development — for "liquidating socialism," "rolling back communism," and an anti-communist "crusade" which is conceived as a multifaceted and truly global campaign. Never before have the imperialist powers carried on the arms race on such a scale. Over the next few years, Washington intends to spend on it more than \$1.5 trillion.

The policy of stockpiling weapons of mass destruction and using armed force is fraught with a tremendous danger for the whole of humanity, for its future. It is a very real threat, because, as Gustav Husak, CPCz CC General Secretary and President of Czechoslovakia, said at the World Assembly "For Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War" in Prague, "we must note with profound concern that in the country which was the first to make and use the nuclear bomb, there are forces, even today, which see it as an instrument of intimidation, as a means of gaining control over the world."⁶

In this context, a special danger is posed by the planned deployment of U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe by the end of this year, for it will reduce the time limit for averting the flare-up of a nuclear conflagration, even, say, through some technical fault or human error, to 6 minutes for the USSR and 60 seconds for Czechoslovakia. Unfortunately, both in the United States and in the other NATO countries far from all the politicians realize that such a step is equally dangerous for their own countries as well. What impels imperialism to take this dangerous way?

An analysis of the present international situation from the Marxist-Leninist standpoint necessarily leads one to some general conclu-

sions which, we believe, need to be emphasized.

First, it will be easily seen that in the aggravating crisis of capitalism, the most reactionary circles are trying to compensate the narrowing down of the sphere of their political and economic domination in the world by a vast build-up of their militaristic potential. Imperialism seeks at any price to gain a military superiority over socialism, to bring it down to its knees and, if it cannot be strangled, then at least to weaken it by involving it in an endless arms race.

Second, it has to be stated that behind a barrage of propaganda slogans about the need to "roll back" and "contain" socialism, and having launched a "crusade" against communism, the imperialist powers, the United States in the first place, are strenuously bolstering their military and political influence in the raw-material-rich regions of the national liberation zone, and at the strategic crossroads of the most important sea routes. These powers intend, at any price, to retain their grip on the keys to the resource storehouses of other peoples and to perpetuate their economic inequality and dependence.

Finally, third, an important role belongs to the fact that the militarization of the economy in the capitalist countries and the fanning of war hysteria by all manner of means of anti-Soviet and anti-socialist provocations and myths inevitably lead to a militarization of the society in those countries. Democratic and trade union rights and freedoms are being curbed, the working people's social gains are being curtailed. The conditions for the struggle of the working class and its communist vanguard against the monopoly offensive are being made even harder.

The global confrontation between the two main lines in world policy — the imperialist line of threatening war, and aggressive military actions, and the socialist line of peace and peaceful coexistence — which the October Revolution inaugurated, has with the passage of time assumed different forms. Imperialism has fanned armed conflicts in various parts of the globe. The situation has alternately sharpened and improved, but perhaps never before in peace-time has it reached such a degree of gravity and tension as it has today. But even in this difficult situation, we, communists, continue to be sober-minded optimists, being profoundly convinced that a devastating nuclear war can be averted, and that it is possible to ensure the realization of the basic human right: the right to live in peace.

The time has passed when the imperialist

circles were in a position to decide at will whether there was to be war or peace. Our epoch is characterized by the fact that it has created not only unprecedented means of destruction but, fortunately for humankind, it has also produced the forces capable of preventing their use. They are, above all, the Soviet Union with its steadily growing economic might, its tremendous defense capability, which is expressed in the attainment of a military-strategic parity with the United States, and our whole socialist community with its high political and moral authority. It is also the non-aligned peace-loving states, the international working class, the forces of national liberation, and the broad anti-war movement involving tens and hundreds of millions of men and women of different nationalities, religious creeds, world views and political affiliations.

The front of the forces now acting for peace, and against the imperialist threat of war is exceptionally broad and many-sided. But for all this diversity (and this is a fact that is not always understood) it has accepted as a common platform for its actions the idea — born of the October Revolution — of lasting peaceful coexistence, the peaceful living side by side of the two different social systems, and the conviction that any attempt to settle the historical controversy between them through an armed clash would be fatal for humankind.

Even the most reactionary bourgeois politicians now have to reckon with this frame of mind. Even President Reagan, who has issued a call in the "best" traditions of his imperialist predecessors to liquidate the "communist evil," is forced to don the mask of a "peacemaker" and hold forth about his adherence to the cause of peace, for the sake of which, he claims, the United States needs to be armed to the teeth so as to ensure peace from a position of strength and fear. Translated into the language of practical politics, this means to upset, by hook or by crook, the existing military-strategic equilibrium so as to enable U.S. imperialism to dictate its will to the peoples.

Metaphorically speaking, inter-state relations according to Reagan are the coexistence of the sergeant-major with cowed recruits, a coexistence based on unconditional subordination backed up with the threat of the U.S. "big stick." Socialism will not accept such forms of "coexistence" and naturally does not and will not stand to attention at the sergeant-major's bellowing from across the ocean. Nor will imperialism manage to change this by any kind of provocation, like the provocation involving the flagrant violation of Soviet air

space by a South Korean plane, or the fanning of mass hysteria. Peaceful coexistence, for which the socialist states are striving, signifies coexistence on the principles of equality, mutual confidence and equal security. It is a peaceful competition aimed at raising the society's well-being, and simultaneously at cooperation in the areas where the problems faced by humankind call for joint efforts. We are sure that, sooner or later, the whole of humanity will come to understand and abide by the conditions of that kind of coexistence. Imperialism may slow down that process, but it is powerless to halt it without risking the annihilation of life itself on the Earth.

The assertion of peace and peaceful coexistence in international life, equal participation by the states in tackling humankind's problems, full use of material and spiritual potentialities for the benefit and harmonious development of people — none of these vital problems can be solved without the principles proposed by socialism. The CPSU and the fraternal parties of the other socialist states have acted, in accordance with the shaping international situation, purposefully to chart and to express in concrete terms the line of peaceful coexistence projected by the October Revolution. In this context, the comprehensively grounded, far-sighted and realistic Peace Program, elaborated at the congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, has been of fundamental importance. The task of consistently strengthening peace organically springs from the vital interests of the new society and its philosophical and ideological principles.

In standing up for the cause of peace and the security of the nations, the countries of our community act in good faith. Their leaders, in contrast to the imperialist powers' politicians, have no need to cover up their true intentions behind a barrage of peace-loving talk, because the intentions of the socialist countries' leaders meet the aspirations of the peoples of the whole world.

For 66 years now, the line of disarmament and collective security — equivalent security for all big and small countries — has highlighted socialism's foreign policy. Let us recall only some of the important initiatives taken by the USSR and the whole socialist community this year.

January. The Prague Conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty states put forward a broad range of proposals for strengthening peace, confidence and mutual security. Among them are the proposals to conclude a treaty on the mutual

non-resort to armed force and the maintenance of relations of peace between the Warsaw Treaty and the NATO countries, on purging the European continent of chemical weapons, and on freezing armaments at the existing level pending an agreement on their reduction.

May. In pursuance of its earlier initiatives on nuclear weapons cuts in Europe, the Soviet Union proposed that in each mutually agreed period, the USSR and NATO should have an equal number both of delivery vehicles (missiles and aircraft), and warheads on them. As a result, considerably fewer medium-range missiles and warheads on them would remain on the Soviet Union's European territory than there were in 1976, before the appearance of the SS-20 missiles.

June. The party and state leaders of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, GDR, Hungary, Poland, Romania and the USSR, assembled in Moscow, reaffirmed the need for a reduction of the medium-range weapons existing in Europe in order to ensure equilibrium at the lowest level, and called for a freeze on nuclear armaments without delay by all the powers, primarily the USSR and the United States.

August. The Soviet Union announced that, in the event of a mutually acceptable agreement being reached, including renunciation by the United States of its deployment of new missiles in Europe, it would, when reducing the number of its medium-range missiles in the European part of the country to the level equal to the number of missiles in the possession of Great Britain and France, *liquidate all the missiles to be removed.*

September. The Soviet leadership reaffirmed that the USSR is prepared to make a sharp, three-fold reduction in the nuclear arsenals of medium-range weapons in Europe and not to deploy new types of these weapons forthwith, without laying claim to a single missile or plane more than NATO would have.

If we add to all this the Soviet Union's solemn commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, the unilateral Soviet moratorium on the launching of anti-satellite weapons into outer space, and the proposals of the USSR and the Warsaw Treaty Organization as a whole on the prohibition of the development, production, stockpiling and use of chemical and bacteriological weapons, and on a reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, the following conclusion naturally suggests itself: there is no type of weapon that the socialist states are not prepared to limit, or prohibit on the basis of a mutual understanding with other countries.

"By advancing far-reaching proposals on the limitation and reduction of nuclear arms — both strategic and medium-range ones — in Europe," says General Secretary Yuri Andropov in his address to the Soviet people, to all the other peoples, and to all those who are responsible for formulating the policy of states, "we show our concern not only for the security of the USSR, the socialist community states, but also for the security of all other countries."⁷

In this way, the call issued by the October Revolution — "Peace to the Peoples!" — is being embodied in the concrete foreign policy activity of the state-organized working people, the foreign policy of socialism.

The resolve to check the arms race, and the course toward peace and peaceful coexistence, whose principles were determined by the Great October Revolution and made the foundation of the new international policy of the world's first socialist country, have been and continue to be the main line of the socialist community's foreign policy activity. But now and again one hears it being said in some circles in the West: if socialism stands for peace, why does it also arm itself, why don't the USSR and the other Warsaw Treaty countries announce their unilateral disarmament, a unilateral freeze on nuclear arsenals, and a unilateral withdrawal of their nuclear weapons from Europe?

This is sometimes said even by some who consider themselves to be committed opponents of war, and so it is worth taking a closer look at these views. Let us recall that the USSR has already carried out some widely significant, unilateral acts. For instance, the commitment not to use nuclear weapons first. What was the response? The example has not had any effect. On the contrary, the monopoly press, radio and television at once tried to distort the very meaning of that humane act.

It would, of course, be naive to expect imperialism to follow suit in the event of socialism's unilateral disarmament. The historical facts testify that international imperialism tends to respond to any weakening of socialism by instantly trying to strangle and stamp out the new social system and restore its undivided rule. There is no evidence in the acts of the U.S. administration and its main NATO allies of any desire to heed the voice of reason. On the contrary, there is a most pronounced tendency in these circles to regard any manifestation of common sense, which springs from an understanding that the two opposite social systems may have to co-exist on this planet of ours perhaps for years to come, as a sign of weakness, something akin to "Munich appeasement."

But let us recall what the Munich policy actually consisted in. It was surrender on the part of the contemporary West to Hitler's aggressive aspirations, which led not only to the downfall of the first Czechoslovak Republic, but also to a savage strike by the fascist armadas at the capitalist countries whose leaders initiated the criminal Munich deal. The Second World War broke out. Isn't that deal reminiscent of the present policy of the governments of the imperialist powers, which, contrary to the interests of their own countries, support the aggressive aspirations of the United States in various parts of the globe, including the deployment of medium-range missiles in Western Europe? Are not the Pentagon's present-day military conceptions akin to the delirious plans of the old aggressors in Europe and the Far East?

For all that, statements are being made to the effect that Reagan's policy allegedly has an anti-Munich character! Every honest person will undoubtedly be able to sort out that kind of claim for himself.

The equilibrium of forces in the modern world should not be reduced to the military sphere alone, because it involves a set of factors and realities determining the peaceful development of international relations. Gustav Husak says: "Like other states of the socialist community, socialist Czechoslovakia consistently defends the view that security for all states, and political and economic stability cannot be achieved by efforts to change or upset the existing equilibrium of forces. A constant renewal of the equilibrium is fraught with a further stockpiling of weapons, which is why that is not a solution of the problem either. The only acceptable solution is the maintenance of the existing equilibrium and a gradual lowering of its level."⁸

The socialist countries have a vital concern for strengthening peace and respond with readiness to constructive peace initiatives, wherever these may come from. Our community has never claimed to have some sort of monopoly in this matter. Since the triumph of the October Revolution in Russia, socialism's efforts have always been aimed to make concern for averting aggressive wars a matter for all the states and peoples, for all the anti-war forces, including realistically-minded members of the bourgeoisie disagreeing with the militaristic line of the imperialist ruling circles. Experience proves that in order to avert the danger of war, there is a need for broad cooperation of all, and not just of some or individual contingents of the peace movements. This was well put at the World Assembly "For Peace and Life, Against

Nuclear War" in Prague: "When our common home is on fire, you do not ask your neighbor who has joined you in putting out the fire, whether he is a Communist or a Conservative, a Catholic or a Moslem. The main thing is to put out the fire faster."

Peace today is not just a preferential state for the existence of society or a favorable prerequisite for social progress. The problem of war and peace has become a problem of humankind's future, and on its solution depends not only what kind of future we shall have, but whether it will dawn for all of us at all, whichever continent we may live in.

Socialism and peace are indivisible. The victory of the Great October Revolution and the emergence of the world socialist system gave rise to a mighty political force on the globe which has taken a fundamentally new approach to the solution of the problems of international politics. The purposeful and consistent struggle for peace by the socialist community countries, and by the communist and workers' parties, supported by the national liberation movement and the many democratic and progressive public trends is bearing fruit.

Today, on the eve of yet another anniversary of the Great October Revolution, looking back on the way that has been traversed and the experience gained, one has every reason to assert: the possibility of preserving peace is a realistic one. Despite the fact that the danger of war has been intensified, there continues to exist the prospect of excluding the threat of nuclear war from the life of society. In pursuing their policy of peace, the socialist community countries and the communists of the globe are deeply convinced: humankind will succeed in overcoming the present dangerous stage in international relations and taking the path of peace in line with the vital interests of all the countries and nations.

"Peace to the Peoples!" — the call issued by the October Revolution, continues to ring especially loud and clear today.

1. WMR, No. 4, 1965.
2. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 379.
3. For details about these plans, see: "The Truth About the Big Lie," WMR, No. 4, 1981.
4. *World Military and Social Expenditures 1980*. Ed. by R.L. Sivard, Washington, 1980.
5. *Who Threatens Whom*, Moscow, 1981, p. 55 (in Russian).
6. *Rude pravo*, June 22, 1983.
7. *Pravda*, September 29, 1983.
8. *Rude pravo*, June 22, 1983.

For national democracy in defiance of the dictatorship

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None of today's problems of our country can be considered out of the context of the growing struggle between the two world social systems and the peoples' common fight for peace. Turkey is in a grievous situation due to dependence on U.S. imperialism. The generals who seized power on September 12, 1980 and established a brutal dictatorship, exposing our country to the threat of destruction in a nuclear war that aggressive imperialist forces may start, are out to turn Turkey into a bridgehead of the Pentagon against socialist countries and the peoples of the Middle East. This has understandably won the military junta praise from Washington.

Speaking in California in the middle of last May, President Reagan affirmed that the Turkish military regime had dedicated itself to the "restoration of democracy."¹ Two weeks later former Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel, Chairman of the Justice Party (JP), and former foreign minister Ihsan Sabri Caglayangil found themselves among tens of thousands of Turkish political prisoners. On May 15 the junta announced a reorganization of the so-called "free" political parties. However, it immediately banned the new alignments formed by people close to the traditional bourgeois parties or stripped their leaders of civil rights. Going still further, the regime arrested many leaders of the JP and Republican People's Party (RPP).

In the same days, NATO held the biggest exercise in Turkish history — Adventure Express 83 — along the Soviet frontier. The exercise involved a U.S. rapid deployment force and was matched by General Bernard Rogers, NATO Supreme Commander in Europe, and NATO Secretary-General Joseph Luns. At a news conference held on the Turkish-Soviet frontier, the most stable and secure frontier that Turkey has ever had, Rogers made a provocative speech alleging that the zone was a "traditional region of conflict."

Late in May Turkish troops crossed into Iraq. They attacked Kurdish patriots in the north of the country and took 2,000 people "prisoner" as a result of the operation.

The facts show that developments in Turkey have nothing to do with the "restoration of democracy." Reagan's statement merely implied that the regime serves U.S. imperialism's plans and enjoys its support.

Regime's chief "enemy"

Turkey's prisons are filled to capacity. Tens of thousands of political prisoners, ranging from leading as well as rank and file members of left political parties to trade union leaders and from members of democratic mass alignments to members of the Turkish Peace Committee and Kurdish patriotic organizations, are being held in inhuman conditions and maltreated. Even official data, which by no means reflect the actual state of affairs, betray the proportions of repression and terror. A statement released by the General Staff on August 5, 1983 said that by the middle of the year military prosecutors had examined over 62,000 cases under emergency laws and various sentences had been passed on more than 55,000 defendants; 178 persons had been sentenced to death, 25 of them had been executed, and the examination of the remaining cases was continuing.²

Official reports certainly say nothing about either the atrocious torture to which political prisoners are subjected or the number of patriots tortured to death. After September 12, 1980, our people lost hundreds of their sons and daughters who had been among the most active revolutionaries and died in the prison cells of the political police. In November 1982, comrade Deniz (Mustafa Hayrullahoglu), member of our party CC, died from torture in Istanbul.

Thousands of progressives had to leave the country. Tens of thousands of patriots were dismissed from the civil service. Chauvinist oppression of the Kurds living in Turkey assumed unprecedented proportions.

The dictatorship's fierce assault on the communists and other left-wingers was followed by attacks on bourgeois democrats. The junta generals now persecute and arrest bourgeois reformists linked with the RPP and even some rightists close to the JP.

The junta thoroughly altered state power, destroyed every element of bourgeois parliamentary government and militarized all public life. It reorganized government institutions, the university and the education system as a whole in conformity with barrack discipline. The "constitution" worked out by the generals did away with basic democratic rights and freedoms. As for the laws on political parties, trade unions, the press, elections and so on, that were enacted after the "constitution" became effective as a result of a so-called referendum (November 1982), they are even more reactionary than the "constitution" itself. "By means of these and other restrictions," *Frankfurter Allgemeine* wrote, "the generals violated in effect the constitution drafted by themselves and approved in a referendum."³

The regime pushed its brutality to the point of convicting 75-year-old Nadir Nadi, a consistent democrat and Kemalist, the universally esteemed Editor-in-Chief of the daily *Cumhuriyet*, for an article he wrote 20 years ago, calling on youth to follow the line of Ataturk, the founder of the republic.

The army top leadership headed by Kenan Evren, former Chief of the Army General Staff, who proclaimed himself President of the Republic following the referendum mentioned above, now plans to put a parliamentary mask on the fascist regime. This is the purpose of the "elections" due on November 6, 1983. The generals have founded a party of their own called Nationalist Democracy Party (NDP)⁴ under the leadership of retired military men loyal to them. The only parties allowed to join in the utterly undemocratic "elections," to be held in the atmosphere of martial law, are those that have alleged loyalty to the regime.

Before taking office, the new Chief of the General Staff and a member of the junta, General Ersin, said: "The Turkish Armed Forces will continue their persistent attitude toward preventing and eliminating the threats coming from the internal enemies, who are as important and as dangerous as the external enemies."⁵

The regime's domestic policy is determined entirely by the Pentagon's doctrine of "national security." In line with this doctrine the generals, who have been trained in the USA, ultimately regard their own people as the chief enemy. They see all economic and social demands of the working class and other working people, all demands for democratic freedoms made by diverse political forces ranging from the communists to bourgeois liberals, and the people's demands for the defense of peace as "serving Soviet interests." Using

"geopolitical" arguments borrowed from the nazis and developed by the Pentagon, and lies about the "Soviet threat," the regime's leaders allege that "democracy in Turkey, a neighbor of the Soviet Union, is harmful to national security." They cling to anti-communism and anti-Sovietism to preserve their anti-popular, fascist dictatorship.

The falsehood about the "Soviet threat" is being used as a means of completely transforming Turkey into a satellite of the Pentagon. The U.S. administration, which seeks military superiority over the socialist countries and a change in the Middle East balance in its own favor, wants our country to play the role of an advanced bridgehead. This is the purpose of certain secret bilateral agreements. The junta has allowed the Pentagon to set up new bases on Turkish soil and approved plans for the use of Turkish troops in the Middle East in the interest of the United States.⁶

Instrument of external force

The military regime is a plaything in U.S. hands. It conforms itself to the imperialists' aggressive ambitions, sacrificing the very existence of the nation to the nuclear folly of the Pentagon and rejecting initiatives of its neighbors — the Soviet Union and Bulgaria — toward fostering peaceful good-neighborliness.

Under the dictatorship Turkey is directly affected by the dangerous consequences of the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression. It may be dragged into war at any moment. To capitalize on the situation created by the Iraqi-Iranian conflict, Washington urges Turkey to engage in military adventures on the territory of these countries. And by helping step up tension on the Syrian border, it wants to create favorable conditions for Israeli aggression. It also uses Turkey as a barrier to the development of events in Cyprus and Greece in an anti-imperialist direction and to a peaceful solution of the region's problems.

The Turkish fascist junta is above all else a tool of foreign imperialist forces. Fascism was exported to our country by U.S. imperialism with the aid of its flunkies. However, imperialism is now something more than an external factor in regard to Turkey; it is also an internal factor gaining in significance, having its spokesmen and capable of interfering directly in Turkish politics.

The junta's economic policy follows guidelines imposed by the IMF and is based on monetarist ideas. This policy was initiated in 1980 with the professed aim of ending the crisis. Yet the crisis has gone deeper in recent years. The measures that were adopted resulted

in its burden being put with the help of bayonets on the shoulders of the workers, peasants and middle strata. The real incomes of these categories show a sharp decrease. Official statistics set the unemployment rate at 18 per cent of the workforce although even a Voice of America broadcast for Turkey spoke of 30 per cent.

Per capita national income dropped from 1,146 dollars in 1979 to 911 in 1983, according to the State Institute of Statistics. The crisis dealt industry a telling blow. Numerous enterprises owned by small and middle capitalists failed. Production is running at 50 per cent capacity. Stagnation is threatening even the interests of part of the monopoly bourgeoisie. The summer of 1982 saw the bankruptcy of the Transturk and Cavusoglu-Kozanoglu companies.

By contrast, holding companies enjoying the greatest government support, such as Koc, Sabanci or Cukurova, have grown stronger than ever; their control over industry, trade and banking is unprecedented today. In the past three years the general trend has been toward an ever stronger interlocking of the economic power of state and monopoly; this is typical of a state-monopoly capitalism that has asserted itself. Implementation of the IMF program, cuts in industrial investment, a monetarist policy, subsidies for export industries and an extremely high rate of monopolization have accentuated the parasitical character of the bourgeoisie's activity and made for an increase in bank capital and an upturn in financial speculation. Parasitism is the objective basis for the consolidation of reaction and fascism.

Rapid monopolization of capital through ruthless exploitation of the working class and other working people is a distinctive feature of the present economic situation. Another essential feature is strong economic dependence on imperialism, and extreme intensification of imperialist exploitation and increased plunder of the nation's resources. In 1982 alone, the neocolonialists took 4 billion dollars in profits out of Turkey.

Foreign investors, primarily U.S. banks, have unlimited opportunities in Turkey. Imperialism and its underlings are strangling our economy, that foundation of our national independence and source of our people's prosperity. Industrialization plans have been set aside at the insistence of the IMF. The growth of the state sector, a decisive component of the national economy, is limited, and numerous state enterprises have been put under private control. U.S. and Turkish monopolies are now focusing attention on agriculture, which sup-

plies a substantial part of the GNP. They are trying to adapt our economy to "agricultural production for export" and hence to tie it to imperialist interests still more closely.

The generals' deeply hostile attitude to progressive ideas as well as the reactionary policy of the monopoly bourgeoisie have caused a decline in public life and cultural activity. Publishers and people of culture are prosecuted, one of the charges being that years ago they published the works of Nazim Hikmet, Turkey's greatest poet enjoying world renown, a champion of peace and social progress.

The present dictatorship, the Political Bureau of the CC CPT said in a statement on July 24, 1983, transformed itself step by step into a fascist regime and became completely fascist in the end. It is an anti-popular, openly terroristic dictatorship of forces linked with the international financial oligarchy, of the most pro-imperialist monopolistic and parasitical groups of the Turkish bourgeoisie, big landed proprietors, militarist generals and the top bureaucracy. The junta is an instrument of U.S. imperialist domination over our region, an instrument of the U.S. policy of aggression in this part of the globe.

The evolution of the regime was conditioned by the following main factors:

- the U.S. policy of undermining détente, stepping up the arms race, increasing international tensions and creating a qualitatively new and most dangerous situation in the world;

- the role assigned to Turkey by the NATO strategy of aggression as a bridgehead against socialist countries and national liberation movements in the Middle East; above all, an escalation of every form of U.S. imperialist pressure on the ruling quarters of our country to make them accept this role;

- the junta's build-up of armaments and militarization of every sphere of public life;

- rapid concentration of capital; the monopolies' growing influence on the state; the effort of the big compradore bourgeoisie to secure opportunities for external expansion and gain new markets with the support of U.S. imperialism, by serving it and helping extend its military and political influence;

- a continuing cyclical crisis, which began in developed capitalist countries in 1980 and went deeper afterwards, and its ruinous effects on Turkey as a dependent country; a further deepening of the structural crisis, which has a negative impact on the condition of the working class, other working people and the middle strata as well as the bourgeoisie, with the ex-

ception of the owners of major companies; mounting class contradictions and an increasing differentiation between fascist, reactionary, liberal and reformist trends among the bourgeoisie;

— the use of terroristic, fascist methods to suppress mass action; the futility of the big bourgeoisie's attempts to offset the militancy of progressive forces and the CPT; the rulers' inability to govern the country even by limited parliamentary methods.

"The junta cannot solve any one of the problems of vital importance facing Turkey," said our party CC as far back as September 12, 1980.⁷ In November 1980, the CC newspaper, *Atilim*, served the following warning: "The trend of evolution of the regime is still uncertain. The regime may become fascist, nor can the possibility of a fascist coup be ruled out."⁸ Subsequently the CPT noted that the regime was becoming more and more reactionary. We resolved to carry on our policy with due regard to the need to achieve the unity of the broadest possible forces so as to bring about a change in developments towards consolidating peace and democracy.

To achieve this objective, we set ourselves specific tasks. However, fascism could not be stopped. The situation deteriorated; the Communist Party was dealt telling blows and had, moreover, to defend itself against internal opportunist elements. Other left forces, which had defined the regime from the first as fascist, failed to see either the gradual deepening of its reactionary character or the role of U.S. imperialism in this evolution. Efforts to bring about left unity proved fruitless; the bourgeois opposition was vacillating.

The leadership of the JP, which defends the interests of the big monopoly bourgeoisie but advocates a limited parliamentary regime, backed the junta's counter-revolutionary measures. Thereby it helped create the present situation, in which it is one of the victims of repression. The leadership of the RPP, which speaks for the national reformist group of the bourgeoisie, also pinned certain hopes on the generals' promises to eventually transfer power to a civilian government and preferred to adopt a wait-and-see position. The class interests defended by these forces and their fear of the likely revolutionary consequences of an active struggle by the masses prompted them not to resist the junta but rather to seek cooperation with it.

Broad opposition and our program

Contradictions between U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, on the one hand, and all other clas-

ses and social sectors in Turkey, on the other, are taking a sharp turn for the worse. We have witnessed the early manifestations of open anti-fascist protest. In the summer of 1982, during the debate on the "constitution" drafted by the junta, there developed a broad-based opposition prompted by a common desire to preserve the democratic provisions of the 1961 constitution. Unfortunately, the opposition restricted itself to declarations in defense of democracy instead of acting. However, the junta's "victory" in the referendum on the "constitution" did not discourage opposition. Indeed, the conclusion that there is no restoring democracy under the existing regime — a conclusion which has underlain our party's propaganda from the outset — is accepted by a large body of public opinion. Politically conscious workers, progressive intellectuals and young people are no longer passive. The dictatorship is now confronted with diverse political forces ranging from the communists to the rightist bourgeois liberal leadership of the JP. The artificial party formed by the junta has already earned it the people's hatred.

In July and August the political inmates of 10 prisons went on a hunger strike that lasted nearly a month. Their struggle, backed at home and abroad, was the first and biggest protest action under the present regime. A CC CPT statement dated July 18, 1983 said that the isolation of the fascist junta was growing and that the regime's position was unstable. Our party has decided that the November elections should be used for evolving a common position of the left forces and uniting them, for rallying together all opponents of the regime. It is possible to foil the regime's maneuvers, defeat the parties following it and pave the way for its removal. This is a principled and yet flexible policy aimed at rousing the masses to action.

Now that the dictatorship is completely isolated, U.S. imperialism and its lackeys may hasten to lay plans for new "modifications" of the system of government as they try to preserve its fascist character. This makes it highly important for the working class and other working people as well as the middle strata to work firmly and consciously toward depriving imperialism's accomplices of power. We consider it our direct task to gradually prepare for and launch a national resistance movement in order to bring down the dictatorship.

There is a need for stronger action by the people for their economic and social interests and for the subordination of their struggle to the main goal, the abolition of the regime. The junta can only be removed as a result of action by the masses, with the working class increas-

ing its leading role. The national resistance movement today is compelled to use the most diverse forms of struggle. However, our party rejects any provocative action, particularly in the form of acts of terrorism, and seeks an upsurge in the working class movement by using every legal opportunity. It is working to bring about cooperation with other left forces and the national movements of the Kurdish people.

The action program "For Peace and National Democracy" approved by the CC CPT meeting in April 1983 calls for effort to help safeguard world peace, prevent the destruction of Turkey in a nuclear war, frustrate U.S. imperialist plans aimed at making Turkey a policeman of the region, remove the junta and establish a national democratic regime.

The Communist Party demands the following:

— Turkey must contribute actively to the maintenance of international peace, respect the principles of peaceful coexistence with the socialist countries and disengage itself from all commitments imposed by treaties with NATO and the USA and impeding this. It must not allow our territory and our armed forces to be used for threatening third countries and promoting plans for aggression against them. It must seek a peaceful settlement of its disputes with neighbors and foster relations with all countries in various fields on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. Turkish-Soviet friendship must be a key principle of foreign policy.

— Grant a general amnesty to imprisoned anti-fascists, end all persecution, re-establish the civil rights of political refugees and allow them to return to their country unhindered. Abrogate the 1982 "constitution" and draft a national democratic constitution on the democratic principles of the 1961 constitution. Under this new constitution, all power must be vested in a sovereign parliament that will exercise it in the people's interest. Guarantee all political rights and freedoms, freedom of trade union activity, thought and religion, prohibit fascism and call a halt to the oppression of the Kurdish people on ethnic grounds. Rid the state apparatus, especially the army, of fascists, junta men and imperialist agents and reorganize it on democratic principles. Entrust the army with defending national independence and democracy.

— End economic dependence, effect a democratic land reform, abolish the privileges of domestic and foreign monopolies and big capital, curb their activity and ban predatory transactions on the part of the compradore bourgeoisie. Expand the state sector of the economy, move on to industrialization, work to

provide higher economic, social and cultural standards for the people and seek an equitable distribution of the national income in the working people's interests. Reduce the excessive military expenditures imposed by NATO.

National democracy implies neither a return to the limited bourgeois democracy that existed before September 12, 1980 and gave rise to fascism, nor the accession of an ordinary bourgeois government to power. It implies defense of the people's interests, social progress, curbs on imperialist domination and the power of collaborationists, and the provision of opportunities for the working class and other working people to use their creative abilities. Our party does not identify the establishment of national democracy after the downfall of the fascist regime with an anti-imperialist people's democratic revolution. It regards national democracy as a means of coming closer to such a revolution. This path was indicated by Lenin; quoting the *Communist Manifesto*, which says that the communists support every revolutionary movement, he pointed out that "we are obliged for that reason to expound and emphasize *general democratic tasks before the whole people*, without for a moment concealing our socialist convictions. He is no Social-Democrat who forgets in practice his obligation to be ahead of all in raising, accentuating, and solving every general democratic question."⁹

Strengthening the party — the main factor

The military dictatorship has reduced our country to a calamitous state which can only be ended by the joint efforts of all national forces. However, not a single problem facing Turkey can be solved definitively without the active participation and struggle of the working class. Our party advocates the formation of a government of all democrats that would eliminate the fascist junta. Even if the CPT were not to participate in this government it would back its every step intended to further the revolutionary process and enable the working class to freely exercise its rights. It should be clear that no government could cope with any problem of national significance without the left forces, including the communists.

Disunity of the national resistance forces fighting against the fascist junta is the greatest obstacle to their revolutionary victory. By actively using anti-Sovietism and anti-communism, the compradore bourgeoisie has succeeded in preventing the unification of these forces. Our party takes account of national and international factors in carrying on its ideological and political struggle against

anti-Sovietism and anti-communism and strives to combine fidelity to principle with flexibility in approaching diverse national democratic forces. It corrected certain left sectarian mistakes immediately after the April meeting of its Central Committee. The meeting noted that in seeking unity of the national democratic forces, it is very important to take a proper approach to patriotic elements in the army and to religious currents putting forward progressive demands as well as to the Kurdish national movement.

The Communist Party steadfastly combats "left" opportunism, which minimizes the significance of action in support of every-day demands and reforms, and whose followers call for resistance primarily to the middle strata and not to the chief enemy. They virtually reject a broad front against the junta, preferring a narrow front, abusing revolutionary appeals and looking down on the masses. Our party also exposes right opportunist currents, which dim the revolutionary vision of the working class, reduce its tasks to a struggle to bring about an ordinary bourgeois parliamentary regime, and link the working class with the bourgeois opposition.

The main factor for the successful development and ultimate victory of the national resistance movement is to ensure that the CPT grows stronger and establishes solid links with the masses. Nor must we ever forget the need for the party to see to the safety of its cadre members in the climate of fascist repression. The regime has arrested thousands of CPT

members and supporters; some of them were murdered, many organizations were destroyed and some comrades have lost contact with the party. There is also evidence of trends typical of periods of rampant reaction, such as the growing activity of anti-party elements and factionalists and the infiltration of our ranks by police agents and traitors. However, it is now safe to say that the CPT has healed its wounds thanks to the efforts and devotion of its membership. The ideological, political and organizational unity of the party is growing.

In spite of great difficulties, the communists are in the forefront of the mass struggle and are building up their links with the working people. Preparing for the fifth CPT congress, party organizations have begun to discuss theses devoted to the centenary of the birth of Mustafa Subhi, founder of the Communist Party of Turkey. The congress will give a powerful spur to the activity of the party, which is entering a period of hard class battles.

1. *Milliyet*, May 12, 1983.

2. See *Cumhuriyet*, August 6, 1983.

3. *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, June 21, 1983.

4. Turgut Sunalp, now Chairman of NDP, is a retired general and a member of the board of directors of the Guaranty Bank, an institution controlled by the Koc and Sabanci holding companies. He boasts of having a "very clear conception of methods of combating communism."

5. *Turkish Daily News*, July 7, 1983.

6. For details, see Ismail Bilen, "Way to Peace: Unity of Anti-War Forces," *WMR*, No. 4, 1983.

7. *Atilim*, October 1980.

8. *Ibid.*, November 1980.

9. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 425.

Contemporary capitalism analyzed

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MARXISM A HUNDRED YEARS AFTER MARX

Since the appearance of Volume One of *Capital* in 1867, there has been a steady stream of publications and speeches aimed either to refute Karl Marx's economic doctrine or to declare it outdated. This stream tends to swell close to anniversary dates in the history of Marxism, and this has once again happened in 1983. A hundred years after Marx, one can hardly find a periodical advocating the interests of the big or petty bourgeoisie that has not tried to show that Marx's theory has nothing or next to nothing that is relevant to the economic reality of the

capitalist world today. Wrong notions explain only a part of such "evaluations," most of which spring from an urge to minimize the influence of Marxist ideas, to push them into the background, and by every possible means to prevent Marx's theory from taking hold of the masses and so becoming a material force in the capitalist countries as well.

As objective economic conditions are polarized (as Marx predicted), the fear of Marxism and the struggle against it are stepped up, and that is precisely what is being done just now. Capitalism is once again in the throes of a deep crisis, and the instability has been spreading to every sphere of society; the class struggle,

which is now also directed against the capitalist social system itself, is simultaneously becoming more acute.

The attempts to disprove Marx's economic doctrine nowadays tend to run into a grotesque and obvious contradiction with capitalist reality. Was it not Marx who emphasized that capitalist accumulation, while developing the productive forces on a historically unprecedented scale, would result in the alienation of labor, dehumanize it, undermine the natural foundations of the economy, and fail to prevent a relative — and in some spheres also an absolute — impoverishment of the masses? Was it not Marx who formulated the thesis about the industrial reserve army of labor as a substantive phenomenon attendant upon capitalist accumulation and the development of the productive forces? In this way he did more to explain the existence of mass unemployment today than have all the bourgeois theorists who continue to regard each economic crisis as being accidental or as resulting from avoidable mistakes. Was it not Marx who predicted that the concentration and centralization of capital would bring about the crucial structural changes on the basis of which present-day monopoly capitalism has, in fact, emerged? The listing of what Marx did could well be continued.

Marx's economic theory does not, of course, amount to some kind of construct with hard-and-fast scientific conclusions that are relevant to any reality. Its principal theoretical propositions were developed, elaborated and amplified in the course of capitalism's historical evolution. But that does not contradict these propositions and does not amount to their refutation or revision, because Marx's theory predicted the inevitable changes in capitalism until the point at which it is replaced by socialism.

Laws which continue to operate

The economic theory Marx formulated over a century ago is still valid — and more so than any other — in explaining the principles, mechanism and uniformities behind the functioning of capitalism. It also provides a solid basis for the working people's practical activity. Let us recall (somewhat schematically for the purposes of popularization) some of the central elements of Marx's economic doctrine.

Market economics is the economics of exploitation. According to the "market economics" ideology, economic life in a society consists of exchanges among a multitude of free and equal individuals acting as private-property owners and selling their diverse

commodities on the market. A study of market processes led the classics of bourgeois political economy to suggest that the value of commodities was determined by the quantity of labor they contained. Marx held that the labor theory of value was a major accomplishment of economic science, and made that his starting point. What had been seen as relations between things, he saw as relations between people, and established the fact that the exchange of and commerce in commodities is the connection people establish with each other through the market-place.

Having analyzed the specifics of commodity production under capitalism (and the capitalist society is above all a society of commodity production), Marx discovered that in that society labor-power is also converted into a commodity. Labor-power, he said, had not been a commodity from time immemorial, but has become such through economic evolution, and has also been established as such historically by fire and sword. The expropriation of the actual producers at the stage of primitive accumulation led to the distribution of property, the source from which the bourgeois power relations in society, including in the economic sphere, sprang.

In consequence of class stratification, the bulk of the individuals can offer on the market no other commodity than their labor-power, while the numerically small class of capitalists is in possession of the means of production. Hence the bourgeoisie's domination of the working class. It is this domination, these relations of production, generated by property relations, and not just exchange or sale on the market, that determine the main economic processes under capitalism. Being the material foundation of and the condition for the functioning of the market economy, these processes are manifested in a constant increase of the surplus-value produced by the workers and in its appropriation by the capitalists. "Production of surplus-value is the absolute law of this mode of production."¹

Marx's ideas are still valid today. Substantial changes arising from the emergence of monopoly capital and new forms of exploitation and domination have, of course, occurred in the structure and strategy both of capital and of the working class. But the appropriation by the capitalist class of the wealth produced by the working class continues to be the basis of their relations even today, and the main goal of capital and also of its state has always been and continues to be primarily to ensure and enlarge that base.

Profit as the aim of capitalist economic operations. From the law of surplus-value follows another fundamental proposition of Marx's economic theory, namely, his conclusion that profit, the converted form of surplus-value, "is the direct aim and determining motive of production."²

Performed labor constitutes the substance of commodity value, according to which the products are involved in economic commerce as commodities, while the value itself is measured by the quantity of labor-time. But it is not those who have produced the commodity — not the workers — but the capitalists that offer it on the market. Market processes (or economic and social life under capitalism) are geared to the task of maximizing the capitalist's profit on his invested capital. The impact of this factor on the development of the capitalist economy and the competition directly caused by it impel the capitalists to accumulate the surplus-value appropriated in the form of profit for the purpose of further increasing the mass of capital and its subsequent realization (that is, a fresh increase in the volume of profit).

Such is one of the main uniformities of capitalism, which continues to operate in our day as well. Substantive changes have taken place in the structures of the aggregate social capital, but the extraction of profit — now mainly in the form of monopoly profit — continues to be the lodestar toward which the whole of economic activity under capitalism is oriented. State economic policy also serves to maintain and re-establish the profitability of private capital, even and especially where it makes use of labor-power and the means of production not for the purpose of making profit.

What is the outcome of the main law of capitalism? Marx's economic theory shows the internal contradictions and crisis trends in the capitalist mode of production. The realization of invested capital, which increases as a result of accumulation, requires a constant increase in the mass of surplus-value. This is achieved through the production both of absolute surplus-value (by lengthening the working day, increasing the number of workers, etc.) and relative surplus-value (by reducing the necessary labor-time and by increasing surplus-time accordingly).

The concentration of many workers under one capitalist command leads to the use, in a distorted form, of the specific productive force of social cooperation, and to an increase in labor productivity and volume of output on a historically unprecedented scale. These processes convert the material basis of social pro-

duction into technologically ever more interconnected complexes. These are not coordinated "retroactively," through market processes, but are brought together and concerted through deliberate social programming: at large enterprises, cartels, through government contracts, sub-contracting, etc.

However, private property and private appropriation increasingly act as an obstacle in the way of comprehensive planning and regulation on the scale of society as a whole. The growing contradiction between the socialization of production and private appropriation is manifested in periodical cyclical crises, and also in the more protracted super-cyclical crisis phenomena.

The cyclical crises make manifest the mutually exclusive processes in the development of production and the market. On the one hand, under the pressure of competition, production is oriented toward the available technical production potentialities (and keeps constantly expanding them), and on the other, the market (or demand) is mainly dependent on consumer demand. The latter is narrowed down in consequence of the lagging growth of the working people's relative incomes, and in some instances, also of their absolute incomes. As a result, the cyclical crisis is a process in the course of which the discrepancy between supply and demand is forcibly resolved through the destruction of a part of capital, and now also through the destruction of production facilities. This sets the starting point for the next round in the realization of capital.

By contrast, super-cyclical crises manifest the more long-term effects of the productive forces' development. This is a historically irreversible process which keeps confronting capitalism with steadily compounded problems. These were indicated by Marx when he formulated, in particular, the law of the tendency of the rate of profit to fall.

The growth in the organic structure of capital, which is determined above all by the operation of the law of surplus-value, leads to a relative reduction in the demand for labor-power (in view of the spread throughout industry of new hardware and technology, and the "saturation" of the market). Owing to the decline in mass purchasing power, there is a simultaneous limitation of the possibility of realizing surplus-value extracted in the form of profit. In the long term, this causes an underloading of production capacities and mass unemployment, there is an ever more frequent loss of opportunities for obtaining profit and of incentives for investment, demand is depressed, the already massive unemployment increases, and

the whole economy moves into a slump. "The laboring population therefore produces, along with the accumulation of capital produced by it, the means by which it itself is made relatively superfluous, is turned into a relative surplus-population; and it does this to an always increasing extent."³

So, the level of socialization of production rises: a cooperative form of the labor process is developed on a constantly growing scale; the technical application of science is expanded; the means of labor are increasingly converted into a form which allows only their joint use, etc. But these processes run within the framework of a private economy. Owing to private property in the means of production, capitalist enterprises appear on the market as private commodity producers. In consequence, the social character of production runs into an irreconcilable contradiction with the domination of capital and private property. "The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along with, and under it. Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument."⁴

Considering the new phenomena

The development of capitalism over the past hundred years has fully borne out Marx's conclusions, for this development continues to run in the form of periodic cycles of crisis. In the history of capitalism, the super-cyclical crisis trends have repeatedly led to heavy breakdowns and ruptures, to two world wars, and to extensive and worldwide economic crises. But the growing contradictions do not cause the automatic collapse of capitalism, and that, too, is in accord with Marx's theory. The protracted blockings of economic development, with their grave consequences, have led to substantial restructurings and changes in the forms of the mechanism of capitalist regulation.

The deep crisis which broke out in the 1870s "gave a fillip," metaphorically speaking, to the formation of monopoly capitalism at the turn of the century. The emergence of large firms, joint-stock companies and cartels was capitalism's response to the demands made by the growing socialization of production. Henceforth, the growth of social production was no longer geared to the extraction of average, but mainly monopoly profit. This also determined the search for additional spheres of realization of monopoly capital elsewhere, beyond the national boundaries. The monopolization of capital and external expansion periodically al-

lowed capitalism to secure a relative stabilization.

But far from being eliminated, the basic contradiction was further aggravated, and that also over the long term. This led to the general crisis of capitalism.

Its start is connected with the First World War and the victory of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia. Then came the disaster of the Second World War, after which the struggle for democracy was markedly intensified, and there was a powerful upsurge of the national liberation movement in the colonial and dependent countries. A number of states fell away from capitalism, and their peoples got down to socialist transformations. As a result, the capitalist world shrank.

The existence and might of the socialist states, the independent policies pursued by the governments of many Third World countries, and the mounting national liberation movements have substantially curbed — as compared with the turn of the century — international expansion as a means by which monopoly capitalism tackled its economic problems. Historically, this put imperialism in a defensive position.

Meanwhile, after the Second World War, the countries which had remained capitalist were given a temporary economic respite by the development and entrenchment of state-monopoly capitalism. Henceforth, the orientation of production toward the extraction of monopoly profit was no longer effected exclusively through the private monopolies' economic and extra-economic power, but increasingly also through the use of the state apparatus, which is linked with the monopolies in a great many ways. That explains the relative economic recovery in the capitalist countries in the 1950s, and their relative stability in the 1960s.

Capitalism now differs markedly from 19th-century capitalism, but it is still capitalism. Even today it reveals the main features and uniformities which were first systematically analyzed by Marx. The capitalist economy is based on the exploitation of the working class by capital, which has developed into monopoly capital and which is supported by the state. The capitalist state also promotes the extraction and boosting of monopoly profit. The growing contradiction between the increasing socialization of production and the private capitalist form of the monopolies' appropriation of its results is the material economically-rooted problem in the development of capitalism. In consequence, long-term crisis tendencies are once

again being deepened in contemporary capitalism.

Economic instability and aggressive policies

The deep crisis through which the capitalist countries have been going since the mid-1970s ranges over every sphere of society and makes the imperialist system more unstable. We believe that the system now has fewer prospects for relatively long-term stabilization. The present period in the general crisis of capitalism has the following key features.

Economic crisis. It is the immediate outcome of the contradictory trends in the development of capitalist accumulation since the Second World War. On the one hand, there has been a continued growth in the organic composition of capital, whose mass has been increased to an extreme by the surplus-value received in the form of monopoly profit and added to capital. On the other hand, this has led to a relative — and in some industries also to an absolute — reduction in the numerical strength of labor-power. As a result, not only have limits to the possibility of producing more and more surplus-value been ultimately established, but the possibility of fully realizing surplus-value extracted in the form of profit and so of advancing the process of reproduction have also contracted. The protracted lag in the rate of mass-income growth behind that of capital-accumulation growth has led to a chronic increase in the relative excess of production capacities. Nevertheless, under sharpening competition, the accumulation of capital has continued, even if its rate has slowed. This process has gone hand in hand with forced rationalization, producing a further bulging excess of capacities and more widespread waste. Thus, in the early 1980s, 15-20 per cent of the production capacities in the capitalist countries remained idle in the presence of over 30 million unemployed.

The strategy of monopoly capital is ruining the non-monopoly bourgeoisie en masse. Monopoly capital also has the leading role in introducing the new technology which eliminates jobs and increases the mass unemployment. Moreover, a sizable part of the monopoly profit is not returned to the productive cycle at all, but is used for speculation. While the high interest-rate policy has disastrous consequences for most enterprises, it helps monopoly capital to wax richer.

Far from easing the crisis, the economic policy of the capitalist state perceptibly goes to exacerbate it. The cutbacks in wages and appropriations for social needs, and the curbing of democracy in most imperialist countries

help capital to face the fresh exacerbation of the crisis.

This confronts the workers and the national economy as a whole with disastrous prospects. The decline in paid-up demand resulting from such practices cannot be compensated by stepped-up expansion on foreign markets, primarily because the governments of all the capitalist countries are conducting one and the same policy, which, for its part, greatly reduces the chances of success for any individual state. The policy of "austerity" and of external economic expansion adopted by the authorities of the imperialist powers is aimed, even more obviously than was any of the earlier policies, at exclusively satisfying the interests of a handful of big monopolies on the world market: the lowering of costs by "austerity" multiplies their earnings.

The ecological crisis. That is yet another result of capitalist economic operations which has been coming to a head for decades and which has now erupted with tremendous force. Numerous studies indicate the scale on which natural resources are being depleted and the environment destroyed by the predatory attitude to it. The destruction of forests and the decades of one-crop agriculture have led to the erosion, parching and salting up of once fertile lands, a scarcity of food and famine; life in lakes and rivers has been killed by the poisonous effluents and waste being dumped into them. The pollution of the air by noxious additives has caused the withering away of forests and the contamination of large areas; the disappearance of a great many plant and animal species threatens to upset the biological equilibrium and so to undermine the natural foundations of life itself.

The causes of the current ecological crisis in the capitalist countries are not new. Historically, the natural environment has always been destroyed where social reproduction was not organized as a conscious and rational exchange of substances between people and nature. Wherever the intrusion into natural processes determined by the development of the productive forces fails to ensure the renewal of the used-up substances and ignores the need to observe the ecological cycle and make economical use of non-renewable resources, the foundations of human life, and so of any economy, are undermined in a basically irreversible way.

Marx and Engels clearly saw and indicated in various contexts that the tendency to destroy nature is rooted in the capitalist mode of production. The objective need to preserve and maintain the natural foundations of life is not

reflected in any way in the interests or acts of the monopolies, which have bent the economy of the capitalist world to their own needs. Maximization of monopoly profits — instead of a careful attitude to natural resources and the preservation of the environment — is the goal and propellant of their production and development of the productive forces. It is in the interests of the monopolies to plunder nature as a “free productive force” and use the environment as a “free dumping ground” for all kinds of waste. “In relation to nature, as to society, the present mode of production is predominantly concerned only about the immediate, the most tangible result.”⁵ Marx uses the industrialization of agriculture to illustrate this intrinsic capitalist tendency to destroy nature: “Capitalist production, therefore, develops technology, and the combining together of various processes into a social whole, only by sapping the original sources of all wealth — the soil and the laborer.”⁶

The ecologically harmful consequences of capitalist economic operations are, in principle, determined by capitalism itself. However, they have now acquired a new character. That is the result of the vast expansion of capitalist production, intense exploitation, the use of nature and its resources and the inordinate strain put on them. The persistent consequences of the destruction of the environment in the imperialist countries, which “appear only later and have an effect through gradual repetition and accumulation,”⁷ have been expanded quantitatively and qualitatively. The danger now imminent to the conditions of life in entire regions is becoming visual and obvious to one and all. This danger has a tendency to be globalized: the effects of air and water pollution, for instance, can hardly be confined to some geographical zones.

Looming danger of war. It is common knowledge that capitalism has never shunned wars in the pursuit of its goals: witness the two world wars and the innumerable acts of war and intervention in the Third World countries. Meanwhile, the wave of militarization generated by imperialism over the past several years has some qualitatively new features, being characterized by a tremendous growth in military expenditures, the build-up of tensions in various regions of the globe, and preparations for starting a nuclear war against the socialist countries.

The underlying material causes of the military strategy of imperialism are the growing economic disruptions within the internal processes of capital realization, long-term super-

accumulation, inflation, structural crises, etc. These processes tend to block “normal” capitalist reproduction and induce monopoly capital to step up expansion on the world market, a tendency which is not a new one at all. Most of the big monopolies are now transnational corporations, far more than one-half of whose aggregate turnover is frequently effected abroad, and this foreign activity has been further increased over the past several years. But economic expansion runs up against mounting difficulties and obstacles.

In consequence of the protracted crisis in the imperialist countries, world trade has not developed as fast as it did in the past. While the leading monopolies seek a way out of the crisis situation through international expansion, this makes competition on the world market — overall in a state of stagnation — even harsher, so intensifying the inter-imperialist rivalry and aggressiveness. Visual evidence of this is provided by protectionism, embargoes in trade relations between imperialist countries, and disagreements on monetary and financial policies. Great Britain’s threat to use armed force against Denmark during the “fishing war” highlights the possible prospects in the development of inter-imperialist contradictions.

For the Third World countries, these prospects have already become stark reality. Many developing countries are striving for political and economic independence. The development of their national economy against the interests of the transnational corporations sends imperialism, led by the U.S. administration, into bellicose counter-action. The rapid deployment force, which has been set up, is designed to enable imperialism to “defend” — at any time and in any place — “the vital interests of the free West,” that is, the interests of the imperialist concerns: their access to sources of raw materials, spheres of capital investment and marketing outlets in the Third World countries. The NATO states have announced their support for military acts by individual members of the bloc even in areas lying outside NATO’s regional sphere, whenever such acts meet the common needs.

This policy of the imperialist powers, notably the United States, has met with growing resistance on the part of sovereign developing states and the peoples of the whole world.

The anti-imperialist forces of all the countries can rely in their action on support from the socialist states, the Soviet Union in the first place, because these states have taken the most consistent stand against the aggressive, interventionist line of imperialism, primarily U.S. imperialism.

Imperialism regards the countries of existing socialism as its main enemy, as the chief obstacle in the way of its efforts to subordinate the whole world to its political domination and economic exploitation. Imperialism's main goal is to eliminate the socialist states. Considering that neither slanderous campaigns nor economic sanctions have proved to be an effective means, the United States has now taken the line of armed confrontation with the Soviet Union as the "focus of evil" (Reagan). The United States is now putting unprecedented pressure on the other imperialist countries to induce them to join in its militaristic preparations.

The U.S. administration attaches special importance to the development and deployment of new high accuracy nuclear missiles designed to knock out the military and political centers of the Warsaw Treaty countries.

The siting of such missiles in Western Europe would increase the danger of a nuclear conflagration. The imperialist scenario for a first strike aimed to crush the socialist community is based on the notion that nuclear war is thinkable and winnable. That is an absurdity. There will be no winners in a thermonuclear conflict, if one should break out. It would result not just in the destruction of some cities or regions, but in the death of a large part of humankind, and the devastation of vast territories, something that would jeopardize life on the Earth itself.

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The major calamities faced by people in the capitalist countries — the growing danger of war, the economic crisis, the mass unemployment, the destruction of the natural habitat — are determined by the policies and by the operation of the economic structures, the motive forces and the uniformities of capitalism, all of which were first analyzed by Marx over a century ago. Historically, they have developed and changed, but the capitalist world is still ruled by exploitation, the gearing of production to the maximization of profit and the economic crises. That is why a study of Marx's economic theory is a necessary — even if not the only adequate — means for understanding present-day capitalism and the causes of its pervasive crisis. Marx's doctrine also throws a light on the forces and movements opposing the inhuman capitalist exploitation: the working class continues to be the leading fighter against the power of capital, and for the right to a life fit for human beings. That is why a study of Marx's theory is also important for an understanding and correct evaluation of the progressive movements of our day.

1. Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1956, p. 618.
2. Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, Moscow, 1962, p. 858.
3. Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 631.
4. Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 763.
5. Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 77.
6. Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, pp. 506-507.
7. Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 76.



The communists and non-traditional social movements

In the 1970s the communist parties of Western Europe came up against the problem of relations with various new non-traditional parties and social movements which had become a noticeable inner political force in a historically short time. The Greens and Alternativists, for instance, are now represented in the West German, Finnish and Belgian parliaments and in the local government bodies of Austria and some other countries.

Why did the views and calls of the new social currents find so ready a response among the masses? What is the reason for the unexpected rise and rapid spread of this form of social protest? What is the communists' attitude to the new movements and how do they shape their relations with them? *WMR* has asked Armand Magnin, General Secretary, Swiss Party of Labor (SPL), Jan Debrouvere, CC Political Bureau member and National

Secretary, Communist Party of Belgium (CPB), Walter Silbermayer, CC Political Bureau member, Communist Party of Austria (CPA), and Seppo Toiviainen, CC Political Bureau member, Communist Party of Finland (CPF), to comment on these problems. Following are their answers.

Q. How would you account for the emergence of numerous non-traditional social movements?

Jan Debrouvere. I think there are several factors that are at work to one extent or another in every West European country and have given rise to these widely varied, complex and occasionally contradictory movements.

To give an example, the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam had a tremendous impact on the younger generation. Young people were shocked at its brutality and injustice. After all, the Vietnamese people were oppressed by colonialism for many decades and went through severe trials during World War II and then in the years of French and U.S. armed intervention. All this understandably agitated the younger generation. As for my country, the development of various protest movements here is a result of the Vietnam war. It follows that the origins of these movements go as far back as the 60s and not the 70s.

Another reason has to do with the working people's gains in the sphere of education. Pressure from democratic forces made the ruling class put secondary and higher education within the reach of population groups having no access to it, primarily workers. The demand of a highly developed capitalism for skilled personnel was a further factor. However, the capitalists could not offer jobs to all these people. As a result, students of working-class origin became still more keenly aware of the contradictions of the capitalist system.

The crisis and the high rate of unemployment played a notable part in the growth of the social consciousness and activity of politically apathetic sectors. In a small country like Belgium, where over half a million people are jobless, it is not surprising that virtually all workers realize that the regime cannot solve their problems. Socio-political struggles also involve women, who had been discriminated against for centuries but had kept out of public life. Thus the range of those who want to protest has widened.

The rise of alternative movements is attributable, furthermore, to the influence which the media, above all radio and television, exert on the population. Nowadays even illiterates who listen to the radio or watch television know

what is going on in, say, Nicaragua or El Salvador. People see on TV and cinema screens what is going on in Central America, and hear about terror and the massacring of civilians. The overall effect is a certain growth of the social consciousness of the masses.

Last but not least, the sharply increased threat to peace has brought about anti-war actions of unprecedented dimensions. I remember how the decision adopted by NATO in December 1979 to deploy new U.S. missiles in several West European countries, including Belgium, caused universal revulsion and led to spontaneous mass protests. They were not a product of effort by any political parties. True, the CPB did much to direct the people's anger against the NATO decision and not toward non-committal pacifism.

The factors that prompted various sectors to seek a more active social role could have helped left forces, primarily the communists, win greater political influence. But no such thing happened. One of the reasons was a widespread tendency in those sectors to dissociate from the so-called traditional political forces. People saw that the bourgeois parliamentary regime and the Right were powerless to solve their problems and that even left parties were unable at times to offer a way out. But there can be no vacuum in politics. Hence the rise of new forces, including forces of an authoritarian or even neo-fascist type. Forces of the latter kind are trying by means of seemingly attractive but actually adventurist slogans to win prestige among people who have lost faith in traditional institutions and parties. The bourgeois press, for its part, keeps up an atmosphere of distrust of habitual political activities.

I believe these are, in rough outline, the causes of the rise and development of non-traditional social movements. It is my conviction that the Communist Party must carry its theoretical work deeper to get a better grasp of the reasons for which long-standing and new social forces are now joining in political activity.

Armand Magnin. In Switzerland the rise and rapid growth of the new movements are chiefly a result of major changes in the composition of the economically active population, 53 per cent of whom are employed in the service industry. This led to a certain lowering of the working people's class consciousness and made to a degree for political indifference.

Due to distinctive socio-economic conditions and historical traditions, the majority of the Swiss population today do not question the capitalist system as such and only take a stand against its more negative aspects. I would say

that this accounts to some extent for the increased activity of movements pursuing certain rather narrow aims* but not seeking a fundamental, far-reaching transformation of the system.

Another factor is distrust of traditional political institutions and entities. It is particularly strong among youth, who consider the present structure of parties, including that of the Communist Party, too rigid. That, I think, is a wrong view brought in and often imposed from without. But it is a fact that young people are against all organization, that is, not only in a party but in unions, churches and so on, and prefer new social movements.

Why this strong dissatisfaction with traditional political and other organizations? It must be due, in the first place, to the fact that they (including our party) have disillusioned large population groups. These groups have also lost confidence in the efficiency of Switzerland's unusual political system known as direct democracy. In some years we have as many as 10 to 15 referendums. Yet these consultations are of little use because when the outcome does not suit the regime it gets around the voters' will by various devices. Hence the widespread distaste for what we believe is a useless system. People realize that nothing changes no matter how many times they vote. The regime does as it pleases and left parties are unable to alter anything.

We communists consider that much of the blame for the present state of affairs must be put on the trade union leadership. Even before World War II union leaders signed a treaty on cooperation with the employers that initiated the policy of so-called "labor peace." As a consequence, the workers were not only barred from talks with the employers but virtually lost their legitimate right to strike. The top union leadership came to be the employers' sole interlocutor. The Swiss labor movement's slackness made it easier for the bourgeoisie and the Federal government to carry on a policy meeting capitalist interests and undermined the workers' confidence in their unions.

Seppo Toiviainen. The 70s saw mass movements of a new type spring up in developed capitalist countries. Anti-war and environmentalists' movements grew, women became more active, the urban population

stepped up its struggle for the solution of various community problems. However, these movements are still in the making and in a state of flux. This also finds reflection in terminology. Some are talking about a new social movement, others about an alternative one, still others about a "Green" or "common cause" movement. All this shows that the phenomenon has yet to take final shape.

The rise of new movements that are joined by numerous students, young people and intellectuals is explained variously. Some believe that we are witnessing a new wave of left radicalism, the kind that was widespread in the late 60s and early 70s. This is true only in part. But neither can we agree with those who regard these movements as purely petty-bourgeois.

I would name three interconnected factors for the emergence of the movements I have listed. First, people's greatly increased intellectual awareness, which helps them realize the need to stave off the threat of nuclear war and protect the environment. Second the extended functions of the capitalist state, which has made deep inroads into every public sphere. As a result, the existing regime is rightly seen as bureaucratic and extraneous. Third, greater interest than before in problems of the individual and the values of life.

The new movements indicate, as I see it, that people want to decide their destinies by themselves and this means that we are in the presence of a form of progressive protest. It is essential for us communists to see in contemporary movements of this nature primarily a sincere and strong call from the masses for vigorous effort.

Walter Silbermayer. The rise and growth of alternative groups are temporally and causally linked to a deterioration of the general crisis of capitalism in the mid-70s. Almost every aspect of the crisis brings a particular manifestation of social and democratic protest. The imperialist threat of war is opposed by the peace movement; capitalism's destruction of the environment has generated the environmentalists' movement; curbs on democracy and growing bureaucratization are at the source of calls for "grass roots democracy," an "imperative mandate" and "the principle of rotation"; declining education and the cultural tyranny of business brings demands for "alternative education and culture"; consumerism and the lack of perspective evoke a desire for a more meaningful life and lead to a search for new spiritual values. Speaking generally, the topical issue of the "meaning of life" reflects a latent and still vague desire for change, for an alternative. Parties integrated into the capitalist system turn

* The reference is to movements for the protection of nature and the environment, against the construction of new atomic power stations, in defense of the rights of tenants, consumers and old people, pacifist movements, the Swiss Association for the Defense of Women's Rights and others. — Ed.

out to be less and less capable of giving expression to this mood.

Public opinion polls held in Austria have shown that the core of the protest movement encompasses roughly six per cent of the adult population. Add to them another 11 per cent, who firmly call themselves Greens. Those are mostly young members of the middle strata, primarily intellectuals and students, that is, a particularly volatile social stratum reacting promptly to crisis developments. However, people of working class extraction, and, above all young white-collar workers, are likewise active in these movements.

The original protest was prompted chiefly by an outrageous housing situation. Afterwards many of the "common cause" movements extended the area of their activity, proceeding from their experience of conflicts with the political system. The campaign against putting into operation an atomic power station near Vienna became an important focus of diverse initiatives and movements. By now numerous opponents of the station have joined in the peace movement because they realize that the use of nuclear energy for military purposes presents a much greater threat to humanity than anything else. This example is evidence of the new social movements' ability to learn from practice.

The spectrum of green and alternative groups in Austria is very wide. It comprises extreme reactionary or even fascist groups, large segments of the middle bourgeoisie as represented by the United Greens of Austria and groups considering themselves leftist, such as the Alternative List. All these movements are concentrating on protecting the environment but their activity goes further. The Alternative List wants to be seen as a "fundamental opposition." It calls for the transformation of society and describes itself in its manifesto as a "modern form of the liberation movement."

Such are some indications of the scope of the political and ideological challenge posed by "alternative movements," in particular to us communists.

Q. Why is it that the slogans, initiatives and actions of new movements and civic initiative groups occasionally meet with greater response among some sections of the population than the calls of the communists, who have long been putting forward similar demands?

Toiviainen. This question has brought about a lively controversy in Finland because in our country as, indeed, in other Nordic countries the population's support of new movements has grown considerably in the past few years. In the general election held last March,

the Greens won two seats in parliament.

One has the impression that the new movements are backed by people who look on the working people's struggle, the existing parties and politics generally with distrust. This, of course, is an approach we cannot accept. Nevertheless, the very existence of these movements shows that we take a correct view of our standing. True, the CPF encounters an occasional difficulty due to inadequate flexibility but the alternatives proposed by our party are gaining in appeal as we go.

The problem was discussed in detail at the 19th CPF congress, which drew two very important conclusions in its political document. One conclusion is that the party's activity is still an indicator of the growing revolutionary-mindedness of the masses. In other words, our program and activity constitute an independent revolutionary alternative. The other conclusion is that while the goals of the party and the new movements are largely similar, we have yet to attain the level of cooperation with them that we want.

A spokesman of Finland's Greens said once that non-traditional movements reminded him of an alarm clock signalling that something was going on. And he added that they still lacked a final program and were still unclear about what was to be done. I think the comparison with an alarm clock is very apt. It's a signal to us too, a call for us to tackle more seriously than before the problems underlying the activity of new movements.

Magnin. Part of the blame for the present situation must be taken by our party because it failed to make a deep analysis of the evolution of Swiss society in time or decide on ways of solving the problems that have cropped up in recent years. True, it is only fair to say that some demands of the non-traditional movements have always been, and still are, goals pursued by the SPL. To give an example, we have invariably taken account in our policy of so serious a problem as environmental protection but it seems that, unlike the environmentalists, we have not done it explicitly enough or in sufficiently precise terms.

At the same time, we say plainly that we cannot support certain excessive demands made by the new movements. In some cases this would run counter to our principles and in others, to the interests of social and economic development. For instance, while sharing the concern of the environmentalists and the population generally about the pollution caused by atomic power stations, we demand that steps be taken to protect the environment and that no new atomic stations be built. But in so doing we

do not support the call for the dismantling of stations already in operation. It is quite clear in general that communists should not restrict themselves to traditional demands or habitual forms of struggle but should respond more vigorously to all new developments.

When the non-traditional movements were only just emerging we neither perceived the prospects they had, nor took the movements for serious partners. We must now make up for lost time.

There is yet another fairly important circumstance. Swiss radio and television have for several years been busy brainwashing the population on anti-communist and anti-Soviet lines in an effort to instil them with durable false notions about socialism and engender a bias against the SPL among certain social sectors, especially young people. To resist this anti-communist pressure, we need funds, propaganda facilities, access to radio and television. All this is virtually lacking at the moment.

Silbermayer. With the capitalist crisis going from bad to worse, the potential of protest, which cannot be integrated into the system by means of the usual reformist policy, is growing. But in Austria the crisis has certain distinctive aspects and the social democrats have an exceptional capacity for allaying social discontent. This is why the proportions of active protest in our country are not yet as great as in other highly developed capitalist countries. But in Austria as elsewhere the protest potential came out clearly for the first time during this year's April elections for the National Council. Many of the votes won by the Alternative List and United Greens of Austria were cast by young people, primarily those who went to the polls for the first time.

Now why did the progressive section of the electorate vote mostly for the Alternativists and partly for the Greens but not for the most consistent left force, the CPA? There were several reasons, both objective and subjective.

Many progressive voters look on the Communist Party as a "traditional party." They often accuse it of allowing too little room for personal initiative and everybody's self-realization on account of its "rigid organization" and "centralist structure." By contrast, the "grass roots democracy" claims of the Alternativists meet and even intensify this sentiment.

Also operating against the CPA as a Marxist party is the fact that the majority of new currents distance themselves from the working class movement. This is a consequence of the

strong impact of bourgeois ideology on the middle strata as well as of the inadequate influence of the working class movement, which is dominated by right social democrats.

In the latest elections the Alternativists benefited from both these lasting factors and certain passing ones. The Alternative List, for one, exploited the special advantages of being a "new" party. Many voters hoped that with its help the left would have a chance for the first time in decades to clear the barrier raised by the electoral law.*

The bourgeois media, particularly television, played a notable part in improving the Alternativists' chances by enabling their candidates and, to a still greater extent, the Greens to present their case while the CPA was boycotted almost completely. Certain bourgeois quarters are plainly out to channel mounting discontent through the Alternativists in a direction less dangerous to the existing political system. The social democrats, in turn, expect that the Alternativists will eventually "break their neck" and so become eligible for involvement in reformist policies.

Most of Austria's Alternativists are young people and many are only just gaining political experience. What they are dissatisfied with is not so much the cause of the capitalist crisis as its effect. At the same time protest movements are becoming more aware of the importance of a strong organization as they learn specific lessons of struggle. This is a step toward realizing the need for a party functioning on the principle of democratic centralism.

Our aim is to show in everyday political practice the fundamental difference between the CPA and the parties integrated into the capitalist system. Our comrades are active in protest movements. We are certain that despite the strong bias shown by many Alternativists, their desire for change, for an alternative, and their contacts with our party make it possible to overcome anti-communism among them.

The growing protest movement thus requires that we should cooperate patiently and perseveringly with its members while at the same time resisting bourgeois and reformist concepts and helping strengthen progressive trends. To the extent that we awaken members of these movements to the fact that today's crisis phenomena are a consequence of

* The law, which puts the biggest traditional parties in a privileged position, worked in the 1983 elections as well. All seats in parliament were captured by the Socialist Party of Austria (90 seats), Austrian People's Party (81) and Austrian Freedom Party (12). — Ed.

capitalist property and power relations, we will be able to open their eyes to the role of the working class as the most consistent fighter against monopoly domination. The search for a way out of the capitalist crisis is bound to lead to differentiation in protest movements including that of the Alternativists.

Debrouvere. In the socio-economic conditions created by the crisis of the mid-70s, the left forces of Belgium, including the Communist Party to be frank, did not always find promptly enough the right answers to the questions put by the masses, and occasionally offered outdated solutions. The left forces failed, for example, to discern in time the new aspects of the general crisis of capitalism and propose well-founded steps to improve the economic situation. Since then many solutions have been found but this is not enough, for we must spell them out to the younger generation and reveal their soundness to all those population groups whose confidence in the traditional Left has been seriously shaken.

Another reason why preference is given to the new social movements is that participation in them differs from supporting the Communist Party because it does not necessitate any ideological or political commitment. The point is that in spite of the appreciable opposition potential of diverse protest movements and groups, many of their members never think of the need for a radical transformation of society.

Lastly, enormous damage is caused to our party by a sustained anti-communist and anti-Soviet campaign in the bourgeois press. The effects of the campaign must not be underestimated. It surrounds communists with an atmosphere of distrust and suspicion and prevents them from full-scale activity in the new social movements.

Q. What should communists do in your view in response to the rise of numerous protest movements? Do you think an alliance with them is possible? If so, on what basis?

Magnin. In Switzerland we carefully keep track of the development of non-traditional movements. We regard them as a component of the forces demanding the removal of certain shortcomings of the system even though they do not always realize that the root of the problem lies in the system itself.

I must say that protest movements are very jealous of their autonomy. But we, too, do our best to retain our identity, to prevent the party from dissolving in these movements. At the same time we express willingness to cooperate with them on the basis of frank and democratic dialogue and respect for the partners' autonomy and views.

Cooperation is growing in so important a sphere as the struggle for peace, which has lately assumed proportions unprecedented in our country. One illustration was this year's Easter marches. Some 10,000 people joined in them at the call of 90 organizations, parties and groups, including the SPL.

There are some other areas in which the party has reached mutual understanding and quite fruitful cooperation with new movements. I mean, first of all, the defense of tenants' rights. Two years ago the communists made common cause with several trade unions and public organizations in backing the proposal to write tenants' rights into the constitution. The relevant appeal was signed by more than 100,000 people and a referendum will soon take place on the proposal. Mutual understanding on some issues is much harder to reach but we realize that concrete action is the only way to evolve acceptable forms of cooperation. It is perfectly clear that we must constantly concern ourselves with the activity of the new social movements, which may become components of a broad popular alliance without losing their identity or independence.

Debrouvere. I do not think there are any recipes. The primary task is to participate to a greater extent in traditional and new forms of struggle against the nuclear war menace, in defense of the environment, for the legal and real equality of women, and so on. The Communist Party holds definite positions and plays a role of no small importance in the trade unions and other working class organizations. But I wish to say frankly that had it not been for the party's big role in the anti-missile movement, we might not have avoided isolation. And as much might have happened if the communists were not involved in the women's movement.

Furthermore, it is necessary to draw the forces of non-traditional protest into politics and to ascertain and reveal the connection objectively existing between them and social struggles. It is important to convince both these new forces and the working class and its organizations that they need one another and that the working class will find allies by supporting the new democratic demands of protest movements. In Belgium mutual understanding between the organized working class movement and these new forces is still lacking. Occasionally they follow parallel lines but proceed separately because there are no ties.

This mutual distrust is a result of underestimation of the traditional Left by one side and the new protest movements by the other. Sometimes dialogue is made difficult by the

petty-bourgeois radicalism, spontaneity, impatience and political naiveté of members of these movements. In short, the difficulties are many and their solution will take time.

Toiviainen. I have said that non-traditional movements cannot at this stage be regarded as having taken final shape, because they show certain contradictory trends. There are signs of progressive, democratic and revolutionary trends, on the one hand, and idealistic or even frankly reactionary ones, on the other. Hence our task is to establish links between the various movements and bring about their mutual cooperation on progressive and democratic lines.

In Finland the communists are active in the fight for peace, civil rights, environmental protection and the interests of the urban population as well as in the feminist movement. They are working hard to bring about alliances as a means of solving specific problems. I feel this is the only correct approach.

There may be two dangers in our relations with the new movements. One of them is sectarianism. The other danger is conciliation making it clear to the partners that we really have nothing to say because they know everything anyway. We must carefully steer clear of both these extremes.

The communist line is dialogue and cooperation. However, we make no secret of our independent stand on this or that issue. In the anti-war movement, for instance, while joining in collective discussions, communists insist that imperialism is responsible for the worsening international situation and the arms race. Again, in arguing with environmentalists about the role of technology in society, we stress the need for scientific and technological progress.

I repeat that the CPF states its views openly, withholding nothing. On this basis we seek dialogue and cooperation with the new movements in the interests of a revolutionary transformation of society.

Silbermayer. Cooperation is possible and we, too, try to use this possibility as we work on the strategic task of uniting the new social movements with working class forces. This anti-monopoly alliance is possible and necessary in view of the threat of nuclear catastrophe and the worsened capitalist crisis. It has already

assumed its early real forms in the peace movement.

We consider that one of our party's tasks is to overcome obstacles to alliance and stress the coincidence of interests in the struggle against a common enemy. It is by no means immaterial to us communists which way the development and differentiation of new social movements is going, whether the movements are becoming a conscious anti-capitalist force or drifting into the impasse of isolation by integrating themselves into the state monopoly system. Besides, we know from past experience that criticism of civilization from a radical position and hostility to technology, now so common in these movements, may in certain conditions degenerate into obscurantism and even into a fascist type of it. This danger is particularly real where the influence of the working class and its ideology is on the decline.

Relations between the working class movement and new social movements are primarily a problem of alliance. Workers join in the action of such movements, if to a varying degree. Most of them are politically active young people who play an important part in shaping the social consciousness of their class and the unification of the working class movement with new forces. Hence the interconnection of unity of action and the policy of alliance.

To seek alliance does not at all mean impeding the communists' independent actions. Indeed, to lend alliances an anti-monopoly orientation, the party must uphold its consistent, theoretically sound position on all the issues which the new movements see as relevant. Unlike those who only come out against particular aspects of the capitalist crisis, the CPA, being a Marxist party of the working class, poses against the capitalist system a comprehensive alternative opening up a socialist perspective.

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The above comments show that non-traditional social movements are a complex and contradictory phenomenon requiring serious analysis and assessment by communists. It is to be hoped that the present publication will encourage comrades from other fraternal parties to continue the collective study of this important problem in WMR.

New experience

OUR INTERVIEWS

STANDING UP FOR THE WORKING PEOPLE'S INTERESTS IN THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

Vassilis Efremidis
CC member, CP Greece,
head of CPG group in
the European Parliament

Q. *The Communist Party of Greece is known to be against Greece's membership in the Common Market. What was the party's intention in taking part in the 1981 elections to the European Parliament? What are now the tasks of your Europarliamentary group?*

A. Indeed, the CPG has always opposed the country's entry into the Common Market, and it is now campaigning for its withdrawal from that organization of monopolies.¹ In spite of this, the party decided to take part in the elections to the European Parliament because it saw them as an important ideological and political battle in which the communists should actively join. That was the only way for us to explain our positions to the working people and to inform our people of the negative political, economic and social consequences of Greece's entry into the EEC.

The CPG now has three deputies in the European Parliament. The task before them stems from the party's overall position: to use the new opportunities provided by the participation in this forum in order to get the country out of the Common Market as soon as possible. Our group frequently acts on the broadest range of issues together with the representatives of left-wing forces of other states in the European Parliament, seeking to prevent — to the extent that this can be done in the face of the existing reactionary majority in that body — the adoption of resolutions and decisions aimed against peace and disarmament, and against the interests of the working masses in our country and progressive democratic circles as a whole.

Q. *What does your activity in the European Parliament consist in? What have you achieved?*

A. The main thing is perhaps that the voice of the Greek working people is being constantly heard in that assembly. It has provided the communists with a rostrum from which to expose the monopoly character of the Common Market and the class purpose of its decisions.

Thus, in exposing the content of its agricultural policy, we have shown that EEC prices are directed against the small and middle peasantry and clash with the interests of economically less developed countries like Greece.

At the emergency Brussels session of the European Parliament (April 1983) on "ways of combating unemployment," the communist deputies exposed the real causes of its growth in the EEC and in the capitalist world as a whole, and spotlighted the chief one: the vast outlays on the arms race. The concrete proposals put forward by the CPG group for reducing unemployment in the Common Market countries have met with support from representatives of the other communist parties in the European Parliament, and also from some British Labour MPs.

We attach much importance to solidarity with the progressive forces and movements and with their struggle against imperialism and reaction, and so come out in defense of the peoples of Nicaragua, El Salvador, Turkey and Cyprus, resolutely condemning the aggressive U.S. line in Central America, and the Israeli policy of genocide against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples. There were also some special cases: the passage of a resolution we motioned in connection with the arrest of members of the leadership of the People's Party of Iran (Tudeh). That document proposed that the European Parliament should demand of the Iranian authorities that the life of the illegally arrested comrades should be spared and that they should be released.

Struggle for détente and a check on the arms race, against resolutions aimed to smear and undermine the socialist countries is an important line of the CPG group's activity. During the Second Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament in the summer of 1982, we called on the European Parliament to address a statement to the United Nations on the need to adopt decisions designed to limit all types of armaments, nuclear weapons in the first place.

Q. *What kind of relations does your group maintain with the representatives of other communist parties in the European Parliament?*

A. We are members of the communist group, which also includes Italian, French, and Danish comrades, and a number of other deputies cooperating with that group. On con-

crete political and social issues, and also on agricultural problems we cooperate most actively with the representatives of the French CP.

Q. What are your main arguments against Greece's EEC membership?

A. First, from the rostrum of the Euro-parliament, our group constantly refutes the assertions by conservative circles claiming that Greece derives great benefits from the Common Market. They keep talking about the several billion drachmas which the country receives within the framework of the community, but say nothing at all about the cost of its membership in the EEC. The fact is, however, that Greece's losses in the form of its contribution and tariff cuts on goods from EEC countries add up to many billions more than that amount.

Second, the ever more emphatic orientation of our trade policy toward the Common Market is having an extremely negative effect on the Greek economy. Greece always sold to the countries of the community more farm produce than it bought from them. Now, it has a large negative balance on this account.² Our production of sugar and cotton, both traditional export crops, has now dropped to a point at which Greece is forced to import them from other EEC countries. Over the two and a half years of the country's membership, the peasantry's incomes have fallen by an average of more than 7 per cent.

Third, the reduction or lifting of tariffs, and the establishment of privileges for Common Market goods have ousted Greek manufactures and handicraft articles. As a result, many enterprises are in decline, others have been forced to cut back production, while still others have been altogether closed down. Hence the sharp aggravation of the employment problem, especially in recent years. Unemployment in Greece now stands at over 10 per cent.

Fourth, there is a kind of "import" into our country of the EEC's social policy, which tends increasingly to whittle down spending on social needs. In the two and a half years of EEC membership, and even under the PASOK government, any increases in the working people's incomes have been prohibited by legislation, while the practice of indexing wages to growing prices has been effectively abolished. Measures have been taken in the recent period to curb the working people's right to strike.

Fifth, the EEC fixes a definite volume of output for Greece's industry and imposes its own policy on investment. It limits the potentialities for expanding trade relations with other partners outside the EEC, notably the socialist

states. The signing in Athens of an agreement on long-term economic, industrial, scientific and technical cooperation between Greece and the Soviet Union was met in the EEC with unconcealed irritation.

Finally, we keep emphasizing that participation in the Common Market does direct harm to the country's national independence. Under pressure from the community, the Rallis government, which set itself the task of joining the EEC in 1981, was forced to return the country to NATO's military organization.³

Greece is still under pressure on the matter of the U.S. bases on its territory. There is a demand that it should give up its independent foreign policy, align itself with the community's approach to NATO's missile plans, relations with the USSR and Poland, and certain other international problems.

There has even been direct meddling in the country's internal affairs. Thus, extremely dissatisfied with the Greek authorities' decision to establish diplomatic relations with the Palestine Liberation Organization, the West German Social Democrats and the British Conservatives in the Euro-parliament demanded that Greece should re-establish its diplomatic relations with Israel on the ambassadorial level. Our group resolutely condemned such pressures, stressing that the idea was to make Greece take such a step after the brazen Israeli aggression against the Lebanese and Palestinian people as a sort of reward to Israel for the genocide it is practising in the Arab lands.

The consequences of political integration, for which the forces of imperialism are striving under the pretext of setting up a "European union" would be extremely adverse for the country's independence. In view of the fact that these forces have set themselves the goal of abolishing the unanimity principle now operating in the community and of switching to direct imposition of a common defense and foreign policy on the member-countries, Greece would be deprived of the possibility of conducting an independent foreign policy.

Developments constantly confirm the stand of the CPG, which believes that EEC membership sharply curtails the country's independence, slows down its economic development, exacerbates its social problems, leads to the conversion of our economy into an appendage of the Common Market, and meets exclusively the interests of the monopolies of its major states. I should like to emphasize that the party's view is meeting with ever wider recognition among broad strata of Greek society.

Q. How does your group's activity in the Europarlament promote the general struggle being carried on by the CP Greece?

A. The communist deputies regard their activity as a component of the party's political line in its current struggle to strengthen the country's national independence and sovereignty, for genuine democratization, and for a new economic policy envisaging measures against the monopolies, in favor of the working people, and for Greece's independent economic development.

We do not regard our activity in the European Parliament as the main line of struggle for Greece's earliest withdrawal from the Common

Market. We see it rather as an additional factor facilitating the struggle being carried on at home, and helping to develop a mass political movement based on joint action by all the working people who are aware of the negative consequences of Greece's participation in the EEC and oppose its membership in that body. This approach is the basis of our preparations for the elections to the Europarlament scheduled for 1984.

1. Greece officially joined the Common Market on January 1, 1981. — Ed.

2. In 1982, a total of 19 billion drachmas. — Ed.

3. The Rallis government was in office from May 1980 to October 1981. — Ed.



Socialism: realities, advantages, motive forces

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In building the new society, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) and the other fraternal parties of the socialist community countries strive to give the motive forces of our system the broadest possible scope and to realize all its advantages. The steady raising of the people's material and cultural standards is a task that is not just formidable in scale, but one that is historical and revolutionary, because its successful fulfillment makes existing socialism ever more attractive and provides a convincing alternative to the inhumane capitalist system.

One of Lenin's requirements was that the Bolshevik Party should carry on a vigorous and militant campaign to bring out the advantages and values of socialism and so to involve ever larger numbers of men and women in the conscious construction of a socialist society. The early propagandists of existing socialism who had to convince the masses of the advantages of the new system, the superiority of its ideals and who gave it publicity,¹ as Lenin put it, did not have an easy time. It is much easier to campaign for socialism now that the advantages of this society have long since ceased to be "embryonic," have become obvious to one and all, and a visible reality. Such propaganda will be increasingly effective as its advantages stand out in ever bolder relief in the daily life of

millions of people.

In another 17 years it will be the year 2000. It is still too early to write the bottom line summing up the results of this century, because all sorts of things could happen in the intervening period, including events that could change our notions of the future. But whatever may happen, the 20th century already bears the ineffaceable mark of history as the age of the Great October Revolution and the birth of the new, socialist system, an age in which the liberation struggle of the proletariat and all the forces, classes and social strata allied with it carried humankind's life along a totally different route than the one it had travelled in the past, the way of peace, democracy and socialism.

Our century has tolled the knell for capitalism, and the tide of events cannot be stemmed by anyone, even by the most aggressive imperialist circles clinging desperately to the past, unmindful even of the inferno of a thermonuclear war. By contrast, socialism has consolidated its positions and has been scoring one success after another. No one has been able to stop its advance: neither the interventionists, who, in the years 1918-1920, wanted to strangle the Soviet power in its cradle by their superior forces, nor the fascist hordes, which attacked the USSR in 1941 in the hope of eradicating

socialism once and for all.

Bellicose imperialism also failed to reverse the tide of history on German soil, although FRG reaction has been unstinting in its efforts to weaken or liquidate the GDR. Many other facts — for instance, the victories scored by the Cuban revolution and the Vietnamese people over U.S. imperialism, and the destruction of the colonial system — also go to confirm the fact that progress toward socialism and under socialism is irreversible.

Even a cursory glance at the events shows that the socialist system has properties which give it superiority over capitalism, and that the factors and social forces operating in the new society are such that the old, that which is on the way out, cannot overcome them.

What are these mighty forces? Has there ever been a society in the past relying on a scientific comprehension of natural, technical and social processes and consciously, purposefully and harmoniously building its life? No, there has not. Even under socialism, it is, of course, not always possible to attain this or that formulated goal. Still, taking the picture as a whole, the working people of the new world secure the desired results ever more frequently, attaining their set goals, achieving indicators calculated in advance, approximating or even surpassing them, surmounting the obstacles and compensating for the effects of the unfavorable factors.

What are the advantages of socialism that make such action possible? First of all, it is the fact that all the men and women living under socialism — and they comprise different classes and strata — are linked by common interests, so that they not only understand and support each other, but also constantly work together under the leadership of the working class, which determines the vital activity of the whole social organism.

The experience of socialist construction, for instance in the GDR, shows that it is possible, even in the most complicated internal and external conditions, to guide social processes consciously and in a planned manner for the benefit of every individual citizen and of all the citizens together. Thus, these processes were complicated in the early 1980s by the sharp worsening of the international situation, giving rise to obstacles and problems which require a new approach for their solution and a fresh and more vigorous effort. Indeed, the advantage that socialism has over capitalism, with its commodity fetishism, lies in the fact that under socialism people come to have an ever better understanding of the economic, political and ideological relations of the socialist system.

Accordingly, they begin to perceive both their own, immediate sphere of activity, and the whole of social life, as their own endeavor, as the product of the labor of united individuals, and this also makes them act in accordance with their convictions, something that helps to overcome many difficulties successfully.

Bourgeois critics of socialism who have more insight have long since realized that socialism develops in a totally different way, and that it is impossible to convey — in any at all satisfactory manner — the substantive content of this process by means of the old notions of historical evolution and the functioning of the society. In contrast to those who are so blinded by anti-communism that they reject everything that must not and cannot be the truth, as they see it, our more sober-minded ideological adversaries admit "the fascination of communism" as an "incontrovertible fact."² Some have tried to usurp the socialist idea itself in order to abuse it for the benefit of the bourgeoisie. Such attempts have been multiplied in the recent period. This is an idea that cannot simply be discarded, says West German philosopher Hans Sachsse obsessed with anti-communist prejudices. It should be studied from the angle of the biological and cultural condition in which men find themselves.³ One of the most distinguished bourgeois futurologists, Ossip Kurt Flechtheim, who has spun out utopian petty-bourgeois models of the future, has not rejected the concept of "socialism" either, admitting that "everywhere in the world, people and groups still act in the name of socialism for the ideals of liberty, equality and brotherhood,"⁴ and goes on to construct a "humanistic," "global" and "ecological socialism." The West German right-wing social-reformist Horst Heimann bitterly criticizes the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), which he believes rashly to have given up its serious ideological weapon — the concept of socialism — to its right and left-wing opponents. He adds: "The SPD's obvious deficit in theory on the matter of socialism lies at the root of the fact that a growing stratum of academic intellectuals has tended to respond to it ever more frequently with criticism, unacceptance and deep disdain."⁵

Some of our ideological adversaries also raise the question of Marx: "Why should we let the Marxists have the whole of such a clever German?" That was said by Walter Scheel, former President of the FRG, in his opening speech at the 15th World Congress of Philosophers in Düsseldorf in 1978. According to him, Marx "put the most acute problem of his time, the social problem, at the center of reflection. For

hundreds of millions of people it continues to be the most acute problem even today . . . Marxism will continue to exist at least until such a time as social problems are resolved in the world . . . because it awakens the hope for their solution — and frequently the only one.”⁶ Indeed, socialism provides practical answers to the global problems now agitating people’s minds and determining their action, notably in countries whose peoples will no longer accept exploitation by national or foreign capital.

Does this suggest that there are no outstanding problems in the new society? It certainly does not. Far from all the ideals of socialism have been translated into life, but what is most important has already been done: a beginning — and even more than a beginning — has been made in creating the advanced system. That is precisely what bourgeois philosophers want to cast doubt on. But whatever their assertions, socialism does exist, and its actual successes provide the most telling arguments in its favor.

The annals of the socialist society run to no more than a few decades. But even in such a relatively brief period, the working people have achieved more than was done in the long time since the origination of the capitalist system. The most important thing has been done: man’s exploitation by man has been eliminated. That, ultimately, is the root of all the advantages of the new society.

The all-encompassing advantage of socialism consists in the fact that men and women, emancipated from exploitation, are confidently going about the building of their life and — for the first time in history — have become masters of the laws of social development. The shaping of social relations according to plan in the light of every individual’s interests, helps to blend the interests of the individual and the society, and to orient people toward the attainment of goals that hold promise of advantage for all — nothing like that has ever been known in any pre-socialist formation.

The tremendous progress made by the new society in various spheres springs precisely from its balanced development and the growing consciousness of the masses. Socialism has grown into a world system in which the productive forces are developing faster than they are under capitalism, and in which basic human rights — the right to work, social certitude, education and rest and leisure — have become a reality for all the citizens, without exception.

The advantages of the new system are not abstract theoretical categories. They are manifested in a variety of concrete phenomena,

which now and again even appear to be self-evident, as they do, for instance, in the GDR: in the everyday amenities, in the improvement of living and working conditions, and in the well-considered measures taken to consolidate and gradually raise the level of the people’s material well-being and culture. Our people’s inward acceptance of all this is as much a social reality as the embodiment in practice of the socialist principle of distribution according to work, and as the society’s profound respect for the dignity of the working person, whose well-being is always paramount to party and government decisions.

These and other facts reflecting its advantages are rooted in the very substance of the new society.

First, of special importance is the political power of the working class which makes it possible fully to eliminate exploitation, thereby enabling the working people to become human beings in the true sense of the word. This power serves the creation of a classless communist society, and defense of revolutionary gains against the enemy, and is the embodiment of the alliance of all the political forces of existing socialism. This is government by the people without any of the reservations which fully apply to the other political systems. This means those who are quick to declare themselves to be “democratic” but actually rest on exploitation, and so always establish the domination of the economically superior minority, something that in principle keeps the majority of the people from participating in the exercise of political power.

The workers are the first and only class in history not yearning to perpetuate the political power they have won, but using it to create a class-free society. In order to fulfil this historical mission, this class works steadily to consolidate and strengthen the socialist state system in every way, especially now that the aggressive imperialist circles have taken the line of confrontation with world socialism and are whipping up the arms race.

Objectively, the basic interests of all the members of socialist society are identical, but if this fact is to be fully used in practice and to be firmly rooted in the citizens’ consciousness so as to determine their acts, there is a need for an appropriate political organization, notably the state. It is becoming increasingly evident that its role in our society cannot be compared with the role the state has always had to play, and the role which it continues to play in the capitalist world. The socialist state is totally different, it is “no longer a state in the proper sense of the word.”⁷

Second, another important advantage of the new system is that, whereas political struggles between hostile classes in antagonistic formations inevitably absorb much social energy, our society can direct such energy entirely for common purposes, for realizing and expanding our natural and social potentialities, improving the working people's life, and multiplying our greatest asset — the development of each individual's truly human qualities and relations between them.

The economic conditions for doing so are created by the socialist property in the means of production. It re-establishes people's natural relations with the basic factors of their existence: the land and its resources, the technical level in the use of natural factors created by the labor of many generations. The conjunction of the associated producer with the means of production which are social in character not only makes it possible, but even requires planning and production on the scale of society as a whole in order to ensure "full well-being and free, all-round development for all the members of society."⁸

Third, another advantage of socialism is that Marxism-Leninism — the world view and ideology of the working class — helps not only to understand the objective laws of social life, but also to arrange people's activity in a balanced manner in accordance with these laws. The new society, which for the first time rises to a comprehension of the essential and necessary interdependence of its actions, is capable of achieving the desired effects more precisely, even over the long term, by influencing the relevant realities in a purposeful and thoroughly-considered manner. In this way humankind attains social maturity and breaks out from the realm of spontaneity, a survival of the past which is reminiscent of its genetic bond with the animal world.

These three main advantages of socialism are also simultaneously its fundamental properties which make it different both from capitalism and from the other, earlier socio-economic formations. This most visibly reflects humankind's progress in its transition to the initial phase of communism. None of these three features can exist on its own, for each determines the effect of the other two.

We have up to now been considering the manifest advantages of socialism only in the most general form, the goals which express its substance. In actual fact, these features are embodied in an endless multiplicity of concrete phenomena.

Guaranteed employment and equal pay for equal work, the equality of the sexes or equal

opportunities for obtaining an education, free medical services or generous material support for young mothers, stability of prices for the main foodstuffs, of charges for the various types of services and of rent — so many things have become so habitual to us that in our judgments of the society in which we live we frequently tend to lose sight of this fact, because we naturally want to advance and to achieve even more.

One will certainly find in the German Democratic Republic some people whose frame of mind and action deviate from the high road of development, people who, for some reasons, have been unable to concert their personal (meaning correctly understood) interests with the interests of others. One will also find some who depart from the socialist way of thinking, above all under the influence of hostile propaganda. It would be an unforgivable illusion to hope that all these unpleasant phenomena will just go away, especially considering the fierce and ceaseless attempts by the aggressive imperialist circles of the FRG to weaken the GDR. So long as imperialism exists, there will be any number of such attacks, and what is more, some of them could even have a temporary effect. But it is impossible to reverse the overall advance of socialism, the worldwide process of humankind's transition to the new system, in particular because such subversive acts cannot change the spiritual make-up of the men and women of the socialist society.

The incontestable advantage of socialism is that a homogeneous mode of thought and behavior is being gradually formed in the society, but it is a uniformity which, far from excluding, in effect, determines the development of the individual. The identity of the interests of the individual, of the social groups and classes is one of the main motive forces in the development of socialism. Up to now, socialism alone has had such a stable and long-term unity resting on the socialist relations of property and power, and on the corresponding consciousness of the working people. This unity is, indeed, the crucial subjective prerequisite enabling people to act for the first time as masters of the objective laws of their own life. That is what, in the final count, largely determines the way in which the dialectical contradictions are resolved in every sphere of the new society.

The creation of a system opening up before one and all opportunities for free and all-round development meets the aspirations of all the classes and strata, of any individual. By releasing people from the fears aroused by capitalist relations, socialism gradually shapes individuals with exceptionally wide-ranging and

particular interests. While satisfying their diverse social requirements, they bring benefit both to themselves and to society as a whole.

The basic interests of the classes and strata under socialism do not, of course, become identical either spontaneously or automatically. In our country, this is the result of the purposeful policy of class alliances, because, while tackling the tasks which arise in the course of socialist transformations, the SED has invariably concerted the interests of all the social groups.

The building of socialism in the GDR has shown very well how closely the advantages of the new system and its motive forces are interconnected. In most instances, these are essentially different aspects of one and the same phenomenon. By relying on the advantages of socialism, we effectively develop its motive forces, and vice versa: the development of the motive forces of socialism is tantamount to unfolding its advantages, which awaken and orient the working people's creative thinking, encourage their initiative, social activity and a readiness to work for new accomplishments. This, for its part, also provides internal impulses for ideas and achievements for the sake of the common socialist cause, and releases fresh social energy.

The workers and peasants' state is the most important instrument in building the new society. It is also the working people's chief political instrument in their efforts to build a developed socialist society and advance to communism under the leadership of the working class.⁹ Indeed, the meaning of a popular slogan which has been written into the GDR constitution as one of its fundamental principles — "Work Together, Plan Together, Manage Together!" — consists precisely in the utmost use of that instrument.

Social property in the means of production is the foundation of the new system. It tends to generate specific forces propelling production and reproduction and serving to attain the goals in the sphere of the economy. Among such forces are socialist emulation, material incentives, distribution according to work, and economic planning. The whole people's property produces relations of comradely cooperation and mutual assistance, gives the citizens of our Republic a sense of social certitude, and ensures the growth of their material well-being and welfare. The advantages and values of the new system act as impulses and catalysts in the further multiplication of the social wealth.

Education has, beyond doubt, the role of a powerful propelling force in the life of the in-

dividual under socialism. Under definite circumstances, man's changed consciousness is able to direct his life along a new channel. Socialism needs education for the whole people, and the most rapid development of scientific knowledge, because the system itself is the product of the people's conscious creative endeavor. The socialist system breaks down all the barriers which once blocked the working people's way to education, placing it within reach of every citizen, so opening up the people's inexhaustible spiritual potentialities. Systematic, painstaking effort in spreading the Marxist-Leninist world view and in developing the people's education has led to the emergence in the GDR of a generation of men and women who are guided in their work for the benefit of people by scientific views, and for that reason keep raising their demands in their practical activity, not being content with what has been achieved. Their knowledge and accomplishments develop into a mighty propelling power, assuming the forms of motivations, positions, reference points and concrete steps. Such a role is played by socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, pride in what has been accomplished, conviction in the just character of the socialist community countries' struggle for peace, freedom, democracy and social progress, and confidence in the victory of the communist cause. All of this, for its part, generates optimism, cheerfulness, a high standard of morality, and clear-cut party attitudes to the questions of socialist construction. General Secretary of the SED CC Erich Honecker said at the 10th congress of the SED in 1981: "The working people's readiness for high achievements reflects the effective ideological and political work, which has made a considerable contribution to the consolidation of correct and militant positions. It is becoming quite clear what a tremendous advantage socialism has in being able to rely on the conscious and voluntary initiative of the masses, and on their active participation in the exercise of power. That is what creates the straightforward historical superiority of our socialist social system over the capitalist one."¹⁰

This question arises: does the class struggle act as a motive force in the development of socialism? Let us recall that for centuries it helped society to advance, and even today has a great part to play in the anti-imperialist liberation movements and in the workers' class battles in the capitalist countries.

The class struggle is now most manifest in the contest between the two world systems — socialism and imperialism. It is expressed in

the policy of the arms race conducted by Washington and NATO as a whole, in their ideological and material preparation for another world war. Thus, the answer to the above question is not confined to saying that under socialism the elimination of man's exploitation by man removes the social antagonisms and so also the class struggle. That is true, but that is far from all. In the GDR, for instance, there are no longer any fiercely warring, hostile classes, but that does not mean that our political opponents abroad have struck our Republic off their reactionary plans. Rather the opposite is true: the attacks by the aggressive imperialist forces on our Republic are most brutal and refined. On the other hand, since the socialist revolution in the GDR, which is profoundly internationalist, is a component part of the worldwide process of advance toward socialism, the SED fully takes account of the demands which spring from the international class contest, a fact which makes this contest one of the motive forces in the development of our society.

The Marxist-Leninist parties believe that their duty is systematically to develop the motive forces of social progress, and to orient masses of people toward the satisfaction of their growing requirements, making use on an ever greater scale of the working people's capacities and readiness to benefit the society. From this standpoint, as the motive forces of socialism burgeon, the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party not only increases, but also acts as the objective prerequisite for socialism's steady development.

The successes of the new society depend above all on the maturity of the subjective factor and of the social motive forces. The laws of socialism do not operate automatically, spontaneously or of themselves. Only after the objective conditions for the functioning of these laws have been cognized, the tasks formulated, the appropriate solutions proposed and — most importantly — the masses mobilized for the attainment of the set goals, the objective laws begin to operate with full force. None of this can be achieved without the political guidance of social processes on the part of a Marxist-Leninist party, which accordingly acts as the element mediating the functioning of the motive forces of social development. Its policy is the vital basis of socialism, in the full sense of the word.

In contrast to the laws of nature, the laws of social organisms are determined by the objective relations between people taking shape in practice. That is why the use of the laws of social life requires the elaboration of concrete ways and means for organizing and directing

the conscious activity of the masses. In other words, it is important simultaneously to mobilize both the material and the spiritual motive forces, which give scope for the operation of such laws. And this, for its part, makes ever greater demands on the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party. On the stand taken by that class and all the other working people depends how amply the laws of socialism operate (and consequently, how its advantages are realized), and the impact the laws have on the contest between the two systems. Experience in building the new society provides fresh confirmation of the growing role of the subjective factor in the objective and law-governed development of socialism.

Now and again one finds a one-sided and incomplete understanding of the subjective factor in some Marxist writings: it is said to include only science, consciousness and ideology. While science and ideas generally are certainly an important element of social progress, such an approach obscures the fact that "ideas cannot carry out anything at all," and that "in order to carry out ideas men are needed who can exert practical force."¹¹ Marx and Engels stressed that the subjective factor, or the subject of the historical process, is the people acting in practice, so that this factor should be seen above all as material, practical-revolutionary activity. From this it follows that the subjective factor is above all precisely a material motive force.

That is why the requirement to strengthen the subjective factor in the conditions of socialist construction means to have the working class and all the other working people consciously translate the objective social laws into life. This suggests the need for the closest ties between the Marxist-Leninist party and the people, and the mobilization of all the working people for the solution of the ever more formidable and complicated tasks. The point is, consequently, to have action to meet the various requirements of the objective social laws, to have measures by means of which in the course of their work (in other words, subjectively) the working people translate into life that which is objectively necessary. That is how the laws of socialism operate, and that is the activity in which its main motive force is manifested.

At this point there also arises the question of the growing role of socialist ideology and consciousness, that is, of the spiritual motive forces of social progress. Since socialism can be nothing but the product of planned efforts by the working class and the whole people, the efforts organized on scientific principles, there is a need for the creators of this society to be guided

by a scientific world view, by scientific knowledge, by a scientific theory and ideology. These make it possible to anticipate the course of events in general terms, to direct this course, and to do so in accordance with the inner uniformities of social development. This means that with every fresh stage in the building of socialism there is a higher requirement for uniformity of frame of mind, conscious human behavior and the working people's organization. The role of the subjective factor in our society has not only been growing, but is also becoming qualitatively different.

The ever greater significance of Marxist-Leninist theory and ideology follows from the substance of socialist development as a scientifically guided process. Before getting down to the satisfaction of newly emerging objective requirements in the economic, political, scientific, technical or any other sphere, there is a need theoretically to elaborate the given problem, to carry its essence to the consciousness of the working class and the majority of citizens, thereby creating the prerequisites for the practical fulfillment of the new tasks.

In elaboration of the idea expressed by Marx and Engels, namely, that the communists have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement,¹² one could say: the Marxist-Leninist party is the epitome of scientific consciousness, the organization of social thought, and the activity of the working class.

The party embodies the unity of revolutionary theory and practice in every sphere of social life; it is the organizer of the material and spiritual motive forces of social progress. It is the one that blazes the trail for the working class and all the other working people to the fulfillment of objectively ripened tasks. The ideological work of the Marxist-Leninist party helps to gain a correct understanding of the reality, to develop the spiritual capacities of the masses, and to make them conscious and confident in their own strength as builders of socialism. Consequently, the party creates for the working class and for the majority of citizens in the socialist state ever greater potentialities for acting in accordance with the requirements of social development.

People always have some motivations for their acts. No outstanding achievements are possible without sufficiently strong inward inducements, without a conviction that one's efforts are meaningful and have a fitting goal. Consequently, our successes, expressed in what may appear at first sight to be prosaic facts

and figures, reflect the creative power of Marxism-Leninism — even if these successes are mediated in the minds and acts of individuals by the most diverse, individual interests and considerations, notions and motivations.

Economic growth has always required that society should conduct its economic operations rationally, with new and original ideas and solutions, and close cooperation between the working class and the intelligentsia. This cannot be achieved by means of administrative fiat or prompting, because ideas do not enter people's minds by order, and the intellect defies instructions. A worker cannot be forced to cooperate with an engineer, initiatives are not born through coercion. As Engels said, we are not aware of any power which would be able to impose any idea forcibly on man, when he is of sound mind and wide awake.¹³ The successes of socialist construction would be unrealistic without the working people's inward readiness to work for the sake of socialism, their conviction that the party's policy is correct, that it serves the interests of one and all, without patriotism and internationalism, without relations of sound trust between the party, the state and the people, without effective mass ideological work.

Through the communist world view, the SED has succeeded in developing such profound concern among millions of GDR citizens for socialist construction. A closer look at how the working people themselves explain their activity (to take only the motivations which go beyond the framework of purely material considerations) shows that roughly the following is most frequently declared: "By working hard I wanted to help strengthen and safeguard peace." In other words, the motivation that is cited is an interconnection which cannot be comprehended without going beyond the individual's everyday experience, his immediate, narrow field of activity. It is the Marxist-Leninist world view that helps to see the connection between socialism and peace, and realize the irreconcilable nature of the class contradictions between the two social systems. This world view extends the people's horizon and in our day, with the sharpened class contest between the two world systems, offers them solid guidelines and helps to strengthen their confidence in themselves and enhance the optimism of their stand in life.

1. See V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 430.

2. See K. Low, *Warum fasziniert der Kommunismus? Eine systematische Untersuchung*, Köln, 1980, p. 13.

3. See H. Sachsse, *Was ist Sozialismus? Zur Naturphilosophie der Gesellschaft*, München, 1979, p. 9.

4. *Frankfurter Rundschau*, September 20, 1980.

5. Ibid., October 29, 1980.
6. *Kongresszeitung. Informationen über den 16. Weltkongress für Philosophie vom 27.8 bis 2.9. 1978 Düsseldorf*, August 27, 1978.
7. See V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 441.
8. Ibid., Vol. 6, p. 54.
9. See *Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands*, Berlin, 1976, p. 55.

10. *Protokoll des X. Parteitages der SED*, Vol. 1, Berlin, 1981, p. 140.
11. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, p. 119.
12. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 497.
13. Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Moscow, 1959, p. 121.

Latin America in the grip of international finance capital

In his studies of imperialism at the turn of the century, Lenin noted the "turning-point from the old capitalism to the new, from the domination of capital in general to the domination of finance capital."* This is no longer a trend, but a reality, and not only in some countries. The existing system of financial oligarchy domination has a crucial influence on the life of many states and of hundreds of millions of people in the non-socialist world.

How does this system function? What does it hold in store for the broad popular masses? What are the possibilities of the progressive and democratic forces resisting it? Those are the questions which were considered at a symposium on the contemporary forms of international finance capital (IFC) domination in Latin American and Caribbean countries.

The symposium was arranged by *WMR* together with the Institute of Social Sciences under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), and was attended by: Mario José Grabivker, CC member, CP Argentina; José Riva, CC member, Dominican CP; Raul Valbuena, CC member, Colombian CP; Elena Morua and Raul Lopez, CC members, People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica; Francisco Ramirez, economic consultant, United Confederation of Working People of Costa Rica; Antonio Franco, CC member, United Socialist Party of Mexico; Rogelio Gonzalez, CC member, Paraguayan CP; Andres Paredes and Gustavo Espinoza, CC Political Commission members, Peruvian CP; Eduardo Viera, CC Executive Committee member, CP Uruguay; Samuel Behak, CP Uruguay representative on *WMR*; Vasco Sudanez, managing editor of the CP Uruguay theoretical organ, the journal *Estudios*; Hugo Fazio, CC Secretariat and Political Commission member, and Pablo Roman, CC member, CP Chile; Luis Veintimilla, CC

member, CP Ecuador; Rupert Lewis, CC member, Workers Party of Jamaica, Eloy Lanza, Economic Studies Commission member, CP Venezuela, submitted a paper. Among those who took part in discussing the papers were Soviet scientists: Doctors of Economic Sciences Victor Volsky, Anastasio Mansilla, Gennady Chernikov and Yuri Yudanov, and also Aleksei Shestopal, Dr.Sc.(Philos.), Vladimir Davydov, Cand.Sc.(Econ.), and Sergei Semyonov, Cand.Sc.(Hist.).

Below is a summary of what was said at the symposium, but no claim is made here to give a full reflection of all the views expressed in the course of the discussion.

Latin America and the Caribbean are an area long dominated by imperialist capital, U.S. monopoly capital in the first place, but even there, socio-economic processes undermining the foundations of imperialist domination are also under way. Developments in Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada, and the mounting liberation struggle in other countries show that deep political upheavals and revolutionary changes are taking place in the area. The continued development of the socialist system, the strengthening of the positions of the young progressive states in Asia and Africa, and the broad movement against the aggressive policy of the United States and its imperialist allies involving the peoples of the developed capitalist countries are having an ever greater effect on Latin America and the Caribbean. But the situation is also influenced by the internal contradictions of world capitalism, its economic cataclysms, and the restructuring of the system of its international economic ties.

In other words, if one is to understand the problem of imperialist domination in Latin America and the Caribbean, one has to take into account not only the social contradictions within the countries, but also the objective process of internationalization of economic and socio-political life. And that is something

*V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 226.

which affects the internationalization of finance capital itself.

Instrument of global strategy

While the world capitalist economy has gone through some major depressions over the past decades, the concentration of production and capital has on the whole markedly accelerated. The degree of socialization of production spilling over national borders has become higher accordingly. Important changes have occurred in the international division of labor. The monopolies have reserved the most capital-intensive and high-technology lines of production for the industrialized capitalist countries, while transferring to the developing countries labor-intensive, ecologically dirty and energy and material-intensive production. The new distribution of functions is superimposed on the traditional scheme of exchange of raw materials and manufactured products. The deepening specialization is reflected in the growing scale of foreign trade which tends to surpass internal trade in growth rates, diversification of trade flows and overall intensification of ties between national economic systems. All of this helps to spread capitalist relations of production (in breadth and depth) in the economically dependent countries, including Latin America and the Caribbean.

The transnational corporations have added a new dimension to the world capitalist economy. They have organized not only commercial but also production activity on an international scale. The result is a system of transnational banks controlling the capitalist countries' international financial relations. There is close cooperation between the transnational banks and such inter-state monetary and credit institutions as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD). The sharp increase in the power of the international monopolies and the diversification of their structure have stimulated the *interlacing of banking and industrial capitals on an international basis*.

Since the 1970s, there has been evidence of a clear trend toward a more intimate meshing of the imperialist states, the transnational corporations and the transnational banks, and the coordination of the policies conducted by the finance capital of the major capitalist centers. The coordination is effected through specialized institutions (such as the IMF, the IBRD, the Trilateral Commission, etc.), and within the framework of multilateral consultations (Big Seven meetings, EEC governing bodies, and other economic associations of

capitalist countries) and of bilateral consultations through official channels. Unofficial contacts between big business and the state apparatus of the imperialist powers also have an important role to play. The forms and style of such coordination may differ, but the gist of their policies, in any case, remains the same, which is to secure the most favorable conditions for finance capital domination in the non-socialist world.

Consequently, *state-monopoly regulation* is no longer confined to the borders of individual capitalist countries or even of their integration "communities." It is becoming an instrument of the global strategy of imperialism. One of the most important purposes in coordinating the policies of the chief forces of international finance capital is to put joint pressure on the economically dependent states, and to concert a common stand in response to the demands for a fair and democratic restructuring of international economic relations.

Latin America and the Caribbean have a special place in the imperialist plans for expansion, primarily from the standpoint of the conditions necessary for developing foreign enterprise. After all, the social structures of the countries of the continent have in most cases reached a relative capitalist maturity, in this sense markedly outpacing the Afro-Asian part of the world. They have a more developed production and financial infrastructure, a domestic market which is larger and more sensitive to contemporary consumer standards, and a work force that is sufficiently well-trained in general education and occupational terms. The Latin American and Caribbean region is, on the whole, more deeply drawn into the world capitalist economy.

Underpinning the trend toward the coordination of the policies conducted by the finance capital of the various imperialist centers are the actual integration processes which are under way in the capitalist economy. They are no longer confined to the formation of financial oligarchies on a national basis. There is evidence of a coalescence of transnational industrial corporations and transnational banks. Being involved in this process are also inter-state credit and financial institutions of capitalism and the imperialist states themselves. Nor is this any longer just an aggregation of "national blocs" of finance capital, but obvious evidence of a new entity: a system of international finance capital (IFC).

Does local capital have any part to play in this system? In a sense, it does, but on special terms, it was noted at the symposium. As Latin American and Caribbean countries are more

deeply imbedded in the economic system controlled by the imperialist centers, the local monopoly élite (mainly the financial oligarchy of the big and economically more developed countries in the region) tends to ally itself with IFC as a junior partner, as a sort of "minor stockholder." That is the basis on which a section of the Latin American bourgeoisie becomes more cosmopolitan. In many countries of the region, monopoly circles have emerged within the ruling social bloc with orientations coinciding with IFC goals. Hence the policy of downright betrayal of national interests and attempts to derive benefit at the expense of their own countries' economic development, something that is most noticeable where right-authoritarian regimes (some of them of the fascist type) have been set up over the past 10 or 15 years.

But IFC finds its social partners not only in the midst of the existing financial oligarchy. In some Latin American and Caribbean countries, where the process of its formation is but a recent one, IFC collaborates with the pro-imperialist big bourgeoisie, so helping a monopoly stratum to ripen. That is what is happening in the Dominican Republic, Costa Rica, Jamaica and other countries with a similar level of capitalist development. It takes on (and cosmopolitizes) some of the new middle strata: specialists with technical and administrative functions. By these are meant members of the higher "technocracy" and not the middle strata as a whole.

The bourgeoisie "associated" with the IFC does not act to tie in its policy with the interests of the whole local bourgeoisie, but with the strategy of the imperialist centers. It is not surprising, therefore, that such a policy has bred discontent within a part of the class of capitalist property owners. It would be wrong to assume, participants in the symposium suggested, that the policy of the bourgeoisie "associated" with IFC determines every aspect of the states' economic development. Events testify to a sharp contest in which now one, now another bourgeois grouping gains the upper hand. Moreover, pressure from below frequently forces the ruling circles to take measures which do not coincide with the general pro-imperialist line.

In the course of the discussion the need was also emphasized to reckon with the fact that IFC is not at all a monolithic system. Its financial groups are in a state of constant rivalry with each other. This is intensified by the general unevenness of capitalist development, which tends to change the balance of forces between the main imperialist rivals. For a long

time, U.S. capital spearheaded the imperialist expansion into Latin America and the Caribbean. Today, the relative decline in the U.S. economic role in the capitalist world and the growing role of Western Europe and Japan are beginning to have an effect on the Latin American and Caribbean region as well. From 1967 to 1980, the U.S. share of direct foreign investments in the area from the three main centers of imperialism dropped from 66 per cent to 55 per cent. Meanwhile, the West European monopolies increased theirs from 32 per cent to 36 per cent, and the Japanese, from 2.5 per cent to 9 per cent.* The sharpening struggle for influence is expressed both in new forms of penetration, and in some differences relating to political tactics.

The coalescence of local monopoly groups with IFC has proceeded in the most diverse forms. The best known form is mixed enterprises. There is an ever greater spread of relations between donors, on the one hand, and privileged clients, on the other, on the basis of provided financial, technical and administrative services. This causes a further interlacing of interests and the emergence of various kinds of unions.

The Latin American "associated" monopoly bourgeoisie is itself beginning to take part in international big business, even if only on a modest scale. Local monopoly associations frequently join various financial groups of IFC (and the rivalry between these is accordingly projected to local capital). Data are available on investments by Brazilian, Mexican and Venezuelan capital in enterprises set up by transnational corporations and operating beyond the boundaries of the region. Latin American capital has also made investments in the United States. The local bourgeoisie has also joined in the turnover of "migrant" speculative capital in search of "hot money" in various parts of the world.

Under IFC domination, the Latin American countries' bourgeois state is coming to play a new role. It undertakes the functions of ensuring cooperation between the local monopoly élite and international capital and guaranteeing the interests of both sides. That is why, in certain situations, even nationalized enterprises begin to work effectively for IFC.

In the capitalist countries of Latin America and the Caribbean, IFC has not lost sight of any profitable industry. The financial groups representing it (and based in the main imperialist centers) are seeking to establish their control

*Estimated by Yuri Yudanov. — Ed.

either by direct or indirect methods, either with the observance or in violation of local legislation. They will do anything to attain their goals, even to the extent of establishing ties with clandestine business, as will be seen, for instance, from the wide contacts between the Colombian, Bolivian and Peruvian "narcomafia" and U.S. financiers.

Changes in the forms of expansion

The new trends in the functioning of the world capitalist economy and the development of the Latin American and Caribbean economic periphery of imperialism tend to alter the forms of IFC domination and its ties and meshings with local monopoly capital.

First, there is the shift of emphasis in the methods of expansion from the export of entrepreneurial capital to the export of loan capital. In the 1960s, direct investments by foreign monopolies were the main instrument of economic domination, but in the decade that followed, external indebtedness began to come to the fore as the main instrument. Statistics show that the rate of direct investment growth has lagged markedly (and has even slowed down in some cases), while the external debt of the countries in the region (export of loan capital) has soared almost vertically. In 1973, it stood at just over \$40 billion, but in 1983 it passed the \$340 billion mark. In the 1970s, annual average growth was as follows: gross domestic product — 4 per cent, foreign investments — 9 per cent, payments for foreign technology — 15.6 per cent, credits and loans — 18 per cent.

However, it is not only the mushrooming of the external debt, but also its new quality that is important. Thus, the functions of external financing of Latin American and Caribbean economies are being transferred from inter-state financial institutions such as IMF, IBRD, Inter-American Development Bank (IADB), etc., to private institutions. There is a raising of interest rates and a shortening of maturities. Hence, the substantial increase in the external debt burden. But the fact that the transnational banks have come to the fore does not signify that the inter-state financial institutions of capitalism are losing their role. Participants in the symposium drew attention to the fact that in the recent period economic and military-political interests have been most immediately interwoven in the global strategy of imperialism. In their policies with respect to the Latin American and Caribbean countries, the inter-state institutions of capitalism act hand-in-glove with the banks even when basic IFC interests are involved, imposing their will on

these countries and claiming to act for the "common good."

The appearance of new forms of subordination and exploitation goes to explain some of the changes in the export of entrepreneurial capital. The shift from majority participation by foreign capitals in mixed companies to minority participation has long since been in evidence. This trend is now ever more pronounced, because nowadays a greater effect can be achieved by indirect means, even with more modest holdings (a smaller controlling interest) in mixed companies.

It is the instruments of technological control that are now of key significance. In many cases, the movement of capital begins to assume the form of "technology export" (licenses, consultant and administrative services, etc.). In this context, attention is drawn to the overall trend leading to the spread of "non-property" forms of activity by foreign capital, forms, which are not directly connected with property in the object of economic management.

In Latin America and the Caribbean, there is a growth in the scale of the transnational corporations' engineering and construction business. Under contracts with local private companies and state organizations, they start many industrial, energy and transport facilities, making tremendous profits in the process. Marketing, the performance of various services in the sale of products, yields equally large earnings. Lacking adequate commercial ties and having difficulties in moving their goods onto the world market, local firms have to turn to the transnationals, which dictate their own terms. As a result, many nationalized companies once again fall under the control of imperialist capital (indirect control).

Diversification in the activity of the transnational corporations and banks, and financial groups they set up, is also characteristic of the contemporary forms of IFC domination. They do not confine themselves to some single sector of the economy, but invade allied sectors, establishing control over every stage of production, from the supply of raw materials for a given product to its marketing and insurance. Nor is all this necessarily handled by the individual corporation. Companies and banks affiliated with it (through the financial group) set up the controlled network. Diversification is a process which ever more frequently involves spheres without any direct economic connections, since profitability is the prime consideration in taking investment decisions. But of equal importance is the possibility of establishing dominant positions in a given segment of the production or financial system to influence other

segments or the economic chain of dependent countries as a whole.

The growing *parasitic* trends visually demonstrate the changing forms of IFC domination in the Latin American and Caribbean countries. Weaving a web of external indebtedness and technological dependence round the national economies and acting on them through the intricate mechanism of indirect control, IFC appropriates an ever larger part of the surplus-product turned out by the labor of the Latin Americans. In this way, it deprives countries in the region of the accumulations which they so badly need to tackle the most acute problems of their economic and social development.

Effect of imperialist domination

The *cyclical crisis* which racked the world capitalist economy from 1979 to 1983 brought out the international character of finance capital with special clarity. On the one hand, this crisis (the most devastating since the 1930s) manifested itself as a crisis of the whole monetary and financial system of capitalism. On the other hand, the synchronized expression of its effects accelerated the concentration and centralization of finance capital on a world scale.

All of this is having an increasing effect on the dependent countries. The further subjugation of Latin America and the Caribbean to IFC leads to a more profound involvement of the region's economy in the overall cyclical movement of the world capitalist economy.

A comparison of the dynamics of the basic economic indicators in the centers of imperialism and the Latin American and Caribbean countries shows a *synchronization* of the cyclical down-swing. While the 1974-1975 crisis and especially the preceding cyclical depressions were marked by a definite discrepancy of crisis phases and did not take such a heavy toll in a number of countries, the 1979-1983 crisis is characterized not only by a *simultaneous* recession in the centers and in the periphery of world capitalism, but also by a universal crisis situation in the region as a whole. Another thing is also indicative: *the current crisis has affected the developing countries, including Latin America and the Caribbean, to an even greater extent than it has the centers of imperialism.* This will be seen from the unprecedented decline in the rate of production growth, the spread of unemployment and the rise of inflation on a scale unknown in Western Europe, the United States or Japan. There is also the sharp worsening of credit-worthiness and the general financial instability

of the Latin American states. A wave of bankruptcies has rolled across the region, this time also hitting the monopoly associations of local private capital. Many countries have been pushed to the brink of bankruptcy, because they are unable to repay their external debts.

IFC and its component elements (the transnational corporations and the transnational banks) are the most important carriers of the virus of the crisis that has developed in the centers of imperialism. Moreover, IFC channels are used for the deliberate "*export of economic difficulties*" from the centers of imperialism to the periphery. This kind of policy has become one of the most important international aspects of "Reaganomics." In the early 1980s, in order to switch the burden of the crisis to other countries, the Reagan administration artificially raised interest rates and the exchange rate of the dollar, and arbitrarily introduced protectionist restrictions on imports. As a result, other countries have also suffered seriously. But while the industrialized capitalist countries were able to find some compensating approaches, the dependent economy of Latin America and the Caribbean did not have such potentialities. Even Venezuela and Mexico, once the most "*prosperous*" countries in the region, have been severely hit by the present crisis.

What is more, in the early 1980s, the United States and the other imperialist centers, extensively using the IFC system, managed to weaken many of the economic defense mechanisms set up by the developing states in the 1970s. A case in point is the lot of OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries), in which centrifugal trends are growing under pressure from imperialism, so undermining the basis for its sales strategy on the world market. Generally speaking, in the course of the latest crisis, IFC has managed to solve some of its problems at the expense of the developing countries by manipulating the world prices of "*basic*" products (mineral raw materials and the produce of tropical agriculture). Thus, imperialist capital has largely compensated itself for the cuts it had to accept in its earnings during the "*price revolution*" of the 1970s.

The *mass drain of capital* from the region has become one of the gravest consequences of the present crisis. Even before that, IFC set up channels for swift and efficient transfusion of financial resources (seemingly on a voluntary basis) to the centers of imperialism. There is a special mechanism for using the revenues of the oil-exporting countries known as the "*recycling*" of petrodollars, that is, the return (in various forms) to the financial centers of

imperialism of a part of the foreign-exchange receipts from the sale of oil, gas and their products.

The present state of Venezuela, whose economy was switched to the rails of "recycling," shows just how IFC bleeds the dependent states that have for various reasons (frequently conjunctural) risen to a level of relative economic prosperity. A country which a few years ago became a major creditor is now itself up to its neck in debt exceeding \$28 billion. Essentially the same situation has taken shape in Mexico. Mexico's "oil miracle" has turned into an "oil fiasco." The government has been forced to resort to a temporary moratorium on repayments of its external debt, which has soared to \$80 billion.*

Consequently, the "recycling" mechanism has amplified the negative effect of the crisis. This has now been compounded by the mass flight of capitals of the Latin American bourgeoisie, remitting its funds to major banks in the United States (and partly in Western Europe). This migration of capitals is facilitated and stimulated by the IFC system. The cosmopolitized Latin American bourgeoisie has, in effect, "voted with its feet" on the issue of defending its countries from the crisis. In this way, it once again confirmed the coalescence of its interests with those of the international finance capital oligarchy.

The capital drain now and again assumes such threatening proportions that even the bourgeois states, which are not at all inclined to curb "free" enterprise, are forced to take extraordinary measures. That is what happened in Mexico, where the Lopez Portillo government had to nationalize private banks in order to limit the transfer of millions abroad.

IFC's extensive and diversified domination enables imperialism to impose on the Latin American and Caribbean countries economic policies that cater for its own interests. Now that a tide of conservatism has swept the ruling circles of most imperialist centers, reactionary monetarist recipes have become the basis for the economic schemes being imposed. Let us note that some dependent states are forced, through their dictatorial regimes, to act up to these recipes virtually to a point of absurdity, like lifting all restrictions on "free" enterprise, as has been done in Chile and Uruguay. Meanwhile, in the United States, monetarist policy has never been practised in its "pure" form, and in the external sphere it has been supplemented with unabashed protectionism. The

economy of countries in the region which have accepted monetarist directives is being increasingly laid open for external financial expansion, and finds itself defenseless in the atmosphere of gravest crisis.

That is not a mere revival of this economic doctrine, it was said at the symposium. Present-day monetarism is leavened with extremely reactionary propositions of political neo-conservatism. A "model" resting on such an ideological base is effectively aimed against every stratum of the population, including the non-cosmopolitan local bourgeoisie. There is a good reason why in Chile, Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay (the classical examples of saddling by monetarism) bourgeois and even land-owning circles have also joined in the struggle against those who are implanting this "model." Monetarist policy benefits only the small groups of local bourgeoisie who have joined hands with IFC. But in order to realize the goals of such an anti-popular policy, it is necessary to put down resistance from an absolute majority of the nation by every possible means, including brutal political terrorism. This situation largely explains the emergence (or existence on a new basis, as in Paraguay) of authoritarian fascist-type regimes in a number of Latin American states.

The "model" being implanted has not stood the test of life. Chile, Argentina and Uruguay provide an example which proves beyond any doubt that it tends to drive the Latin American countries into an economic, social and political dead-end. But even where monetarist policy has not been carried to an extreme, as it has in these three countries, the existing situation testifies to a sharp aggravation of the basic economic and social problems. Subordination to IFC in these countries is effected under "recommendations" from the IMF and other similar institutions. This ultimately means the most rigorous austerity at the working people's expense, the contraction of the state sector, and guaranteed freedom of operations for transnational corporations and banks. That is exactly the situation in Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic and Jamaica. Actually, in one form or another, *all the countries of the region are faced with monetarist dictates from IFC.*

A growing danger is posed by the development of the military-industrial complex, which has been inserted into the IFC system as one of its key components.

Operating through the IFC system and enjoying the patronage of the leading imperialist power and its allies, the military-industrial monopolies have been involving the countries of the region in the arms race. In this way, vital

*Time, January 10, 1983, p. 5.

and scarce resources are being withdrawn from economic commerce in the Latin American and Caribbean countries, so aggravating the crisis state of their economies. A real threat comes from Washington's striving to extend NATO's sphere of influence to the South Atlantic by incorporating in that aggressive military-political bloc the states lying on the eastern seaboard of the region. This trend has been most pronounced since the Reagan administration took over at the White House. Impelled by the military-industrial monopolies, this administration seeks to create a *global militaristic coalition*, subordinating to it the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean.

The IFC system and the mechanism of its domination stifle the Latin American peoples' national interests. Their exploitation and the dependence of their economic (and even political) development on the will of IFC are being brusquely intensified. The vast external debt of the countries of the region and other means of direct or indirect subordination limit to an extreme the possibilities for their taking any independent decisions, while increasing the danger of financial and economic strangulation of the "intransigent" states.

Necessity of change

IFC domination, its hostility to the interests and aspirations of the immense majority of Latin Americans, and its complicity in political terrorism drive home to the masses the need to resist it. Life shows that in the atmosphere of the grave crisis in Latin America and the Caribbean, aggravated by IFC domination, *the popular struggle is being intensified and its socio-political spectrum widened*. This will be seen from the events in various countries: the mass action in Argentina and Colombia, Ecuador and Brazil, Peru and Venezuela, Costa Rica and many others. The example of Chile and Uruguay shows that wherever the IFC diktat is practised in an open and most brutal form in alliance with the top layer of the local monopoly oligarchy and the fascist-minded militarists, such an alliance runs into confrontation with the immense majority of the nation.

Consequently, there is here a growing potential of resistance to the domination of IFC and its local partners, and the objective conditions for *creating broader coalitions* of revolutionary and democratic forces. All of this is connected with the interweaving of anti-imperialist demands and the tasks of the social struggle.

At the same time, the accelerated internationalization of capital and the ramification of its powerful financial system throughout the

whole non-socialist world have produced a situation in which the struggle of the exploited and oppressed masses objectively can no longer be limited to the purely national framework.

Life keeps producing numerous forms of the working people's international solidarity. First of all, there are the actions by the working class, by all the exploited and by progressive opinion rendering support to the popular masses in countries where there is open confrontation with IFC and local reaction.

Evaluating the general potentialities for resisting the imperialist expansion, participants in the symposium said that it was not right to discount the elements of joint action by some Latin American states taking a stand contrary to the objectives of IFC and the major capitalist powers, the United States in the first place. Manifestations of such solidarity are a reflection of the fact that, since IFC policies infringe on the interests of the majority of the Latin American bourgeoisie, in definite situations it is obliged to put up resistance on certain issues. Of great importance is the support of the economic platform of the non-aligned movement by many Latin American and Caribbean states. After all, many of its planks are aimed directly against imperialist domination.

The problem of resisting this domination is undoubtedly connected with the whole complex of international relations, which means, with the necessity of global changes. The socialist countries' support for the developing countries united in the non-aligned movement evidently multiplies their efforts in the struggle for a restructuring of economic relations with the imperialist centers.

But, of course, since the socio-economic structures of the bourgeois states in Latin America and the Caribbean themselves create the conditions for IFC domination, no "new international economic order" can be set up there without a radical remodelling of these structures. In short, there is a most immediate connection between the internal and external fronts of resistance to IFC expansion.

The communist parties of Latin America and the Caribbean support all the efforts contributing to stronger economic independence of states in the region and limiting IFC domination. Only a concrete analysis of the concrete situation will, understandably, make it possible to determine the nature and priority of the necessary actions. The communists and the other revolutionary forces in each country set themselves such tasks in the light of the na-

tional and international conditions of the moment and the prospects for their change.

At the same time, there are some general theses for a policy to strengthen economic independence and curb IFC domination. This implies stringent state regulation of the movement of capitals. Nationalization of private banks is the most effective measure in this context. Of tremendous importance is control over foreign trade and external monetary operations. Any measures helping to consolidate the positions of the state in this area go to fortify national sovereignty.

It was noted in the course of the discussion that the program of struggle against IFC domination must not and cannot signify a complete rupture of the existing financial and general economic ties. The vital interests of the peoples fighting for economic liberation require the use of every possibility in avoiding disastrous disruptions of the mechanism of reproduction. Historical experience testifies that such ties are not ruptured by the policies of progressive states but by the hostility of imperialism. Resolute measures should also be taken to prevent the unproductive use of foreign loans, and to limit (and wherever possible to eliminate) parasitic consumption by the big bourgeoisie. Efforts should be made to force a review of the terms on which the accumulated external debt is being serviced, to extend the repayment period, and to have the exorbitant interest charges reduced. When seeking to neutralize IFC's negative influence, the national state inevitably comes up against the problem of

balancing out its external ties as a whole. The search for a solution sets from the outset the task of diversifying the export and import lines, sources of external finance and borrowing of advanced technology. This leads to an expansion of cooperation with the socialist countries and progressive developing states.

Implementation of a program of radical transformations cutting at the inner roots of IFC domination depends directly on the solution of the question of power. Such is the communists' deep conviction, and it has been repeatedly tested in historical practice.

For the communists of Latin America and the Caribbean, the strategic solution is a socialist reconstruction of the society. But they are aware that the profound anti-imperialist transformations help to ease the tragic effects of the crisis and IFC domination, and consequently, to improve the condition of the working masses. However, such transformations must necessarily affect the structures of society. They are bound to result in changes in the system of power. The way for them is being paved by the shifts in the balance of political forces resulting from the development of the mass struggle under the leadership of the revolutionary vanguard, supported by an alliance of broad strata of the population coming out against imperialist domination.

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Military-strategic parity in the 1980s

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In the nuclear-missile age, the problem of the balance between the military potentials of states and their groupings has gone beyond arithmetical calculations and has moved into the sphere of megatons, megadeaths and "super-destruction" co-efficients, so taking on a new and quite different significance. The period since Hiroshima and Nagasaki has thrown a totally different light on the traditional conception of war, as formulated in the 19th century by Clausewitz, who saw armed conflicts as an acceptable method of attaining political goals.¹ A stake on war with the use of nuclear weapons has become equivalent to a line of self-destruction, and puts civilization itself in jeopardy.

But the essential correction in Clausewitz's postulate was not made by atomic bombs as such. When the United States had a monopoly of mass destruction weapons, its strategists continued to think and act in the spirit of the views of the German military theorist. No wonder that the then U.S. President Harry Truman saw the testing of the first atomic bomb as a means of pressuring the Soviet Union. The displacement of nuclear war from the life of human society began only after the Soviet Union tested its first atomic bomb in the late 1940s, then, by building its inter-continental missiles, did away, in the 1950s, with the invulnerability of U.S. territory to retribution for aggression, and, finally, in the 1970s, ensured strategic equilibrium with the United States.

The global military parity helped to realize Lenin's prediction that the ever more destructive power of weapons, together with the growing defensive capability of socialism, would make war altogether impossible.² The balance of forces between the socialist world and the capitalist world, a key factor in contemporary international development, has in principle ruled out the possibility of one side gaining decisive military superiority over the other. The aggressor cannot avoid a crushing retaliatory strike, whatever the scenario of a conflict

with the use of mass destruction weapons.

The military-strategic equilibrium has objectively helped to improve the international situation. Under its influence the United States recognized that in the nuclear-missile age there is no rational alternative to peaceful co-existence based on the principle of equality and equal security. The USSR and the USA concluded a number of important treaties and agreements, among them on the prevention of nuclear war, some measures in limiting strategic offensive weapons, limiting anti-missile defense systems, and so on. Soviet-U.S. negotiations were begun on the prohibition or limitation of other types of weapons.

The equilibrium which has taken shape between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO armed forces served as an important prerequisite for advancing the positive process enshrined in the 1975 Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. This led to the first steps in strengthening confidence on our continent. The Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO got down to negotiating mutual troop and arms cuts in Central Europe.

Consequently, in the 1970s a real prospect appeared for curtailing the futile and hazardous competition in the military field. The task was to advance along the road of a mutual limitation and reduction of armaments, especially nuclear armaments, seeking scrupulous maintenance of the equilibrium on an ever lower level.

Yuri Andropov said at the June 1983 plenary meeting of the CPSU CC: "The military-strategic equilibrium between socialism and imperialism objectively promotes peaceful co-existence. The attainment of this equilibrium is one of the most important results of the past decades. It has required considerable efforts and resources of our people and the peoples of other socialist community countries... If it was possible to lower the level of armaments and military expenditures on both sides, to get down to disarmament, something for which we

actively strive, that would be a great boon for all the countries and peoples."³

Meanwhile, the ruling circles of the United States and the other imperialist states have taken a far from unambiguous attitude to the military-strategic parity problem. While there is recognition that the shift in the balance of forces is irreversible and that there is a need to adapt to it in the political sphere, a strongly pronounced tendency to change developments in its own favor is also making itself known in the United States.

In the past decade, the line resulting from these two contending trends in the policy of the West shaped in favor of joining the socialist states in stabilizing the international situation and containing the arms race. But in the early 1980s, the most bellicose imperialist circles once again decided to try forcibly to put a brake on the social renewal of the world. They think that this can be done by upsetting the military-strategic equilibrium to the detriment of the socialist community.

The United States and NATO as a whole have started military preparations of unprecedented scope and speed. Programs of making and deploying new land, sea, and air-based strategic nuclear weapons are being realized. Preparations are being made to militarize outer space. Fundamentally new types of conventional weapons are being developed.

This line reached its highest point when the Reagan administration took office. Its first budget provided for appropriations for the Pentagon of \$211.4 billion in fiscal 1982, and \$240.5 billion in 1983. In the next five years (fiscal 1984-1988), the United States intends to spend \$1.8 trillion.⁴

The official motivations of Washington's militaristic activity do not square with the objective state of things. First of all, the assertion that the Soviet Union has allegedly out-stripped the United States in military terms, which is why there is an urgent need for additional U.S. armaments, does not stand up in the light of the facts. That the Soviet-American strategic parity is a real one was confirmed by the previous three U.S. administrations.

When signing SALT II in June 1979, President Jimmy Carter, for instance, said that neither the United States nor the Soviet Union were in a position to gain the upper hand over each other. In his memoirs, he writes: "Each of us would have to face the inevitability of military equivalency with the other. There would certainly not be any superiority of victory in a nuclear war."⁵

A similar stand was taken by responsible representatives of the U.S. military-political leadership during the SALT II hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. They said that the differences between the strategic forces of the United States and the USSR were mutually balanced out, and that there was, on the whole, a rough and stable parity. The then Defense Secretary Harold Brown declared: "Overall, we are in a position of essential equivalence."⁶ He added: "With the programs the administration proposes, we will retain an adequate strategic balance through 1985, and we will improve the relative balance thereafter . . . The SALT II agreement will produce a more favorable balance for the United States during its duration than we would have without it."⁷ General David Jones, then Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, also noted the "military equality."⁸

However, in Reagan's first few months at the White House, the U.S. mass media, followed by officials, started a loud campaign over what they alleged to be "windows of vulnerability" in the U.S. strategic system. Contrary to its earlier assertions, the Joint Chiefs of Staff began to sound the alarm, claiming that the balance of military forces was changing against the United States and its allies.⁹ Two years later, Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger declared: "The Soviets have acquired a margin of nuclear superiority in most important categories, while still maintaining superiority in their conventional forces. Consequently, for the United States to have a strong and credible deterrent capability, we must strengthen both our nuclear and conventional force posture as quickly as possible."¹⁰

Can these assertions be taken at face value? It takes a decade on average to develop, produce and deploy a modern weapons system. Given the existing dynamic equilibrium, it is effectively impossible for either side to make a spurt in two years by which it could substantially outstrip the other in the military contest. The true global strategic picture will not change whatever propaganda tricks U.S. ruling circles may resort to.

Let us take a firm footing in the facts. Concerning the strategic nuclear weapons balance between the Soviet Union and the United States, which has been thoroughly verified by experts on both sides, there is a rough equivalence in the number of delivery vehicles — the USSR has 2,500, and the United States 2,300, whereas in the number of nuclear warheads — the United States has the advantage. In hearings before the Senate Armed Services Committee, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

General John Vessey, replying to a question on whether he would change places with the Chief of the Soviet General Staff, exclaimed, without giving it a second thought: "Not on your life!" Defense Secretary Weinberger was just as peremptory: "I would not for a moment exchange anything (the U.S. nuclear arsenal for the Soviet one — O.B.), because we have an immense edge in technology."¹¹

But it would be a futile exercise to riffle through official U.S. and NATO publications in search of even an attempt to make an objective analysis of the whole set of interacting trends determining the present state and future development of the armed forces of the opposing sides. Instead, we find these publications highlighting components of the strategic equation which are unfavorable for the United States and its allies, while ignoring everything that is unfavorable for the USSR and the other Warsaw Treaty countries. Thus, among the things discounted is the objectively existing difference in the types of strategic weapons of the Soviet Union and the United States, with only those of them declared to be "destabilizing" which constitute the basis of the Soviet military potential.

Everyone knows that the main emphasis in the line of argument in favor of spiralling militaristic preparations by the United States and NATO is laid on the presumption of a "Soviet military threat." But any objective study of the USSR's military doctrine and the corresponding structure and line of development of its armed forces shows such charges to be completely groundless. The Soviet military doctrine is purely defensive, which is why it does not envisage the attainment of military superiority. Its goal is defense of the USSR and the other socialist countries, prevention of imperialist aggression, and maintenance of international security. The conception of a "pre-emptive strike," including a nuclear strike, is alien to that doctrine.

In consequence of the rapid development of military hardware and technology, and the further deepening of distinctions in the structure of the armaments and armed forces of the two sides, it is ever more difficult to control the process of balancing the constantly modernizing opponent forces. This adds urgency to the need to accelerate the hammering out of agreements consolidating the existing equilibrium and making it possible to advance steadily to a lowering of its level.

But the fact is that disarmament has been relegated to one of the last places on the scale of priorities of the present U.S. administration's policy. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, bi-

lateral and multilateral talks on many problems bearing on this sphere were either interrupted or postponed indefinitely through Washington's fault. Let us recall, for instance, its refusal to ratify SALT II and other agreements on limiting the competition in the nuclear and other military fields, or the line of eroding a number of already achieved understandings. Doubt has been cast, in particular, on the advisability of keeping in force the termless Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems, and attempts are also being made to undermine the Soviet-American Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War. Last, but not least, the Reagan administration has openly sabotaged the talks on medium-range missiles in Europe.

This obstructionist stand is clearly a natural outcome of the maniacal United States' urge to attain global strategic superiority over the Soviet Union. Whatever the slogans used to cover up these militaristic plans — be it "alignment of military potentials" or "prevention of disbalance in the future" — their aggressive substance is obvious.

The bellicose groupings in U.S. ruling circles refuse to accept the established parity between the USSR and the United States. For several years now, there has been a purposeful build-up of U.S. strategic armaments through an increase in the number of nuclear warheads and enhancement of accuracy for their delivery vehicles. The yield of warheads has increased. The protection of launching-pad silos has been improved. Intercontinental ballistic missiles have been equipped with a system of retargeting, and strategic bombers, with guided missiles. Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet Strategic Missile Troops Vladimir Tolubko says that the United States has effectively increased the strike potential of its systems at least five-fold, and has doubled its potentialities for delivering nuclear warheads on target without an increase in the number of delivery vehicles.¹²

The attainment of military superiority over the socialist countries is the core of Washington's "direct confrontation" strategy. Its purpose is to ensure the material prerequisites for destroying socialism as a socio-political system and for establishing global U.S. domination.

In October 1981, less than a year after taking office, President Reagan announced a "strategic program" for the 1980s. Its pivotal element is the creation of a nuclear-missile potential making it possible to deliver a "decapitating strike" on the Soviet Union and its allies where and when the United States

should find it appropriate, and to escape retribution or, at any rate, substantially to reduce it. The program not only incorporates and expands the earlier plans, but also provides for the development of new strategic weapons systems: MX intercontinental ballistic missiles, submarine-based Trident-1 and Trident-2 ballistic missiles, B-1B and Stealth bombers, and long-range Cruise missiles. The ultimate idea is to increase, in the course of this decade, the potential of the U.S. offensive strategic forces in deliverable number of nuclear weapons in one launch/sortie by at least 50 per cent.¹³ A radical modernization of the U.S. strategic defense forces, with emphasis on the use of outer space, is mooted.

Over the past several years, Washington has especially stepped up its efforts to deploy U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe. NATO plans assign to these missiles the role of "first-strike" weapons targeted on the USSR and its allies. At the same time, the Pentagon expects that, in the event of a nuclear conflict, the Euromissiles will divert a retaliatory strike from the United States.¹⁴

The intention to disrupt the strategic parity is written into the directives on planning the build-up of the U.S. Armed Forces, which say: "The United States nuclear capabilities must prevail even under the conditions of a prolonged war." The U.S. nuclear forces "must prevail and be able to force the Soviet Union to seek earliest termination of hostilities on terms favorable to the United States."¹⁵

The U.S. military-political leadership is putting out nuclear-conflict scenarios in an effort to find ways of "optimizing" a nuclear war, be it limited or all-out, short or prolonged. In his report to the Congress in February 1981, Weinberger, assuming the Pentagon's capacity to "limit the scope, duration, and intensity" of a conflict, proposed "to restore peace on favorable terms" and "at the lowest possible level of damage to the United States and its allies."¹⁶

At first sight, the idea of limiting the scale of a nuclear conflict appears to be a positive one. However, the very assumption that such a conflict can be "calibrated" is unrealistic. The character of modern war categorically excludes the prospect of laying down geographical boundaries for an exchange of nuclear strikes, and this in itself nullifies any possible stabilizing effect of that conception.

In critical political situations, reliance on the Pentagon's "limited intensity" scenario could in actual fact catalyze a nuclear escalation. After all, even in a "non-intensive conflict" NATO's armed forces would be operating within the framework of its officially adopted

"three-stage" strategy. The first stage: operations with the use of conventional weapons; the second: the use first of tactical and then of tactico-operational nuclear weapons; and the third stage: an unlimited nuclear conflict.

We find that U.S. strategic thinking, remaining captive to notions consigned to oblivion, ignores the fundamental and irreversible fact which has brought about a radical change in the global situation: the socialist community's attainment of military-strategic equilibrium with the United States and NATO as a whole. Given the present state of monitoring systems, the degree of combat-readiness and the considerable invulnerability of strategic nuclear weapons, it is impossible to "decapitate" the Soviet Union.

Whichever scenario for unleashing a nuclear war the aggressor may opt for, under the military-strategic equilibrium it is beyond its capacity to avert a crushing retaliatory strike. And in view of the socialist community's economic, scientific and technical potentialities, it is impossible to upset that equilibrium. Yuri Andropov said that "all the attempts to attain military superiority over the USSR are futile. The Soviet Union will never allow this to happen, it will never find itself defenseless in the face of any threat."¹⁷

In its statement of May 28, 1983, the Soviet government warned: in view of the growing threat to the security of the USSR and its allies, it will be faced with the necessity to take counter-measures in strengthening its defense capability, including the deployment of corresponding new strategic systems. The deployment of new U.S. missiles in Western Europe, the statement said, would force the Soviet Union to abandon its unilateral moratorium on the further deployment of medium-range weapons in the European zone. The need would also arise to effect, by agreement with other Warsaw Treaty states, other measures for deploying additional weapons for the purpose of creating the necessary counter-weight to the growing group of U.S. forward-based nuclear weapons in Europe and the nuclear weapons of the other NATO countries. Corresponding counter-measures would also have to be taken with respect to the territory of the United States itself.¹⁸

This resolute stand has full support from the Warsaw Treaty Organization as a whole. The joint statement adopted at a Moscow meeting in June 1983 of the top party and state leaders of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, GDR, Hungary, Poland, Romania and the USSR emphasizes: "In the light of the interests of peace and of their own security, the states participating in the

meeting declare that they will not allow military superiority over themselves under any circumstances. They take a resolute stand for ensuring an equilibrium of forces at the lowest level."¹⁹

The attempts to upset the military-strategic equilibrium are, therefore, fraught with terrible consequences which would inevitably affect the interests of the initiators of this risky and hopeless undertaking. In generating the dangers, the latter cannot but invite them upon themselves. Creating instability, they themselves will suffer from it. The unpredictable consequences of the arms race and confrontation put not only the one, but also the other side in a difficult situation.

These truths are so obvious that they have been recognized even by some of those who have the reputation of being adherents of the "tough line." Henry Kissinger, for instance, writes: "Under current conditions, no matter how we or our adversaries improve the size or quality of our strategic arsenals, one overriding fact remains: An all-out strategic nuclear exchange would risk civilized life as we know it."²⁰ Zbigniew Brzezinski has expressed the apprehension that the high level of the strategic confrontation undermines the security not only of the Soviet Union, but also of the United States.²¹

The socialist community countries are convinced of the imperative need for mutual restraint in the field of armaments. They have proposed to strengthen military-strategic stability and, by maintaining the existing equilibrium of forces, to halt the arms race and steadily advance along the road of limitation and reduction of armaments.

The Soviet Union's commitment not to use nuclear weapons first not only adds a practical aspect to the question of a complete ban on the use of nuclear weapons, but also does much to strengthen international security. USSR Minister of Defense Dmitry Ustinov has stressed that the commitment has required our country to increase its attention to measures of preventing a non-nuclear armed conflict from developing into a nuclear one. Accordingly, an even more stringent framework is being laid down for determining the weapons mix, and controls designed to prevent the unauthorized launching of any class of nuclear weapons are being made more effective. At the same time, the Minister emphasized, conditions should be created for reducing the surprise factor to a minimum, and leaving the aggressor no desire to use nuclear weapons first.²²

Influential bourgeois leaders in the United States have admitted the usefulness of this ap-

proach. Thus, according to McGeorge Bundy, George F. Kennan, Robert S. McNamara and Gerard Smith,²³ all prominent spokesmen for the U.S. establishment, what NATO needs most under the strategic parity "is not the refinement of its nuclear options, but a clear-cut decision to avoid them as long as others do."²⁴

Furthermore, strategic stability would undoubtedly be enhanced if, together with a mutual nuclear-first-strike repudiation, the parties undertook not to resort to armed force generally. That is precisely what has been proposed by the Warsaw Treaty states. Their January 1983 Political Declaration proposes the conclusion of a treaty on the mutual non-resort to armed force and the maintenance of relations of peace between the states of the two military-political groupings, the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO.²⁵

But the United States and its NATO allies have failed to respond to all these major initiatives which could halt the slide to the brink of war. They continue to refer to an invented "growing threat of a Soviet nuclear attack."

These assertions are so groundless that they cannot be essentially accepted even by authoritative specialists in the United States itself. For instance, the Scowcroft Commission, which includes former defense secretaries and others who were but recently high-ranking members of the foreign policy, military and intelligence departments, has admitted that "the Soviet programs do not, in and of themselves, indicate plans to initiate nuclear attacks."²⁶

The Soviet June 1983 proposal that all the nuclear powers should put a quantitative and qualitative freeze on the nuclear weapons they have and declare a moratorium on nuclear weapons tests, and also on all new types of their delivery vehicles could provide a guarantee of strategic stability and an important prerequisite for steadily lowering the level of the existing equilibrium. The Soviet government believes that a freeze understanding could first be reached between the USSR and the United States, with a view to the other nuclear powers subsequently following suit.²⁷

Under the rough parity, it is relatively easy to halt the nuclear arms race. Given the good will, the solution of the problem would not require involved or protracted negotiations. But Washington has rejected out of hand the very idea of a nuclear freeze, claiming that it would be "dangerous" for the United States, because it would entrench its "lag" behind the USSR in this field. This line of argument is patently biased.

Washington's obsession with the idea of superiority has blocked every avenue for working out mutually acceptable agreements on arms limitation and reduction. All its proposals are effectively geared to the same obsessive goal of upsetting the existing parity.

The Reagan administration has paralleled its programs for building up U.S. military might with efforts in the diplomatic sphere aimed to bring about the Soviet Union's unilateral disarmament. Washington wants a limitation only on some of the strategic forces components which it does not like, while keeping others outside the framework of an understanding. Its scheme is a simple one: to destroy the existing structure of the Soviet nuclear potential, while leaving itself a free hand for building up its own nuclear arsenals.

That is the direction in which the United States has been pushing the strategic arms limitation and reduction talks. Washington's proposal for a cut in the number of inter-continental ballistic missiles to 850 units for each side, puts the USSR in unequal conditions. The point is that, because of the historically rooted distinctions in the structure of their strategic forces and geographical location, the Soviet Union has 70 per cent of its warheads on land-based ICBMs, while the United States has 80 per cent of its warheads on submarines and heavy bombers. If the U.S. proposal were accepted, the USSR would have to dismantle over 90 per cent of its ICBMs, while the main U.S. strike forces remained actually intact.

Washington has taken a similar line in the talks on limiting medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe. Here again, the U.S. side has demanded something that is absolutely unacceptable for the USSR. Acceptance of Reagan's "zero option" would mean that the Soviet Union would have a two-fold inferiority with respect to the NATO countries in the number of vehicles, and a three-fold inferiority in the number of warheads. The U.S. President's "interim option" is also aimed to upset the equilibrium in NATO's favor.

The actual content of the U.S. proposals testifies to their refusal to seek solutions based on the principle of equality and equal security. But once and for all this should be understood in Washington: the Soviet Union will not accept unilateral disarmament. As Yuri Andropov declared most emphatically, "if it comes to deployment (of Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles in Europe. — O.B.), we shall not give up our positions, we shall not relax our defenses, but shall take timely and effective counter-measures safeguarding the security of the USSR and its allies."²⁸

There is still time for a fair agreement. The Soviet Union is prepared for honest and serious negotiations on all the aspects of arms limitation and reduction. Its stand on the matter was clearly set forth in June 1983, by Andrei Gromyko, First Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and Foreign Minister, when he said: "The Soviet Union's stand is to advance, starting from the existing parity, along the way of limiting and reducing armaments in such a way that equilibrium is maintained at every given moment, but at an ever lower level. That would mean using for the purposes of peace and not missing the truly historical opportunity offered by the existing parity."²⁹

In the dangerous international situation that has taken shape, it is the duty of all states to ensure sound and just peace. A key prerequisite for this is the assertion of the military-strategic parity and consistent limitation and reduction of armaments down to their total liquidation.

1. See, Karl Clausewitz, *On War*, Moscow, 1934, p. 5 (Russian edition).

2. See Krupskaya's *Reminiscences of Lenin*. A Collection of articles and Speeches, Moscow, 1971, p. 53 (in Russian).

3. *Pravda*, June 16, 1983.

4. *Report of the Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger on the FY 1984 Budget, FY 1985 Authorization Request and FY 1984-88 Defense Programs*, February 1, 1983, pp. 61, 71.

5. Jimmy Carter, *Keeping Faith, Memoirs of a President*, London, 1982, p. 249.

6. *The SALT II Treaty. Hearings Before the Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate, 96th Congress, Part 1*, p. 99.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 302.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 368, 374.

9. See *United States Military Posture for FY 1982*, Washington, D.C., 1981, p. 53.

10. *Report of the Secretary of Defense*, February 1, 1983, p. 34.

11. *The Defense Monitor. Center for Defense Information*, Washington, D.C., 1982, Vol. XI, No. 6, p. 1.

12. See *Kommunist*, No. 3, 1983, p. 59 (in Russian).

13. For details see *Whence the Threat to Peace*, Second Edition, Moscow, 1982, p. 39.

14. For details see "Crucial Year for the Destinies of Europe," *WMR*, No. 9, 1983, and also "Euromissile Shadow Over Europe. It Is Not Too Late to Ward Off the Threat," *WMR*, No. 10, 1983.

15. *The New York Times*, June 4, 1982, p. A10.

16. *Report of the Secretary of Defense*, pp. 32, 35-36.

17. *Pravda*, March 27, 1983.

18. *Pravda*, May 28, 1983.

19. *Pravda*, June 29, 1983.

20. H. Kissinger, *Years of Upheaval*, Boston, 1982, p. 999.

21. See Z. Brzezinski, *Power and Principle*, London, 1982, p. 150.

22. See *Pravda*, July 12, 1982.

23. McGeorge Bundy was special assistant to the U.S. President on national security matters from 1961 to 1966; George F. Kennan was U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union in 1952, and to Yugoslavia from 1961 to 1963;

Robert S. McNamara was U.S. Defense Secretary from 1961 to 1968, and from 1968 to mid-1981, President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development; from 1969 to 1972, Gerard Smith headed the U.S. delegation at the strategic arms limitation talks, and from 1977 to 1980 was ambassador-at-large and special presidential envoy on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. — Ed.

24. *Foreign Affairs*, Spring 1982, Vol. 60, No. 4, p. 762.
25. *Pravda*, January 7, 1983.
26. *Report of President's Commission on Strategic Forces*, April 1983, Washington, D.C., p. 5.
27. *Pravda*, June 17, 1983.
28. *Pravda*, July 6, 1983.
29. *Pravda*, June 17, 1983.

Solidarity inspires confidence in victory

Rodrigo Rojas

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Now that U.S. imperialism has openly embarked on confrontation with the socialist world and is trying to check the revolutionary process by force (which does not rule out the possibility of unleashing a nuclear war), the fundamental Marxist theses on the need for a class, internationalist approach to national problems are more relevant than ever. Lenin's idea that "there is one, and only one, kind of real internationalism, and that is — working whole-heartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in one's own country, and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy, and material aid) *this struggle, this, and only this*, line, in every country without exception,"¹ is not outdated in the least.

In the past years, the Chilean people have been able to appreciate on the basis of their own experience the role and significance of international solidarity, both in the thousand memorable days of Popular Unity rule under Salvador Allende and in the hard 10 years of fascist tyranny. Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, pointed out that our people "were not alone in their difficult struggle. Progressive humanity was on their side... In the worst days, when our people did not have enough strength to stop the fascists' crimes, it was international solidarity that saved many lives."²

Corvalan added that attempts had been and

still were made to represent the Communist Party as an "anti-patriotic, anti-democratic, extraneous, dependent force with an alien ideology. But stubborn facts take care of establishing the truth.

"Patriotism in our epoch is confirmed or disproved above all else by one's attitude to imperialism...

"Patriotism serves the struggle for the rights and well-being of the people, for the all-round progress of the country, the defense of national values and the advancement of art and culture... True and consistent patriotism requires reciprocal support by all the peoples fighting for common goals and against common enemies. Bernardo O'Higgins³ was at once the father of our nation and a fighter for the independence of all Latin American countries. We guide ourselves by his example. Benjamin Vicuña Mackenna⁴ was a leader of the struggle for Cuba's independence, and young Chilean army officers, such as Major Sotomayor, Captain Marcoleta or Lieutenant Gabler, fought alongside Cubans against Spanish colonial rule. We are loyal to these glorious traditions.

"Recabarren⁵ said: 'I do not want anybody to hate my country and therefore I love everybody's country.' These wise and simple words are a guiding principle to us."⁶

Thus there is a very close connection between genuine patriotism and consistent internationalism, which Salvador Allende formulated as follows: "One of the most deeply felt aspirations of a Chile that is renewing itself, a festive spring-time Chile, is that everybody in the world should see us as his brother."⁷

The formation of the Popular Unity government in Chile provided the prerequisites of creating a working people's state and improving the life of the population. They were based on the labor of the Chileans themselves and the real possibility of ending economic and

Rodrigo Rojas was editor-in-chief of *El Siglo*, national newspaper of the CC CPC, and propaganda adviser to President Salvador Allende. After the 1973 fascist coup, he was arrested and brutally tortured, with the prison authorities simulating his shooting on two occasions. He was set free in 1974 as a result of emphatic protests from world opinion and a vast international solidarity movement. He has written a book, *Never on the Knees*, describing his life in Pinochet's prisons and concentration camps. — Ed.

technological dependence on imperialism and on the assistance and support of progressive forces. This is precisely why imperialism sentenced the "Chilean experiment" to death. On August 27, 1973, or a fortnight before the fascist coup, General Carlos Prats, subsequently assassinated by Pinochet's men, made the following entry in his diary: "I believe we underestimated the gravity and scope of the conspiracy against Chile directed from the United States. We did not fully realize its implications even though we knew about a private meeting held by Kissinger in Chicago two weeks after Popular Unity had won the elections in Chile. Kissinger said without beating about the bush that should Allende be inaugurated as President, a communist government would be formed in Chile and that Argentina, Bolivia and Peru might follow suit. He made it clear that the United States would not allow such an eventuality."⁸

A popular revolution, Orlando Millas, a CPC leader, pointed out, has powerful allies as well as dangerous, aggressive enemies in our epoch. The case of Chile underlines this dramatically. The strings of the fascist plot against the Popular Unity government were openly pulled by the transnationals affected by nationalization, with the direct participation of the CIA and the Pentagon. Home reaction was galvanized by U.S. imperialism, which laid a plan to "destabilize" the Popular Unity government, destroy democracy and impose a fascist regime, that is, an open terroristic dictatorship of the most aggressive forces.

The main allies of the popular revolution were the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the working class movement, anti-imperialist forces in developed capitalist countries and the national liberation movement.

Loyal to the principles of proletarian internationalism, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries rendered the Chilean people decisive assistance in the matter of effecting changes in various spheres, above all in the economy. Our people were well aware of this assistance and appreciated it. The Soviet fishing fleet helped the Chileans solve the problem of food supply, while Soviet specialists helped them master modern technologies in the copper industry. Also with Soviet aid, we began to build low-rent homes. Agro-industrial enterprises sprang up with the aid of Bulgarian specialists on lands made available by the agrarian reform. The GDR gave us invaluable technological assistance in developing an up-to-date printing industry in the service of the people. Fraternal Cuba showed warm solidarity by contributing to the development of

our economy and supporting Chile in various ways. Many Chileans working side by side with specialists from socialist countries received vocational training and improved their skills. Besides, the Allende government established cordial relations with the majority of Latin American governments; it furthered relations with signatories to the Andean Pact,⁹ signed highly positive agreements with various West European countries and established relations with Asian and African states. The international situation in those years shaped more favorably for a popular revolution, with the influence of the peace forces growing and détente making headway.

The Chilean revolutionary process would have been unthinkable but for the existence of such powerful forces of peace and détente. It is perfectly clear that the revolution would have been impossible had it made concessions to anti-Sovietism and isolated itself from the general stream of human progress. On the other hand, the unprecedented movement of international solidarity with the Chilean people — victim of a fascist coup — would have been inconceivable at a stage in humankind's existence when its fate was decided solely by imperialism.

A gigantic wave of protest rose on the very first day of the Pinochet coup. "... Surging across the planet," wrote Carlos Prats on October 22, 1973, "is a wave of hatred for the junta and of sympathy for its victims. All over the world movements of solidarity with Chile are springing up and marches and demonstrations take place."¹⁰

International solidarity, Luis Corvalan stressed, has always been a communist tradition. However, it is not shown by communists alone, for fair-minded people the world over deeply respect the sentiment known as human solidarity.¹¹

World opinion is well familiar with the barbarous crimes committed in the past 10 years by Pinochet and his clique; this explains why international support for the Chilean people encompasses all continents. It is universal geographically and almost as widespread politically and socially.

The issue of solidarity is anything but rhetorical. Solidarity is concrete effort, unrelenting struggle, active support with deeds. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries showed their attitude to the Chilean tragedy with deeds, by severing diplomatic relations with the Santiago regime. In line with the principles of its traditional policy, the Mexican government did as much. In the same month, September 1973, an international conference on solidarity with

the struggle of the people of Chile opened in Helsinki.

It was not only governments, political parties and trade union organizations that raised their voice in support of the Chilean people. The Pinochet tyranny was condemned by the Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant churches and the Moslem and Judaic clergy. Believers united in concrete action to denounce the crimes of the dictatorship and give active support to our people's fight against fascism. Championing the Chileans' freedom in common are numerous religious organizations.

This solidarity movement is by no means directed against Chile, as Pinochet makes out, but aimed at helping Chile; it defends and support the national interests of the Chilean people.

We are living in an epoch marked by the Great October, the epoch of the decline of capitalist society and the transition to socialism and communism. This process is not so simple as many of us imagined in our youth, at a time when we were only just beginning our revolutionary struggle. History has recorded a much greater number of abortive insurrections and revolutions than popular victories but it is precisely the gains made by progressive forces that determine the trend of humankind's development. Reactionaries have celebrated victories much more often than progressives but general development has been following the path charted by revolutionaries, by the activity of progressive forces. Such is the dialectic of history.

Indeed, less than half a century has passed since the world socialist system came into existence, yet it was in this period that the colonial world found itself in its death-throes, the international working class movement strengthened considerably and socialism took gigantic strides in developing a new society without exploiters and exploited.

The temporary setback and the fascist coup which broke off Chile's advance to socialism for a while were a consequence of the general counter-offensive mounted by the imperialists in Latin America in the early 70s in an attempt to check the new processes dominating our life, namely, the peoples' anti-imperialist struggle involving the whole continent and the growing national liberation movement. While this movement may suffer passing reverses, it is generally making progress. Neither gorillas in the service of monopoly, nor the Pinochets of various shadings, nor yet CIA agents are in a position to stop these processes. These people will be thrown on the scrapheap of history sooner or later while the revolution marches

on, building a future that will belong to the peoples, the future of national and social liberation.

The year 1983 has been crucial in the Chilean people's struggle. The National Protest Days following one another are proof that the movement against the dictatorship has entered a qualitatively new phase. The actions that have unfolded in the country are openly political in character. Never before has the tyranny been faced with so broad a social front. Opposition to the regime today encompasses nearly all Chileans, including a substantial part of the Right. Our people's fight against fascism is led by the proletariat, which is grouped in the National Leading Council of Workers (NLCW). This body is unmatched in the history of the Chilean working class movement as far as its composition is concerned. It comprises virtually all organized blue and white-collar workers. The "platform for struggle" adopted by the NLCW includes the following demands: restore democracy, hold general elections, abolish martial law and censorship, give the opposition access to the media, take steps without delay to reduce unemployment, and improve the working people's condition.

Pinochet again pitted the police and army against the people. And once again, dozens of patriots were killed, hundreds wounded and thousands held. But neither terror, nor prosecution can stem the popular movement. All Chileans demand the resignation of Pinochet and the return of the country to democratic government. Needless to demonstrate at length the importance of international solidarity with our people in these circumstances, which gives them new strength and inspires them with confidence in victory.

Until some 20 years ago, Latin America was a region dominated and plundered by the United States. U.S. monopolies, making very modest investments, took enormous riches out of the continent with impunity, using the big stick to silence protests. This state of affairs led to an unprecedented exacerbation of anti-imperialist sentiment on the continent that took organized forms in the national liberation movement now going from strength to strength in all countries south of the Rio Grande.¹²

By breaking the chains of dependence, the glorious Cuban revolution, which triumphed nearly a quarter of a century ago, was the first to deliver a crushing blow to U.S. imperialist domination and a system based on the exploitation and plundering of our continent.

Contradictions between Latin America and U.S. imperialism also stood out during the U.S.-backed British aggression against Ar-

gentina. The overwhelming majority of the governments and all the peoples of the continent condemned the war, whose purpose was to perpetuate the colonial status of the Malvinas. The conflict resulted in a considerable deterioration of relations between the White House and countries lying to the south of the Rio Grande. The support which the USA gave its NATO partner, Britain, affected the foundations of TIAR;¹³ it furnished fresh evidence of the crisis of the Organization of American States (OAS) and made for the growth of anti-imperialist consciousness in the region. Nor can it surprise anyone that during the Malvinas crisis Pinochet turned out to be the most willing traitor to the Latin American cause. The fascist dictator comports himself like an unquestioning pawn on Washington's chessboard.

Fortunately, it is not Pinochet or his likes that shape developments in South America today. The political situation in the region has changed considerably in recent years thanks to the struggle of our peoples and growing international solidarity.

However, life seems to have taught Washington's strategists nothing. Today, Luis Corvalan noted, "the new U.S. administration's policy of aggression in Latin America expresses itself in open support for despotic and terroristic regimes, such as the bloody Salvadoran dictatorship and the brutal Pinochet tyranny. It also finds expression in the training of Somozist mercenaries and in undisguised intervention in Central America."¹⁴

There is mounting resistance in the region to U.S. imperialist policy; processes leading to the winning of independence by other peoples are going deeper. This is illustrated by events in El Salvador, where even U.S. intervention has been unable to curb the patriots' struggle.

Fascist and authoritarian regimes are losing ground. Changes reach as far as Chile's frontiers. In Bolivia the people's struggle has imposed a return to democracy. President Hernan Siles Zuazo has announced a program proceeding from the interests of the vast majority of Bolivians. A popular movement demanding the restoration of democracy is growing in Argentina. Political parties, including the Communist Party, have been legalized there. All this necessarily has a positive impact on Chile, providing more favorable conditions for our people's struggle and isolating Pinochet more and more.

"The peoples of Latin America," Luis Corvalan pointed out, "are fraternal peoples. An attack on any one of them would be an attack on all. And let imperialism have no doubt that

should it take such a step, it would be resisted wherever it set foot in Latin America and none of us would accept vassalage any longer. Cuba and Nicaragua are already free territories of the American continent. If necessary, it is not only Cubans and Nicaraguans that will defend them."¹⁵

Mutual solidarity of the peoples of the continent is more important than ever. We must foster it in specific and militant forms, coordinating our activity to the utmost with our comrades-in-arms to bring the end results closer.

International solidarity with Chile is no accidental phenomenon. It is not a hand held out in response to the heart-rending cry of a wounded victim but support from the finest part of humanity for a people who have sustained a passing reverse and who tried to take a road that aroused sympathy and hope throughout the world. At the same time, it is a new indictment of fascism. The inspiring ideas of solidarity have pierced and continue piercing the walls of Pinochet's prisons, heartening his victims, giving them courage, firmness and hope.

"One night a voice reached us from the stars as it were," reminisces Rolando Carrasco, freed from Pinochet's prison thanks to international solidarity. "A radio receiver appeared in our cell and the three of us tried to tune in and listen to the world. And we did hear it despite atmospherics . . . 'Listen to us, Chile!' . . . They were calling to us. We heard of the vast scope of the movement of solidarity with our people's struggle. The world was horrified by the crimes of the junta . . .

"Across barbed-wire fences and across frontiers, Moscow was calling to us, men and women arrested for defending the honor, justice and greatness of our country . . . It was the same voices coming from the heart of Russia that during the Second World War had given people all over the world confidence that the Soviet Union would defeat fascism although nazi tanks were drawing near the approaches to the Soviet capital. We felt more and more certain that we must live and fight to defeat fascism, just as the Soviet people had done earlier, and to build a new Chile, just as the Soviet people had rebuilt all that had been destroyed, making their country more beautiful than before . . . Tears rolled down my comrades' cheeks. I couldn't utter a word. I was weeping too."¹⁶

Similar things happened in many prisons. Hundreds of captives of fascism bear witness to it.

Chile's anti-fascists know the colossal strength of international solidarity by ex-

perience. On a thousand occasions, it stayed the hand of executioners, opened the gates of prisons and concentration camps to let out patriots, isolated the butchers of Santiago from the civilized world, and helped condemn Pinochet and his clique of murderers from the rostrum of the UN. International solidarity goes on heartening resistance fighters and inspiring them with confidence in victory. It is and will always be a most important factor working for our peoples and their radiant future.

1. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, p. 75.
2. Luis Corvalan, "Nuestro proyecto democratico," *Boletin Exterior del Partido Comunista de Chile*, *Boletin del exterior*, No. 37, 1979, p. 38.
3. National hero of Chile, one of the leaders of the war of independence of the Spanish colonies in America. — Ed.

4. Chilean historian and politician of the 19th century. — Ed.
5. Luis Emilio Recabarren was one of the founders of the Communist Party of Chile. — Ed.
6. Corvalan, op. cit., pp. 37-38.
7. Salvador Allende, 1908-1973. *Procer de la liberacion nacional*, Mexico City, 1980, p. 128.
8. Carlos Prats, *Una vida por la legalidad*, Mexico City, 1976, pp. 86-87.
9. Subregional economic alignment comprising Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela. — Ed.
10. Carlos Prats, op.cit., p. 99.
11. See Visao, February 21, 1974.
12. The Rio Grande forms part of the U.S.-Mexico frontier and is generally regarded as the boundary between the USA and Latin America. — Ed.
13. Inter-American Treaty on Mutual Assistance signed in Rio de Janeiro in 1947. — Ed.
14. Luis Corvalan, *Tres periodos en nuestra linea revolucionaria*, Dresden, 1982, p. 275.
15. Ibid.
16. Rolando Carrasco, *Prigue*, Moscow, 1977, pp. 153-156.



Serving peace and socialism

FRATERNAL PARTIES GREET OUR JOURNAL ON ITS 25TH ANNIVERSARY

"In the past quarter of a century" writes Todor Zhivkov, CC General Secretary, Bulgarian Communist Party, Chairman, State Council of the PRB, in a message of greetings to the Editorial Board and Editorial Council, "the journal has established itself as an important authoritative international forum of contemporary Marxist-Leninist and progressive social thought, contributing steadfastly to the cohesion of the international communist and working class movement in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

"Proceeding consistently from positions of Marxism-Leninism and loyalty to its principles, *World Marxist Review* answers topical theoretical, political and ideological questions of our time. It also makes a big contribution to mutual familiarization with and the publicizing of the experience of fraternal parties, national liberation and other progressive movements in the historic struggle against imperialism and for socialism, peace and social progress.

"We think highly of the attention paid by the journal to the activity of the Bulgarian Communist Party, to its experience of socialist construction and its consistent and principled policy for peace."

"It is worthy of note," says a message of greetings from the Communist Party of Cuba, "that the early issues of *World Marxist Review* came out in the year when the Cuban people, led by commandante Fidel Castro, successfully completed the revolutionary and insurrectional struggle that ended tyranny and imperialist domination and victoriously paved the way for national and social liberation ... In these 25 years *World Marxist Review* has repeatedly demonstrated its unfailing, fiery and most active solidarity with the Cuban people in their struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression and in the construction of a socialist society. The journal has contributed its share to the ideological education of cadre members and activists of our party, to the widening of their political horizons and the raising of their cultural level, to familiarizing them more widely with complicated international problems.

"Socialist Cuba greets *World Marxist Review*

and wishes it new achievements in its fruitful accomplishment of the tasks set, in its constant struggle for peace and socialism."

A letter of greetings from the *Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia* signed by *Gustav Husak*, *CC General Secretary*, *President of the CSSR*, notes: "For a quarter of a century the journal has contributed to the exchange of experience between fraternal communist parties and to the development of their joint theoretical and political activity. It participates creatively in the elaboration of topical problems of revolutionary theory and the promotion of international solidarity among the forces fighting for peace and social progress."

"Articles and records of numerous discussions published in the journal expose the reactionary and thoroughly anti-human policy of contemporary imperialism and reveal typically imperialist manifestations of anti-communism, anti-Sovietism, racism, social and national oppression. The journal is carrying on from positions of principle an uncompromising struggle against contemporary bourgeois ideology and every form of opportunism, which looses the militant unity of world socialism, the national liberation movement and the international working class."

"Great credit is due to *World Marxist Review* for spreading the truth about existing socialism as the mainstay of all anti-imperialist forces. Scientific analysis of the gains and successes, as well as of problems brought by life in the process of perfecting and consolidating socialism, is of considerable help to the revolutionary and democratic forces of the world."

"The 25-year-long activity of *World Marxist Review* covers a period of successful dissemination of the creative revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism and of arming new generations of fighters for peace, democracy and social progress with it. The numerous convincing and scientifically valid arguments published in the journal strengthen internationalist cooperation among all currents of the contemporary anti-war movement and show that peace and socialism are inseparable values."

"*World Marxist Review* is very helpful to the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in the internationalist ideological education of party members and all other working people."

"In its 25 years of existence," says a telegram of greetings from the *Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany* signed by *Erich Honecker*, *CC General Secretary*, *Chairman*, *State Council of the GDR*, "*World Marxist Review* has won wide international recognition and high prestige as a collective theoretical and

information periodical of communist and workers' parties and a forum for the exchange of opinion and experience. The number of parties taking part in its work is growing. The publications of the journal help grasp the meaning of revolutionary changes and the class struggle in the world. The journal devotes much attention to the defense of peace as the paramount issue of our time, as well as to the development and strengthening of the international solidarity of the communist movement and all other revolutionary forces."

"In the quarter of a century that has passed since its first issue came out, the communists' international journal has made a substantial contribution to the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism and to the struggle against imperialist policy and ideology. There is no doubt that the journal will continue giving special attention to the scientific analysis and theoretical generalization of new phenomena and experience of struggle, as well as to popularization of the creative achievements of fraternal parties. In view of the growing scope of this struggle and the vastly varied conditions, tasks and problems facing fraternal parties and other revolutionary forces, this is becoming more and more necessary... The Socialist Unity Party of Germany will continue to consider it an important internationalist duty to support and help circulate the journal, as well as to take an active part in the work of its editors."

"The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, one of the parties that founded the journal 25 years ago, is marking the anniversary together with you," says a telegram from *Janos Kadar*, *First Secretary, CC HSWP*. "Your work, which is in harmony with the activity of the communist and workers' parties maintaining contact with the journal, effectively contributes to a better understanding of the distinctive situation and condition of the forces fighting for peace, social progress and national independence; it helps the general reader acquaint himself with the vast experience of communist and workers' parties and hence with the creative development of Marxism-Leninism; it contributes its share to closer relations between communist parties on the basis of mutual respect and international solidarity and to stronger unity of the revolutionary working class movement."

Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal, *CC General Secretary*, *Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party*, *Chairman of the Presidium*, *People's Great Khural of the MPR*, writes in his message of greetings: "The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party thinks highly of the tremendous role which the journal plays in the dissemina-

tion of the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism, of proletarian and socialist internationalism, in the scientific elaboration of topical problems of contemporary world development. Conveying the communist truth to people of diverse continents, *World Marxist Review* has proved its worth as a fiery propagandist of the ideas of social progress and the achievements of existing socialism. A forum of communist and workers' parties, the journal contributes to mutual study and generalization of the experience of revolutionary struggles, to the development of the world communist, working class and national liberation movements, to the defense of Marxism-Leninism against attacks from bourgeois ideologues, spokesmen of reactionary nationalism, right and 'left'-wing opportunism and revisionism, to the intensification of the general struggle for peace and against the war menace."

"... The journal," *Wojciech Jaruzelski*, *First Secretary, CC, Polish United Workers' Party, Chairman, Council of Ministers of the PPR*, points out in a telegram of greetings, "has become an international forum of Marxist-Leninist thought, an initiator and organizer of international theoretical conferences and meetings which discuss the most pressing problems of the international working class movement, problems of the struggle for peace, social progress and socialism."

"The interesting publications appearing in your monthly are characterized by a class approach to complex phenomena of the world today and serve peace and socialism."

"*World Marxist Review* provides communist and workers' parties with a forum for the exchange of experience on socialist construction, struggle for progressive changes in the world and strengthening the unity and internationalist bonds of the world communist and working class movement."

"A consistent and correct line and high-standard publications have earned the journal well-deserved prestige among communist and workers' parties, among all progressive, democratic and peace-loving forces. Your journal is greatly appreciated in our party."

On the occasion of the journal's anniversary, the *Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* sent the Editorial Board and Editorial Council a message of greetings. "For a quarter-century now," the message says, "the journal has been consistently championing peace, the security of peoples and social progress. It gives ample coverage to the role of communists and other progressive and democratic forces in the struggle against the threat of nuclear war being stepped up by imperialism,

for international détente and disarmament, for the pressing interests of the masses, for a socialist perspective."

"The journal devotes much attention to questions relating to the construction of a new society in the countries of existing socialism, rightly stressing their outstanding role in the defense of peace and the security of peoples. Problems of the working class and national liberation movement, of the revolutionary struggle on all continents, hold an important place. Creative elaboration of these problems on Marxist-Leninist lines is important for uniting champions of progress and democracy, resisting imperialist policy and ideology and exposing anti-communism, all that hampers the growth of the revolutionary process in the world."

"The journal has been doing much as a forum of exchange of the varied experience of fraternal parties and of information on their activity and on forms and methods of party building. It actively supports from positions of international solidarity fighters against imperialism, reaction, fascism, neocolonialism, racism and apartheid."

"The international collective of the journal is a living example of joint, unanimous work by communists of various countries inspired with internationalism and adhering to the principles of autonomy, equality, independence and mutual respect. This also manifests itself convincingly at theoretical conferences and scientific symposiums of Marxists sponsored by the journal, which help compare notes, foster mutual understanding and cohesion among communist as well as revolutionary democratic parties and other progressive political forces and movements."

In congratulating the journal on the memorable date, the *Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam* notes: "In the past quarter of a century *World Marxist Review* has done much to propagate the invincible revolutionary doctrine of our epoch, Marxism-Leninism, and has been participating directly in the struggle for peace and socialism. The journal, which is circulated in 145 countries, enjoys widespread influence; it supports and helps revolutionary and progressive forces, exposing the policies of imperialism and international reaction, resisting the war menace and fighting for the triumph of the just revolutionary goals of the epoch."

"The journal enables readers in various countries to study the experience of existing socialism; operating from Marxist-Leninist positions, it elucidates and argues burning issues raised by life itself in the struggle for

peace, national independence, democracy and socialism . . . The Communist Party of Vietnam has a high opinion of the extensive creative activity of the journal. Vietnamese readers derive instructive information and experience useful to their revolutionary cause from articles written by well-known political leaders, scholars and journalists active in different spheres and in many countries lying in the most diverse parts of the planet."

The communist and workers' parties of the non-socialist part of the world point out the great importance of the journal in deepening internationalist relations between various anti-imperialist forces.

"In the situation marked by a sharp ideological struggle this theoretical and information publication of the communist and workers' parties is an effective instrument in the hands of the communists and other progressives," states a message of greetings from the *Political Bureau of the Party of the Socialist Vanguard of Algeria*. "Under conditions where imperialism and reaction would like to create ideological confusion and sow doubt and uncertainty, our journal comes forward with a clear word and disseminates the victorious ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, ideas that play the definitive role in transforming the world and preserving human values that are being seriously threatened by imperialism's aggressive policy. . . .

"The battle being fought by the journal against the imperialist warmongers, for the triumph of peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism is of invaluable assistance to our own struggle for these same aims. By its concrete content, by its reporting of the experience and achievements of existing socialism it helps us to fight anti-communism and anti-Sovietism."

In congratulating the journal the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Argentina Athos Fava writes: "World Marxist Review is not only an information journal but also a research center that analyzes new complex problems . . . The conferences and exchanges of opinion sponsored by the journal with the participation of leading Marxist-Leninist scholars are a focal point of international collective thought. They allow following closely the changes taking place in the very troubled world we live in. All this is of considerable assistance to the fighters for peace, freedom and socialism.

"We, Argentine Communists, see the journal as an indispensable weapon in our sharp and bitter struggle with the ideology of imperialism and reaction as a whole. For that reason, even under the most difficult conditions, the journal

has always been published and circulated in Argentina. No repressive measures and no dangers prevented it from reaching readers, from serving them as a powerful aid in ideological and political work."

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Socialist Party of Australia its General Secretary Peter Symon writes: "For 25 years World Marxist Review has travelled a remarkable path along the forward march of the international working class movement and has played a vital role in popularizing, in a systematic and consistent manner, the rich experience and ideas of the communist movement, thus assisting both in the development of the movement and the deepening of understanding of theoretical and political concepts . . .

"In the present critical international situation, with imperialism pushing humanity to the brink of nuclear war, the task of strengthening friendship and cooperation between peoples and further advancing the principles of peace, disarmament, and socialism is more urgent than ever before, and therefore the role of the journal assumes new dimensions of tremendous historical significance. Communists and progressive people all over the world face the gigantic task of defeating imperialism's aggressive plans, maintaining and consolidating world peace . . . The journal, which expresses the ideals and struggles of all involved in this titanic effort, is making an invaluable contribution to the fulfillment of this most important historical task."

A message of greetings from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Austria, signed by its Chairman, Franz Muhri, says: "The increased number of fraternal parties cooperating with the journal, as well as the increased number of languages in which it is published and countries where it is circulated, are conclusive evidence of the usefulness of the journal, which offers its columns for comradely discussion, exchange of information and opinion and the elaboration in terms of scientific theory of problems of the struggle of the working people and other progressive forces of the world. The material published in the journal's 25 years of existence is a real chronicle of the worldwide movement for a better future. The journal makes a valuable contribution to exchanges of views, thereby helping achieve and strengthen the unity of the world communist movement . . .

"By covering problems of today's world in its revolutionary development, the journal renders highly important aid to the communists' struggle for the most important cause, the vic-

tory of peace over the imperialist nuclear threat to the existence of humanity."

"We value highly the journal's services in popularizing Marxism-Leninism and in organizing exchanges of experience between the communist and workers' parties of the whole world," states a letter from the *Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bangladesh*. "Moreover, we pay tribute to the great contribution being made by the journal to the struggle for peace and disarmament, especially in the present international situation in which the imperialist warmongers are trying to push humankind into a nuclear catastrophe."

"In the course of a quarter of a century the journal and its many national editions have widened our horizons and helped us to study the theory of Marxism-Leninism and learn to apply it in practice in the struggle for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism. The experience of socialist construction in different countries and of the struggle for socialism, national democracy and national liberation enriches us and helps us in our day-to-day work."

In a message of greetings on behalf of the *Brazilian National Collective of Communist Leaders*, Giocondo Dias notes: "The journal is an unshakable bastion of the struggle against bourgeois ideology in all its shades, including in the international working class movement itself. Here the role of *World Marxist Review* has grown steadily during the past 25 years. As it retreats, losing positions in the military and socio-economic spheres, imperialism is shifting the focal point of the struggle to precisely the sphere of ideology. Under conditions of capitalism's severe crisis, with the Reagan administration pursuing an undisguised course toward confrontation and war, the WMR's fight for peaceful coexistence acquires special significance . . .

"We, Latin Americans, are deeply disturbed by the aggravation of tension in Central America, particularly in view of the threat overhanging Nicaragua. By publishing articles by the leaders and documents of the revolutionary parties of Central America explaining their stand to other fraternal parties, the journal is rendering inestimable support to the peoples of that region. In this way it is strengthening international solidarity. We can say with pride that in Brazil the journal is read not only by communists."

In a message of greetings from the *Board of the German Communist Party* signed by GCP Chairman Herbert Mies, we read: "*World Marxist Review* plays a big role in the ideological education and steeling of the communists and

working people of the Federal Republic in the spirit of the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, of proletarian internationalism, of uncompromising struggle against every variety of bourgeois ideology, 'left' and right-wing opportunism, anti-communism and anti-Sovietism."

"Your journal is of invaluable assistance in the struggle against the chief enemy of the peoples — imperialism and its reactionary policy — for the unity of action of all communist and workers' parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism."

"The journal plays a highly important mobilizing role in the peoples' fight against the deployment of nuclear first-strike weapons in Europe by the USA and the threat of nuclear catastrophe involved, a catastrophe that would call into question the further existence of humankind."

"The journal provides useful and otherwise often unobtainable information and appreciation of events throughout the globe, and especially of the worldwide network of communist parties," writes Gordon McLennan, *General Secretary, Communist Party of Great Britain*. "While it is inevitable that there should, from time to time, arise differences about the content and priorities of a journal aiming to reflect a worldwide movement with over 90 communist parties, nevertheless, the journal provides a helpful and fruitful service to the communist movement, within the framework laid down by the majority attending the regular meetings of parties supporting the journal."

"In wishing you success in your future work, I want to assure you of our party's continued active participation in the publication and production of *World Marxist Review*."

Cheddi Jagan, *General Secretary of the People's Progressive Party of Guyana*, writes in his message to the journal: "... It has come to occupy a prominent place in the history of the world communist movement and it is, at the same time, reflective of the growth, prestige and struggles of this movement."

"Apart from the many-sided, invaluable services it offers in advancing the revolutionary process in this epoch, we communists place a high value on this journal for its no less important role in raising and offering a Marxist-Leninist perspective to topical questions, which are of tremendous importance and concern to all humankind. This, in turn, has led to its widening appeal and deepening respect, which it currently enjoys worldwide."

"In the highly troubled, crises-ridden, and tension-filled conditions of today, when the world is really seriously threatened by

imperialism with a nuclear holocaust, WMR's championing of the causes of peace and disarmament, giving these issues its undivided and priority attention, confirms the journal's closeness to the world's peoples, whose hopes, aspirations and strivings are for the preservation of world peace and for a just and happy life."

A letter from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Venezuela states: "For a quarter of a century your journal has been playing a very important role in furthering the ideological education of the working people of the

whole world and their organized vanguards in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism... You have coped honorably with the task assigned to you by the international communist movement... *World Marxist Review* will occupy a prominent place in the history of the struggle of the working class."

This survey of greetings, which continue coming in, will be completed in the next issue of the journal.

How the USA is reviving Japanese militarism

In the middle of August 1983, the American mass media gave much publicity to an official ceremony held in one of Tokyo's largest halls. The ceremony was dedicated to the memory of the more than three million soldiers of the Japanese imperial army who fell during World War II. In front of a big altar the aged Emperor, Hirohito, spoke with bowed head of how it "pained" his heart "to think of the many who fell during the war and their bereaved families." Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone spoke too. He promised to strive for "world peace and the advancement of Japan" while not forgetting the lessons of the war.

The event called plainly for kind words. But they had little in common with reality. Indeed, Nakasone only assumed his post in November 1982 and yet his term in office has been marked by an unprecedented escalation of the policy of reviving Japanese military power. This is taking place not only with the blessing but with the aid of Pentagon and White House hawks.

Japan is re-arming at a brisk pace amid a noisy propaganda campaign highlighted by a lot of praise for Japan as part of the "Western world" and a country particularly close to the United States. Now how has this alliance been shaping up? Why are the U.S. rulers interested in a militarily stronger Japanese imperialism?

Nuclear bridgehead in the Far East

World War II, triggered with the active participation of the Japanese militarist clique, ended in the defeat of Japan and was a terrible tragedy for its population. In Hiroshima and Nagasaki, many tens of thousands became the first victims of U.S. atomic weapons. All this left an indelible mark on the thinking of the Japanese people and generated strong and lasting anti-

war sentiments among them. In the new constitution, which became effective in May 1947, there is a provision renouncing war for all time as a means of settling international disputes, and hence the formation of armed forces of any type. This is a reflection of emphatic demands not only from Japan's working class and democratic movement, which showed a rapid upturn, but from the whole of world opinion that all attempts to revive Japanese militarism be blocked.

Yet, in the cold war climate of the late 40s, Washington embarked on a policy of re-arming Japan and restoring its armed forces. This was how a "reserve police corps," 75,000 strong, came into being (1950) in violation of the constitution. Two years later the corps was transformed into a "security corps" and then into "Self-Defense Forces" (1954), now made up of ground, naval and air force units totalling 260,000 men and officers.

The San Francisco peace treaty, in force since 1952, vested the Japanese government with full power. Washington expected the formal abolition of the occupation regime and the declaration of independence to strengthen the positions of conservatives and legally facilitate steps toward remilitarizing Japan. This is not to say that the USA relinquished its important economic, political and military levers in the Land of the Rising Sun. The Japanese-U.S. "Security Treaty," signed earlier (1951), guaranteed the retention of an extensive network of U.S. bases and major troop contingents on Japanese territory. Revised in 1960, it no longer contains articles directly curtailing Japanese sovereignty but confirms the right of the United States to keep its bases and armed forces in Japan. The USA now has 32 major

bases there; coupled with other installations, the number of its military objectives is close to 120. They are serviced by some 50,000 men and officers.

The "Security Treaty," officially made out to be an instrument of "defending" Japan, is actually a means of turning the country into a U.S. nuclear bridgehead near the frontiers of the Soviet Union, China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, as well as South-east Asian countries. Numerous facts suggest that Washington ignores Japan's explicit commitment not to manufacture, acquire or possess nuclear weapons: Japanese territory (primarily Okinawa Island) and the surrounding waters are by no means free from U.S. nuclear warheads or corresponding carriers.

As far back as 1960, Tokyo secretly okayed, according to a statement by the then U.S. Ambassador in Japan, Reishauer, the entry into Japanese ports of U.S. warships carrying nuclear weapons and the landing of planes carrying nuclear bombs. The arrival of these arms in Japan was admitted in October 1982 by the former U.S. President, Jimmy Carter, who added that the Japanese leadership knew where the arms were stationed. Commenting on this matter, in particular the planned stationing at Misawa (northern Honshu) of U.S. F-16 fighter-bombers capable of carrying nuclear weapons, Akahata pointed out that this plan and others like it are "aimed at involving Japan more deeply in U.S. nuclear strategy and utilizing Japan as a stronghold for nuclear threat against the Soviet Union."¹

Meeting each other halfway

Ever since the mid-50s, successive governments of the bourgeois Liberal Democratic Party of Japan have attached primary importance — for all the ups and downs of their foreign policy — to the "special" character of relations with the USA. Washington has by no means been a mere onlooker in this respect but has been doing its best to involve Japan more and more in its global political and military schemes. This is made clear, for instance, in a recent book, *Thinking About National Security*, by former U.S. Secretary of Defense Harold Brown.

A case in point is Washington's persistent urging of Japan to render ample and varied aid to South Korea, an important Asian outpost of U.S. imperialism. (What is actually at stake is the attempted formation of a military-political Washington-Tokyo-Seoul axis, which would "make up for" the disintegration of SEATO and the loss of South Vietnam.) U.S. pressure is also aimed at strengthening the "Self-Defense

Forces," extending their range of operation, securing a bigger financial contribution from Japan to the maintenance of U.S. military bases and encouraging ties between Tokyo and NATO.

These aspects of military-political relations are not interpreted identically by the two sides, which has understandably given rise to serious contradictions interlocking with rivalries between the two imperialist economic giants, all the more since public opinion polls held in Japan invariably reveal that the majority of the population rejects militarization.² Even so, this policy has now been given a new spur by moves that the more reactionary members of the ruling classes make on either side of the Pacific to meet each other halfway.

The Reagan administration holds something of a record in putting pressure on Tokyo to induce it to build up military muscle with greater energy. For its part, the current Japanese leadership has definitely outdone earlier cabinets in "appreciating" the military-political demands of the United States. It has shown readiness to defy all barriers, including constitutional ones, to rearmament, military spending and greater involvement in the global anti-Soviet strategic plans of the USA and NATO. "... In terms of defense and security matters," *Le Monde* wrote, "Nakasone is the most understanding and most dynamic partner with whom America has ever had to deal with in Tokyo."³ The hawkishness of the present Japanese head of government is also recognized by Washington. Defense Secretary Weinberger, for one, considers that Nakasone is "much more resolved than past premiers in his efforts for the formation of consensus about the necessity to improve defense capabilities."⁴

"Atlanticizing" Japan

U.S. imperialist quarters hailed with particular satisfaction the outcome of the U.S.-Japanese summit that took place in January 1983. Shortly before and during the meeting Nakasone, intent on reassuring his Washington critics, who were annoyed by what they saw as an inadequate Japanese contribution to the military effort of the West and by excessive dynamism in furthering commercial expansion, made a point of offering suitable "gifts."

The Japanese government approved the draft budget for the 1983 fiscal year (April 1-March 31), which provides for a 6.5 per cent increase in military spending, or much more than for other items. True, Washington insists on a greater increase in its Japanese "ally's" military expenditures — by 10 to 12 per cent a year — and accordingly, on a revision of the principle

adopted by Japan, which stipulates that these expenditures shall not exceed one per cent of GNP. Yet even if Japan's defense budget were kept at its present rate, *Asahi* pointed out, it would double in nine years, with Japan catching up in military potential with NATO members like West Germany, France or Britain.

Another "gift" was the decision to exempt the United States from the ban announced by Tokyo earlier on arms export to other countries as running counter to the constitution. This meant giving Washington access to new Japanese achievements in military technology. The Pentagon promptly took advantage of the decision, being particularly keen on the production technology of laser-guided anti-tank missiles.

Reagan described the behavior of his Japanese partner as "positive." A still more "positive" move was seen in the Japanese Prime Minister's virtual acceptance of Reagan's formula of "disarmament through more armament," which underlies the U.S. bid for military superiority over the Soviet Union, and in certain specific military commitments. Tokyo confirmed the potential preparedness of its "Self-Defense Forces" to assume some of the combat tasks of the U.S. Seventh Fleet in the Pacific, namely, naval and air patrolling of communications in the 1,000-mile zone adjoining the Japanese littoral and the blocking — in an "emergency" — of the international Tsugaru, Korea and La Perouse straits to seal off the Sea of Japan. Even in the United States, many prominent spokesmen of public opinion were shocked at Nakasone's statement that the Japanese islands must be converted into an "unsinkable aircraft carrier."

Nor was that all. At the summit of seven major capitalist powers held in Williamsburg early last May, the Japanese Prime Minister made it clear, judging from press reports, that Tokyo was going to proceed in full accordance with the strategy of the USA and the NATO bloc as a whole. He declared for the siting of U.S. Pershing-II and Cruise missiles with nuclear warheads in Western Europe. (Incidentally, American observers do not rule out the likelihood of similar missiles being sited subsequently in Japan itself.) Thus it is a question of an open link-up between the U.S.-Japanese "Security Treaty" and NATO.

To carry forward the "Atlanticization" of Japan, Washington exerted new pressure in August, during talks in the U.S. capital between Weinberger, the Pentagon's chief, and Tanikawa, Chief of the Japanese Defense Agency (JDA), who made a number of specific promises to build up Japanese military power and meet the demand for the development of

the infrastructure of the U.S. military presence on the Japanese islands. It is planned, among other things, to allocate funds for the readaptation of the Misawa air base for U.S. F-16 planes.

Another significant fact, reported by the press, is that Japan intends to increase its military spending in the 1984 fiscal year by nearly seven per cent.⁵ This increase is to be provided by cutting appropriations for communal and transport systems and other social programs as well as by raising taxes on the population, which have grown by nearly 60 per cent over the past five years alone.⁶

The war machine and arms production

The new hundreds of millions of dollars earmarked for the JDA under the new budget will make it possible to purchase more military hardware for the "Self-Defense Forces," whose combat power already ranks eighth in the world. The Japanese Air Force exceeds in number of planes the U.S. air force based in Japan, South Korea and the Philippines. The equipment, fighting efficiency and mobility of 13 army divisions are being perfected. The outlook is for a further escalation of militarist preparations.

Tokyo has begun — to the accompaniment of persistent calls from Washington for a more tangible increase in military potential and with Washington's backing — to carry out its sixth five-year program for the modernization of the armed forces (1983-1987). This is to entail expenditures ranging from 65 to 70 billion dollars. In line with the program, the country's air and naval forces will be supplied with another 150 F-15 fighters, 75 anti-submarine planes, 60 warships and 15 submarines. By 1988, the "Self-Defense Forces" are expected to be armed with over 1,300 tanks, some 400 combat aircraft and a large number of guns and missile launchers.

It would be wrong to imagine that in equipping its war machine in the making, Tokyo counts solely on purchases from the USA and other NATO countries. Ever since rearmament began (1950), the Japanese arms industry, which is being revived with the approval of the U.S. occupation authorities, has been participating in it on a mounting scale. Now that production growth in many industries has sharply slowed down, military production goes on increasing. In the past 30-odd years, the range of "products" has been steadily widening; today it comprises nearly all weapons and other items. Over 2,200 companies are engaged in military production.

This was made easier by the militarization of Japan's scientific and technological potential. The first defense program was carried out from 1957 to 1961. That was when the technology of manufacturing military equipment for ground forces and special motor vehicles was evolved. Under the second program (1962-1966), special attention was given to research into electronics, the manufacture of diverse missiles, guided projectiles and fighter planes. Military technological research was also done under subsequent defense programs.

Data published so far indicate that changes in the war industry have been going on in step with changes in arms system; the role of companies manufacturing firearms has been diminishing while the share of Kawasaki, Mitsubishi, Toshiba and other companies building aircraft, warships, tanks and missiles has been growing. The electronics industry has gained in significance. Fujitsu, a major Japanese manufacturer of computers, now makes radar and anti-submarine weapons and is designing communications systems that will use optical fibres, which the "Self-Defense Forces" plan to include in their equipment as early as next year. Nippon Electric manufactures highly sophisticated radar transmitters, laser radar and electronic weapons.

Analysis of this kind of data leads to the conclusion that the U.S.-Japanese military alliance is helping form a powerful military-industrial complex in Japan, with all ensuing consequences.

* * *

The formation of a powerful war machine under the Japanese flag has thus been a policy of all post-war U.S. administrations. But the Reagan team shows particular zeal. Obsessed

with the idea of a "crusade" against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and scorning humanity's aspiration for lasting peace and international security, it uses every lever to build up Japan's armed forces and involve them in the global strategy of the Pentagon.

We recall the fact that U.S. imperialism facilitated the rise of Japanese militarism before World War II. It was repaid with the sneak attack on Pearl Harbor. The U.S. militarists today reckon they can use Japan as a cat's paw against the Soviet Union and socialism in the Far East.

In forcing Japan to rearm and once again take the road of militarism, the Reagan administration also sees this as an opportunity to hold it in leash in the fierce economic competition between them. What reason is there to believe that Japanese monopoly capital, extremely aggressive in the international trade wars, would be less aggressive in its growing militarism? This is a most dangerous game threatening the lives of the American people, the Japanese people, and indeed, the whole world.

James West

1. Akahata, July 30, 1983. Revealingly, U.S. officials are generally non-committal in answering journalists' questions about the deployment of nuclear arms on Japanese soil. General Donnelly, commander of U.S. forces in Japan, said late in June 1983 that he could neither confirm nor deny reports about the presence of U.S. nuclear arms. But those "willing to live under the nuclear umbrella of the U.S.," the "diplomatic" general went on, "must accept the fact that we have nuclear weapons in our arsenal."

2. A poll held in Japan last spring showed 60 to 70 per cent of Japanese public opinion to be against increasing the military role of the country.

3. *Le Monde*, April 13, 1983.

4. *Japan Press Weekly*, June 25, 1983, pp. 4-5.

5. See *International Herald Tribune*, August 30, 1983.

6. See *Japan Press Weekly*, June 18, 1983, p. 17.

Lenin and the Bourgeois Press

Boris Balayev

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Union born of a great revolution

A survey of books on the Leninist national policy of the CPSU.

The Great October Revolution opened a new era in the life of the peoples of one-time tsarist Russia, who formed the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in the course of building a socialist society. For more than 60 years now, the Soviet Union's existence, which has a steadily growing impact on the whole of humankind, has been an eyesore to anti-communists. Ideologues of imperialism have been using the mass media to misrepresent and discredit the Leninist national policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU).

Anti-communist propaganda puts the emphasis on the following false propositions. First, Soviet federalism is "nominal" and Moscow is continuing the traditional colonialist policy inherited from tsarist Russia. Second, what is meant by increasingly close relations between socialist nations is "forcible Russification" of the populations of Union republics and "suppression" of their distinctive cultures and languages. Third, growing national awareness in the Union republics makes for "stronger nationalist sentiments" and "centrifugal trends," hence the concept of "Soviet people" as one entity is a "mere declaration." Lastly, anti-communists minimize the historic significance of the formation of the USSR.

These falsehoods conflict with the actual course of contemporary history, which has probably "never seen such rapid progress from backwardness, misery and ruin to a mighty modern great power with an extremely high level of culture and constantly rising living standard," to quote Yuri Andropov, General Secretary, CC CPSU, Chairman of the Presidium, USSR Supreme Soviet.¹ This progress has found adequate reflection in numerous social science books published in the Soviet Union of late.

The road travelled by a community of more than a hundred nations and nationalities is described in convincing detail in books on the 60th anniversary of the formation of the Soviet Union brought out by Politizdat (Political Lit-

erature Publishing House) in a series entitled "One Fraternal Family." The authors are CC First Secretaries of the communist parties of the Union republics. The series also includes *Moscow, Capital of the Soviet Union* by V.V. Grishin, Political Bureau member, CC CPSU, First Secretary, Moscow City Committee of the CPSU, and *The Russian Federation* by M.S. Solomentsev,² alternate member, Political Bureau of the CC CPSU, Chairman, Council of Ministers of the RSFSR.

The authors, as well as revealing the uniqueness and ethnically distinctive character of each republic, stress the similarity and community of the historical fortunes of the peoples of the Soviet Union. G.A. Aliyev,³ Political Bureau member, CC CPSU, First Deputy Chairman, Council of Ministers of the USSR, notes that the main thing "is the common path of revolutionary struggle and of socialist and communist construction along which the Communist Party has been leading them."⁴

Historical credit is due to the Leninist party for merging the socialist movement of the working class, the struggle of the peasantry to abolish landed estates and the action of the oppressed peoples against the colonial policy of the autocracy into one revolutionary stream which in October 1917 swept away a decayed exploiting system. "Never before," writes V.V. Shcherbitsky, Political Bureau member, CC CPSU, First Secretary, CC CP of the Ukraine, revealing the significance of the event, "had so large a mass of people joined in revolutionary struggles ... Never before had revolutions taken such comprehensive account of the interests and hopes of the working people, nor carried out such deep-going social transformations."⁵

It is most indicative that the early legislative acts of the Soviet state included not only decrees on peace and land but the Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia, a true charter of freedom, equality and fraternity.

With reference to specific facts of history, the authors show how the CPSU evolved its national policy. They underline that even before the October Revolution Lenin carried forward

the ideas of Marx and Engels about proletarian internationalism and created a complete and harmonious doctrine of the national question, which lies at the basis of the national policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state. The doctrine advocates the complete equality of nations, their right to self-determination, and the drawing closer together of nations and nationalities and their mutual assistance. "To the old world, the world of national oppression, national bickering and national isolation, the workers counterpose a new world, a world of the unity of the working people of all nations, a world in which there is no place for any privileges or for the slightest degree of oppression of man by man," the leader of the proletariat pointed out.⁶ The formation of the Soviet Union on December 30, 1922 meant putting his ideas and principles of settling the national question into practice.

However, legal equality, ample democracy in politics and public life generally and self-determination according to national territory could not in themselves do away with the enormous discrepancy in social, economic and cultural development levels then existing between the industrial central region and the backward outlying areas, which had virtually been colonies or semi-colonies under the tsars. D.A. Kunayev, Political Bureau member, CC CPSU, First Secretary, CC CP of Kazakhstan, gives an idea of what those areas were like before the revolution. "Barbarous laws and customs," he writes, "humiliated the people and shackled their creative energies and spiritual abilities. All that was intimately linked with the old world of violence and evil hampered the economic, social and cultural development of the Kazakh people, whom tsarism had robbed even of their name ... Nomadic and semi-nomadic stock-breeding, an underdeveloped agriculture ... Backwardness and ignorance which stifled all that was truly living and progressive ..."⁷

The efforts of the Communist Party and the Soviet state were aimed at helping the peoples of the outlying ethnic territories overtake Central Russia, advance their economy, strengthen their statehood and local government and economic bodies, which used the local language, and hasten the training of personnel from among members of the nationalities concerned. With industry and land nationalized, the CPSU adopted a program for the rapid economic and cultural advancement of underdeveloped areas, which were granted ample opportunities and privileges in regard to production financing. "The more backward a constituent (Union) or autonomous republic was, the more the cen-

tral government helped it in achieving a high rate of development," writes T.U. Usubaliyev, First Secretary, CC CP of Kirghizia.⁸

Acting on Lenin's advice, the party assigned the working class of the RSFSR, the republic that was the biggest in size and in economic and cultural potential, a decisive role in the radical transformation of the outlying ethnic areas, M.S. Solomentsev stresses.⁹ Western Sovietologists, who slanderously identify the Soviet Union with the tsarist empire, deliberately ignore the fact that after the October Revolution the country's resources, being redistributed, went from the developed central region to the backward periphery and that this was what helped put an end to the virtual inequality of nations and to distinctions in socio-economic development level. K.S. Demirchyan, First Secretary, CC CP of Armenia, cites an example. The Yerevan Museum of the Revolution has an unusual exhibit symbolically marked Number One. It is a loom, one of the hundreds of looms sent to the working people of Armenia by the textile workers of Ivanovo-Voznesensk on Lenin's personal instructions.¹⁰

The books give many examples of how a ruined and hungry Soviet Russia supplied funds, food and machinery to Azerbaijan, Turkistan, Byelorussia, Latvia, Lithuania and other republics even at the height of the civil war. For a number of years, whole factories and skilled personnel were sent from the RSFSR to ethnic regions. In 1929 V.V. Grishin writes, "the workers at several major Moscow factories formed about 30 teams and sent them to the North Caucasus, the Central Volga area and other parts of the country to give help as patrons."¹¹ The internationalism of Soviet Russia's working people helped in thoroughly transforming relations between the peoples of the country.

The Communist Party joined together the efforts of nations and nationalities that had been disunited and oppressed, linked them together by bonds of class and international solidarity and channelled the energy of the masses aroused by the revolution toward building socialism. This helped in completely changing the economic and cultural character of what had been backward outlying territories and of the country as a whole in an historically short time. Let the reader consider the following facts:

Before 1913 there was not a single large industrial enterprise on the immense territory of Kazakhstan and Central Asia (nearly four million sq. km). Already in pre-war five-year plan periods, industrial giants like the Chimkent and Zyryanovsk lead plants, the

Balkhash copper plant, the Aktyubinsk chemical plant and the Achisai and Leninogorsk complexes went up in Kazakhstan. Karaganda became the third most important coal-producing area of the Soviet Union. Industrial production in the Kazakh SSR grew 900-fold in 60 years. The republic holds a prominent place in today's Soviet economy.

Other Asian republics of the Union, too, went ahead fast to close the gap separating them from other republics. "The Communist Party's steadfast policy of advancing the economy and culture of the outlying ethnic territories at a fast pace helped end in a short time the inequality in economic situation inherited from the past by the non-Russian republics and ensure their all-round development," writes R.N. Nabiyeu, First Secretary, CC CP of Tadzhikistan.¹²

The authors give much space to the socialist changes brought about in agriculture in accordance with Lenin's cooperative plan. Under Soviet power, the peasantry has advanced from wooden ploughs to tractors, from splinter lighting to electricity, from poverty and ignorance to affluence and culture.

Take, for instance, Moldavia, where threshing machines were a rarity before the revolution. Today the republic's agriculture commands more than 50,000 tractors, over 11,000 combines and about 33,000 trucks. "Under the 10th five-year plan," writes S.K. Grossu, First Secretary, CC CP of Moldavia, "gross output and gross income in the collective-farm and cooperative sector of the republic doubled in comparison with the seventh five-year period (in terms of annual average per 100-hectare farmland), output of grain going up 40 per cent, sugar beet 110 per cent, vegetables and tobacco from 150 to 180 per cent, fruit 350 per cent, meat (sales) 150 per cent and milk 90 per cent."¹³

Friendship and cooperation among the peoples of the Soviet Union rest on the solid foundations of a powerful integrated economy developing according to plan — an embodiment of Lenin's idea of making the economy of each republic an inseparable component of the economy of the country as a whole.

On the strength of a wealth of factual data, the authors emphasize the advantages of closely combining the potentials of the republics in the interest of the harmonious development of the entire Soviet state, and the role of fraternal mutual assistance in socialist construction and in carrying out major economic projects. The industry of Latvia, writes A.E. Voss, First Secretary, CC CP of Latvia, "would have been inconceivable without metal from the Urals, oil from Baku and Grozny, coal from

the Donbas, gas from Dashava or cotton from Central Asia . . . In short, there is not a republic in our country but sends Latvia fruits of its labor, helping it develop."¹⁴

Surely the foregoing refutes bourgeois falsehoods about "curbing the development" of non-Russian peoples or "imposing a single-commodity economic structure" upon them. Every republic today has a large-scale, dynamically developing diversified economy.

Cultural advancement is another sphere in which the potentialities of the new society and the strength of its socialist humanism are particularly evident.

The periodical *Vestnik Vospitania* wrote before the October Revolution that with the rate of school building being what it was, it would take from 150 to 200 years at least to end illiteracy in Russia's central regions and up to 4,600 years, in the outlying non-Russian territories. We must not be too critical of this forecast, for it was made with due regard to the conditions that actually existed under tsarism. In pre-revolutionary Lithuania, for instance, secondary school children added up to a mere 139 per 10,000 inhabitants. Today universal compulsory secondary education is a legalized norm in Lithuania as in all other republics. Over three-fourths of the population in the 20-29 age group have received a higher or secondary education and there are 206 students per 10,000 inhabitants, or twice as many as in Britain or West Germany, writes P.P. Griskevicius, First Secretary, CC CP of Lithuania.¹⁵

However, it is in Asian republics that the most striking changes have come about. The Turkmen SSR in its founding year was far behind other Soviet republics in literacy. Today it has surpassed highly developed European capitalist countries in the training of specialists, according to M.G. Gapurov, First Secretary, CC CP of Turkmenistan.¹⁶

The Soviet state offers all nations and nationalities every opportunity to develop their languages, fully guarantees every citizen the right to speak, use in educating and teaching his children any language, and allows no privileges, restrictions or compulsion in the use of a particular language. E.A. Shevardnadze, alternate member of the Political Bureau, CC CPSU, First Secretary, CC CP of Georgia, reminds his readers that teaching in the republic is carried on in Georgian, Russian, Abkhazian, Ossetic, Azerbaijani and Armenian. "Where there are school-children of Greek or Kurdish nationality, they are free to study Greek or Kurdish."¹⁷

The books in the series give the reader a deep insight into the mutual enrichment of cultures

on the fertile ground of mature socialism. They point out that Soviet culture, which is socialist in content, diversified in ethnic form and internationalist in spirit and character, is a tremendous factor for the ideological and moral unity of the nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union and for their artistic and aesthetic education. The assertions of bourgeois historians, who allege that Soviet nations have been drawing closer together as a result of "forcible Russification," are as false as they are marked by class narrow-mindedness.

There are vivid pages describing the immortal exploit of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945 and the contribution of each republic to victory.

"A nation in which the majority of the workers and peasants realize, feel and see that they are fighting for their own Soviet power, for the rule of the working people, for the cause whose victory will ensure them and their children all the benefits of culture, all that has been created by human labor — such a nation can never be vanquished."¹⁸ This idea of Lenin's was proved correct in years of severe trial.

Anyone who has been to Khatyn will retain a lasting memory of a black slab of stone with four apertures. White birch trees rise from three of them. And going up from the fourth is the Eternal Flame. It is a symbol arousing a feeling of infinite sorrow, T.Y. Kiselyov writes in his book, for one in four inhabitants of the republic lost his life in the flames of the Great Patriotic War, a war that proved to be a rigid test of the solidity of Leninist friendship among peoples, of the loyalty of Soviet men and women to the communist cause.¹⁹

The war brought out the high moral qualities of Soviet people of every nationality, such as devotion to their socialist country, mass heroism, selflessness and profound humanism. It is impossible to read without emotion the recollections of S.R. Rashidov, Political Bureau alternate member, CC CPSU, First Secretary, CC CP of Uzbekistan, who writes that in those difficult years the Uzbek people welcomed to their republic people evacuated from the western areas of the Union. Trains carrying wounded soldiers and emaciated orphans who had been snatched out of houses blazing after an air raid or taken out of blockaded Leningrad rolled to Uzbekistan night and day. "They were sent to Uzbekistan, which meant entrusting their lives and health to the republic. Uzbek families sheltered in their homes hundreds of thousands of orphans from Moscow, Leningrad, Smolensk, Minsk, Kishinev, Kharkov, Novorossiisk, Donetsk, Vilnius and many other cities as they might have their own kin."²⁰

The post-war period has seen this time-tested friendship go on flourishing and growing. The brotherhood of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the close economic, social and cultural bonds linking them together provide the most favorable opportunities to foster patriotism and internationalism. With class antagonisms eliminated, the objective basis for posing allegiance to one's own nation against allegiance to the whole multinational socialist family has disappeared. Socialism has given rise to a new type of patriotism implying love and respect not only for one's nationality but for what is Soviet, for the Soviet people as a whole. "The working people of Estonia," writes K.H. Vaino, First Secretary, CC CP of Estonia, "realize their responsibility for the republic and the whole country; they are real masters of all its riches and this prompts them to preserve and increase these riches."²¹

However, Soviet communists recognize that the settlement of the national question does not mean that all difficulties are over. In fact, the legacy of the old system — nationalist and religious prejudice, harmful traditions of everyday life, such as survivals of the attitude to women typical of the period of feudal lords, still makes itself felt here and there. The logical growth of national awareness as a result of economic and cultural progress results in occasional manifestations of conceit and disrespect for members of other nations and nationalities. Western Sovietologists represent these facts as proof of a "crisis" of relations between Soviet nations. Yet they say nothing about the fact that in step with perfecting developed socialism, Soviet society is ridding itself of all that is at variance with communist moral principles.

The books stress that the historic changes effected in the Soviet Union since the October Revolution have had and still have a tremendous impact on the course of world development and the national liberation movement in many countries.

What, then, is particularly interesting in the experience of building the multinational Soviet state? The authors see it in the ways and means of exercising the right of nations to self-determination, the development of statehood, industrialization as the basis for greater economic independence, the transformation of the agrarian sector, the elimination of cultural backwardness, the removal of racial conflicts and the unification of nations on the basis of the working people's fundamental common interests. Of course, there is also the nations' ability to defend their revolutionary gains and their freedom and sovereignty against encroachments from without.

The Land of Soviets, the country of October, where a developed socialist society has been built, is a mighty, closely united community of free peoples. Fundamental social, economic, political and cultural changes and increasingly close relations between socialist nations and nationalities have brought into being a new historical entity, the Soviet people. The dream of many generations who aspired to a system allowing no oppression, racial hatred or exploitation has come true. The books under review, which forcefully depict these achievements, are added evidence of the futility of bourgeois falsifiers' attempts to distort the truth about the Leninist national policy and its creative power.

Yuri Kirpichnikov

1. Y.V. Andropov, *Sixtieth Anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*, Moscow, 1983, p. 11.
2. Now Chairman of the Party Control Commission under the CC CPSU.
3. First Secretary, CC, Communist Party of Azerbaijan, till November 1982.
4. G.A. Aliyev, *Sovetsky Azerbaijan*, Moscow, 1982, p. 12 (in Russian).
5. V.V. Shcherbitsky, *Sovetskaya Ukraina*, Moscow,

- 1982, p. 7 (in Russian).
6. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 92.
7. D.A. Kunayev, *Sovetsky Kazakhstan*, Moscow, 1982, pp. 6-7 (in Russian).
8. T.U. Usubaliyev, *Sovetsky Kirghizstan*, Moscow, 1982, p. 16 (in Russian).
9. See M.S. Lolomentsev, *Rossiyskaya Federatsia*, Moscow, 1982, p. 265 (in Russian).
10. See K.S. Demirchyan, *Sovetskaya Armenia*, Moscow, 1982, p. 31 (in Russian).
11. See V.V. Grishin, *Moskva — Stolitsa Sovetskogo Soyuz*, Moscow, 1982, pp. 35-36 (in Russian).
12. R.N. Nabiyeu, *Sovetsky Tadjikistan*, Moscow, 1982, p. 13 (in Russian).
13. S.K. Grossu, *Sovetskaya Moldavia*, Moscow, 1982, p. 75 (in Russian).
14. A.E. Voss, *Sovetskaya Latvia*, Moscow, 1982, p. 121 (in Russian).
15. See P.P. Griskevicius, *Sovetskaya Litva*, Moscow, 1981, p. 93 (in Russian).
16. See M.G. Gapurov, *Sovetsky Turkmenistan*, Moscow, 1982, p. 95 (in Russian).
17. See E.A. Shevardnadze, *Sovetskaya Gruzia*, Moscow, 1982, p. 75 (in Russian).
18. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, p. 319.
19. See T.Y. Kiselyov, *Sovetskaya Belorussia*, Moscow, 1982, p. 20 (in Russian).
20. Sh.R. Rashidov, *Sovetsky Uzbekistan*, Moscow, 1982, p. 120 (in Russian).
21. K.H. Vaino, *Sovetskaya Estonia*, Moscow, 1982, p. 129 (in Russian).

The moloch of militarism

Robert De Grasse Jr., Paul Murphy, William Ragen, *The Costs and Consequences of Reagan's Military Buildup*. A Report to the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, AFL-CIO and the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy from the Council on Economic Priorities, New York, Council on Economic Priorities, 1982, 55 pp.

The booklet *The Costs and Consequences of Reagan's Military Buildup* was researched and prepared by the Council on Economic Priorities as a study commissioned by the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAMAW), an AFL-CIO affiliate of nearly one million members, and the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy (CNFMP), which unites over 45 organizations and groups committed to peace. This is how CNFMP President William Winpisinger explains the purpose of the study:

"First, as a trade union whose membership includes a large number of workers engaged in military production and maintenance of our national security forces, we have a duty and obligation to provide those members with objective information which will enable them to think about and act upon the war-peace issues,

free from employer intimidation and fear of job loss.

"Secondly, we owe it to all of our members — their families, their communities and, indeed, the nation at large — to provide the means for national and informed discussion on the impact and consequences of the staggering costs of the arms race. It is they and ordinary working people everywhere who are bearing the oppressive burdens and sacrifices exacted by mega-military budgets" (p. v).

The co-chairpersons of the CNFMP, Gretchen Eick and Donald Ranard, point to the other side of this problem in the foreword: "The current administration's plan for the largest peacetime military buildup in our history carries with it some serious dangers to our national security" (p. vi). In the opinion of the CNFMP leadership, the U.S. administration's military buildup is leading to a frightening new arms race in weapons for nuclear war, a desire to settle militarily conflicts which require political solutions, and to a policy toward the developing countries in particular which ignores the need for human rights and social justice.

The Coalition also notes that the spiralling military spending has a negative effect on the

working people's well-being and on social values in the country. "The recent ills of our economy have helped to undermine our sense of security and to erode our society's commitment to provide decently for our most disadvantaged citizens" (ibid.).

The study shows how Reagan's military policy will result in serious negative consequences for the U.S. economy. It contends that the military buildup will increase prices in the high technology sector, vastly increase federal deficit, push interest rates to record levels and squeeze out new investment, resulting in a short-circuit of economic revitalization and new inflationary pressures.

The booklet evaluates the effect of military spending on economic performance by comparing the 20 year records of 13 advanced capitalist states. It found that those nations which spent a larger share of the gross domestic product on the military generally experienced slower economic growth than those which spent less (see p. 15).

The authors point out that the expanded emphasis on U.S. military production will erode the competitiveness of American goods, further squeezing the U.S. on the world markets and causing it to lose out to Japan and the FRG. This would mean a higher international trade deficit.

The Reagan administration has been focusing research and development resources on increasingly esoteric military applications, risking continued deterioration of the technological base which supported U.S. economic growth during past decades, the booklet says.

The arms race has a negative effect on employment as well. The same amount of investment can result in more jobs in the civil industry than in the military one. One example given is that of a comparison between the effects of the B-1 bomber expenditures and those of a housing program: the latter yielded 70,000 more jobs than the B-1 (pp. 25-26).

The booklet also spells out the social costs of the Reagan military program, showing the reduction and even curtailment of civilian programs. This is no surprise. By 1985 the military burden will rise by 18 per cent in comparison with 1982 and will make up 78 per cent of the federal government's general funds. Thus, only 22 per cent of these funds will be available for civilian programs (see p. 31). This is guns instead of butter with a vengeance! It means dooming millions to permanent impoverishment.

The study winds up with a chapter titled "Is the Buildup Necessary?" It concludes that it is not necessary, that NATO leads the Warsaw Pact in arms spending, and that Pentagon comparisons of U.S. and Soviet military strength are distorted and misleading. It affirms that military parity does, indeed, exist.

Small in volume, the booklet is nonetheless a powerful, fact-filled, convincing and effective addition to the growing mass of U.S. peace literature, and is at the same time a significant expression of the growth of peace advocacy in the trade unions.

Steven Mark
U.S. journalist

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