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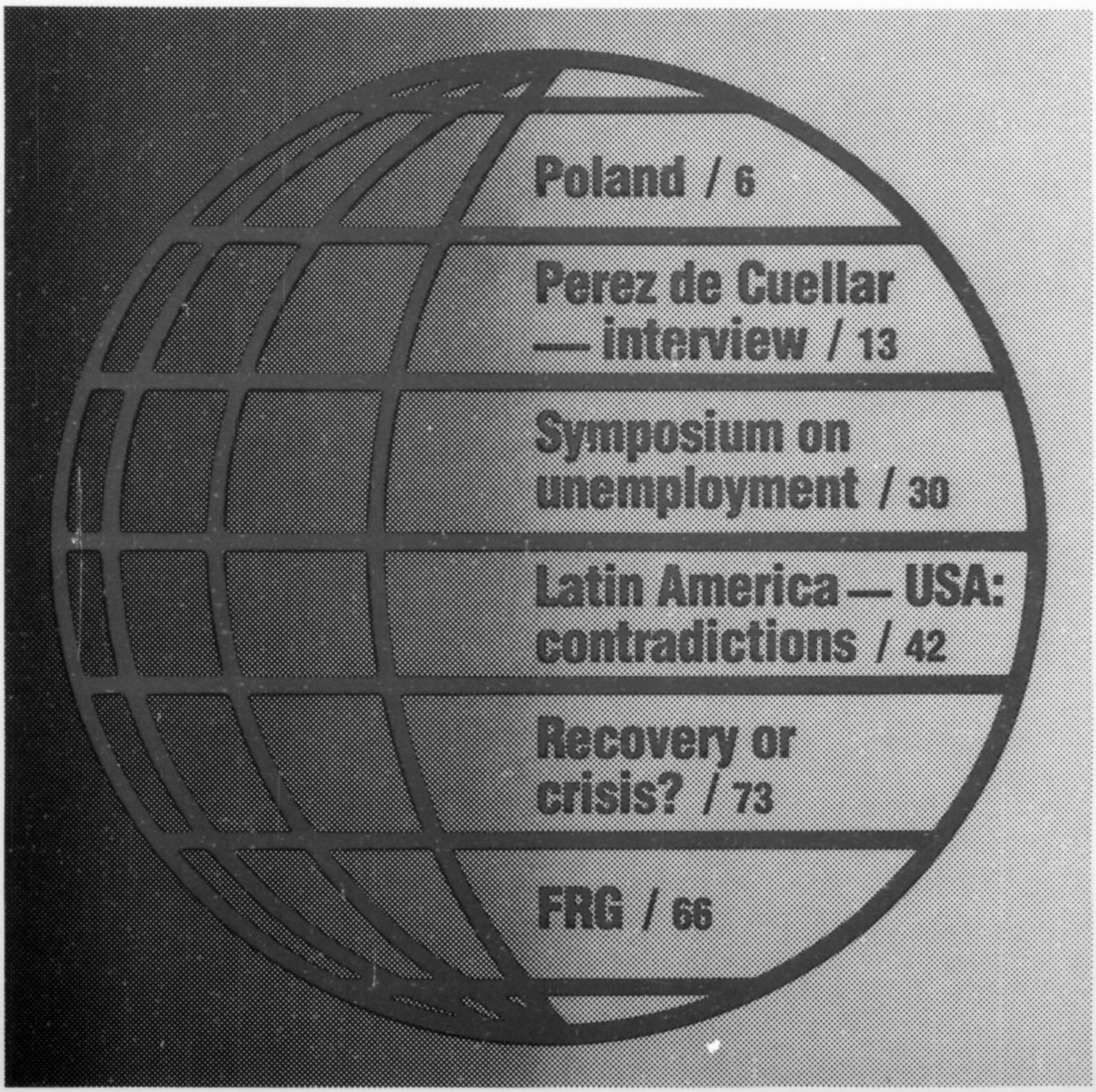

Workers of all countries, unite!

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May 1984, Vol. 27, No. 5

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features

The forces of labor are the forces of peace

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THE MAY DAY TRADITIONS OF THE WORKING CLASS

As it marks May Day every year, the working class all over the world asserts itself as the main motive force of contemporary history and as the most consistent and resolute champion and architect of progressive social transformations. In the socialist countries, it exercises power and successfully carries on constructive activity aimed at further improving and developing economic and social relations. Where big capital rules, it carries on a struggle against exploitation and monopoly oppression, and for safeguarding and extending the working people's rights, for democracy and social emancipation. It has an ever greater role to play in the life of the developing nations seeking to consolidate and safeguard their independence and to rebuff imperialism and neocolonialism. The working class is faced with unprecedented tasks of truly historical proportions in the key spheres of social life. Putting forward May Day slogans and declaring their needs and demands at rallies and demonstrations, millions upon millions of working people have now made central to these tasks the chief problem of our day: the preservation of peace, which is the crucial condition for the attainment of all the other goals of the working class.

This year we are marking the traditional festival of struggle in a difficult international situation. The aggressive forces of the United States and NATO have started to deploy Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles in Europe and have mounted provocations against peoples in various parts of the globe, sharply worsening the international climate and increasing the danger of a nuclear catastrophe.

The NATO leaders are now trying to allay the fears of world opinion, and to confuse and disorient it. They keep making the strident assertion that if peace is to be assured, they need more missiles, bombs, planes, warships and "defense" appropriations. But the point is what all this will lead to, what kind of promise is held out by their talk of peace against the background of preparations for war. Is it not perhaps a promise of "peace" on ashes and ruins?

The extreme reactionary forces, primarily those of U.S. imperialism, have paralleled the wanton arms race with aggressive acts against the peoples' aspirations for freedom and independence. They even resort to direct acts of brigandage against sovereign countries, as in Grenada and Lebanon. These forces are mounting provocations against Cuba and preparing armed invasions of Nicaragua and El Salvador. They are headed toward confrontation with the socialist community countries and the developing states in an effort to settle the historical issue between socialism and capitalism in armed contest and to preserve the system of exploitation and oppression of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. That is why the United States is seeking to attain military superiority, while declaring areas lying thousands of kilometers from its borders to be vital to its "national interests."

In these conditions, immeasurably greater importance is attached to joint efforts by all those who are striving for peace, freedom, national independence and social justice, and to their resistance to the policy of aggression and war now epitomized by the policy of the Reagan administration. The further course of world developments and humankind's very future are to a crucial extent dependent on the effectiveness of such efforts.

The growing threat of a nuclear catastrophe caused by the policy of U.S. imperialism and its NATO allies is bringing more and more people to the understanding that the problems of international security are everyone's business, which is why everyone must be involved in tackling the problems of war and peace to compel the governments of the capitalist states to heed the voice of the peoples.

The most diverse socio-political forces are now represented in the movement for peace. The danger of universal annihilation in the flames of a nuclear conflagration affects the inhabitants of this planet of ours equally, irrespective of their social status, political views, ideological convictions or religious beliefs.

There is no doubt, however, that it is the working class and all the other working people who are most concerned with preserving peace and averting war. After all, they are the ones who have created all the wealth of the world and built our civilization. War carries death and destruction, and it is opposite and hostile to labor, the source of life and the propelling force of social progress. Peace and labor are indivisible. That was emphasized by Karl Marx, when he described the socialist society of the future whose "international rule will be peace, because its national ruler will be everywhere the same — *labor!*"[1]

In virtue of its social and political status, the proletariat can have no stake in war whatsoever. It has always been the class on whom armed conflicts inflicted the greatest sufferings and calamities and have merely increased the burden of exploitation and social oppression.

The Inaugural Address, the very first programmatic document of the International Working Men's Association — the First International — set up in 1864, which was written by Marx, declared the struggle against aggressive anti-people wars to be a most important component part of the overall movement for the emancipation of the working class. The proletariat, it said, rejects the bourgeoisie's reactionary foreign policy, which, "in pursuit of criminal designs," is "playing upon national prejudices and squandering in piratical wars the people's blood and treasure."[2]

History provides convincing evidence that aggressive wars and the exploitation of man are closely bound up with each other, because it is the parasitic exploiter classes that have militaristic aspirations. War has always gone hand in hand with the development of the antagonistic class societies. Under imperialism, this sinister feature of the exploiter formations has been immensely intensified and expanded. It is imperialism that has generated both world wars, the most destructive wars in history, apart from the spate of "local" piratical campaigns.

The revolutionary leaders of the working class have exposed the true substance of wars of aggression and aggrandisement and their sources, and have also showed the ways of struggle to enable humankind to live in peace. Members of the revolutionary wing of the working class movement have always connected this prospect with the struggle for deep social transformations, elimination of every form of exploitation and class and national oppression, and establishment of new social relations.

When taking the first decision to have May Day rallies held not only under the slogan of an 8-hour day, but also of struggle for peace, the Zurich Congress of the Second International in 1893 emphasized in its resolution that these rallies should be an expression of "firm resolve on the part of the working class to do away with class distinctions through social transformations, thereby taking the only possible way which will lead to peace within the individual nations and to international peace."[3]

It was quite natural that the victory of Russia's working class, which took power in 1917, marked a great historical turning point eliminating, for the first time in history, both the old exploitative order and simultaneously the causes of war rooted in it. Lenin's well-known Decree on Peace, the first state act of the new socialist society, marked the start of the practical application of the principles of the proletariat's foreign policy.

The October Revolution ushered in a new epoch not only in humankind's social development, but also in the sphere of international relations, by countering the aggressive and predatory urges of imperialism with a policy in defense of peace, and the freedom and independence of the peoples. It had a tremendous influence on the whole system of international relations. Together with the other anti-war forces, the international working class in the first place, the Soviet Union has carried on a persevering struggle throughout the 1920s and 1930s for the preservation of peace.

However, the balance of social-class forces in the international arena at that time was still such that another world war could not be prevented. Nevertheless, the lessons and experience of that struggle against the danger of war are of tremendous importance even today, in the new historical conditions, for they shed a stronger light on many present-day problems in the defense of peace. The most advanced and revolutionary forces of the working class have always been a component part and active factor of the peace movements involving whole nations.

In the inter-war period, the working class had to carry on a most acute struggle against the monopolies, combining action for its economic and political rights, and for peace and democracy. Following the Great Depression of 1929-1933 and the establishment of the fascist dictatorship in Germany, the working class movement was faced with a task of tremendous importance: it had to close its ranks so as to resist the most reactionary, chauvinistic forces of big capital, which had started a drive for direct social and class suppression of the work-

ing people, and for predatory wars of aggrandisement.

In this context the decisions of the seventh congress of the Comintern (July-August 1935) played a historic role. It declared that the "*central*" slogan of the communist parties should be one of "struggle for peace," with which the struggle against fascism was inseparably linked. The congress exposed nazism as the shockforce of the international counter-revolution, as the chief instigator of imperialist war and the initiator of the "crusade" against the Soviet Union, and urged the working class to come together in a united front to resist fascism, and to set up, on the basis of working class unity, a broad Popular Front involving all the anti-fascist and democratic forces.

The seventh congress of the Comintern, a vivid chapter in the annals of the anti-imperialist traditions of the communist and working class movement, took a new approach to many problems in the defense of peace, emphasizing even at that time the existence of tremendous potentialities for the peoples' struggle for peace and for averting another world imperialist war, provided an alliance of all the peace forces was established. Wilhelm Pieck, the prominent leader of the German working class movement, declared at the congress: "We are sure that it is possible to avert war by the joint struggle of the proletariat of the capitalist countries and the USSR for peace."

A report "On the Tasks of the Communist International in View of the Imperialists' Preparation of Another World War," which was delivered at the congress by the representative of the Italian communists, Palmiro Togliatti, stressed: "We must make our struggle for peace very broad and as popular as possible . . . The struggle for peace has the greatest chances of success only if all the enemies of war, all the friends of peace, the forces of the working class, the forces of the broadest masses of the petty bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia, the threatened national minorities, and the states which are now concerned with the preservation of peace unite and range a powerful front against the warmongers and initiators of war."

Unfortunately, unity of action by the working class and all the other anti-militaristic forces in the struggle against the fascist war danger was not achieved at that time. The call made by the seventh congress of the Comintern on the Socialist Workers' International, urging it to set up a united front to resist the warmongers, was not heeded. From 1935 to 1939, the Comintern addressed itself 10 times to the Socialist International proposing joint action against fascism and war, but was invariably turned down by its leadership despite the urge for cooperation among many members of the social democratic parties.

The anti-communist and anti-Soviet stand of the right-reformist leaders of the Socialist International had a disastrous effect on the combat capability of the working class and weakened its resistance to the most reactionary forces of monopoly capital, which were preparing for war. The peoples had to pay a high price for that, for it hampered to a great extent the efforts to check the advance of fascism in due time and to bridle the aggressors. Human civilization was saved from nazi barbarism and obscurantism and the world was rid of Hitler's fascism only through the heroic struggle of the peoples of the anti-Hitler coalition, primarily the Soviet people, and at the price of tremendous loss of life and destruction, and distress and suffering for millions of men and women.

Today, the problem of averting a nuclear war and eliminating the hotbeds of tension confronts the working class, the working masses and all the peoples with unprecedented acuteness. For the first time in the history of humankind the problem is not only to safeguard millions and millions of people from unimaginable horrors and sufferings, but also to preserve life itself on this planet. The development of military hardware and technology and the increase in the destructive power of ever newer and more terrible instruments of war have given the imperialist militaristic forces immense means of destruction, and this poses an unprecedented danger to the whole of humankind.

But in our day it is not only the possible consequences of war that are undergoing change. There has also been a change in the conditions of the struggle to eliminate war from social life and to assert peaceful relations among nations. The strengthening of the potential of the world socialist system, and of the national liberation and working class movements, and the growth of the anti-war protest by masses of people make it possible to resist successfully the social forces engendering war and hoping to continue using it as an instrument of their policy.

However, the objective potentialities are not realized automatically, of themselves. Nor is the mere urge for peace enough to preserve it. Peace can be ensured only by effective action.

Life has long since shown that the strength of the movement for peace in the capitalist countries depends to a crucial extent on the working people's participation in it. They can exert powerful political pressure on the governments

and parliaments of their countries, and induce them to take the way of peace and disarmament.

The communists, the most consistent champions of working class interests, have concentrated all their thoughts and efforts on preventing war and eliminating the threat of war, seeking to enlarge and strengthen the movement for peace and to make it ever more effective. If peace is to be made more reliable, it was emphasized at our party's seventh congress last January, "the masses must be increasingly prepared to impose on the ruling classes their will for peace and their demand for a say in the taking of the most important political decisions."

The greater the workers' awareness of the true causes behind the sharpening of the international situation and the growing danger of war, the greater will be their contribution to the peace forces movement. It was said at our congress that "he who wants peace must know who threatens it. He who wants to eliminate the danger must know where it comes from."

This puts a duty on us, the communists, to show the working people where the sources of war lie. The advocates of missiles and the bourgeois mass media keep repeating from day to day in various forms the lie about some "threat" from the East in an effort to cover up the fact that under capitalism there are forces who have a direct stake in the preparation of war and who derive material and political benefits from it.

The fundamental contradiction between the interests of labor and capital is, perhaps, nowhere so sharp and manifest today as it is in the sphere of arms production. The higher the "defense" spending, the more satisfied are the arms merchants and the masters of the military-industrial complex, whose profits are soaring. But the condition of the working people is worsened where there are preparations for war and cutbacks in appropriations for medical services, education, pensions, unemployment benefits, housing construction, environmental protection, the whole system of social security, and the development of civilian sectors of the economy. The more intense the militarization, the tighter the screws of social oppression, and the more intense the attempts to curtail democratic rights. That is how it has always been.

More than 50 years ago, in the crisis year of 1929, on the eve of Hitler's takeover, when 200,000 workers went out into the streets of Berlin on May Day to back their demands, the communists wrote in their leaflets: "Down with the war plans of imperialism! Down with the insane plan of preparations for war by militarism, which robs the working people of their last pennies for its armored cruisers and its Reichswehr!"

Today, in this period of the gravest capitalist crisis since 1929, our party also closely connects action for peace and the struggle in defense of the working people's rights, jobs, wages and social security. The DKP's Program of Struggle for Peace and Work, adopted by our seventh congress, says: "As an expression of the class interests of wage-workers and salaried employees in the preservation of peace, consistent implementation of trade union decisions, and also joint action by the working class and peace movements, the May Day festival must be an impressive day of struggle against the arms build-up and social dismantlement, and for peace and work."

Our party has emphasized that the struggle for peace and work has only one adversary: the most reactionary forces of big capital and its political managers. The same men who are saddling the people with the inordinate burden of military spending and confronting it with the threat of a nuclear war are opposed to the trade union demands aimed to safeguard the working people's interests and are conducting a policy of reducing employment and curbing and liquidating social and democratic rights. It is characteristic that the largest army of "unwanted people" has taken shape in the capitalist world just when the largest arms build-up programs are being realized.

Unemployment has become the most acute social distress stemming from the capitalist drive for profit. Together with the preservation of peace, defense of the right to work is now the most important task in many capitalist countries. We, the communists, and also many trade unionists and social democrats in the FRG, believe that the struggle for peace and the struggle for jobs constitute a single whole. Since these efforts must be concrete, we insist on this slogan: "Jobs, Not Missiles!" Such is our program of struggle.

In opposing mass unemployment and insisting on the preservation and creation of jobs in our country, trade unionists, social democrats and communists demand the introduction of a 35-hour work week without any cut in wages.

Economists and trade unionists have estimated that a five-hour reduction in the work week in the FRG could help to provide jobs for 1.5 million of the now 3.5 million unemployed or partially employed. Spokesmen for the ruling circles declare: "We have no money for that." But the funds can easily be found, and one way is to reduce the vast arms expenditures burdening the economy.

The growing alarm among broad masses of people over the ever more acute nuclear threat is making itself felt, among other things, in the fact that never before in the post-war period has participation by FRG trade unions in the struggle for peace been so great as it is today.

When the opposition to the deployment of the new U.S. missiles on the territory of the Federal Republic first began, many trade union leaders kept aloof from the peace movement. Since then, substantial changes have taken place. The Federation of German Trade Unions, with 8 million members, has staged work stoppages at enterprises and offices in protest against the missile deployment, and factory peace committees, now numbering more than 300, have been set up. Many trade unions have decided to join the struggle for disarmament, peace and international security.

Of great important is the change in the stand of the Social Democratic Party (SPD), which is now opposed to the missile deployment, and this has had a substantial influence on the approach to this issue by the socialist parties of several other countries and of the Socialist International as a whole.

The history of the working class movement shows how harmful is disunited action by the working class in the struggle against the threat of war. In calling for an alliance of all the participants in the peace movement, and for the involvement of the greatest possible number of men and women in that alliance, our party seeks primarily to make the workers' efforts more vigorous. The seventh congress of the German CP stressed: "The struggle to preserve peace requires unity of action by the working class, and active participation by the trade unions, social democrats and communists at the enterprises and elsewhere."

The communists reach out to all the forces in the working class movement taking a stand for peace. We support the SPD's "No" to the deployment of new U.S. missiles on the territory of the FRG. Despite the remaining differences of opinion on many other political issues, the social democrats actively working in this direction will have reliable allies in the communists.

Success in the struggle for peace largely depends on the solidarity of the working class and on its vigorous peace action not only on a national but also on an international scale. As an expression of the international comradeship and brotherhood of the working people, regardless of national or racial origin, and therefore an assertion of peace among the peoples, the proletariat's internationalism has always stood up to the bourgeoisie's nationalism and chauvinism, which feed the ideology of war and aggression. Emphasizing the anti-militaristic orientation of the First International's activity, Marx declared: "The congress of the International Working Men's Association is in itself a congress of peace, because the unification of the working class of the various countries should ultimately make wars among nations impossible."[4]

The working people's international solidarity is now of prime importance for strengthening peace and asserting the ideas of friendship and cooperation among nations.

The imperialist circles seek to pave the way for their military gambles and to justify and whitewash their militaristic line by trying hard to implant in people's minds conservative and reactionary notions, above all chauvinistic views and feelings of hatred and hostility for other peoples, primarily those of the socialist and developing countries. That is why it is exceptionally important to counter this ideological influence with the ideals of international solidarity among the working people and to combat all expressions of anti-Sovietism and racial and national prejudices.

For our part, we, the FRG communists, are working actively to spread the truth about socialism, rebuffing the malicious anti-socialist and anti-Soviet campaigns and exposing the myth about some "Soviet threat," which is used to cover up the NATO countries' aggressive military preparations, in particular, the dangerous "missile decision" which enables the Pentagon to turn the FRG into a potential hotbed of a nuclear disaster. We want our people to live in friendship with the peoples of the socialist countries, where power is in the hands of the working people, where there are no social forces getting rich on the arms race and having a stake in wars, and where, for that reason, foreign policy is designed for preserving and strengthening peace. The communists of the FRG support the socialist community's diverse peace initiatives, for they meet the vital interests of all the peoples and open up the way to eliminating the nuclear danger.

In coming out for peace, we are guided by the long-standing traditions of the German communists, for they have always been in the vanguard of the struggle against imperialism, fascism and war; in these efforts, we are inspired by the memory of such revolutionary leaders as Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Clara Zetkin, Ernst Thaelmann and Max Reimann.

The traditions of the fight for peace of the working class in the capitalist countries are closely bound up with the traditions of the

anti-colonialist struggle and support for the national liberation movement.

Today, too, it is impossible to stand for peace without also coming out against the expansionist policy of imperialism with respect to the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. A special resolution of the seventh congress of the DKP on solidarity with the people's liberation struggle stressed that "U.S. imperialism does not stop at using military means when it comes to wiping out progressive anti-imperialist and liberation movements, and when this serves to realize its claims to world domination and to continue its policy of oppression and exploitation with respect to the countries of these continents."

We believe that it is the internationalist duty of all the progressive, democratic and peace forces, above all of the working class and its organizations, to resist that policy. The FRG communists voice their solidarity with the peoples' struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America against the imperialist exploitation and oppression, against racism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and for national independence, social progress and the establishment of a fair new international economic order. We voice our solidarity with all those who are fighting reactionary, dictatorial regimes, and with the courageous fighters for social emancipation and national liberation who languish in prison, or have fallen victim to persecution and repression. We seek to explain to the workers and all the other working people of our country the close connection between the defense of peace and the freedom of the nations.

During the First World War, Lenin said that the question of peace was a "crucial issue of today" and emphasized that "on this issue the proletariat truly represents the *whole* nation, all viable and honest people in *all* classes."[5]

In our own day the working class, as the most consistent champion of progressive humanistic ideals, cannot but tie in the struggle for its interests, and for the peoples' social emancipation and national liberation with the struggle to preserve life itself, to prevent tomorrow from becoming humankind's last day.

That is precisely why millions of working people throng the streets on May Day under the slogans of peace, labor and international solidarity.

1. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1969, p. 194.
2. Ibid., p. 18.
3. *Protokoll des Internationalen Sozialistischen Arbeiterkongresses in der Tonhalle Zurich vom 6. bis 12. August 1893*, Zurich, 1894, p. 36.
4. *General Council of the First International. 1866-1868*. Protocols.
5. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 99.

PUWP: in the struggle for the triumph of socialist ideas

Jozef Czyrek
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An objective assessment of the present situation in Poland fully warrants this conclusion: the ideological and political consolidation of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) is on a steady upgrade, and the party, the vanguard of the working people, is acting ever more effectively in society as the leading ideological and political force in solving the difficult problems facing our country. That is evidenced by the reporting and election campaign held over a period of months in the party organizations ranging from the primary to the provincial.

The results of this campaign were summed up at the 15th plenary meeting of the PUWP CC last February. It simultaneously discussed the organizational and programmatic questions for the National Conference of Delegates to the Party's Extraordinary Ninth Congress, which was held in mid-March and which gave a broad picture of the party's activity and its successes over the whole of the exceptionally difficult period of two and a half years.

In the early 1980s, the party was confronted with a serious test. There was the pressing need to correct the mistakes and eliminate the failings which had occurred in the practice of socialist construction in the 1970s, and to surmount the crisis phenomena in the economy and social life, on the one hand, and to intensify the defense of the socialist state and the gains of the revolution against attacks by the forces of reaction and counter-revolution, on the other. It is safe to say that the PUWP has stood the test of history by taking a resolute stand in defense of

socialism in Poland and by preserving and fortifying its Marxist-Leninist character and ideological make-up, despite all the difficulties, the vacillations among some communists, and the manifestations of opportunism and revisionist illusions among a part of the activists, especially on the eve of the party's extraordinary ninth congress. That was expressed in the congress decisions reflecting the vital aspirations of the communists and the other working people of Poland to improve the health of society, and determining the lines and substance of the changes in its socio-political and economic system.

The changes known as socialist renewal have a clear-cut class character and ideological content, asserting, as they do, the priority of the interests of the working class in society and the state, the re-establishment of the principles and values of socialism, and their consistent translation into social and political life.

Consonant with the party's urge for renewal were the Polish workers' attitudes which were characteristically and most fully expressed in the summer of 1980 in this slogan: "Socialism — Yes, Distortions — No!" It epitomized the thrust of the demands and aspirations voiced at the time by the workers and other working people in the country.

For various reasons, aggressive, anti-socialist forces also became active in that period. They were diverse in character and were informed by ideological and political traditions and philosophical motivations that spanned a very wide range. Among them were both the traditional right-wing reactionaries and those who spread Trotskyite, anarcho-syndicalist, social democratic and Christian democratic ideas. But they had a common denominator in the form of a unifying ideological platform: a rejection of socialism and a hostile attitude to its accomplishments. They resorted to demagogy and made use of the objectively-rooted mood of discontent among the working people and their disorientation to try to revive obsolete myths and political conceptions rejected by history, so as to split the working class along ideological and political lines and to get it to abandon its revolutionary traditions.

For the main objective of their attacks they took the working class party and its leading role in society and governing positions in the state. They depicted the socialist state as a force antagonistic to the working class, which could allegedly realize its vital class interests and the urge of the whole society for democracy and freedom only by fighting against the state through the establishment of its own organization and a peculiar dual power whose meaning was expressed in the political formula: "a self-governing Rzeczpospolita."[1]

All of that led to growing anarchy in social life and the economy, so posing a real threat to the Polish state and the nation's survival. Attempts were also made to undermine the fundamental principles of Poland's foreign policy, primarily its alliance with the USSR, which is the basis of its security, inviolability of its borders and peaceful development. With extensive and all-round support from anti-communist imperialist centers, the counter-revolutionary forces managed to convert Solidarity into an anti-socialist political movement, although a majority of its members had originally seen it as a genuine trade union organization.

The introduction of martial law on December 13, 1981, cut short the dangerous developments, averted the threat of a civil war and a national disaster, allowed the stabilization of the socio-political situation to start, and created real opportunities for getting down to making the necessary changes within the system of economic management and state administration. The PUWP exercised its government function within the socialist state and gradually restored the support and trust of the working class and the other working people. The alignment of political forces began to change in favor of socialism, so creating the conditions for curbing the influence of the counter-revolution and putting its governing centers into political isolation. The working class and the other working people did not support the slogans put forward by the illegally acting counter-revolutionary elements, slogans which called for street demonstrations, a boycott of the press and a slow-down in production. That marked the end of the stage at which the fundamental question of the class struggle — who beats whom — was effectively decided in principle.

That is not to say, however, that the political and, especially, the ideological struggle in our country have ceased. At its 13th CC plenary meeting on October 14 and 15, 1983, the party reaffirmed that it is aware of the acuteness and difficulty of the struggle in the new conditions and at the new stage. That point was made in the speech by First Secretary of the PUWP CC Wojciech Jaruzelski at the plenary meeting: "The ideological struggle goes on day by day. It goes on everywhere. Its front runs through all the circles and groups of people, and through every conversation about socially important matters."[2]

The Central Committee's summing-up of past experience and consideration of the results of the broad discussion among communists before the plenary meeting gave a comprehensive

and realistic assessment of the political situation in the country and laid down the guidelines for the party's activity. It said that the tasks in the ideological struggle are a dialectical part of the PUWP's coherent line consisting of a theoretical platform, practical political activity, and guidance of social and economic processes, because the PUWP's harmonious activity in all these sectors can alone ensure progress in socialist construction, and promote solid changes in the social consciousness with the assertion in it of the principles of socialism and their realization in the citizens' attitude to labor and to their civic duties.

Ideological work needs to reckon with a broad spectrum of external and internal circumstances characterizing this or that actual situation.

First, one cannot ignore the fact that the anti-socialist forces in Poland are being actively supported by anti-communist centers in the United States and other NATO countries. Imperialism has mounted against socialist Poland a propaganda aggression of unprecedented proportions which is developing into a psychological war. It has used economic pressure and political blackmail, stooping to every available means ranging from overt discrimination against our country to specific policies for encouraging the members of the opposition. In its policy of global confrontation with socialism, imperialism, notably the U.S. administration, hopes to see it weakened and eroded from inside. Consequently, the political struggle in Poland is closely bound up with the global ideological confrontation between the two systems.

In their efforts to influence the social consciousness in Poland, the anti-communist centers have been making use of subversive radio broadcasts, numerous publications and other means of propaganda to fan discontent and uncertainty, and openly meddle in our country's domestic affairs in defiance and breach of the existing international rules and principles in this sphere. Small groups and publications by the "underground" are given propaganda backing from outside, while the fact of their existence and their attempts at destructive action are designed to give "authenticity" to the ideas spread about by the subversive radio stations.

Second, the reappraisal and overcoming of the effects of the aggressive propaganda mounted by the counter-revolutionary centers in the period after the summer of 1980 are a process that will continue to run in the Polish social consciousness for a long time to come. These consequences, which could be defined in Marxist terms as a "false consciousness," are so deep because they were superimposed on the shortcomings and failings in the PUWP's ideological work in the 1970s, and this applies especially to the state of the political consciousness of the young generation and also of certain circles in our society.

Third, one should not underestimate the fact that the consequences of the socio-economic crisis are still having an effect on the working people's living standards, causing justified discontent and breeding disappointment and passiveness on that basis. That is the frame of mind the adversaries of socialism are trying to use in order to continue the line of discrediting socialism globally and of denying the PUWP a political and moral right to formulate the program for Poland's development. That is why the party has to carry on a sustained, patient and wise dialogue with the working people, so as to strengthen their conviction that only well-organized and efficient work will help to overcome the negative phenomena and ensure the country's progress and a better life for the people.

It should simultaneously be emphasized that in these circumstances the party's general line since the ninth congress has been one of developing representative and direct forms of socialist democracy, that is, the people's power in the broad sense of the term. This relates both to the development of democracy in production, whose main institutions are workers' self-management at the enterprises, and peasants' self-management in the countryside, and enhancement of the role of the representative bodies. That means strengthening the Sejm and extending the powers of the national councils in solving the economic, social and cultural problems of their administrative areas by means of new juridical enactments. We have been developing and improving the system of consultations with the population, and have got down to working out the conception of workers' and peasants' control.

The growth of public activity and the raising of the citizens' consciousness have a substantial role to play in fortifying the socialist state as the chief instrument for implementing the goals in building the new society, a fact which invests the party's ideological activity with special importance and concrete significance. It is the party that has to counter the still evident inclination at the enterprises toward self-isolation and the occasional attempts to turn workers' self-management into an arena of political struggle and to revive anarcho-syndicalist trends in the trade union movement.

The socio-political education of the masses

must involve efforts to give them a deeper comprehension of the laws of socialist economic management and social development, and to raise the people's political and legal knowledge standards, for these are all a key condition for the functioning of the institutions of socialist democracy.

Consequently, the ideological struggle in our country is not a mere abstraction, or a contest of pure theories. Its ultimate results are determined by progress in transforming reality and bringing it closer to socialist ideals. That was the light in which ideological work was also examined at the June 1982 plenary meeting of the CPSU CC, at which Yuri Andropov emphasized that "even the most graphic and interesting propaganda, the most competent and intelligent teaching, the most gifted art will fail to reach their aim if they are not filled with profound ideas closely connected with the realities of life today and indicating the way of further progress."[3]

The main goal of the policy of the PUWP's ninth congress is to consolidate the leading role of the working class in every sphere of social life.

The idea of socialism is translated into reality through struggle by the working class led by the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party, a struggle whose substance is the ever fuller realization of the workers' interests, values and aspirations. These interests, values and aspirations most fully express those of all the other categories of working people, and that is why the working class wins support from broad masses of people.

That is precisely our party's view of the workers' interests in guiding the efforts to realize them in practice. That is precisely the main content of its social mandate. It is the communists' task to heed the workers' voice and criticism as a basis for determining the degree of importance and priority in tackling the problems and turning rational proposals into directives for action.

Serving the working class and the people as a whole, means combating everything that pulls the country backward and arouses indignation among the working people: injustice, bureaucratic practices, affronts to the working person's dignity, waste of the people's property and poor organization of labor. The party wins trust by giving a lead in this struggle so as to transform the working people's justified discontent with the various shortcomings into a creative force and an instrument for improving reality.

While playing the leading role in socialist construction, the working class is itself in an intricate process of change, development and growing maturity. It is not free of vacillation or doubts either, for it tends to yield to the influence brought in from outside by false "friends of the people." There is a need for vigilance in the face of every expression of demagogy.

What we seek is to have the party in the midst of the workers, and the workers — in the party. The thrust of the PUWP's class policy is to be in the midst of the working class and with the working class, to work with it and to lead it, to strengthen its role of leader in accordance with the changing conditions, to take care of its condition, prestige and dignity, and to help improve the workers' living and working conditions.

The fact that the party is a monolithic ideological and political force not only in its declarations, but above all in its action is the characteristic feature of the Leninist working class party and the basis of social confidence in it. The PUWP's functioning on the principles of democratic centralism has been re-established in accordance with the rules adopted by the ninth congress. This work has been carried on most actively since the seventh plenary meeting of the PUWP CC. All structures gravitating toward factional activity and not provided for by the rules have been dissolved. The revisionist tendencies of denying the uniformities of social development discovered by Marxism-Leninism and the underestimation of the fundamental principles of our party and of the revolutionary working class movement, and of the experience of existing socialism are being overcome.

The views and ideas aimed to undermine the party's leading role in socialist construction and to limit its functions to ideological influence on the social consciousness, that is, efforts in effect to convert the party into an amorphous ideological and moral movement, pose a special danger, because such a view of its role contradicts the fundamental principles of socialist construction and, as the experience of the PUWP and the other fraternal parties shows, ultimately induces a gradual departure from socialism. That is why we have resolutely rebuffed the attempts to present the ideological differences existing in Poland as the basis for introducing the political pluralism which is characteristic of bourgeois democracy and which results in a "free play of forces" and undermines the objective prerequisites for socialist transformations in our country.

We have also resisted the conservative and pragmatic trends expressing incomprehension of the new phenomena, fear of the necessary changes, and a blind and futile reiteration of

formulas dating back to other times and conditions.

Revisionism tends to breed opportunism and capitulation, and dogmatism — conservatism and sectarianism. Both, even if from different sides and under different signboards, resort to demagogy and produce similar results: they weaken the party, its influence on developments, and its ties with the working people. In the atmosphere of acute political struggle, opportunism now poses a special danger.

We have no intention of regarding the unity of the party as some formal category. The party is a living organism in which discussions and differences of opinion arising in the formulation of a programmatic line or political stand are normal and even desirable. After all, the contradictions manifested in life are reflected in political and theoretical views. The ceaseless process in which contradictions are brought out and resolved is the motive force of the party's development. But one should not forget that the sound standard of the PUWP's life laid down by the ninth congress in the form of inner-party democracy, and freedom of discussion and criticism, which involve the clash of different views and bring out different approaches to the problems, should ultimately serve the party's unity. Wojciech Jaruzelski made this very point when he said at the CC's 13th plenary meeting: "Being a communist means, above all, being bold and open-handed. This means being among people, daily fighting to prevent the world from remaining unchanged, teaching others and learning from them, hearing out the workers and explaining to the workers that which is now most important for Poland and for our idea."[4]

The party spirit also means efficiency, honesty and a moral stand which implies that the communist makes the same demands on himself as he does on others.

"A vanguard performs its task as vanguard only when it is able to avoid being isolated from the mass of the people it leads and is able really to lead the whole mass forward. Without an alliance with non-communists in the most diverse spheres of activity there can be no question of any successful communist construction,"[5] said Lenin. The party's ideological panoply must be improved precisely to enable it to be the vanguard, to exercise ideological and political leadership, to act through the power of example, and to see that its deeds match its words. That is why we attach such great importance to the development and improvement of the party studies system, which helps the communists to deepen their knowledge of the theory of Marxism-Leninism and to apply it creatively in their own analysis of world developments, providing the basis for working out their own attitude to reality and equipping them with arguments for defending the party's ideas, and socialist values and goals. Meanwhile, many party organizations do not yet give due attention to the communists' study. Theory and the party's practical activity are not always skilfully blended, and economic problems are often artificially separated from political and ideological problems in party work.

The organization of studies and the party activists' self-education have become an especially urgent task, for these must involve the leading cadre to a greater extent than they have up to now. Cadre policy must take into account the level of political knowledge as the criterion for leadership training.

We devote much attention to educating party members and society as a whole in the spirit of internationalism. In this exceptionally dangerous and complicated international situation, the strengthening of the unity and cooperation of the socialist community countries has acquired fundamental importance. Our community is humankind's mainstay and hope in the struggle for peace and the preservation of life on Earth.

That difficult time provided full and fresh confirmation that the internationalist ties uniting our parties, peoples and states of the community have acquired a new quality. The fraternal assistance and support being given to Poland by the socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union, in overcoming the consequences of the socio-economic crisis is yet another real confirmation in practice of the principles of proletarian internationalism. It serves an important starting point for our political activity. We are making imaginative use of the rich experience of the countries of existing socialism in working to perfect the Polish state and its economy. The theoretical summing-up of such experience, of each country's actual contribution to the building of the new system makes up our common treasury.

One of the essential tasks in the party's educational activity just now is to shape a world view among our members in accordance with the party's ideological principles. It is true that we do not bar entry into the party to religious people, especially workers and peasants who seek to fight for socialism in the ranks of the PUWP and to take an active part in the country's political life, an approach which is reflected in the resolution of the ninth congress. However, in accordance with the same resolution, we strive vigorously and consistently to

spread the scientific Marxist-Leninist world view within the party and to make it pre-eminent in the social consciousness.

Current developments show that the line of accord and struggle we have chosen is the right one. Its class content is an alliance of the working class party with the nation's patriotic forces accepting socialism and desirous of building a strong Poland with social justice and legality, and a consolidation of its unbreakable alliances and its positions among the socialist states. It is a line of simultaneous and resolute political struggle against the forces whose aim — regardless of their high-flown slogans and rhetoric — is to push Poland off the socialist way and to alter its system and political orientation in class terms.

In conformity with the accord-and-struggle line, the Patriotic Movement of National Revival, which involves broad strata of citizens, has been developing and gaining in strength. It is a form of joint efforts by various social forces and groups for whom the nation's progressive interests are paramount, whatever their ideological and philosophical differences. While working to extend the influence of the scientific Marxist world view, we make a point of preventing any ideological or religious distinctions from becoming an obstacle in efforts for the good of our socialist homeland.

The party has opposed the attempts to divide the Poles into believers and non-believers on political lines. All citizens cherish socialist humanism and the values connected with the goals of the working class.

In the light of Polish conditions, the PUWP has worked out its attitude to religion and the Church, being invariably guided by the constitutional principles of separation of church and state in every sphere of social life, and the principles of freedom of conscience and religious creed. Concerned for the good of the state, and for internal law and order, which these principles serve, we are resolutely opposed to any breaches of them. The communists have no intention of reconciling themselves either with intolerance, with bellicose clericalism, or with inflammatory speeches which have nothing in common with religion.

There are opportunities for broad cooperation between the state and the Church when it comes to the nation's basic values — the defense of peace, Poland's security and its internal tranquillity — as also to the various moral and ethical issues, greater respect for labor and social property, behavior in everyday life, and the combating of social ills.

In the sphere of philosophy, the party will intensify its efforts to spread its tenets and values. It is the party's duty to extend the influence of the scientific view. It has no intention of casting aspersions on the diversity of the sources nourishing the traditions and motivations of present-day patriotism and humanism, but it has no intention either of acquiescing in the attempts to deny and discredit the traditions, sources and motivations connected with the struggle of the progressive left-wing forces.

We are faced with the task of restoring the positions and consolidating the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine in the country's spiritual life and in the molding of social consciousness. The failings of the past and the difficult conditions of the confrontation imposed on us have cost us some positions in the ideological sphere in the recent period; these need to be won back and bolstered, and we should go over to an offensive.

It is especially important to improve the state of the social sciences. The party has set before them more and more new problems, doing so out of its sense of responsibility for the need to have the right understanding of the situation and also of the country's socio-political, economic and cultural requirements. That is expressed in the idea, contained in the resolution of the ninth congress, that the development of Marxism-Leninism and the application of the Marxist method in analyzing socio-political phenomena are a basic condition for conducting the right party policy and preventing mistakes and distortions.

There is an acute political struggle laced with the struggle between opposite methodological orientations in the sphere of the social sciences and the humanities. It springs from the need to overcome manifestations of a peculiar cult of Western science, a snobbish imitation of short-lived vogues and a borrowing of evaluations and theses from bourgeois doctrines.

The overwhelming majority of the scientists who have been guided by Marxism-Leninism in their work have remained Marxists, but some have made a display of leaving the old ranks.

When working to enhance the role and positions of Marxism-Leninism, we have in mind the observance of its theoretical and methodological principles in practical research. The party has no intention of intruding into the laboratory. Science is advanced by the formulation of questions and by creative quest. We seek to promote the fullest participation by the social and all the humanitarian sciences in solving the pressing problems in Polish life which are important in terms of knowledge and the socio-political standpoint, such as, among others, the structure of classes and strata in contemporary Polish society, above all of the

working class, and their consciousness; the functioning of the socialist political system in Poland; the theory and practice of social organization and management; and the progress of the economic reform and its results.

We need to deepen the study of the Polish historical process. Once again, there is an acute struggle over its evaluation as a whole, and over the assessment of its numerous individual fragments. Our adversaries are trying to revise these assessments so as to vindicate reactionary political conceptions and trends. They have elaborated on the idea of Poland's ties solely with the Western tradition not for the sake of the historical truth, but only for their own political ends.

The working class movement has always focused its programmatic quest on the problem of doing away with class limitations which hamper human development, enrichment of the individual and extension of his or her rights coupled with greater responsibility for social progress. Our adversaries have heaped a chaotic mass of verbiage over this problem, but it is one which arouses a vibrant interest, especially among young people seeking — as each new generation does — models for a life in dignity, with a civic spirit and a sense of personal responsibility. One of the duties of the Marxist humanitarian sciences is precisely to mold the philosophical, social and moral orientation of the young in the spirit of our ideals.

At the ninth plenary meeting of the PUWP CC, we emphasized the special responsibility of the state system of secondary and higher education for the upbringing of the rising generation. The organic integration of the process of education and upbringing is still to become the practice of our schools everywhere. The system of education, including the higher schools, gives too little attention to instilling into young people the ideals and moral values of socialist society. Instead, there is sometimes a spread of alien standards. It is necessary to enrich the ideological and educational content of the whole process of instruction, primarily its humanitarian cycle: the teaching of the mother tongue, literature and history. Here, the teacher's ideological face, knowledge and personal example are of paramount importance. Consequently, special attention needs to be given to the training of teachers and to the raising of their skills and knowledge. The party is working to enhance the teachers' dignity and to consolidate their social status.

The measures to set up an Academy of the Social Sciences under the PUWP CC as the main center of Marxist-Leninist thinking and of the training of personnel for the social sciences in Poland started in accordance with the decisions of the 12th plenary meeting are being continued. The Academy is to perform its functions by organically linking up its research and educational activities.

We are also striving to have the individual professional circles and groups re-establish their autonomous, self-administered representations acting in their respective creative fields for the benefit of the socialist state and promoting the development of the national culture.

Consistent political struggle against the adversaries of socialism will go hand in hand with persevering efforts to win over everyone who has lost his bearings or has been deluded in the dramatic events of the past several years, but who is capable of making a valuable contribution to the development of our people's science and culture. By painstaking explanatory and organizational work we seek to set up, with the participation of primary organizations, groups of accord in these social spheres on the basis of the recognition of the purposes and principles of our state's socio-political system.

We have entered upon the year of the 40th anniversary of People's Poland, an important event in the life of the PUWP. It is now engaged in a profound, Marxist analysis of the way traversed, which is marked by great and crucial achievements: the revival of an independent Poland within just and secure borders; a Poland basing its security on the reliable alliance with the USSR and the other socialist community countries; a Poland whose socio-political make-up is a pledge of revolutionary social transformations and progress.

However, as it has been said, mistakes and failings have occurred in the course of socialist transformations in our country, and these were used by our adversaries for a frontal attack on the party and socialism. Doubts were cast on the native origins of the people's power and on the correctness and significance of the revolutionary reforms and the building of socialism. Indeed, all the accomplishments of these 40 years have been questioned. The adversary has done much to devastate the consciousness of a section of the society, especially the young generation. The party has made a self-critical assessment of the sources and causes of the mistakes and failings, and has drawn deep conclusions which became the basis of the decisions of its ninth congress. We now face the task of spreading the truth about how the revolutionary changes of the past four decades began and proceeded, and showing their true importance for the Polish people. This applies above all to the truth that the hopes and aspira-

tions of the Poles can be realized only by a Poland developing in accordance with the general laws of socialist construction, which are creatively applied in the concrete, national and historically-rooted conditions.

1. *Rzeczpospolita*, a republic. — *Ed.*
2. *Trybuna Ludu*, October 17, 1983.
3. *Information Bulletin*, August 1983.
4. *Trybuna Ludu*, October 17, 1983.
5. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 227.

Humankind's future lies on the road of peace

RESPONSIBILITY OF THE COMMUNITY OF NATIONS

Javier Perez de Cuellar
Secretary-General,
United Nations Organization

The United Nations Organization, whose 40th anniversary is to be marked in 1985, is a major instrument for maintaining international peace. The UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar received *WMR* representatives and answered questions asked by them. The following are his statements on some key issues of our time.

Q. What, as you see it, is the UN's role in the present, sharply exacerbated international situation?

A. To begin with, the United Nations is constantly working on problems whose totality makes up the present difficult international situation. Its role is to observe the development of the most dangerous situations in order to define the extent to which help can be extended to settle them peacefully. Currently, for example, the UN is working to maintain peace in Lebanon, the Golan Heights, Cyprus, and along the frontier between India and Pakistan.

I personally have specific obligations relative to the Afghan[1] and Cypriot questions, the situation in Southeast Asia and, though to a lesser extent, the settlement of the situation in Central America and Namibia. These hotbeds of international tension are the objects of the discreet, calm diplomacy conducted by me. In some instances this work is defined by a mandate from the General Assembly or the Security Council. In other cases it represents my own independent efforts as Secretary-General.

Let me also mention the Iranian-Iraqi conflict, which I am constantly trying to end because I see it as one of the most complex issues currently causing deep anxiety. Accordingly, I am in contact with both sides, for in the obtaining situation hardly anybody except the UN Secretary-General can provide a link between them — in this lies my duty. Early this year I had talks with both the Iraqi and Iranian leaders. But on account of Iran's hard-line attitude, I regret to say that I have been unable to send a mission to both countries. I hope to send envoys in the near future to these countries to explore the conditions for initiating negotiations.

Q. What influence can be and is being brought to bear by the United Nations to reinforce peace?

A. The UN Charter gives priority to dealing with threats to international peace and security and to the commitment of all nations, especially the permanent members of the Security Council, to cooperate toward this end. It is the weakening of this commitment that has, perhaps more than any other factor, led to the partial paralysis of the United Nations as the guardian of international peace and security.

Neither the Security Council nor any other international organ can hope to resolve in short order acute international conflict situations where they are the product of serious clashes of interest between the actual parties or between the members of the Council. The Charter imposes upon the Security Council the duty to help settle international disputes. It has the obligation to prevent, by peaceful means, a further intensification of the threat of war. Even if its members are profoundly divided about the merits of a given case, it is their duty to find ways and means of keeping the situation under control, without prejudice to the shape of an eventual settlement.

Another main objective of the Security Council, particularly of its permanent members, should be to develop an effective common approach to potential threats to international peace and security, to assist and, if necessary, to put pressure on the conflicting parties to resolve their differences justly and by peaceful means. This approach would in the long run lead to developing in practice a system for international peace and security designed to help end military and other forms of conflict and remove the inherent risk of ultimate

universal disaster. This is, after all, the basic idea of the UN Charter.

Q. What circumstances, in your view, limit the UN's potentialities as an international community for consolidating world security?

A. This question allows me to make a point that is sometimes not fully appreciated by public opinion: the United Nations is not a government and it is not a political superstructure; it is an organization of sovereign nations. And if by their policies the member nations do not contribute to the settlement of the problems confronting it, my possibilities are, regrettably, very limited. The UN cannot impose its will on any country, nor has it the right to compel any country to comply with a resolution no matter by what majority it has been passed. It can only provide its good offices for arranging peace negotiations, forums, meetings and so on, provided the sides agree to our mediation.

True, this limitation is by no means predetermined by the UN structure, it is due mainly to the lack of political will on the part of member nations. For example, neither Israel nor South Africa are complying with extremely important resolutions passed by the UN. What can we do in this situation? The UN cannot use its forces of coercion without the consent of all the five permanent members of the Security Council.

Let me repeat: it is not a case of defects in the United Nations as such, but of a lack of political will. It is, of course, a mistake to believe that amendments to the UN Charter would resolve all problems. Besides, it would be naive to expect that the five nations possessing the right of veto in the Security Council will renounce the principle of unanimity of its permanent members. I am of the firm belief that the existing mechanism is adequate, but to function effectively it has to be backed up by the political will of member states.

Q. You are a Latin American. How do you, in your capacity of UN Secretary-General, assess the prospects for the settlement of current problems of Latin America?

A. I feel that Latin American problems should be settled by the Latin Americans themselves. Having come from that part of the world myself,[2] I am following with understanding the efforts of the four countries of the Contadora Group[3] who are trying to get a peaceful settlement of the disputes and conflicts in Central America. Any solution must exclude outside interference — interference from either the Europeans or the North Americans. Neither have anything to do with problems within the exclusive competence of the Central American states. These are endemic, in other words, local problems, and they stem from specific socio-economic causes. They cannot be resolved by weapons or money. The only way is through Central America's gradual development on the basis of a considered concept of genuine social justice.

Q. The activation of interventionist forces in the Middle East has greatly aggravated the situation in Lebanon. What can the UN do to resolve this conflict?

A. I should like to say that both the UN and I personally, as its Secretary-General, are prepared to help resolve the Lebanese problem by political or other means. By political means I mean using our good offices to resolve the communal differences and also the difficulties that everybody knows exist between Lebanon, Israel, and Syria. The other means are to send to Lebanon UN armed forces or observers. However, the UN cannot impose either its presence or its mediation. The request for new contingents of UN troops must come from Lebanon and the mandate for this can only be given by the Security Council.

Q. Since its formation the UN has done much to free peoples from the bonds of colonialism. However, there still exist remnants of the colonial system, for instance, in the south of Africa, in Namibia. What is the UN doing to consummate decolonization?

A. I am gratified by the international recognition of the UN's contribution to the decolonization of practically the whole of Africa and of many countries on other continents. As regards Namibia, the way to resolve that problem is stated in Security Council Resolution 435. It spells out all the elements needed for Namibia's rapid emancipation.[4] During a visit to South Africa I had the opportunity to discuss ways and means of resolving the difficulties preventing the attainment of that objective. At present we have only to agree on the procedure for elections in Namibia. South Africa must show a sincere desire to free Namibia of its presence, which is absolutely unlawful.

Q. The Seventh Conference of Non-Aligned States held in Delhi last year urged ending the arms race in order to release resources for promoting progress in the developing countries. What is your view of the significance of this proposal?

A. Although I am the Secretary-General of an organization uniting 158 nations, I do not forget that I come from the Third World, from the developing world. I cannot be indifferent to any initiative aimed at rechannelling funds from military programs to the requirements of progress.

I recently toured nine African countries. For me the most difficult was not the physical strain. It was painful to find that the cost of some of the pressing programs which these countries had appealed for aid to the UN and the entire world community (programs for abolishing hunger, the water shortage, and so on) is less than the cost of a single combat aircraft. I am therefore making another appeal to the arms manufacturers to sell tractors not tanks to developing states.

We neither want nor should want to forget that peace cannot be safeguarded without socio-economic progress. Let me note that many of the acute problems now afflicting humankind are arising precisely in developing countries: in Southeast Asia, Central America, the Middle East, and Africa, where wars are being fought, blood is being shed, and masses of people are suffering need and grief. That is why I vigorously support the initiatives aimed at speeding up progress in the Third World.

Q. In other words, for the future of humankind there is no more important task than to end the arms race and achieve disarmament.

A. Yes. My conviction is that the expenses on arms should be driven toward the development of developing countries. And I even said that it should be a decrease of sales of arms to developing countries.

Q. Some UN organs, including the General Assembly, are discussing questions linked to ending the arms race and achieving disarmament. What is your attitude to the initiatives of the Warsaw Treaty countries on these problems?

A. I must say that the stand of the Secretary-General is determined not only by the UN Charter but also by what can be called human morality. I mean readiness to aid and support any efforts directed toward ending the nuclear arms race and, in the first place, preventing the use of nuclear weapons.

I am convinced that the governments that are really concerned to preserve peace, governments that have the support of the people and have accumulated vast experience in the struggle for disarmament will be able to avert this danger to the world. I am speaking not of a regional but of a global threat, of the threat to the entire human race.

Q. What would you say are the prospects for the UN's activity in preventing a nuclear war?

A. The prevention of nuclear war remains the unique challenge of our time, since such a war would be the ultimate negation of all human endeavor. The key to its solution is in the hands of the two major nuclear powers. The situation could well become virtually irreversible if the establishment of viable methods of arms limitation is jeopardized by the development of new weapons systems, and if either side, in search of military advantage, deploys strategic weapons that suggest an attempt to reach out for first-strike capability. Currently, perhaps even more acute is the problem of intermediate-range missiles.

Beyond all this there looms the longer-term prospect of the militarization of outer space and the computerization and automation of warfare, which could eventually escape political control altogether.

I would strongly urge that comprehensive negotiations should begin at an early date on a peaceful regime for outer space. I welcome recent suggestions to deal with this problem.

Furthermore, I would urge a renewed effort to conclude negotiations on a comprehensive nuclear-weapon test ban. This would significantly help to halt the nuclear arms race by impeding the qualitative improvement of nuclear weapons.

Q. You have spoken of the threat from the nuclear arms race. But the stockpiling of conventional weapons is continuing in the world.

A. The situation relating to conventional arms is a source of increasing concern. It is necessary to bear in mind that the many millions killed in war since Hiroshima and Nagasaki have all died from conventional weapons. The world's developing countries feel obliged to spend an increasing proportion of their resources for defense purposes, often to the detriment of essential needs. It is of course the right and duty of all nations to provide for their self-defense. But unresolved disputes tend to provoke regional arms races.

Q. How, in your opinion, could the UN and its specialized agencies be made more effective in order to root more firmly in international life the UN Charter's principles aimed at consolidating peace, international security, and cooperation among all nations?

A. When we consider how to improve the performance of the United Nations we must give priority to the cohesion and cooperation of the membership in facing threats to international peace. We should recognize that such threats are of an importance which should override the differences of interest and ideology which separate the membership.

We are at present in a period when the value of multilateral diplomacy is being questioned and international institutions are not functioning as they were intended to function. The machinery is running and the wheels are turning, but it is not moving forward as it should. This

applies to the United Nations and, in different degrees, to regional organizations and to many international agencies and groupings.

We must find the means to push the machinery into forward motion again. If we do not do this, we run the risk of being caught, immobile and in the open, in a new international storm too great for us to weather. In the final analysis, humanity may have to pay dearly for ignoring the lessons of history.

Q. Today, as never before, the world stands in need of a solution of the security problem. What, in your view, is the way to that solution?

A. Let me here point to a source of real encouragement. The Chairman of the Seventh Non-Aligned Summit Conference, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India, proposed that the United Nations should be strengthened by a meeting of heads of state or government to give a fresh collective look at some of the major problems of the world. At this critical time in human relations it is encouraging that the non-aligned movement has spoken as a protagonist of the multilateral approach and of the purposes and principles of the UN Charter. Nor is such a view by any means limited to the non-aligned movement. In meetings with many leaders throughout the world I have been impressed by the evident desire to see the United Nations function in the manner in which it was intended to function.

It is therefore paradoxical that we should be experiencing, I trust only temporarily, the fragmentation and erosion of the historic efforts to build an international system designed to provide peace, security, stability and justice for all. Although in the short term the world may get by without such a system, it will have to be built in the long term to enable us to avoid chaos and disaster on a scale hitherto unknown. It is absolutely vital that we should in short order reverse the current trend toward renunciation of many agreements reached by hard and painstaking negotiation over the years. We should strengthen our international institutions not only in order to deal with immediate conflict problems but also to reinforce the foundation for the life of future generations.

As I have already said, my faith in the common sense of statesmen has not been shaken. Let them sit down as soon as possible at the negotiating table and discuss all the problems affecting the United Nations. A particularly important problem that has to be resolved is to end the arms race, the nuclear arms race in the first place. And in so doing it would be good if they constantly bore in mind not only immediate but also long-term problems affecting the destiny of the human race.

Q. What is your assessment of the mass public movements and non-governmental organizations working to remove the threat of war?

A. That is a good question. I have had occasion to confess my "infidelity" to the governments of UN member states. The thing is that I have constant contact with non-governmental organizations. Although, of course, the UN unites the countries represented in it officially, I feel I have to be closer to the people, for the popular will is the sole legitimate source of power in any country.

It is important that public opinion should support the United Nations in the struggle for peace, against the deployment of nuclear weapons, against war in all its forms and, above all, against nuclear war. I am speaking of an aspiration that is even not so much political as moral and ethical: the destruction of nuclear armaments and the use of nuclear energy exclusively for peaceful purposes, for the good of all humankind. The entire accumulated nuclear potential designed for destruction should be directed toward construction. With the aid of nuclear energy we would resolve many of the various problems I have mentioned.

So far the accumulated energy of the atom is stored in military arsenals in Europe and other parts of the world. It is a wasteful use of this discovery virtually jeopardizing the very existence of humanity. Instead of promoting the prosperity of people its present designation is to sow death.

World public opinion is increasingly reacting against the constant threat of extinction hanging over humanity. Despite our vaunted advances in science and human knowledge we cannot even assure our children of their future. In this context, I urge all UN members to give full support to the World Disarmament Campaign of the United Nations, which was launched at the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament.

1. By the "Afghan question" democratic opinion means the settlement of the situation over Afghanistan with the internal affairs of that country being the exclusive province of its government. — *Ed.*

2. Javier Perez de Cuellar is a Peruvian. — *Ed.*

3. This is reference to the peace initiatives of the group of four nations — Mexico, Panama, Colombia, and Venezuela — which took its name from the Panamanian island of Contadora, where their foreign ministers first met in January 1983. — *Ed.*

4. This resolution is discussed in some detail in this issue — Sam Nujoma, "Fighting in a Besieged Garrison. — *Ed.*

OUR COMMON CAUSE

Luis Prieto Figueroa
Presidium member,
World Peace Council,
Chairman,
People's Electoral Movement (Venezuela)

Luis Prieto Figueroa, a writer and educator prominent in Venezuelan public life, devotes much energy to the struggle for peace on our planet, calling on Latin American and world opinion to unite in the face of the threat of a nuclear catastrophe. He has played an active role in major international actions against the war danger, including the World Assembly for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War (Prague, 1983).

In compliance with a request of *WMR*, Prieto Figueroa comments below on some aspects and problems of the peace movement in Latin America.

No one can afford to be indifferent to the issue of war and peace, for never before has humanity been so close to the abyss as today. In the United States they are talking openly about the possibility of a "limited" nuclear war even though any reasonably informed person realizes that such a war is inadmissible because its beginning would inevitably become the prelude to the end of all civilization. The madmen planning the destruction of life on earth must be stopped before it is too late. This is our common cause.

Thinking of the future

Leaving aside all my other posts and titles, I wish to stress that I am primarily an educator. As such I am deeply convinced that people should be encouraged from childhood to strive for peace. However, this is no easy matter in our schools, for the warlike atmosphere dominating certain sections of contemporary society — an atmosphere that may be said to verge occasionally on hysteria — has a disastrous impact on youth. Though fomented outside school, it penetrates unavoidably into it. This atmosphere tells on the education provided by teachers, no matter how sound it is.

The need for a new kind of school is a recurrent theme nowadays. What is meant is a complete restructuring with a view to educating children as peace supporters. Yet it should be perfectly clear that to foster a desire for peace among members of the rising generation, we must have teachers championing peace, create favorable conditions in the family and help all men and women realize the *need* to live in peace and to build it. It is certainly impossible to achieve this without evolving new concepts that would alter the thinking of both teachers and parents, to say nothing of children. The problem is essentially one of a different approach to life in general.

It may be argued that this is wishful thinking, for people cannot be rid of their inborn desire for struggle. I do not agree. True, people are occasionally dominated by an instinct for struggle. Nevertheless, we can and must direct this potential toward creating the conditions for a peaceful and none but peaceful life. I have set out my ideas on this score in *Psychology and Channeling the Instinct for Struggle*. The book deals with the possibility of using the energy of this subconscious urge of man as an instrument of creative effort, of building a new society and educating people in the spirit of peaceful coexistence regardless of distinctions in world view and creative effort.

A two-fold task

We Latin Americans see the struggle for peace as also a struggle for national liberation. Why? Because an alien ideology — one of destruction and domination — is pressing our peoples from the north. It is being imposed by the monopolized media and transnational companies which plunder us, breeding poverty, poisoning the climate needed for peaceful coexistence, undermining solidarity among nations and dividing them.

This is confirmed in Nicaragua, Guatemala and above all El Salvador, where a bloody fight has been going on for half a century. A handful of Salvadoran oligarchs has taken possession of all riches and doomed the people to privations and suffering. In 1932 the Salvadorans rose in revolt but were brutally put down. Farabundo Marti, whose name is borne by the patriotic front, was killed along with 32,000 peasants. And now El Salvador is a scene of bloodshed once more. It has become a victim of new massive repression, which is being meted out with the aid of U.S. arms, money and instructors. But in spite of this "aid," of punitive operations and the dollars, planes and guns steadily pouring in from the United States, the people of El Salvador are confident of victory.

The U.S. President claims that El Salvador is closer to vitally important areas of his country than some distant states of the Union. This is used as a pretext for intervention. Speaking generally, Washington looks on our America as its "backyard" which it must "defend" with arms.

Surely not a single enlightened Latin American — whether a communist, a socialist, or a

liberal — can reconcile himself to this. What matters in this case is not party allegiance but purely human sentiments, which prompt us to fight in common.

Latin America in general and Venezuela in particular are an object of constant intervention. My compatriots are quiet people who want to live in peace. But we are not allowed to do so. We are deprived of peace and goaded into war, especially by the reactionary press and other media. Venezuelans have no choice but to resist what is, in effect, refined forms of aggression from without.

The geographical situation of my country, which lies at the gateway to the Caribbean, is most advantageous. Venezuela is sparsely populated but rich in minerals. Our people have been fighting for a free society throughout their history. They have no territorial ambitions and have never wanted to seize other countries or to bring them under their sway. True, we have differences with Guyana inherited from the colonial past. There are also some border disputes with Colombia but talks are going on in search of mutually acceptable solutions. Colombia and Venezuela are two fraternal countries freed from Spanish colonial rule by one and the same army.[1] That army fought for the freedom of all Latin American countries. It was for this great goal that its soldiers shed their blood and gave their lives. When they came home they brought nothing but the dust that had settled on their puttees.

In this century Venezuela, which abounds in oil and other minerals, has come to be coveted by transnational companies. Defending our patrimony, we nationalized iron ore in 1975 and oil in 1976 but this brought us no prosperity, for we failed to take advantage of our own wealth. However, this is a different matter, a domestic problem which has prompted the Left to come out against the oligarchy in a struggle that has a long-standing tradition all over Latin America.

Difficulties and problems

The main difficulties involved in uniting the peace movement in Latin America are due to external causes. War, aggression and hostility between nations and people on our continent are brought in from without (and will be for as long as we are divided.). War, aggression and hostility are what enables imperialism to maintain its domination. This is why my party, the People's Electoral Movement — Socialist Party of Venezuela, advocates unity based on common interests, mutual respect and confidence in the destiny of the republic. We are also fighting for power. This is an arduous path. Despite efforts over 15 years, the Left has been unable to unite, to nominate a common presidential candidate, to take advantage of the offered opportunities. Yet we know full well that unity alone can help advance to power if not to victory.

Peace is not only a beautiful word but first and foremost a frame of mind, a manner of behavior. I have said that the United States blocks the formation of a peace movement covering the whole of Latin America. Imperialism has a stake in our peoples' continued disunity. It does not want peace to become the chief aspiration of Latin American countries and so keeps up conflicts between individuals, groups and nations. The Romans used to say, "divide and rule." The U.S. approach is similar. The Romans also said, "If you wish peace, prepare for war." We Latin Americans sincerely want peace and are of the opinion that this does not at all necessitate war preparations, that it is important to fight for peace and create the prerequisites for this. But for as long as Latin America is ruled by a small oligarchic group (a mere three or four per cent of the population) which has usurped the wealth of our countries to the detriment of the overwhelming majority, of the working people, who live in straitened circumstances, suffering poverty and privations and having no opportunity to develop, the struggle for peace on our continent will also be a struggle for national liberation and for the removal of the causes of poverty and want, against denying civil rights to the majority of our peoples. These are our guiding objectives. As Chairman of the People's Electoral Movement — Socialist Party of Venezuela, I am certain that it is wrong to deny any people (in the interest of alleged social harmony) their legitimate right to fight for liberation, which in no way contradicts peace and is, indeed, a prerequisite for winning it.

Imperative need

And now for what I consider an important matter, namely, the possibility of cooperation among Marxists both within the international communist movement and among social democrats.

I believe the time has come for closer ties between communists and social democrats, between their groups and parties, which share influence on the working class. In the past they marched together more than once and agree on many points. Life demands that there be still more points of agreement in the interest of cooperation leading to the liberation of humanity, to world peace.

Communism is still being used as a terrifying specter. When Reagan talks about communist

dominance in Latin America and the need to end it, he is trying to secure freedom of action in order to go on plundering our continent and enriching himself and his likes at the expense of the peoples held down by U.S. imperialism.

The formation of social democracy is rightly associated with Marx's name. But in the course of the struggle that unfolded in Europe, parties committed to it stopped advancing to socialist construction. Now is the time for the social democrats to return to positions bringing them closer to the communist parties and enabling them to join in the struggle against the reactionary forces in control of many parts of the planet.

The peace movement is easier to promote in Europe, which has been the victim of a number of wars. As for us, we have experienced neither a world war, nor major inter-American conflicts. However, the peoples of our continent have been engaged in a continuous struggle against oppression and imperialism. This reminds me of the "Letter from Jamaica," which Simon Bolivar,[2] our Liberator, wrote in 1815, stressing the North American "brothers" indifference to the struggle for independence which the people of Venezuela and other Latin American countries were carrying on. Somewhat later he stated that nature itself seemed to have predestined the United States to spread poverty in America. Today, many years after, we realize that even as far back as the period of formation and development of the USA, Bolivar sensed the danger posed by that mighty power. This is why in 1826 he convened the Panama Congress, which did not provide for U.S. participation but was attended by a U.S. observer against the Liberator's will.

The congress was a milestone in the history of our nations. Recalling it today, we are fighting for closer ties among them and have brought into being the Andean Pact,[3] which includes Venezuela; somewhat earlier we took steps to unite all our countries in the Latin American Free Trade Association. We consider that this kind of socio-economic integration will subsequently make it possible to solve political problems by joint efforts.

Summing up, I would like to stress again that the peace movement in Latin America can succeed only if coupled with the national liberation struggle.

Join efforts

The nuclear threat affects the whole of humankind today. This makes us all think about the fact that U.S. missiles are threatening the European socialist countries from the territory of Western Europe. For their part, these countries have deployed on their territory missiles targeted on Western Europe. The Soviet Union has solemnly declared that it will not strike a nuclear missile blow first. We know, however, that it will be compelled to return such a blow. Yet nuclear war means the annihilation of humankind.

Europe is the cradle of civilization, the continent that the peoples of the world look to with hope. And this explains why we are concerned about the presence of missiles in both the West and the East. It is in the interest of all of us that atomic arms never be used. Let no one ever push the button launching a missile or any other nuclear weapon! We should all join efforts and declare a universal peace crusade against atomic aggression, giving this old concept of crusade a new meaning. In the past, crusaders used the idea of spreading religion as a pretext for plunder and the conquest of new territories. Our crusade, however, will pursue lofty and noble aims. It will be prompted by the desire to stave off a global evil, the threat of destroying civilization.

1. The reference is to the liberation army that fought against Spanish colonial tyranny during the War of Independence (1810-1826). — *Ed.*

2. Simon Bolivar (1783-1830), soldier and statesman, one of the leaders of the War of Indepencence fought by the Spanish colonies in America. — *Ed.*

3. Subregional economic alignment comprising Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela. — *Ed.*

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Fighting in a besieged garrison

Sam Nujoma
President,
South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO)

For the last 17 years our people have been fighting with arms in hand. The struggle for the liberation of Namibia is a vital cause of the Namibian people. We don't expect that other people will bring about our freedom — it's up to us to win it. Under the leadership of SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, major victories have been scored on the military, political and diplomatic fronts. The guerrilla forces with the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN), the military wing of SWAPO, are battling with the racist colonial South African troops. We have been fighting in the north-western, northern and north-eastern regions of the country and are expanding our military operations toward the central and southern regions. There is no doubt that the people of Namibia will soon achieve freedom in the same manner as it was achieved by our brothers in Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe.

Ours is, in fact, a fight for a peaceful future. In struggling to liberate ourselves, that is, the majority of Africans in Namibia, who are oppressed by the white racist minority, we do believe that peace will come to Namibia only when independence sets in on our soil, when all people of different races come to live in equality and peace. Our struggle is a contribution to international peace. It is closely linked with the liberation struggle of other peoples of Southern Africa, of our continent as a whole, with the struggle of all progressive forces of the planet to eliminate colonialism, imperialism and fascism and prevent a new world war and the destruction of humankind in a nuclear holocaust.

With the desperation of the doomed, the racists have mounted a military campaign against independent African states neighboring on Namibia. Aggression has been extended to Angola. Ever since 1981, racist South African troops have been carrying out massive incursions into it, with the result that part of Angolan territory is under occupation. The racists launch recurrent air raids on the Kingdom of Lesotho, claiming that Maseru, its capital, is a "military base" of the ANC. One wonders how a base of this kind can be in a capital. The actual cause of aggression is that Lesotho has firmly rejected Pretoria's attempts to level it with the packet of Bantustans already there, such as Transkei. Mozambique, Zimbabwe and more remote countries of Africa have been singled out as further targets for subversion and destabilization. The 1982 aggression against the Seychelles was a case in point.

With respect to occupied Namibia, the apartheid regime has shown every sign that it has no intention whatsoever of accepting a fair settlement of the problem. Some time ago, using the so-called lack of impartiality on the part of the UN, as a smokescreen to block the implementation of the UN plan for Namibia's independence,[1] Pretoria embraced Washington's "linkage" demand.[2] Despite the fact that it was forced to reckon with the idea of Namibia's independence, its rulers have not abandoned their traditional ambition to keep Namibia as a colony or a neocolony of the white settlers. Their entire policy is evidence of this.

Namibia has been turned into a vast besieged garrison, with large parts of the country transformed into a permanent war zone. Pretoria's massive military presence serves as a key factor in perpetuating its racist control over Namibia to keep it as the last buffer between the racist citadel and the independent African states to the north. The apartheid regime has deployed more than 100,000 of its troops throughout Namibia and established 75 major military bases and numerous camps which are articulated throughout the length and breadth of the northern areas of our land. Racist troops, mercenaries from capitalist Europe and the USA as well as from some reactionary Latin American countries are brought into Namibia by train, by road, by sea and by air.

There is a general arming of all whites in Namibia. Every white male between the age of 18 and 30 is required by law to perform two years of national service in the army of occupation. This is followed by 240 days' service in the so-called Citizen Force, which includes

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This publication is based on an interview with Sam Nujoma by *WMR*.

white women. Many young people are called up for an indefinite period of time.

Black Namibians have been drawn into the militarization process by the army of occupation against their will. In January 1981 compulsory military service was introduced for all Black male youth. Incorporated into the racist military machine due to economic necessity or under pressure, they are deployed in one or another of the tribally-based paramilitary units known as Home Guards or in the so-called South West Africa Territory Force. These units have become notorious for atrocities and killings and are used to terrorize the local population. The racists have also created special neonazi murder squads known as *Koevoet*. They are similar to Hitler's SS units. They break into people's houses after midnight, kill them on the spot or drag them away, and then these people are nowhere to be traced.

Another dimension of the racist regime's militarization policy has been the creation of so-called "protected villages" and the "fortification of towns," especially in the northern areas of the country. As was the case with "strategic villages" during the American war in Vietnam and with Smith's Rhodesia, the chief aim is to try to isolate our guerrilla combatants from the mass of the people and to establish the racists' total control over our oppressed people. Nearly every town in areas like Kaokoveld in the north-west and Okavango in the north-east of Namibia is a military base surrounded by watch-towers with machine-guns, which dominate the skyline around these towns.

So the situation in Namibia is critical, people are losing their lives every day. This has been confirmed by a special investigating team set up by the Southern Africa Catholic Bishop Conference. Cases of terror against civilians have also been reported by French, Namibian and South African journalists who visited the north of the country. Many comrades are known to be in concentration camps, some at the infamous Robben Island camp, along with outstanding South African patriots. A cruel lot is in store for prisoners. Namibian freedom fighters who are captured or wounded in battle are not treated as prisoners of war. Yet SWAPO patriots when they capture racist South African soldiers normally treat them as prisoners of war in accordance with the Geneva Convention.

Pretoria has been trying to convince all the white settlers to support its criminal policy. However, many whites see the liberation movement as the road to freedom and equality for Namibians. Our struggle is supported by members of the Catholic Church, the Anglican Church, the Lutheran Protestant Church. It is only the Dutch Reformed Church, one of the main pillars of the neonazi regime of the Nationalist Party, that justifies arbitrary rule, the oppression of the Black majority by the white minority in Namibia and in South Africa itself.

In the past the racist regime of South Africa formed the so-called Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) of puppets handpicked from each ethnic grouping and assigned it the role of a political party. Afterwards a similar "National Assembly" was set up which included DTA leaders, and still later, a so-called Ministers' Council. The racists gave the "Council" members long robes, new suits and black cars for them to believe that they really were Ministers.

The main aim of creating puppet political entities and institutions was to rally the indigenous African population to the support of the policy of permanently dividing Namibia on ethnic lines by setting up Bantustans as in South Africa and so denying the people genuine freedom and independence. If this aim were achieved (that is the racists gaining the support of the majority), Pretoria — in case it agreed to elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations — would certainly create a regime serving the interests of the white minority, the imperialists and transnational corporations. But its plan failed. Early in 1983 the DTA and the "National Assembly"[3] collapsed. Neither the presence of the racist army, nor the security forces armed to the teeth were able to save them.

It must be stressed that what has happened is a collapse of puppet neocolonial institutions and plans for "Bantustanizing" Namibia, a collapse made possible by the intensification of SWAPO's armed liberation struggle and political work among the population. The handful of traitors who put themselves at the service of the occupation authorities failed to gain support from the mass of the Namibian people.

In the summer of 1983 the so-called Administrator General, South Africa's agent in Namibia, announced a new scheme to create a "State Council" for the purpose of drawing up a new "constitution" and to hold at a later stage a bogus election in order to approve the so-called constitution. Some puppets agreed at first to participate in the "State Council." One of them was racist Dirk Mudge, who was then "Prime Minister" from the DTA, but when he realized that he was alone, he withdrew also. As for the Namibian masses, they flatly rejected the scheme. And the racists were left with no choice but to appoint the so-called Chief Justice of Transkej and another racist colonial official

from South Africa as Chairman (who must stay in South Africa) and Vice-Chairman, respectively, of the "State Council."

Pretoria's policy enjoys ample economic, political and military support from imperialism, primarily U.S. imperialism. The foreign corporations depleting the wealth of Namibia contribute to the occupying military force in several ways. There are strategic products, primarily oil, supplied to the racist army by them. Some of the corporations have their own security forces that help the occupying army resist SWAPO attacks. The corporations send engineers to Namibia to remove the effects of guerrilla attacks on strategic objectives.

However, the racists and their imperialist patrons are unable to defeat the Namibian people. We have carried out major actions to paralyze the economy controlled by the apartheid regime and its allies. There is no power which can prevent us from scoring the final victory.

We are always ready to cooperate with the UN Secretary General in order to search for ways of implementing Resolution 435 of the Security Council on Namibia's independence. Resolution 532, adopted by the Security Council in the spring of 1983, entrusted the Secretary General with the task of resuming consultations on a ceasefire between SWAPO, which represents the fighting people of Namibia, and the racist occupying army of South Africa. Javier Perez de Cuellar visited South Africa, Namibia and the People's Republic of Angola from August 16 to 26, 1983. He consulted with SWAPO and was given a memorandum by its leadership. During his visit to Namibia the Secretary General was met with a big demonstration in the heart of Windhoek by SWAPO supporters demanding an end to colonial rule.

When he came to Angola we gave him the contents of the same memorandum. SWAPO stated its position, saying that it was ready to sign a ceasefire and also prepared to fully cooperate with the United Nations on both military and civilian issues in order to facilitate the implementation of the resolution on Namibia's independence. However, South Africa again showed its arrogance by ignoring the UN resolution.[4]

The fight goes on none the less. The Namibian people's struggle for independence is backed by the "frontline" states, the whole of independent Africa, the socialist countries and all other progressive forces the world over. No matter what the cost may be, Namibia certainly will be free.

1. In 1978 the UN Security Council adopted a plan for granting Namibia independence (Resolution 435). The plan provides for the transfer of power to a government to be formed as the result of a general election under UN supervision and control. — *Ed.*

2. The attempt to link the issue of granting Namibia independence to the withdrawal from Angola of the Cuban contingent of internationalist combatants who are there at the request of the legitimate government of the PRA to help repulse the South African invaders and counter-revolutionary mercenaries. — *Ed.*

3. The DTA virtually fell apart at the time. The occupation army disbanded the "government" headed by it. — *Ed.*

4. Pretoria did not change its attitude in the least even after trying a number of ploys in Southern Africa at Washington's bidding, with an eye to misleading world opinion. Following a new large-scale act of aggression against Angola (the fourth in a few years), South Africa announced that it was withdrawing its forces from certain southern areas of the country (January 1984) as an "important peace initiative on Namibia." And several weeks later the racists, while continuing to occupy parts of Angolan territory, assumed the posture of "peacemakers" once again by proposing, in violation of the UN plan for Namibia, a "regional conference" with Angola and SWAPO plus the Namibian puppets of South Africa as well as the bandits' organization known as UNITA. Angola and SWAPO exposed Pretoria's new stratagem. The maneuver was also rejected by the other "frontline" states. — *Ed.*

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The flame of Prometheus will not be extinguished

Ali Havari
Leadership member, People's Party of Iran

ANNALS OF COURAGE

Disturbing news comes from Iran almost daily by teletype. The punitive agencies of the Islamic Republic have started savage repression against the nation's democratic, progressive and patriotic forces, chiefly their vanguard — the People's Party of Iran (Tudeh). The regime's propaganda media are going to all lengths to give out lies for the truth and cast aspersions on the Iranian communists.[1] The journal has, in this connection, once again requested Ali Havari to tell readers from his own personal experience about the immense contribution that his party has made to the struggle against the shah's dictatorship and imperialism, for Iran's freedom and independence. We publish the interview.

Q. Would you tell us when and under what circumstances you joined Tudeh and what motivated this commitment?

A. In the history of my people the year 1941 holds a special place. The world was burning in the flames of the Second World War. The heroic Red Army was containing the onslaught of the nazi hordes. The Reza Shah Pahlavi reactionary clique of imperialist puppets made no secret of its sympathy for nazi Germany, which, in turn, accorded Iran a special place in its plans of military gambles, counting on using its economic resources and strategic location against the Soviet Union and Britain. On British initiative British and Soviet troops[2] entered Iran on September 16, 1941 to block fascism's designs and cut short the subversive activities of its agents. This action by the anti-Hitlerite coalition allies was a heavy blow to the police dictatorship of the Shah, who was expelled from Iran. Although the semi-feudal regime[3] remained in power, some possibilities opened up for bourgeois-democratic reforms.

In this situation a group of communists, who had regained their freedom after long imprisonment, united with members of the advanced wing of the working class movement and on October 2, 1941 founded Tudeh.[4] Three months later I was admitted to membership, and this predetermined the further course of my life.

What made me join an organization of people who at the time seemed to me to be so unusual and different from others? Instead of replying, permit me to quote an excerpt from my speech in 1966 before a military tribunal where the prosecutor demanded the death sentence for me and my comrade.

"Like millions of others in Iran I spent my childhood in unrelieved destitution. I saw the poverty, hunger and suffering of the people and could not remain indifferent. What had to be done to ease the lot of disinherited people? This question never left me in peace. There was much I could not understand: why were the destinies of children born in poor and rich families so glaringly dissimilar? What led to the poles of wealth and poverty? Why were some people unable to find unemployment, denied food and medicines, and doomed to die? Why, despite the country's incalculable natural wealth had our people to live in penury?

"It was my good fortune to become acquainted with Tudeh's scientific views. Its program and social ideas were the long-awaited reply to these agonizing questions. For that I joined the party with faith in my heart and a burning desire to liberate the Iranian working people."

These words, spoken by me many years ago, express my creed to this day.

Q. Iranian history over recent decades is closely linked to the struggles of the working class and its vanguard — Tudeh. Would you say a few words about how at different stages and in different situations Tudeh fought for national sovereignty, democracy and social progress?

A. As I have already said, Tudeh was founded when the Second World War was raging. Since then you will not find a single major national event or powerful protest movement that does not bear the imprint of our party's active involvement and influence. The struggle against the Shah's dictatorship, fascism, British colonialism, and Iran's enslavement by an even

stronger vulture, U.S. imperialism, active participation in planning the anti-monarchy, anti-imperialist revolution of 1979, and the defense of the revolution against attacks by external and internal reaction — each of these heroic pages of the history of the Iranian people is linked indivisibly to Tudeh.

I vividly remember how the militarist Shah's regime tried to educate people in a spirit of adherence to fascism. Costly military parades, chauvinistic slogans (such as "We Aryans are for the restoration of the former grandeur of the Persian Empire!"), and the vicious anti-communist hysteria clouded the minds of many Iranians, especially intellectuals from the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois strata.

From the day it was founded, Tudeh joined in the struggle against the brown plague. The communist newspaper *Mardom (The People)*, subsequently Tudeh's central organ, became a rallying center of the anti-fascist movement and played a prominent part in countering the demagogic propaganda and the intentions of those who were out to establish a "new order" on the Hitlerite pattern.

Further. The party correctly pointed out that national sovereignty was being endangered by British imperialism's control of the nation's oil industry and demanded the abrogation of the onerous agreement with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC). The general strike by oilmen of July 1946 headed by Tudeh gave a powerful impetus to the anti-imperialist, democratic movement in Iran and to the mass actions for the restoration of the Iranian people's right to their oil wealth. This movement was successful. On March 20, 1951 the parliament passed a law that nationalized AIOC enterprises. This was a great victory of the working class party, of all the democratic forces, and it had an immense impact on the nation's subsequent political and economic development.

Nobody can deny that in the early 1950s, although its status was only semi-legal, Tudeh became an influential political force that was tangibly influencing the course of the liberation struggle. At crucial moments of the inner-political struggle the heroic actions of advanced sections of working people headed by Tudeh were the main factors that kept the Mossadegh government[5] in power; that government raised the question of nationalizing the country's oil wealth in practical terms. In response to the Shah's attempts to remove Mossadegh from power in July 1952, the Iranian capital seethed with anti-Shah demonstrations led by Tudeh.

The party and the Central United Council of Trade Unions, formed on May 1, 1944 under its direct leadership and representing more than 90 per cent of all organized workers, raised the political level of the working masses and contributed to the conversion of the proletariat into a conscious maker of national history. What arguments to confute this can be given by the gentlemen who today assert that Marxism-Leninism is alien to the Iranian people? Our reply to them is: "Give the Iranians freedom of choice and the world will then see the worth of your inventions."

There was a quick response not only from the workers to the party's slogans calling for the country's democratization and the consolidation of its independence. Tudeh enjoyed considerable prestige among the peasants, hundreds of thousands of whom joined the Peasants' Union formed by Tudeh and also the ranks of the party itself. The largest in Iran's history, Tudeh women's organization and youth league were set up through the efforts of the communists. Many democratic movements, including the Freedom Front (consisting of, among others, patriotic journalists and writers), the United Front of Freedom-Loving Parties, and the United Anti-Colonial Front, all of which were formed on Tudeh initiative, functioned successfully. All these mass public organizations tangibly contributed to national liberation, to the political education of the people, and their enlistment into active public activity. The reactionary forces could not forgive Tudeh for this, either during the Shah's reign or after his overthrow.

One of Tudeh's principal achievements was its consistent struggle against U.S. imperialism and its exposure of the latter as the principal enemy of the Iranian people. In order to erode the positions of the British colonialists and win the disposition of Iranians, U.S. imperialism acted for a long time in Iran behind the mask of an advocate of democracy and humanism. Much effort was required to show the real face of this wolf who had donned sheep's clothing. But our party successfully resolved this important revolutionary problem, although the struggle cost the lives of hundreds of its finest sons and daughters. This is yet another reason for the violence directed against the communists today.

Nobody can deny that Tudeh played an immense role in promoting the general cultural level of the people. Hundreds of Tudeh's newspapers and journals, and theoretical, socio-political, historical and philosophical works educated Iranians in the spirit of patriotism, internationalism, love of freedom and friendship with other peoples. I should like to mention just one fact illustrative of the monstrous crimes committed by reaction. It recently

got coverage in the media. It is that reactionary elements in the Islamic Republic destroyed 13 fundamental manuscripts written over several decades by Ehsan Tabari, eminent philosopher, historian, poet and scientist, and Political Bureau member and Secretary of the Tudeh Central Committee. Tabari himself has been in prison for a year and is being tortured by Iranian secret police.

What reaction and imperialism fear is that the working masses will learn the truth. For that reason they always resort to repression, torture, lies and deceit. It is not by chance that an influential official of the present Islamic regime has called the assault on Tudeh a "victory more important than victory on the battle front."

But I am quite confident that despite all the medieval repression, reaction will never extinguish the flame brought by our people's Prometheus — Tudeh — a flame so vital to the Iranians in their struggle for full national liberation, democracy and social progress.

Q. Whenever internal and external reaction starts repression against Iran's democratic forces, the communists are the first victims of this terror. You worked underground, were in prisons of the Shah's regime for many years, and have been sentenced to death. What helped you to stand firm in this unequal battle?

A. Indeed, of the almost 43 years of its existence the party has in fact had to function illegally for 33 years. During these years Tudeh sought to keep intact and, where possible, strengthen its position among the people. My militant comrades-in-arms — professional revolutionaries who worked underground — were the bridge linking Tudeh with the working people. They had to be not only boundlessly devoted to Marxism-Leninism but also able to dissolve, so to speak, among the people, to be vigilant, self-disciplined, in full self-control in the most extreme circumstances and, if necessary, ready to lay down their lives for the party and the people. I feel it is my revolutionary duty to name some of our heroes who died at the hands of the Shah's butchers.

Comrade Vartan was seized by SAVAK agents. He was ferociously tortured to give the location of a secret printshop, but at the price of his own life he defended the party's principles and his honor as a communist. He is no longer with us, but his name is written in gold letters on the party's banner.

Khosrov Rouzbeh, national hero of Iran and Tudeh CC member, flung at his judges; "My eyes, possibly, will not see socialism triumph in Iran, but I am quite positive that times will soon change . . . All my actions were motivated exclusively by the desire to see a new Iranian society that will bring happiness, dignity, prosperity and freedom to the Iranian people." Khosrov Rouzbeh was executed by firing squad on May 11, 1958.

Siamak, Tazabi, and Hekmatdju are among the hundreds upon hundreds of communist heroes who fell unvanquished in the struggle for their country's freedom. To this day thousands of Tudeh members are staunchly standing by the ideas of communism in Iranian prisons.

The party steeled us and helped to hold out in the unequal confrontation with SAVAK. A group of four, of which I was one, was engaged in work customary in underground conditions — we issued leaflets, circulated the party newspaper, organized actions by workers and students, and set up party cells. But the police eventually got on our track. A new stage of struggle began for us — in a SAVAK prison, where they tried to force us into betrayal, make us renounce our convictions and divulge party secrets. I and my friend Parviz Hekmatdju, a former pilot (both of us were Tudeh CC members), were kept in solitary confinement for long years and sentenced to death twice. Two of my comrades died under torture.

At the "trial" we declared, defending our party's honor:

"Mr. Chairman of the tribunal. Holding the threat of death over our heads you demand that we renounce our patriotic and humanist convictions. We are spelling this out clearly: go ahead and hang us!"

We did not know that at the time this trial was held, communists and democrats in many countries were protesting against this lawlessness. Years passed, and it was only before my release from prison during the days of the revolution that I learned what had stayed the hand of the killers two days before I was to be executed. It was a powerful solidarity movement, an expression of which was a telegram from the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

The course of history has its own laws. The sentences it passes are strict and accurate, although in the dungeons where revolutionaries are tortured and where one hears the swish of whips it seems that time has stopped. But the wheel of history cannot be stopped with whips and dungeons.

Some months after my arrest, when I was being interrogated and tortured, I had a visitor in my solitary cell. He was the butcher General Nasiri, chief of Savak, accompanied by some colonels and the prison warden. He said to me through gritted teeth:

"You wanted a Red Iran, an Iran of the hammer and sickle?"

"A free and flourishing Iran," I replied.

Turning to the prison warden, Nasiri asked: "Has he said everything?"

"No," the jailer replied, "he is a fanatic communist."

Nasiri ordered that I should be tortured until the police got what it wanted. It does not matter now how long the torture went on, the important thing is what took place 15 years later, at the commencement of the revolutionary events of 1978.

In the hope of saving his throne, the Shah had to sacrifice some of his servitors. He ordered the arrest of General Nasiri. On the day that the people stormed the prison, the general aided by jailers tried to escape from the punishment he deserved. But one of our comrades recognized Nasiri in the crowd and turned him over to the revolutionary guard. At his trial the general, shivering from head to toe, swore that he knew nothing about the torture of prisoners. But he did not escape the punishment he deserved: he was sentenced to death and executed.

In those faraway years, when, with his chest glittering with decorations, the SAVAK chief threatened me with death I could not, of course, foresee that the revolution would free patriots from prison and put rabid reactionaries in their place. But as a communist knowing the history of my own and other peoples I believed that justice would eventually triumph.

Regrettably, much of what we have lived through is now repeating itself in Iran. For more than a year now representatives of "divine justice" in the Islamic Republic have been persecuting patriots in flagrant violation of the law. Fiendish torture, "confessions" wrung under duress, and charges of subversion and espionage — all this is a facsimile of the Shah's farces with the difference that while in those days people were killed under the facade of the "law," today they are being killed in the name of Allah. This is not harassment of the opposition. It is genocide against all differently-minded people.

As I am writing these words, Iran's repressive agencies have committed yet another odious crime. The trials in which 87 persons were sentenced to a total of 700 years of imprisonment and the death sentence passed on 10 Tudeh members and put into effect, are totally at variance with the country's legislation and universally recognized norms of international law.

The high-minded persons so savagely executed, says a statement issued in this connection by the Tudeh Central Committee, have throughout their glorious lives fought for freedom and national independence, for the emancipation of the oppressed. At the shameless mock trial, all emphatically rejected as unfounded and absurd charges of espionage and treason, declaring that their participation in political struggle was motivated solely by their striving to defend the revolution's gains which met the interests of the people. One of them, Farzad Djahad, who was sentended to death and shot, said at the trial: "We unknown soldiers of the revolution saw our hope in the republic, dreaming that our children would be happy and free, and for that reason we defended the republic. I do not ask for leniency and will not give up my convictions."

Repression against Tudeh, which is the most experienced and active champion of the working people's interests, has been started when Iran is going through one of the hardest periods of its history, when society is facing enormous socio-economic difficulties, and the country stands before an open threat of military aggression by U.S. imperialism. Simultaneously, the statement declares, there has been an intensification of the propaganda campaign against the Soviet Union, which is the most powerful bulwark of the world's progressive forces. What all this means is actually the creation of favorable soil for counter-revolution and the restoration in the country of the positions held by imperialism headed by the U.S. imperialists.

The medieval repression levelled at Tudeh leaders, members and supporters has evoked protests from communist and workers' parties and other democratic and progressive forces, from people of good will throughout the world. Tudeh is grateful to them for their fraternal solidarity. We are convinced that the powerful and steadily growing protest by world opinion will help to tie the bloodstained hands of these 20th-century inquisitors. The just cause of the party will triumph in spite of all repression and the repulsive intrigues of reaction and imperialism.

1. See Ali Havari, "Torturing the Party to Tear Up the Revolution," *WMR*, No. 3, 1984.
2. The Soviet Union acted in accordance with the terms of the Soviet-Iranian treaty of 1921.
3. After Reza Shah Pahlavi abdicated, his son Muhammed Reza Pahlavi ascended to the Iranian throne — *Ed.*
4. Tudeh is the heir and continuer of the work of the Iranian Communist Party, which was founded in 1920 and outlawed in 1931. — *Ed.*
5. Muhammed Mossadegh was Prime Minister of Iran from April 1951 to August 1953. He represented the Iranian national bourgeoisie and advocated the nationalization of the oil industry — *Ed.*

New experience

DOCUMENTS

USA: COMMUNIST PLATFORM

At a convention in January 1984 the Communist Party of the USA nominated its Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates* for the upcoming elections and adopted its election platform.

This document, which sharply criticizes the Reagan administration, stresses the vital need for a 180 degree turnaround notably in foreign policy — from confrontation and military aggression to peaceful coexistence, negotiations, and the reduction of stockpiles of nuclear weapons. It is only such a turn that can save peace and lead to a significant cutback of the military budget and an easing of international tension.

The communists point out that there can be no real, sustained economic recovery for working and poor people without a 180 degree turn in policies from the anti-labor, anti-people, racist economic policies of the present administration. In this context, the platform proposes the public takeover and nationalization of basic industries such as steel, auto, railroads, utilities, airlines, and the whole energy complex — oil, gas, coal and nuclear.

In the social sphere the CPUSA declares that it will advocate and fight for a program that will guarantee a job for all who need one; a program of reconstruction of the nation's infrastructure, its crumbling cities, its mass transit systems, bridges, water and sewer systems, a program that will replace the slums with decent, livable, affordable housing; a comprehensive, free medical plan for everyone; free colleges and vocational training schools.

The platform spells out some ways and means for generating funds for these refor. First, a five-year moratorium on the interest the government pays on the national debt to the banks; this would make 600 billion dollars available. Second, a 50 per cent cut of the military budget that in five years would save 750 billion dollars. Third, the revoking of Reagan's giveaway corporate tax breaks, which would in five years yield 500 billion dollars.

At the convention it was declared that the Communist Party and its candidates would do everything to bring their platform to the notice of millions of Americans and mobilize voters for the basic task of defeating Reaganism.

*General Secretary Gus Hall and CC member Angela Davis respectively. — *Ed.*

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESS

VANGUARD IN THE MAKING

Ethiopian Herald

In its analysis of the work that has been accomplished by the Commission for Organizing the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia (COPWE), this newspaper writes that much has been done to spread Marxist-Leninist theory among the people. Many public organizations have been reinforced with the help of the Commission. As a result, the conditions have been created for the formation of a vanguard party of the working class.

The COPWE attaches fundamental significance to promoting relations with the fraternal parties of the socialist community countries. It sees proletarian internationalism as one of the mainsprings of its strength. The building in Ethiopia of the foundations of a socialist society can only be headed by a party guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the *Ethiopian Herald* notes.

FOR EFFECTIVE ORAL PROPAGANDA

El Militante Comunista

This journal of the Cuban communists comments on the scientific-practical symposium that was held in Havana on the subject: "Oral Propaganda and Agitation as an Effective Instrument of Political Leadership and the Education and Mobilization of the People."

One of the main conclusions drawn at the symposium and espoused by party organizations throughout the country, the journal writes, is that propagandists and agitators have to be properly trained. Those assigned to this sector of ideological work have to know the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism and have the skill to talk persuasively to people and constantly to learn the art of addressing the people.

Taking the experience of the CPSU and other fraternal parties into account, the possibilities are being studied of forming political information groups in the primary organizations of the CPC. A helpful step toward making oral propaganda more effective was the opening of a House of Political Education in the town of

Camaguey. This example, the journal writes, can and should be followed in other provinces.

THE STORY BEHIND THE FACT

JOSE LUIS MASSERA IS FREE

José Luis Massera, outstanding leader of the Communist Party of Uruguay, prominent political personality, and an academic of international standing, was released from prison on March 3 of this year after nine years of penal servitude. The CPU Central Committee issued a special statement on Massera's release, which was enthusiastically welcomed by Uruguayan democrats and by world progressive opinion.

How Massera's release was obtained is related by Samuel Behak, representative of the Communist Party of Uruguay on the *WMR's* Editorial Council.

From the early hours of Sunday March 4 and for many days after, an unending stream of people called on Massera's home in Montevideo. Leaders of the Broad Front and of democratic wings of traditional parties, battle-steeled activists of the working class movement, cultural personalities and youth representatives came to congratulate Massera personally. Academics and political leaders, Massera's long-time colleagues, and all who had participated in one way or another in the campaign to save the life of this patriot telephoned from many cities in Latin America, North America and Europe.

Massera has strong ties in and outside Uruguay. He was one of the founders of the Higher Mathematics Institute in Montevideo and of the Uruguayan Association for the Advancement of Science. He is a member of the American Mathematical Society and the Mathematical Union of Argentina. He has delivered papers at academic congresses in New York, New Orleans, Amsterdam, Prague, Moscow, Bucharest, Jerusalem, Varenna, Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires, Caracas and Mexico City, published over 40 scientific books and contributed to 200 monographs.

José Luis Massera is a serious Marxist researcher and a militant political fighter. He helped to form the anti-nazi front and then the peace movement in Uruguay. He has been a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay since 1945. Between 1963 and 1972 he was a deputy to the Uruguayan parliament. He helped to draw up the program on whose basis the Broad Front was formed. This is an association of democratic and patriotic forces of Uruguay.

Massera was arrested at dawn on October 23, 1975. At the time the fascist command of the armed forces had started putting into effect an operational plan it had laid long in advance. The objective was to destroy the Communist Party physically, start a reign of terror against democratic forces, and split the Broad Front in order to wipe it from the face of the earth. Tens of thousands of patriots were put behind bars and thousands of communists went through torture chambers. Not all survived the physical and psychological brutality — a mixture of pathological sadism and refined "modern" methods of torture. Many courageous men and women died in the torture chambers or later as a consequence of the torture. Massera, too, went through suffering and torture.

Some years after his arrest, in 1979, the authorities organized a farce of a trial. Massera was charged with heading the "party's clandestine apparatus," setting up a "subversive association," and "infringing upon the honor of the armed forces" and sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment. His fellow-prisoners were such outstanding leaders of the popular movement as General Liber Seregni, Jaime Pérez, and many other trade union and political leaders.

In face of the enormous difficulties generated by the dictatorship's fascization of life it was necessary to develop new methods of struggle, tighten unity among the most advanced contingents of the popular resistance, and achieve the closest possible interaction among all the democratic forces. The immediate task was to save the lives of all political prisoners, to extricate them from torture chambers and dungeons.

Reorganizing its ranks and leading organs, the party started a political campaign among the people under the slogan "No Respite to the Dictatorship." It helped to unite all opposition forces and reinvigorate the democratic and working class movements with the objective of deposing the regime.*

Popular actions reached a new high in 1983, beginning with a mammoth workers'demonstration on May Day. The first national day of protest was held in August. On November 27 all the opposition forces called for a demonstration in Montevideo: 400,000 people responded. They demanded full democratization of life in Uruguay.

The movement protesting against the dictatorship continues to gather momentum. There was a general strike on January 18, the first in 10 years of the regime. All the in-

*Samuel Behak, "Uruguayans Are Rejecting the Dictatorship," *WMR*, No. 3, 1984.

dications are that in Uruguay the objective and subjective conditions now exist for the victory of the democratic forces. An indication that there is a new political situation and that the regime is in isolation and decline is that it has had to release its prisoners.

Alberto Altesor, a trade union leader, former MP, and member of the leadership of the Communist Party of Uruguay, was released in July 1983. On October 31, 1983 we were delighted to learn that Rita Ibarburu, a heroic communist journalist, had been released. Even more significant was the release of Massera: early this year his term was reduced to the extent enabling him to obtain his long-awaited freedom.

General Liber Seregni, an eminent political figure and Chairman of the Broad Front, was released from prison on March 19, 1984. This caused an eruption of jubilation throughout the country. Tens of thousands of people gathered in front of his house in the capital, filling nearby squares and streets, giving vent to their joy and speaking of their determination to fight until victory.

The release of Uruguayan political prisoners is also a victory of international solidarity. The communists have always appreciated this solidarity highly. When the repressive apparatus compelled thousands of Uruguayans to go into political exile abroad, they wasted no time in exposing the dictatorship's crimes and calling for the preservation of the lives of political prisoners. They appealed to individual influential personalities and international organizations, trade unions, democratic parties, parliaments and governments.

Committees of solidarity with the fighting Uruguayan people were formed in a number of countries. The first-ever Days of Uruguayan Culture in Exile were organized in Mexico in August 1977. These were attended by cultural personalities and trade unionists from Uruguay and Mexico, and also representatives from other Latin American countries. A Committee of Mathematicians was formed at the time and it appealed to colleagues throughout the world to save Massera. In 1978 the Committee handed the Uruguayan government a petition to release Massera signed by 3,400 mathematicians in 33 countries.

An honorary degree of Doctor of Mathematical Sciences was conferred upon Massera *in absentia* by Rome University in June 1978. Later, analogous degrees were conferred upon him by eight universities in American and European countries. Posts were offered Massera by 200 universities.

Prominent scientists, among whom were Nobel Prize laureates and members of the academies of science of the USA, France and Italy, came repeatedly to Montevideo in an attempt to meet with Massera. To this end they saw representatives of the government, asking them about Massera's condition and health. The International Red Cross joined in the efforts to obtain Massera's release.

Large sections of progressive world public took part in the campaign of solidarity with Massera. In the socialist countries the campaign for his release received constant publicity in the press. Innumerable rallies were held at factories and offices to protest against the inhuman practices of fascist regimes and in defense of Massera and other political prisoners in Latin American states.

In an interview given to the French newspaper *L'Humanité*, Massera declared: "I owe my release to the joint efforts of many people and many organizations in my own country, Uruguay, and throughout the world."

The Uruguayan communists are firmly resolved to continue the campaign for the release of all remaining political prisoners. This is a vital stage on the road to the democratization of our country.

IN BRIEF

BANGLADESH

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bangladesh has passed a resolution on the situation in the country. It expresses support for the program of a bloc of 15 left and democratic parties calling for the lifting of the martial law, the restoration of basic human rights and freedoms, and the earliest possible holding of parliamentary elections. The resolution notes that to achieve these aims the left and democratic forces have to remain united.

BELGIUM

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belgium has issued a communiqué enunciating a new communist initiative on ways and means of ending the economic and financial crisis in the country. In particular, the communists urge the introduction of an additional tax on large fortunes, a determined campaign against the large-scale tax evasion by local monopolies and banks, and the floating of a special state loan.

GREAT BRITAIN

The Communist Party of Great Britain has sent Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher a letter protesting against the continued harassment and baiting of women in the peace camp at Green-

ham Common. In the two and a half years they have been there, the letter states, the Greenham Common women have symbolized the very deep opposition to the Cruise missiles felt by the people of our country.

TUNISIA

The Political Bureau of the Tunisian Communist Party has strongly denounced the anti-democratic policies of the government, which by means of arrests and court trials is seeking to suppress the disaffection of the people and is curbing the freedom of the press. *Attarik Al Djedid*, organ of the Tunisian Communist Party, has been suspended for six months and repressive measures have been taken against the opposition weeklies *Le Maghreb* and *Al Mostaqbal*. All these dangerous actions, the party declared, would only exacerbate the crisis that surfaced with the bread riots in January. The TCP considers that a way out of the tense situation can be found only after "broad consultations with the participation of all political and public organizations."

Unemployment how to cure it?

International Symposium

THE COMMUNISTS AND UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE INDUSTRIALIZED CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

The self-expansion of capital requires a standing industrial reserve army,* so that unemployment is not a new phenomenon of capitalism. However, it has now assumed unprecedented proportions and for almost a decade it has hardly shrunk even in periods of relative economic recoveries. The total number of officially registered "unwanted people" in the industrialized capitalist countries is now much higher than it was during the Great Depression of 1929-1933.

Mass unemployment has become a real scourge in the exploitive society and a source of the gravest social calamities. Politically, it threatens to undermine the gains of the working people in the capitalist world, and causes a mounting frontal offensive by conservatism and reaction against all the forces of democracy and progress. This danger is being compounded by the monopolies' urge to solve the objectively pressing problems of the scientific and technological revolution and the modernization of production on their own terms.

The new situation presents some new problems on whose solution largely depend both the orientation and development of the working class movement in the capitalist world. That being so, an international symposium was held in Athens under the joint auspices of *World Marxist Review* and the CP Greece Central Committee to consider the present state of employment, and to enable the communists to exchange experience in combating the prime social ill in 10 capitalist countries with differing conditions. It was attended by the representatives of the communist parties of Austria, Belgium, Canada, Cyprus, Denmark, the FRG, Great Britain, Greece, Portugal and the United States. Below is a summary of their discussion.

The symposium was opened by *Andonis Ambatielos, CC Political Bureau member, CP Greece*, who said that the struggle against unemployment today was the most serious problem following the main problem faced by humankind as a whole, which is the preservation of peace. Indeed, the two are closely interconnected. One of the reasons for the dramatic situation in the social sphere is that the magnates of capital tend increasingly to channel their investments into the arms industry, which is a source of super-profits. The monopolies have been using and simultaneously whipping up the unbridled arms race unleashed by the militaristic circles of the United States and the NATO bloc.

These imperialist forces seek to undermine and eventually to destroy world socialism, which — in contrast to the crisis-ridden West — has continued successfully to solve its prob-

*See Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1969, p. 643.

lems and to score fresh successes. The militarists, the Reagan administration in the first place, are blinded by their anti-Sovietism and anti-communism, and are trying by every possible means to destroy the atmosphere of international détente, an atmosphere which it took so much effort to create. More than ever before in the past, imperialism has pushed humankind to the brink of a nuclear catastrophe.

That is why the communists and all the other democratic forces are carrying on a struggle to prevent the burdens of the crisis of capitalism from falling on the shoulders of the working people, to preserve jobs and to safeguard the right to work, a struggle which is closely bound up with the effort to resist the aggressive, militaristic plans and actions of the most reactionary circles of contemporary monopoly capital, and which merges with the burgeoning worldwide anti-war movement of the masses.

The scale of the calamity for the working people

The analysis of the data on present-day unemployment* made at the symposium showed its peculiarities from the standpoint of its massiveness, persistence, the extent and depth of the economic and social consequences. Unemployment is spreading to all the sectors and spheres, affecting trade unions, industries, geographical regions, regardless of age, sex, and national or racial origins. Characteristically, the "unwanted people" now increasingly come from among the factory workers, the proletariat's industrial core.

In the United States, the proportion of the unemployed continues to be highest among the oppressed racial and ethnic minorities, but the lay-offs have also hit working people in such long-established industries as automobile and chemical. There are especially many closures of enterprises in the industrial states of the Middle West. The picture is no better in Great Britain, where nearly half the inhabitants of some communities are idle because of the collapse of the single industry on which their entire economic life had depended.

A distinctive feature of unemployment today is its longer duration: more and more men and women keep hunting for jobs not just for weeks or months, but for years, and many, especially the older people, have lost all hope of ever getting another job. Their condition is tragic even in the countries where the working class movement has won considerable social gains after long years of struggle. All over the capitalist world the size of unemployment benefits in real terms is being whittled down, the payment periods are shortened, and the terms for qualifying are toughened up. In less developed countries, like Greece and Portugal, only an insignificant part of the unemployed receive any assistance at all.

The present situation has glaringly shown the connection between unemployment and poverty, as tens of millions of families in the capitalist society are hit by both. The enforced idleness, the material privation and the mental suffering of the "unwanted people" cause disease and distress, and lead to a growth of drug addiction, alcoholism and crime.

The problem of unemployment, it was said at the symposium, affects not only the millions thrown out of their jobs, but also the entire working class, and, indeed, the people as a whole. The ruling bourgeoisie has ever more actively used the existing reserve army of labor to put constant pressure on the employed part of the population and to attack its living standards.

Mass unemployment: a concomitant of militarism

The participants in the symposium agreed that such a sharp surge of unemployment has been caused above all by the deepening of the general crisis of state-monopoly capitalism. Since the latter half of the 1970s, economic slumps have been longer and more frequent, while structural crises (sectoral, energy, raw material, monetary and financial) superimposed on the cyclical crises and interacting with them, have had a negative impact on employment.

It was not a task of the symposium to make a detailed politico-economic analysis of the factors behind the present dramatic state of employment, but, speakers stressed that this has occurred not of itself. It has resulted from the monopolies' self-seeking drive for superprofits, from the policy of the governments catering for them, with the arms race and the militarization of the national economies being especially harmful aspects of that policy.

John Pittman, CC Political Bureau member, CPUSA, put the blame for the state of affairs in his country squarely on the Reagan administration, which has appropriated fabulous amounts of money for military spending with lavish investments in the arms industry, which is profitable for the monopolies. But the fact is that arms manufacture, apart from being parasitic, tends to divert resources from the mass-employment sectors of the economy. Employment Research, a private research organization, has estimated that the $154 billion defense

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*See the facts and figures on pp. 34-38.

budget in fiscal 1981 has caused the loss of 1.5 million jobs in 1983.

The socio-economic consequences of this policy are being compounded by the Washington administration's steady fulfillment of the platform of the Republican Party, which is the production and deployment of military superiority and first strike nuclear weapons against the Soviet Union. Reaganism is pushing the world closer to the brink of disaster, especially with the start of the deployment of Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles in Western Europe. That is why the main thrust of the CPUSA's policy today is a fightback against militarism in all its forms.

Following in the wake of its senior partner, the United States, Britain spends a greater proportion of its GNP than any other European country on defense and has one of the highest rates of unemployment, said *Bert Ramelson (CP Great Britain)*. This is so because the military industry uses up the resources that could and ought to be used for the production of useful commodities and investments in socially useful industries or in the expansion of the welfare services. A good example is the gross waste of scientific resources. Half of all the research and development sponsored by the Thatcher government goes to defense.

Such expenditures, said *Jochen Mandel (German CP)*, ultimately tend to reduce employment. The West Berlin Institute of German Industry has shown that investment in civilian industries creates 49.4 per cent more jobs than do similar investments in the arms industry.

Yannis Dragassakis, CC alternate member, CP Greece, said that the vast investments for military purposes are an important factor of stagnation and a barrier in the struggle to restore the health of the economy in his country as well. He backed his view with the following figure: total investments in the national industry now come only to half the government's spending on the army.

The role of the external factor

Many speakers said the employment problem is being exacerbated by the harmful impact on their economy by external factors and by the domination of U.S. capital in the first place. Thus, U.S. transnational corporations operating in Canada have been shutting down their enterprises and transferring plant to areas where labor is cheaper. In Belgium, which has flung its doors wide open to U.S. monopolies, entire industrial areas are dying out as U.S. investors are withdrawing their capital after having used up their tax benefits. Portugal is suffering from the monetarist recipes of development imposed on it by the International Monetary Fund, which is under effective U.S. control.

But not all the external factors have the same effect. It was said, for instance, that Austria, whose economy also heavily depends on international ties, is among the relatively well-off countries in terms of employment, for its status of permanent neutrality enables it to engage in extensive trade and economic cooperation with socialist and developing countries. Business relations with the USSR and other socialist community countries are arranged on a long-term basis, so assuring Austrian enterprises large and stable contracts, a fact which has a favorable influence on its labor market. These ties provide 150,000 industrial and office jobs, and that is a high figure, considering the size of the country, said *Bruno Furch (CP Austria)*. If the FRG should suddenly fold up its "eastern trade," *Jochen Mandel* remarked, the trade unions estimate that the number of "unwanted people" in the country would at once go up by 500,000-550,000.

False recipes

Having analyzed the sources of mass unemployment and identified those who are to blame for it, the participants in the symposium exchanged views concerning the prospects for the immediate future. *John Pittman* nailed as a "big lie" President Reagan's optimistic talk and efforts to present the insignificant and most probably short-lived revival of business activity in the country as a "great boom." "The truth is that unless we rid our country of the Reagan-corporate-Pentagon conspiracy and make a 180 degree turn in every area of life we will continue on the downhill course," says CPUSA General Secretary Gus Hall.*

Bourgeois propaganda, said *Jack Phillips (Executive Committee alternate member, CP Canada)*, claims that Canadian society is on the way to an economic recovery, but the working people do not feel this. Indeed, monopoly profits have been growing and the number of jobs in some areas is increasing, but simultaneously more and more workers are being laid off elsewhere.

Mass unemployment will remain high, at any rate over the next few years, and will determine life in the FRG, says the German CP. Even capitalist research institutes no longer expect it to be substantially reduced. Experts of

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*Gus Hall, "Defeat Reaganism: Make a 180 Degree Turnaround at Home and Abroad" (Nomination Acceptance Speech), New York, January 23, 1984.

the SPD group in the Bundestag expect the number of registered "unwanted people" to go up to 4 million by 1990, while the trade union forecasts are even more pessimistic.

There is wide public anxiety and growing popular indignation in the capitalist countries over the mass unemployment, and its social, economic and moral consequences, and the bourgeois conservative and reformist parties cannot afford to ignore this mood. They have to respond to the existing situation and to propose their ways of easing the problem.

When in power, both the conservative and the reformist parties seek to lay the burden of overcoming the crisis engendered by the monopolies on "the whole society," that is, ultimately on the working people, and this is being done in diverse ways. The conservatives conduct a policy of putting down the working class and its trade unions and curtailing social programs, while the reformists invite both the employers and workers to tighten their belts in this period of hardship. They urge a "social partnership" under which the trade unions should voluntarily give up the struggle for better living and working conditions.

Speakers at the symposium gave examples of such conceptions and policies. For several years now, a "way out of the tunnel" theory has been propounded in Belgium: let's accept sacrifices now to see the light at the end of the tunnel soon. The demagogic nature of this approach, said *Pierre Beauvois, Political Bureau member, CP Belgium,* is well illustrated by what happened to the "3-3-5" agreement, which the government, employers and trade unions concluded in 1982. The idea was to cut wages by 5 per cent, while simultaneously reducing working hours by 3 per cent and increasing employment by 3 per cent. The capitalists cut wages by 5 per cent in January 1983, the procedure for reducing working hours is still being "worked out," while the number of jobs, far from increasing, has in fact fallen.

The ruling class has used every trick in the book to let off steam and so reduce the pressure in the boiler of discontent without affecting the monopolies' profits and positions. In the FRG there are "social plans" under which a working person whose job is being eliminated is paid a compensation ranging from 1,000 to 10,000 marks. Under a recommendation from the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) employers in Greece are to be paid by the treasury to provide jobs for young people, and this effectively leads to the dismissal of older workers. Everywhere efforts are being made to force people into early retirement on pension, etc.

The common feature of all the conservative and social-reformist recipes is that they are not designed to reduce unemployment, but to spread the illusion that that can be done without any deep anti-monopoly changes. However, it is increasingly obvious to masses of people that the apologists of capital will not and cannot cure the prime social ill of the exploitive society.

The communists' alternatives

The communists believe that unemployment will be eradicated as a social phenomenon only with the liquidation of capitalist social relations. But they also propose and back realistic alternatives to the self-seeking policies of capital in the sphere of employment.

The documents adopted by fraternal parties' congresses, conferences and CC plenary meetings say what must and can be done right away to ease the working people's condition. Among these documents are the Economic Bill of Rights adopted in April 1982 by the extraordinary conference of the CPUSA in Milwaukee, the Emergency Program approved in September 1983 by the Central Executive Committee of the CP Canada, the new proposals put forward in the spring of 1983 by the 27th congress of the CP Denmark, and so on.

The symposium did not examine the whole set of anti-crisis programs, whose content differs from one country to another depending on local conditions and potentialities, but it was stressed that in tackling the acute problem of employment the communists proceed from this common principle:

— it is not the working class or the whole people but the monopolies, which are to blame for the crisis, that should pay for its consequences.

The fraternal parties' proposals envisage ways for the rational use of existing jobs and the creation of new ones. They propose, in particular, a ban on the shutdown of enterprises that can be saved, and legislative protection for working people against layoffs, the adoption and funding of special programs to increase employment in the industries, to abolish or sharply limit the practice of overtime, and to reduce working hours without any cut in pay.

The participants in the symposium exchanged views concerning the real threat posed to employment in the developed capitalist countries by the rationalization of production on the terms dictated by the monopolies, in particular, with the installation of new labor-saving technology. While speakers

did not deny the objective character of the scientific and technological revolution, they said that there was a need to strive to have its results used for socio-economic progress and improvement of the people's living standards, instead of maximizing capitalist profits. It was emphasized that this problem requires further serious study by the parties.

The communists' alternatives devote special attention to the problems of young people, who suffer severely from the consequences of the capitalist crisis. The CPUSA, for example, has proposed the adoption of a training program for 5 million young Americans with the subsequent provision of jobs in their field. The CP Great Britain believes that it must be compulsory for every industrial firm to train and provide jobs for a certain number of young people every year.

Finally, there is yet another problem to which the communists attach primary importance. Nearly one-half of the labor force in Western Europe and North America now consists of women. They refuse to be servants working fulltime in the household and are involved in socio-political life. Women are an important part of the front of struggle against the nuclear menace, and for peaceful coexistence. More than ever before in the past, the communists, above all the working class and democratic movement in the capitalist countries, now have the important task of achieving full equality for men and women, and ending discrimination against women in jobs and wages.

The fraternal parties putting forward proposals aimed to ease the consequences of the crisis for broad popular masses have also indicated the sources from which the state could obtain the necessary funds to realize these proposals. The prime source for most countries is a freezing or reduction of military expenditures. There are also higher taxes on the corporations, banks and insurance companies, and tighter controls over the monopolies' observance of the rules and deadlines for tax deductions. There is also the democratic nationalization of key industries within the framework of reforms having a socialist orientation.

The communists believe that the improvement of international economic relations, the lifting of barriers in trade with the socialist countries and the consolidation of equitable economic ties with the developing countries could have a beneficial effect on the national economies and employment. Speakers urged the need to overcome the harmful consequences for their countries of capitalist integration. The Austrian communists believe that there is a need to tighten up government controls over imports from the EEC. The CP Denmark wants a review of the country's membership in the Common Market. The communists of Greece and Great Britain have taken an identical stand: they want their countries out of the EEC at once. The Portuguese comrades insist that the plans to involve their country in the supranational association of monopolies be abandoned.

Concrete experience of struggle

The communists are aware that monopoly capital will never accept voluntarily most of the measures they propose. The political and socio-economic reforms aimed to overcome the effects of the crisis and assure citizens of their inalienable right to work can be imposed on the ruling class only by active mass struggle at every level. The experience gained in this work was broadly presented by speakers at the symposium.

Our party, said *Jochen Mandel*, regards the jobless as a part of the working class, and their movement a part of the working class movement. The governing bodies of the German CP have formulated the question as follows: every communist becoming unemployed must dedicate his efforts to carrying on mass-political activity among those who like him are "unwanted people."

Employment committees are now being set up under the DKP's district boards in accordance with a party decision. They consist of communists acting in various unemployed initiative groups, carrying on the struggle in trade unions and working on the labor exchanges, in social security departments and other government agencies, and of communists from enterprises hit by mass layoffs.

For years, many in the FRG, including leading trade union functionaries, believed that the task of the trade unions was to stand up for the interests only of those having jobs. Positive changes have resulted from the growth of mass unemployment and discussions on this issue in the trade union movement. The decisions taken by the latest congress of the Federation of German Trade Unions, which the Communist Party has welcomed, urged greater efforts to help the unemployed.

An organized movement of the unemployed in the country is gathering momentum, involving hundreds of centers and initiative groups. Their first open congress was held in Frankfort-on-Main in December 1982 under the slogan: "Jobless, But Not Defenseless." In May and June 1983 there was a week of action by

initiative groups which culminated in a march in Bonn when thousands marched for solidarity between the employed and the unemployed.

We believe, the speaker went on, that this kind of solidarity is a matter of primary importance. We urge our party committees and the unemployed initiative groups to back the working people's action against layoffs at enterprises. Sit-ins are a new form of struggle against the employers' notification of impending layoffs. That is what happened at the shipbuilding yards in Hamburg and Bremen. This form of struggle has been recognized as correct by the Federation of German Trade Unions.

Question: How are things with the foreign workers?

Answer: Their numbers in the FRG have been steadily falling, although only a few years ago they made up something like 10 per cent of the labor force. Their condition is extremely grave. Foreigners are the first to be laid off, and fascist-minded elements are trying to incite jobless German working people against them. The Gastarbeiter are even afraid to apply to the labor exchange and claim unemployment benefits, for, according to the law, they can then be deported from the country. Our party insists on the immigrants having complete equality with the Germans in the matter of job, trade union and political rights.

Mitsos Kostopoulos (CC member, CP Greece) said there were three fronts of struggle against unemployment in his country: the ideological, the legislative and the organizational.

In its press and oral propaganda, the party keeps explaining that unemployment and layoffs affect not only those who have already fallen victim to them, but literally everyone working for a wage. The bell tolls for everyone. The attempts by capital to range the employed against the unemployed and to incite them against each other need to be resolutely rebuffed by developing acts of solidarity.

Legislative struggle is aimed to assert the working people's rights, to preserve jobs, and to assure the unemployed social security. This struggle is being carried on by the CPG's representatives in parliament relying on the organized activity of the masses. The communists are guided by the conclusions of the CPG's congress and the subsequent plenary meetings of the party's Central Committee, and insist that the struggle against unemployment should go hand in hand with measures to protect the domestic market and re-orient the country's international economic ties. Together with an improvement and enlargement of the state sector, there is a need to launch large-scale public-works projects and special programs to attain rapid progress in areas like housing construction, environmental protection, and so on. We also demand that the conditions on which unemployment benefits are paid and the size of the benefits should be reviewed in favor of the working people who have lost their jobs, and that the funds appropriated for aid to the unemployed should truly be used for their needs, instead of being handed over to the enterpreneurs in exchange for false promises of greater employment.

Unemployment tends to bring to the fore the need for more vigorous action against layoffs and blackmail by employers at enterprises, in defense of trade union activists, and the struggle to preserve and create new jobs. More than one-third of all the strikes staged in Greece over the past two years put forward such demands. The working people's action at the shipbuilding and ship-repair enterprises in the Pyraeus area have helped to win various benefits for the unemployed and to reduce the working week. The struggle for jobs was especially impressive in the federation of construction workers, 55 per cent of whom are now unemployed.

The Greek communists attach much importance to work in the trade unions. They took an active part in preparing and holding the latest congress of the General Confederation of Greek Labor (December 1983). The election of a governing body at that congress on which all the trends active in the trade union center are represented was an important step forward in the country's working class movement. This paves the way for the working people's further cohesion on a class basis in the fight for genuine anti-monopoly changes, without which it is impossible to solve Greece's vital problems, including the growing unemployment.

Bruno Furch cited the lot of a small pulp-and-paper factory in Niklasdorf to show how the struggle against factory shutdowns is being carried on in Austria. For many years the factory operated normally and produced a profit, while its 400-450 workers earned fair wages. There was "social peace" in the community. The clap of thunder rang out one day when the employers announced the forthcoming closure of the factory. This meant that the taxes would stop going to the community budget, that it would run out of funds, and that 1,200-1,500 persons (the workers and their families) would have to live on unemployment pay, receive less and spend less. This caused an upheaval among the adult population of the little town, including not only the workers but also the merchants, the artisans and the local leadership

of the Socialist Party and even of the right-wing Austrian People's Party. A resistance movement was started, with several protest meetings held with the participation of all the inhabitants, the streets were blocked, delegations were sent to the Land and Federal governments, while deputies from various parties asked questions in parliament. What was the result? The authorities had to intervene, and the enterprise was saved, although output was reduced.

Similar action has helped with varying success in other parts of the country to secure the creation of new jobs in place of those lost through shutdowns, if not to preserve the old ones. The democratic forces, including local organizations of the CP Austria, are working out structural programs of regional importance and are mobilizing the public in their support. Eventually, the provincial governments and the government in Vienna are forced to take steps to maintain employment.

In Austria, it is extremely hard to organize the unemployed, partially because until recently there has virtually been no long-term unemployment in the country. Anyone losing his job most frequently hoped to find another within two or three weeks, which is why he not only refused to join the movement but even tried to keep the fact that he had lost his job a secret from his neighbors. As in the FRG, unemployment benefits are remitted by mail, so that there are no lines of jobless at the labor exchange. Still, under the pressure of circumstances, unions of the "jobless help jobless" type are beginning to emerge. The party supports their concrete demands: trade union control over the labor market, abolition of the practice of automatically expelling from the trade union anyone losing his job, and so on.

The method described by the Austrian comrade, *Pierre Beauvois* added, has been repeatedly used in Belgium as well when the Socialist Party was represented in the government. The pressure exerted by the popular masses on deputies made the national or regional authorities allocate funds to keep this or that enterprise going. But the situation is now different. The socialists are not in the government, and it simply refuses to extend credits to save the dying plants. But the policy of social regress is meeting with resistance. Strikes are staged by steel workers as steel mills have been steadily closed down, and by workers in public transport, public utilities and other industries.

At the end of 1983, the workers of Valfil in Liege occupied the plant for more than one month. Under EEC pressure, the government wanted to stop the operation of its rolling mill, which had been started only 18 months earlier at a cost of 5 billion francs. Earlier on, the communist-led trade union decided to take over the Chevron oil refinery which the owners intended to close down. The working people held the enterprise for four months! And while they did not manage to preserve the enterprise, their struggle had reverberations across the whole country.

The communists explain to the masses the meaning of the alternative policy worked out at the party's latest congress and concentrate their efforts on having their proposals increasingly reckoned with in the stand of Belgium's General Federation of Labor. This trade union association exerts an influence on the socialists, and also on the Confederation of Christian Trade Unions, and so has an important role to play in orienting the Belgian working class movement.

It is not as hard to organize the unemployed in Belgium, because they have a duty to go and register daily at special stations in the course of the day. Very frequently they have to wait for a long time out in the street, under the rain. So we began by trying to mobilize this mass of people in some towns and communities for action in support of this limited and concrete demand on the authorities: improve the registration conditions. We then went on to collect signatures from the unemployed to a petition based on the party's proposal for the creation of jobs in housing construction, in public transport, etc. Tens of thousands of signatures were collected in support of this demand in Wallonia, Flanders and Brussels. We also began to organize, on our own and together with other forces, demonstrations by young people in support of jobs, involving both the unemployed and the potential unemployed: the students of secondary and higher schools. But all these initiatives have not yet led to the establishment of a permanent nation-wide unemployed movement structure.

Such a structure was established in the United States in the summer of 1983. Why then, and not earlier, explained *John Pittman:* The fact is that, despite the crises which have rocked the economy, people had kept hoping that, having lost one job, they could always find another soon. These hopes were blasted for millions of working people by the current crisis. The comrades who spoke earlier were quite right in saying that the struggle against unemployment must be started at enterprises threatened with closure or staff cuts. But nowadays, there is no advance warning in the United States: the layoff is instant and without any severance pay. That is why the Communist Party has suggested the establishment of

organizations of the unemployed in the neighborhoods, starting with the most elementary things like providing the hungry and the homeless with food and lodgings.

When, as a result of such efforts, hundreds of unemployed councils in the neighborhoods were set up across the country, preparations began for their national congress, which was held in Chicago, on July 2 and 3, 1983. It was attended by 500 delegates representing 118 organizations, including 30 trade unions, from 81 cities. It drew up an action program to organize mass action for creating jobs, to assist jobless workers and their families, to establish a peace-time economy and drastically cut military spending. Already this organization is a fighting part of the "Dump Reagan" movement spreading through the country, which may produce a turnaround in U.S. policies during the remainder of the 1980s.

In carrying on work to explain the demands in the Economic Bill of the Rights, the party believes that it has a duty to participate in all the forms of the unemployed movement and in their support. The document of the 23rd national convention of the CPUSA in early 1984 said that there should not be a single party club that is not involved in the struggles of the unemployed.

An important aspect of the struggle is the ever more active involvement of the trade unions. The AFL-CIO is calling for legislation to curb plant shutdowns. Its Executive Council proposed to Congress a $68 billion 18-month program which includes creating new jobs and assisting unemployed, specifically allocating funds for 65 weeks of extended unemployment payments. The AFL-CIO leadership also supported the great march on Washington on August 27, 1983, "For Jobs and Freedom." That great demonstration drew more than 350,000 people to Washington intent on expelling Reagan and his cronies from office in the November 1984 national elections.

The Communist Party of Canada, said *Jack Phillips*, has consistently worked to have the trade unions, with one-third of all the Canadian working people, stand up in defense of the unemployed, regardless of whether they are unionized or not. We are backing every initiative in this area. Valuable experience has been gained in Quebec, which has one of the worst unemployment rates in the country. There are two broad movements of the unemployed maintaining close contacts with the trade unions of the province. A Grand March for Jobs was organized by joint efforts in May 1983 as the most important demonstration of solidarity between the working people and their jobless class brothers.

Significant work is being done by the trade unions in British Columbia, where 27 action centers have been set up with a full-time coordinator in each case hired by the provincial federation of trade unions. The role of these centers is still being debated by the right and left-wing forces in the trade union movement, the former holding that their activity should be confined to the provision and distribution of material assistance, establishment of food banks, etc. The latter want to see the functions of the centers extended to make them a focus for organizing the unemployed into action for their rights, and some successes have been achieved in this direction.

The political and economic situation in each of Canada's 10 provinces is highly peculiar, with different forces controlling the provincial governments, and the working class and democratic movement at different levels of development. In these conditions, the efforts of the unemployed and for the unemployed are being arranged most frequently on a provincial scale.

The Communist Party maintains close ties with trade unions and mass organizations. We lay no claim to exclusive leadership of the unemployed movement, but we want to convince them that the CP Canada is the only political party which is prepared to cooperate with them on an equal and voluntary basis, and to help to coordinate efforts, including those on the national level. We believe that the most important thing is to work for the creation in Canada of a broad democratic coalition. If the effects of the crisis are to be surmounted, there is a need for a new economic policy, and that calls for a new government, an anti-monopoly government.

In Portugal the efforts to combat the effects of the crisis and the spreading unemployment are chiefly political. In the initial period after the April Revolution, said *Enrique Sousa (CC member, Portuguese CP)*, efforts were made to resist the economic sabotage by entrepreneurs and landowners and to lay the foundations of a solid non-capitalist sector. Over the past seven years, our efforts have been concentrated on resisting the policy of restoring the positions of big capital conducted by the government of the Socialist Party and the Social Democratic Party headed by Mario Soares. Vigorous and united action by the popular masses could pave the way for the democratic alternative proposed by the PCP and the working class movement to solve the problem of unemployment.

Among the various forms of struggle used by the Portuguese working people are mass nation-wide measures. In 1983 alone, rallies

were staged within the framework of the National Conference for the Right to Work across the whole country (in September), demonstrations against the new law on layoffs (October 15), etc. Powerful action is taken on the regional level, and also in the employment sectors and the individual groups of the population. Last year, Days of Struggle were held by young people in Setubal against unemployment and the lowering of educational standards, hunger marches by glass workers and textile workers, numerous demonstrations with the blocking of streets, and so on.

Organized resistance to the plans for curtailing production and dismissals, harassment of trade union activists and temporary labor contracts which deprive workers of their rights is spreading at factories and plants in Portugal. The struggle is assuming the form of work stoppages and strikes (short, intervalled and long, with and without sit-ins). The working people have displayed true courage and have resolutely resisted repression on the part of the employers and the government's coercion machine.

Political actions are not confined to resisting the regime's policies, it was said at the PCP's 10th congress, which was held in late 1983. The working people seek to make a constructive contribution to solving the country's economic and social problems, and strengthening the state and mixed sectors of the economy. The popular masses of Portugal have taken a most vigorous stand in various forms of action in defense of the main gains of the April Revolution: the agrarian reform and the farming cooperatives with their 22,500 members set up within its framework.

The struggle against unemployment is led by the country's largest and most massive organization: the General Confederation of Portuguese Working People (Intersindical). The communists have the crucial role at every level of the trade union structure, and the party has been doing everything to keep the working class movement democratic, unitary and autonomous, and has resolutely resisted the schemes of the splitters.

In Portugal, the unemployed have no organization of their own, and it is very hard for us to set up such a body on a permanent basis. But they remain an organic part of the working class, they retain the right to be members of their trade unions, although they are most frequently exempted from the payment of membership dues. Vigorous action and unity have produced results: over the past five years, 75 per cent of the actions to preserve jobs, to reinstate unlawfully dismissed persons and other demands have been successful.

The effects of the crisis in the sphere of employment cannot, of course, be fought by the unemployed alone, said *Bert Ramelson*. There is a need for active participation in the struggle by the overwhelming majority of the working class. It is easier to win satisfaction of individual concrete demands if the unemployed committees act together with all the other workers, with the trade unions and the left-wing political forces.

Consider the Greater London Council area, where such cooperation is effective. A special committee has been set up there to preserve and create jobs in the city. Whenever an enterprise is threatened with closure, while the committee believes that it is fully viable, funds are allocated from the municipal budget to keep it going. It becomes a kind of workers' cooperative, with specialist consultants guided by the committee helping in the management of production. Something similar is also being done in Sheffield, another industrial city, where efforts by the progressive municipal council have helped to save several enterprises. We find, therefore, that the problem can sometimes be eased by means of democratic methods.

The fight against the curtailment of production does not always yield the desired results. Thus, a six-week strike by steel workers in 1983 to prevent the closure of steel mills was not successful. By contrast, the transnational Timex had to reverse its decision to transfer its electronics factory from Scotland to France. It was compelled to do so by the resistance of the workers who occupied the plant. Similar examples will be found in the coal, shipbuilding and clothing industries.

Most industrial companies in Britain have several enterprises, and their owners close down some of them and frequently switch production elsewhere. This makes acts of solidarity most crucial, with workers refusing to operate equipment transferred from other factories or to perform operations withdrawn from their workmates. Fearful of this kind of action, the Thatcher government has banned solidarity action by special legislation. The most recent examples of the use of this anti-trade union legislation were the fining of the National Graphic Association for solidarity action with print workers who lost their jobs, and, last March, the injunction obtained by the Coal Board under this legislation against Yorkshire miners picketing other pits seeking solidarity action against the Coal Board's plans to close down pits and dismiss their employees. We intend to do everything to get it rescinded as a

challenge to democracy emasculating the trade unions and a blow at the working class movement.

The CP Great Britain welcomes and supports in every way the positive shifts in trade union positions. Not long ago trade unions used to withdraw membership from those who lost their jobs. The situation is now a different one. Some trade unions even recruit unemployed and open up special centers for them. Of equal importance is the fact that the communists' alternative economic strategy has been largely adopted as official policy by the trade union movement and the opposition Labour Party.

Akis Fantis, CC member, Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL), said that his party's experience was unique. The country faced the problem of mass unemployment when in 1974 the occupation of roughly 38 per cent of the island's territory by Turkish troops left almost 200,000 men and women, i.e., 20 per cent of the population homeless and without any means of subsistence. That was a disaster calling for extraordinary measures. First, a nation-wide campaign of aid to the refugees was organized. Second, arrangements were made for planned and controlled exit to other countries by those for whom there was no work in Cyprus. Finally, under trade union pressure, the government began actively stimulating construction. All of this helped not only to provide the jobless with the means of subsistence, but also to solve the problem of the refugees' housing shortage swiftly.

The current struggle for employment in Cyprus is predominantly prophylactic. Whenever an enterprise is threatened with production cutbacks or layoffs, the trade unions immediately intervene and try to pre-empt the owners' action. That is what happened, for instance, at the Coca-Cola factories. When it began to reduce output and lay off working people, the latter took over the enterprise in response to a call from the trade union. The company had to make concessions. Another example is provided by printing workers where many typesetters, make-up people and other workers are threatened with redundancies following the introduction of photocomposition. We secured the arrangements for a system of retraining, and not a single person lost his job.

When organizing all these actions and in fighting for the realization of the party's alternatives to the crisis and growing unemployment, AKEL relies on the overwhelming majority of the working population. Let us recall that during the latest general election in 1981, the party got 33 per cent of the poll, which showed it to be the most authoritative political force in the country. The Pancyprian Federation of Labor (PEO) which has nearly one-half of all the unionized workers in its ranks, is a powerful class organization. All of this helps to exert a considerable influence on the government's policy, although AKEL is not represented in it. The democratic cooperation between AKEL and DIKO, the ruling party led by S. Kyprianou, makes it possible to settle many sharp issues affecting the working people in a concerted manner, even if not without struggles and contradictions.

Ib Norlund (member of the Executive Committee and of the Secretariat of the Central Committee, CP Denmark) said that the communists' proposals, like those in Britain, are largely recognized by the entire Danish working class movement and the country's progressive organizations. This stimulates our efforts to create a united front in support of the alternative policy.

In the early 1980s, we held within the party and a number of progressive trade unions several meetings on the possible ways of adding strength to the unemployed movement. The main point was how to get the jobless out of their state of apathy and to make them think and act together. The slogan we then put forward — "Less talk, more action" — was widely accepted, and the first demonstration in February 1982 was followed by many other actions. In March 1983, 300 delegates from local unemployed unions took part in a nation-wide conference of workers in Alborg. On October 4, 35,000 people took part in a demonstration organized by the national unemployed committee. By the end of the year, 30 local organizations were already represented on the committee, and a stand leadership was set up. Since December, a monthly *Stempel,* specially published for the unemployed, is being circulated in the trade unions, clubs and unemployment benefit centers.

The movement has been gaining in strength, but very much still remains to be done. The struggle for employment must be made a concern not only of the unemployed. But for the time being, with the exception of a few trade unions close to the Communist Party, the trade unions are not yet prepared to shoulder the full burden of responsibility in this important matter. Neither the social democrats, nor any of the other self-styled "workers'" parties have yet displayed any activity, except when they wanted to split working people's organizations or to frustrate their joint action. The communists alone are promoting the movement and introducing many new elements into it. In view of the growing scale and acuteness of the prob-

lems of unemployment, our party intends to continue developing its action along this line.

Labor and peace are indivisible

As communists from various countries exchanged their experience in ideological, political and organizational work in the face of the sharpening problem of employment, the need to tie it in with the development of anti-war consciousness of the masses and the struggle for peace, and against the arms race has been repeatedly brought up.

The German CP has put forward and spread the slogan "Jobs, Not Missiles!", constantly trying to show the direct connection between the policy of "social dismantlement" and the growth of military expenditures in the FRG.

The CPUSA wants material and manpower resources made available to relieve the poverty and save the blighted residential areas like South Bronx in the heart of New York, to ease the tragic lot of 50 million non-white U.S. citizens, and to maintain the minimum level of generally accessible education and medical care required by society. If this is to be done, the communists say, there is a need above all actively to fight for a reduction of the monstrous military expenditures and a halt to the arms race. Such are the demands of the working people of the United States, which rang out during the march on Washington and from the rostrum of the National Congress of Unemployed Organizations in Chicago.

The Belgian communists are working hard to explain to the masses the problems in reconverting arms manufacturing enterprises, and they are doing so for a good reason. Thousands of working people are employed at the big plants turning our rifles and machine-guns in Liege, and at the SABCA-SONACA and DASSAUT-LT works making military aircraft in Charleroi. In view of the present tense situation on the labor market, it was said at the symposium, not a single progressive organization can get these workers to come out against the manufacture and export of arms or against the government procurement of military aircraft until there is a coherent plan for switching these enterprises to peacetime production, for marketing these new products, and for preserving jobs.

Trade unions in Great Britain are already working on such programs. Two large unions, the Transport and General Workers Union, and the National Union of Public Employees have produced very useful material exposing the harmful effects of the arms program not only for the cause of peace, but also for the economy in general and jobs in particular. At the shop level, too, workers are beginning to take the initiative in drafting plans for converting their war plants to the production of peacetime goods. The two best examples which have gained respect in Britain and beyond Britain's borders are the Lucas Aerospace Plan and the Shop Stewards Plan at Vickers which build military aircraft and parts for missiles and warships respectively.

The fraternal party representatives stressed that the present difficult period in the social life of their countries and in the international situation requires of the communists even more vigorous efforts to create a broad coalition of forces acting for peace and jobs, and for democratic change.

The symposium brought out many common aspects both in the substance of the problems facing the communist parties of the capitalist countries and in the approach to their solution. The representatives of the German CP and the CP of Belgium suggested that regular contacts should be held on the regional and broader levels in order to exchange information on the activity and plans of the transnational corporations which seek to set various contingents of the working class against each other, so as to work out a common approach to the reduction of working hours in view of the current modernization. The CPUSA, the CP Great Britain and other parties believe that it is important to discuss the interconnected problems of employment in the industrialized and developing countries in the light of the inequitable trade and economic relations on the capitalist market and the continued neocolonialist exploitation. It is the view of the participants in the symposium that a further exchange of ideas and experience would help to make the communists' struggle for the working people's rights and jobs, and social progress and peace more effective.

FIGURES ON MASS UNEMPLOYMENT

In February of this year, the total number of unemployed in the *Common Market* countries reached 12.9 million, or 100,000 more than the previous month. The proportion of "unwanted people" came to 11.5 per cent of the active population. These data were carried on March 23 by the French communists' newspaper *L'Humanité* on the basis of official EEC statistics.

In the early 1970s, the level of unemployment in *the FRG* was less than one per cent, and in February 1984 — 10.2 per cent. From 1974 to 1983, according to a study recently published by the Federal Labor Department in Nurem-

berg, the unemployed at various periods totalled 12.5 million, or almost one-third of all those employed in that period. The real number of unemployed in the country is nearly twice as high as the official figure, while their share of the able-bodied population, according to these estimates, is as high as 18 per cent.

Only five years ago, it was a respectable statement in trade union circles and reformist parties in *Belgium* to say that 500,000 unemployed in a country with 10 million people was a critical level. In July 1983, according to the National Employment Agency, the number of fully unemployed totalled 511,000, i.e., 12.5 per cent of the labor force. To this should be added another 250,000 Belgians whom the authorities have saddled with less than fully valid labor contracts and also premature pensions in their efforts to cover up the true scale of unemployment.

On September 8, 1983, the number of registered unemployed in *Great Britain* reached 3,167,400. A new system of registration for unemployed was introduced in the country in November 1982. Under it, those who fail to go to the labor exchange or do not want to work upon reaching the age of 60 years, are struck off the unemployment lists. As a result, the official figure has dropped by 300,000, i.e., 10 per cent. The real number of unemployed is a third higher than the government figure. The trade unions and the Communist Party have estimated that it is now closer to more than 4 million.

According to the *U.S.* Department of Labor, almost 15 million persons in the country were jobless in the second quarter of 1983. The Communist Party and trade unions hold that the real number of fully and partially unemployed is well over 20 million out of a labor force of 105 million.

In *Denmark*, up to 900,000 persons are jobless at various periods in the course of a year. To this should be added about 1 million Danes who suffer from the imperfect system of unemployment benefits and other types of assistance to the jobless and their families. Consequently, it is not the official 10 per cent of the working people, but one-third of the country's citizens that are affected by the main social ill.

There are no official or consolidated statistics on unemployment in *Greece*. Various competent agencies have estimated that at the end of 1983 there were 200,000 jobless, while the trade unions say the figure was over 325,000.

The level of unemployment in *Cyprus* is relatively low, but reveals a tendency to grow (3.3 per cent in 1983 as compared with 1.8 per cent in 1979). Among the "unwanted people" more than one-half are young specialists (22 per cent) and those who come on the labor market after leaving school or completing their military service (33 per cent).

Until 1979, unemployment in *Austria* fluctuated on the level of 2 per cent, and was 3.7 per cent in 1982, and 4.7 per cent in 1983. At the end of November 1983, the number of registered unemployed came to 136,240. Among young people between the ages of 19 and 25 years, the level of unemployment at the end of November 1983 was 6.7 per cent or almost 35,000.

By September 1983, the number of working people in *Canada* who were jobless for 14 weeks and more went up to 741,000, as compared with 291,000 in June 1981. More than 82,000 Canadians stopped looking for work because they have lost all hope. The government does not enter them on its unemployment register. Besides, according to official data issued by Statistics Canada, 582,000 working people are partially employed, and they are not regarded as unemployed even if they work only one hour a week. That is why the Communist Party asserts that 2 million Canadians, or 18 per cent of the country's able-bodied population are now unemployed.

At the end of 1983, *Portugal* had half a million unemployed, of them 62 per cent being young people under the age of 25. Some 420,000 (mainly building workers), or 11 per cent of the labor force, worked under temporary contracts, i.e., under a constant threat of dismissal without any legal safeguard. Benefits are paid to only 18 per cent of those who are forced into idleness.

According to OECD estimates, losses in output in the developed capitalist countries resulting from unemployment in 1981 totalled $340 billion, or the equivalent of one-half of the GDP of a country like France.

A rise of 1 per cent in the national unemployment level in the *United States* leads to an increase in the number of deaths by 37,000, including 920 suicides and 630 victims of crime, an increase in the number of patients at federal mental hospitals by 4,000, and prison inmates by 3,300.

According to *The New York Times*, for every $1 billion spent by the Pentagon, 28,000 jobs are created, while the same sum invested in public transportation would create 32,000 jobs; if used for personal consumption by wage-workers and salary employees, 57,000 jobs; and if spent on public education — 71,000 jobs.

The management of the Italian FIAT company says that sensor robots introduced over

the next 10 years will reduce the man-power requirements by 90 per cent. By 1988, according to the forecasts of the American Society of Manufacturing Engineers, one-half of the automobiles in the United States will be made by automatic machines. The French Ministry of Finance says that by 1990, 30 per cent fewer employees will be needed by the banks and insurance companies to handle the present volume of paperwork.

According to OECD estimates, if the continued increase in unemployment in the industrialized capitalist countries is to be halted, they must have a GNP growth of 3 per cent a year, and if the unemployment is to be reduced, the GNP growth should be at least 4 per cent. Meanwhile, real growth is hardly expected to top 2 per cent a year.

A study issued by the Secretariat of the International Labor Organisation (ILO) says that the present 10 per cent unemployment in the OECD countries is, on the whole, expected to remain, and to rise to 12 per cent in the West European countries. By contrast, say the ILO experts, the vast majority of the East European countries have full employment and exercise in practice the right to work written into their constitutions.

Latin America — USA: mounting contradictions

Raul Valdes Vivo
CC member, Communist Party of Cuba

SUMMARY OF A CONFERENCE IN HAVANA[1]

The great French novelist Honoré de Balzac created the image of a demented usurer, who amassed wealth and abused even members of his own family.

For more than a century and a half the USA has been "amassing" contradictions with Latin America and humiliating countries of that region ever since it deprived Mexico of half of its territory.[2]

The USA's huge economic strength has been built up largely by pillaging undeveloped Latin American nations, which are the constant victims of the greed and egotism of U.S. imperialism.

Back in 1889 José Marti, the brilliant leader of the Cuban people's struggle for national liberation, noted that the biggest problem in our hemisphere was the antagonism between the Latin American peoples and the USA. He denounced the U.S. statesmen who proclaimed that "the entire northern part of America must belong to them and that there had to be recognition of their imperial claim to territory south of the isthmus."[3]

Exactly 70 years after Marti spoke these words, the victory of the Cuban revolution ushered in a stage which he had also foreseen — the epoch of the struggle for "second independence." This was no longer a matter of shaking off the colonial yoke imposed by Spain, Portugal, Britain or France but of ending the brutal domination of Yankee imperialism.

Of course, social emancipation is linked intimately to the attainment of complete national independence, as the experience of socialist Cuba has demonstrated.

Because the USA is now the principal enemy of peace in the world, the two-fold liberation struggle (against foreign oppression and, simultaneously, against class exploitation) has become an integral part of the worldwide mobilization of peoples against the threat of a nuclear war.

These basic propositions, formulated earlier by the communist and workers' parties and other revolutionary organizations in Latin America relative to the present situation, underlay the proceedings of the theoretical conference in Havana on the theme: "Contradictions of Latin American and Caribbean Countries With the USA."

It is not my purpose to write a report of this important and broad scientific forum, if only because more than 50 papers and other documents were presented. These have been put together in a volume published by the Communist Party of Cuba immediately after the conference ended.[4] In this article I will limit myself to summing up viewpoints shared by all the participants in this collective discussion and to illustrating them with the facts presented at the discussion and with newer facts.

At the moment the conference was closing, news came of the assassination of Maurice Bishop, Prime Minister of Grenada and outstanding leader of the popular revolutionary

process in that country. All the conference participants paid a tribute to his memory. This tragic event further accentuated the importance of making a theoretical and political analysis of the difficult conditions under which the liberation struggle of our peoples is developing. And when a few days later, on October 25, the USA invaded that small Caribbean island, it reaffirmed more compellingly than any other facts and arguments the truth that the contradictions between Latin America and U.S. imperialism are insuperable.

Common enemy of the peoples

Speakers at the conference were unanimous on the point that the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean, on the one hand, and the people of North America, on the other, have a common enemy and oppressor -- the imperialist monopolies, which, jointly with the Pentagon, dictate the policies pursued by Washington.

A few days after the conference, speaking in memory of the Cuban builders and specialists who fell heroically in Grenada, Fidel Castro articulated our people's solidarity with the working people of the USA, stressing that everybody had to begin acting before it was too late. He said: "In the situation prevailing on our continent a U.S. war against any Latin American state would awaken a spirit of resistance and lead to the denunciation of the aggression by all the Latin American peoples. There would then be a bottomless abyss between countries, which, being in one and the same hemisphere, should cooperate and live in peace, friendship, and mutual respect."[5]

Facts and examples were cited at the conference to illustrate the hallmark of the present situation: the visible growth of the struggle of our peoples against imperialism, with each people retaining its own identity, individuality and momentum. This struggle is unfolding in the context of a more general liberation process that has absorbed the heroic traditions of the days of Simon Bolivar and José Marti, and also of Augusto Cesar Sandino. Today its motive force is the revolutionary working class and its allies in anti-imperialist actions.

Embodying everything that is most reactionary in the realm of big capital, U.S. imperialism, especially under the aggressive and adventurist-prone Reagan administration, is out to compel the democratic forces to retreat by means of armed interference in Central America and support for the fascist dictatorships in countries of the Southern Cone. In a message of welcome to the participants in the conference, Antonio Pérez Herrero, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, noted the significance of our peoples' selfless struggle not only to their own destinies but also to people throughout the world. They are a target of the insane imperialist and terrorist "positions of strength" policy emanating from Washington.

"The destiny of Latin America," he declared, "is very strongly affecting the political development of other regions. Suffice it to recall the impact of Cuba's liberation in and outside our continent to appreciate the significance that a Latin America really free of imperialism, let alone the fulfillment of Bolivar's dream of a united Great Continental Fatherland, would have for the world, for the entire historical process."[6]

On the key question discussed at the conference — the content of the basic contradiction between the USA and the Latin American and Caribbean countries — Antonio Pérez Herrero said that the answer had been given by life: "The United States is not only endeavoring to maintain its neocolonialist domination over Latin America (colonialist in Puerto Rico) but also doing its utmost to reinforce this domination as part of its global strategy of winning world supremacy."[7] He spoke of the aims spelled out in the Santa Fé document, which is a sort of *Mein Kampf* of the Republican Party, enunciating the principles of U.S. policy toward Latin America.

Epicenter of our revolutionary struggle

The conference exposed the lie used by Reagan to justify an "anti-communist crusade" in the Western Hemisphere. The USA insists simplistically that the mounting resistance of the countries and peoples of our continent to its domination is a plot on the part of the Soviet Union and Cuba. The Cuban revolution is not a product of import or export; nor, said Antonio Pérez Herrero, has this ever been Cuba's policy; its stand is that every people of Latin America and the world should decide its own destiny freely. This is mainly what draws the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries close to the national liberation movement, to everybody fighting for world peace.

In their analysis of the present basic contradiction between the Latin American states and their common historical enemy, U.S. imperialism, the participants in the conference spoke warmly of the heroic peoples of Nicaragua, El Salvador and Cuba, against whom Washington is planning direct aggression. The Kissinger Commission report is nothing less than a cover for these plans. Attention has been drawn to

this even by many clear-thinking Latin American bourgeois statesmen. Besides, what else can one expect of those who insidiously unleashed war in Vietnam and scripted the overthrow and murder of President Salvador Allende in Chile?

Imperialism would like to pass the death sentence on the Nicaragua of Sandino not because it has become a new Cuba but, as Fidel Castro said, because that country, having travelled along a path of glory and victory, has become a "new Nicaragua." It is ruled no longer by the bloodthirsty Somoza family, which had long been a myrmidon of the USA, but by a sovereign people. The Government of National Reconstruction is enforcing far-reaching changes, including an agrarian reform, and despite the imperialist blockade, like the one Cuba has been experiencing for the past quarter of a century, is successfully developing its economy and achieving noteworthy successes in gradually solving long-standing problems — poverty, unemployment and illiteracy.

The conference welcomed the efforts of the Contadora Group, that are in fact being blocked by the USA, which rejects all initiatives helping to achieve peace and the self-determination of peoples in Central America. These initiatives include proposals for a settlement, honorable for everybody, formulated by the Nicaraguan government and the Salvadoran patriotic forces, which are in control of one-third of the nation's territory under the banner of the Farabundo Marti Front for National Liberation and the Revolutionary-Democratic Front.

In addition, the U.S. military are virtually in occupation of Honduras, which is being converted into a facsimile of what South Vietnam used to be. Since the reactionary regime of that country does not have the strength to play in Central America the role that Israel and South Africa are playing in their respective regions, the imperialists are prodding it to step up provocations against free Nicaragua, knowing that they would probably have to drop their mask and send their own troops into battle. Already today there are numerous U.S. "advisers" directly involved in the killing of Nicaraguans and in the ongoing genocide in El Salvador and Guatemala, where the masses have also risen to fight for liberation.

The people of Costa Rica are likewise disturbed by the presence in their northern frontier regions of armed gangs of Nicaraguan counter-revolutionaries, who are murdering even Costa Ricans. They are categorically opposed to the intentions of the imperialists to drag them into the fratricidal war the USA is planning in Central America as a last alternative to the national liberation process.

If Washington takes the mad gamble of invading Nicaragua and El Salvador, let alone socialist Cuba which has millions of well-armed and well-trained fighters, it will have on its hands not a second Grenada but a second Vietnam.

It is no secret to anybody that the end goal of Reagan's increasing aggressiveness in Latin America is to destroy the Cuban revolution. The imperialists are smarting over the fact that for a quarter of a century Cuba has been demonstrating that the thesis about the main content of our epoch, namely the transition from capitalism to socialism, applies to the Western Hemisphere as well. Socialism has triumphed irreversibly in Cuba, which, after colonial Puerto Rico, was in all aspects the most subordinate to the interests of the USA. Entirely independent and sovereign, the Cuban people have been colossally successful in all fields of endeavor and have a program for development up to the turn of the 21st century, a program that no other state on the continent can as yet dream of having. All this fills the imperialists with chilling fear. They cannot offer the Latin American nations, as Cuba has done, a way of deliverance from oppression, unemployment, backwardness and uncertainty about the future. They have no historical prospect.

The acute socio-economic problems of the Caribbean peoples, who passionately want freedom, cannot be resolved by imperialist methods. The situation in the region has been further exacerbated by the brazen presence of U.S. Marines. And not only in our region. The same thing happens wherever they appear — whether it is Lebanon or anywhere else in the world: the U.S. military flout national sovereignty, conduct themselves barbarously and with arrogance, acting as a "rapid deployment force" of the insatiable monopolies.

A further illustration of imperialism's bestial essence was the invasion of Grenada by U.S. Marines. In this attack on a small Caribbean nation, Reagan used heavy artillery to shoot down a small wounded and helpless bird. The process of change in that country was cut short not only because of the death of its leader but also because late, serious differences, which were used by CIA agents, began to arise in the leadership of the party and the government. Nevertheless, the actions of the island's rank-and-file defenders and also of the Cuban builders and specialists demonstrated what potentialities the glorious Grenadian revolution would have had if it had been able to preserve its wings.

The peoples of Central America must draw a lesson from this tragedy, namely, that at all costs it is vital to preserve unity at all levels, to be constantly vigilant, to be prepared to the maximum to offer armed resistance to the imperialist enemy, and under no circumstances to underestimate his brutality, cunning, and predisposition to flout the most elementary laws of the world community of nations.

The invasion of Grenada reaffirmed that the Reagan administration is determined to turn the Caribbean into an "American lake." To this end it is planning to plant military bases on one island after another and is supporting the reactionary regimes on Jamaica, Barbados, Dominica, St. Lucia and St. Vincent, which played the role of a Judas against the people of Grenada. Washington plans eventually to use its cut-throats, dollars, terror and demagoguery to benefit the transient benefits it has obtained as a result of the death of the Grenadian revolution and the military occupation of the island.

The revolutionary and democratic forces of the Caribbean nations are now regrouping and, drawing the necessary conclusions from the events on Grenada, preparing to recover lost positions.

Two of the singularly important countries of our region have been and are Puerto Rico and Panama.

Colonialist domination over a period of eight and a half decades has compelled 40 per cent of Puerto Rico's population to emigrate to the odious metropolis, and the constant trampling of their culture (language, traditions, and history of a country that is and wants to remain Latin American) is yet not the most terrible in the tragic destiny of Puerto Rico. Washington is currently again mooting the shameless idea of turning that island into a federal state and assimilating the Puerto Rican nation entirely. Its finest sons and daughters, however, have never ceased to fight for the country's liberation.

The people of Panama are likewise waging a ceaseless just struggle against the presence of the U.S. colonialists in their country's heartland: the canal zone. The ultra-right administration in the White House continues to sabotage compliance with the Torrijos-Carter accords on returning full sovereignty over the canal to its legitimate owner. Meanwhile, a complex process is unfolding in Panama with the Panamanian democratic forces insisting on a policy of peace and non-alignment and on satisfying the grievances of the people.

In the Caribbean, two distinct situations are to be observed on one and the same island, Haiti. In one the Dominican people are fighting for genuine independence and tackling the difficulties that are usual in any society dominated by foreign capital and the local oligarchy. In the other are the Haitians, who have been plunged into a long night of obscurantism and tyranny, which brutally crushes any manifestations of discontent and resorts to mass murders.

All the speakers at the Havana conference expressed their conviction that the Central American peoples, who are now in the epicenter of the revolutionary struggle on the continent, will victoriously resist the imperialist escalation.

Winds of change over the Southern Cone

At the conference note was made of a new and very hopeful circumstance in the continent for the forces fighting for social change. Formerly, whenever the revolutionary process in Central America was on the upswing, in the countries of the Southern Cone the imperialist counterrevolution was able temporarily to install reactionary or typically fascist regimes.

This disparity in the levels of the liberation struggle has now receded into the past. The peoples of the southern part of the region have likewise recovered from the losses inflicted during the wave of fascism of the 1970s and have reached the highroad of democratic reforms and anti-dictatorship actions in Bolivia, Argentina, Uruguay, Chile and Brazil.

Bolivia has won the right to have a government that is no longer a product of traditional military coups orchestrated to one extent or another by imperialism. Power has now been taken out of the hands of the "narcogorillas," the army officers who amassed wealth from the smuggling of narcotics into the USA, which is a paradise for the worst vices. In the face of the severe crisis inherited from the fascist dictatorships and of the subversive activities of right-wing forces, the communists and their allies in the ruling political bloc are bending every effort to consolidate national unity and the democratic process, surmount the remaining economic problems, and carry forward the anti-imperialist program supported by the people.

The Argentine people has been able to depose the military dictatorship that proved incapable of defending Argentina's sovereignty over the Malvinas during the Reagan-backed British-style "Grenada operation." The working people are combining their efforts to consolidate democracy, that would put an end once and for all to the cycle of convulsions and chaos, with the demand to be relieved of the

burden of the economic crisis and of dependence on imperialism.

Uruguay has become the scene of bold and coordinated actions of the entire people with the working class in the lead. This has been demonstrated by the huge general strike of January last, whose slogan was the immediate restoration of democracy. The days of the dictatorship are virtually numbered.

The same may be said also of Chile. It is the people who will now have the last say and not the Washington-blessed fascist junta, although its bloodthirsty rule may be prolonged for some time with the help of terror.

In Brazil the protests of the workers, peasants and office employees against starvation, against the unbearably high cost of living, are accompanied by a powerful mobilization of all sections of the population fighting for genuine democracy and for a domestic and foreign policy totally independent of U.S. imperialism.

Not even such a tightly closed prison like Paraguay has escaped the wave of people's actions shaking the Southern Cone and having become a distinguishing feature of the situation in all countries of the continent. The demands for democratic freedoms, an end to terror, and the preservation of the life of Antonio Maidana, heroic leader of the Paraguayan communists, are erupting into innumerable actions of resistance and presaging the overthrow of fascism.

As regards the situation in bourgeois democratic countries like Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru, it can be seen that there too, the people's strong reluctance to go on accepting dictation from imperialism is affecting political life in one way or another.

In the present situation in the Latin American countries bourgeois democracy is highly fickle. It is being eroded by scandals involving embezzlement, misappropriation and concessions to imperialism, although by and large there is a definite reluctance to yield to pressure from the International Monetary Fund and support the USA's bankrupt policy of intervention.

For instance, the communists of Peru note that the contradictions between the constitutional, pseudo-democratic form and actual content of the present regime are today becoming more distinct than ever before. And they, the communists, are worried that the concessions made to reaction in the long run facilitate ultra-reactionary military coups (the same pattern is to be observed in the situation in Colombia, Argentina and Brazil).

Under conditions of political instability the two lines that come into conflict most often are: the imperialist, that seeks to save fascist dictatorships either by camouflaging their true essence or using inconsistent bourgeois democracy to sustain its domination; and the anti-imperialist, which opposes fascism above all and, at the same time, fights for the right of the people to enforce radical, liberative, genuinely progressive changes.

The communists and other revolutionary forces are backing the second tendency, as was shown clearly at the conference in Havana.

With every passing year the masses see with growing clarity that only unity and concrete action can totally demolish the "theory" that imperialism can preserve its shaken domination either by undisguised force or by combining it with constitutional governments and some freedoms. It is only by stepping up their struggle and, depending on circumstances, changing the forms of this struggle that the peoples will be able to assert their own concept of democracy, in the fight for which the Marxist-Leninists are in the front ranks.

The conference made it plain that the verbiage about "democracy" or "Pan-Americanism" cannot hide the horrible consequences of U.S. imperialist domination: millions of unemployed, severe crises, enormous foreign debts, and the absence in the obtaining conditions of any prospects for further development. And all this is finding a way out in the struggle and growing consciousness of the masses, who ardently desire changes and liberation.

This is not a simple process, of course. Advances alternate with temporary reverses, as on Grenada, and not with such dramatic successes as might have been expected, but the overall result remains favorable to the anti-imperialist struggle of Latin America.

The exchange of opinions between the parties and organizations that are the motive force of this process produced the important conclusion that the liberation movement on the continent has reached a magnitude where Washington can no longer even hope for a "Latin Americanization" of the war it is kindling in Central America.

Following the U.S. government's open betrayal of a potential ally — the reactionary Argentine dictatorship — during the British aggression in the Malvinas, and in view of the region-wide growth of the revolutionary activity of our peoples, not a single South American country will so simply send its soldiers to kill and die in Nicaragua or El Salvador. Plans of this kind, which looked realistic when there were two entirely different levels of struggle in Central and South America, are now unrealizable. Precisely this is the reason of the in-

creasing threat of direct U.S. military intervention.

Economic fetters must be broken

Apart from their common history, geography, culture and traditions, an objective fact that unites all our nations — with account, of course, of the specific distinctions of the individual countries and zones — is that in most of the Latin American republics foreign imperialist domination has given the mis-shapen local capitalism features of dependence, thereby compounding the painful and contradictory character of its development.

This dependence, it was noted at the conference, is the instrument that the North American transnational corporations use to systematically pillage natural resources and ruthlessly exploit the Latin American peoples — peoples who live in poverty in countries that are potentially very rich.

How lasting is this instrument of oppression?

Although the task of achieving full national and social liberation is truly enormous and encounters innumerable difficulties, the example of Cuba and some Central American countries and the events now unfolding in all countries of the continent indicate that in historical terms capitalism has no future.

The striving of the U.S. imperialists to make the maximum use of the instrument of dependence in accordance with the immutable law of extracting super-profits and Washington's maniacal intention to subordinate Latin America entirely and fully in pursuance of its global strategy of winning world supremacy are, in our conditions, accelerating the debilitation of the social system based on rule by big capital and the landowning oligarchy.

The conference in Havana went deep into the question of the consequences of imperialist domination in the most important sphere, namely, the economy. All the participants accentuated two points: first, the increasing financial exploitation and the undisguised neocolonialist ambitions of the USA have become unbearable not only for the working class but also for our peoples as a whole; second, the USA is doing its utmost to shift to Latin America, as to the entire so-called Third World, the burden of its own economic crisis, to make it pay for the mad arms race. At the conference, statistics were cited to show that the 33,437 billion dollars invested in Latin America chiefly by U.S. monopolies brought the imperialists a net profit of 38,642 billion dollars in the period between 1970 and 1980.

At the conference it was justifiably pointed out that economic aggression is the reverse side of the coin of the policy of shameless interference and military intervention.

What is the mechanism of this silent but brutal aggression? Four of its main factors were mentioned.

First, the relative fall of the prices for the basic export products of our countries compared with the rapid growth of the prices of imports. We sell cheap and buy dear.

Second, the colossal debt and the steadily rising interest rates. In 1983 alone, nearly 34 billion dollars were paid by Latin American states to cover interest charges and yet their external debt keeps growing.

Third, the protectionist measures taken by Washington relative to the industrial products manufactured in the southern part of the hemisphere.

Fourth, the growing food dependence — this is a real tragedy for undernourished peoples. Starvation is spreading and the balance of trade with the USA is steadily tilting further away from our countries.

These are the factors that have pushed Latin America into a desperate financial crisis and brought its debt up to over 314 billion dollars; this is in excess of half the debt of all the Third World countries combined.

Statistics on the gross domestic product illustrate the critical state of the capitalist economy of Latin American countries.

Throughout the 1970s the gross domestic product in Latin America showed an average growth rate of 5.5 per cent. But its main consumers were by no means the working people, who continued living in poverty. Old socio-economic problems persisted and new, similarly acute ones sprang up. And yet the result is better than the indicators of those capitalist countries where the growth rate of the gross domestic product was somewhat above 3 per cent.[8] In those years people spoke of the "Brazilian miracle," which was envied by the bourgeoisie of other countries of the continent. Fascism was seen as obnoxious but "effective," and alliance with the USA seemed to be very prestigious.

But with the onset of the 1980s illusions began to evaporate.

As early as 1981 the gross domestic product in Latin America showed an average growth of only 1.5 per cent, and this indicator was dissimilar in different countries. In 1982 there was an "anti-miracle," a phenomenon which bourgeois economists ironically called a "negative growth," i.e., a decline of the gross domestic product compared with the level achieved earlier. Nothing of the sort had been seen ever

since the Great Depression of 1929-1933. In some countries the decline was dramatic, fluctuating from 5 per cent in Argentina to 15 per cent in Chile.[9] Nothing remained of the "Brazilian miracle" save an external debt of 100 billion dollars, millions of unemployed, and mothers frantic to feed starving children storming the supermarkets.

Soon after these statistics were cited at the conference in Havana, they were confirmed in the report for 1983 of the UN Economic Commission for Latin America. According to official figures, in 1983 the gross domestic product dropped by 3.3 per cent while in per capita terms it fell by 5.6 per cent.[10] And, as a contrast, the same report acknowledges that the Cuban economy grew by 5.5 per cent.

Two principal factors characterize the state of Latin America's economy in 1983: the first is the escalation of the crisis of the close of the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s, and the second is the stepped-up effort to achieve "adjustment" launched by most countries. This "adjustment" implies the closure of factories and whole industries, the lengthening of the working week, greater exploitation, rising prices for prime necessities and, it goes without saying, so-called "sanitation" measures demanded by the International Monetary Fund, which serves imperialism.

As was noted at the conference in Havana, in this stifling atmosphere the local bourgeoisie has been compelled to enter into difficult and contradictory negotiations with the USA. The question is being raised of our countries entering these negotiations jointly. A session of the Council of the Latin American Economic System in September 1983 and a Latin American Economic Conference of heads of state and government or their representatives, held last January in Quito on the initiative of Ecuador's President Hurtado Larrea, reflect this tendency. Moreover, even the leaders of the countries of our region are realizing ever more clearly that they have to unite in order to reinvigorate economic exchange, strengthen the undeveloped economies, and find new funds in order to improve the balance of payments, finance exports, and get fair prices for their basic products. Socialist Cuba welcomes efforts of this kind.

Some governments are timidly and others more resolutely suggesting initiatives that could become an alternative to the policy which the USA is pursuing with brazen arrogance through the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and other organizations.

The Havana conference brought to light a very significant circumstance, namely, that as distinct from the 1970s nobody in the so-called Third World can avoid the impact of U.S. imperialism's predatory machinations. It may be asked if the oil-producing countries are an exception? The answer to this is that today they are not.

After a relative bonanza, Venezuela has likewise fallen on bad times. It has been hit by a severe financial crisis, for which the responsibility devolves on U.S. monopoly capital and the local monopolies acting hand in hand with it. As a result, the nation now has a foreign debt of 37 billion dollars.

There has been an economic decline in Mexico for the first time in the past half-century, the inflation rate standing at 100 per cent in 1983. Mexico's foreign debt is one of the largest on the continent, while its budget deficit has reached a record level. The situation is being compounded by the traditional contradictions between Mexico and the USA in connection with the millions of Chicanos. In the United States, they, like the Puerto Ricans and the Afro-Americans, are subjected not only to discrimination but also to cruel treatment. And all of this is taking place on territories that had once belonged to Mexico and had been taken from it by a country calling itself, with no excess modesty, a "good neighbor."

In the wake of Brazil, Ecuador laid claim to being a promised land of another "economic miracle," but it now presents a pitiful picture. The local oligarchy, linked to foreign, chiefly U.S. finance capital, is seeking to ease the internal crisis by adapting the economy to the stringent demands of the International Monetary Fund. For Ecuador this signifies: an increase of its debt to foreign creditors (7 billion dollars); the transfer of the foreign debt of the private sector to the Central Bank; the opening of the domestic market to U.S. goods and capital; a dearer credit for small and middle entrepreneurs; the freezing of wages and salaries, and a cutback of public spending on health care, housing and education.

At this year's elections the Ecuadoran people threw out the Christian Democratic government, which was a servant of the oligarchy and imperialism (despite the fact that it sometimes, cautiously it is true, acted against them and convened a Latin American Economic Conference). The Christian Democrats polled only 3.7 per cent of the votes. The people unhesitantly voted for the social democratic candidates, who urged fighting against dependence on a foreign country.

Peace and social progress are indivisible

Many participants spoke of the need for greater efforts for peace. "Experience shows," it was said at the conference, "that Latin American solidarity and a determined struggle for peace in the region and the entire world are vital to the people's victory in each of our countries and on the continent as a whole. The missiles of the imperialists in Europe and on the Malvinas are targeted on us. Today, as never before, the struggle for peace has been the condition of victory over imperialism and its servitors in the battle for genuine, lasting democracy on the road to socialism."[11] This was the keynote of other speeches: ". . . the whole of Latin America is in open confrontation with the United States on the key issue of preserving peace and the very existence of the human race."[12] Yuri Sklyarov, Editor-in-Chief of *World Marxist Review*, said in his concluding remarks: "On the solution of the problem of war and peace, which is today the most crucial to all humankind, depends the solution of the other global problems facing the peoples."[13] He stressed that existing socialism was playing the decisive role in the struggle of the anti-imperialist forces along the main lines of world social development: for peace and for social progress.

The Havana conference provided further compelling evidence that the contradictions between Latin America and U.S. imperialism are irreconcilable and called for greater unity among the revolutionary forces opposed to imperialist reaction, which Washington is seeking to marshal under the flag of anti-communism.

The historical antagonism between U.S. imperialism and the Latin American peoples is objective and constant, and it manifests itself in all areas of national life. It is seen not only in the USA's military adventures but also in the fetters of subordination to capitalist corporations and monopolies, whose tentacles are in varying degree and forms reaching out to and strangling Latin American states that have not yet won their "second independence." Nonetheless, Latin America and the Caribbean have long ago ceased to be the "backyard" of the USA which Reagan dreams about and wants. With the victory of the Cuban revolution our region entered upon the path of genuine liberation. The Sandinist revolution in Nicaragua has ushered in a new phase of the struggle of Latin Americans for their freedom. Solidarity is broadening with peoples, who, fighting under different conditions, want genuine democracy, self-determination, and national and social liberation. The forces acting against the imperialist policy of aggression and dictation are gathering strength.

The conference confirmed that despite the temporary setbacks suffered by the liberation struggle, the objective social base for successful resistance to the dangerous plans of the Reagan administration is widening. Imperialism is trying to nullify every advance of the democratic, progressive, liberation people's movements, resorting to aggression, blackmail and pressure in order to obstruct the gravitation of the revolutionary forces toward unity. The communists are profoundly aware of the need for the broadest alliance of those who are victims of imperialist piracy. They advocate mutual solidarity as the guarantee that the plans of the imperialists will be confounded by the masses determined to defend and strengthen their gains.

The question of the objective contradictions between imperialism and the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean will not be removed from the agenda as long as there is imperialist interference in the movement of the peoples for democracy and national and social liberation. By smashing the fetters of dependence they will make a huge contribution to peace in the region and the rest of the world.

1. Sponsored by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba jointly with *World Marxist Review*. It was attended by representatives of more than 80 parties and organizations and was held on October 18-21, 1983.
2. In 1845 the USA annexed Texas and, in addition, as a result of the U.S.-Mexican war of 1846-1848, seized more than half of Mexico's territory. — *Ed.*
3. José Marti, *Obras escogidas*, Vol. 2, Havana, 1979, p. 486.
4. *Conferencia teorica internacional. Memorias*, Havana, October 18-21, 1983.
5. *Grenada, el mundo contra el crimen*, Havana, 1983, p. 254.
6. *Conferencia teórica internacional*, p. 3.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid., p. 67.
9. Ibid.
10. *Agencia Latinoamericana de informacion (ALAI)*, Montreal, No. 51, February 10, 1984, p. 801.
11. *Conferencia teórica internacional*, p. 131.
12. Ibid., p. 421.
13. Ibid., p. 460.

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viewpoints

Psychological warfare in the strategy of confrontation

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The most aggressive imperialist forces have been waging in the 80s a psychological war frankly placed in the service of militarism, a war using refined methods and entailing huge expenditures. It is directed primarily against the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries pursuing a policy of peace and peaceful coexistence. Adventurist groupings of monopoly capital, above all that of the USA, also want by means of this war to prevent the masses in capitalist countries from awakening to the danger of a nuclear holocaust, a danger which has increased particularly with the deployment of U.S. first-strike missiles begun on the territory of several West European countries. Imperialism would like to head off the development of the anti-war movement from spontaneous actions into more systematic and persevering efforts for disarmament and détente.

Let us look into some aspects of the current psychological war and analyze in the first place its connection with the imperialist policy of aggression, its penetration into various spheres of bourgeois society and the peculiarities of ideological subversion against existing socialism and peace supporters in capitalist countries. This examination will also cover the irrational moralizing used by imperialist ideologists in arguing for the strategy of confrontation.

Ideological basis of the policy of aggression

The militarist essence of the imperialist strategy of confrontation expresses itself primarily in the extreme aggressiveness of ideological attacks on the policy of peace, détente and disarmament. *More and more, imperialist ideology influences the framing of the foreign policy of capitalist countries and is used for its implementation.*

The role of ideology in imperialism's international policy is growing against the background of political differences in the bourgeois camp. It is important to take this into account in fighting for the prevention of a global nuclear war and for normal international relations. The psychological war which aggressive political adventurers are carrying on with the backing of the military-industrial complex has much in common with ideological attacks on socialism by bourgeois groups approaching the issue of peace in more realistic terms. However, there are distinctions; they concern not so much common aims hostile to communism and progress and intended to safeguard the existence of the capitalist system as the degree of bellicosity and the ways and means of pursuing these aims, which find a reflection in relevant ideas and policies.

Imperialist foreign policy in the 70s was influenced mainly by views maintaining that the antagonism between social systems and ideologies could be resolved without a global nuclear war, the idea being that in the long run one could do away with socialism by influencing it economically, ideologically and politically. By now it is ultra-reactionary militarist views that dominate in the United States. Changes in the world arising from the development of socialism and revolutionary movements, and even a shift in power centers in some capitalist countries and relations of competition in the capitalist world are seen by the U.S. military-industrial complex as a threat unless they benefit.

In line with the concept of "totalitarianism," existing socialism is represented as a danger to the USA and, indeed, the whole of humanity.

This leads ideologists and politicians of imperialist reaction to the conclusion that conflict, a military confrontation between socialist and capitalist countries, is inevitable. Without regard to social changes in the world or the military strategic balance of forces, they assess military strength as the decisive means of achieving their foreign policy aims. Confidence in the "wonder weapon" — a confidence which has taken root under the influence of technological thinking — bolsters the illusion that a nuclear war can be won. A chauvinist missionary mentality and reactionary morality encourage political adventurism, which makes a strategic bet on global war.

The U.S. imperialist quarters' shift to

psychological war in its most aggressive forms largely predetermines the changes in the subjective factor which have been and remain a prerequisite for evolving and implementing a strategy of confrontation. The tone is set by bourgeois ideologists, advocating the most reactionary militarist concepts. The escalation of psychological war in the 80s is prompted by the aims of ultra-reactionary groups.

We wish to stress again that the new aspects of imperialism's psychological war are due to its serving an aggressive foreign policy strategy. The imperialists attach decisive importance to military pressure as a means of implementing their policy.

Bourgeois politologists justify the Reagan administration's open reliance on force. "Diplomacy without arms is music without instruments,"[1] they declare, quoting Frederick the Great. They do not think foreign policy can do without force or the threat of force. And it is concepts like these that Washington goes by today. Provocative demonstrations of military strength, undisguised acts of aggression and the U.S. policy of reckless arms build-up *are coupled with an intensifying anti-communist psychological war* whose purpose is to help meet hegemonistic interests of U.S. monopolies.

The protracted slander campaign against the Bishop government that preceded the U.S. invasion of Grenada was one of the large-scale operations in the psychological war of the recent period. This smokescreen facilitated the activity of conspirators from the New Jewel Party and CIA agents against the lawful government under Bishop, which had the backing of the entire Grenadian people and enjoyed great international prestige. Reagan used the assassination of Bishop and destabilization as a pretext for aggression. Grenada was said to be a strong point of "world communism" being used by the Soviet Union and posing a military threat to the United States. U.S. imperialism spearheaded its psychological attack above all against the Soviet Union. At the same time it stepped up its propaganda ballyhoo against Cuba to discredit Cuba's foreign policy and, along with it, peace-loving, anti-imperialist and democratic forces in Caribbean and Central American countries. The aim was to mislead American public opinion and secure its support for the new adventures which Washington has been engineering against Nicaragua and the Salvadoran people.

In connection with the armed intervention in Grenada, Reagan said that his administration was risking the lives of U.S. servicemen to prevent humanity from drowning in a sea of tyranny.[2] The absurdity of this statement is obvious. Grenada, which had freed itself from imperialist oppression and had a small armed force for its own defense was no threat, nor could it be a threat, as an "exporter" of new social relations to the USA or any other country of the world. The allegation that under construction in Grenada was a Soviet military base and not an international civilian airport to encourage tourism was another lie, as has been proved. Imperialist advocates of psychological war shamelessly distorted the facts to create an excuse for an armed adventure.

This also applies to psychological war operations launched in preparing to deploy new U.S. nuclear missiles in several West European countries. Their deployment is made out to be an act of "completing" arsenals whereas it is an excessive arms build-up and means an increased direct threat to the Soviet Union from the United States. What is more, the reduction of the flight time of missiles substantially lowers the threshold of nuclear war, nor would that war be limited to Europe.

Psychological war strategists resort to all sorts of false allegations to justify the arms build-up, including the myth of a military threat said to come from the socialist countries; the claim that the United States can remain a great power only if it has military superiority and maintains a nuclear first-strike capability; irresponsible declarations to the effect that nuclear war is not really so very dangerous and can be waged and won; and lastly, the description of MX missiles, etc. as "peace-keeping" instruments.

These attempts to poison the moral atmosphere in the world are more dangerous than any others made since World War II. Imperialism is now fighting its psychological war in a situation in which the level of armaments is so high that even an accident due to a technical or subjective error could spark off a nuclear war.

Encompassing many spheres of public life

Imperialism's militarist ideology and actual preparations for a nuclear carnage lend psychological war a new quality by extending it to many spheres of public life.

In the *diplomatic sphere*, the fact that psychological warfare serves militarism stood out at the talks on medium-range missiles. The U.S. administration tried to use the talks for gaining military superiority, saying that the deployment of Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles in Western Europe could not be discussed with the Soviet Union because it was a NATO decision.[3] The argument, if there is any, President Reagan said, will be over which weapons and

not whether the USA should forsake weaponry for treaties and agreements.

The Geneva talks took place in the atmosphere of psychological war operations unprecedented in scope and anti-Soviet in content. There were the fraudulent "zero option," which implied a unilateral disarmament of the Soviet Union, and the propaganda campaign aimed at proving that no positive results could be achieved at the talks unless the Soviet Union made concessions. The psychological warriors' refined methods reached a high when the world was told that the blame for the failure of the talks must be put on the USSR because it rejected the demand for unilaterally reducing its medium-range weapons systems by December 1983, that is, before the deployment of new U.S. missiles in Western Europe began.

Needless to say, such a step was unacceptable to the Soviet Union and the socialist community as a whole. The rough military strategic parity attained by the Warsaw Treaty Organization in the 70s was a pillar of the policy of détente with its positive results for all nations. Today this parity is a factor for curbing the adventurism of imperialist aggressors. To be sure, it owes its decisive role in preserving peace to the fact that one of the counterbalancing sides is socialism, which is interested by nature in lasting peace.

Warlike U.S. adventurers also use pressure and blackmail to exert *psychological influence on their own allies*. True, they do not necessarily succeed. Washington's concept of a nuclear war limited to Europe and its threat to use force cause concern among realistic West European politicians.

The USA sees this reaction as an obstacle raised to the foreign policy functions of NATO by some West European government quarters. It openly puts the label of "anti-Americanism" on resistance to the frankly militarist policy of the Reagan administration. Yet the effort to spare the world a nuclear catastrophe, limit and end the arms race, and bring about disarmament, détente and cooperation between states with opposite social systems, far from being directed against the United States and its people, meets the interests of all Americans.

The bellicose diplomatic moves and aggressive adventures of the USA indicate, in the opinion of many noted politicians of capitalist countries, that the policy of the Reagan administration is becoming more and more unpredictable. This is true, of course. But spontaneous political moves are not the only cause of this unpredictability. Washington often takes this or that step to put psychological pressure on the Soviet Union and other peace-loving and progressive forces of the world while at the same time keeping its own allies in a state of tension. This object is to be furthered by, among other things, the U.S. administration's steps and mode of action in regard to cultural and other relations between states.

The same is true of the economic, trade and financial war which Washington is waging and which is inseparable from its confrontation strategy. Of course, the primary aim of this war is to do economic and political harm to the socialist countries,new national states and national liberation movements. But it also affects capitalist countries which Washington sees as competitors. Besides, it serves a psychological purpose. Specifically, the decision of the White House to impose an embargo on grain deliveries to the Soviet Union, its attempts to torpedo the gas pipeline deal between the USSR and West European countries as well as higher interest rates and a rapid increase in the exchange rate of the dollar are all designed to make U.S. partners toe the line.

The psychological war of the 80s has assumed truly worldwide dimensions. Scientific and technological progress in communications actually enable aggressive U.S. quarters to extend their propaganda, which is at variance with the interests of humanity, to the whole globe.

Socialism under attack

And so, imperialism's psychological war is expected to help accomplish the strategic task of destroying existing socialism. A special effort is being made to affect the population of socialist countries. It is in keeping with the objectives of the ideological subversion of the 60s and 70s. But while pursuing the same counter-revolutionary aims as before, *imperialism now gives its actions a more aggressive content, hoping to be able to disrupt the new system before long.*

The intensity of ideological subversion against existing socialism[4] today is characterized by a close interlocking of the struggle without arms, war preparations and an eventual war. Experts in ideological subversion, stressing the function of the first of these lines, insist that the NATO countries should make active use of the whole array of their foreign propaganda instruments to destabilize the situation in socialist countries. They believe that in this way "the confrontation between East and West could be carried through to the end without war."[5]

The nature of preparations for a "hot" war can be judged by the manner in which NATO plans and carries out its maneuvers. These are

based on the assumption that NATO could use political unrest provoked by psychological war operations as a pretext for armed aggression. This possibility was worked out during NATO staff exercises. The Pentagon assigns ideological subversion a special place in a program for the escalation of coordinated non-military and military measures. "The Pentagon's new 'defense manual' contains, in effect, plans for an emergency and an expected victory over the Soviet Union in every plane . . . from uprisings which can be instigated or used . . . to war, including atomic war."[6]

At present imperialism regards ideological subversion as a means of operational intervention. This subversion is calculated to produce results at an early date. During anti-socialist actions in the Polish People's Republic, subversive radio stations were busy fulfilling three tasks. First, they motivated counter-revolutionary actions; second, counter-revolutionary groups established contact between themselves with the help of these stations; and third, the stations incited people to come out against the state and society.

The long-standing apologia for capitalist society retains its validity in the psychological war of the 80s. It maintains that capitalist society is here to stay and is the highest form of social development, for it represents freedom and democracy and offers humanity the most favorable conditions of existence. However, this apologia is much more aggressive now. It is designed not only to stop but also to undo all social progress, all anti-imperialist, democratic and socialist development in the world, and to restore the capitalist system throughout the planet. Spokesmen of the U.S. administration declare that the time has come to transform the world according to their notion of order.

Now as in the past, *the moral and political unity of the socialist community* is a thorn in the flesh of those behind psychological war. Imperialism is continuing its attacks on the bastion of existing socialism in the sphere of ideas. thrusting in the most diverse directions, one of which is propaganda of the bourgeois conception of freedom and democracy.

What constitutes the primary target of psychological war now is *the peace policy of the socialist countries, for it meets the peoples' desire for peace.* Here the offensive is spearheaded against the Soviet Union. Imperialist propaganda foments anti-Sovietism over the issue of peace. "For as long as the Soviet authorities can make Soviet . . . mass public opinion believe their assertion that they serve world peace," ideological saboteurs write in a collective book, "they can count on at least passive support."[7]

Imperialist subversion centers slander scientific socialism by representing Marxism-Leninism as an aggressive ideology endangering peace. They falsely describe the process of replacing capitalism by a new social system, which is an objective law of history discovered and scientifically substantiated by Marx and Engels, as an aggressive doctrine of conquering the world, although the course of history has shown that aggression and wars of conquest are alien to socialism. Europe owes it to existing socialism that lasting peace has been preserved on the continent.

It is no accident that psychological war strategists fiercely attack the ability of socialism to use military strength for preserving and defending peace. Imperialist propaganda spreads the myth of a "Soviet military threat," alleging that the Soviet Union has superiority in armaments, falsifying the socialist military doctrine and claiming lyingly that socialist society is being militarized and that there exists a military-industrial complex in our countries. All this is intended to discredit in the eyes of world opinion the role of the socialist community in the effort to prevent nuclear war and ensure world peace, détente and disarmament.

Opposing the peace movement

Political and ideological suppression of the peace movement, which has intensified considerably in capitalist countries, has become a relatively independent line of psychological warfare. It consists in an effort to isolate participants in the anti-war movement inside society, to weaken and split the ranks of peace supporters, and lastly, to turn them against the chief peace force, existing socialism, by brainwashing them in an anti-communist spirit. In the United States a committee for the planning of foreign political propaganda has been set up to neutralize the movement for a nuclear weapons freeze. NATO agencies are also stepping up the "struggle for people's brains and hearts,"[8] against the peace forces in capitalist countries.

The psychological war advocates use the most varied tactics. They want to undermine and nullify the peace movement. They apply flexible propaganda methods, including demagogical protestations of the allegiance of capitalist governments to peace and defamation of peace fighters as "criminals." Added to all this is political pressure.

Here is a revealing fact. The deployment of new U.S. missiles in Western Europe and the adoption of the MX program gave rise to a movement in the USA for a nuclear weapons

freeze. Imperialist propaganda accuses participants in the movement of being "accomplices of Moscow" although even the FBI "has found no evidence of Moscow's controlling" the movement for a freeze.[9] The allegation that the movement is being directed from without is expected to conceal the fact that the similarity of the position of peace supporters in capitalist countries and that of the peoples and governments of socialist countries on the issue of averting a global nuclear war and on disarmament stems from the fundamental interests of humanity, its desire for peace, détente and mutually beneficial cooperation. Even some sections of the big bourgeoisie see elimination of the danger of a nuclear catastrophe as the main condition for the survival of humanity. A coincidence of the positions of peace forces holding different ideological and political views and belonging to different social sectors can annoy those who see in it the main obstacle to their plans for aggression.

One of the objects of imperialism's psychological war is to minimize in the eyes of public opinion the danger presented by the deployment of new U.S. nuclear missiles in West European countries. It is suggested to the population of these countries in various ways that no substantive changes have occurred and that everything will be as in the past. The obvious aim is not only to lull the vigilance of the people at a time of increasing militarization of imperialism's foreign policy, to prevent them from realizing the impending disaster, but also to vilify and isolate peace supporters. It is claimed that Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles are not dangerous at all and that peace supporters' "panic fear" and "artificial build-up of a dread of war" are completely unwarranted and unreasonable. Partisans of psychological war even make out the deployment of missiles to be an act of peace, a defense measure. On these grounds they represent participants in the anti-war movement in capitalist countries as opponents of the security of their countries.

Free use is made in the current psychological war of conservative views on the function and place of the state. Ludolf Herrmann, editor of *Capital*, a journal of the big bourgeoisie published in the FRG, writes: "In a democracy functioning on the principles of a legal state, he who rejects the law with reference to ethics is taking thereby a decisive step from freedom to dictatorship."[10] In other words, one must not resist in a "free legal state" plans leading to the annihilation of humanity. As for those who do resist them, they are put outside the pale of law and legality.

More and more persistently, peace supporters are accused of allegiance to "totalitarianism" and, indeed, compared to fascists. Karl Dietrich Bracher, a conservative ideologist, describes people's desire for peace as a "peculiar ideology" that has asserted itself, like national socialism, as a "movement" and lays claim to "monopoly" on the issue of peace. And he adds: "Operating in the border area between democracy and dictatorship, they (participants in the anti-war movement. — *H.P.*) are an incubator of totalitarian ideologies."[11] Bracher affirms that peace supporters are, at least by half, outside "parliamentary democracy" and so there is a danger of their movement evolving a "command and subordination structure" corresponding to the "fuhrer principle of national socialism."[12] The practice of defaming peace supporters in the FRG as common criminals and persecuting them on political grounds shows that such attacks by exponents of imperialist psychological war serve the implementation of the most reactionary political measures and so prevent people from upholding their most important right, the right to life.

Dangerous moralizing as a cover

Arch-conservative ideologists try to justify the political actions and methods of psychological war by resorting to irrational moralizing, which is all the more dangerous for being combined with the most aggressive anti-communism.

Wolfgang Kluxen, professor of philosophy (Bonn), declares with reference to the alleged "Soviet threat" and the imaginary danger of a "totalitarian communist dictatorship" that it is necessary "out of moral conviction to take also the risk of an atomic war, assessing all consequences in moral terms . . . When we are faced with the likelihood of physical destruction and the alternative is moral destruction, there can be no doubt what our choice should be. Human existence would truly become impossible were we to forgo what makes us worthy of it. This has to be said in a principled manner against the disgusting cowardliness of the phrase 'better Red than dead,' which implies readiness to renounce dignity."[13]

Destroying humanity in the name of misconceived human dignity — what abysmal narrow-mindedness and contempt for humanity, what absurdity this ideology betrays! Yet it is a pillar of the Reagan administration's strategy intended to liquidate existing socialism and of the confrontation policy toward progressive and peace-loving forces.

In the psychological war of the 80s, there occurs time and again a primitive contrasting of "good" with "evil," whose purpose is to infect

the masses with the bacillus of hatred for the new system. Politicians and advisers of the Reagan administration slander above all the Soviet Union and existing socialism generally, regarding them as a "deviation" from the true path of human development. Socialism is not a "normal way of life," they affirm; it is "totalitarianism," "barbarity," a "focus of evil." They allege, furthermore, that as socialism is in a state of "crisis" and is a "burden" for humankind, it is perfectly moral to liquidate it even at the cost of unleashing a nuclear war. And they see the USA as the only leading force in this, as the country "chosen by God" to deliver civilization from the threat of communism. In short, imperialist propaganda stops at nothing in whipping up war hysteria.

Bourgeois ideology gives the most diverse forms to its irrational notion of nuclear war as a "means" of vindicating man's dignity. Those who extol imperialism would like the peace forces not to accentuate the "military aspect" of nuclear arms, that is, the possibility of the population of the globe being wiped out as a result of their use. "Fear of a military catastrophe," writes Ernst Vollrath, professor of philosophy at Cologne University, "will result in political surrender and submission to the political will of the enemy."[14] The assertion is based on ideas flowing from the socio-economic foundations of imperialism, particularly the dog-eat-dog law of competition. Under this law, the international scene is an arena of antagonistic struggle in which force is the only way of asserting oneself.

"No one," Vollrath declares, "can ensure through his own good will that there is no enemy equal to subduing him. The only way to ensure this is to recognize the primacy of politics, including the policy toward the issue of atomic weapons, which is now decisive for peace and its preservation. But political comprehension connotes realization of the simple distinction between a democratic and a despotic political system. The one-sidedness of stressing the military aspect of the problem of atomic arms indicates that this distinction threatens to become immaterial. With the end of politics this would mean the end of freedom."[15]

We would like to note, however, that the use of nuclear arms in the interests of imperialist policy would be the end of all freedom, both for the working people and for capitalist exploiters, for it would mean the end of their physical existence. This is the real meaning of the slogan "Peace in Freedom" advanced against existing socialism and the peace movement time and again by advocates of the strategy of confrontation whose thinking still clings to the nuclear threat as a political instrument.

* * *

The struggle against the psychological war of imperialism is a concern of all who want peace, détente and disarmament. It is inseparable from the struggle against the danger of a nuclear holocaust, the struggle which is an indispensable precondition for the democratic and social progress of humanity.

1. *Grand Strategy for the 1980s*, Washington, 1978, p. 3.
2. See *Die Welt*, November 7, 1983, p. 5.
3. See *Der Spiegel*, July 20, 1981, p. 87.
4. U.S. imperialist ideologists have even coined the phrase "aggressive social information" to describe propaganda intended for the peoples of socialist countries.
5. Gabriel, Radnitsky, Schopper, *Die I-Waffen*. Information im Kraftespiel der Politik, Munich/West Berlin, 1982, p. 174.
6. *Die Welt*, June 1, 1982, p. 6.
7. Gabriel, Radnitsky, Schopper, op. cit., p. 178.
8. *Die Welt*, December 11/12, 1982, p. 3.
9. See *U.S. News & World Report*, April 25, 1983, p. 19.
10. Ludolf Herrmann, "Pershing fur den Rechtsstaat," in *Die politische Meinung*, No. 209, July/August 1983, p. 5.
11. Karl Dietrich Bracher, "Zauberformel und Alleinanspruch," in *Die politische Meinung*, No. 210, September/October 1983, p. 10.
12. Ibid.
13. Wolfgang Kluxen, "Gewalt und Gewaltanwendung," in *Die politische Meinung*, No. 209, July/August 1983, p. 50.
14. Ernst Vollrath, "Gesinnung reicht nicht," in *Die politische Meinung*, No. 208, May/June 1983, p. 18.
15. Ibid., p. 19.

Bourgeois Economic Thought 1930s-70s

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Problems of the workers' movement in India

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The Indian working class has its origins early in the latter half of the 19th century, during British colonial rule. It was then that the first factories and plantations employing wage labor were started. They were set up chiefly by British capital, which was attracted by the cheapness of local raw materials and labor. Gradually the rising local bourgeoisie joined more and more actively in entrepreneurship.

Since the colonial rulers needed a dependably functioning transport system for economic and military purposes, they started building railways, and today, among the developing countries, India has one of the most ramified railway networks and a quite well-developed infrastructure providing it with technical back-up and services.

But "as the bourgeoisie develops its industry, commerce, and means of communication, it produces the proletariat."[1] As Marx prophesied, the British bourgeoisie brought about the emergence of a national working class in India.[2] As time passed the latter became one of the most organized opponents of colonial slavery, of imperialist oppression.

Initially, the Indian proletariat took shape almost entirely through recruitment from the rural population, from the poorest sections of the peasantry and the landless agricultural laborers. While enlarging the ranks of workers, they brought with them the strong influence of rural social links, which were essentially feudal and semi-feudal. Moreover, they retained strong bonds with the rural communities, returning to their villages where they stayed for long periods of time and where their families remained having no possibility of moving to the town. Correspondingly, the consciousness of these workers was by no means proletarian either. It was molded by the rural society with all its complications of caste and community traditions, and prejudices.

Nonetheless, even at the early stages of the formation of the working class its struggles, chiefly in the form of strikes (whose number was sometimes quite considerable), showed that it realized that it was being exploited and oppressed by the capitalists, whether British or Indian. The workers' class consciousness gradually took shape and developed in the course of these struggles, which at first, understandably, unfolded over economic issues.

Certain representatives of that section of the Indian bourgeoisie that was directly concerned with the liberation movement quite soon came to the conclusion that the proletariat could be made to operate as quite an effective ally in the struggle for national independence. To make it easier to mobilize the workers for general movement against imperialist, colonial rule, these elements worked to strengthen their relations and ensure closer cooperation with the organized working class movement. The latter was at the time mainly influenced and controlled by liberal-reformist leaders who, on the whole, adhered to national-patriotic views.

The All-India Trade Union Congress, which was set up in 1920, was led at that time by this type of people. From the very beginning the AITUC enjoyed cooperation and support of the more radical wing of the national liberation movement headed by the Indian bourgeoisie.

At the time the AITUC was established, the communists were a very small force in it. But as the working class movement spread and gained strength and its actions became increasingly more militant, the role of the communists grew ever more pronounced. Actually, the communist groups operating in various parts of India, particularly in Bombay, where there was a very big concentration of textile workers, devoted most of their attention to work in the trade unions. In the 1920s and 1930s the communists were able for the first time to acquaint the workers with the ideas of socialism, and the need for a revolution to overthrow the capitalist system. It was then that the achievements of the October Revolution in Russia were explained to the workers for the first time on quite a mass scale. By the beginning of the 1940s the communists, along with the socialists, had become the predominant factor in the trade unions.

However, it would be an exaggeration to say that this was a trade union movement with a

highly developed political consciousness. The prevailing tendency, then and now, was to confine trade unions to individual enterprises and plants. Industrial unions are still rather the exception than the rule in India. Generally, the pattern has been factory level unions which then cooperate through some type of coordinating committee or federation. This is one of the most serious drawbacks of the Indian trade union movement.

Another negative feature is that from the very beginning it was strongly dependent upon so-called "outsiders," non-proletarian elements. The reason for this was the low education and cultural level of the workers, and their poor knowledge of the English language, while the colonial administration carried out its work almost entirely in English. Some trade union cadre were people from the shop floor who could mobilize workers for a struggle but were not sufficiently well equipped to conduct, for example, negotiations with the employers or to appear in labor courts. It should also be borne in mind that active trade union members were constantly dogged by the threat of dismissal on the slightest pretext. Thus recourse had to be made to the services of lawyers and other specialists from outside who could give consultation and advice, particularly on labor legislation, fight cases in the courts, and generally direct the activities of the trade unions. Among them there also were communists, professional revolutionaries. However, training and educating cadre from out of the working class itself remains a problem up to the present. Its solution requires considerable and ceaseless effort, and this is a slow process. Perhaps we have not given it the attention it merits.

Since India became independent, and particularly in the last, say, 25 years or so, the situation in the country has changed radically. The winning of independence cleared the decks for the relatively developed bourgeoisie of our country to push forward plans for capitalist development, to mobilize resources for further industrialization. But it soon became evident that true to its class ambitions, the bourgeoisie was out to make quick and easy profits and was not eager to invest in the building of basic industries (besides it did not have adequate resources for this). And subsequently a public sector had to be built mainly under the inspiration of Jawaharlal Nehru, who understood better than any other representative of his class that India would not have a firm foundation for its political independence until it overcame the economic handicap that made it vulnerable to pressure and blackmail from without.

With assistance primarily from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and, later, in collaboration with other states, the basis for heavy industry was laid in this country. Equipped with relatively modern and sophisticated plant, the steel, engineering, oil-refining, and chemical industries set up in the public and, to a lesser extent, in the private sector required a new type of worker differing from those who used to come directly from the villages to work on the plantation or in the jute mills. They required workers with a higher level of culture, education and professional training. As a result, during the past quarter of a century the composition of the Indian working class has undergone considerable changes. First-generation workers, who come from what may be loosely called the middle class or petty-bourgeois strata, are now predominant in the organized sector of the economy.[3] In colonial times these people aspired to take white-collar jobs. But due to lack of such employment opportunities and also because the new industries require a new type of worker, these young people went to work in these industries.

Such workers no longer have one foot rooted in the village. Their minds are less burdened by the type of feudal concepts that still dominate the rural economy. They are eager to acquire knowledge, to learn new trades and new occupations. The level of their socio-political consciousness is perceptibly higher; and the necessity of being organized in trade unions does not have to be explained to them.

However, it should be remembered that these new workers were not brought up on proletarian traditions. They are volatile, impatient, have no tradition of being able to adhere to class discipline, have strong individualist trends, and a pronounced striving for material well-being. Having their own, frequently biased ideas about how to improve their condition in society and in industry, they are not as amenable, as the old worker, to the dominating influence of outsiders. Trade union leaders have to adjust themselves to the ideology and way of thinking of these new workers in order to organize them successfully and lead them correctly.

Having become the biggest single employer, the public sector (in any case, as was envisioned by Nehru, a vision shared by the communists) has a lot of possibilities as an instrument for developing an independent and self-reliant national economy catering primarily to the needs of the nation's economic development and making it less and less dependent on foreign expertise, on foreign sources of technology and materials and so on. Although it is a state-capital sector, it can in concrete historical

conditions play an important role against imperialist and colonialist domination and pressure. But much depends on the place allotted in this sector to the working people. On this count one should say that historical development here has been more negative than positive.

In the early years of the public sector the All-India Trade Union Congress adopted what is called a two-pillar policy. This meant, on the one hand, a policy directed toward defending this sector against all manner of sabotage, attempts to discredit it, and so on. As time passed, this defense became increasingly vital on account of the growing efforts to make the public sector a sort of handmaiden of the private sector, to reduce its role to providing the infrastructure needed by local capital. Hardly anything was done to give effect to Nehru's original idea that the state should command the strategic heights of the economy. Bureaucracy and corruption, that erode it from within, prevent the public sector from unfolding its potentialities. The working class has to fight to keep this sector from going completely astray, especially in the face of such a serious threat as giving transnationals access to industries that were formerly controlled exclusively by the state.

On the other hand, while not ruling out, of course, labor conflicts and strikes whenever they are absolutely necessary to defend the working people's interests, the AITUC has sought to imbue the workers in the public sector with a positive attitude, a sense of participation in what is being done at their factories. This approach is sharply at variance with the stand of the workers employed in the private sector, especially at enterprises run by big capital, by powerful monopoly groups, including branches of TNCs, which control some industries in our country.

However, some of the minimum prerequisite factors that could imbue the working people with this attitude are missing to this day. The most important among them is the attitude of the public sector management toward the trade unions. They regard the trade unions as a necessary evil rather than as a partner in making the public sector run efficiently and properly. Another important facet of this is the question of workers' participation in management. The government has been talking for many years about schemes of such participation, but the reality is very different. Most of the public sector managements have a sort of allergy to the trade unions and see workers' participation as leading to unnecessary interference and meddling in matters which they consider to be exclusively the management's concern. At most, some individual leader of a trade union (who is not a worker himself) is made a member of the board of directors, in which he has hardly any voice.

The government has consistently opposed the type of workers' participation in management which we have always been advocating, namely, at the shop level, department level, factory level and industry level. The trade unions feel that there should be joint committees or joint management boards in which the workers, who are themselves working in the production process, should have their representatives. Such boards should be supplied with all the necessary information about various aspects of the work of enterprises and they should have every opportunity of questioning, criticizing and suggesting, making proposals for improvement and more efficient work and for weeding out waste and corruption. But so far there have been no changes for the better.

The working people are suffering from high prices, the constant erosion of their real wages, and a very high level of unemployment. They are being hit very hard by the unceasing attempts to increase the work load through rationalization. The confrontations and conflicts over these and other problems cannot be avoided in the public sector, which functions within the framework of the capitalist system.

The situation would unquestionably have been even worse had it not been for India's flourishing relations in economic, commercial, scientific and technological fields with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Their diverse assistance acts as a sort of cushion, a buffer against the worse degradations of capitalism's crisis. But by itself it cannot serve as a means of surmounting that crisis. As for the Indian government, it is looking for a way out by giving more and more concessions to the private sector while at the same time trying to "discipline" the workers in the public sector by some administrative and legal measures. A growing number of anti-labor laws are being introduced to, in fact, prohibit any kind of strikes and set more rigid boundaries for the trade unions including the possibility of government bureaucracy intervening in their internal affairs.

However, none of this is subduing the militancy of the workers. Despite the threat of losing their jobs or going to prison they do not hesitate to fight for their demands. During the past two or three years there have been many prolonged and sustained strikes in both the private and the public sectors. The struggles in the public sector are, I would say, in no way less

intense than in the private sector. First, the workers in the public sector expect more and, correspondingly, they are making greater demands. Second, their own experience tells them that if they and the trade union organizations are able to unite even temporarily, the management can be made to yield some important concessions. But this is not always the case in the private sector.

By far the main problem of the Indian working class movement is its lack of unity. This not only weakens the positions of the workers and hampers and undercuts their fightback but prevents the emergence of the kind of working class ideology which is absolutely essential if the entire movement is to be taken to a new, higher level.

The sources of the organizational and political divisions in the working class movement date back to the initial years of our country's independence. Previously there was only one central trade union organization that enjoyed general recognition and prestige. This was the All-India Trade Union Congress, where members of the Indian National Congress, communists, socialists, liberals, independents, and others were all working together.

True, there was another organization, which claimed to be a kind of rival center to the AITUC. This was the Mazdur Mahajan Sangh (Workers' and Capitalists' Organization), founded by Mahatma Gandhi in Ahmadabad. It abided by Gandhi's teachings about the "trusteeship" relations between labor and capital calling for the removal of class conflicts, notably renunciation of strikes as a form of struggle. But since the activity of this organization was confined chiefly to the Ahmadabad textile workers, it never acquired much nation-wide significance.

In the latter half of the 1940s, when it was becoming obvious that independence was within sight, the communists as a single group became the biggest and leading force in the AITUC. And the bourgeoisie decided to split the trade union movement in order to keep the workers, as far as possible, under its influence and divert them from militant struggles. The INC-led trade unions broke away from the AITUC and formed their own separate organization, the Indian National Trade Union Congress. This organization propagated the view that now that the country had become independent and we had our own national government there was no longer any need for strikes and that the workers should now cooperate fully with the new government in order to increase production and thereby help the country to prosper. The INTUC leadership warned against the "intrigues" of the communists, who, they alleged, wanted to create discord and conflicts for their own political purposes.

Later the trade unions affiliated to the socialists, the radicals, and other left groups walked out of the AITUC. At present practically all, even undisguisedly bourgeois political parties in India have their own trade union organizations or wings that follow the party's flag, its ideology and broadly its politics. By 1949-1950 the effective leadership of the AITUC passed to the communists. The class outlook of the communist-led trade unions might have developed more forcefully and more cohesively but for some negative factors. One was the split brought about in 1970-1972 by the group of unions led by the Communist Party (Marxist), which up to that time had worked inside the AITUC. This generated a great deal of confusion among left-oriented workers and caused a serious disruption of the efforts to organize and unite them.

The biggest menace to working class unity comes today from the forces of social disruption and communal reaction, which are growing increasingly more active and dangerous in, for instance, Punjab and Assam. Communalism, castism, and regionalism of an aggressive chauvinist type are profoundly influencing the workers because of the entire social and cultural background in which they grew up. Along with this there are factors such as the uneven economic, industrial development of India's various states and the tremendous impact of unemployment. In some parts of India there is strong resistance from the local population to jobs being given to people from other states or belonging to other religions. This also leads to various forms of conflicts and clashes among the workers themselves, even in the public sector. Often trade union leaders who are quite popular among the workers due to their tireless efforts to ensure the satisfaction of economic demands and improve working and living conditions, are not regarded in the same way when it comes to a question of political choice, say of voting at elections. The same workers sometimes abandon tried and trusted leaders and give their preference to people belonging to their own caste or community.

The process of shaping a genuinely proletarian class consciousness overriding differences of community, caste, region and so on is still far from being completed. To achieve this objective it is necessary to conduct constant and sustained educational work at the factories and set up groups of conscious and courageous communists there, capable of standing up against the destructive forces seeking to sepa-

rate the workers from each other and thereby to make it impossible to have a really revolutionary movement at all.

An inevitable result of the organizational and political fragmentation of the Indian working class is that a vast section of the workers are still outside any organization. It is very difficult to verify with accuracy the exact numerical strength of the trade unions in India, but definitely not more than one-fourth or, at most, one-third of the workers belong to them. The tendency in trade union circles has been to focus chiefly on workers at large modern plants employing thousands of persons with a relatively high level of education and professional training and who have a better understanding of the significance of organization and unity. Meanwhile work in the more backward industries, for instance, in the unorganized sector has been held in comparative neglect. But that is precisely where many millions of people are ruthlessly exploited. They are denied the most elementary economic, social, cultural and other benefits, and in fact are unable to enjoy even their statutory rights.

Take, for example, agricultural laborers. As a rule, they are people of the lowest rungs of the social ladder, belonging to the lowest castes or tribes. A large proportion of them are temporary or contracted workers hired for a certain period or to perform a specific job. Middlemen, contractors and employers unscrupulously deceive and rob these unfortunate people. Many of them are ignorant of the minimum wages which they are entitled to by law, and labor virtually for next to nothing. And when they begin to demand those statutory minimum wages or some other rights, they are often even physically gagged. Hundreds of thousands of impoverished landless peasants migrate with their entire families from region to region, from state to state in search of any kind of livelihood. To this day this scattered and extremely mobile mass of people stands virtually outside the framework of any effective organization. The problem of migrant labor has become more pronounced than before, but the trade unions up to now have been able to touch only its fringes. We are giving this problem serious attention, convening special meetings and conferences with a view to making unorganized workers more conscious of their statutory rights and privileges and helping to unite them.

The continuing deepening of the capitalist system's crisis is giving rise to conditions that are making cooperation and joint actions by much broader masses of the workers possible regardless of their political affiliation or ideology. We see it as a big achievement that in January 1982 nearly half of all organized workers responded to the appeal for a one-day general strike issued by a joint committee of several trade unions.

Among other things, the strikers strove for the satisfaction of the demand of agricultural laborers for a guaranteed minimum wage and of the farmers for renumerative prices for their products. Also included were general democratic demands for the extension of the public distribution system for food grains and for firm action against profiteers, black-marketeers, hoarders and others. The projection of these issues, which were not purely and simply working class issues in the narrow economic sense, helped to mobilize the working masses and, in many parts of the country, led to closer cooperation, to a sort of fraternization between the rural masses and the industrial working class.

The Communist Party is as yet by no means the predominant force in the Indian working class movement. It is nevertheless doing everything in its power to impart to the workers, at least those who are under the influence of communist-led trade unions (i.e., the AITUC), a higher sense of political consciousness. We are constantly endeavoring to educate them on the necessity not for a moment to lose sight of the perspective of advancing toward radical socio-economic changes, without which it is not possible to bring about any shift either in the conditions of the working people or in the balance of political forces in our country. The basis for such changes can only be the alliance of the industrial working class with the rural working population, particularly the agricultural laborers.

Actions in defense of peace, for the removal of the threat of a nuclear catastrophe are an exceedingly important means of raising the level of the working people's political and general democratic consciousness. Not very long ago some people contended that the workers were concerned only with their bread and butter, with jobs, with ensuring bearable conditions of life to themselves and their families, and that they were hardly interested in the problems of war and peace. But experience, particularly over the past few years, has shown that when these problems are properly explained, when the working people are shown that there is a link between the struggle for a better life and the struggle against war, against imperialism's encroachments upon the national independence of other countries, they respond very energetically.

The scale of the anti-war actions is growing steadily, with increasing numbers of organized

workers joining in them. On the initiative of trade unions there have been rallies and conventions denouncing imperialism's militarist intrigues and conspiracies in our region in the first place. The U.S. imperialists and their allies are clearly seeking to encircle India. Evidence of this is seen in the build-up of U.S. military bases in the Indian Ocean, the escalation of the U.S. military presence in the Persian Gulf, the creation of the Central Command for the interventionist rapid deployment force, and the feverish rearmament of the military dictatorship in Pakistan. Along India's northeastern frontiers a serious danger is created by armed insurgency, which is openly inspired by Peking's agents.

Large numbers of workers took part in the mammoth peace march of October 4, 1982. World Peace Days, to be held annually on September 1 by decision of the 10th World Congress of Trade Unions in February 1982 in Havana, have been quite successful. During the preparations for the Seventh Non-Aligned Summit Conference, Indian trade unions sent the leaders and the chairman of the non-aligned movement hundreds of telegrams pledging their support for the struggle against imperialism and its militarist preparations, in defense of peace and national independence.

At the Havana Congress of Trade Unions, notably in the speech delivered by Fidel Castro, much was said about the need to propagate the ideas of peace and to link them closely and concretely to the struggle of the working people for better working conditions and a higher living standard. That this is the correct approach has been shown by our own experience. In countries like India, where millions of people are unemployed and starving and are not sure where the next square meal is going to come from for their children, it is senseless to speak in the abstract about war and peace. Talk about nuclear, hydrogen or neutron bombs cannot make disinherited people forget the hunger bomb that constantly threatens them and their families. The way of thinking of Indians is not like the way of thinking, say, of West Europeans, who have known the horrors of war, although these horrors will be nothing compared with the nightmare of a nuclear cataclysm. The Indian people have no experience of this kind, but they know the meaning of acute food shortages, of tremendous unemployment and of all forms of oppression and exploitation. To mobilize them to act to save international peace, to prevent a catastrophic military conflict, the situation must be explained to them in terms which they can understand.

For the common struggle against the threat of war overhanging our planet it is of the utmost importance that on the international scene the Indian government pursues, by and large, a progressive, anti-imperialist policy of peace, non-alignment, and friendship with the Soviet Union and other peace-loving nations. This policy has the support of the Indian working class, of all Indian working people, for it is consistent with their vital interests.

1. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 162.
2. See ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 495-497.
3. Indian statistics give the organized sector as consisting of all state-run enterprises as well as private non-agricultural enterprises employing at least 10 persons. —*Ed.*

Common Market snares

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Like the other EEC countries, Greece is to participate in the elections to the European Parliament slated for June 17, 1984. As such, the political in-fighting linked to these elections has no compelling effect on the struggle of the peoples against imperialist integration. However, the significance of the present election campaign must not be underestimated.

The campaign is proceeding in a situation where the integrational processes have ground to a halt and the internal contradictions in the Common Market have grown more acute. It coincides in time — and this is the most important point — with the stationing of U.S. Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles in EEC member states. These actions are further testimony of the close bonds between the EEC and NATO, show how far the Common Market is dependent on the USA, and evoke serious concern for European peace. For that reason the strengthening of the forces of peace and progress in the voting would be a positive factor helping to organize resistance to imperialist reaction.

The Communist Party of Greece considers

that the struggle over the June elections will be very significant for Greece. Its outcome will influence the conditions for the Greek people's resistance to the consequences of membership in the EEC and for their struggle for their country's withdrawal from the community. This activity will unquestionably affect further political developments. It may be the catalyst uniting the nation's forces advocating a genuine change.

Our experience of EEC membership

In the context of the elections to the Europarliament there are a few things that we, the communists, can say. We base ourselves not only on theoretical postulates but on the actual experience of Greece's three years of full membership in the Common Market. The facts bear us out and are evidence that the party had correctly assessed the general regularities of capitalist integration and the specific character of Greece's membership in the EEC. It would be well to recall some specifics of this membership, especially as on the agenda today is the question of enlarging the community, of admitting new countries into it.

First, there is a perceptible disparity in the economic development levels of Greece and other EEC states. Greece has a poorly developed industry and a backward agriculture, and lags behind in technology. As a result, its labor productivity is half that of the median in the community. But most of all Greece is characterized by very heavy economic dependence on the USA and the Common Market.

Second, membership in the EEC means accommodation to the operating rules and norms. In effect, for Greece it was a matter not of a more or less equal *participation*, even in formal terms, but of *subordination* to a political, economic and social mechanism geared to the interests of the ruling circles in Western Europe.

Third, Greece joined the Common Market at a time when the latter was already in a serious crisis, with various of its development programs having entered an impasse.

Taking into account these specifics, on the one hand, and the EEC's imperialist character, on the other, the Communist Party of Greece had in advance assessed the serious negative effects that membership in the Common Market would have on Greece. We can confidently say now that these assessments were accurate. We have every reason to regard membership in the EEC as one of the most serious factors intensifying the already severe crisis of the Greek economy under state-monopoly capitalism and taking the condition of the working people from bad to worse.

Membership in the EEC has exacerbated the problem of employment. Whereas before membership, in 1980, the jobless rate was 3.5 per cent, today, according to official statistics, it is already 8 per cent, while unofficial estimates place it at 10 per cent. It is said that unemployment is a common problem stemming from the crisis of the capitalist economy. This is true. But it is also true that as a result of Greece's membership in the Common Market the crisis has deepened. A striking example is foreign trade. In 1980 the deficit in our balance of trade with the EEC totalled 54 billion drachmae.[1] In 1981, the first year of membership, it soared to 132 billion, then reached 166 billion and, according to some estimates, exceeded 180 billion in 1983. "We have become a market for exports from the leading countries of the community," the Prime Minister had to admit in a speech in Athens in December 1983 as Chairman of the EEC. This is, of course, at the expense of the massive ousting of national products. Hence the rising unemployment, the diminishing investments, and the growth of the external debt.

Greece's entry into the EEC was accompanied by the lifting of customs tariffs on imports. This created an entirely new situation for local businesses, which found themselves helpless in the face of foreign competition. The huge disparity in production potentials led to the bankruptcy of hundreds of them. Others, even the largest, have fallen into debt to banks and are on the brink of ruin. Hardest hit are the textile, furniture, garment, footwear and some other industries.

The country's agriculture is also in a sorry plight. The EEC imposes restrictions on the production of items such as cotton, sugar, olive oil, grapes and tomatoes, which are the raw materials for processing and adapted to the climate and soil conditions of Greece. Farmers are bearing losses on account of the low prices established by the Common Market. Lastly, membership in the community has not in any way resolved the problem of marketing agricultural products. The result has been a steady decline of farmers' incomes: by 7.1 per cent in 1981, 3 per cent in 1982, and 4.5 per cent in 1983.

EEC membership has negatively affected also our trade with socialist countries. This is all the more deplorable because this trade has always enabled Greece somehow to blunt some socio-economic problems. Formally, the EEC does not, of course, interfere in this trade, but insists that it be limited and, above all, subordinated

to the aims of the monopolies. One of the forms of these restrictions is the so-called "compensation deduction." Greece is being forced, say, to import meat from EEC countries. If Greece were to buy it from socialist states it would have to pay, for instance, 133 drachmae in "compensation deductions" for a kilogram of veal. As a result, our imports from socialist countries are diminishing, while the Greek consumer is having to pay ever higher prices for imported goods.

The consequences to other sectors of the economy are analogous. It should therefore be emphasized that not a single program of basic economic and social changes can be carried out while Greece is a member of the Common Market. On the whole, the national economy gravitates toward increasing dependence on foreign monopoly centers, and this affects not only the economy but all other areas of the nation's life.

EEC membership has seriously affected Greece's foreign policy. This was seen most strikingly after PASOK (Panhellenic Socialist Movement) came to power in October 1981. It became obvious that some of the government's political initiatives, for example, its suggestion for postponing the deployment of U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe, were getting a hostile reception in the community. At the same time, the EEC brought undisguised pressure to bear on Greece to bring its policy more into line with the objectives of imperialism's cold war (measures against Poland, condemnation of the USSR over the incident involving a South Korean aircraft, and so on).

By and large, it may be said that Greece's membership in the Common Market is a serious barrier even for the PASOK government's intended democratic changes or simply changes serving to modernize the system of state-monopoly capitalism. In the person of the EEC, the right-wing forces have found an ally in their resistance to all changes that could threaten the free hand enjoyed by the monopolies or could threaten to reduce Greece's foreign dependence. As a matter of fact, this was the political motivation of the Greek ruling class in choosing to enter the Common Market.

Position of the political forces

In the question of the attitude to the EEC the Communist Party of Greece is today opposed to other political forces: to those who had always urged membership and to those, which, like the PASOK leadership, are now backing down with unconvincing arguments. I think a comparison of some elements of the various attitudes will give a better understanding of the issue.

In the context of the economy, for instance, the advocates of EEC membership, unable to hide its negative consequences, usually accentuate so-called "advantages" as a counter-balance. They have in mind chiefly the funds allocated to Greece by the EEC. Indeed, in the course of three years (1981-1983) Greece received 118 billion drachmae. We, too, are in favor of Greece receiving these allocations as long as it is a member of the Common Market. It should even demand more money, because the funds it is given are only partial compensation for the losses it is incurring as a result of EEC membership. It is estimated that in the past three years this loss amounted to at least 400 billion drachmae, a sum that is far in excess of the allocations from the community. Let me add that the investments in, for example, agriculture go mostly to big industrialist and businessmen rather than to the rural producers.

But this is only one side of the coin. The other, out of which the most serious consequences have been ensuing for some time, is that Common Market funds are serving as a new and powerful instrument for state-monopoly interference in the economy with at least two clear-cut objectives.

The first is to impose on Greece a model of economic development consistent with what the EEC monopolies want. By making its allocations the community is blocking the use of bigger funds from the Greek budget or defines the areas in which these allocations should be used. It is guided not by Greece's requirements but by the interests of the Common Market monopolies.

The second is to put over "social" demagoguery because only a small fraction of the money received from the EEC is used for socially useful requirements or as aid to particularly disadvantaged regions, for instance, in a mountainous locality. These are a sort of "advertising" expenditure.

The evolution of the ruling party's (PASOK) attitude to Greece's membership in the Common Market is noteworthy. When it was in the opposition this party, like the CPG, maintained a negative stand to the EEC. In parliament it voted against the membership treaty and promised it would hold a national referendum on this question as soon as it came to power. The elections to the European Parliament, held in October 1981 (at the same time as the elections to the Greek parliament), were in fact that referendum. The parties opposed to membership (CPG and PASOK) polled 55 per cent of the votes. But when it came to power PASOK did not raise the question of the Common Market in the parliament and, despite its promises,

did not hold a referendum. It preferred to accommodate itself to the EEC, sending it a memorandum requesting more favorable terms, which could not, of course, have any radical impact in the sense of offsetting the negative consequences of membership. But even this memorandum was ignored, and for that reason PASOK and the government formed by it bear the full responsibility for the current effects of Greece's membership in the Common Market.

The ruling party is trying to react to the situation: it criticizes the consequences of membership but says that today withdrawal from the EEC would cost more than remaining in it. This sort of logic does not convince even those who support the government. The notorious "cost of withdrawal," if such exists, is absolutely incomparable with the pernicious effects of Greece's continued membership in the Common Market. It is similarly incomparable with the immense political significance of Greece's liberation from subordination to the mechanism of domination and exploitation, a liberation that would open new potentialities for social progress.

Naturally, we remain principled opponents of the patent and main advocates of Greece's membership in the EEC, chiefly the right-wing forces. Through their political party, New Democracy, they at first urged association and then, having signed the relevant agreement three years ago, urged our country's entry into the Common Market. Let me mention a curious fact: those in Greece who call themselves Eurocommunists are fellow-travellers of the right-wing forces, having from the very beginning supported the option of the ruling class in favor of the EEC. Initially, they camouflaged their policy, maintaining that membership would facilitate the people's struggle for social changes. Today, with the EEC showing plainly that it is a hindrance to any progressive change, these same people, instead of being objective, are more aggressively attacking the CPG and becoming the principal protagonists of further imperialist integration. Against all logic they defend the view that EEC membership is the only effective way of resolving the country's problems.

Misidentifying the objective trend toward the internationalization of economic life with the specific institutional form of the Common Market, which the West European monopolies have attempted to give this process, the Eurocommunists in Greece regard the formation of the EEC as a manifestation of a universal regularity and Greece's participation in it as inevitable. They conceal the EEC's class character and declare that it can be adapted to the interests of the working people through gradual changes in policy. We do not consider that the economic and political tendencies in the EEC in any way reinforce arguments of this kind especially today, when the operation of the law of capitalism's uneven development is seen more distinctly than ever before in the EEC's history.

It is important to note the political results that stem from this concept: agreement with the EEC of the monopolies, subordination to its objectives, adaptation to the logic of the intensification of imperialist integration. Indeed, as the above shows, the main economic effects of Greek participation in the Common Market stem from the principles underlying it, chiefly, the free movement of capital, goods and people. These give the impression that the member states are equal. But actually they are no more than a method of camouflage, of legalizing and consolidating Greece's essential inequality in its relations with the community.

The argument in favor of the plans for expanding this sort of integration is that no country can single-handedly cope with the present crisis in the capitalist world. This argument is in a measure true not only relative to the crisis but also to other important problems that require joint international action. But it cannot justify the view that the EEC is the only and most effective form of promoting international cooperation, at least as concerns a country like Greece. We have in mind, of course, not only the Greece that will be free of capitalism but also the Greece of today. The CPG is strongly in favor of cooperation among states on a basis of equality and mutual benefit. This is precisely what reinforces its opposition to the Common Market, which does not ensure the conditions for genuine equality but, on the contrary, formalizes Greece's unequal and subordinate status in the imperialist system.

It is also a fact that international cooperation is not limited to Western Europe, although there unquestionably are problems common to all the European peoples in the first place. These include the removal of nuclear weapons, the preservation of peace, and the conversion of the Mediterranean into a peace zone. Nor should we forget that the notion of Europe consisting solely of its western part is linked to the reactionary approach to this issue. International cooperation generally and European cooperation in particular is inconceivable today without interaction with socialist nations and Third World countries. We do not see the road to such cooperation as lying exclusively through the Brussels corridor.

"EEC — No! Change — Yes!"

The CPG and other progressive forces in Greece developed their activities in recent years in keeping with our assessment of the character of the EEC and the place held in it by Greece. We took into account the new reality springing from the bitter effects of Greece's entry into the EEC three years ago and the collision of our party's views with those of other political forces. Within this framework a struggle is unfolding under the main slogan "EEC — No! Change — Yes!" on the eve of the elections to the European Parliament. There are some who feel that since it was impossible to prevent Greece from joining the EEC there is hardly any point in seeking its withdrawal. They argue that EEC membership is now a fact and that we should accommodate ourselves to it. They say that efforts should be confined to trying to reshape the Common Market from within, to change the EEC of monopolies, as it is today, to an EEC of working people. Our party is, we believe, quite successfully combating this opportunist argument.

Of course, membership in the EEC is to some extent obstructing the popular struggle. It is creating new mechanisms for misleading the people. In particular, since some decisions are made in Brussels, the government, citing this, washes its hands and declares it is helpless to do anything about them. This is making it harder to organize actions against these decisions.

At the same time, EEC membership is exacerbating problems of the people's life and the contradictions of Greek society, opening up new areas for mass action, and giving the people's movement a more clear-cut anti-monopoly, anti-imperialist orientation. Workers, peasants and artisans of differing political persuasions are uniting to resist the political consequences of Greek membership in the community. To some extent these consequences are radicalizing the middle strata and the section of the peasants affected by them. Little wonder that throughout the past few years the struggle against EEC membership has remained a sensitive issue and we can say that today it is as urgent as it was three years ago. The need for it is now understood by larger sections of the people, but this is not to say that they are entirely convinced that Greece should withdraw from the Common Market.

Our party has played and plays a vanguard role in putting forward and spreading arguments against Greek participation in the EEC and in organizing action against the effects of this participation. In the Europarliament and outside it, on the international scene, joint actions are being developed with other communist parties and progressive forces. The purpose of these actions is to influence the concrete form of resolving problems in the EEC through genuine international cooperation based on equality and mutual benefit.

Opposition to the Common Market and to the consequences of participation in it has been almost always one of the main objectives of popular actions throughout the past years thanks to the initiatives of the Greek communists. It is for this reason that public organizations controlled by non-communists and in some cases by proponents of ideological schools radically alien to us often request our support for actions in defense of their members' interests.

In addition to their intensive explanatory work among the Greek working people, the CPG deputies in the European Parliament (at present there are three) use their presence in it to steadfastly uphold our national interests in the EEC. They spoke strongly in support of a settlement of problems, important to the working people, that have arisen or been aggravated as a consequence of membership in the community. Our comrades have censured the Genscher-Colombo plan for integrating the foreign and military policies of the member states. They voted against the Spinelli report, which, in effect, called for an extension of the European Parliament's powers to the detriment of national parliaments. While taking a negative stand toward the plan to enlarge the supranational powers of EEC agencies, we support any measures than can minimize the reactionary and anti-people's character of their functions. And, of course, while demanding an "improvement" of the community we do not lose sight of the fact that this pursues the aim solely of limiting the consequences of membership.

Hence the great significance of the pronouncements of our Europarliamentarians on basic international issues: for peace and disarmament, against Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles; for solidarity with victims of imperialist aggression and of repression by dictatorships; on major national issues — in defense of Greece's independence; against pressure from the USA and NATO; in defense of the just cause of the Cypriots.

With the elections to the European Parliament drawing ever nearer, the Communist Party of Greece is reinforcing to the utmost its efforts to rally the broadest popular masses. A resolution passed at a CPG Central Committee plenary meeting in December 1983 declares: "The main guideline of the party's pre-election

work is the fight against the existing consequences of Greek participation in the EEC, coupled with the objective for the withdrawal of our country from it. The party is addressing itself not only to those in favor of withdrawal from the EEC, but also to those who demand consistent defense of their interests within the EEC."[2]

Our adversaries hold the view that there is no sense in enlarging the party's position in the European Parliament since we advocate withdrawal from the Common Market. But it is precisely this consistent attitude of the CPG that makes it the staunchest champion of the working people's interests as far, of course, as this is possible in such a reactionary and, in many respects, decorative agency. Recognition of this may be seen in the fact that at the preceding elections to the European Parliament (1981) the Greek communists won 13 per cent of the vote, and in the elections to the national parliament in the same year, 11 per cent of the vote.

The maturity level of the people is such that we are confident that more of them than ever before will rally to the CPG list at the June voting. "Our party's electoral list," said the CC General Secretary Charilaos Florakis in January 1984 at a rally in Salonica, "is a list of cooperation with all progressive forces, movements, and personalities who wish to contribute to the attainment of changes and to the defense of national interests."[3]

1. In February 1984 U.S. $1 was equal to approximately 104 drachmae. — *Ed.*
2. *Rizospastis*, January 4, 1984.
3. Ibid., January 27, 1984.

Wide interests and an active role

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The women's question is one of the most acute socio-political issues in the FRG. Women have now become an effective force in the mass peace movement. As never before they are fighting tirelessly not only for their own material independence but also for self-assertion in society, against archaic ideas about their role in society. They have been activated mainly by the increased danger of war and the most serious economic crisis ever to hit the Federal Republic, a crisis that is accompanied by a high unemployment level, plant closures and mass dismissals. This article focuses on the latter aspect of this question.

Social dismantling by the government has greatly increased the severity of the effects of the crisis. Some measures in this direction were started as part of Operation-82 (the name given to budget cuts), and others are to be put into effect in the next few years. Larger subsidies to entrepreneurs, the swift growth of military expenditures through drastic cuts in wages, and the reduction of allocations for social needs and education have become a heavy burden for wage-workers and have complicated the condition of women, especially in the lower social strata.

Official statistics in the FRG indicate that the proportion of women among the unemployed is higher than the median, comprising nearly 49 per cent in 1982, while the proportion of women in the active population was 34 per cent. However, official sources give no data about concealed labor resources, which have reached between 50 and 60 per cent of the unemployment level. In most cases these are women not eligible for financial support and having no hope of finding jobs. But they are clinging to their rights and their influx into the labor market is not slackening. It is particularly indicative that in recent years there has been a growth of the percentage of married women and mothers looking for jobs.

However, those holding jobs likewise have quite a few problems. One of the biggest of these is the deterioration of working conditions. The day-to-day production regime is very strenuous, and the installation of new machinery leads to the disqualification of women workers. As a rule, in industrialized capitalist countries female labor is increasingly employed in health-hazardous and low-paid industries requiring low skills and offering practically no prospects for advancement. Part-time employment is becoming widespread, depriving women workers of social and old-age insurance and of sickness and pension benefits because they cannot reach the necessary wage level and build up the needed seniority.

The consequences of social dismantling are affecting the condition of women outside the

production sphere as well. The shortage of childcare institutions, the worsening medical services, and the cutbacks in social services are affecting women in the first place, because traditionally they bear the brunt of family duties.

The right-wing coalition now in power in Bonn is particularly zealous in its support for outdated views about the role of women in society. The conservative forces are stiffening the ideological campaigns directed against the emancipation process, and this is evoking protests from women seeking "self-realization," in other words, self-assertion in society, an improvement of their condition in all areas of economic, social and political life.

It must be recalled that prior to the 1960s opinion in the Federal Republic was heavily in favor of the notion that the sole business of women was to look after the home and be mothers. People were still influenced by the reactionary concepts left over from nazi times. Unlike the GDR, in our country no radical antifascist reorientation took place in this respect.

Female labor, for which there was a particularly high demand after the war, was seen as a temporary phenomenon. The anti-socialist propaganda of the cold war period caricatured female labor as the result of extreme poverty and the absence of personal freedom. This ploy was used to justify various forms of discrimination: impingement of rights in education and professional training, the patriarchal petty tutelage institutionalized in laws on the family, the undisguised oppression with the establishment of "women's" wage rates. Anti-communism, adopted as state doctrine, became a form of fighting those who acted against this sort of discrimination.

The departure from traditional notions about the role and place of women in society commenced in the mid-1960s. After the Social Democrats and the Free Democrats won the parliamentary majority at the 1969 elections and formed the government, the development of the education and health systems as well as of the network of social institutions, became a major component of the coalition's domestic policies. With the slogan that "the right to education is the legitimate right of the citizen" a campaign was started for the acquisition of knowledge. This was consistent with the striving of women for education, which was met only partially.

At first the new opportunities for study began to be used mainly by women from the middle strata. Large numbers went to schools, special educational establishments and institutions of higher learning. There was a marked increase in the number of women taking refresher courses, studying in evening schools without discontinuing their work, or attending other educational establishments. This was facilitated by the creation of more jobs in the social services, the teaching profession and scientific institutions.

These processes also benefited the condition of the people of working class origin. They saw that a good school education was the guarantee of a secure future. Thanks to the successful fight for higher wages, the living standard rose as a whole, and there appeared an additional source for increasing the family budget, namely the wages of the wife. In many families girls got the opportunity to acquire, upon finishing school, professional training at technical colleges before taking jobs.

The objective social changes and the new ideological currents cast doubts on the obsolete notions of the family, education, the organization of political life, and the norms affecting gender relations. The emancipation of women became one of the principal political issues.

Women students at institutions of higher learning and skilled women workers were the first to perceive discrimination consciously. They drew public attention to the specific problems of their condition. People from the middle strata gave impetus to the women's movement, helping to inject vigor into it, and making it more differentiated.

These groups acted against the old notions of the distribution of roles in society, of the relations between men and women, advancing the motto that the private belongs to the public. While formerly the proponents of emancipation had demanded mainly an improvement of the education of children in both public and private schools, in the period of the campaign over Article 218[1] a current gained prominence in the movement by focusing political activity on asserting the "new identity of women." Its nucleus consisted of women from the middle strata. In the struggle for the repeal of this article, they acquired new political experience. They were later joined by a growing number of working class women. However, their needs began to get attention only when the debate turned to the material and social aspects of this issue. Pressure from feminists and women socialists, and their demonstrations and "public trials" compelled the social-liberal coalition, after some hesitation, to come out in favor of a revision of the above-mentioned article. All this contributed in large measure to giving women greater confidence in their strength. The experience of joint actions reinforced their striving to influence the processes of society's life and defend their own interests in an organ-

ized fashion. In the 1970s there was a growth of the number of working women in the trade unions and the parties of the social-liberal coalition.

This militancy influenced the formulation of trade union policy on the women's question. There was a dramatic increase in the number of women committees in the Federation of German Trade Unions and in branch trade unions. In the period from 1959 to 1975 the number of women in the production councils of industrial enterprises doubled. Work among them rose to a qualitatively higher level. This is exemplified by the series of victories in the struggle against discrimination, notably the successful strike of women workers of the Pierburg firm in 1973 in the town of Neuss, where a five-day action brought about the cancellation of the lower "women's" wage rate.

However, with the escalating breakdowns of the capitalist economy there was a growing gap between requirements and the potentialities for meeting them. The more the crisis narrowed the range of reforms, the deeper and more distinctly women saw the problems facing them.

Women with high skills sought to use their professional knowledge, but they were denied this right. The hardest hit were those who had finished institutions of higher learning in response to the calls for education. Those who managed to obtain jobs in their professions found more and more frequently that despite the declarations about equal opportunities, their rights were being impinged, for instance in wages, the acquisition of higher skills and promotion. This generated a competitive attitude toward men and struggle at workplaces, which in some cases prevented working women from understanding that men were being subjected to the same exploitation.

Many women who were given jobs when business was booming now found themselves in the reserve army of labor again. Their own experience made them see that the spate of promises had no substance.

The crisis gives at times a feeling of helplessness, reconciliation to their lot and causes women to find solace in private life, but at the other pole it leads to growing militancy. Depending on their status in society women defend the positions they had won differently and suggest different solutions to social problems. On the one hand, there are widening actions by women workers in production, a further activation of women in the struggle for peace and their participation in "civil initiatives," but, on the other, movements such as "new motherhood" appear.[2]

After the euphoria of reforms in official policy was superseded by demagoguery about "surmounting the crisis," the women's movement was posed with the task of developing an alternative course, of uniting and strengthening its ranks. But the existence within it of disparate groups compounds the solution of this problem. Conditionally, these may be divided into three main categories.

The first consists of women officials in trade unions, parties, and other "traditional" organizations. A particularly active role is played by those who adhere to a left orientation in trade unions. These contribute to the actions of the extra-parliamentary opposition, of the organized Left, the working class and democratic movements. However, they often have to fight to make these "traditional" organizations accord more attention to the problems of women. The work of women militants in the trade unions and political parties is often hindered by the "anti-women" slant in the activities of these organizations, hindering the growing of their social base. More women can be enlisted into the trade unions and political parties only if the prospects open up before them for independent political activity aimed at resolving the women's problem.

Among the parties, such opportunities are offered notably by the Communist Party. The reason for this is that there is a self-evident coincidence between the stand of the Communist Party and the demands of the participants in the women's movement professing Marxist and socialist views. Moreover, in the DKP they can act more energetically and with greater confidence than in the Establishment parties, participating in joint political struggle for demands common to all communists. However, in this lies the danger that pressing political problems may obscure the matters especially affecting women.

The second current in the women's movement is, we feel, made up of proponents of new forms of participation in political life: "civil initiatives," "alternative projects" and "spontaneous groups."[3]

The women participating in actions focusing on various problems of society's life are now beginning to think in broader terms. Discontent with their status induces them to go deeper into the essence of society's problems. The character of participation in new social movements depends not only on the consciousness but also on the objective class affiliation of different categories of women. Take the democratic *non-proletarian protest*. This is not merely an intermediate station on the road to other forms of politicization limited to bourgeois-progressive objectives. It accentuates the demo-

cratic potential of the forces that can subsequently, within the framework of the anti-monopoly struggle, create the preconditions which would allow moving beyond bourgeois-progressive objectives. In all likelihood these forces will stick to independent positions for a fairly long time. Here considerable changes can eventually be achieved by joint actions. It is important that women oriented toward the socialist prospect should show a readiness for such cooperation, for forming new alliances differing from those that were set up during the actions against the Berufsverbot, against the enlistment of women into the Bundeswehr, or for celebrating International Women's Day.

The struggle for common interests and the striving to participate in political life in order to improve their condition can thus be the foundation for joint action by women belonging to political parties and trade unions, on the one hand, and to the "initiative groups" on the other. A lack of links between them would adversely affect the working class movement's cooperation with new social currents. Mutual solidarity acquires vital significance in the policies of the anti-monopoly alliance.

The third category of participants in the women's movement may be very loosely characterized as "autonomous." Between this and the second group there are some overlapping nuances and, besides, it is extremely heterogeneous. The "autonomists" put their "independent," subjective world view against what they call "fossilized objective conditions." Although they advance some ideas for the reshaping of society, they proceed from assessments solely of their own being, from utopian thinking and an abstract negation of realities.

Views of this kind often acquire a dogmatic character in their radical-feminist forms, taking their proponents into an ivory tower, separating them from women socialists and communists, and making it difficult for the "autonomists" to participate in alliances. Fear of losing their independence leads to their isolation and the narrowing of the spectrum of their political activity. However, they are gradually coming round to understanding that in absolute terms the "independence" demand is a fiction, because the activity of women's groups is independent only to the degree permitted by social conditions.

Membership in such groups can serve as a stage of transition to other forms of public activity, chiefly for women who, for example, work according to their professions and take part in movements such as the struggle for peace.

In the FRG the scale of political activity by women is now expanding. In recent years the proportion of women in the Establishment parties has reached approximately one and the same level. In 1980 this proportion was between 21 and 23 per cent in the SPD, the CDU, and the FDP (it is markedly smaller only in the CSU), although formerly there were essential distinctions.[4] However, to this day the promotion of women to leading positions remains an exception and is a device for distracting attention. They usually hold minor office.

In some other parties the proportion of women is higher: in the DKP, for instance, it is 40 per cent. Among the Greens it is 25 per cent. In the leadership of these parties — at grassroots, middle, and the highest levels — there likewise are more women than in the parties of the Establishment, although this number is smaller than might have been expected.

The proportion of women is growing in the trade unions: 15.3 per cent in 1972, 19.6 per cent in 1975, and 20.7 per cent in 1982. The highest percentage constitute women working in the textile and garment industries, the trade network, banks, insurance agencies, science, education, and the tanning and shoe industries. Women are contributing more than men to the growth of the overall trade union membership.

There is an insignificant number of women in the elective bodies of the trade unions; for example, in 1979 only 9 per cent of the members of district boards were women, and in 1982 women comprised only 11.6 per cent of the delegates to the federal convention of the Federation of German Trade Unions.

The discrepancy between women's readiness to participate in the activities of parties and trade unions and the distribution of leading posts (to which mostly men are elected) in these organizations gives women militants a sense of bitterness. This explains why many of them are attracted to the above-mentioned groups and associations that sprang up in the 1970s and became known as "women's initiatives."

Members of these associations denounce obsolete notions of what the place and role of women should be in society. The range of activities of these groups is quite wide. Some address matters related entirely to the life of women — the bringing up of children, medical care and so forth. Others urge priority of the manual processing of natural products over some forms of chemization and technicalization of monopoly production of consumer goods. Cultural groups (women's theaters, orchestras, film-making groups, and publishing houses) are working very successfully — in-

cidentally, commercially as well — to end the silence in monopolized cultural life about the problems worrying them. Moreover, there are groups uniting women by profession and acting against discrimination at workplaces and the unequal terms given to women in collective bargaining agreements. The interests and activities of the "initiative groups" include the problems at workplaces, the distribution of roles in the family and society (the kitchen and the nursery — for women), the double burden borne by women (at work and at home), and protests against enlistment of women for military service and against militarization ("Women in the Bundeswehr? We say 'No!' ").

This manifold activity mirrors the discontent that women feel about the limited opportunities for their development, their understanding that they have to fight, their striving to understand and resolve their own problems, and their non-acceptance of the male claim to supremacy. Some groups, chiefly feminist, contend that day-to-day oppression can be ended only if the women's movement is autonomous. This stand has its strong and weak points. For example, the specific issues being raised by the feminists and their slogans in the spirit of "all women are sisters" are getting strong support from many women in the FRG and help them to come out of isolation. But by veering steeply away from traditional institutions and confining themselves to their specific problems, the radical feminist groups create new obstacles to the solution of social problems common to all women.

Unlike the other, notably democratic and socialist groups, the "autonomous" women's movement often deliberately keeps clear of issues related to the social confrontation.

Some organizations, one of which is the Democratic Women's Initiative, in which quite a few communists are active, reject this sort of orientation. The DWI wants an alliance with all progressive forces and, in particular, with the trade unions and political parties fighting for women's rights.

The roots nourishing the women's movement reach out not only into the middle strata but also into the working class. The peace movement has contributed hugely to broadening the social composition of the women taking part in political actions. For instance, the "civil initiative" movement, which demands changes in and an extension of social services and the education system, is acting in opposition to the "red pencil" policy (the cutting back of allocations for social requirements) and to the deployment of U.S. nuclear missiles. There is a growing awareness of this interrelation, and it makes the actions by women politically more significant. They censure not only the reductions in staff and places in kindergartens but also the consequences of these measures — the ousting of women workers from the production sphere to the household and their loss of opportunity to develop their professional abilities.

It is still difficult for the "initiative" movements to find an approach to housewives. However, an increasing number of the latter see their dependent condition as an onerous burden, and external circumstances are inducing them to join in social activity. The growing social contradictions are increasingly affecting the personal interests and life of families, giving rise to concern for the future of children. Apart from the calamitous condition of kindergartens and schools there are many other problems. Lead-contaminated vegetables, cadmium-contaminated lettuce, the "plastic" bun, the rising cost of energy, the apprehensions about the husband losing his job and, of course, above all, the deployment of nuclear missiles in the neighboring woods, where hitherto families liked to spend their leisure hours are indications that the threat hanging over life can no longer be shrugged off as the fantasy of "left demagogues." This threat has now become real.

The Communist Party is showing that there is an interdependence between the various struggles of women and is helping to unite their efforts. In this respect it is vital to explain that there is an indivisible link between the inequality of women and the exploitation and oppression of the working class.

It is imperative that the women's movement should spread to new spheres of struggle. An understanding of this imperative came from the broad discussion of the DKP's draft program on the women's question.[5] Whatever the distinctions that now exist among women in their understanding of their social condition and in their readiness for political action, they can have no alternative to joint political actions. The communists are doing their best to sustain this activity and draw into it a much larger number of working class women. The policy of alliances is a key precondition for the success of the women's movement for their rights which is an inalienable component of the general struggle of the democratic forces for peace and social progress.

1. An article of the FRG Penal Code prescribing imprisonment for a term of up to five years for abortion. A

women's movement to abrogate this article commenced in the FRG in 1971. Something has been achieved in recent years to soften it, although it has not been abrogated. Today this is a mass movement and it continues to grow. — *Ed.*

2. This idea is widespread among young feminists, who feel that the basic vocation of women is to bring up children, new citizens. Work in a chosen profession is considered secondary and alienated labor. Exponents of the "new motherhood" are often passive toward the struggles of the working people. This theory is skilfully used by the conservative politicians to oust women out of the labor market.

3. These groups act spontaneously, refusing to recognize formal organizational structures. — *Ed.*

4. In 1965 the proportion of women was 17.8 per cent in the SPD, 13.3 per cent in the CDU, and 7.8 per cent in the FDP. — *Ed.*

5. This program, "For a Democratic Women's Policy: Principles and Demands of the DKP," was adopted at the eighth plenary meeting of the DKP Board in August 1983. — *Ed.*

"My books have gone back home"

Alex La Guma
General Secretary,
Writers' Association of Asia and Africa

ARTISTS IN STRUGGLE

Alex La Guma, an outstanding figure of contemporary African literature, a staunch champion of freedom, justice and peace, enjoys wide popularity. *A Walk in the Night, And a Threefold Cord, The Stone Country* and other books have earned him international renown. They have appeared in large editions in dozens of socialist, capitalist and developing countries. His literary work won him recognition at the Fourth Afro-Asian Writers Conference, which awarded him the Lotus Prize. A revolutionary prose writer, La Guma owes his popularity not only to the depth and emotional power of his books but also to his public activity; he is the representative of the African National Congress in Cuba.

Continuing our discussion on the role and responsibility of artists in today's world,* we publish La Guma's answers to questions put by a member of our staff.

Q. What factors influenced your political views and sympathies and the formation of your outlook as a writer?

A. I will begin with the family, which undoubtedly played a part in forming my views, my ideas, my sympathies. I come from a communist family of Capetown, where I was born in 1925. My father was a trade union activist, founding member of the Communist Party of South Africa. I grew up in the atmosphere of political discussions that took place in our home. I listened as a young person to my father's conversations with others and tried to understand clearly what I heard. So it is natural that as I grew up I took part in the struggle for freedom and social justice by working in the Communist Youth League and writing for the democratic press. In the end I joined the Communist Party, which was legal at the time.*

But besides the environment in my home, I largely owe my formation as writer to my social surroundings. The fact is that after school I went to work in a factory and found myself among working people. What I came across in real life struck me and helped me understand many things.

I could see how the workers were exploited, and how they suffered. I came to know the day-to-day problems they had, the hopeless condition of their families and other slum dwellers. Those outcasts of South African society were poor, they were backward, they were unconcerned. Many of them died inside themselves like trees eaten by worms beneath the bark. I was amazed at their tolerance, their resignation. I couldn't understand why they didn't want to do something about it, why they didn't change these conditions but drifted along without a murmur, year after year. Subsequently I realized that things were actually much more complicated but what I saw and thought about in my youth played an important part in my creative work.

I suppose my first inspiration or stimulation to become a serious writer was when I worked as a journalist for a progressive weekly newspaper in South Africa, *New Age*. On that occasion I was compelled to write a great deal, to report facts and news, to comment on them. In the end it occurred to me that the facts which I was reporting could lead to creative work.

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*See *WMR*, Nos. 6 and 9, 1983, and No. 1, 1984.

*The South African Communist Party operated legally from 1921 to 1950. In those years it was called the Communist Party of South Africa. — *Ed.*

Of course, there was also the influence of the many books of classical authors I read — Victor Hugo, Henri Barbusse, Maxim Gorky and others. Many of the writers whose books I read in my youth had a certain outlook on life, on humanity, on its past and future. I was interested in their approach to the reality they depicted, in their implied political attitudes, in their ability to express their views unobtrusively, by means of details of seemingly little importance. All this helped me become a creative writer.

Q. What would you describe as the main themes of your creative work and why?

A. I've said that the condition of the slum dwellers of Capetown had an impression upon me. I also realized on getting to know the people of African ghettos better that their apparent apathy, their tolerance, their resignation were only one side of the coin and that the other was hatred for racial and national oppression and class exploitation, that these people were engaged in a struggle for a better future. In spite of bans and persecution there were trade unions, there were social, civic and political organizations, there was the Communist Party, the African National Congress. The very existence of these organizations showed that the people's spirit wasn't broken, that there was an urge for change.

And so most of my books, articles and short stories are concerned with the struggle of the African people to change their lives, to change society. I have written books about the beginnings of the idea of national liberation. I've tried to show the growth of the resistance movement in South Africa in the face of incredible obstacles, telling blows and bitter setbacks. I have always wanted to watch the transformation of unassuming, seemingly ordinary people into staunch fighters against the racist regime, for the freedom and social equality of the Black population. And I suppose these are the main themes of my work.

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Digression One. Alex La Guma has been faithful to his chosen themes all his life. His books expose with brutal truthfulness the ugly reality that is the apartheid regime, and tell about the hardships and suffering of the indigenous population of South Africa. When an African turns 16, La Guma writes in *In the Fog of the Season's End,* he is reborn, as it were, being initiated into the rites of a diabolical sabbat, into the bloody rituals of slavery, coarse and cruel as in the days of Caligula and Nero. He is shackled by innumerable laws, put into chains sealed with rubber stamps. The blunted pens of commissioners for native affairs leave lifelong scars like red-hot iron.

But what La Guma creates is not only scenes of sorrow or the images of Africans humiliated and affronted by racism. His books — an impassioned plea for active and militant struggle — portray people of indomitable spirit and high moral qualities.

Q. What made you leave South Africa? Doesn't life in exile make it difficult for you to write about events in your country?

A. While in South Africa, I not only wrote books but joined in political struggle. I had to work in the underground movement and went through the racist regime's prisons. In 1966 I left the country by decision of the African National Congress. All that experience has gone into my novels and stories.

I've been a political exile for years now, doing solidarity work for the liberation movement in various parts of the world. At the same time I try to continue my creative work. I don't think that living outside of South Africa has affected my views very much or told on my vision of the world. Some of my colleagues are unable to create while they are away from the scene but I have not had this problem.

* * *

Digression Two. Alex La Guma mentions important chapters of his political biography reluctantly and only in passing. Yet the last years of his life in South Africa were very hard and left a visible imprint on all his work. He was repeatedly arrested and tried. He was under house arrest, incommunicado for five years. Altogether he spent 11 years in the prisons of the Pretoria regime. His books and his very name were banned.

There was a remarkable episode. When in prison in Capetown, La Guma counted the days by marking them on the wall of his cell. One day he realized on looking at his calendar that it was the anniversary of the October Revolution. Thinking instantly of a way to celebrate the great holiday, he rushed to the window and struck up the *Internationale.* A minute or two later, dozens of voices joined in singing the proletarian hymn.

Q. What is the role of your books in the struggle of the indigenous population of South Africa for national and social liberation? Do your books reach your compatriots?

A. I suppose I write in order to stir the conscience of the reader. My works are of course prohibited in my country, but I had an interesting experience. A short time ago I met some students who had just come from South Africa.

I had never met them before but they knew me and my books. I asked how. They said, "Well, some people smuggle your books into the country. Sometimes the customs people are stupid and they allow your books to pass. Sometimes we make typewritten copies of the books. Yes, we know you, Mr. La Guma, you are one of our favorites."

Any writer appreciates this sort of thing and a writer in exile does so all the more. Of course, the young men did me a special honor when we got to talking about South African literature. They said there are three kinds of writers in South Africa: there are purely observers, then there are cautious critics of the racist regime, and then there are revolutionary authors. And they said I was one of the revolutionary writers.

So, at least, I've achieved something. Even though I'm in exile, my books have gone back home, and young people are able to read them. This gives me encouragement. I think I've succeeded in reflecting the social and national liberation struggle in our country and so made some contribution to the spirit of the people.

Q. How would you define the social mission of a democratic writer?

A. Writers, I believe, are concerned with human beings and so they must be concerned with people in their relation to society. And if a writer is progressive he must expose and condemn the negative aspects of both man and society and encourage the positive. I believe that man is essentially good, that his goodness will prevail, and that he will create a good society for himself. And literature can play a notable part in changing man's psychology and man's outlook. Therefore a democratic writer, a progressive writer should be against the people-hating ideology of the capitalist system, against imperialism, neocolonialism, racism. It is his duty to his own conscience, and it's his social mission.

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facts and figures

Heralded recovery or continued crisis?

Hans Kalt
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ECONOMIC REVIEW

Most bourgeois economists have been making highly cautious assessments of the outlook for the world capitalist economy. A report issued by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) says that they have to be cautious because the capitalist economy is under the negative influence of high interest rates, an over-valued dollar, a growing trend toward protectionism in foreign trade among the developed capitalist countries, and the indebtedness of the developing countries.[1]

These factors do have a negative role to play, but the OECD experts have failed to note a number of other essential points, among them not only the traditional processes characteristic of any capitalist crisis of overproduction, but also the new problems produced by the interlacing of its present features with the aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism and the long-term structural crises.

In the light of this set of factors and processes, one could make an objective assessment both of the present phase of the cycle and of the general outlook for the capitalist economy.

Specific features of recovery

An economic recovery got under way in the United States in 1983 and began to spread to the other industrialized capitalist countries. The official OECD data give a fairly good idea of the economic situation.[2] Despite the inaccuracies of bourgeois statistics, and the artificial optimism being generated in the United States, by the end of 1983 industrial output had reached no more than the 1979 pre-crisis level.

It is true that the OECD figures also show that over the past four crisis years, U.S. industry had already once before reached that level, in early 1982, but following an "interim recovery," it went into an even deeper slump in late 1982 and early 1983.

Meanwhile, industrial output in the European OECD countries last year still had to reach the pre-crisis 1979 level, although it did go up (by roughly 6 per cent). Only in Japan did out-

put in 1983 rise by several points above the 1979/80 level and the level of the 1981/82 "interim recovery." For the OECD countries, experts estimated industrial growth in 1983 at 3.5 per cent. This recovery occurred mainly in the second half of the year, when output in the OECD countries was 9.75 per cent up on the low point of 1982.[3] But in the first half of this year, industrial output is expected to grow by only 4.25 per cent, and in the following half-year by 3.75 per cent.[4]

OECD economists believe that there will be a similar trend in the growth of the Gross National Product (GNP), and estimate that in the second half of 1983 GNP growth in the United States came to 7.5 per cent, and in the OECD countries to 4.75 per cent; in the first half of this year they expect it to drop to 4.25 per cent in the United States, and to 3.25 per cent within the OECD framework.[5]

The contradictory nature of economic development is also manifested in the movement of world capitalist trade. The Austrian Economic Research Institute gives data for the 1980s reflecting the shrinking trend in world trade since the start of the latest crisis.[6] While the authors of the report expect some improvement in the course of the current year, even their trade forecasts at $1,977 billion would still be lower than the 1980 figure. It is true that last year OECD statistics showed a growth of trade by 4.75 per cent, as compared with 1982, and also an increase of the European OECD countries' exports to the United States. Besides, in the United States itself, the four years of crisis did not halt the inflationary growth of prices, although there was a slowdown of the price growth in 1983 to about 3 per cent. But neither the export-based economic recovery in the West European countries, nor the similar trends in the United States produced by the specifics of consumer demand (to be considered later in detail) can be regarded as the indicators of a decisive recovery in the world capitalist economy.

The firmness of any economic revival is best characterized by the saturation of the market, i.e., by the potential level of demand. What is the state of the largest market, namely, the U.S. domestic market? The answer comes from an assessment of two main indicators: investments and personal consumption.

Following the reduction in the overall volume of investments in 1982 by 6.9 per cent, last year they went up on the whole by 7.75 per cent. But a subtraction of the investments in housing construction will show that that year production investments went up by only 0.25 per cent, which is very much lower than the figure for 1981. The forecasts for the first half of this year indicate an increase of 11.25 per cent, and of only 6.75 per cent in the second half, as compared with the corresponding periods of last year.[7] In view of such fluctuations, even according to bourgeois experts, it is hard to expect a stable and favorable outlook for investments in the United States. Meanwhile, in the course of 1983, production investments in Japan, France and Italy continued to shrink, and went up insignificantly in the FRG and Great Britain.

The level of material stocks (inventories) is another important indicator for investments. Last year, domestic demand in a number of leading capitalist countries did not yet lead to any substantial build-up of inventories. In Japan and the FRG, they continued to decline or did not grow, at best. Consequently, in the main the investment situation, at any rate until the first few months of 1984, showed no signs that investments could boost a general economic upswing.

As for the personal consumption factor, despite the massive chronic unemployment of the past few years in the United States, the working class has been fighting for wage increases in various forms. But when prices went up by 13.5 per cent in 1980, and by another 6.1 per cent in 1982, so outstripping the growth of nominal wages, real wages dropped.

However, in 1983 the growth of prices in the country came to about 3 per cent, while nominal wages rose from October 1982 to October 1983 by 4.1 per cent, so that real wages went up. This led to some increase in personal consumption. This was partially the result of the government's stimulation of the money supply, foreign trade protectionist measures for some consumer goods, and also the factor of deferred demand (during the four crisis years, there was little demand for consumer durables, which are now being bought mainly from long-term savings).

All of this led to a rise in consumer demand in 1983, as will be seen, in particular, from the growth in housing starts by 40 per cent (a drop in 1982 by 15.3 per cent).

Of course, the rise in personal consumption in the United States, which last year came to about four per cent, should not be overestimated, because the long-term trend clearly depressing real wages is still there.

The growth of unemployment (from 5.8 per cent in 1979 to 10 per cent in 1983) and the cutbacks in appropriations for social needs have also led to worsening in the condition of millions of U.S. citizens. There is definite evidence that in the middle of last year the in-

crease in personal consumption in the country once again came to a standstill in view of a fresh acceleration in the growth of prices and slowdown in the growth of nominal wages. In addition, the increase in purchasing power from savings cannot last indefinitely either. That is why it is, on the whole, safe to say that the decline in the growth of prices in 1983 had a mainly psychological effect and only temporarily dampened the influence of the processes which have a negative effect on the level of personal consumption.

Bourgeois apologists argue that since mid-1983 a trend has prevailed in the United States toward a "self-propelled" economic recovery: investments have begun to grow, business has once again started to build up inventories, the number of unemployed has slightly dropped, etc. But then one should not forget that the factors which helped to revive the capitalist economy as a whole in the second half of the year could well cease to operate in the course of 1984 and 1985. What is more, some of them are expected to cause a slowdown in economic growth. This will be seen, among other things, from the official "Combined Index of Economic Indicators."[8] For the first time over the past 18 months, from last November it once again began to show a downward, instead of an upward trend.

These assumptions suggest the conclusion that the main factor which ultimately has the crucial significance in the recovery phase — demand favorable for investments — does not seem to be working powerfully enough in this case.

State regulation of the cycle and the monopolies' economic strategy

During the slight "pause" within the framework of the cyclical crisis which is now in evidence, the long-term structural factors of the current protracted economic recession are even more pronounced, with a special role belonging to the deep crises of the monetary and credit system and state regulation of the basic economic sectors.

Let us recall that after 1945, the imperialist powers, headed by the United States, worked out a wide spectrum of national and international measures for state-monopoly regulation. These are an attempt not only to ensure maximum profits for the monopolies, but also to safeguard expanded capitalist reproduction from any dangerous upheavals.

However, this regulation has one feature which is fatal for capitalism: even the measures which turn out to be more or less effective in combating some negative process in one economic sphere inevitably tend to sharpen the crisis phenomena and contradictions in another.

The *interest rates* charged on credits have great impact on the current development of the economic cycle. Let us bear in mind that over the past several years interest rates in the United States have been upward of 5 per cent, that is, they have been very high. The well-known GDR economist Jürgen Kuczinski has estimated that on December 9, 1983, real interest rates in the United States stood at 6.76 per cent.[9] Despite the fact that virtually all the capitalist countries as a rule use government subsidies, tax privileges and other measures to encourage capital investments, in the present conditions, when the average rate of profit is barely higher than the interest rate or now and again tends to fall below it, many small and middle businesses are effectively unable to make the necessary investments. Meanwhile, monopoly capital, that is the most powerful corporations, above all the transnationals, have their own banks and, when risking investments, can afford to insure themselves with profits from banking operations.

The result is that, on the one hand, finance capital, which is a merger of industrial and bank capital, tends to increase its relative economic strength. On the other, because the hundreds of thousands of small and middle businesses are still important for the functioning of "business America," to say nothing of the other capitalist countries, stable economic growth becomes a reality when most of them are capable of making the necessary investments.

But the fact is that the prevailing tendency in entrepreneurial circles just now is to accumulate money capital, instead of production capital, so that there is a continued investment of funds into various securities, for that is where the capitalists receive a high interest at little risk, and hope the situation will continue for a long time to come.

Interest rates are maintained at this high level by the growing U.S. *budget deficit* owing to the arms building policy. Reagan, who campaigned for the presidency on promises of a balanced budget, has spiralled the deficit in his four years in office to a level that is unprecedented in U.S. history. The situation in the other industrialized capitalist countries differs little from that in the United States. Interest rates are high, notably because the governments constantly have to resort to the mechanism of public borrowing and the printing of paper money to cover current budget deficits.

Finance capital finds it extremely profitable

to keep interest rates at their present dizzy level. The attempts by some governments to increase their subsidies to entrepreneurs prepared to make investments have proved to be less than effective in view of their limited budget-funding potentialities. Considering that in the recent period the public, or national, debt in all the capitalist countries has risen markedly, the amounts going into the servicing of these debts — the payment of principal and interest — have everywhere commanded a growing share of the budget funds. As a result, the state has less and less leeway in regulating the economic outlook through subsidies to the capitalists.

There is no sign of any way out of the budget deficit impasse, and that does not bode any good in theoretical terms. Writing in U.S. and West European journals, the "hard-core" Keynesians have with good reason gloated over the fact that if the Reagan administration had balanced the budget by 1984, as it and its supply-side monetarists had promised three years ago, the arms race policy would have resulted in such a drain on domestic purchasing power in the United States that even the present modest recovery would not have occurred. The recovery did actually occur only because Reagan was forced to refrain from conducting "his" policy and to resort to the old Keynesian nostrum of inflating the national debt. And that, as everyone knows, cannot ensure any stable economic recovery.

The over-valued dollar — the overstated exchange-rate — and the consequent sharpening of foreign trade competition is yet another factor making for economic uncertainty. Over the past several years, the high interest rates fixed by the United States have raised the exchange-rate of the dollar with respect to the other currencies. Hence the relative rise in the prices of U.S. goods marketed in other countries, and a cheapening of goods exported to the United States, a situation in which U.S. producers find it ever harder to sell their goods on external markets, while goods made abroad have been flooding the United States despite the Reagan administration's protectionist measures. The result has been a growing U.S. trade deficit, which economists estimate to have topped $100 billion in 1983, and which will naturally have a negative impact on U.S. production. The opportunities to expand exports to the United States have led to a growth of production in a number of industrialized countries. If this could bring about a self-propelled economic recovery, it would create a basis for further livening up the world capitalist economy, even if the U.S. economy continues to mark time at the present phase of the cycle. But the U.S. policy of keeping interest rates high presents a serious obstacle to efforts by other countries to set in motion the main factor of growth, namely, investment in production.

Finally, the credit and financial *debt of the developing countries* is a most important feature of the 1980s preventing any serious economic upswing.

Over the past decade, when the rapidly growing oil revenues enabled the oil-producing countries to deposit a sizable part of their profits with international banks on relatively favorable terms, credits were also contracted at the then still low interest rate, among others by the so-called "threshold" states (countries on the threshold of the "industrial club"). As a result, the imports of non-oil-exporting developing countries went up from $144 billion in 1977 to $316 billion in 1981, largely, it is true, on a credit basis. But when international finance capital switched to its policy of high interest rates, the developing countries' debts, which by the end of 1983 had soared to $810 billion, became an unbearable burden not only for them, but also for the economies of the industrialized capitalist countries. It was possible to extract from the developing countries ever larger payments of principal and interest on their mammoth debts (especially from countries like Brazil, Mexico, Chile and Argentina, among others), in addition to the direct profits exacted by the transnational corporations, only through a radical depression of their living standards. These countries have had to curtail their imports sharply and to increase their exports at any cost. The degree of their exploitation was also increased by the introduction of export and import quotas by the industrialized countries.

The result is that millions of people are doomed to hunger and privation, but the captains of the capitalist economy are not worried about that at all. What makes them unhappy is that many developing states have turned out to be incapable of repaying their debts and are, in effect, insolvent. An official announcement of this fact would inevitably bring down the major banks of the United States and other financial centers. That is why ever since the crisis of the creditworthiness of some developing countries became manifest, international monetary and credit institutions have been trying hard to avert their bankruptcy, refinancing their credits or deferring their payments, increasing contributions to IMF funds, and so on.

That policy has worked up to now. But for the time being, it has not helped, and will hardly help in the foreseeable future, to turn the

developing countries into large and solvent buyers on the world market. But the fact is that unless their purchasing power is amplified, it will be impossible to bring about even the modest upswing which the world capitalist economy went through in the latter half of the 1970s, following the 1974-1975 crisis of overproduction.

The effects of this state of affairs are felt even in the United States, for almost 40 per cent of U.S. exports go to the developing countries, due mainly to the domination of the U.S. transnationals and the political influence of the United States. This situation is maintained despite the high exchange rate of the dollar and the consequent rise in the price of U.S. exports: because of their dependence and backwardness, the developing countries have to buy these goods. The developing countries' consequent growing inability to pay is not only having a highly negative effect on the marketing potentialities for U.S. goods, but tends to produce even wider complications.

First, this situation is bound to hamper especially and for a long time the efforts of many developing countries to re-orient their economic development for their own interests. Second, the crisis has markedly aggravated the contradictions in every sphere between the industrialized centers of the capitalist system and the developing countries. These contradictions will continue to operate even in the event of a general economic upswing resulting from favorable market processes.[10]

The high interest rates and the dollar's exchange rate, the budget and trade deficits, and the vast indebtedness of the developing countries all go to create a tangle of contradictions hampering economic upswing. With the passage of time, these contradictions are sharpened as the United States and the NATO countries spend vast amounts of money on the arms race. In the United States, for instance, the growth of military expenditures may have sparked some development in the areas where arms enterprises are located, but that has no essential bearing on the present livening up of the economy in the country. The arms build-up is the main obstacle to any partial or regional recovery developing into a long-term and general upswing.

The prominent FRG social democrat Erhard Eppler once said that, as far as the West European countries were concerned, the high-interest policy was pumping out of the allies of the United States (and, incidentally, out of other countries as well) the funds for financing the U.S. military spending spree. That is true, but it is far from being the whole truth. The Reagan administration's policy of superarmament is the immediate stimulator of high interest rates and other similar measures, and so generates economic difficulties for the West European countries. That is why there is no prospect for moving from the present slight revival in the West European region and the world capitalist economy as a whole to an economic recovery in accordance with the conventional capitalist reproduction cycle.

The military expenditures also tend to deepen the problem of the developing countries' backwardness as a factor impeding such a recovery. If the present arms build-up policy is continued, any major measure capable of easing the condition of the debtors of the leading capitalist powers would bring about a further and extremely dangerous spurt in the latter's budget deficit. In order to make good this budget deficit, finance capital would once again have to raise interest rates, which, for its part, would further restrict the possibilities of cyclical economic growth. An extensive rescue operation for the developing countries would be realistic only with a simultaneous and deep cut in military spending, something that it is hard to expect in the near future in view of the policy pursued by imperialism.

Consequently, the fundamental economic structures, the mechanism of state regulation and the arms build-up policy conducted by the United States and the other imperialist powers tend to hamper the emergence of conditions for improving the processes of reproduction and creating a system of international division of labor to accord with the realities.

Parasitic finance capital

The present phase of the economic crisis reveals the extent to which the worldwide process of capitalist reproduction is shackled by the unprecedented burden of the capital that Karl Marx called fictitious capital. This capital, invested in various securities (government bonds, bills, stocks, etc.), "represents nothing more than accumulated claims, or legal titles, to future production whose money or capital value represents either no capital at all, as in the case of state debts, or is regulated independently of the value of real capital which it represents."[11]

The destabilizing role of fictitious capital in the contemporary economic cycle is especially great because of the size of that capital.[12] Its effect will be seen, for instance, from the fact that even with uninflated interest rates, the repayment of the debts and interest on them would swallow up a sizable part of the incomes that could go into investment. But with the

existing interest rates, after the appropriation by finance capital of a large part of the national income and the deduction of monopoly profits from the total corporate earnings, the non-monopoly sector of capitalist production is left with a dwindling amount of profits for investment.

In the past, the interest rate had no more than a secondary role to play in the actual cycle of the reproduction of capital.[13] That was so while the total amount of liability notes in circulation was substantially smaller than the value of actual capital. The interest was extracted from the total mass of surplus-value, without affecting the process of reproduction itself.

The situation in this sphere has now changed. The depreciation of capital which prepares every new cyclical upswing after each capitalist crisis of overproduction now proceeds differently, affecting the vast accumulations of fictitious capital. The important thing is that the decline in stock-market values now affects mainly the most powerful groups of finance capital, the transnational corporations and the major international banks allied with them. Having on the whole the largest debt obligations, they see to it that the depreciation of fictitious capital is mostly shouldered by others. This naturally tends to limit the potentialities for economic stabilization, in general, and for obtaining credits, in particular. The arms build-up policy and the consequent budget deficit tend to increase the public, or national, debt, so enabling finance capital not only to keep interest rates high, but also to increase its political influence. The governments of the capitalist countries find themselves increasingly dependent on the financial circles, because they cannot frame a single budget without the aid of the latter.

The developing countries find themselves in dire straits. In view of the lower labor productivity, their national income is much smaller than that of the industrialized capitalist countries. Besides, a sizable part of it is directly withdrawn by the transnationals through the neocolonialist exploitation of the developing countries. To this is added the payment of interest, the repayment of debts, and the worsening of export and import quotas. Lenin said that the profits wrung from the colonies and dependent countries through the export of capital and their debts are a "constant tribute." "In one way or another, nearly the whole of the rest of the world is more or less the debtor to and tributary of these international banker countries, these ... 'pillars' of world finance capital"[14] Indeed, the parasitism of and drive for high profits by the monopolies of the imperialist powers prevent productive capital from moveing from the present recession and into the upward phase.

Consequently, the connection between finance capital and the arms build-up policy under the current capitalist process of reproduction produces something like a vicious circle. It tends to increase the public debt, while the latter keeps pushing up the interest rates. This results in a growth of government subsidies to private capital to help it secure the desired rate of profit. But such subsidies can be made only at the price of more public indebtedness, which again pushes up interest rates, and so on.

All the hypothetical ways out of the situation entail serious upheavals. In the event of galloping inflation, a rapid depreciation of fictitious capital and savings, and other crisis processes, the economy could face a fantastic stock-market crash, the collapse of banks, etc. That will make it necessary to organize some kind of gigantic international state-monopoly act for which the working people will inevitably have to pay the price.

All these circumstances suggest the following conclusions. The chief of these, we believe, is that, *on the whole, there is now no evidence that the longest cyclical economic crisis in the post-war period will move, following the partial recovery of 1983, into a sustained upswing.*

The only way the situation could be eased — even if this will not resolve the contradictions inherent in capitalism — is to make a radical break with the policy of increasing military expenditures. But with the exacerbation of the general crisis of capitalism and the continuing U.S. arms-race policy, not a single one of the main obstacles in the way of a stable improvement of the capitalist economy can be removed. On the contrary, the contradictions are being intensified. There is, first of all, the growth of contradictions between the tendency of purchasing power in the sphere of consumption to fall, and the tendency for the supply of goods and services to increase. The problem of the developing countries' indebtedness has not been solved. The budget deficits and the consequent interest rates remain high. All of this is compounded by tension in the entire process of reproduction caused by the payment of tribute to finance capital.

That is why it is now hard to expect any serious recovery and, possibly, even relative stabilization. Regardless of whether the current revival is shorter or longer, of whether or not the pre-crisis economic level is surpassed, the next recession phase in the reproduction cycle

threatens the world capitalist economy with new and even graver upheavals.

1. *OECD Economic Outlook*, No. 34, December 1983, p. 8.
2. Ibid., p. 16.
3. This high figure is due above all to the low results in the comparable half-year of 1982.
4. *OECD Economic Outlook*, No. 34, December 1983, pp. 7, 18.
5. Ibid., p. 18.
6. Its report gives the following figures for the overall movement of world trade: 1980 — $1,985 billion; 1981 — $1,970 billion; 1982 — $1,840 billion; and 1983 — $1,822 billion. See: *Studie des Osterreichisches Institut fur Wirtschaftsforschung*, Vol. 11/83, p. 708.
7. *OECD Economic Outlook*, No. 34, December 1983, pp. 55, 59, 70.
8. Designed to give an overall picture of recovery or recession on the strength of synthetic indicators of sales, investments, etc.
9. See *Horizont*, No. 1, 1984, p. 9.
10. Another important question in this context is that the tensions in the political relations that have taken shape between the developed and the developing capitalist countries impel liberal economists and also right-wing social democrats to work on a kind of new "Marshall Plan" for the developing countries, so as to ease the situation and to return them to the world market as major buyers. As a new step in some kind of global anti-crisis campaign, that should not be discounted in any sense.
11. See Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, Moscow, 1962, p. 458.
12. In the United States, the federal debt alone comes to over $1,100 billion, apart from the sizable debts run up by the states, the communities, the companies and the corporations. We find a similar situation in the other capitalist countries.
13. See Yevgeni Varga, *Essays on the Problems of the Political Economy of Capitalism*, Moscow, 1965, p. 340 (in Russian).
14. See V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 240.

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book reviews

A justified presentiment

Fred Halliday, *The Making of the Second Cold War*, Verso Editions and NLB, London, 1983, 280 pp.

Having decided to contribute to the debate about what brought about the dangerous tension in the world, the British journalist Fred Halliday, who sees himself as a "left," wrote a book with the title *The Making of the Second Cold War* (he uses this term to designate the deterioration of the international situation since the close of the 1970s).

He writes in the Preface that his work "is an attempt to establish . . . a rival interpretation to what is conventionally presented, in both East and West."

The basic thesis in the book is "the shared but unequal responsibility of East and West for the Second Cold War." "Unequal" because "the USA and its allies . . . bear the primary responsibility for launching the Second Cold War" (p. 45). "Shared" because both powers, the USA and the USSR, "helped to bring on the Second Cold War, as they did the First, albeit in different ways" (pp. 28-29).

Specifying the measure of responsibility of each for creating the present threat to peace, Halliday writes that the USA played the "instigatory" and its allies played the "supportive" role. The role of the socialist countries is described as "enabling" (p. 133). The author specifies: "Soviet policies played a crucial (?!) role in enabling the West to launch Cold War II" (p. 136), while China's policies played an "immense role" (p. 165).

Outwardly, this assignment of roles in the formula of "shared but unequal responsibility" differs significantly from the hackneyed thesis of "equal responsibility," which attributes an equal "role" to the two nuclear powers and military blocs that differ diametrically from each other in socio-political terms. Halliday stipulates his disagreement with this thesis, showing that the causes of the escalating tension such as the striving for military superiority, aggressiveness relative to the Third World, the economic crisis, and the mounting influence of the military are implicit in the USA and not in the other side. This is true, of course. And it may seem that his thesis is not bereft of objectivity and that it is even useful.

But the trouble is that it only breaks with the most glaring absurdities of the "equal responsibility" argument and does not reject it entirely. It gives the semblance of no longer placing imperialism and socialism in one and the same

bracket. However, it sees them as *sharing* the blame for the aggravation of tension, for the growth of the nuclear threat. In short, the distinctions do not concern what is most essential.

Indeed, in both cases the socialist community's policy of peace is portrayed as not being consonant with the aspirations of the anti-nuclear protestors, who allegedly have to fight on two fronts. In both theses the source of the war threat is inaccurately defined: it is divorced from imperialism's nature. By slurring over the basic difference between the course of the socialist countries toward *ensuring peace* and imperialism's course toward *sliding into war*, both these contentions prevent understanding what the struggle in world politics is all about.

There are concurring arguments in both theses, which charge socialism with part of the "responsibility" for the deterioration of the international climate.

Halliday writes: "Had the USSR accepted the U.S. terms for detente — military inferiority, third world absention — then it is much less likely that relations would have deteriorated" (p. 204). This is a familiar tune. Something very similar was argued by the Munichmen to justify their policy of appeasing nazi Germany. It was, as everybody knows, precisely this policy that encouraged nazi aggression and led to war. Halliday refuses to see that consent by the Soviet Union and other peace forces to U.S. military superiority and renunciation of solidarity with the anti-imperialist struggle of peoples would have only contributed to the erosion of peace. Myopia is a dangerous disease.

Halliday makes a special attack on the reality that socialism has achieved military-strategic parity with imperialism. In his efforts to denigrate the significance of this reality, which has objectively fostered peaceful coexistence, he attributes to the Soviet Union "the logic of the arms race acception" (p. 145) and even "mimesis of the U.S. military program" (p. 171).

He contends that what prevents the Soviet Union from shedding "the logic of the arms race" is its determination to prevent the USA from upsetting the strategic parity. This determination, he says in defiance of obvious facts, reduces the impact of the Soviet peace initiatives (p. 249). Here Halliday clearly tries to take advantage of the incomprehension or inadequate appreciation on the part of a section of the peace movement that the military-strategic equilibrium is a vital condition of international stability.

Parity has created a situation in which a nuclear war cannot be won. Understanding of this truth and also of the circumstance that even under a strategic balance there is a threat of war prompts the ways and means of reducing and removing the nuclear threat. These are: the cessation of the arms race, the reduction and abolition of nuclear weapons, and a gradual lowering of the military confrontation level. Given the good will for cooperation, equilibrium provides the possibility for widening and deepening détente. The significance of the Soviet peace initiatives is precisely that they are consistent with the principle of equality and equal security and call for a lowering of the level of military parity. Any other basis for a normalization of state-to-state relations is unrealistic, to say the least.

Halliday writes that instead of the steps taken by the socialist countries to sustain parity there should be a strategy of "minimal containment." He suggests that a "relatively small but invulnerable set of warheads and delivery systems would serve to deter the USA" (p. 150). In the Pentagon they think along different lines and are preparing for aggression, counting that their build-up and modernization of nuclear weapons will deny the other side the capability to strike back. In the face of this, an underestimation of the danger of upsetting the equilibrium would be tragic for the world.

Halliday also sees the domestic policy of the socialist countries as a factor motivating the USA in fanning international tension. Joining ranks with slanderers of the new system who use the cover of pseudo-socialist verbiage, he asserts that this policy has "demoralized" protagonists of the socialist alternative in the West and "emboldened" their adversaries to restore capitalism in the East (p. 145). He punctuates his book with anti-Soviet snarls. This is crowned with the preaching of "liberalizing" the new society by influence from without. This flight of fantasy brings into focus what he actually wants, namely, to get the peace movement to adopt left-sectarian views, which are at odds with the concern of people of good will for averting the nuclear threat.

The picture of Halliday's thesis would be incomplete if nothing is said of the sort of theory and methodology on which it is founded. In considering the problems of world politics he not so much heeds the voice of facts as fits these facts into an abstract pattern borrowed from the anti-communist Isaac Deutscher. According to this pattern the threat of war lies not in imperialism's nature but in the existence of two conflicting social systems or, as Halliday

specifies, in "the infernal bonding of Great Contest and nuclear arms race" (p. 265).

This is Halliday's point of departure in assessing some other conceptions about the causes of international tension. He levels the charge of bias, for instance, against those whom he calls theorists of the "Soviet threat." However, he uses the same charge against those who see that U.S. imperialism has aggravated and is inflaming the situation in the world. Both these positions, Halliday writes, "can only be sustained by denying an active role, any responsibility, to the other, exempted, state" (p. 28).

The purpose of this criticism is to portray mutually-*excluding* views as mutually-*complementing*. Halliday writes: "There is no need to deny the importance of any of these theories and their elements" (p. 30).

Hence, it is of no consequence to him whether he is dealing with inventions about the causes of tension or, on the contrary, with the actual causes. This is as much as to say that both the former and the latter are useful elements of his thesis. And, as he says in his book, this thesis is "an extension of the class conflict theory (!) to encompass both of the single-state theories — the Soviet Threat and U.S. Imperialism variants" (p. 31). Despite the quasi-scientific and not quite intelligible jargon, Halliday's design is obvious: he wants people to believe that it is right to combine lies with truth. This eclectic foundation is used for the thesis of "shared but unequal responsibility."

With affected bravado he says in his Preface: "Many within the peace movement will disagree with what is written here." This is indisputable. He is not mistaken in his presentiment.

Eugene Jorgen

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