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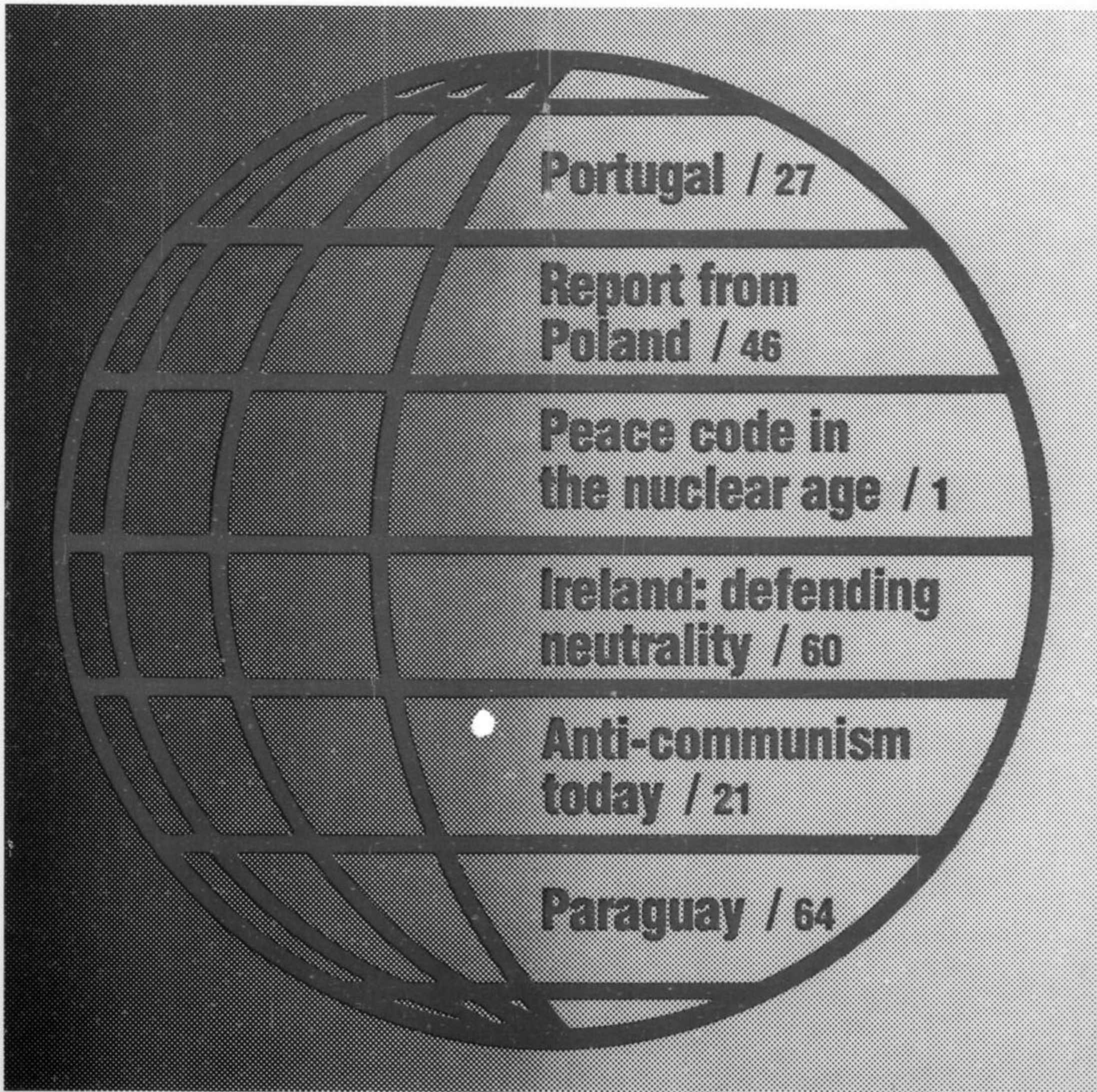
Problems of

MARXIST

Peace and Socialism

REVIEW

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

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Peace code in the nuclear age

Last March the Soviet Union advanced a new and highly important foreign policy initiative. Konstantin Chernenko, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, proposed that in their relations with each other the nuclear states should be guided by specific peace-oriented norms. These norms are:

- to consider prevention of a nuclear war the prime aim of their foreign policy; to preclude situations fraught with the danger of a nuclear conflict; and if such a danger arises, to hold immediate consultations in order to prevent the eruption of a nuclear conflagration;

- to renounce propaganda of nuclear war in any of its variants — global or limited;

- to pledge the non-first-use of nuclear weapons;

- under no circumstances to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries that have no such weapons on their territories; to respect the status of the nuclear-free zone that has already been established and to encourage the creation of new ones in different parts of the world;

- to prevent any form of proliferation of nuclear weapons; to abstain from transferring such weapons or control over them to anyone; not to deploy them in countries where there are no such weapons; not to extend the nuclear arms race to new spheres, including outer space;

- step by step, on the principle of equal security, to work for a reduction in nuclear arms up to and including the complete liquidation of all their varieties.

The new Soviet initiative has been widely acclaimed and commended by international opinion. Below, party leaders, statemen, and civic personalities from different countries comment on the significance of this initiative and on the ways the peace forces could ensure compliance with the suggested norms in international life.

COMMON SENSE MUST PREVAIL

Petr Mladenov
CC Political Bureau member,
Bulgarian Communist Party,
Minister of Foreign Affairs of
the People's Republic of Bulgaria

In the People's Republic of Bulgaria, as everywhere else in the world, the proposal made by Konstantin Chernenko, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, was very warmly welcomed and given considerable attention. This new Soviet initiative is very timely indeed. Today, as always, the Leninist foreign policy line of the USSR expresses the vital interests not only of the Soviet people and the other peoples of the socialist community but of the entire human race. In the struggle to preserve world peace and security, socialism is performing a highly responsible role, an epochal mission on behalf of all humanity.

Measures to prevent a nuclear catastrophe are especially urgent today when on account of the extreme right-wing imperialist circles, chiefly in the USA, international tension has reached its highest point since the Second World War. While pursuing a course toward confrontation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, these circles are steadily escalating the arms race with the unattainable aim of tilting in their favor the approximate military-strategic equilibrium and creating the conditions for a "from positions of strength" policy in keeping with the "crusade" they have publicly proclaimed against the socialist social system.

The deployment of new medium-range first-strike nuclear systems on the territory of a number of West European NATO countries in defiance of the will of their peoples is accompanied by massive propaganda that is endeavoring to justify the permissibility of a "limited" nuclear war in Europe. A huge propaganda machine is working full blast to accustom the people to this contingency and camouflage the real intentions of the NATO strategists. The circumstance that of late the policy of total confrontation is being masked

with verbiage about a concern to preserve peace, a striving for negotiations with the Soviet Union, and so on, does not in any way alter the facts and political reality. These are: the new U.S. missiles in Western Europe; the invasion and occupation of Grenada; the undeclared war against Nicaragua; the threats against Cuba; the increased military presence in the Persian Gulf; and interference in the Middle East. This is only part of the record of U.S. imperialist policy.

In the course of 10 years the USA has not ratified a single agreement on limiting the strategic arms race. Planning its "star war," the present U.S. administration is not only ignoring the Soviet proposal for preventing the militarization of outer space but undermining the foundations of existing agreements on limiting strategic armaments. The policy of gradually eroding and dismantling the system of agreements on the prevention of a thermonuclear conflict, created in the 1970s jointly by East and West, is eminently dangerous. A destabilizing role is played also by the plans of other imperialist states to modernize their nuclear forces.

Of course, as has been stated repeatedly at the highest levels, the socialist community countries will not permit a violation of the military-strategic parity and the impingement of their security. However, conscious of their duty to humankind, they are steadfastly pushing ahead with their action program in defense of peace.

The principled foreign policy course of the Soviet Union has been strikingly illustrated by the proposals put forward by Konstantin Chernenko. These relate to the core of the basic problem of our time, that of preserving peace, and stress the enormous responsibility borne by the leaders of nuclear powers to present and future generations. These proposals stem from an appreciation of the fact that in the competition between the two socio-political systems recourse to nuclear blackmail and efforts to achieve military superiority are impermissible.

The new Soviet initiative is based on the philosophy of peace, which is objectively predicated on the socialist system's humanism; it concretizes the principle of the non-use or threat of force in the nuclear age. It is especially credible also because in Soviet foreign policy, words are not at variance with deeds. The norms of relations between nuclear powers have in fact already become the guide of Soviet foreign policy. In the USSR, war propaganda has long been prohibited by law. The fundamental principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems have been

enshrined in the Soviet constitution and legislation. At the second special UN session on disarmament in 1982 the USSR unilaterally undertook the historic commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. Moreover, it committed itself to not using these weapons against non-nuclear countries which have no such weapons on their territory. Further, the Soviet Union is faithfully complying with the commitments in the nuclear non-proliferation treaty.

Konstantin Chernenko's initiative is, moreover, entirely consistent with the fundamental norms of international law and relations as laid down in the UN Charter and the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference. For all practical purposes it expresses and specifies the provisions of Article 2 Paragraph 4 of the UN Charter in which member states pledged to refrain from the threat or use of force in their international relations. Based on the principle of equality and equal security, the norms of the proposed peace code are designed to facilitate the conscientious fulfillment by the nuclear states of the commitments undertaken by them when they recognized the UN Charter. These norms are fully in keeping also with the UN resolutions in which the member states categorically and unconditionally condemned nuclear war as the most monstrous crime against the human race.

In the People's Republic of Bulgaria the new Soviet initiative has received unqualified support. "In his election speech in Moscow the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Konstantin Chernenko reiterated with the utmost clarity our stand against war, in support of peace, détente and equal and honest dialogue and cooperation," Todor Zhivkov declared on March 22, 1984 at the national party conference.*

Bulgarian public opinion has particularly welcomed the proposal that under no circumstances should the nuclear powers use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries that have no such weapons on their territory and that they should respect the status and encourage the creation of nuclear-free zones in different parts of the world.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria is steadfastly and actively pressing for the conversion of the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone. The recent Athens consultation of governmental experts of Balkan countries on preparations for a summit to consider the question of eliminating nuclear weapons from that part of Europe is indicative of the growing support that the

**Rabotnichesko delo*, March 23, 1984.

proposal for turning the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone is getting from public opinion and leadership circles of countries in that region. In the present difficult situation the fact that this question has been raised and is beginning to be considered, Todor Zhivkov pointed out, is a great moral and political victory over the forces of war.

If adopted, the code of relations between nuclear states would unquestionably be of enormous assistance in giving effect to the idea of creating a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans.

Full and consistent compliance by the nuclear states with the norms of relations formulated by Konstantin Chernenko would help to normalize the international situation. This would create the conditions for achieving tangible results in limiting and reducing nuclear armaments and in ensuring lasting peace.

The Soviet proposal meets the most vital and long-term interests of all peoples. That is why, despite the attempts of Western officialdom to bypass them in silence, they are becoming more and more widely known and winning the understanding and support of all realistically-minded people.

This new and very vivid expression of the Soviet Union's principled foreign policy of peace is becoming a factor of growing significance in the struggle to consolidate peace and international security.

DISASTER CAN BE AVERTED

Jorgen Jensen

Chairman, Communist Party of Denmark

To most sober-thinking people in the world it is obvious that the nuclear arms race and international tension have reached an unparalleled level and that the threat of a devastating war has become real. Among those who fear the threat of war there are many who comfort themselves with the hope that no responsible political leader will venture to start a conflict that can lead to a nuclear disaster. These people, and there are many of them in the peace movement, have not awakened to the fact that this international tension is the result of imperialism's carefully scripted and purposeful policy. Moreover, much too many people are still passive because, despite their fear and uncertainty, they take at its face value the assertion that modern weapons of mass destruction are so horrible that they automatically preclude war. They keep telling themselves that the technical dependability of the systems and the observance of instructions by the personnel servicing them are an iron-clad guarantee against any fatal

misadventure. But the facts tell a different story.

Not long ago a Danish court looked into the circumstances of an accidental launching of a missile (luckily it did not carry a nuclear warhead) from a Danish naval vessel. This missile destroyed an uninhabited suburban zone. The reason for the launching, it was discovered, was the failure of the control system — the very same system as on the U.S. missiles being deployed in some European NATO countries.

In the present highly tense situation people either must fight together for security or they will perish together. The peace forces can and must make new steps to draw away from humankind the threat of destruction. An effective guarantee against nuclear war and the calamities it would bring is a ban on the production and use of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction and the destruction of all existing stockpiles of these weapons.

And, of course, steps that can halt the preparations for another war must be taken and extended to both the military and ideological spheres. It is possible and imperative to create an international atmosphere that would ensure the conditions for negotiations on the basis of equality, prevent the spread of mind-paralyzing military hysteria, and halt the world's slide into disaster.

In this situation countries possessing nuclear weapons bear a special responsibility. It is up to them, in the first place, to adopt decisions beneficial to the destiny of humankind. That is what makes the initiative advanced by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Konstantin Chernenko so significant. The mutual recognition by the nuclear powers of the proposed norms of relations between them would be a considerable step toward improving the international climate.

The Soviet initiative instills new hope that the most important issue of our time, the issue of peace, will be settled in the interests of the preservation of life on our planet.

It is quite clear that if the countries possessing nuclear weapons commit themselves to regarding the prevention of a nuclear war as the principal objective of their foreign policy this would be a tremendous relief for humankind. It would be hard to find any justification for a nuclear power that does not reckon with the proposed norms.

Concern for preventing a nuclear war also permeates the Soviet proposals for ending war hysteria. What legitimate interests of the USA or NATO will be hurt if they pledge to renounce propaganda of nuclear war in any of its variants — global or limited? Also of the utmost sig-

nificance is the Soviet appeal to other nuclear powers to follow the Soviet Union's example and pledge the no-first use of nuclear weapons. The introduction of the proposed norms into international practice would pave the way for the attainment of that minimum of confidence that is needed for constructive negotiations.

As everybody knows there has been no positive response from the USA to the Soviet initiative. From Washington we are getting an uninterrupted stream of declarations to the effect that the USA must have overwhelming military superiority. Adventurist reactionary circles are counting on carrying out their aggressive plans and building the illusion that a nuclear war can be "limited" or won if the first strike is strong enough.

We thus get two lines in international policy: on the one hand, striving for mutual recognition by nuclear powers of equal norms of behavior toward each other and, on the other, abuse of force that could erupt into the most fiendish crime against humankind. There can be no doubt about which line the peoples want.

International developments are influenced not only by the nuclear powers. As a member of the North Atlantic bloc, Denmark is also responsible for the aggressive course pursued by that bloc. It must renounce participation in the arms race, participation in the NATO nuclear planning group, the treaties on the stationing of nuclear missile aircraft on its territory, and the building of bases for foreign troops. Denmark must support and itself actively demand the conclusion of international treaties that would prevent the outbreak of a nuclear war.

That this is attainable has been demonstrated by the growth of the peace movement in Denmark over the past few years. For instance, under pressure from peace opinion the conservative government has been compelled to tell NATO that Denmark does not approve the deployment of U.S. missiles in Western Europe and has decided to stop funding the building of launching pads for them and the logistical facilities.

Due to the enhanced breadth and strength of the anti-war movement and the debates that took place in the course of the year throughout the country about the need for Danish initiatives to ensure détente, most of the Danish people and most of the members of the Folkeeting are now calling for initiatives and international talks that would facilitate Denmark's participation in the creation of a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe.

Nuclear war can be prevented. For this, all the people who do not want war and see the madness of the nuclear arms race and the mili-

tary preparations must unite and act vigorously against militarism and compel U.S. imperialism to renounce its policy of confrontation and of using the nuclear threat as an instrument of its international policy.

WAR PROPAGANDA IS CRIMINAL

John Pittman

CC Political Bureau member,
Communist Party of the USA

Of the norms that should govern relations between nuclear powers special importance is attached to the norm that says propaganda for nuclear war in any of its variants should be renounced and effectively banned.

At a time when the nuclear threat has become palpable and the struggle against it has become the prime issue of the day, when the arsenals of nuclear and other armaments are more than sufficient to destroy all life on our planet, Konstantin Chernenko's proposal assumes particular significance. That is why the words of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee fell on receptive ears among the peoples of the world, and particularly the people of the United States.

For certainly in no other country is propaganda for nuclear war so widespread and unceasing. Reagan blatantly and unashamedly promulgates war and the mass media faithfully repeat his firebrand pronouncements. In no other country is there such criminal fanning of war hysteria.

In fact, the administration headed by President Reagan and his hangers-on have foisted on the people of the United States a state policy aimed at the physical destruction of existing socialism, in the first place the Soviet Union, by a nuclear blitzkrieg with the most up-to-date first-strike weapons. To build a social base for implementing this aim they have created a demonology of socialism and communism.

The pundits of U.S. state-monopoly capitalism have been using distortions and outright lies about the Soviet Union ever since the 1917 October Revolution in Russia. Generations of the U.S. population have been raised and passed on to old age or the grave on the incessant diet of such propaganda, knowing nothing about existing socialism. However, the Reagan administration has surpassed all others in its efforts to sow hatred and fear of the Soviet Union and to condition the people to accept that a nuclear war against the Soviet Union is necessary and winnable.

Yet, it would be fair to say that far from everybody succumbs to this massive propaganda. Not one of the many peace organiza-

tions and coalitions of citizens opposed to the preparations for a nuclear war accept the statements of Reagan and his associates concerning the inevitability of nuclear war against the Soviet Union. Not one accepts the Reagan claim that the Soviet Union's nuclear and conventional capabilities are greatly superior to those of the United States, or that the relationship is weighted so heavily in favor of the Soviet Union that the very idea of parity and equal security is unrealistic.

Not one peace organization believes the statements of Reagan, Vice President Bush, and War Minister Weinberger that a nuclear war can be "limited" owing to U.S. technological innovations, or that a nuclear war is "winnable," or that the majority of the population can survive and U.S. imperialism can "prevail" after a protracted nuclear exchange. Such idiotic notions have evoked caustic condemnation from peace organization leaders.

The Nuclear Freeze Movement has swept across the United States with hurricane rapidity. And the trade unions and working class have asserted their will in this movement, notwithstanding the anti-Soviet stance of a number of members of the AFL-CIO Executive Committee. The International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, the United Food and Commercial Workers International Union, the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, the National Educational Association, and chapters of the Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America, and other unions have supported the demand for a nuclear freeze.

Many other unions throughout the country participated in measures within the framework of the week of struggle for peace and jobs in 75 industrial cities. Nuclear freeze resolutions were approved by several state legislatures and city councils across the country. Freeze resolutions were also introduced in both the U.S. Senate and the House of Representatives.

Reagan's "winnable war" propaganda is being rebutted by scientists, former military officers, and former officials in previous administrations. Physicians for Social Responsibility and the Center for Defense Information participated in debunking the "limited" nuclear war hoax and the Weinberger harebrained notion of "prevailing" in an all-out nuclear war. Helping to demolish the Reagan myths were also television films, for instance, "The Day After," which was seen by audiences the world over.

Nevertheless, the lunacy of the war propagandists is unbelievable. Richard Pipes, Reagan's top "Kremlinologist" on the National Security Council, brazenly states that "the losses, while terrible, can be scaled down with careful planning and our determination to win a protracted nuclear conflict."

And there is Vice President Bush's statement in reply to the question, "How do you win a nuclear exchange?" Bush replied: "You have survivability of command in control, survivability of industrial potential, protection of a percentage of your citizens, and you have a capability that inflicts more damage on the opposition than it can inflict on you." To the question of what percentage of citizens would survive, Bush replied: "More than five per cent." Perhaps Bush may consider that he would be one of the survivors. This should surprise no one, since the "secret" preparations of the top ruling circles of U.S. state-monopoly capital to save themselves and their families are comparatively widely known. They are building tunnels and bunkers under mountains, stored with foodstuffs and necessities, and hidden and defended from the people of the United States by a complex security system. In 1979 several underground command centers were established in a 300-mile arc around Washington, D.C. In one of them huge piles of currency are stored. T.K. Jones, a Pentagon aide, apparently believes this money will be needed after the war. He declared that 98 per cent of the population will survive. "Everybody's going to make it," he said. "Dig a hole. Cover it with a couple of doors and then throw three feet of dirt on top. It's the dirt that does it."

Although such people are clearly ready for straight-jackets in padded cells, the horrifying fact is that they are presently planning to implement these imbecilities. There is widespread dissemination of war propaganda by the mass media. Anti-communism and anti-Sovietism and the propaganda of winning a "limited" and a "protracted" nuclear war deluge the population around the clock without interruption, day after day, week after week, month after month from the overwhelming majority of daily newspapers, periodicals, movies, television stations and radio stations.

Within the November 6 elections fast approaching, the U.S. people will have the opportunity of ousting the Reagan cabal from office. This would clip the wings of the warmongers.

CHECK THE MARCH TO CATASTROPHE

Bruce Kent

Monsignor General Secretary,
Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament,
Great Britain

In the light of the threat of nuclear war there can be no doubt that if the norms proposed by the Soviet leadership were generally accepted the world would become a somewhat safer place. The dangers of such a war occurring grow daily as new forms of destabilizing weapons are introduced.

Yet six years ago the consensus of international opinion on this subject was expressed at the Special Session on Disarmament of the UN General Assembly in 1978: "Removing the threat of a world war — a nuclear war — is the most acute and urgent task of the present day. Mankind is confronted with a choice: We must halt the arms race and proceed to disarmament or face annihilation." The same report went further and foreshadowed the conclusions of the Palme Commission* report, namely that in this nuclear age the increase of weapons adds to no one's security but increases the insecurity of all.

The norms proposed by the Soviet leadership are practical ones and I hope they receive reasonable consideration by all concerned, as we ought all to be, with these matters. That the norms do not cover all the problems which face us is also clear. Thus the fifth norm dealing with the proliferation of nuclear weapons does not face the ambiguity of the non-proliferation treaty, which, though opposing the spread of weapons, at the same time encourages the proliferation of nuclear energy technology. As we all know, nuclear reactors make possible nuclear bombs. It is ominous that so many countries which could proceed along the dangerous path of nuclear weapons have not actually signed the non-proliferation treaty.

The second norm is particularly important. We have not only to reject all language and postures of hatred and contempt for other peoples but we have also to build bridges of understanding and dialogue as vigorously as possible. This is a task in which non-governmental organizations can also play an important part.

Finally, I was particularly struck by the phrase in the sixth norm: "the principle of

equal security." This is a constructive piece of wording. Equal security does not have to mean numerical equivalence in nuclear weaponry, and indeed the power of military destruction is no longer to be assumed to be the only road of genuine security. We have to build a world in which it is as bizarre to solve problems internationally by killing people as it is now within domestic society.

The general acceptance of these Soviet norms would certainly not solve all our existing international problems but would go some considerable way to reduce current tensions and to prevent irrational situations arising. No one today, in their right minds, could wish for a nuclear war — but that is no guarantee that one will not break out. Nuclear accidents and computer failures have happened and will happen, the escalation of localized conflicts to situations involving the nuclear powers is all too possible, and the improving accuracy of nuclear weapons makes the fears of a pre-emptive first strike more and more real.

A no-first-use obligation in relation to nuclear weapons would, I believe, be of very considerable significance as a means of reducing tension and the risks of nuclear war. It is often said that such a commitment is purely declaratory and with no effective practical force. It is further, and to my mind correctly, said that any use of nuclear weapons would be both immoral and illegal, as well of course as being suicidal.

Nevertheless, as a step in the right direction, a no-first-use undertaking by the West as well as by the East would have practical consequences. The positioning of first-strike weapons could be fairly rapidly observed with the technical means available today. An obligation would have to mean the removal of weapons intended and deployed to be used in time of crisis to take a conventional conflict over the nuclear threshold. In the brochure issued by the British government to advertise Cruise missiles there occurs the now famous sentence: "The aim of using them would be to persuade the Russian leadership — even at the eleventh hour — to draw back." Clearly, some of our planners not only believe that a limited nuclear war is a possibility but that a rational response can be expected in a situation in which we have released warheads with a destructive power perhaps many times that of the Hiroshima bomb.

Unfortunately, the issue of "no nuclear first-use" has become linked to the separate issue of the levels of non-nuclear forces. This is, of course, a very important problem on its own, as contrary assessments of conventional military capabilities and perceptions of threat are

*This refers to the International Commission for World Disarmament and Security that was formed in 1980 as an independent international body. Its members include leading public and political figures representing countries with different social systems. — Ed.

presented. We must all do what we can to ensure objective and verifiable information in the conventional weapon area as well. Nevertheless, it is not reasonable to refuse a "no-nuclear-first-use" commitment as if tactical nuclear weapons somehow could supplement conventional weapons. Unless one belongs to the rapidly diminishing group of people who believe that a nuclear war can be stopped from reaching the level of a major exchange, at some low (but still catastrophic) level, then it makes no sense to suggest using weapons as if the word "weapon" in such a context had any meaning.

A no-first-use undertaking would at least, in terms of weaponry, take us away from counterforce theories and back to basic, if barbaric, deterrence in nuclear terms. As a parallel process one would hope for a freeze on all additional instruments of deterrence as a prelude to substantial cuts in the stockpiles of all the nuclear powers.

To be totally realistic, I have to admit that the great mass of the British public are unlikely ever to hear about these proposals or to have the opportunity to discuss them in a serious way. Most people here are very confused about the threat of nuclear war and do not know what to make of international charges and countercharges. Groups like the United Nations Association, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, and the National Peace Council will certainly give them publicity as part of their general work to reduce the level of fear and hostility. In terms of practical campaigning at popular level, a great change of attitude will, as I see it, be achieved by concentrating on such immediate obvious and practical steps as the freeze, a total test ban, and a no-first-use commitment. Few people in Britain appreciate the very negative voting record of our government, both in the United Nations General Assembly and in the Geneva UN Disarmament Committee. The word "multilateral" is freely used with almost no knowledge of the course of multilateral negotiations.

For this reason I would wish to see endorsed additional norms relating to public education, perhaps through the UN World Disarmament Campaign, and to the status of the ongoing Geneva talks. The status of those talks needs to be raised and its workings much better known.

In short, no informed person of good will could oppose the norms which have been proposed, but we in Britain are still at a stage when even more immediate steps need to be taken. With the level of nuclear arsenals standing at their present grotesque proportions, beyond any requirement of deterrence, the proposal for

a bilateral and multilateral freeze on all further research, production and deployment of nuclear weapons is extremely convincing. Nevertheless, there are still many people in this country, aware of the risks and the costs of the arms race, who still do not know that our government has opposed such an initiative at the United Nations General Assembly.

It was Einstein who, with his share of responsibility for the introduction of the atomic age, said after Hiroshima and Nagasaki, "with the splitting of the atom everything has changed except our modes of thinking and thus we drift toward unparalleled disaster."

Our modes of thinking are still stuck in the pre-nuclear military age and to change them is a major problem for us all. The Soviet proposals are not the only constructive proposals in the world today but they do suggest valuable norms which, if adopted by all, would do much to check our present lemming-like march to catastrophe.

A REALISTIC WAY

Bohuslav Kucera

Chairman, Czechoslovak Socialist Party,
Chairman, Czechoslovak Committee for
European Security and Cooperation

The initiative of the Soviet leadership merits the most serious attention. We are living in a complex international situation in which the relations between states, notably those belonging to NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization, the two main military-political groups, depend largely on the policies pursued by nuclear powers. It ought to be clear to every thinking person how dramatic a turnaround would be in the present world situation if all the nuclear states based their policy on the norms and principles formulated by Konstantin Chernenko. They provide for those basic measures that could in fact lead to decisive positive changes in this situation.

I should like to add that the Soviet initiative is exceedingly important from yet another point of view. It is compelling evidence that in the USSR they are not only profoundly aware of the magnitude of the nuclear threat but also suggest steps, which, given good will on the part of all participants, could be taken jointly to prevent disaster.

Comprising a sort of code of nuclear responsibility, the norms of relations between nuclear states must be complied with chiefly because we have been living in a nuclear age for nearly four decades. Indeed, scientists had entered that age earlier, but its terrifying military image appeared before humankind in the small hours

of August 6, 1945 when the first American bomb was dropped on Hiroshima. Within seconds, this bomb killed or gravely wounded many tens of thousands of people. Tens of thousands of others died of the effects of radiation. This was the horrible toll of the first nuclear strike. To this one should add, of course, the 75,000 people who paid with their lives or health during the U.S. nuclear attack on Nagasaki on August 9, 1945. This is what we have under no circumstances the right to forget.

Also, we should constantly remember that the nuclear powers now have thousands of units of lethal weapons of various types, whose destructive power dwarfs that of the first atomic bombs. One need not have a luxuriant imagination to picture the inevitable ghastly outcome of a nuclear conflict. The U.S. strategists and politicians do not talk sense when they speak of the possibility of a "limited" nuclear clash or of a "winnable" nuclear war.

It is my firm belief that if the nuclear powers were to pledge compliance with the peace code proposed by the Soviet Union this would rule out the threat of a military conflict. The level of confidence between nations would rise; it would be easier to conduct negotiations on outstanding issues; and it would become possible to promote mutual cooperation faster. For us, Europeans, it would also mean the hope that no nuclear conflagration will destroy our continent.

The past few years and months have shown that public opinion is extremely sensitive to the problem of the danger of war, of nuclear war in the first place. I am a frequent visitor to capitalist countries, where I meet members of parliament, political, party, and trade union leaders, people of all strata of society and representatives of various professions. Far from everybody approves the policy from positions of strength, although in the USA and West European countries it is publicized and pursued by the ruling circles.

In these countries there are prominent political and civic personalities who reject adventurism of any kind that can lead to a nuclear conflict. This is the stand of the broad masses in Western Europe who are acting vigorously to avert the nuclear threat. Suffice to mention the widespread resistance to the neutron bomb and, more recently, the resistance to the deployment of American first-strike missiles. Many social and political movements and organizations, one of which is the Socialist International, are coming forward with anti-war initiatives.

I am quite certain that the movement for European security can do much to publicize the

norms proposed by the Soviet leadership for relations between the nuclear powers. Today, when confidence-building measures are being discussed in Stockholm, the adoption of these norms would be of tremendous significance for raising the level of political confidence not only between the nuclear powers but also on a wider dimension.

There is also the problem that there are countries that have the capacity for producing nuclear weapons or come into possession of them in the relatively near future. In this light one can appreciate how important it is to prevent the proliferation of such weapons in any form, to abstain from supplying them to or deploying them in countries where such weapons do not exist, and to avoid extending the nuclear arms race to new areas, including outer space, for otherwise any future talks on limiting and ending this race would be harder to conduct and the striving to create the largest possible nuclear-free zones in the world, including Europe, will be undermined. Some projects for such zones have been advanced. And if the relations between the nuclear powers improve in accordance with the norms proposed by the USSR the hope that these projects will materialize will be reinforced.

There is one more facet to the need to prevent the extension of the arms race to outer space. The USA is already now planning the militarization of outer space. In early April President Reagan intimated that he was not interested in any talks with the USSR on a treaty that would ban satellite-killer weapons. Reagan has repeatedly declared himself in favor of developing anti-missile defense systems in outer space with the use of high technology, for instance, laser cannon and so on. In my view, an agreement between the nuclear powers must be reached as soon as possible so as to prevent the arms race from extending to outer space. Technology, whose rapid development we have been witnessing, can create a danger of a magnitude beyond imagination.

The Soviet Union's concrete proposals are a realistic way of averting the nuclear threat. This threat will be reduced if the code of nuclear responsibility is accepted by all the nuclear powers, including China. Of late we have heard many pronouncements from Washington about a desire for dialogue, for negotiations. But words must be backed with deeds, and the Soviet proposals allow going over to deeds.

* * *

Millions of people of good will in all countries feel that if the norms proposed by the Soviet

Union are introduced into the relations between the nuclear states and made mandatory the cause of peace will be tangibly strengthened and international tension will be eased. These millions are demanding the preclusion of all arbitrariness in international affairs, understanding that in the nuclear age a policy of strength can bring tragedy to the

human race. In publishing responses to the Soviet initiative, which is an epoch-making step toward the restructuring of state-to-state relations on the basis of reason, the journal hopes that it is helping to acquaint the public with this initiative and give the peace forces a better understanding of their tasks in the struggle to remove the threat of a nuclear war.

Lenin's legacy: our effective weapon

Ali Yata
General Secretary,
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Under the caption "V.I. Lenin: Ours Is the Ideal of Peace" the April issue of *WMR* carried statements by several leaders of communist and workers' parties on the significance of Lenin's legacy for the present-day peace struggle. Below is yet another statement on this subject, by Ali Yata, the leader of the Moroccan revolutionaries, who considers the international importance of Lenin's ideas on peace and peaceful coexistence for our day.

Nothing is now more valuable for humankind than peace, and nothing is more important and noble than consistent and purposeful struggle to avert a nuclear war. These truths are being ever more fully comprehended and accepted today by broad public circles in all the countries, in view of the peoples' alarm over the danger posed to international stability by imperialism, headed by U.S. monopoly capital. A study of Lenin's ideas of peace and peaceful coexistence, whose validity is still beyond doubt, has helped many people to gain a true understanding of the key problem of our day.

Lenin creatively developed the immortal doctrine of Marx and Engels in a new historical epoch and exposed the aggressive nature of imperialism. He showed the organic connection between war and capitalism at its highest, monopoly stage: "The gigantic progress of technology in general, and of means of transport in particular, and the tremendous growth of capital and banks have resulted in capitalism becoming mature and overmature. It has outlived itself. It has become the most reactionary hindrance to human progress. It has become reduced to the absolute power of a handful of millionaires and multimillionaires who send whole nations into a bloodbath."¹ Lenin tirelessly exposed the policy of preparing for war

as a "natural" and "useful" means of settling international issues and increasing capitalist profits.

The revolutionary theoretical legacy helps us to understand that aggressive wars spring from the contradictions of capitalist society and are started to keep it going. Lenin's ideas of peace help to understand that one of the primary aims of those who side with the exploited and who are fighting for the triumph of the socialist cause is to avert war. In many of his writings, Lenin proved beyond all doubt that peace and socialism are indivisible, and this has also been confirmed by his practical activity: after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, he championed and explained the policy of peaceful coexistence.

In 1921, Lenin asked: "Is the existence of a socialist republic in a capitalist environment at all conceivable?" And added: "It seemed inconceivable from the political and military aspects. That it is possible both politically and militarily has now been proved; it is a fact."²

From the establishment of Soviet power, the leader of the October Revolution pursued a policy of peaceful coexistence in relations between the new, proletarian state and its international partners, a policy which the CPSU and the Soviet state have likewise always pursued. Consequently, Lenin's idea that "war ran counter to the aims of the Communist Party,"³ is a part of the historical record: countries with different political and economic systems can coexist in peace, and the peoples can be spared war and destruction.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist community states are consistently conducting a constructive foreign policy, striving in every way to preserve the achievements of détente and to reduce tensions in the world. Defense of

peace is the cornerstone of the USSR's foreign policy, a policy which is supported by the communist, revolutionary-democratic and national liberation movements, and by all the other progressive and peace-loving forces. The revolutionaries who are guided by the ideas of scientific socialism regard the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence as an imperative task in the battle for their peoples' interests, against imperialism and its reactionary allies, against the racists and Zionists. They constantly seek to thwart the bellicose imperialist plans. Indeed, the exclusion of war from social life would be a real revolution in the whole system of international relations.

The intentions of the militaristic circles, especially those of the United States, are now most sinister and this bears out Lenin's conclusion concerning the aggressive nature of imperialism. The danger to the gains of international détente now comes from the attempts of the U.S. imperialists to secure worldwide military-strategic superiority, to frustrate the building of the new society in the socialist community countries, to establish their political and economic hegemony over the developing world, and also to bend their West European and Japanese allies and rivals fully to their own will.

The reckless logic of imperialism leads to a war that would annihilate the whole of humankind. The nuclear arsenals have now reached gigantic proportions, while the White House not only allows for the possibility of a "limited" nuclear conflict in Europe, but is in fact planning and preparing for one. That is evident above all in its massive arms build-up policy, which cuts across the security of the peoples, erodes the foundations of peace throughout the world and diverts vast funds from social programs. From 1981 to 1986, the Reagan administration intends to spend \$1.6 trillion for military purposes. The United States has forced some West European NATO countries to agree to the deployment of Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles on their territory. As a result, despite the Soviet Union's good will and its concrete proposals aimed to reach an agreement ensuring the maintenance of the military strategic parity between the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO, Washington torpedoed the medium-range missile talks in Geneva.

In stepping up its wild arms race, imperialism is conducting a provocative "positions of strength" policy. The White House is setting up new military bases abroad and building up its rapid deployment force. The U.S. intervention in Grenada and the direct intervention by the U.S. armed forces in Leba-

non have shown the whole world what the Reagan administration thinks of the peoples' right to self-determination and how it brazenly tramples the principles and norms which regulate international relations.

In the light of Lenin's analysis of imperialism and his ideas of peace and peaceful coexistence, our analysis of the international situation can lead to correct political conclusions concerning the present dangerous state of affairs. The right analysis helps to take concrete measures to resist the militaristic adventurist line of monopoly capital, which is pushing the world into a thermonuclear catastrophe.

Replying to a question about the obstacles standing in the way of peace between the United States and the Soviet state, Lenin said that there were no obstacles at all on the part of the workers' and peasants' republic, and that the obstacles were presented by "imperialism on the part of the American (as of any other) capitalists."⁴ This analysis remains valid even today.

The Moroccan revolutionaries united within the ranks of the Party of Progress and Socialism spread Lenin's ideas of peace and peaceful coexistence among broad masses of people in our country and explain to them their continued validity. We seek to help the working people to gain an insight into the present international situation, to understand that it is U.S. imperialism that jeopardizes humankind's interests, and to join even more actively in the worldwide struggle against the danger of war, and for disarmament. We explain to our people that when Lenin put forward the principle of peaceful coexistence, he emphasized that it implies "a duel between two methods, two political and economic systems — the communist and the capitalist"⁵ in conditions of peace.

The Moroccan revolutionaries and their party — the Party of Progress and Socialism — remain loyal to Lenin's theoretical legacy and have raised high the banner of solidarity with the great country of the October Revolution and with all those who reject the dictates of imperialism, stand up for the achievements of peaceful coexistence and work to make this principle of Lenin's a sound basis for international relations. Our party does not separate this noble goal from the tasks of liquidating the foreign military bases and consolidating Morocco's national independence, sovereignty and unity.

1. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, pp. 517-18.

2. *Ibid.*, Vol. 33, p. 151.

3. *Ibid.*, Vol. 27, p. 412.

4. *Ibid.*, Vol. 30, p. 366.

5. *Ibid.*, Vol. 31, p. 456.

Ideology in the strategy of developing socialist society

Ludovit Pezlar

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Last April it was exactly 15 years since a plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia elected the party's new leadership headed by CC General Secretary Gustav Husak with the mandate to take the country and society out of the grave crisis precipitated by the destructive actions of the bloc of right-wing elements in the party and of anti-socialist circles. In summing up some of the results of the work that has been accomplished in this direction it may be said that there has been a full restoration of the efficacy of Leninist ideological and organizational principles in the party and of the party's ability to lead society. The country's economic and political life has been successfully consolidated. There has been a tangible growth of Czechoslovakia's economic potential, the material well-being and cultural level of the people have risen significantly, and the people's ideological consciousness and moral-political unity have acquired new vitality. Czechoslovakia's international standing and the party's prestige in the world communist movement have been consolidated.

Nobody (except those who, blinded by class hatred, ignore the facts completely) has any doubts that the past 15 years have been one of the most successful periods of Czechoslovakia's modern history. Even bourgeois ideologues note that they had not expected such a dynamic process of consolidation.

Foundation of the party's present policies

There are several reasons for Czechoslovakia's successes, but the principal one is that the party leadership was able to suggest and then develop a comprehensive creative program that meets with the nation's requirements and the imperatives of the times. The first step was the directive on the fulfillment of the basic tasks confronting the party passed at a CC plenary meeting in May 1969. This was followed up by the charting of a long-term policy that was ap-

proved by the party's 14th congress in 1971.

"The long-term line of building a developed socialist society in our country," Gustav Husak said 10 years later, "adopted at the 14th congress and enlarged upon by the 15th congress, justifies itself in practice as correct and realistic. The people see it as a program consistent with their vital interests, a program ensuring confidence in the morrow and our country's security and sovereignty as a member of the socialist community. There was no need to change anything in that political line and we did not retreat from it in anything. The general line of building a developed socialist society remains in force."¹

While this effective program was the source of the party's successes, one of the main reasons for the defeat of the right-wing and counter-revolutionary forces was that they had nothing approaching a constructive platform. The "model of Czechoslovak socialism" suggested by these forces was actually a program for society's destruction, while the "pluralism" concept advanced by the same elements signified a return to the road of capitalism which had been traversed and rejected by the vast majority of the population.

The theory of developed socialism, underlying the present strategy of the fraternal parties, vividly exemplifies the creative approach to Marxist-Leninist theory. It stemmed from a scientific generalization of international experience. Mature, developed socialism is an inevitable stage in the building of the communist system. The Soviet Union has become the first country to have built a developed socialist society, which it is now all-sidedly perfecting.

Practice indicates that this stage is relatively long in terms of time, for the tasks addressed are unprecedented in scale and complexity: a decisive turn toward all-sided intensification of the economy; an improvement of social, above all production relations; a further rise of the people's living standard and cultural level. In the building of developed socialism this necessitates taking account of the dialectical

¹ This contribution is in the series headed "Socialism: Unity of Theory and Practice" started in WMR, No. 12, 1983 and No. 3, 1984.

relationship between material and cultural factors. Konstantin Chernenko, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, noted in this context: "It is impossible to raise the economy to a qualitatively new level without creating the necessary social and ideological prerequisites for it. Equally, it is impossible to solve pressing problems in developing the socialist consciousness without relying on the sound foundation of economic and social policy."²

The theory of developed socialism, as the entire theory of scientific communism, of which it is an inalienable part, is international. This theory, which generalizes the experience of the fraternal countries, has become the basis for charting tasks in all areas of socialist development and these are becoming increasingly common to all the countries of the socialist community. In this are seen the objectivity and inevitability of the process by which they are drawing closer together. Of course, each country of the community addresses these tasks in accordance with its own specifics determined by historical, political and economic peculiarities. But just as there are no "national models" of socialist society, there cannot be such "models" for the stage of developed socialism.

The theory we are talking about has today become the object of a sharp ideological struggle. It is attacked from many angles by bourgeois ideologues and by right and "left" revisionists: from negating its direct link with how communism was seen by Marx and Engels to the assertions that it is no more than a justification of the return of the fraternal countries to capitalist forms. Attempts are sometimes made, even by some theorists who call themselves Marxists, to assess society's development level solely by the quantitative indicators of individual and social consumption; they ignore qualitative indicators — social confidence, the education, consciousness and cultural level of the people, their participation in administering the state, and many other vital realities. This exactly was the course of action of the Czechoslovak right-opportunists during the crisis — they went so far as totally to deny that socialism existed in Czechoslovakia. Juggling with invented criteria of social development, they slid into the absurd assertion that the concept of socialism cannot be defined.³

In defending and deepening the concept of developed socialism, the fraternal parties expose attacks of this nature. At the same time, they condemn the hushing up or misinterpretation of facts of real life in socialist countries. In Czechoslovakia this work continues to be

guided largely by the resolution, "Lessons of the Crisis Development in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and in Society after the 13th congress of the CPCz," passed at a plenary meeting of our party's CC in December 1970. This resolution shows compellingly what pernicious consequences are generated by a weakening of the class approach to assessing foreign and domestic policies, as was the case in Czechoslovakia in the 1960s, and also by voluntarism and subjectivism in socio-economic planning and leadership.

In addition to revealing the reasons for the crisis in the party and society and indicating the way out of that crisis, the resolution — and this is its significance in the first place — drew upon practice to reaffirm beyond the shadow of a doubt the universality of the Leninist principles of socialist construction, which remain viable to this day.

Our party is sometimes charged, so to speak, with adhering too strictly to the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Our reply is that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has paid dearly for violation of these principles by right-wing forces. The party consistently pursues the long-term aim of building a communist society. Together with the present task of building developed socialism, this aim forms a historical and logical whole predicated by the theory of Marxism-Leninism. Without or in circumvention of that theory there can be no progress.

Of course, far from being completed the process of cognizing the new phenomena appearing at the present stage of society's progress continues without interruption. And since this is a complex process, the possibility of partial errors and oversights cannot be ruled out entirely. Bourgeois ideologues and revisionists of all stripe use these errors to slander developed socialism.

Bourgeois propaganda magnifies the errors, difficulties and shortcomings in our life in order to sow doubts about existing socialism. But while we censure these exaggerations we have no intention of concealing problems. As society's leading force, the Communist Party itself draws attention to questions that must be answered and combats shortcomings. Present-day socialism is by no means unapproachably perfect where all difficulties and birthmarks of the past have been weeded out. Our society is free of exploitation of man by man, of unemployment, and of many other vices of the capitalist world, but social ills such as abuse of office, utilitarianism, alcoholism and so on still exist.

But what must be borne in mind is that our difficulties and shortcomings are due to entire-

ly different reasons than in capitalist society, and they are hence surmounted differently. An elderly and a young person sometimes suffer from one and the same ailment with the difference that in the first case it is due to physical exhaustion and in the second to an organism that is still growing. Socialism is a young social system, which unlike its predecessor, tirelessly looks for the most effective ways and forms of its development. The implementation of the theory of mature socialism embodies this quest.

Today, as in the past, the experience of the CPSU and the Soviet Union gives much to the practice of socialist construction in the fraternal countries. A nihilistic attitude to this experience, exemplified by the right-opportunist forces during the crisis, leads the party and the state to ideological and political collapse. A creative use of the Soviet experience benefits all areas of party activity.

The link between ideology and the economy

A well-considered plan based on long-term policy and the character of cooperation with other fraternal parties, united by common aims and a common cause, is the foundation of the ideological work of the communists. The main lines of cooperation in the sphere we are considering are: theoretical research into joint historical practice and elaboration of pressing common tasks; exchanges of methods, forms and expertise of promoting ideological education; combining forces in disseminating the truth about the achievements and advantages of existing socialism, and in fighting bourgeois ideology, revisionism and right and "left" opportunism.

Ever higher requirements are being made of the quality of ideological work because on it depends the fulfillment of two key tasks: first, promoting the efficacy of the subjective social factor, whose importance increases in proportion to the growth of the complexity of socialist construction; second, conducting ever deeper research into the new phenomena generated by the exacerbating class struggle on the international scene and requiring a correct response.

The efficacy of the subjective factor of social progress is determined by the consciousness level and labor and political activity of the working people, and the efficiency of the apparatus administering public affairs in which the party's leading role is growing steadily.

To listen to the stories that bourgeois critics invent about our people one gets the impression that citizens of Czechoslovakia could not care less about public activity and seal

themselves up in private life, in a sort of "internal emigration." This is absurd, to say the least. Socialist emulation, the movement of production innovators and rationalizers in our country, and many other facts tell a different story. Miners, for example, in order to keep the economy adequately supplied, do their job with dedication on voluntary work days. The same may be said of transport and agricultural workers.

Anti-communist propaganda spreads preposterous inventions also about the attitude of the Czechoslovak people to their government's foreign policy, going so far as to allege that they are protesting against the Soviet operational-tactical missile systems on their territory. What is the reality?

Our people vividly remember the Munich deal and the fascist aggression.⁴ They are not at all eager to see a repetition of that. In the meantime, reactionary imperialist forces led by the U.S. government are installing Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles in a number of European states. These first-strike lethal weapons can reach Czechoslovak territory within minutes. The deployment of Soviet systems is a counter-measure to NATO's aggressive actions. It was decided upon in accordance with a government-to-government treaty between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. Our people therefore view with understanding the need to reinforce our country's defense within the framework of the defensive Warsaw Treaty Organization.

The people of Czechoslovakia accept the program of building developed socialism as their own and are doing all in their power to carry it out successfully. The credit for this is due to a large extent to those engaged in ideological work, which is part and parcel of the party's political, guiding and organizational activities. But the communists cannot rest on their laurels, and they were reminded of this by the resolution passed by the 15th plenary meeting of the party's Central Committee in March 1980. This resolution has become a long-term ideological program. Its basic provisions were reaffirmed in 1981 at the party's 16th congress. "It would be an unpardonable mistake," the resolution said, "if we failed to see the bottlenecks and shortcomings in the work of this (ideological. — Ed.) front, especially as time raises new important problems that will not be easy to resolve . . . The further building of a developed socialist society will require of each person a high level of consciousness, efficiency, discipline, a creative attitude to the work at hand, and a sense for the new."⁵

Many of the tasks I have mentioned have

been fulfilled, and others require further concentrated effort owing chiefly to the fact that economic progress has always been in the center of the party's attention. The cardinal element of the program for the economy's all-sided intensification is the accelerated application of scientific and technological achievements in practice. Precisely new technology based on breakthroughs in fundamental and applied sciences leads to revolutionary changes in production. This is what motivated the party's Central Committee to adopt at its eighth plenary meeting in June 1983 a comprehensive program calling for the development of science and technology and for an enhancement of their influence in production.

It is now growing ever clearer that there is an indivisible link between economics and ideological education. In order to foster creative activity by the people, the party is seeking to heighten their interest in matters related to the economy, give them a more profound knowledge in this sphere, and help develop a correct understanding of the intensification program. This is not as easy as it seems to be. For example, a sharp dividing line is sometimes drawn between extensive and intensive economic development. But neither exists in pure form. They always intertwine. Under certain historical conditions, say, in the period of industrialization, primarily extensive economic development played a positive role not only in Czechoslovakia but also in other countries. Within a relatively short span of time this allowed increasing the economic potential of socialist countries dramatically, turning many of them from agrarian into industrial states, ensuring full employment, and substantially raising the education and professional level of the people. We therefore emphatically reject the argument that extensive development is fundamentally wrong.

However, it is true that the prospects for such development have now been exhausted and thinking along the lines of extensive development is obsolete. Such thinking negatively affects production: for example, people who stick to the old notions continue to demand an increase of labor and raw material resources for their enterprises despite the fact that the conditions for this no longer exist. Some work collectives are trying to draw investments whose volume does not fit into the potentialities of the state.

Advocates of extensive development still take no account of the fact that the principal way for economic development today is to increase output with an unchanged and even reduced outlay of raw and other materials and

labor resources. Also, there are individuals who fail to understand that it is more profitable to modernize available facilities than to build new ones.

The results of the Czechoslovak economy's work for 1982-1983 bear out the reality and enormous benefit of intensification. Despite the reduction in the consumption of oil and raw and other materials, hard and initiative-inspired work has brought about a growth in output. Consequently, in the remaining years of the current five-year period (which ends in 1985) we can plan a higher dynamic of economic development, although Czechoslovakia continues to be subjected to economic aggression by the imperialist powers in the forms of embargos, import restrictions and so forth.

Economic education of the people provides for forming a clear-cut attitude to the use of labor resources, which must be cut down at every industrial facility. However, there should not be a simplistic understanding of this. There must be a special approach to skilled personnel. We have quite a few specialists with a higher education but it would be wrong to say, as some economic executives are doing, that fewer should be trained. There is still a high demand for such specialists in many sectors of the economy. They are not threatened with unemployment: state agencies are intelligently distributing all graduates of educational institutions. But there is the vital matter of making the most expedient use of the high level of training in order to accelerate economic development. This training is still not adequately influencing production efficiency.

We shall go on promoting the cultural and skill level of the people, making in this field the structural changes required by the scientific and technological revolution and gradually reaching a point where the vast majority of the workers will have a secondary-school-leaving certificate.

Another important aim of ideological and political education is to create at industrial facilities and in society as a whole an atmosphere in which concern for people goes together with critical exactingness, while strict discipline and a high sense of responsibility — with support for initiative, for socialist enterprise. In production this depends to no little extent on wages policy. Wages are determined by a person's labor contribution to the common cause, and there must be no deviation from the principle of social justice, which allows neither for unwarranted overpayment, nor for leveling, nor for underestimation of a labor contribution. It is the business of the collective to publicly and openly note foremost workers and

point out the blunders and errors of those who lag behind. But sometimes there is a lack of determination to do this, and in such cases we find a levelling of wages, which only encourages people whose work is slipshod and inhibits the initiative of foremost workers.

It is our objective that most people should be conscious of the enormous political significance of economic and production tasks. Lenin's words about the attainment of a higher level of labor productivity than under capitalism being the decisive factor of the ultimate triumph of the new social system remain highly topical to this day. The economy is the main theater of the contest with imperialism, and it should never be forgotten that imperialism is savagely aggressive. True, bourgeois propaganda is trying to give the impression that capitalist governments, monopolies and firms are eager to have mutually beneficial cooperation with socialist countries. Actually, the Western powers gladly use "aid" and credits as a means for undermining the socialist economy. This was strikingly demonstrated by the recent Polish lesson. But by and large in the present tense international situation the illusion that countries of the opposing camp want equitable relations with us is quickly dispersing.

Bourgeois propaganda plays up the individual and private sectors in the socialist economy as the only way to successful economic development. It is doing this, of course, not out of any liking for the new system. Quite the opposite. We are in favor of a reasonable utilization of individual and private economies, but if this conflicts with the state sector and thereby undercuts it, this can only postpone the fulfillment of plans that have been adopted. It must be borne in mind that in Czechoslovakia scientific and technological progress depends chiefly on the state sector. Measures negatively affecting this progress, as the crisis of 1968 reminds us, are destructive for the socialist economy, and this is exactly what bourgeois propaganda wants.

The Czechoslovak communists have still much to do in the way of socialist construction. The new does not automatically pave the way for itself. It triumphs only as a result of purposeful and sustained effort to ensure qualitative changes in the people's way of thinking and surmount obsolete, misconceived views, attitudes and habits. "The purpose of all our educational efforts is to mold the all-sidedly developed individual committed to and thinking in the spirit of our socialist ideals, moral norms, and essential values so as to bring to flower the lofty features of the master and builder of the

new society," Gustav Husak said at the party's 16th congress.⁶

Factors and criteria of effective education

Ideological work has to be effective in order to harmonize with the strategic course toward promoting production efficiency and quality. Whether such harmony exists cannot be mechanically appraised on the basis of quantitative results or of the fulfillment of production plans by a work collective. Here the basic criterion is the consciousness level and activity of people, the character of their attitude to the solution of problems important to society. This is the subject of an independent branch of science — the theory of ideological work, which is a spin-off of the general theory and practice of socialist construction. The Communist Party's Higher Political School in Prague and its Bratislava division now have departments that, jointly with other institutes, research the regularities and criteria of the effectiveness of our ideological work.

The key to improving education and making it more effective is in its scientific base. The fraternal parties are developing the component parts of Marxist-Leninist theory, all the social disciplines. In Czechoslovakia this work is coordinated by a single program of social research. Closer cooperation is being established with the institutions working on the same problems in other socialist countries, although this cooperation still falls short of available potentialities.

However, it will be no exaggeration to say that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has always brought its theoretical forces face to face with the most essential problems of society's development. This enables party and state bodies to make broader use of modern scientific methods — the study of public opinion and the prognostication of social processes, which allows for greater objectivity, correct long-term planning, and better work.

Needless to say, in socio-political science not everything runs smoothly. Sometimes it is seen as an end in itself and the class approach to analyzing domestic and international life is not profound enough. For that reason the CPCz gives its unflagging attention to the world view and methodological orientation of researchers.

In order to make ideological and political education increasingly more effective it is crucial to keep it constantly linked to the party's organizing activities among the masses. The people to which it is addressed are concerned with specific economic, social and everyday problems, and if education is not coupled with these problems its yield will drop.

In keeping with the line charted by the party's 16th congress, we are drawing education closer to life, to the main tasks of the party and the people, and getting rid of shortcomings in ideological work. These include a dangerous shortcoming such as formalism, when quantity rather than results is seen as the main criterion.

Education is less effective where economic executives, who do not feel their personal responsibility, believe it is the business solely of agitators, lecturers and propagandists. But ideological work is not a short campaign. It is a constant and long-term duty of the entire party, of every communist.

Ideological work grows more effective where there is a constant quest for new forms. For example, theoretical-practical seminars on pressing problems of society's life have proved their worth. They are attended by scientists, party and state functionaries, production executives, and teachers. On the initiative of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia there have been such seminars on problems of ecology, microelectronics, biotechnology, socio-economic forecasting, literary criticism, and other important subjects. There was a large response to the theoretical-practical conference at which eminent Soviet scientists led by Academician Gury Marchuk spoke of the experience of directing science and making practical use of scientific achievements.

Concern for making ideological work effective is linked indivisibly with improving the methodology of this work. However, although they have had satisfactory training, there are lecturers and propagandists whose pedagogical experience and knowledge of psychology is inadequate, and this makes it hard for them to choose the best way of influencing their audience.

We are still making insufficient use of the educational potential of the work collectives. We sometimes find the incongruous situation where the media censure misconceptions while the collective in which the exponents of these misconceptions work takes a condescending view. It is the duty of the primary party organization, as the core of such a collective, to help people adopt a correct ideological and civic stand.

A comprehensive approach to ideological work takes in the entire spectrum of labor, moral and ideological education, including patriotism and internationalism. The latter aspects will unquestionably be strongly influenced by the 40th anniversary of the Slovak national uprising. This jubilee will be marked

together with the anniversary of the victory of the liberation movement of Czechs and Slovaks and Czechoslovakia's liberation by the Soviet Army.⁷ The memory of the past compels us to be extremely vigilant in the present international situation, which is fraught with danger to world peace. The provisions of the Political Declaration adopted by the Warsaw Treaty countries in Prague in January 1983 underlie the foreign policy of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. This Declaration spells out a comprehensive and realistic program for the maintenance of peace and the settlement of other global problems. It contains a penetrating and painstaking class analysis of international development. The situation in the world has deteriorated on account of the reactionary policy pursued by the USA and all other imperialist forces, which are futilely seeking to give the aggressive NATO bloc military superiority over the Warsaw Treaty Organization and engaging in ideological subversion with Czechoslovakia as one of their targets.

With their sights on shattering the unity of the Czechoslovak people and destabilizing the political situation, the reactionaries are pinning their hopes especially on religious organizations (the Catholic Church in the first place) and the "dissident" counter-revolutionary underground, which consists of isolated individuals and small groups. Taking into account the fact that apart from Czechs and Slovaks there are people of other nationalities in Czechoslovakia, the anti-socialist centers are using emigré associations in order to reanimate nationalistic prejudices in the social consciousness. Moreover, the counter-revolutionaries are using the specifics of Czechoslovakia's historical development to continue propounding the concept of "pluralism." However, these are hollow intentions as has been demonstrated by, for example, the failure of the Vatican's campaign against the *Pacem in terris* organization, which consists of patriotic Czechoslovak priests. Having labored in vain, the instigators of this campaign have been compelled to change their tactics.⁸

The Communists of Czechoslovakia are confident that despite the efforts of our adversaries, progressive Marxist-Leninist ideology will win unconditionally the socialist community will go on gaining strength, showing the peoples of the world an example of building a just social system in which an active role is played by the party's vigorous ideological and political-educational work and the growth of the people's communist consciousness.

1. XVI. sjezd Komunistické strany Československa, Prague, 1981, p. 25.

2. *Information Bulletin*, April 1984, Toronto, p. 8.

3. Agnosticism of this sort underlies a document headed "A New Model of Socialist Development Corresponding to the Conditions in Our Country," which was proposed by right-wing elements in July 1968 as the party program. Its implementation would have spelled out the total destruction of the socialist social system. — Ed.

4. The Munich agreement was signed on September 29-30, 1939 by Britain, France, and the fascist states of Germany and Italy. It provided for the carving up of Czechoslovakia and led to the outbreak of World War II. In the period between October 1938 and March 1939, with the complicity of the Western powers, Czechoslovakia was seized and fragmented by Nazi Germany. — Ed.

5. *Zasedání Ústředního výboru KSČ ve dnech 25. a 26. března 1980*, Prague, 1980, pp. 10-11.

6. XVI. sjezd Komunistické strany Československa, p. 44.

7. The Slovak national uprising against fascist rule was planned by the Czechoslovak communists and took place between August 29 and October 27, 1944. By sheer numerical superiority the enemy prevented the insurgents from linking up with the Soviet Army and the 1st Czechoslovak Army Corps that was operating with it. The patriotic units retreated into the mountains where they fought until they were able to contact fraternal units in January 1945. The uprising marked the beginning of the national-democratic revolution in Czechoslovakia. Prague was liberated on May 9, 1945 by the Soviet Army, which supported the rising of the city's inhabitants. — Ed.

8. This organization, which is active in the struggle against war, is guided by the provisions of the *Pacem in terris* encyclical of Pope John XXIII. Denying it recognition, the Vatican has tried to hinder its work, but the movement of Czechoslovak priests remains united and strong. The Vatican is seeking to develop more subtle ways of attacking it. — Ed.

Firm rebuff to the policy of imperialism

Maxime Gremetz

Political Bureau member, CC Secretary,
French Communist Party (PCF)

The gravity of the socio-economic situation in France since early this year and the violent offensive being jointly conducted by the Right and the employers led the Central Committee of the French CP to meet in plenary session from January 17 to 19 to hear a report on these questions by Georges Marchais and to discuss them. At the same time, it also considered various problems of the international situation and the struggle for peace and disarmament, which are undoubtedly central to the sharp clash of ideas in the country and are of much concern to our people and to all the others.

Following an in-depth scrutiny of the new phenomena in the international arena, it noted that "the counter-offensive which imperialism has mounted, and which we analyzed at the latest congresses of the PCF, does nothing to change the fundamental balance of international forces. It has caused a strengthening of the combat spirit and determination of the peoples. The on-going events clearly confirm that the balance of forces remains favorable to progress. It remains such despite the complexities and frequently some difficulties arising from the stubbornness of the class battles."

What has allowed us to draw such a conclusion?

It follows from the complex analysis of the strategy of imperialism, its characteristics and

objectives, of the crisis of its system, and the peoples' struggle in all its diversity.

The strategy of imperialism

After three years of Reagan's presidency, some elements can certainly be identified in the policy of the strongest imperialist power. Reagan is not, of course, the instigator of the counter-offensive of imperialism, but he has given it a new impetus and coherence which are fraught with dangerous consequences.

This policy is based on the official doctrine envisaging defense of the global vital interests of the United States and inevitable conflicts with the USSR. It implies a U.S. presence in all the zones of the globe for the purpose of enforcing strength solution for all the arising problems and for sharpening tensions and confrontation.

It gives priority to the attainment of military superiority, an unprecedented augmentation of military spending, production of new nuclear weapons, military preparations in outer space, and the dangerous decision to start deployment of Pershing-2 missiles, which marked the rupture of the Geneva negotiations and another menacing shift in developments.

It is an urge to conduct in regions of the world other than Europe a policy of confrontation aimed to preserve or re-establish

domination over regions considered to be strategic. This means, of course, Central America and the Caribbean, with the armed intervention in Grenada, and the grave danger looming over Nicaragua and El Salvador, the moves in the Middle East and in Turkey, in Southern Africa and in Southeast Asia.

This means massive support of dictatorial regimes in these and certain other regions and the use of "regional gendarmes."

With respect to the developing countries, the United States has resorted to economic and financial pressures, relying, in particular, on its dominant positions in the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), to ensure the interests of the major transnational corporations and also to garner political benefits.

Whenever the United States has found itself isolated in international institutions, it has not hesitated to slam the door, as it did in UNESCO, or has tried to paralyze them.

With respect to the Western countries, it has conducted a kind of economic war by means of an over-valued dollar and high interest rates, and other commercial practices.

Finally, the United States has hit out at the economy of the socialist countries by means of sanctions, a reactivation of COCOM* and a stepped-up arms race.

The analysis of the policy of imperialism and recent international developments has brought out two objectives in the current strategy of the United States:

— on the one hand, to exert formidable military pressure on the socialist countries through regional military alignments by giving them an offensive edge. When considering NATO, the result is, incidentally, that some Western allies have begun to ask themselves questions about the concept of the alliance, the scope of its operation and its substance;

— on the other, to exert an influence on the peoples' consciousness, to neutralize their action and to contain their growing urge for progress and social justice, for freedom and national sovereignty within a framework not jeopardizing the domination of imperialism.

That is the root cause of the ideological war, which has been especially stepped up in the recent period.

This war is designed to camouflage from the public gaze the strategy being conducted by imperialism, by playing up the intimidating

bogey of "Soviet expansionism" and the "menace coming from the empire of evil."

What are the consequences of that strategy?

First, even a cursory survey of developments makes it quite obvious that it creates a situation that is a danger to peace and international security. The imperialists have deliberately stepped up the tensions, having reached the conclusion that the period of détente was an unfavorable one for them; as a result, the international climate is growing worse, and there is a real threat of regional conflicts. Consequently, the dangers of the strategy should not be underestimated in any case.

Second, this policy of tension and confrontation does not testify to the strength of imperialism. It is, in effect, an attempt to respond to the defeats inflicted on imperialism, to the growing and newly arising difficulties with which it is confronted in the fight to preserve its system of domination.

These are three main types of difficulties: its own crisis, the peoples' struggle, and the development of the socialist countries (whose potentialities are far from exhausted) which promotes this struggle.

Crisis of imperialism and the peoples' struggle

Concerning the scope of the crisis, I presented some official figures at the CC plenary meeting to show the proportions it has reached, the human, social and economic consequences of Reagan's line for the working people of the United States itself, and the results of the austerity policies being conducted in the European capitalist countries. Such a policy has been carried on in the capitalist world for many years, and one can say that, far from being the remedy required by the ailing economy, it has, in effect, merely served to worsen an already difficult situation in these countries.

We emphasized a new fact of the recent period: the ever more resolute involvement of the peoples of the capitalist countries in the fight against these orientations. This is expressed in the working people's fightback for their rights, and in the growing number of social battles which frequently assume great scope and are fought in most of these countries.

There is a new quality to the quantitative growth of the scale of the social battles. A closer look shows that they all increasingly mirror the urge to ponder the major social issues of the future and to seek a solution to the problems which the capitalist system merely exacerbates; this is also expressed to some extent in the political sphere.

*A committee to control exports to the socialist countries. — Ed.

Considering the popular movement in 1983, we noted the considerable widening of the peoples' struggle for peace and disarmament on every continent and in all the countries, regardless of their social and political system; we emphasized the depth and the durable character of the process.

The peoples' liberation movement has been intensified, and their struggles, objectives, forms, character and content have become more diverse.

What does a detailed analysis of the battles in Central and Latin America, in Africa, in the Middle East and Southeast Asia show?

It shows first of all that this struggle, which is now characterized by a new quality, is being carried on by more and more peoples, be it those who are resisting the aggressive schemes of imperialism, those who are defending the right to self-determination and sovereignty, those who reject the dictates of the IMF, those who are voicing their social protest against the conditions of their existence and neocolonial policies, or those who are fighting because they refuse to tolerate the dictatorial regimes.

Apart from the fact that unevenness, differences and contradictory aspects of development may appear in the concrete national or regional framework, imperialism is confronted with many difficulties, so that its strategy is foiled and it is forced to retreat whenever the peoples' struggle becomes sufficiently powerful.

We dealt in somewhat greater detail with the third type of difficulties which imperialism has to face and which are a source of profound disquiet for it: these are the results of the socialist countries' development and the prospect of more achievements on their part.

A bitter ideological and political battle in France is now centered on an evaluation of the realities, and the place and role of the socialist countries, largely as a part of the overall assessment of the international situation, on the one hand, and on the widespread knowledge of what they are and what they are doing, on the other.

The right-wing forces and a part of the Left are carrying on their campaign under this three-fold slogan: socialism is "suppression of freedom," socialism is "economic collapse," socialism is "war." That is accompanied with a constant repetition of the following equation: "PCF = Moscow." There is a good reason why this campaign in France is now more intense than it is anywhere else: it is obviously aimed against the presence of communist ministers in the government and is designed to get them out.

In broader terms, the idea is to convince the working people that socialism spells "economic failure," and, moreover, is "the focus of evil," and to prove that the crisis is a worldwide phenomenon, and that no country can escape it. That being so, the argument runs, it is better to accept the system under which we live. Consequently, it is a campaign designed to cast doubt on the credibility of our proposals, of our project for socialism the French way, as a means of national escape from the crisis.

We decided to respond in a vigorous manner, and we have every reason for doing so, both because of the stakes over which the struggle has been joined, and because of the growing gap between the Manichaeon* assertions spewed by this campaign, and the realities of life in the socialist countries.

Economic collapse? The facts and figures, together with extracts from sources whose objectivity is beyond doubt, show a different picture in the various socialist countries. Thus, the UN Economic Commission for Europe says that the socialist countries' "economies have improved remarkably." This general economic upswing in the socialist countries consolidates the existing social achievements and creates favorable conditions for fresh ones.

We also have every reason to carry on an offensive on another aspect of the campaign, namely, the "suppression of freedom" claim. We have unreservedly condemned the conceptions and practices connected with the personality cult, which tragically perverted the realities of the socialist societies and harmed their development. Our Central Committee gave the following reminder: "We condemn without compromise the taking of administrative measures, anywhere, for the solution of political problems." But apart from the fact that such practices are clearly regressive, the realities in this sphere have absolutely nothing in common with the vision of the socialist countries as being vast prison-houses, as some would have us believe.

We have shown that those who have set themselves up as "judges" quite clearly ignore the process going forward in the activity of the parties and life in these countries. They say nothing about the economic reforms being effected, about the importance and role of the trade unions and social organizations, political institutions, electoral systems, discussions about the role of the state and the party, or about the fact that only the entry upon the way of socialist construction has assured these

*Manichaeon — a black-and-white view of the world as consisting of "good" and "evil". — Ed.

numerous peoples of the winning of their basic rights and liberties.

Does active defense of the realities in the socialist countries signify a return to our old approach, which amounted to presenting these countries as a paradise on earth?

It certainly does not. As I have said, a well-considered approach to the socialist states has been formulated at our congresses.

In defining our own democratic road to socialism the French way, we have rejected the very notion of model and have deepened our analysis of the experience of existing socialism, of the development and contradictions of these societies taken in their reality, without blinkers or bias.

These countries have their problems, which are varied, and these are most frequently formulated by their parties themselves.

Our efforts to characterize and understand these problems and to analyze their roots cannot in any sense obscure the real results achieved by the socialist states, whose development appears to have entered upon a new phase.

For our part, we want a discussion on socialist practice, a serious and well-argued discussion in the context of the realities, which has no room either for caricature or insult. We will spare no effort for such a discussion.

Finally, in this part of the report at the plenary meeting of the Central Committee I gave an appreciation of the changes going forward in China in internal terms, and equally of the positive changes in some of its foreign policy positions. This cannot but have major consequences for the balance of forces on a world scale and, consequently, for the strategy of the United States, one of whose strands was but recently based on using China against the USSR.

Without prejudging the future evolution of relations between these two socialist countries, let us note that the efforts being made by U.S. imperialism to slow it down testify to its profound preoccupation with the consequences of this process and the new problems it holds in store for it.

Consequently, the difficulties confronted by imperialism are great, but — and this is the second important assessment we have made — considering its growing aggressiveness, it would be harmful to rest with the statement that the balance of forces favors progress.

The schemes of imperialism can be frustrated and new advances promoted only through

struggle and effective unification of all the forces of progress, peace and democracy.

Being a part of this broad movement, the communists' struggle in this context is indispensable. In this connection, the Central Committee formulated three major objectives: to struggle for peace and disarmament, for a new international order, and for the settlement of conflicts.

In conclusion, I shall consider here only the struggle for peace and disarmament. That is, indeed, a great endeavor, in view of the fresh escalation of the arms race following the deployment of new nuclear missiles in Europe. In this situation, we believe, it is necessary to do everything to secure a freeze on nuclear weapons in West and East and to create the conditions for serious international negotiations to achieve a balanced reduction of armaments to the lowest level with security ensured for all the states.

The relevant ideas and proposals have been put forward by the various governments, and also by major political, social and religious forces. These need to be examined.

France can play a positive role in the defense of peace. This struggle, we believe, is inseparable from the right of our country, as of every other, to security, and this implies the maintenance of its nuclear deterrent at a fitting level, and its modernization.

However, in order to concretize the positive proposals and opportunities, the continuation and development of the broadest possible popular movement in France and throughout the world continues to be of paramount importance.

In this context, we have reaffirmed the French communists' readiness to make a contribution to all initiatives, national or international (regardless of the views held by their proponents) aimed to limit the arms race and the harm it is doing, so as to achieve concrete results in balanced arms cut down to the lowest possible level. That is all the more necessary and urgent in view of the fact that the funds now being expended on weapons would be so useful in combating hunger, poverty and backwardness, all of which continue to be formidable problems of our time.

As in matters of internal policy, the foreign policy line of the French Communist Party is clear: on the basis of a precise analysis of each situation, to formulate effective proposals capable of involving in the struggle all men and women seeking to create a world of peace, justice and liberty, in short, to see the spread of human rights in all the countries.

Anti-communism in the field of theory

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The faces of anti-communism are legion, and it has served the most diverse masters, always crying down the aspiration of the working people to live without overlords of any kind, to be free among equals. There are moral, political and theoretical aspects in any exposure of anti-communism, which has a dirty and, for the most part, blood-stained history. A survey of its actual role in history and of the crimes committed in its name and for its sake in individual countries and throughout the world helps to ascertain what further crimes people blinded by hatred of communism are capable of committing. This is an effective way of countering anti-communism.

It is said that anti-communism appeared simultaneously with the revolutionary working class movement and scientific socialism. This is true. But it would be more accurate to say that the powers that be began hunting the "specter of communism" when the class struggle of the working people was in its early, lower phases. They fancied they saw it even in such one-time progressive bourgeois demands as the abolition of medieval guilds and workshops and the initiation of free competition. They denounced any threat to their privileges as a menace to morals, property and freedom, as coercion over the "nature of the human being."

By and large, it is unquestionable that full-blown anti-communism is as old as the struggle of the working class against capitalist society. Already this brings to light a distinctive feature of anti-communism: it is a *negative response to onward social development, an embodiment of reaction*. Anti-communism was initially directed against the organized working class movement acting as an independent political force, against the scientific world view of the working class, against Marxism and solidarity in the class struggle. With the victory of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia, when the international working class movement ac-

quired its first-ever state base, anti-communism became in large part anti-Sovietism. It is aimed at socialism as a social system and, particularly, at its most dependable bulwark, the Soviet Union.

There is an inner logic to the fact that anti-communism now also attacks any more or less consistent anti-imperialist national liberation movement, that with the Reagan theory about communism being the "focus of evil" as their guideline, the most reactionary quarters of U.S. imperialism are set on achieving military superiority in order to be able to dictate their will to the rest of the world and turn back the clock of history. The past decade has demonstrated that the changes in the balance of political, social and economic forces on the national scene and in the world at large could not but have evoked a reaction from anti-communism, the appearance of new and the resuscitation of old, long-forgotten varieties.

The struggle against anti-communism poses revolutionary parties with many problems. In this struggle it is vital to distinguish the *anti-communist policy* of bourgeois and social-reformist parties, the *anti-communist prejudices, clichés and stereotypes* that are infiltrated into the mass bourgeois consciousness, from *theoretical anti-communism*. The latter specializes in theoretical attacks on the Marxist-Leninist doctrine and the program of a communist party, in misrepresenting the experience of the revolutionary movement and the building of socialist society. It seeks to give its slander against the theory and practice of scientific socialism the semblance of credibility and even scientific objectivity. The conditions are thereby created for a broader dissemination of this slander and for making it more effective. At the same time, theoretical anti-communism argues for and justifies the anti-communist practices of the imperialist bourgeoisie and its sycophants.

All these directions of anti-communism are closely interwoven and directly relate to each other. For instance, what today represents the "last word" in bourgeois theory is tomorrow given in a simplified, "popular" form on television screens and in newspapers. For that reason the efficacy of the struggle against anti-

This is another contribution to the series of articles on the features and trends of modern anti-communism (See, Michael O'Riordan, "Anti-Communism and the Threat of War," WMR, No. 3, 1984; Hans Pirsch, "Psychological Warfare in the Strategy of Confrontation," WMR, No. 5, 1984).

communism is cut back significantly when there is a gap between theory and day-to-day explanatory work, when the public relations aspect is non-existent or weak in the world view and political activity of the communists.

Present-day reality confronts us with yet another problem. Each of the three Austrian political parties that are part and parcel of the bourgeois political system claims it has its own ideological and socio-political program. The bourgeois People's Party vows fidelity to the "partnership society." The right-wing Austrian Party of Freedom pledges devotion to "liberal order" with its "conservative value elements"; it patterns itself on 19th-century bourgeois wisdom, which says that the fewer social duties a person has the freer he becomes. The Socialist Party advocates what it calls "social democracy" and hopes to achieve it by some miraculous means in "partnership with capital."

In each of these specific ideological postures, or "guidelines ideas" — and we should, of course, distinguish between them — there are basic components of anti-communism. It is noteworthy that all three parties, which are seemingly divided in terms of philosophy, in many cases borrow either similar or exactly the same elements from the theoretical arsenal of anti-communism. They equate socialism to "totalitarianism," and democracy to capitalism.

The common anti-communist posture of these parties does not mean there is no rivalry between them. They quarrel vehemently over who should be closer to the feeding-trough, and who should have the largest spoon. These quarrels are overshadowed by the tacit conspiracy to keep the foundations of anti-communism inviolate. More, anti-communism itself is becoming an *object of competition* between these parties. Their leaders are competing for the "honor" of being seen as the most dependable "shield against communism." Given all the theoretical and ideological distinctions between them, their negation and, more, their smearing of the only real socio-political alternative, namely socialism, is the common "super-ideology" that unites their leaderships.

One of the most effective anti-communist myths is that for the communists everything non-communist is anti-communist. If that were the case the communists would be making an unpardonable error by recognizing the dividing line that the anti-communists want to draw in order to attract all non-communists. There is, of course, a grain of truth in the martial saying that "the more enemies there are the greater is the honor." But it is no credit to any revolution-

ary if he has more enemies than is predicated by circumstances, if he sees enemies where there are none.

It would have been a miracle if anti-communism of any origin did not try to sow confusion and discord in the peace movement, which is a major political factor in Austria. Countless misrepresentations are used to this end by the anti-communists and these quickly find their way into the bourgeois mass media and become catch-words. Let me give one example, which is particularly important in the sense that it helps to distinguish between non-communists and anti-communists. Reagan's theory about communism being the "focus of evil" is now rejected by many thousands of people who recently found it acceptable, albeit with reservations. They reject it because they realize that the "crusade" philosophy undermines peace and justifies a slide into war. To influence these people — and not only them — the anti-communists of the conservative school and those claiming to be "left" disseminate the "two superpower theory" in innumerable variations and are going to all lengths to get the peace movement to accept the theory of "equal" or "comparable" blame for the war threat. To this day, among people whom the peace movement cannot ignore there are many who believe that although the USA bears most of the blame, both sides are "culpable."¹

In our explanatory work this brings us up against problems that are not at all simple. The key to resolving them lies in the fact that within a short space of time there have been significant changes in the minds of most of the people who think along precisely such lines. The attempts to equate the policies of socialism and monopoly capitalism are effectively countered by exposing U.S. imperialism's *global strategy*. Is this strategy not the product of the madness of imperialism's most reactionary circles, who felt the ground moving from under their feet in a situation of détente and approximate military equilibrium? However illusory their striving for world supremacy, they are cynically and openly trying to force their will upon the rest of the world. The communists have always said that as long as imperialism is strong, peaceful coexistence cannot be regarded as guaranteed. Hence the need for tireless efforts on its behalf.

In Western Europe many people are shocked and disturbed by the fact that U.S. imperialism wants missiles to be targeted on their countries. However, when these people forget that its claims to hegemony are *global*, the threat of war may seem to be farther away than it actually is. It is owing to this that the significance of international solidarity with the victims of

imperialist aggression to the preservation of peace is not fully appreciated.

Thus, what characterizes anti-communism as a theory? Chiefly, its *defense of capitalism*, its espousal of any pseudo-concept claiming that capitalism has a future, is superior, can be humanized, and is long-lasting. Protagonists of conservative varieties of anti-communist theory blindly repeat that capitalism is the best of worlds. Exponents of liberal, reformist schools of thought reject and even castigate the imperfections and vices of bourgeois society but in the same breath insist that any social alternative to capitalism — if it is implemented — will be an even greater evil. "Left" anti-communists, following in the wake of some spokesmen of the Frankfurt School,² portray the capitalist system as a prison and substantively and vividly expose the alienation and dehumanization in bourgeois society; but for them capitalism is a prison from which there is no escape.

Every brand of anti-communism is an apology of capitalism. However, not every apology is anti-communist. The hallmarks of anti-communism are, first, its *deliberate distortion of existing socialism*. Second, it uses every debate and every theoretical study for its *attacks against the communist movement and Marxism-Leninism*. Even when it cannot be denied that the communists champion the interests of the vast majority of the people, when many people in the working class and progressive movements begin instinctively to feel and realize this, the anti-communists develop arguments to show why in the light of "higher values and considerations" joint actions with the communists cannot be allowed under any circumstances. More, they flagellate all non-communists who are prepared to relegate their differences with the communists to the background for the sake of common aims.

Anti-communism, including its "left" varieties, is identified in the field of theory as a bourgeois ideology because its protagonists deny or misrepresent the links between society's basis and its political system, its politics, attributing an independent and, in some cases, irrational and absolute significance to individual aspects of the superstructure, of the political system, and even personalities. This approach is seen in all anti-communist speculations.

Bourgeois or social-reformist concepts of "pluralism," whatever their shade, assert that in the long run society's essence and character are not determined by property and power. They attach paramount importance to the structure of the political system, to the ac-

tivities of the different organizations and associations in a state, declaring that their interaction gives the state the ability to act as a "neutral arbiter" bringing various interests to a common denominator for the sake of the "common good." Countering the understanding of the revolutionary working class movement that an improved social system presupposes a new state, they argue that the existing bourgeois state should be used to maintain a "dynamic equilibrium" between classes as the "basic condition of progress."

All variants of this theory allow for only "gradual" progress. They rule out qualitative changes and irreversible modifications of the equilibrium. Since it attaches the decisive significance to group structures rather than to class relations, this approach closes the door to fundamental changes in the interests of the working class.

Advocates of "pluralism" — and here there is a particularly sinister overtone — bombastically claim that under capitalism there is practically no restriction on participation in economic and political processes, but, where possible, they are silent about how rigidly these processes are limited by capitalist economic domination and the political power resting on this domination.

A similar approach is adopted by the theory of "totalitarianism." In order to show that there is an "essential kinship" between fascism and communism, it denies or obscures the fundamental difference between capitalism and socialism, and between the class nature of the socialist and the fascist state. Or they present all this as being minor and insignificant. As a result, no trace is left of a circumstance that is very unpleasant for bourgeois ideologues, namely, that fascism is *invariably* capitalism, that it is the most reactionary form of bourgeois monopoly rule.

The parliamentary form of bourgeois domination is portrayed as the "golden median," and any deviation from it is regarded as blasphemous. And, as a consequence, they draw a picture of the future in which capitalism is depicted as the ultimate and most progressive stage of history. From this it is deduced that it is vital to preserve capitalism and move farther along the road of this "golden median." After all, this road leads to the "best" capitalism, which will, properly speaking, no longer be capitalism as such.

A similar approach is to be found in the assertions of bourgeois ideologues that under socialism the development of the productive forces and of science and technology inevitably generates political and social processes that will

sooner or later lead to the restoration of class structures, to the re-emergence of a "pluralist" superstructure and, eventually, capitalist relations of production. This is also true of the more naive theory which reduces the distinctions between social systems to distinctions between the "social market economy" and "centralized planning." Underlying this theory, as many others like it, is its renunciation of fundamental indications of a social system in favor of formal-political indications.

In a very interesting study headed "The Sociology of Anti-Communism,"³ the West German sociologist Werner Hofmann singles out three characteristic methods of misinterpretation used by anti-communists. First, attributing notions consistent with one's own thinking and experience to the theory and practice of the adversary; second, giving a slanted interpretation of the immanent contradiction between the two main opposing social concepts and social systems, and reducing it to a contradiction of political forms; and, third, depicting the internal social conflict as an external political conflict.

The "psychological warfare" conducted by the anti-communists daily produces examples of the use of these methods. The ideologues of U.S. imperialism depict the internal conflicts generated by irreconcilable internal contradictions as reflecting an external contradiction. They see the reasons for the protest of, for example, the people of El Salvador not in social contradictions and not in the existence of a reactionary regime: they blame everything on Moscow's "long arm" or on a "Cuban conspiracy." Marx noted the "strange fact" that "no sooner do the working men anywhere take the subject (emancipation of labor. — E.W.) into their own hands with a will, than uprisings at once all the apologetic phraseology of the mouthpieces of present society . . . as if capitalist society was still in its purest state of virgin innocence, with its antagonisms still undeveloped, with its delusions still unexploded, with its prostitute realities not yet laid bare."⁴

Also widespread among the anti-communists is the striving to direct against socialism the mistrust and aversion that capitalism generates against itself in the mass consciousness. For example, the "totalitarianism" theory owes its influence to the real experience of the horrors of fascism. This theory now focuses on mobilizing such feelings against socialism.

The sense of personal helplessness and insignificance is common in capitalist society. It is the result of countless, frequently invisible, external dependences, the self-sufficing role of

the state, the close bond between the state and monopoly capital, the socialization of production under these conditions, the growth of the influence wielded by the bureaucracy, and the ruin and diminution of the number of independent smallholders. Theoretical anti-communism supplies the explanations and arguments for directing such feelings against socialism, public property, and socialist socialization of the means of production. *Bourgeois collectivism* — the individual entangled in the dense network of bureaucracy and of institutions affiliated to the state — is being used by the anti-communists as an argument against socialist collectivism, which highlights the independent activity, consciousness and organization of the people.

In combating anti-communist stereotypes, clichés and myths, it is always important to bear in mind that a characteristic of the theoretical constructions of the anti-communists is their negation of and refusal to acknowledge the significance of the cardinal question of the working class movement, that of property and power. When there is not even a hint of recognition of the determining role of the relationship of property and power, every invention is brought into play to explain social processes, contradictions and international conflicts: "will for power," "higher interests" of the state and "superpower," the "self-sufficing role of the apparatus," the "primacy" or "diktat" of technology, and even man's "ancient instincts" and "unchanging nature," "genes" and "call of blood and land."

Of course, in a critique of anti-communism it is not enough to answer socio-political questions solely with references to the relationship of property and power. There is no persuasiveness where concreteness is absent. Where the question of property and power is lost sight of, belittled or ignored, a convincing answer cannot be expected. In this case the socialist consciousness is not advanced, and the counteraction to anti-communism is inadequate. For instance, in explaining the main springs of the threat of war it is not enough to expose specifically this or that action of the reactionary imperialist circles. It is necessary, in addition, to show that this threat comes from the nature of imperialism, for it is only from this angle that it can be correctly understood.

As I see it, an immensely important task of the party's theoretical work is to show, on the basis of the relationship of property and power, concrete social mechanisms down to their smallest ramifications.

To combat the influence of anti-communism it is imperative to have a sound knowledge also

of the workings of the mass psychology. I would say that here we are only at the beginning of the road. For example, those who agree with the definition given by the communists of the essence of fascism often complain that we do not adequately explain how and why the victims of monopoly capitalism can act in its support and adopt fascist ideas.

As the history of our movement shows, the party program is one of the most effective instruments for fighting anti-communism in the field of theory. It generalizes the experience of the working class struggles under diverse conditions and reflects the party's self-awareness, its long-term objectives, and its scientific notions about the ways to socialism and the features characterizing a social system free of exploitation. It gives a lucid answer to the distortions and jugglings used by the anti-communists to smear the aims and actions of the revolutionary party.

In capitalist countries a large section of the population — this section becomes all the larger where the communist party is numerically small or where it is harder for it to carry forward its struggle — knows practically nothing about the communists and judges them not so much by their actions, aims and plans as by what is attributed to them by our adversary. It would be very unrealistic to expect that specific forms of anti-communism — designed to erode the communist parties, social-democratize them, and sow confusion and uncertainty among their members and supporters — do not influence party cadres. Moreover, with the development of new social movements, the spread of sentiments of protest, and the growth of the number of questions about possible social prospects more worthy of people, the theorists of anti-communism not only concentrate on smearing the socialist alternative but also try to suggest pseudo-alternatives, which they paint in glowing colors. The attractive force and inner unity of a communist party, its commitment, and consequently its ability to mobilize the people depend to a large extent on a sound knowledge of realistic socio-political alternatives, on the degree the party's program becomes the flesh and blood of its members and the lodestar of their thoughts and actions.

Even where the socialist aim seems far away (for instance, in Austria), many people are asking how that aim can be achieved. The program of the Communist Party of Austria proceeds from the postulate, borne out by practice, that "just as regularities do not exist by themselves, in isolation from national, concrete historical specifics, there are no national specifics independent of regularities. Consequently, both

(the former and the latter) must be taken into account."⁵ Theoretical anti-communism either passes the program conclusions over in silence or shamelessly attributes to our party a belief in models, which the program quite rightly rejects: "No models of socialism are suitable, for they fail to take into account one of two things — either regularities or specifics."⁶

Nothing disconcerts the anti-communist theorists so much as the fact that socialism is gradually coping with the problems that are unsolvable for the capitalists. This is why they are attributing to the communists the assertion that their ascension to power would mean the disappearance of all problems. The implication is that history comes to an end and an entirely new epoch begins. The former Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky, who was one of the most experienced anti-communists among the social democrats, liked to have recourse to this device in order to have the possibility of putting forward real or invented problems as counter-arguments. The Communist Party of Austria is guided by its study of reality and by the theory of Marxism-Leninism, and in its reply to inventions of this kind by the anti-communists has recorded in its program: "Under socialism, too, progress is possible only by resolving contradictions as they arise. Every advance gives birth to new problems, and every growth is fraught with the danger of imbalances . . . Progress is expressed not by an absence of contradictions but by a growing ability to draw ever closer to the set objectives."⁷

In Austria, which has common frontiers with socialist countries, anti-communism is particularly shameless and strong. It constantly has recourse — and this is by no means a national specific — to slander and blackmail, declaring, for example, that the communists "begin to understand democracy correctly" when any of them dissociate or distance themselves from existing socialism, which our adversary portrays as "undemocratic."

Idealization of existing socialism, however understandable this is in human terms as an expression of the striving for a world worthy of people, ultimately presents the anti-communists with a splendid pretext for speculations. People who find that the chimerical ideal they have been nourishing is inconsistent with reality either keep it to themselves or, becoming disenchanted, invent a new "ideal" of socialism that reality cannot harm because the conditions for giving effect to it are nonexistent. This is only further grist on the mill of our adversary: the number of false alternatives is thus increased by one more.

The standard repertoire of anti-communism,

particularly of its reformist varieties, includes attributing to the communists the intention to achieve the socialist aim by undemocratic means. By the same token they claim that by its nature existing socialism can only be undemocratic. Our program gives such inventions the following reply, which stems from our analysis of international experience and national conditions without the involvement of even the hint of tactical considerations: "There is a sure guarantee that any road to socialism, wherever it lies, can only be democratic: it is possible to move along that road only by winning the masses to the side of socialism."⁸

When we ponder the possible roads of our people to socialism, we ask ourselves whether in an industrialized capitalist country it is possible to get the better of a highly organized adversary, of the combined power of state and monopoly, if the working class, within the framework of broad alliances and led by a strong revolutionary party, does not become the people's political, ideological and moral leader, in other words, does not win hegemony? Past experience makes it clear that such hegemony cannot be full and lasting as long as the adversary holds the decisive levers in the economy and in politics, notably in the repressive apparatus and the agencies manipulating the people's thinking. To speak seriously of socialism or at least of a tangible step in its direction, use must ultimately be made of elements of hegemony in order to change the alignment of forces radically to the detriment of capitalism and its partners and hangers-on. It would be appropriate to ask: What is undemocratic about this?

What happens when the possibility is missed of storming capitalism or when no attempt is made of using this possibility has been demonstrated by the action of February 1934 in Austria and the civil war, whose 50th anniversary was marked recently. The Social Democratic Party was at the time the largest — in terms of the numerical strength of the country's population — the most confident and best organized of the parties in the Socialist Workers' International. For a long time it maintained that it held a position between reformism and Bolshevism. It had its own armed wing — the Republican Schutzbund. And on one occasion, in the Linz Program, it went so far as to envisage the possibility of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat as a defensive measure if reaction and capital resisted the majority will for building a new system. But the social democratic leadership did not at any time think of using this possibility for curbing reaction, for pushing it aside or, what is most important,

terminating its power. On the contrary, it increasingly backed away itself, setting its hopes on future battles, or more favorable conditions in the future until finally, superseding the will of this leadership, the most conscious workers, socialist and communist, rose in armed struggle against fascism.

Of course, history does not repeat itself, but serious, cardinal problems are handed down from one generation to another until they are eventually resolved.

We are fully aware that anti-communism, which has sunk deep roots in Austria, chiefly in the minds of the senior and middle generations, must be fought more perseveringly, resourcefully, prudently and scientifically. There are many reasons why it has sunk these roots: on account of the long domination by different varieties of fascism; on account of a favorable economic situation that persisted almost uninterruptedly for a quarter of a century and provided the ruling élite with a wide field for making concessions to the working people, concessions that it was forced to make by the proximity of socialist countries; on account of how capitalism's general crisis has been developing, nourishing illusions about the potentialities of the capitalist system. But even with the political landscape having undergone a change and with the spread of sentiments of protest evoked by the economic crisis, the absence of broad mass movements in Austria, with the exception of the peace movement, is seriously hampering and limiting the people's possibilities of drawing lessons from their own experience. In this situation the 25th congress of the Communist Party of Austria (1984) noted that the party's influence in the country and its ability to pursue at any level and in a left framework a policy upholding the interests of the working people depend on the "politicization of the leadership" of party organizations, on a thorough knowledge of the party program, on the ability to see changes and movement in society, on understanding the fact that however important they may be technical-administration questions should not divert us from going deep into problems, the answer to which enables us to correctly organize and direct the actions of the people, and comprises our essence, and distinguishes us from all other parties.

Thomas Mann called anti-communism the greatest absurdity of our century. To show anti-communism for what it actually is — the embodiment of reaction, to turn the spotlight on all its anti-humane manifestations, on its contempt for the people, human rights and democracy is an indispensable condition for

defeating imperialism and advancing along the road of peace and socialism.

1. For a critique of this theory see, Eugene Jorgen, "A Justified Presentiment," WMR, No. 5, 1984.

2. A school of bourgeois philosophy and sociology that appeared in the 1930s with its center at the Institute of Social Studies of Frankfurt on the Main University. Its leading proponents were Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, Herbert Marcuse, Eric Fromm and Jurgen Habermas. This school combined some Marxist precepts with left-Hegelian and Freudian ideas. It has hindered the

development of the democratic protest against capitalism, preventing critically-minded intellectuals and young people from understanding Marxism. — Ed.

3. Werner Hofmann, *Stalinismus und Antikommunismus*, Suhrkamp-Verlag, Frankfurt on the Main, 1967, pp. 131-167.

4. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 2, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1969, p. 223.

5. *Sozialismus in Österreichs Farben. Programm der Kommunistischen Partei Österreichs*, Vienna, 1982, p. 49.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid., p. 7.

8. Ibid., p. 43.



Defending the achievements of April

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The convocation of the 10th CPC congress* in Oporto, a city dominated long since by the most reactionary right-wing forces, gave rise to numerous questions and reflections. Oporto, Portugal's second biggest city, lies in the north and is known for numerous acts of counter-revolutionary terrorism. But while the number of communists there in 1975-1976 was only about 5,000, in 1983 it exceeded 25,000. The 10th congress brought out a distinctive aspect of the political situation in Portugal, namely, the steady growth and organizational consolidation of the Communist Party at every stage of the revolutionary process, even at the height of the counter-offensive of reaction. The party membership has increased from 164,000 to 200,000 since the previous congress (1979) and was represented at Oporto by nearly 2,200 delegates.

The arrival of 64 delegations from fraternal parties and national liberation movements at our congress as well as the numerous messages of greetings which came in from virtually all the progressive forces of the world were indicative of tremendous interest in the Portuguese revolution and invariable solidarity with Portugal's communists and democrats.

The theses prepared by the Central Committee for the 10th congress were discussed at more than 3,000 party meetings and assemblies, which subscribed to the proposed

political orientation. The drafting committee approved over 2,000 amendments proposed as a result of collective and individual analysis and incorporated them in the draft political resolution. This procedure reflected a vast variety of actions, ideas, methods and traditions which have made creative effort on collective lines the pivot of inner-party democracy and the basis for the implementation and renewal of a policy recognized and supported by the whole party. The PCP is functioning as a huge collective body which realizes that to frame and carry out this policy is a matter for all its members.

The Political Resolution of the congress analyzes the evolution of the domestic situation over the past four years. Reaction, which is continuing the counter-revolutionary process, has scored certain gains and made headway but has been unable to achieve all its aims. The working class and other working people, all real democrats and power institutions, have proved strong and competent enough to defeat attempts to undermine the democratic regime. On the other hand, they have proved unable to counter these plans with a democratic alternative.

It is a fact that "the Portuguese revolution is alive. The transformed economic structure retains its fundamental aspects. Reaction encounters extraordinary difficulties and vigorous resistance in pursuing its goal, which is to restore state-monopoly capitalism, abolished by the revolution." The congress confirmed

*December 1983.

once again the fact that the socio-economic changes effected by the April Revolution were in keeping with the objective tasks of establishing and defending the democratic regime and developing the economy under the new political system. They were not a product of passing interests or voluntarist actions.

Accordingly, the congress drew the conclusion that although the counter-revolutionary process which began in 1976 delivered some blows to democratic achievements, it did not interrupt the stage of development of economic structures, social relations and political activity ushered in by the revolution.

To suppress the resistance of the masses and true democrats, the rulers resort more and more widely and openly to attacks on political democracy itself. Their offensive against it, being part of the strategy of seizing all power, is undermining the very system and prerogatives of administrative bodies and is aimed at putting parliament, the armed forces, the judiciary and local administration under government control and at bringing the state apparatus under party influence. Besides, those behind the offensive against political democracy expect to curb the working class and popular movement and to check the growth of the PCP's prestige. They restrict civil rights and freedoms, shamelessly manipulate the media, adopt repressive measures and rob elections of a democratic character.

The 10th congress specified the phases of the reactionary offensive. It pointed out that the rule of the present Socialist and Social Democratic cabinet coincides with the fifth phase of the counter-revolutionary process. The formation of this cabinet was the only variant of a party coalition making it possible to persist in a rightist policy after the resounding defeat of the coalition of right-wing parties, the Democratic Alliance (DA). The fact that reaction's policy is now being carried on by a government which includes the Socialist Party and is headed by the General Secretary of this party changes nothing in the nature, effects or goals of this policy. The congress defined as the main task the need to put an end to this government in the same way as this was done in the case of the DA government.

The chief cause of the extremely acute economic and financial crisis in the country which goes on deteriorating is the policy of restoring capitalism's positions that has been carried on since 1976. Successive governments have presented this policy as a means of resolving the crisis and a requisite for reviving the economy. For objective reasons and due to popular resistance, however, the restoration of capitalism's

positions has proceeded more slowly than suits reaction. This explains why rapid, reckless and illegitimate concentration in the hands of big capitalists and landed proprietors of the surplus value being created in the country, spare capital and public resources as well as of lands and other property involved in the agrarian reform is the overriding objective of the ruling quarters.

Under the capitalist mode of production, the Political Resolution of the congress states, the processes of centralization and concentration and the formation of monopolies as well as the accumulation of capital and the formation of a financial oligarchy are governed by the objective laws of capitalist development. By contrast, the counter-revolutionary policy of restoring state-monopoly capitalism ignores and circumvents these laws because its aim is to concentrate the riches of the nation in the hands of big proprietors through coercive political intervention on the part of the state. Enterprises, shares, funds, lands, machinery and livestock are transferred to them.

The congress described the economic strategy of the latest governments as "a veritable crusade of plunder and forcible centralization." By its arbitrary interference the state "places itself above economic laws, resists and hampers dynamic production in various structures, including the capitalist structure, aggravates all imbalances, provokes disorganization and anarchy in production and distribution, and increases external dependence." The political goal of restoring monopolies and latifundia is unequivocally placed above the need to advance the economy, which is fully sacrificed in the end.

The destructive and sabotage-like offensive against nationalized enterprises has ruinous consequences for every sphere of national life. To protect and expand the national economy, stave off catastrophe, deliver the Portuguese from the threat of unemployment, hunger and poverty, and assure the survival of the democratic regime and national independence, it is urgent to call a halt to the policy of restoring capitalism's positions and adopt a policy in harmony with the new economic structure resulting from democratic changes.

The Portuguese revolution has vast experience attesting to the aroused energy, intellect and ability of the working people, who have stirred to action and are demanding deep-going social changes. While the masses have yet to bring about a democratic alternative, they have made numerous partial gains. This enables them to foil reaction's recurrent subversive and putschist schemes, slow down the counter-

revolutionary process and occasionally to paralyze it for a time. Mass actions remain the chief and decisive factor in defending the democratic regime and its achievements.

Working people's actions in other forms are likewise coming to play an important part. "The very fact," the Political Resolution says, "that resistance to the reactionary offensive assumes diverse aspects, such as productive and creative labor, the solution of economic, social, political and cultural problems or intervention in decisions made by the authorities, indicates that Portuguese democracy is a reality resulting from the revolution. This reality consists in new socio-economic structures, new forms of intervention by the people and their representatives, and the vast rights and freedoms that have been won. It is unquestionable that intervention by the workers and the people generally is indispensable for the solution of national problems."

The congress analyzed from this point of view different forms of struggle used by the masses: election campaigns, activity in parliament and other government bodies, work in nationalized enterprises, productive work on the lands covered by the agrarian reform, the contribution made by popular organizations to the solution of national problems, including action in the educational sphere and in favor of cultural democracy.

Despite fierce attacks from reaction, actions by the working people made a constructive, highly valuable contribution to the solution of the nation's economic, social and cultural problems. This is incontrovertible evidence that these problems cannot be solved without the masses, without their labor, perseverance and collectivism.

Refuting the reactionary propaganda allegation that the measures adopted by successive governments are "inevitable," "fatal" and "without alternative," the congress stressed not only the feasibility of an alternative democratic policy but the need to adopt it without delay in order to save the country from disaster.

This policy of democratic alternative comprises five essential objectives: stability, legality and democratic order; an end to the crisis, economic rehabilitation and development; higher living and cultural standards for the working people; guaranteed civil rights and freedoms; unity of the country, national independence, security and peace.

At this stage the congress set the following priority task: preventing a breakthrough in the main defenses of the democratic regime. Democracy will be saved provided the constitution, democratic legality, civil rights

and freedoms, the new economic structures resulting from nationalization and the agrarian reform, the working people's interests and rights, the barring of the armed forces and the courts from party politics, and national independence are defended staunchly and resolutely. Otherwise reaction's effort to destroy democracy will be made much easier.

It is important to defeat reaction's plan to achieve in the 1985 presidential elections what it was unable to achieve in 1980, namely, a takeover of the three fundamental authorities: the Presidency, the government and parliament. The congress stated that the defeat of the candidate of the Right and the victory of the democratic candidate will be either an important factor in consolidating a democratic alternative to the present government to be realized by then, or a means of implementing this alternative should it fail to materialize (contrary to expectations). As Mario Soares appears to be the likeliest presidential candidate of the Right in 1985, the congress reaffirmed the thesis that communist support for his candidacy is out of the question.

The congress formulated the three basic conditions for the defeat of the candidate of the Right and the election in 1985 of a president of the Republic capable of guaranteeing the protection and functioning of the democratic regime. They are as follows: the democratic candidate must have appropriate personal qualities; democrats and patriots must agree on voting for a common candidate; to win election, the democratic candidate must enjoy wide social support and poll about as many votes as were cast for the President now in office. This can happen if he is backed by the majority of Socialists, Communists and their partners of the Popular Unity Alliance as well as by those who voted for the Social Democrats or other parties in the general election.

In view of the ultimately inevitable failure of the present cabinet, it was said at the Congress when it was discussing the democratic alternative that the democratic regime has possibilities for emergency solutions. If the system of party alliances undergoes no change and the alliance between the Socialists and the Right is still there, new elections will provide no alternative and government institutions will find themselves in an impasse.

There are two ways of avoiding such an impasse and creating through legislative elections an institutional basis for a democratic government: either the Socialist Party will break with the Right and form an alliance with the democrats, or new progressive parties enjoying wide social and political support will spring up. The

latter variant is feasible in Portuguese conditions and depends chiefly on subjective factors: people, initiative, organization.

Confronting each other on the national political scene today are two main camps: the supporters of the Socialist and Social Democratic government and those who are in one way or another for a democratic alternative. The social basis of the former is, objectively, big capital, big proprietors, wealthy people, big shopkeepers, speculators, the top bureaucracy, a section of industrialists and merchants, many members of the professions, engineers and technicians. The objective basis of a democratic alternative is made up of the working people, small and medium agricultural producers, merchants and industrialists, intellectuals, a substantial number of technicians, and the most disinherited sections of the people.

This is not to say that there are no vacillating or undecided groups, that this differentiation results at any given moment in an explicit stand on the government and its policy. However, the situation being as critical as it now is, the anti-monopoly classes and sectors are taking part in the struggle against the government's policy of restoring capitalism, and this means that *the government is opposed by vast sectors which had voted for the parties now in the government*. In other words, there is a discrepancy between the alignment of social forces and that of political forces. On the one hand, the government coalition has no social basis corresponding to its electoral support. On the other, the social basis of resistance to the government's policy is much broader than the positions in parliament of the parties fighting for a democratic alternative. *This is the objective basis for opening a broad social and political front that would ensure the implementation of a democratic alternative.*

The congress stressed that the prospect of forming such a government should not be viewed according to what can be done today but according to what must and can be done as a result of the unification and struggle of the Portuguese. It expressed the opinion that the present cabinet will drag the country into an even worse crisis before it resigns. This warrants the affirmation that Portugal needs a government which could be rightly called a "democratic government of national salvation." All democrats and patriots, whatever their party allegiance, should be prepared for its formation. As the political composition of this government would depend on the system of party alliances in existence by then, the congress declared that the PCP is willing to consider the institutional, political and social

conditions of forming it.

The entry of our party into a new government is an indispensable condition. More and more people feel that "this cannot be done without the communists" and that "it can only be done with the communists." The PCP, the congress stated, is ready, as it has always been, to assume its share of responsibility in a government respecting the constitution and democratic legality and intent on ending the national crisis and solving the acute problems facing the country. It is prepared to contribute to any other solution essentially guaranteeing the attainment of this goal.

The PCP is a decisive political factor in the defense of the interests of the people and the country. It is the only major party loyal to the ideals, objectives and achievements of the April Revolution.

Despite counter-revolutionary intrigues, the PCP in recent years has grown stronger and increased its influence among the masses. It has achieved this, specifically, by strengthening and furthering its organizational principles, which are inseparable from ideological firmness, pursuing a correct policy line and encouraging the activity of the masses. This has brought out more than ever the fundamental characteristics of the party: a class nature and class spirit; a strong, large, experienced, well-trained and devoted leading core; tens of thousands of activists with a high capacity for the solution of problems and participation in national life; readiness for action and the ability to mobilize the masses; collectivism on all levels; inner-party democracy; strong ties with the working class and the masses; loyalty to ideals, fidelity to commitments and a high morale.

Worthy of mention besides the numerical growth of the party is the fact that workers make up 57 per cent of the membership and office employees, 20 per cent, and that the share of women is 21.6 per cent. Workers are in the majority on the Central Committee and in other leading bodies. This is our golden rule.

The congress recognized the need to renew the CC as natural but pointed out that radical changes in the leadership are a sign of crisis while a combination of continuity and constant renewal of the leading core are proof of good political health.

The evolution of the international situation over the past decades and in our days was comprehensively analyzed by the congress. It is historically irreversible and this is confirmed by the gains of revolutionary forces in many countries, the advance of workers and peoples toward liberation from imperialist exploitation,

toward a new society without exploiters or exploited — socialist society.

The attempts to make out the growing revolutionary struggle of peoples to be a result of "export of revolution," "East-West confrontation" or "Soviet expansionism" were described as a gross misrepresentation of developments by imperialist propaganda. The congress confirmed that imperialism, neocolonialism, fascism and racism are irrevocably doomed.

On the other hand, the congress noted that the international situation is characterized by a marked increase in the aggressiveness of imperialism and by the growing danger of a new world war, which would mean a nuclear holocaust. This demands that all peoples should combine the struggle for national objectives with the general, urgent and paramount task of defending peace. Particular vigilance is needed in view of the greatest direct threat to peace posed by the deployment of new U.S. nuclear missiles in Europe. The congress declared that the Soviet Union's counter-measures were predictable and are perfectly justified.

The struggle to preserve peace is the central and pressing task facing all peoples today and brooking no delay. It is going on along two main lines: against the arms race, primarily in nuclear arms, against acts of aggression and for the elimination of tensions by negotiations and political means; for the pursuit by all countries of a foreign policy serving the interests of national independence, peace and international cooperation.

The congress saw the most serious cause of growing tensions in the counter-offensive of imperialism and reactionary forces aimed at blocking the liberation process and turning back the course of world history. The deep economic crisis shaking the capitalist system plays its role in this. At the same time, the increased aggressiveness of imperialism is a sign, not of a strengthening of the capitalist system, but of its weakening and continuous loss of positions on a global scale, the obvious indefensibility of its system compared with socialism, and in general, its deep and all-inclusive crisis.

World development today, the Political Resolution of the congress says, is determined by four great forces on which the liberation of workers and peoples, social progress and peace hinge; they are the socialist countries, the working class movement in the capitalist world, the national liberation movement, and the countries committed to a progressive orientation.

The socialist states are the principal achievement and most powerful bulwark of the international working class and communist

movement, of all revolutionary forces. The problems and difficulties that arise as the new society is being built provide valuable experience and lessons. They in no way call into question socialist reality itself. Even events in Poland showed that the crisis which set in there was not rooted in the nature of socialism but in the serious mistakes made in building it, in a departure from certain fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The role of the working class as a decisive factor in public life and an indispensable motive power of social change is growing in the capitalist world. However, the social democrats offer no alternative to the crisis. They come up against increasing difficulties as they try to blunt the discontent and militancy of the working people and to use them for reformist ends.

The national liberation movement is gaining strength as workers and peoples fight for the right to self-determination and independence, against colonialism, neocolonialism, racism, Zionism, apartheid and imperialism's economic and political domination.

Progressive-oriented countries exert growing influence on international affairs. "... Going through a naturally diverse and complex development process, they are vigorously defending their sovereignty and national independence, striving to solve the problems of the masses, safeguarding their economy and their national resources against neocolonial plunder, withdrawing or trying to withdraw from the sphere of influence of the world capitalist system, rejecting a capitalist trend of development and adopting on the international plane positions inspired by the ideals of peace and social progress."

Common tasks in the struggle against imperialism objectively lead both the national liberation movement and progressive-oriented countries to closer relations and cooperation with socialist countries. Imperialism is making great efforts to disunite them, resorting to economic pressure, armed blackmail and the most refined methods of ideological subversion and intrigue, and exploiting anti-communism and anti-Sovietism with exceptional aggressiveness and persistence. It would be a bad mistake to minimize these efforts and equally dangerous to over-rate them. To the communists of Portugal, "unity, common or converging action, friendship and mutual solidarity of the major revolutionary forces of today's world are factors of the first importance for the victory of all and every one of them."

In examining the international role of Portugal and its foreign policy, the congress stated that with the victory of the April Revolution our

country recovered its national dignity and won respect and prestige on the world scene. But ever since 1976 its foreign policy, being geared to the restoration of the capitalist order, has been losing its national character, increasingly giving in to the diktat of imperialism, primarily U.S. imperialism. Such a policy does not serve Portugal. Our country needs a patriotic policy uncompromisingly defending national independence, sovereignty and peace. The congress underlined the vital need to develop relations with all countries without discrimination, on the basis of sovereignty, mutual benefit, equality and non-interference in internal affairs.

Describing the main tasks of the Portuguese communists in this sphere, the 10th congress pointed out that the PCP sees unity of the international communist movement as a decisive factor for the peoples' fight against imperialism. This is why we attach particular importance to the promotion of relations with communist and working class parties, with which we are linked by common proletarian roots, common Marxist-Leninist ideology and common ideals of socialism and communism.

While advocating joint or parallel action by patriotic, anti-imperialist, democratic and peace-loving forces, the congress rejected the idea of dissolving the communist movement in "a new internationalism" having no clear-cut class boundaries. The PCP considers that differing opinions or divergences should be no hindrance to the establishment of relations that could and should help avoid intransigent positions, and expresses readiness always to contribute actively to joint initiatives, meetings and conferences as well as to other international actions by communist parties. "... At a time when reactionary and social democratic forces are multiplying the organizational struc-

tures of their international cooperation, lasting forms of cooperation among communist parties can play a positive role even if limited to definite spheres and problems."

The importance of the final part of the Political Resolution of the congress where it analyzes the international situation prompts us to quote it in full. "The rapid development and the increasing diversification and extension of the revolutionary process demand that the communists should: (a) master the general laws of social evolution and assimilate the historical experience gained by the world working class and revolutionary movement; (b) constantly strive to analyze, cognize and understand the new phenomena and processes arising from social evolution in their own country and in the world and from the liberation struggle of workers and peoples.

"This attitude to life is inspired by Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Bookish and petrified concepts of Marxism-Leninism, a mechanical copying of 'models' or a priori elaboration of 'models' and 'original paths' are serious obstacles to understanding social realities and aligning class forces; they prompt unprincipled pragmatism and lead to a weakening of the communist parties and the working class movement. The international activity of the PCP serves at once our people and our country and the common universal cause of the working people and progressive forces. National tasks are inseparable from internationalist duties. Patriotism and internationalism cannot be dissociated."

By holding its 10th congress, the Portuguese Communist Party took new steps toward improving, extending and intensifying its activity, influence and constructive participation in the revolutionary process.

New experience

OUR INTERVIEW

PROMOTING PEACE TRADITIONS

Panos Trigazis
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World Peace Council member

Q. What is the assessment of the present stage of international development by the communists and other peace fighters in Greece?

A. The Central Committee of the Greek

Communist Party has characterized the deployment of Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles in some West European countries as the culmination of U.S. imperialist aggressiveness, which has created a new situation in Europe and throughout the world and unquestionably increased the threat of a nuclear war.

In this context the question arises of whether we are truly, to use the words of Eugene Rostow,¹ former adviser to the U.S. President, going through a pre-war rather than a post-war period? Without underestimating the dangers,

the communists and other peace fighters in Greece are very optimistic that the post-war period, which is now nearing 40 years, will be perpetuated and that the ideals of détente and disarmament will eventually triumph. The main source of this optimism in the unprecedented growth of the militancy and dynamism of the peace movement throughout the world, including Greece, and the decisive role played by the socialist countries and, in particular, the Soviet Union in safeguarding the peace. The mass actions organized in many European countries after the arrival of new lots of Cruise and Pershing-2 missiles are indicative of the determination of the peoples to step up their struggle against nuclear war.

A large protest demonstration was also held in Athens on December 4, 1983 when an EEC summit took place in that city. The participants in this demonstration included the Italian "General for Peace" Nino Pasti and two British peace campaigners Diana Dodd and Elizabeth Forder from Greenham Common, and this reinforced the spirit of militant optimism that prevailed from the beginning to the end of this mass action.

The opening of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures, Security and Disarmament in Europe and the Athens meeting of representatives of Balkan countries on the creation of a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans likewise inspired us with the confidence that the battle for peace will be won. The Athens meeting was of special significance to Greece not only because it represented a step in the direction of consolidating détente and cooperation in the Balkans but also, and more importantly, because it provided a splendid example to the other countries of Europe and gave the lie to those who dispute the effectiveness of the struggles for peace. Only 20 years ago the idea of a nuclear-free Balkans was considered to be utopian, but through the unceasing efforts of the peace movement it is now becoming a realistic possibility.

Q. What, in your view, are now the priority aims of the Greek peace movement?

A. These are determined, first, by the overall international situation, second, by Greece's membership in NATO and the presence of U.S. military bases and nuclear weapons on its territory, and, third, the acuteness of the problem of defending peace in the Balkans.

The Greek peace movement gives priority to the removal of nuclear weapons from Greece and, as I have already noted, the creation of a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans. Moreover, it gives high priority to continuing the struggles

against the U.S. military bases, for Greece's withdrawal from the NATO bloc, and for the unity, independence and demilitarization of Cyprus.

The significance of the peace struggles to Greece will not be appreciated if no account is taken of the fact that it is at the crossroads of three continents and in the neighborhood of the Middle East, which is among the most explosive regions in the world. The situation in the area has further deteriorated with the proclamation of a pseudo-state in the occupied northern part of Cyprus by Denktash, leader of the Turkish separatists. In Greece itself there are 42 U.S. military bases with nuclear weapons in some of them and this puts it in danger of being embroiled in a U.S. military adventure.

The USA is inflaming tension not only in the Middle East but also between Greece and Turkey. With the cover of the "aid" that it extends to both of them, it is pushing them into a disastrous arms race. It is thus not accidental that of the NATO states Greece has the highest percentage of defense spending in relation to GNP (almost 7 per cent annually), and that Turkey is a close second.

It is clear from the foregoing that for the Greek people the struggle for peace and disarmament is inseparably linked with the struggle for their national independence. By correctly combining the tasks of these two struggles we strengthen the peace movement. Moreover, our fight for a nuclear-free Europe or the dissolution of the two military blocs would not be credible if we did not link these questions with the dismantling of U.S. military bases, the removal of all nuclear weapons from Greek soil, and Greece's withdrawal from NATO. The Greek communists regard the attainment of these objectives as the concrete and most significant contribution that the Greek people can make toward the strengthening of international security.

The CC report to the party's 11th congress in 1982 pointed out that "in today's world the weight and the duty of the smaller countries are increasing, as is their potential to make their own irreplaceable, constructive and concrete contribution to the struggle against nuclear weapons." We believe that Greece — cradle of peace-loving ideals and institutions such as the Olympic Games and amphictyonies² — has the potential to play such a role, which can best be realized if our country becomes fully independent and free of foreign bases, nuclear weapons and membership in the NATO bloc.

Q. What is being done by the peace fighters to reinforce their movement and widen its scope?

A. According to a recent poll taken by the EEC, 92 per cent of the Greek people want a policy of peace — this is the largest proportion of the population of any country in Western Europe. However, our party estimates that despite its indisputable progress, the peace movement has not yet attained the dimension demanded by the critical international situation or used all the opportunities existing in our country. The Greek communists are making a greater effort to unite and broaden this movement. A necessary prerequisite for this is cooperation and unity of action at all levels among the peace forces, among the different peace organizations in the first place. This policy of the communists has already yielded tangible results. In particular, the initiatives of various public organizations have been largely responsible for joint actions. For example, the initiative of an athletic association last year to organize a peace marathon in commemoration of Lambrakis³ was broadly supported by all peace fighters despite differences between them. As part of the Action Week of January 16-23 of this year, the mayors of Kalavryta and Distomo, the two towns that suffered most under the nazi occupation, circulated a joint appeal for peace and disarmament to the Stockholm Conference.

Unity of action by the peace forces has become the determining factor of the traditional spring Ten-Day Peace Action. This year its key slogan was: "Greece — the Balkans — Europe — Nuclear-Free!" Powerful demonstrations were staged in a number of towns and rural communities in the period from April 5 to 15. During the Action there was a meeting of leading activists of anti-war movements of Greece and other European countries. This was sponsored by the Greek Committee for the Dismantling of Foreign Military Bases. The participants, many of whom were professionally involved in drawing up NATO's plans, cited facts to show that NATO's strategy is aggressive and that the foreign military bases in Greece are aimed not only against other countries but also against Greece itself. The Action ended with a 42-kilometer peace march from the small town of Marathon to the center of Athens and a rally of several hundred thousand people in one of the capital's squares.

Successful mobilization of the people depends largely on how the anti-war actions are organized. When they are linked, say, to symbols of human civilization such as the Acropolis or ancient Mount Olympus, they attract not only progressive-minded people but also people with conservative views. We therefore try to select forms of actions with account of the

specific interests of different groups of the population. Young people are attracted most by concerts and peace camps, while women willingly take part in actions in defense of children.

The communists focus constantly on exposing the lies and slander used by imperialist propaganda, and all sorts of disorienting theories such as "equal responsibility" of the USA and USSR. We are combating such ideological subversion not only because it conflicts with communist ideology but also in order to unite the largest possible number of people against war.

From painful experience the Greek people have learned to distinguish between friend and foe in their struggle for national independence and peace. That explains why the theory of "equal responsibility" does not find very fertile ground in Greece. For example, local Euro-communists and other proponents of this theory tried in vain to organize a human chain between the Soviet and U.S. embassies in Athens on December 5, 1983: very few people turned up in spite of the urgings of the right-wing newspapers and magazines, which futilely depicted it as a real peace movement.

Q. How would you characterize the role played by the Greek Committee for International Détente and Peace of which you are a member?

A. Our point of departure is that the struggle against the threat of war is the cause of the entire people. The role of organizations is to coordinate mass actions. In this lies the task of our Committee. In it the communists work together with other peace fighters, attaching special significance to safeguarding its broad and supra-party character. The Committee has been in existence for nearly 30 years. It now has over 200 local branches and its influence is growing steadily. Hundreds of trade unions and public, cultural and sports organizations are represented on the Committee and its National Council, of which many prominent personalities are members, despite the fact that since 1981 there have been two other committees, whose declared aim is to safeguard peace but which are in fact trying to split the peace movement along ideological lines. We understand that people from different walks of life and of different experiences and different levels of awareness come into the peace movement. We are therefore doing our best to prevent the peace movement from becoming a battlefield of conflicting views and urge that differences should be put aside so that people could work together for the common cause, for peace.

1. In the Reagan administration Eugene Rostow was Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. He was retired in January 1983. — Ed.

2. These were meetings of representatives of different states at Delphi, in Ancient Greece, where disputes were settled by negotiation. — Ed.

3. Grigoris Lambrakis, a left-wing MP and Deputy Chairman of the Greek Committee for International Détente and Peace, was killed by fascists at a peace rally in Salonika on May 22, 1963. — Ed.

DOCUMENTS

SENEGAL

Stand of a revolutionary women's union

The Women's Democratic Union of Senegal, guided by the Senegal Party of Independence and Labor (SPIL), has held its first congress, which passed documents defining its character and aims. The Union sees its work as part of the common struggle of the Senegalese people for political, economic and social rights, for true independence and economic development, and for democracy and peace. Its aim is to generate a broad revolutionary movement of women, who cannot conceivably win genuine emancipation without society's democratic renewal. This is mainly why the Union accepts the SPIL's political leadership, program and ideology.

On the organizational level the Union is seeking to develop the most effective forms of work in the country's specific conditions and with account of the present consciousness level of the women of Senegal. Further, the Union stresses its fundamental distinction from the so-called folklore women's organizations set up by the ruling parties and representing a caricature of a democratic social movement.

The problem of war and peace received considerable space in the congress documents. It is noted that the peace struggle concerns women, who give life to children and are themselves the symbol of life. This makes them an active section of the broad front of forces determined to cut short the criminal plans of the imperialist warmongers. In this connection the Union declares its total support for the Women's International Democratic Federation and its readiness to cooperate with all the organizations affiliated to the Federation.

URUGUAY

Triumph of the patriotic forces

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay issued a statement in which it

warmly welcomes the release of the Chairman of the Broad Front General Liber Seregni and declares that this was a glorious victory of the democrats and patriots of Uruguay and the whole world. The termination of the general's 10 years' imprisonment, the statement notes, is not only a milestone in the people's long struggle against the dictatorship but also a reflection of the new political situation in Uruguay, where the people are taking over the initiative and demonstrating their readiness to depose the regime of oppressors.

Liber Seregni is the banner-bearer of the Broad Front and its program of liberation. Beloved of the people, he personifies on the international scene all the prisoners of the Uruguayan dictatorship and vividly symbolizes the resistance to the tyranny, which futilely endeavored to break his will. Having obtained his freedom, General Seregni has resumed the leadership of the political organization he had helped to form, an organization that is now growing stronger than ever before. The struggle for the full legalization of the Broad Front and of all its members is now becoming irreversible and giving new impetus to the mobilization of the forces opposed to the dictatorship.

The communists, who are firmly supporting the campaign to turn 1984 into the year of the release of all political prisoners, consider as a matter of honor their fight for the release of Jaime Pérez, a leader of the Communist Party of Uruguay, a Broad Front MP, and a person who exemplifies staunchness, patriotism and devotion to the people.

JAPAN

For numerical strength and quality

At its seventh plenary meeting in January 1984 the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan gave much of its attention to party building. In the period from 1972 to 1983 the CPJ's membership rose from 300,000 to 480,000 despite the anti-communist attacks. The number of local party organizations is also up from 2,500 to 3,600 as a result of the stronger ties of the communists to the people.

The central aim at present is to increase the CPJ's membership to half a million, and make the party strong numerically and qualitatively. This means stressing not only the party's numerical growth but, above all, the effective fulfillment by every communist of his or her duties. The CC suggested focusing attention on recruiting new members from among young people at industrial facilities and institutions of higher learning.

COMMUNISTS AND YOUNG PEOPLE

"THE ONLY VALID SLOGAN IS — AWAY WITH NEW MISSILES"

In the political life of the Federal Republic of Germany the most acute problem today is the deployment of new U.S. nuclear missiles on its territory. *WMR* carried an article last year about the struggle that was being waged by the Socialist German Working Youth, a Marxist youth organization, to halt the aggressive preparations of the USA and the NATO bloc.* At *WMR*'s request Ulrich Bruck, Secretary of the SDAJ Federal Board, describes the situation in the youth anti-missile movement today, when many Pershing missiles have already been placed in combat position.

New missiles are now being deployed in the FRG in defiance of the will of the overwhelming majority of citizens, including young people. What is this causing? Disappointment? To some extent, yes: so far it has not been possible to halt the dangerous development. But it has by no means generated a sense of doom and apathy. The installation of missiles is not a single act. It is continuing. We must and will counter it with all available means at every deployment site. Here the only valid slogan is "Away with New Missiles from the FRG!" The SDAJ is rallying large sections of young people around that slogan, mobilizing them for struggle.

Is the objective attainable? I think it is. Never before have young people in the FRG been so militant in democratic movements, especially in the peace movement. The explanation for this lies not only in their realization that the threat overhanging the FRG is real but also in the fact that the opposition to the right-wing coalition's missile deployment policy is increasingly fusing with actions by young people to improve their socio-economic condition.

Government policy is making this condition unbearable. The Damocles sword of unemployment hangs over young workers. It is even harder for school-leavers. Many are unable to find jobs in production or places in the system of vocational training. The Federation of German Trade Unions estimates that the FRG is short of 200,000 places in vocational training for young people. The promise of the federal government and of the Chancellor himself to create an additional 30,000 such places proved to be a fiction. And even if they were to be

created they would be no more than a drop in the ocean. As a result, there is mounting disaffection and a striving for change.

Mass social and political protest actions now have the understanding and approval of most young people. And what is most important is that the distance between merely sympathizers of such actions and those who take a direct part in them is steadily narrowing, while the striving for solidarity, justice and peace is more and more frequently embodied in political activity, in a readiness for concrete actions.

In this situation the SDAJ continues its efforts to draw a growing number of young people into the struggle for peace, for the preservation of social gains, and against the reactionary plans of the ruling circles. Moreover, we are working more actively to turn our union into a mass organization. This objective was set by the Federal Congress of the SDAJ in March 1982. As early as a year later our festival in Dortmund drew a quarter of a million people. New groups sprang up throughout the country at industrial facilities, secondary and vocational schools, and urban residential neighborhoods. The circulation of the youth journal *Elan* has grown.

Most of the new members are young people between the ages of 14 and 16. These are school-leavers trying to get vocational training. Their motivation for joining the SDAJ is mainly their striving for peace, their readiness to act against Pershing and Cruise missiles, and their desire to back up their signature under the Krefeld Appeal with concrete actions. In the SDAJ they can take the struggle into their own hands, stir others to join in this struggle, and by joint effort close the road to militarism and war.

We are aware that to enlist young people into the political struggle requires not only militancy but also flexibility in the work with these people. We have to be able to respond to the aspirations of young people and give each of them the opportunity to satisfy their interests and inclinations. Because we are able to do this the SDAJ is becoming not only stronger, but bigger, more versatile and active. Our organization's initiatives are inventive, and they attract public attention, finding a response among progressive young people and also in the peace and democratic movements of the FRG. Unlike other organizations, the SDAJ puts clear-cut demands to the ruling circles during its actions, works to resolve the problems of young people, and presses for an answer to their desire for peace and disarmament.

Our lander and district organizations and primary groups are working, within the framework of their actions, on the task set by the communists and other anti-war forces of the

*Werner Sturmman, "Euro-missiles Are Targeted on Young People," *WMR*, No. 1, 1983. — Ed.

FRG, namely, to secure Europe's conversion into a nuclear-free zone. As a result of tireless mass-political work there now are numerous peace initiative groups,* in which young workers are also active. A steadily growing number of training centers and vocational and secondary schools have proclaimed themselves nuclear-free zones. Our efforts are bearing fruit also in residential neighborhoods.

With reaction attacking social and democratic rights and with the ruling circles of the FRG following in the wake of U.S. imperialist policy, growing significance is being acquired by the ideological confrontation with the class adversary and his propaganda machine. The press, radio and television virtually deluge people with slander against the USSR and its policies and against the mass peace movement that is gathering strength in the FRG. The democratic forces, including the SDAJ, are exposing this specious propaganda and misinformation. Our efforts have contributed to the fact that today three-fourths of the country's population is opposed to new missiles.

The closing months of 1983 and the early months of 1984 were a period of unprecedentedly large anti-war actions. The peace forces of the FRG, among whom young citizens play a prominent part, are set on securing the removal of Euromissiles from their land. The experience that has been accumulated and the new opportunities are giving grounds for believing that this can be achieved if the anti-missile movement continues to broaden and act militantly and in unity.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESS

ZIVOT STRANY

Reinforcing the party's influence

During the past decade the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has been building up its membership in an organized manner, and the party's social and age structure has been developing in a favorable direction. This conclusion is borne out by statistics given by the journal *Zivot strany* in an article headed "Cardinal Tasks in Strengthening the Party's Ranks."

In the period from 1981, when the most recent, 16th party congress was held, to January 1984, the party's membership rose by 69,000 to exceed 1,623,000. The overall numerical growth is being accompanied by steady growth of the worker nucleus in the party. Suffice it to

note that of the 179,000 probationary members admitted during this period, 60.1 per cent are workers and 6.5 per cent are members of agricultural cooperatives. Also a source of gratification, the CC journal writes, is the fact that one in every three Czechoslovak communists is under age 35. The process of the renewal of party bodies is continuing. In the 1983 elections, for example, 21.1 per cent of the composition of party bureaus was renewed, while one in every seven primary organizations got a new secretary.

While noting these positive results, the journal dwelt on some unresolved problems and on the task of further improving party building and reinforcing the party's leading role in society. The correct placing of cadre, the journal points out, is a key requisite for efficient work. Communists should be prepared to work wherever they are needed most by the party. This concerns, above all, key branches of the economy and leading production facilities. However, party committees do not always ascertain the reasons for the fluidity of cadre, why party members move from one primary organization to another.

Concern for reinforcing the party's influence in decisive sectors, the journal says, should also determine the criteria for selecting candidates for admission to the party. In this context, it is to be deplored that last year roughly one-fourth of the primary organizations in industry, construction, and transport did not admit a single probationary member and that there was a 4.2 per cent drop of the proportion of new members working directly in industry. As regards intellectuals, priority should be given to those of them who are linked with production rather than with administrative work.

The discipline and personal example of communists are indispensable conditions for enhancing the party's leading role. This accentuates the significance of verifying compliance with adopted decisions, of comradely criticism and self-criticism, and of acting against those who breach the party rules, reconcile themselves to shortcomings, flout party and state discipline, ignore moral principles, or otherwise hurt the whole party. The task of district party committees, the article says in conclusion, is to make the strengthening of the party's ranks the business of every party organization, of every communist.

L'HUMANITE

Against the plans of the right-wing forces

This newspaper of the French communists car-

*See "Workers Oppose Missiles," WMR, No. 12, 1983. — Ed.

ried a report on a conference sponsored in Paris by the PCF on disarmament and France's military policy. It was attended by party leaders and activists, political and public personalities, representatives of peace organizations, eminent academics and military experts.

Addressing the conference, Georges Marchais, General Secretary of the PCF, said that the policy of the U.S. administration was seriously threatening world peace and stressed that there was now no more important task than to fight for an end to the nuclear arms race. The communists, he declared, were sticking by their stand that France should not develop the neutron weapon, for this weapon would only serve the Reagan administration's doctrine of a "limited nuclear war in Europe."

He spoke of the PCF's anxiety about the character of the French rapid deployment force that was now being formed and could be used in the heart of Europe. This move, he said, was fraught with the danger of France's involvement in the NATO military structure. He flatly rejected the plans harbored by the right-wing forces for expanding military cooperation in the Common Market and forming a "European defense community," saying that these plans were incompatible with the preservation of France's national independence.

IN BRIEF

AFGHANISTAN

The first graduate class of the Department for Local Organs of Power at the Institute of Social Sciences of the PDPA Central Committee has completed its training. This class consists of 67 persons representing 10 provinces. In the course of a year they studied the fundamentals of revolutionary theory, state law, and the experience of building the new life in the localities. It has been decided that more of these cadre are to be trained at the Institute.

ARGENTINA

The two-day festival of the Argentine communist press — the newspapers *Qué Pasa* and *Aquí y Ahora* — in Buenos Aires drew nearly 200,000 people: delegations from party organizations in all the provinces and Tierra del Fuego, people of progressive persuasions, and inhabitants of the capital and its workers' suburbs. The slogans called for the solution of acute socio-economic problems in the interests of the working people, the strengthening of democracy, national sovereignty, and world peace and security.

BRAZIL

Voz da Unidade, weekly newspaper of the Brazilian Communist Party, conducted a festival in Sao Paulo to mark its fourth anniversary and the party's 62nd anniversary. More than 20,000 people gathered in one of the city's largest sports centers. Among them were the vice-governor of the state, senators, representatives of the municipal council, deputies of the National Congress, and leaders of trade unions and many public organizations. Leading art personalities took part in the cultural program. The rally was addressed by Giocondo Dias, General Coordinator of the National Commission for the Registration of the BCP, who publicly demanded the legalization of the Brazilian Communist Party.

BULGARIA

A national conference of the Bulgarian Communist Party on the theme "Higher Quality of Output" has been held in Sofia. Opening the conference, the General Secretary of the BCP Central Committee Todor Zhivkov characterized the campaign for better quality of output as a key objective in the party's strategy for building a developed socialist society. Some 3,000 delegates, elected by district party conferences, debated and approved the party's draft long-term program for improving quality.

CARIBBEAN

A conference of communist and revolutionary parties and organizations of the Caribbean has been held in Georgetown, capital of Guyana. It considered questions related to the struggle against U.S. imperialism's militarist offensive in the Caribbean, denounced U.S. intervention in Grenada, and reaffirmed its solidarity with the peoples and governments of Cuba and Nicaragua, and also with the revolutionary forces of El Salvador. There was an exchange of information and experience, and speakers stressed that such meetings were useful for the cause of peace, for the defense of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Caribbean nations.

DENMARK

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Denmark has appealed to all of the nation's working people to unite in support of the demand for the creation of a nuclear-free zone in the north of the European continent and invigorate actions aimed at achieving positive results at the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures, Security and Disarmament in Europe.

INDIA

There were more than 3,000 delegates to the national conference "Against the Danger of Nuclear War and the Threat to National Security" held in Delhi on the initiative of eight left-wing and democratic parties including the Communist Party of India. They represented political parties, trade unions, peasants, young people, students, and women in all of India's states. The Delhi Declaration, adopted by the conference, appeals to the government to act with firmness in defense of peace and India's security, against the aggressive global strategy of U.S. imperialism and its allies.

ITALY

The Action Week sponsored by Calabria by the Italian Communist Party and the Italian Federation of Young Communists was held under the slogan, "Against the Mafia and Mass Unemployment!" Speaking of the aims of the Action Week at a press conference, F. Politano, Secretary of the ICP Regional Federation, noted that organized crime had sunk deep roots in Calabria and that the struggle against it has become a major task of the democratic forces.

LEBANON

The first national conference in support of the struggle for the liberation of South Lebanon from Israeli occupation, held in Beirut, was attended by representatives of different political organizations, including the Lebanese Communist Party. The debate focused on rally-

ing national ranks in the movement of resistance to the aggressor.

POLAND

The people of Poland marked the 35th anniversary of *Zycie Partji*, journal of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party. The jubilee issue contains various information about party organizations, the positions of the PUWP in the international communist movement, the preparations for the 40th anniversary of the Polish People's Republic, and the publication of the first volume of Lenin's *Collected Works* in Polish.

SOUTH AFRICA

Imprisoned leaders of the African National Congress Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, and Govan Mbeki have turned down the offer of freedom made to them on the condition that they agreed to internal exile in the bantustan of Transkei. They restated their opposition to the South African government and the apartheid regime and sharply denounced the practice of setting up fictitious state entities, whose purpose is to camouflage the racism of the white administration in South Africa.

VENEZUELA

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Venezuela has resolved to convene the next, seventh party congress in May 1985. The drawing up of the main documents of the congress has been assigned to a commission headed by Jesus Faria, General Secretary of the CPV.

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Inexhaustible potential of the liberation struggle

Khaled Hammami
Political Bureau member,
CC, Syrian Communist Party

The situation in the Middle East is becoming more and more critical. There is a constant danger of the flames of war blazing up with still greater fury. The dire consequences of Washington's "peacemaking effort" are particularly evident now; far from bringing the prospect of peace in the region nearer, it has moved it much further away.

It will be recalled that until recently the Middle East conflict was essentially limited to Israel's aggression against Arab countries. The USA was giving Tel Aviv military, economic, political and propaganda support and inciting it to commit more acts of aggression but was not directly or openly involved in hostilities. It even posed as an impartial mediator and lover of peace, solicitous to stop bloodshed.

Developments in Lebanon showed up these false pretences. U.S. Marines, planes and naval artillery began to bomb and shell Lebanese towns and villages, the positions of Lebanese national patriotic forces and the area where Syrian troops are stationed, having been sent to Lebanon by decision of the Arab League, which acted in compliance with a request of the lawful government of that country. U.S.-Arab confrontation in the battlefield became a fact. U.S. troops stained their hands with Arab blood.

The U.S. armed intervention in Lebanon was a plain backslide to gunboat diplomacy, a manifestation of Washington's policy of using brute force as the principal instrument of solving international problems. The fire-power of the U.S. expeditionary force was seen overseas as a sufficiently weighty argument for the Lebanese to meekly accept a shackling deal with Israel and allow the country to be hitched to Camp David.

But the aggression was by no means re-

stricted to Lebanon, for the blow was also aimed at Syria. After Camp David, Syria became, in effect, the only Arab country really and directly resisting the Israeli aggressor, a country whose staunchness made it a key factor in the struggle going on in the Middle East, and the strongest barrier to the realization of the designs of the imperialist-Zionist alliance. The invaders wanted through direct military pressure, gross blackmail and threats to impose their will on Syria and force it into retreating.

Attempts were also made to tempt Syria with various promises. It was even said that the Reagan administration had made a "mistake" by failing to give proper attention to Syrian interests in Lebanon and the region but that things could be put right. They tried to intrigue Syria with the prospect of signing with Lebanon an agreement similar to the one signed with Israel on May 17, 1983. Hints were dropped time and again about the possibility of Israel returning the Golan Heights seized by it if Syria revised its policy toward Lebanon and the Palestinian problem and renounced cooperation with the Soviet Union.

However, Syria did not waver, let alone retreat. Our people, our progressive patriotic forces, state leadership and armed forces were determined as one person to resist imperialist and Zionist schemes and thwart U.S.-Israeli projects of a "settlement," whether in the form of Camp David, the "Reagan plan" or the May agreement between Beirut and Tel Aviv. All-round Soviet support, including military support, was an invaluable factor for Syria staying firm in the face of continuous threats and aggressive sorties. Assistance from the Soviet friends made it possible to strengthen the defenses of Syria and increase the combat readiness of its armed forces. This, in turn, had a beneficial effect on the morale of the Syrians and other national liberation forces of the Arab world and gave them added confidence in their ability to repulse and defeat the enemy.

Syria's position was all the stronger because it rested on the conviction of the justice of the cause it was defending. For a power removed

Editor's Note. This article, which reflects the views of the Syrian Communist Party, is continuing our series on the Arab national liberation movement and the tasks of the revolutionary forces in the light of the situation shaping up in the Middle East. (See Rafic Samhoun, "What the U.S.-NATO Intervention in Lebanon Has Shown," in *WMR*, No. 1, 1984; Naim Ashhab, "At a Difficult, Steep Turning Point," No. 3, 1984.)

thousands of kilometres from Lebanon to declare it a sphere of that power's "vital interests" is to show imperial arrogance. One has only to glance at the map of the Middle East and make at least a cursory study of its history to realize that the destinies of the Syrian and Lebanese peoples are linked together by inseparable ties. In seeking the repeal of a deal imposed on the Lebanese by Israel at gun point and under U.S. diplomatic pressure, Syria was not only helping defend the independence and sovereignty of a fraternal country but defending its own security. For, by the terms of the May "peace agreement," the troops of the aggressor, who had earlier annexed the Golan Heights, retained control of vast areas of Lebanese territory close to the Syrian capital, Damascus. Israel was in a position to use the air space and territorial waters of Lebanon without hindrance, to turn the country into a virtual bridgehead for continued acts of aggression against our country.

Syria has repeatedly declared that it has no claims on Lebanon and is willing to withdraw its troop contingent from that country as soon as, following the abrogation of the agreement of May 17, 1983, the last Israeli soldier leaves the country and a national coalition government is formed there by agreement among the various Lebanese forces. However, it has rightly rejected every attempt to equate the presence of Syrian troops on Lebanese soil with the Israeli military occupation of the territory of a sovereign Arab state. The aggressor must get out unconditionally — this is a demand of the Lebanese people backed by the international community, a backing reflected in the relevant resolutions of the UN Security Council. The resolutions are still valid and the Syrian position fully accords with them.

Imperialism has staked too much in the Middle East. Nor will it stop at anything but will use without scruple the most brutal and criminal means to have its way. And this is the source of a most grave danger threatening our whole region.

We have said that the policy of the carrot and the stick, of promises and threats toward our country has failed to produce the results expected by the U.S. imperialists. The only means still at their disposal is, in effect, large-scale armed aggression. Indeed, it is safe to say that plans for this kind of aggression have already been laid and are merely awaiting execution.

Why is it, then, that no military blow has been delivered yet? Why this delay, which is not really typical either of the adventurist-minded U.S. administration, or of the Tel Aviv rulers suffering from a militarist itch?

On the one hand, U.S. strategists are still hopeful of splitting the Arab forces resisting aggression, of inveigling them one by one into the meshes of separate deals as they did it in Egypt under Sadat and almost pulled it off in Lebanon. If this happened Syria would have to face the enemy all alone.

On the other hand, the U.S. imperialists fear that a new militarist venture could yield results that would be the reverse of what they want. The lessons of Lebanon are still fresh in their memory. There Washington's strategy based on confidence in fist law as a universal means of managing international affairs, on arrogant scorn for the interests of other nations and underestimation of their ability and resolve to defend these interests, ran into an impasse that neither the 16-inch guns of the battleship *New Jersey*, nor the missiles fired from planes, nor Marines' tanks could break through.

The Lebanese people's fight against occupation, the presence of the "multinational force" and the fettering agreement with Israel assumed a truly universal character. The national patriotic forces of the country, which are cooperating with Syria and are supported by it, inflicted a major military and political defeat on the regime under President Amin Gemayel backed by the ultra-rightist Phalange Party, which influenced the army through its members. Inasmuch as it was this regime that the Israelis and Americans had counted on to execute their plans for the transformation of Lebanon into a second component of a modified Camp David, the impasse became worse still. The U.S. Marines stationed on Lebanese soil virtually found themselves besieged and had to pull back to Sixth Fleet ships. The British, Italian and French troops forming part of the "multinational force" likewise withdrew from Lebanon. The imperialist "peacemakers'" mission ended in a flop. In view of the fact that the overwhelming majority of the Lebanese people (except for ultras and outright fascists) emphatically rejected the humiliating deal with Tel Aviv as did Syria, President Gemayel announced the abrogation of the "peace agreement" of May 17, 1983.

These events may justly be described as a failure of U.S. and Israeli policy in Lebanon, as a major setback for Washington's entire Middle East strategy. U.S. prestige was dealt a telling blow and even those in Arab countries who had urged a search for mutual understanding with the United States lost much of their confidence in the overseas power.

Here is an example. Trying after the Lebanese reverse to get the "Reagan plan" going, the Americans raised their sights to Jordan. Presi-

dent Reagan declared that Jordan was "crucial to the peace process" and so could count on extra deliveries of U.S. arms. But the next day King Hussein sharply criticized (whatever his motivations) the Middle East policy of the United States. He described the U.S. stance as unscrupulous and two-faced, saying that the USA had forfeited confidence as a mediator in the Middle East conflict by giving Israel its unqualified support.¹

However, we know from history that an imperialist aggressor seldom learns the lessons of life. After being beaten, he grabs the big stick again and again. President Reagan, saying that U.S. foreign policy aims in Lebanon were unchanged, threatened that at any moment he might order the Marines back to Lebanon. Secretary of State Shultz, for his part, said that to achieve its aims in the Middle East, the United States was also going to use other means unused before.

Within the framework of "strategic cooperation" Washington is again putting the brunt of a gendarme's function on the Israeli military clique, which goes on tormenting the long-suffering land of Lebanon. The invaders are entrenching themselves in the south of the country, launching recurrent armed sorties from there. Nor have war preparations and acts of provocation against the Syrian force in Lebanon stopped. Warlike threats against Syria ring out time and again.

But Tel Aviv should realize that it would have to pay dearly for aggression against Syria. Even "Peace for Galilee," as the invasion of Lebanon was named, failed to bear the fruit that the Zionist leadership had hoped for. The invaders continue suffering heavy casualties as a result of heroic operations by the Lebanese national resistance front; the burden of military spending has pushed Israel to the brink of economic breakdown, U.S. aid notwithstanding, and the overall result is a growing anti-war movement. Syria, whose army is equipped with powerful up-to-date arms, is determined to defend its freedom and independence and equal to putting up effective resistance to those who were to encroach on them. Israel has no reason to calculate on a quick and easy victory or, indeed, on any victory at all.

This cannot but cool the heads of those who are fond of militarist adventures. But even so, it would be wrong to expect the imperialists and their accomplices to listen to reason.

The firm resistance to the aggressive plotting of the U.S.-Israeli alliance in the Middle East is the strongest evidence of the peace policy of our country. It also finds an expression in support for the anti-war initiatives of the socialist

community countries and the non-aligned movement, actions against imperialism's militarist preparations, in particular the deployment of U.S. first-strike nuclear missiles in Western Europe, and the demand for an end to the insane arms race. The Syrian people see it as their patriotic, Arab and internationalist duty.

In turn, effective solidarity with Syria on the part of the peace forces of the planet is an important prerequisite for the success of joint efforts toward solving the most pressing problem that has ever faced humanity, that of heading off the threatened destruction of civilization in a nuclear holocaust. A new large-scale armed conflict in the Middle East would have incalculable, possibly disastrous consequences, not only for the countries of the region, but for the whole globe.

The major victory achieved on Lebanese soil showed once again the immensity of the anti-imperialist potential of the Arab national liberation movement and its ability not only to resist pressure from the enemy but to inflict serious reverses on him. However, past experience, especially that of the 70s and early 80s indicates that the existence of this potential and even the growing leverage and influence of the liberation movement do not automatically guarantee the advance of the revolutionary process. Accompanied by sharp struggles between diverse social and political forces, this process is going on at an uneven pace and has its ups and downs.

The Arab national liberation movement is rather complex and contradictory at this stage. It has gone through many bitter setbacks and retreats. They include the June 1967 war and Israel's seizure of large Arab territories, the takeover of the levers of power by a parasitical bourgeoisie in Egypt, the apostasy of a number of regimes, and curbs imposed on democratic freedoms in various forms and to various degrees which have been practised in nearly all Arab countries since the 50s. One of the negative phenomena is increased subversive activity in the region by Saudi Arabian reaction. Also the development trend of international factors, primarily imperialism's growing militarist pressure, has played its role.

It would be wrong, however, to regard the results of the Arab national liberation movement to date as nothing but setbacks. Democratic Yemen has been confidently advancing along a road oriented toward socialism. Deep-going social and economic changes in the working people's interests have been taking place there under the leadership of the Yemeni Socialist Party, whose activity is based on the

principles of scientific socialism. The mass popular movement is continuing; it has repeatedly rocked Egypt, the Sudan, Tunisia, Morocco, Saudi Arabia and other countries. Cooperation among the progressive patriotic forces of Arab countries taking the form of coordinated action or alliance within a common front, as in Syria, is increasing.

Among these forces it is the communists who play the role of vanguard. They have proved by deeds that they are the staunchest and most consistent fighters for peace, freedom, real democracy and social progress. The fact that influential forces which for years had adhered to nationalism are moving closer to or even adopting the communists' ideological and political positions is conclusive proof of the increased role of communist parties. The gains of the communist movement in Arab countries are beyond question. The Egyptian Communist Party has resumed its activity and the communists of Tunisia have emerged from clandestinity. All attempts to dispute the value of the historical contribution of the working class parties to the struggle for national liberation or to minimize the importance of their role in today's struggle aimed at consolidating the gains of independence, doing away with neocolonial exploitation and ensuring democratic progress have fallen through.

Communists have always been in the forefront of those whose courageous resistance has virtually paralyzed the "Camp David process" and does not allow the "Reagan plan" to be pushed through. The organizers of the armed intervention in Lebanon had clearly expected that on gaining the upper hand, they would be able to sow a feeling of frustration among the mass of Arabs and make them believe that they had nothing to hope for, no choice but to follow in the footsteps of defeatists by bowing to the will of the overseas rulers of their destinies. This was also the aim of Arab reactionaries prompted by a right nationalist ideology. But things took an entirely different turn, for the events in Lebanon shook the positions of precisely those who had publicized Sadat's notorious assertion that Washington held 99 per cent of the cards in the Middle East. It was shown again that the cards — not 99 but 100 per cent of them — were in the hands of the peoples defending their legitimate rights with support from the progressive forces of the world headed by the Soviet Union and the socialist community as a whole.

One of the main objectives of the U.S.-Israeli aggression was to undermine Soviet prestige among Arab nations, make them doubtful of the effectiveness of Soviet aid and disrupt the re-

lations of friendship and close cooperation linking them with the USSR. In this instance too, the reverse was attained. As so many times in the past, life demonstrated the consistency and effectiveness of Soviet support for those who refuse to bow down to imperialist threats or aggressive encroachments. More than ever before, the Arabs satisfied themselves that the Soviet Union is their reliable and mighty ally and comrade-in-arms against a common enemy. The bonds of Arab-Soviet friendship were strengthened. It is now a very tangible factor in the political life of the Arab world, where the popularity and prestige of a party or organization are largely conditioned by its stand on the issue of strengthening these friendly relations.

The events in Lebanon are a momentous precedent proving that to resist imperialist expansionism and break the chains of dependence formalized by shackling treaties and agreements is a perfectly realistic task. This is a further indication that despite the setbacks and retreats that we have mentioned, the Arab national liberation movement as a whole is on the rise. The CC report to the fifth SCP congress (1980) pointed out that "it is not enough to keep track of certain superficial phenomena in the Arab world in order to judge the trend of development as a whole. Betrayal on the part of this or that ruler or inconsistency shown by the ruling group, even that of a country having a progressive regime, cannot serve as a gauge or criterion in judging the entire Arab national liberation movement, as a reason for affirming that it is in crisis or decline. It is necessary to see the processes going on deep down, at the grass roots — among the masses — and their impact on the movement as a whole."²

But the anti-imperialist trend objectively common to Arab and all newly-free countries does not automatically find an expression in their policy. Much depends in this respect on the nature of the regimes concerned, on the social class nature of the forces in power. In socialist-oriented countries, such as the PDRY, this trend is acquiring a very noticeable social content as it turns against all relations based on exploitation. Where regimes once known for their patriotic attitude have degenerated, the rulers betray a tendency to compromise with imperialism or even to surrender to it. In some countries a sharp struggle is continuing over development prospects and occasionally there is a discrepancy, as in Syria, between the anti-imperialist trend of foreign policy and an inner political trend toward curbing social progress.

We Syrian communists are not shutting our eyes to the negative aspects of the socio-eco-

conomic policy of our state. Life is still hard for our people. Unemployment, a high cost of living and a shortage of housing hit numerous working people, whose pressing requirements are often ignored. At the same time the parasitical bourgeoisie is growing and corruption is rife. The ruling quarters are suspicious and fearful of all initiative or independent activity on the part of the masses. They curtail democratic freedoms and limit the progressive patriotic forces' possibilities of action.

In the foreign policy sphere, however, the regime has been following a consistently anti-imperialist line whose significance and impact extend far beyond the boundaries of Syria to encompass the entire Middle East and the Arab world, contributing to the global struggle against imperialism's aggressive ambitions.

We are certain that our country has no alternative to this policy. Damascus is an important center of international politics today. Even our enemies are compelled to acknowledge its role in shaping the trend of events in the region. It is clear that a Syria that were to yield to pressure and desist from determined resistance to the aggressor would inevitably lose the prestige won by it and its significance as an influential factor in regional and international politics. Its fate would find itself in the hands of those who still flout the legitimate rights and interests of the Syrian, Lebanese, Palestinian and other Arab peoples, endangering and raising obstacles to their independent national existence.

Imperialism and reaction know this full well and are therefore trying to aggravate the difficulties experienced by the country. They make feverish efforts to divide the patriotic forces and resort to economic pressure, whose impact is all the stronger because, speaking generally, Syria has abandoned its progressive socio-economic policy (although the dangerous implications of this departure are also realized by influential forces in the political leadership). The aim is to shake the patriotic positions of the regime and prevent more radical changes and closer relations with the Soviet Union.

The foregoing invites questions of vast importance. How are the communists to reconcile cooperation and alliance on the basis of a united front against imperialism and for peace with divergences and occasional clashes in the socio-economic sphere? Have the possibilities of closing the gap between the foreign and domestic policy of Syria, that is, of putting the country back on the road to social progress, been exhausted?

"The main starting point in defining our position on the general situation in the country, the regime as a whole and each political party or

group," the fifth SCP congress stressed, "is the nature of the interconnection of the situation, the regime, the party or group and the chief problem, that of fighting against colonialism and imperialism and their schemes."³ This is the fundamental criterion underlying our alliance with the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party (Baath) and other progressive parties forming the National Progressive Front of Syria. But it is not the only fundamental principle of SCP policy. The party closely combines with it the line of preserving its political, organizational and ideological independence as an organization expressing the interests of the working class. It courageously and steadfastly defends the aspirations of the masses, seeking satisfaction of their political and economic demands and fighting for the return of the country to the road of social progress.

Relations between the SCP and Baath are based on what unites the two parties in the struggle against imperialist plots and for the freedom of peoples and world peace, even if they occasionally disagree. As regards the approach to socio-economic development problems, the issue of extending democracy and the role of the masses, we differ and this is only natural, for our ideological platforms are dissimilar. The important thing is to realize that these differences exist and to take a correct stand on them.

The communists' fundamental attitude may be stated as follows: we must help strengthen Syria's patriotic policy and close our ranks behind it. As for eliminating negative phenomena, we seek this within the framework of the cooperation that has been achieved, seeing our chief task in a stepped-up struggle against imperialism.

In the Middle East today this struggle takes perfectly concrete forms. It is spearheaded against Washington's plans for a "settlement" such as Camp David or the "Reagan plan," and against the military presence of imperialism, primarily U.S. imperialism, in the region. At the same time it intertwines more closely than ever with the peoples' general actions for peace and the removal of the threat of a nuclear catastrophe. The struggle along these two lines is still more relevant in the light of the U.S.-Israeli agreement on "strategic cooperation," a new, peculiar form of aggressive military bloc whose members are greatly endangering international peace in our region and the rest of the world by their activities.

A priority task in many key sectors of the Arab national liberation movement is to democratize diverse aspects of public life. What we mean is the need to gear the policy

line to meeting the people's interests as well as to allow scope for the initiative of the masses and really enable them to contribute intelligently to the adoption and implementation of major political decisions. Democracy is the chief instrument of exposing and frustrating plots hatched by home reaction and of defending and furthering the working people's gains. Curbs on it strongly affect the political stability of patriotic regimes and their role in the national struggle and impair the prospects of effective resistance to the imperialists.

The outcome of this struggle depends to an immense degree on a closer alliance between diverse contingents of the Arab national liberation movement and the forces of the world revolutionary process, above all the socialist community countries with the Soviet Union at their head. The relations existing between Syria and the Soviet Union in various fields, including the political and military ones, are the best indication of how very strongly they can influence developments. Our common task is to help raise these relations to a higher plane, for this is what life itself and the growing intensity of battles demand.

We Syrian communists emphatically condemn and reject every manifestation of anti-Sovietism. We are deeply convinced that to defend Soviet policy against every attempt to distort or defame it, is not only an internationalist proletarian duty but a thoroughly patriotic position prompted by the fundamental national interests of the Syrian people and the exigencies of the struggle for the progressive, democratic development of the country, for the liberation of the occupied Arab lands. It will be recalled that the well-known Soviet proposals, which fully accord with the relevant UN resolutions and decisions of the Arab summit at Fez, provide a realistic basis for the settlement of the Middle East crisis.

The only way to stop the onslaught of the united front of imperialism, Zionism and reaction is to strengthen our own unity. This applies to both relations between diverse contingents of the Arab national liberation movement and the situation in each of them. The struggle for a fair solution of the Palestinian problem, resistance to Israel's expansionism, and the struggle to free the seized Arab territories are, now as before, highly important factors for mobilizing and uniting all Arab patriots.

As far as the Palestinian problem is concerned, the demand that the Arab people of Palestine be guaranteed the right to exercise self-determination, return to their homeland and establish an independent state will be the

slogan for the foreseeable future, a slogan admitting of no departures whatever. In calling for this, we invariably emphasize that the Palestine Liberation Organization is the only lawful spokesman of the Palestinian people and must be assisted in every way to restore and strengthen internal unity under its political program and according to the decisions of the 16th Session of the Palestine National Council. We attach great importance to the normalization and promotion of Syrian-Palestinian relations, which have lately been less than normal, we regret to say.

The events in Lebanon suggest that unity of the national patriotic forces of the country, emphatic condemnation by them of appeals of a confessional or communal type, a closer alliance with Syria and reliance on its patriotic staunchness are a guarantee of consolidating the victories won to date, successfully concluding the struggle for the expulsion of the invaders and putting an end to all armed intervention. To build up the internal factors for this staunchness is a duty of all Syrian patriots, primarily all members of the National Progressive Front. A task of paramount importance for all contingents of the Arab national liberation movement is to support this effort from without.

To ensure that this movement achieves its goals, it is necessary, first of all, to rouse the masses to action. We communists of Arab countries would probably do well to admit that so far we have been unable to evolve and offer ways and means of mobilizing the masses that would prove particularly fruitful in the circumstances. We believe it is on removing this shortcoming, which we regard as the greatest, that we all should concentrate. This implies stepping up the ideological and political struggle, mastering diverse forms of effective work among the masses, paying attention to their urgent problems and persevering in the effort to establish and strengthen relations of alliance with all forces opposed to imperialism, Zionism and reaction. The general line should consist of continuing the struggle on all fronts, deciding at each particular moment on the direction of the main blow and concentrating the main forces and means accordingly. The battle will continue unabated until complete victory.

1. See *International Herald Tribune*, March 19, 1984.

2. *Documents of the Fifth Congress of the SCP*, Damascus, 1982, pp. 84-85 (in Arabic).

3. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

A working class area

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REPORT FROM THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

We were standing on the observation platform of a 30-meter tower overlooking the places we were to visit at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) over the next few days. To the right of us lay Katowice, the largest city of Eastern Silesia, and on the left, the town of Chorzow, although the boundary line between them has gone, with reminders of it still to be seen only in the road signs. From that high vantage point we saw only the big and small towns merging into the endless scenery of a sprawling industrial district, which is the oldest and largest in Poland. A panorama not easy on the eye, one has to admit, for the horizon was clad in a grayish yellow haze of smoke blurring the contours of dozens of smoke-stacks. Pits and steel mills on every hand, some of them almost in the city centers.

Bogumil Ferensztajn, First Secretary of the PUWP Provincial Committee, presented his territory to us in the dry language of figures: it had 2.1 per cent of Poland's territory with 10 per cent of its population, turning out over 20 per cent of the national income and a third of the industrial products (including 98 per cent of the coal, virtually the whole of the country's zinc and tin, and one-third of the electric power).

First Secretary of the PUWP CC Wojciech Jaruzelski last year analyzed on the pages of our journal the sources and substance of the socio-economic and political crisis in Poland,¹ and that is why we shall not consider once again how and why the confidence of the working class in its party was weakened. Let us merely recall this fundamental conclusion drawn by the PUWP from its analysis of the 1980-1981 events: "The protest of the working class against the distortions of the system and against the departures from the universal prin-

ciples of socialism was fully justified."² That assessment, given by the ninth extraordinary congress of the PUWP (July 1981), continues to be the starting point for all its activity, and such is the impression we carried away from our conversations with workers, rank-and-file communists and elected functionaries in the Katowice Province. Once again, this time at the 13th plenary meeting of the PUWP CC in October 1983, Wojciech Jaruzelski reaffirmed the idea: "The most important tasks for us just now are to re-establish the party's ties with its class, with the working people, and to win their trust. Day to day, step by step, we must overcome the distance which has appeared between the party and a section of the working people."³

That is the angle from which we were above all interested in the everyday life of the Slasko-Dabrowski basin: the re-establishment and consolidation of the PUWP's political, moral and psychological ties with the working class which determine the party's place in social life, the communists' authority, the success of socialist construction, and ultimately the whole life of the people.

"Normalization" is a word one keeps coming across in PUWP documents and on the pages of the Polish press. For the Poles it means that the factories and plants are functioning as usual, that streetcars and buses are running normally along the city streets, that the curfew has been lifted, and that the shop shelves are much fuller, although meat, fats, sugar and flour are still rationed. All of this gradually leads to political and social normalization.

What does the PUWP mean by this term? Is it a return to the old "routine" of well-established stereotypes in party work, with all its merits and shortcomings, now that the claps of thunder no longer ring out? After all, the decisions of the latest party congress noted with bitterness that in the history of People's Poland undemocratic and bureaucratic trends were

unfortunately revived after several political crises.

The formulas used by the PUWP to express its view of political normalization in contemporary Poland are: "socialist renewal" and "the same party, but not the same kind of party." The same party relates to its class character, self-consciousness, ideology and programmatic tasks. But what is the meaning of "not the same kind of party"? What has changed in the PUWP? What, in the opinion of Polish workers and communists, still needs to be changed?

Our group toured a number of large enterprises, among them the coal pit Staszic, the forge shop at the Stefan Batory steel mill (Chorzow), and the branch of the automobile works turning out the FIAT-126p passenger car (Sosnowiec). The steel mill had just marked its 110th anniversary, the electric lighting and door fittings for the Polish mini-car are being made at an enterprise started 80 years ago, while the pit is more than 20 years old. These figures are a kind of introduction to the local working class, which is hereditary and has well-established traditions. It is all the more interesting to find out how the people in a working class area live, and what they think and say about the party and its policy. We shall try to describe what we have seen and heard.

Closing the party ranks

Even at the most critical moments of the past several years, the party firmly retained its leading position in the state, including the army, and the security service, the PUWP leaders believe. That is what, among other things, enabled Poland to cope with the counter-revolution on its own. But after all the upheavals, the Polish communists still have to re-establish their leading role in society and people's minds. In order fully to restore the lost positions, it is not enough to talk about the role and importance of the working class and of Marxism-Leninism. Wojciech Jaruzelski criticized this idle talk as follows: "Some people keep voicing and using these words in the newspapers. He who uses these verbal ornaments the greatest number of times appears to himself to be more principled . . . What our movement needs is not declarative hypocrisy, or proclamation of slogans which are as far from life as the sky is from the ground."⁴

The communists have always been aware that if they are to lead society forward, they need to have apart from a knowledge of the objective laws of its development, a moral power and a profound ideological conviction that the party's cause is the right one. They need to have great firmness of spirit. Let us

recall that not all the members of the PUWP stood the test of steadfastness in the painful ups and downs of the class struggle. At one time the party's numerical strength was dwindling fairly rapidly. Leszek Majewski, head of the political information department of the party's Katowice Provincial Committee, told us that a leader of the Solidarity's Silesian regional organization boasted at a meeting that he would soon be carrying pailfuls of discarded membership cards: party cards, in one hand, trade union cards, in the other. Having recovered from the heaviest blows, the party has counted its losses to a man, and not just to the nearest pailful.

The Katowice party organization, for instance, lost 120,000 members, as compared with August 1980, i.e., 31 per cent of its total membership. Who are these people? Why did they leave the party? That is what we asked at the Katowice provincial and Chorzow city committees. We were told that one-half of those who had either been expelled from the PUWP or left of their own accord joined from 1972 to 1980, when there was an ill-considered policy of stepping up the growth of party ranks. That was when many joined in the hope of improving their status through membership in the ruling party. When it came to the crunch, they turned their backs on it. Others were unable to withstand the propaganda barrages from the political adversaries and the heat of the fight.

Those with whom we spoke, fully appreciated the significance of the sharp drop in party ranks, but kept saying that even in normal conditions that were not not as critical as those of the recent period the cleaning of the party ranks should be a natural process that is necessary to keep the party "healthy" morally, ideologically and politically.

There was a ring of bitterness when they spoke of the social make-up of the provincial organization: 70 per cent of those who left it were workers, and this reduced their proportion in the PUWP: in Chorzow it was 65 per cent in 1980, and only 55 per cent today (such is one of the aspects of the crisis of confidence in the party). But, we were told, the party statisticians have also discovered some benign processes which are symptomatic of the present situation. First, over the past two years, the number of workers leaving the party has declined both in absolute terms and percentage-wise. Second, whereas most of those leaving the PUWP in 1980 and 1982 did so of their own accord, by simply handing in their party cards, since 1982 the primary organizations have been the active side. Having strengthened themselves in the struggle, they have begun to

part with those who took the wrong stand in the critical period. Last year came the turning point, we were told by Maciej Postolski, deputy head of the organizational department of the Katowice PUWP Committee: more people were admitted as candidate members in the province than were expelled. The party ranks have ceased to shrink.

We did not make a point of seeking young communists. Among the group of workers at the automobile works we met Ryszard Domagala, who was not all that young, and looked like he had a fiery character. He had wanted to join the PUWP before the crisis, and did not give up the idea even in the period of trial. He addressed the following rebuke to the comrades who were sitting around the table with us: "Even when there were strikes everywhere in 1980, and I organized the workers in our shop, and they began to work just like that, without pay, you did not call me into the party." One of the comrades explained why Domagala was admitted to the PUWP only after the introduction of martial law: "He is right, we did not stretch out a hand to him before. We were then under the strong impression of the grave consequences of the policy of the latter half of the 1970s, when the party doors were flung open to every comer. Now this syndrome has been overcome."

Provincial Committee Secretary Jan Zielinski said: "We had a real political war over here. And as it happens in war, we suffered heavy losses. Some of them are, of course, painful ones. We are sorry for some people, but they have only themselves to blame that they are no longer with us. We have become a contingent which is not so numerous, but it is a first-class contingent. We have now got many new communists who did not spare their efforts, indeed, their very life, in the fighting."

We spent a whole day with one such communist, a miner and the chairman of the trade union at the Staszic pit, Zbigniew Hanf, whom the ninth congress of the party elected to the PUWP Central Committee. He is a working man through and through, and a shining personality. He is at home with the miners, and recounted the following episode. When he returned from the congress, he found the pit strike-bound. The loud-mouthed Solidarity leaders were not letting the assembled workers put in a word. Hanf came in and roared: "My mother taught me the meaning of the Polish colors. Here you are holding forth about your love for Poland, but you've got your armbands^s upside down." It was so unexpected that there was a hush, and it turned out to be true. The miners laughed and shouted — and the ice was broken. He spoke about the congress for an

hour and a half. When he ended, someone asked him: "Well, and what are you going to do now?" He said: "I don't know about you, but I am going down to the coal-face." There was some hesitation but they gradually got up and went down the shaft. That is only one side of the coin. The other is that Hanf is just as blunt in voicing his opinions at CC plenary meetings.

People of Hanf's cast are promoted to key posts by the party, whose tenet is: "The working class must be ever more strongly represented in the Sejm, on the people's councils and all the other representative bodies . . . What must be especially important for us is strengthening the party's working class core and concern to have workers constitute a sizable group in all its leading organs and at every level."⁶

The cleaning of the party ranks, the tightening up of statutory discipline and the strict measures against factionalism had done much to strengthen inner-party unity, we were told in Katowice. But ideological convictions and the ability to apply the principles of Marxism-Leninism in difficult and often unprecedented situations were the most important of all. That is why the comrades from the Sosnowiec PUWP City Committee told us in detail about the great attention now being paid to organizing theoretical studies for the communists, and especially for candidate members. But a fundamental Marxist schooling takes years, while the PUWP, says Wojciech Jaruzelski, continues politically to be in a kind of emergency.

Without full and timely inner-party information, the communists have a problem in finding swift and correct responses to political developments. Andrzej Krzeminski, deputy head of the provincial committee's organizational department, told us of the present arrangements. At 9 o'clock every morning, the Central Committee relays to the localities reports of yesterday's events in the country, which are received at the provincial, city and district party committees, and — a novel feature — also at the party committees of the 208 major Polish factories. At the Chorzow city committee we were not only taken to a room which had "Teleprinter" on the door, but also shown the ticker-tapes for the period of our stay in Poland. These give a wide and businesslike picture, including economic statistics, sociological study data, and facts about the activity of the surviving underground and other hostile elements. It is a panorama of the whole country's difficult life. This information is swiftly relayed by the organization departments to the party organizations.

That is one of the lessons of the crisis, which

showed most clearly that anti-socialist propaganda has fully realized how important it is to publicize an event as soon as possible, for the time advantage provides an opportunity for putting one's own interpretation on any event, and adding fuel to rumors, in order to undermine confidence in a subsequent official report. The communists' condition was often complicated in the 1970s and even more so at the height of the political crisis by the weakness of inner-party information which was overwhelmed by the kaleidoscopic events. Those who were inexperienced and insufficiently trained lost their bearings. The PUWP is now overcoming these failings by keeping its members informed of the latest developments.

We had occasion to see for ourselves not only the broad spectrum but also the diverse forms of current inner-party information. In a small special office at the Stefan Batory mill we found stacks of booklets, among them series of periodical publications by the Central Committee and the provincial committee: *Facts and Commentaries*, *Answers to Questions*, and *Political Information Notebooks*. The provincial *Information Bulletin* has a circulation of 200,000 copies, and the party activists keep asking for more, Leszek Majewski told us. Even the mill party committee issues 3,000 copies of its own publication for party members. These booklets give detailed descriptions and arguments for the main lines of PUWP policy: the key problems of the economic reform, the anti-inflationary measures, the decisions to improve market supplies, etc.

We asked whether the Katowice communists were satisfied with the state of inner-party information. We got a straight-forward answer: judging by the meetings with activists in the localities, party members are satisfied with the timeliness of the information, but have criticized the content and interpretation of events. That is why members of the provincial committee have been considering ways of regularly getting feedback from the grass-roots party organizations on the quality of the information.

Neither the teleprinter reports, nor the most up-to-date popular booklets can, of course, be a substitute for face-to-face talks, conversations and exchanges of opinion at party meetings. One Polish comrade bitterly recalled: "Before the crisis broke out, there had been a clear feeling that something was wrong with the party: the real discussions tended to start after the meetings, at which people preferred to keep mum." The Polish comrades made no secret of the fact that this deadening formalism has not

yet been "exploded" and the apathy of individual communists overcome in some party organizations (especially the smaller ones in the services, offices, etc.). But on the whole there is evidence of a shift for the better: collective thinking and the party's will are being forged in sharp discussions and straightforward criticism of failings and mistakes.

The PUWP leadership believes that in order to convince the masses that its policy is correct and to lead them, there is a need for painstaking and persevering effort by all the communists, especially the responsible functionaries and propagandists and those who work in the mass media.

An important aspect of the PUWP's activity along this line is its leaders' systematic meetings with masses of workers helping to obtain a better knowledge of their moods, views and aspirations, because "if the party neglects the life experience and perceptions of the workers and the working people generally, it ceases to be the party of the masses and is bureaucratized."⁷

When we arrived in Katowice, there was much discussion and recollection of Wojciech Jaruzelski's meeting with the trade union activists at the Beldon pit. A frank and straight-forward dialogue is the best test for a communist and a party functionary, for it shows whether he is capable of truly carrying home the substance of the PUWP line and standing up for the solutions it has proposed, even those which may be difficult and even unpopular, but which are inevitable. The party's leadership holds that it should not be ingratiating. Its duty is to tell the truth and nothing but the truth. It has to explain to the working class and to the whole people what is possible and what is necessary. The party is neither a missionary, nor a manager. In order to serve the workers' cause well and to safeguard their interests, the PUWP has been repeatedly forced to take difficult decisions, and the Polish communists have openly declared that it will probably not be possible to do without such decisions in the future either. The party cannot practise deception by issuing hollow statements and making empty promises, or submit to demands which cannot be fulfilled.

The PUWP has sought and found new forms of extensive contacts between party functionaries and the masses. Here are two examples. The deputy editor-in-chief of the Katowice *Trybuna Robotnicza* told us that they announce the hours when secretaries of the party's provincial committee will be at its editorial offices to answer questions phoned in by readers (who need not give their names). Some

people are worried or even irritated by some things. It is indicative, however, that out of 60 conversations with the secretary, in only one or two cases can no common ground be found. The newspaper publishes reports of these conversations, uses the problems raised in its other items, and oversees the solution of these problems.

The second example was provided by the weekly *Tak i nie*, which carried several problem reports from small Silesian towns and subsequently arranged meetings between their inhabitants and secretaries of the PUWP provincial committee and the leadership of the national renewal committees on the basis of these publications. The meetings were held in the largest hall available, without the involvement of the local authorities. The people were invited to come and speak out about what worried them.

We got the impression that the Katowice party press has found its place in the PUWP's mass political work. We visited the editorial offices of three newspapers within the so-called party concern, i.e., the PUWP's Katowice publishers, and had long and frank conversations with journalists.

Editor-in-chief of *Tak i nie* Kazimierz Zarzycki says: "The party's relations with a sizable section of the intelligentsia working in the arts are still fairly complicated, but with a few exceptions that does not apply to the journalists. In the intricate political struggle of the past several years we have certainly made mistakes on various occasions, but we have still kept a firm stand and remained true to the party. The enemy was aware of this, which is why it mounted a frontal attack under this slogan: 'The press backs the regime, the press lies,' urging a boycott of the newspapers and television."

It is highly important for every party journalist to pass his own political maturity exam in action, but it is even more important for the success of the propaganda effort that party journalism as a whole should pass such an exam. The examiners are the millions of Poles subscribing to their habitual newspaper, and they can either go on reading it or stop reading it. We heard that *Trybuna Robotnicza* has stood the test: Lech Walesa who came to Katowice was furious to find that the newspaper continued publication even on the "No Press" days organized by the Solidarity leadership. How did it manage to do so?

Members of the editorial staff told us that they managed to strike the right tone at the right time, and came out against the "consumer model" and other myths which Solidarity's

anti-socialist leadership later continued to plug in its own way, claiming that Poland could easily be turned into another Japan, and that the West was just straining to rush in with aid. *Trybuna Robotnicza* firmly maintained this tone and it helped the paper to retain its identity and so also the confidence of its readers.

On weekdays, its circulation comes to 600,000 copies, and on Sundays to 1.2 million. It has been and continues to be the largest and most influential regional party paper.

The most important party task is to strike the right tone in gradually getting a dialogue going with the working class. In Poland it is now far from easy to write popularly and convincingly on intricate political and economic topics. The PUWP's line in ideological mass work is a dialogue that is realistic, open-handed and principled, without trite and irritating sermons. In order to be sure that its message is getting across to the people, without being "bogged down," the party has set up in Warsaw and in the localities centers for instant studies of public opinion and the effectiveness of propaganda going out on television, radio and the press. This helps to correct any failings in good time and not to regard as a social dialogue something which, in effect, continues to be a monologue.

Another point party journalists made in their conversations with us: there is a need for patience, one cannot hope for easy and instant success.

"The situation in the country requires that the communists should display self-possession, consistency, flexibility and long-range thinking," says Kazimierz Zarzycki. "We, journalists, should also display a maximum of perseverance and flexibility, and our opportunities here may perhaps be even ampler than those available to political leaders. The PUWP's motto is: 'He who is not against us can be with us.' Some — and they are avowed enemies of socialism — are not worth the effort of fighting for, but we seek to use every opportunity, however slight, whenever we find that people are open to persuasion."

Workers' view of economic problems

Party propaganda is, of course, more effective when it is timely, understandable and consistent, but the main thing in its success is the communists' correct policy and the matching of word and deed. Being aware of this, we wanted to know how working class families lived, what their living standards were, and to what extent they felt the normalization of economic life. So we decided to have a heart-to-

heart talk with Ryszard Domagala's wife Halina (since women usually have a thorough knowledge of the family budget). She told us:

"The shelves in the shops are no longer empty, but the situation is still far from being such as we would like to see it. In order to feed the family, I have to buy what is available at the shop right now. The supply of staple foods, like milk products, is steadily improving and they are available, but the supply of some goods is erratic."

The couple told us that they had to spend on food everything that remained from the payment of rent, electricity, gas and other little items. They now have to minimize any purchases of clothes or footwear.

Our overall impression was that things were improving, slowly but surely. However, the situation continues to be trying, and the workers are having to bear tangible burdens from the long and complicated process of pulling out of the crisis, and this naturally has an effect on their mood. What is more, not everyone is aware of the direct connection between the destructive tactics of the Solidarity leadership, which provoked numerous strikes, and the present state of the Polish economy. That much we gathered from our conversations at the Stefan Batory mill.

On several occasions, the workers expressed their attitude to the U.S. administration's anti-Polish economic sanctions. Jan Walutek, a foreman at the car works, said that what was especially inhumane was the suspension of deliveries of some preparations required to make medicines, and of spare parts for medical appliances. We were also told of the painful effect produced by the lack of imported feed-stuffs which were used at poultry farms built to U.S. technology. The rupture of economic ties in this sphere led to a sharp reduction in poultry output, which meant creating further difficulties for the food situation in the country. Behind the economic sanctions, the workers see not only the political calculations, and the intention to produce economic destabilization, but also the direct self-seeking interests of the monopolies: everyone knows that the vacuum produced on the world coal market during the so-called strike wave in Poland, was instantly filled by large U.S., South African and Australian firms. One car-maker put it this way: "It's like football: once you are out of the top league, it's not so easy to climb back."

We heard expressions of gratitude for the assistance coming from the CMEA countries, and were told that deliveries of raw materials (for instance, cotton, wool and leather from the USSR, plastics from the GDR, and so on) pre-

vented the stoppage of many factories and plants and enabled them to stay afloat.

The workers' ideas about the ways and means of overcoming the economic difficulties were indicative. The attention of the public in Silesia, as, of course, that of the nation as a whole, is rivetted to the problem of changing the mechanism of social production management, and this was most explicitly evident, in particular, in our conversations with workers at the automobile plant.

"Some expect the reform to provide instant solutions for all our problems," said Zdzislaw Kozlowski, for one. "Workers take a highly emotional attitude to this issue, they are very impatient and want things to improve for the better without delay. But the reform will take several years. It will be some time before everything is put in order, and the mismanagement ended. That is why there is a need for the utmost vigor, especially on the part of those who are responsible for the reform. The party's task is to help them to be clearly aware of the full extent of their responsibility."

This idea was supported by others. We were told that many workers still expect the reform to reach them on a platter, failing to understand that they are the ones who have to put it through.

That was, we were told, also one effect of the demoralizing consequences of Solidarity propaganda: in the period of the greatest confusion of minds nothing was said about honest work or thrift. People were led to expect manna from heaven, and so did not suspect that the reform meant hard work above all.

When asked what they believed the gist of the reform to be just then, workers replied: good management, economical use of raw materials, and honest performance of duty by everyone. But this was followed by a reservation: unfortunately, while some work at full stretch, others merely while away the hours. People are paid money, without knowing exactly what for.

The PUWP leadership and the government are perfectly aware that in contemporary Poland this delicate problem cannot be solved by purely administrative methods, without extensive consultations with the working class, and without a consideration of the notions of social justice existing in its midst. That is why (just when we were in Katowice) there was a discussion in the country of the principles for improving the remuneration of labor. It involved all the social organizations, the trade unions in the first place, and also the mass media.

Revived trade unions

The revival of the trade union movement is one of the main elements of the political normalization. It is impossible to achieve any progress in resolving the complicated contradictions in the country, the Polish comrades believe, without showing a picture of its future. The PUWP's assumption is that the creation of the new trade unions is a protracted process calling for tremendous patience, consistency and political foresight, and above all, for a direct and sincere dialogue with the working class. That is due to the complexity of the political realities, notably the sharp divergence of views on the character and prospects of the trade union movement existing in society. In 1980-1981, this was expressed in the split of the movement and then in the sharp political in-fighting between its several trends: Solidarity, the sectoral, autonomous and other unions.⁸ The trade union law passed by the Sejm in the autumn of 1982 proceeds from the principle of unity, holding out broad powers to the trade unions, creating prerequisites for the revival of strong organizations, consistently safeguarding the interests of the working class and consolidating its power.

The establishment of unions is under way, but in the view of the Polish comrades, it does not run an even course in all the industries. At the automobile works which we visited, 756 of the 1,535 workers have joined the union, and at the Staszic pit — 4,000 out of 7,500. We were told at the Executive Committee of the Federation of Metallurgical Workers' Unions that about 30 per cent of the persons employed in their sector were unionized. Altogether, in early 1984, the Polish trade union movement had about 4.3 million members, roughly one-third of the country's working people.

We asked about the reason for the relatively slow pace of union revival at these enterprises. Jan Jezierski, chairman of the trade union at the automobile works in Sosnowiec, said: "After the upheavals caused by Solidarity's activity, most of the workers are taking a wait-and-see attitude to the new unions."

Roughly the same idea was expressed by rank-and-file workers at the plant: "Now that the emotions have subsided and Solidarity's true face has been unveiled — something the people did not even suspect — they tend to retreat into their shells and are ashamed to admit that they were wrong." Zbigniew Hanf added: "The attitude to the unions is far from the best one. Many do not trust the new unions. Time alone will help to convince them that these are truly working class organizations."

We also came across this wait-and-see attitude at Stefan Batory: a team of eight blacksmiths had all been members of Solidarity, and so far not one of them has joined the new union. "Why not?" we asked. They said: "We want to wait and see whether things will really get going."

Let us bear in mind that in the socialist countries the trade unions are organized on trades and territorial lines. Solidarity countered this with a regional organization.⁹ "Why did it do so?" we asked members of the board of the Federation of Metallurgical Workers' Unions, the first such association set up in the country. In the opinion of its secretary, Antoni Iwanczenko, the "supporters of Solidarity criticized the old sectoral unions for allegedly having closed in upon themselves and focusing on narrow sectoral problems. On the pretext of tackling major regional problems as a complex, the Solidarity leadership was actually laying the foundations for political organizations, in contrast to the PUWP." Zdzislaw Los, a member of the Federation's board and chairman of the union at the Warsaw metallurgical mill, himself a Solidarity member in the past, said: "The argument in favor of the regional principle was that the working class had common problems which could be solved only through joint efforts. Our desire to tackle concrete matters met with resistance: we were told that the first thing to do was to change the power, and then it would be time to get down to the details."

But professional problems do not go away and keep coming back. That is why inter-regional sectoral commissions (like those of miners, with its center in Katowice, metallurgists, etc.) were already beginning to emerge within Solidarity, but still the workers felt that Solidarity's regional centers were least of all concerned with genuine defense of their labor interests. That led to the slow but fairly obvious movement of members into the sectoral unions. Following a period of extreme unpopularity, the union at Staszic, for instance, subsequently grew from 860 to 3,800 members.

We asked how the Polish trade unions were currently organized, and were told that the movement was not being revived on orders from the center, but on a voluntary basis, from the bottom up, starting from the cells at the enterprises and going up to the national associations. Their organizational structure was a matter hammered out in long discussions. We were told by Antoni Iwanczenko that before Warsaw's provincial court officially registered their association in May 1983, 32 meetings were held by the representatives of the found-

ing organizations to frame the Federation's statute. The discussions were focused on how to prevent the emergence of excessive centralism and bureaucratic trends which had discredited the old sectoral unions in the eyes of masses of workers. As a result, the trade unions returned to the trades and territorial principle, while the federation model prevailed among the national structures.¹⁰ The federations offer considerable autonomy to the organizations affiliated with them, for once registered in court they become juridical persons, i.e., they are fully responsible for all their acts.

Negotiations between the representatives of grass-roots organizations, on whose initiative the metallurgists' federation was set up, also indicate an urge to arrange the work of the new body mainly on no-payroll lines, so as to reduce the number of full-time officials to a minimum. When we visited the federation, it included 93 trade union organizations with 110,000 members, but it had only one secretary and 14 technical clerks on its staff. The chairman of the federation, an electric-furnace worker, and his deputy, with whom we spoke, an electrician of the rolling mill, Jan Piesiuk, travel to Katowice, once a week, to deal with trade union matters on the spot.

We wanted to clarify some fundamental questions, such as: what was it that did not satisfy the Polish workers in the old unions, and what conclusions have the emergent unions and the party drawn for themselves from that dissatisfaction? The answers mainly drove home two points: trade union independence, and the function of trade unions in defending the interests of the working class. Miner Stanislaw Drabik expressed his opinion as follows: "One can't say that the old trade unions did not fulfil their tasks at all. But as time went on they simply changed the character of their activity and strayed from the right path, starting to work as a party cell, instead of a trade union."

On its banners, Solidarity inscribed the slogan of independence, seeking above all to contrast itself to the PUWP. That is quite clear. But what is the meaning of the attribute "independent" in the names of the newly emergent unions? We asked this in our conversation with the functionaries of the metallurgists' federation.

Antoni Iwanczenko explained:

"This word is used to designate the independence of the trade unions from the management in formulating its views on any concrete issue. It cannot be independent of the party, with which our mass working class organization is advancing along the same road in building socialism. The point is the ways

and means used by the party to influence the trade unions. We believe that this should be done through the communists who are members of the unions, through the power of example and persuasion."

The PUWP formulated the official line and principles of relations with the trade unions at the 10th plenary meeting of its Central Committee in 1982, whose documents said that party members and organizations recognize the independence of trade unions and will defend it against the state administration and the economic management. In the relations between the party organizations and its various echelons, on the one hand, and the trade unions, on the other, there must be neither subordinates nor superiors, and their common task is to create spheres of cooperation for tackling the key problems in improving the working and living conditions of the collectives.

What we saw and heard drives home the conviction that the process of economic, social and political normalization is truly under way in Poland. How far has it gone since the introduction of martial law? Here is the view of the secretary of the provincial party committee Jan Zielinski: "After December 13, 1981, we in Katowice had the most critical situation in the whole country. All is now quiet in Katowice Province."

In several of our conversations, the Polish comrades recalled these words of Wojciech Jaruzelski's: The most dramatic is behind us, the most difficult lies ahead. That means hard, intense effort, say the communists, who have already done very much to re-establish the right rhythm in production and to calm the people. The tide of emotions has subsided, the miners are going down into the pits every day, and the workers are back at their machine-tools, because they see that the party is living up to its promises and life is gradually returning to normal. Life is not easy, and far from idyllic, but it does enable the PUWP and the working class to make sober and well-considered efforts in tackling the country's vital problems and laying the foundations for its future, ruling out any possibility of past mistakes being repeated ever again.

1. See Wojciech Jaruzelski, "The Message of the Polish Experience," WMR, No. 11, 1983.

2. IX Nadzwyczajny Zjazd Polskiej Zjednoczonej Partii Robotniczej. Stenogram z obrad plenarnych, Warsaw, 1983, p. 653.

3. Trybuna Ludu, October 17, 1983.

4. Ibid.

5. The red-and-white armband widely used by Solidarity for political purposes. — Ed.

6. *Trybuna Ludu*, October 17, 1983.

7. *Ibid.*

8. Solidarity was built on the regional principle, while some of the new trade unions which emerged in the crisis period retained the sectoral organization. In addition, a few "autonomous" unions emerged, and some trade unions (like that of teachers) were not affiliated with any of the above mentioned bodies. — Ed.

9. Every region as a rule included several provinces.

10. In March 1984, the country had nearly 90 nationwide organizations and their number is growing. Of them, only a part cover their sector as a whole, so that there are up to four federations in some sectors. Unions at some enterprises continue to exist on their own, without joining any of the federations; 19 federation chairmen, the so-called college of chairmen, meet from time to time to discuss common problems, but these meetings are in the nature of consultations. — Ed.

As the contradictions deepen

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NEW TRENDS IN RELATIONS BETWEEN CAPITALIST CENTERS AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

In the period of the crises of the capitalist economy, the communist and workers' parties have concentrated on the problems of international economic and political relations, on the analysis of the conflict-ridden monetary and financial ills of imperialism, and especially on the grave political and economic consequences which these crises have for the young states and the developing world as a whole. All of this is of much importance for scientific theory and practice, and is being seriously considered by the anti-imperialist liberation movements, which in the late 1970s and early 1980s had a substantial impact on world developments and the worldwide revolutionary struggle against imperialism, aggressive wars and every form of neocolonialism. These movements have a vital stake in anti-imperialist solidarity, now the combat call of the working people of all countries, oppressed classes and peoples.

"The peoples of the Third World," says the DKP Board Report to the recent seventh congress of the party, "are ever more clearly aware that their problems can be solved only if peace is preserved and if the wild arms build-up is ended. They realize ever more clearly that the struggle against the imperialist policy of wars and the arms build-up, and also the struggle for national liberation and social emancipation of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America are essentially a struggle against one and the same adversary, a struggle against the forces of imperialism and war. The struggle for peace is

an anti-imperialist struggle, and the struggle for peace and the anti-imperialist solidarity movement are an integral whole. The attempts to halt by means of force the process of national liberation and social emancipation of the peoples of the Caribbean, Latin America and the Middle East are doomed by history to failure."¹

The line of confrontation and arms build-up conducted by the United States and NATO harms the economy of the industrialized capitalist countries, while simultaneously sharpening imperialist rivalries in the fight for raw materials and markets. Hundreds of billions of dollars are being spent on armaments, while there is no money to fund economic recovery and development programs. The capitalist system is the source of these evils. A century after the death of Karl Marx, the realities of "modern" capitalism bear out his analysis of the deep contradictions in the capitalist mode of production and bourgeois property relations, and show that the flawed capitalist social system has outlived itself.

The crises and the arms build-up are having an extremely negative effect on the developing countries. Addressing the Seventh Non-Aligned Summit in Delhi, Fidel Castro, the leader of socialist Cuba, said that the crisis has hit the underdeveloped countries harder than any of the others. In the atmosphere of recession, the industrialized capitalist countries have sharply curtailed their imports of raw materials, oil and farm produce, and this has led to a drop in the prices of raw-material commodities and also to marked losses in the developing countries' export earnings.

The latter's large debts have been further compounded by the protectionist measures taken by many industrialized states with respect to imports from these countries. Because of the high interest rates imposed by the imperialist financial system, which is dominated by the U.S. dollar, this super-indebtedness has become a gigantic noose: the debt now comes to over \$700 billion, which is more than three times the 1975 figure. The payment of interest on this debt (almost \$140 billion in 1982) has become a heavy burden. More and more developing countries, including those which have markedly advanced in their industrial growth, have chronically failed to cope with their debt-servicing.

There are several reasons for this tremendous indebtedness. Over the past decade, there has been an increase in the share of credits made available to countries in Latin America and Southeast Asia facing financial difficulties but having large raw material resources and, in some cases, a relatively well-developed manufacturing industry. Loan and productive capital was made available to them at a high interest rate, so that their debt kept growing simultaneously on two accounts. The loans came mainly from some banking consortia and credit syndicates involving about 20,000 small and middle banks, which the major monopoly banks of the United States, the International Monetary Fund and the governments of the imperialist states also involved in debt-deferment operations, on the condition that the developing countries did things like depressing the working people's wages, winding up jobs and dismantling social programs, and also met some political demands.

The re-establishment, up to a point of the solvency of debt-ridden countries — Brazil, Mexico and Argentina — with the aid of the IMF was largely dictated by the interests of the international capitalist banking system. Additional credits helped to avert the collapse of whole banking groups, to say nothing of the fact that such concessions usually resulted from political demarches by the developing states and their collective pressures. But in this case there was also evidence of an attempt to avert the danger posed by any further widening of the rifts in the monetary and financial system of capitalism. Let us bear in mind that the economic and social development of the most industrialized countries — Brazil, Mexico and Argentina — has gone the capitalist way. These are countries which Washington includes in its own "strategic zone," so that a partial settlement of their debt problems was also designed to create guarantees for foreign capital invest-

ments, to preserve raw material markets and marketing outlets, and to maintain the military-political positions of imperialism in its confrontation with the national liberation movements and the forces of social revolution. It was compelled to do so by the new situation which is marked by a sharp aggravation of the class contest in the international arena.

National anti-imperialist circles have actively campaigned for democratic changes and equitable cooperation in economic relations between states. The movements led by these forces stand for fair objectives and rely on the principles worked out at the United Nations with the socialist countries' cooperation by a group of non-aligned and other developing states acting in concert with each other. Great importance is attached to such outstanding international meetings as the Seventh Non-Aligned Summit in Delhi (March 1983) and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD-VI) in Belgrade (June 1983).

At both meetings there was a detailed analysis of the effects of the crisis of the capitalist economy, a subject analyzed in a report presented to the Delhi summit by Fidel Castro.² The Delhi message formulates the basic stand of the movement on the central issue of present-day international development, namely, peace, peaceful coexistence, disarmament, independence, and economic and social progress. It also urges the need for more vigorous efforts to establish a new international economic order and to achieve equality and equal rights.

These positions provide fresh evidence of the importance, indeed, of the growing world role of the family of non-aligned states. No wonder there was a ring of disappointment in the imperialist circles' response to the conference, although *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, the leading mouthpiece of FRG finance capital, suggested that in Delhi, after "three and a half terrible years of Castro . . . the pendulum is slowly swinging back to center" — an obvious piece of wishful thinking.³ That is, after all, precisely the kind of "pendulum swing-back" imperialism had hoped for in its efforts on the eve of and during the Delhi summit, as it tried above all to isolate the non-aligned countries from the socialist countries. But the outcome of the conference clearly carried a different message. Prime Minister of India Indira Gandhi was quite right in saying that the summit was a complete success.

The imperialist states tried to blunt the edge of the developing countries' just demands even during the latest UN conferences on world

trade. Such attempts are highly dangerous in view of the present critical state of the periphery of the capitalist world economy, and are being resisted through anti-imperialist solidarity. The Belgrade decisions also indicate these countries' firm intention to bring about a restructuring of international economic relations and the establishment of a new international economic order. Meanwhile, the imperialist powers want to impose their own approaches, to block these processes or to deflect them in the desired direction.

There is evidence of a growth of these attempts and a striving for external expansion in the activity of collective imperialist alignments like the European Economic Community (EEC). Through the Lomé Conventions, it is associated with countries in Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific, the so-called ACP countries,⁴ and has treaty relations with a large number of states in the Mediterranean, in Southeast Asia (ASEAN), and Latin America (Andean Pact). The EEC's policy in these regions is often in direct conflict with the interests of U.S. and Japanese imperialism, and that for a good reason: the scale of the Common Market's economic expansion has been growing. Its members have also secured for themselves a larger share of arms exports, with a special drive by the FRG in the Middle East and Africa. It is negotiating on the delivery of modern heavy armaments, for instance, to a number of oil-producing states, notably Saudi Arabia.

Considering the West German monopolies' expansion in more concrete terms, one has to add that in the 1970s they managed to enlarge their dominant economic positions both within the EEC and, through it, on the markets of the world as well. The FRG is now one of those capitalist states whose money capital and direct investments abroad are larger than foreign investments at home. Of the 101 billion marks' worth of officially-registered investments abroad at the end of 1981 (including majority portfolios in subsidiaries and holding companies of concerns with industrial enterprises and affiliates), 15 billion marks consisted of investments in developing countries. Exports of capital to industrialized capitalist countries come to 77 billion marks, of which 26 billion is invested in the United States.⁵

The monopoly circles have ready arguments for this massive capital offensive. They invoke "partnership" and the observance of "mutual interests." But another thing is highly symptomatic: direct private investments go above all to the developing countries that have already attained a relatively high level of industrial growth: Brazil, Argentina and Mexico in

Latin America, Egypt and Nigeria in Africa, and Malaysia in Southeast Asia.

There are also very definite motivations for expansion: the high rate of profit on a large internal market, the availability of raw materials, and political stability. West German firms have been setting up more and more subsidiaries abroad, which, for their part, are beginning to export goods to developing countries or to re-export them to the FRG. Linked with local capital and the big international banks, the FRG monopolies have already caught up with the traditional exporters of capital — France, Great Britain and the United States — and have even forged ahead to leading positions. The export of capital continued to grow even in 1982 and 1983, critical years for the whole capitalist world. A leading economic newspaper noted: "The worsening economic outlook has virtually made no difference to operations outside the country."⁶

The offensive by West German capital in Africa, Asia and Latin America is being actively supported by the state, which provides the necessary guarantees in this sphere for the protection and encouragement of private capital exports. The FRG government's Fifth Report on Development Policy (February 1983) said that "the federal government supports joint private enterprise activity making use of a wide spectrum of encouragement measures designed to stimulate the movement of capital and to effect the transfer of technology and services. It especially welcomes projects for enterprise cooperation based on partnership relations and meeting the developing countries' economic and social requirements . . . It is up to them to use the opportunities for cooperation with private enterprise. To this end, they must create the general conditions that would attract private enterprise, while equally serving the purposes of social and economic development."⁷

The FRG's attractively-packaged strategy only appears to be friendly, but is actually a political cover for the monopoly companies' expansion and is aimed to fortify the domination of monopoly capital. That is why the state makes available credits, numerous privileges, and guarantees, including insurance against possible political and economic upheavals, for the establishment of subsidiaries abroad, and does all of this mainly for the benefit of the FRG's leading international concerns. By 1978-1979, nearly 42 per cent of the turnover growth of the 10 leading industrial companies of the FRG was coming from production abroad. Technology transfer has reached considerable proportions, and has gone hand in

hand with growing dependence for the developing countries' economy on the will of monopoly capital. A study by the GDR's Institute of International Politics and Economics says that "the result is an all-round assertion of technological monopoly, under which the technological instruments of imperialist domination for the purposes of profit are supplemented with financial instruments, while subordination and discrimination are most pronounced."⁸

Another line of the external economic expansion of capital in the developing countries is linked directly with the activity of the state. From 1977 to 1981, the volume of official FRG development aid going out through government channels increased from 40 billion to 70.2 billion marks. In that period, its share of the gross domestic product increased from 0.33 per cent to 0.47 per cent, without, however, reaching the UN recommended rate of 0.7 per cent. The Bonn government's efforts to extend such aid are now being concentrated on the African continent.

Official aid appears at first sight to be humanistic and given in a spirit of partnership, serving, for instance, the purposes of combating absolute privation in the poverty-stricken areas of Africa and Asia. Without minimizing the role of some of these measures and projects, let us emphasize, however, that one should not lose sight of the political purposes lurking behind them. The above-mentioned federal government report frankly said: "In the distribution of aid among the individual developing countries and the allocation of funds, *political aspects* should be taken into account alongside the general considerations" (emphasis supplied. — Auth.). The ruling circles seek to coordinate the realization of official aid plans with the EEC and especially with the institutions of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), and also within the framework of other international financial institutions.

The FRG and its Common Market partners attach much importance to agreements with the ACP countries, under the above mentioned Lomé Conventions. Capitalist Europe's links with the developing countries are complicated and contradictory. At the same time, the latter manage to stand up to the imperialist centers in defense of their own interests with ever greater perseverance. Considering that for the ACP countries, above all those in Africa, the EEC continues to be the major market for raw material commodities, the main disputes are caused above all by the duty-free import of these countries' goods to EEC markets, and especially by

the extent to which their interests are being reckoned with by STABEX, the export earnings stabilization fund. The latter was set up under the Lomé Conventions in order to compensate for losses in the event of a drop in export earnings caused by fluctuations in the prices of agricultural raw materials or in the volume of their deliveries. There is a similar fund for mineral raw materials imported from the ACP countries, mainly of strategic importance (copper, cobalt, manganese, bauxites and iron ore, among others).

Nevertheless, up to now STABEX, for instance, has been unable to satisfy even one-half of the claims arising from falling export earnings. Countries in Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific are pressing their fight for larger compensation funds, but they have met with a cool reception. Nor has anything resulted from negotiations with the EEC for an extension of these funds in late 1983, and nothing also came of the demand for immediate trade concessions through the lifting of protectionism on EEC markets. Such is the fresh evidence of infringement of the developing countries' interests within the system of imperialist economic blocs. The promised equality can be secured only through hard struggle and step by step, something that has been once again confirmed by the on-going rivalry over the plans for a third Lomé Convention.

Attempts are also being stepped up to involve the developing countries in the global plans of imperialism. Thus, the above-mentioned relations between the Common Market and the ASEAN countries are an element of the economic and political strategy of imperialism. Southeast Asia has almost as many people as the EEC countries, and the region acquires special importance in view of its large raw-material resources (rubber, tin, copper, oil, etc.). A part of these raw materials are exported from the area after being processed by subsidiaries of international concerns. By 1982, FRG corporations alone had invested 912 million marks in industrial projects and other measures in the area. Nor is this only a matter of commercial interests, for Bonn has clearly undertaken to act as a vehicle of anti-Soviet and anti-communist policy.

Addressing the fourth conference of EEC and ASEAN foreign ministers in Bangkok on March 24, 1983, FRG Foreign Minister Hans Dietrich Genscher, then president of the EEC Council, referred to developments over Afghanistan and Kampuchea and accused the Soviet Union of posing a threat to security.⁹ He kept saying the same thing during the EEC-ASEAN dialogue in the summer of 1983. A similar stand was taken

by Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl when he visited Indonesia, the biggest ASEAN country, in the autumn of 1983. This line is linked with EEC policy and shows that the men in Bonn still think and act in the light of old categories, being guided by the principles of geo-political expansion and the anti-communist pact system.

The orientation of the collective neocolonialism of the EEC and the FRG monopolies toward ASEAN signals a simultaneous challenge to Japan and the United States, which have dominant positions in Southeast Asia. In other words, relations with the countries of that region are becoming a tangle of contradictions—economic and political—between the rival imperialist centers.

Following the change of government leadership in Bonn (September 1982) Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl declared that the federal government was pursuing a policy of "equal rights partnership" with respect to the developing world. However, the Bonn minister for economic cooperation Jurgen Warnke, who is a member of the party of Franz Josef Strauss, laid ever greater emphasis on a "political correction" of his ministry's line. Addressing the annual meeting of the African Development Bank in Nairobi in May 1983, he stressed that the federal government had no intention of "wasting" money by giving development aid to all the countries of the continent without distinction, and that it would decide where it could get the maximum political effect. In its report on Nairobi, one German paper was quite right in commenting on his statement as follows: "In practice, this could mean marked changes in the distribution and control of FRG development aid."¹⁰ It only remains for us to add that minister Warnke's line was noticeably converging with that of the Reagan administration, which gives aid only to "friendly" states.

That approach was criticized by the opposition Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD). Uwe Holz, a member of the SPD group in the Bundestag and chairman of the Parliamentary Committee for Economic Cooperation, quite rightly said that the federal government was going well beyond Washington's desire to downgrade aid to developing countries to a "lubricant" for the export industries.¹¹ The government leadership itself demonstrated the change of course by sharply cutting back aid to Nicaragua, on the one hand, and by resuming support of the Salvadoran dictatorship, on the other.

With the change of government, the social democratic attitude became more flexible and partially also more definite. These circles want

a review of the cooperation with the Third World essentially in the spirit of the ideas of the Independent Commission for International Development, which is headed by SPD Chairman Willy Brandt. Social democracy wants a worldwide plan for aid and support to underdeveloped states, a reform of international trade and raw materials policy, more money for financial institutions like the IBRD, and so on. It has also promised economic and political support for independent organizations and liberation movements coming out for justice, social equality and "democratic pluralism" in the developing countries.

In short, social democratic policy has demonstrated a remarkable capacity to adapt to the existing realities and to the demands for the establishment of a new international economic order, although it is, of course, nothing like a consistent anti-imperialist line, but a dual approach which, in particular, comes down to inviting the young states and liberation movements to follow a "third way" running between socialism and capitalism, and offering recipes for bourgeois political pluralism. In other words, it is a way of class reconciliation under the continued domination of multinational capital, with the conditions being eased only by some "rules" for its behavior and activity in the developing states.

The Socialist International has now and again laid its accents with greater clarity. At a meeting of its Bureau in Paris in 1981, a sizable majority upheld a resolution welcoming the revolutionary movement in El Salvador. FRG social democracy acted in the same spirit by supporting Nicaragua and condemning the U.S. aggression in Grenada. That also reveals a greater definition of positions by many SPD members and those of other social democratic parties in Western Europe who are at odds with the actions of governments led by social democrats and these parties' right-wing leaders.

Let us note that the Socialist International has demonstrated explicit signs of the new policy with respect to the developing countries. At its 16th congress in April 1983, representatives of these countries sharply criticized the imperialist powers' neocolonialist line and called for a translation of the verbal expressions of solidarity into the language of practical assistance. They equated the activity of the IMF to "capitalism by remote control." The mounting criticism of imperialist domination is being heard above all on the issue of peace. It is indicative that the Socialist International has adhered to the UN call that at least five per cent of the funds being allocated for military purposes should be used for additional assistance to the

developing countries, as will be seen from the report of the Socialist International's research group on disarmament, which was adopted at its Madrid congress in 1980.

In view of these new aspects, there is a need to take the closest look at the prospects for joint political action by the communist and workers' parties with social democratic and socialist parties, especially on the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe and achievement of concrete steps in disarmament. The meaningful peace proposals made by the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Treaty countries have always in practice stimulated such mutual concern and met with a broad response within the social democratic parties. The importance of joint action is, finally, also emphasized by the fact that a number of Socialist International parties have influential positions in developing countries, with a sizable majority of these parties belonging to its left wing.

The pooling of efforts by all the contingents of the international working class and anti-imperialist liberation movements and the efforts of the young national states have, consequently, become a pressing task. The working class in the industrialized capitalist countries has common interests with the young and growing working class in the developing countries and with the national revolutionary democratic movements operating there. These are peace, work, bread, national independence, and the tasks of political participation in running the economy and the society. These problems will, one should assume, also attract growing attention from the governments led by social democrats and socialists.

The communist and workers' parties reject the non-class approach in assessing current developments from the angle of a "North-South conflict," and the theory and practice it involves, because such an approach impedes the unification of all the forces fighting against exploitation and oppression and removes the spotlight from international imperialism, the chief culprit behind the plight of the developing nations. The principled approach here was clearly formulated in a book by Boris Ponomarev published in the FRG. It is entitled *Communism in a Changing World*, and among other things, says: "In the struggle for a new international economic order, the communists oppose the blanket geo-political contrast of 'North' and 'South,' of 'developed' and 'developing' countries, and demand that the imperialist powers, which are responsible for the economic backwardness of their former colonies and semi-colonies, should make good the damage done to these countries, and should

abandon the aggressive neocolonialist policy of predatory plunder of their natural resources and exploitation of their manpower resources."¹²

The problems we have considered testify to the following: the communists have a great responsibility for uniting the democratic and anti-monopoly forces of their countries in the fight against the ruling imperialist circles' expansionist line. This follows organically from the role of the communist parties, each of which represents the interests and objectives not only of the national working class, but also of all the exploited and oppressed classes, strata and peoples.

World public opinion is now focused on the problems in the defense of peace, détente and disarmament. But these continue to be problems of cardinal importance when it comes to solidarity action against every form of neo-colonialism and any kind of discrimination in international relations. That is the embodiment of the time-tested principle of proletarian internationalism. The DKP's program stresses: "The working class of all countries has common interests now and in the future. Its struggle has been international for a long time. That is why the DKP's policy is a blend of resolute defense of the national interests of the working people of the FRG and consistent action in accordance with the principles of proletarian internationalism. True to the ideas of solidarity, the DKP stands on the side of all the fighters against imperialism."¹³

One should further reckon with the much greater potentialities of the peoples of the economically underdeveloped states for choosing their way of advance to laying the foundations of socialism, bypassing capitalism. This can be done above all because of the actual existence of socialism, which acts as the mainstay and ally of the anti-colonial movements and the struggle of the anti-imperialist national states. Marx and Engels once said that there was a possibility "of considerably shortening (the countries') advance to a socialist society"¹⁴ and our day shows that this applies to the whole of world history. This proposition was brilliantly transformed by Lenin into a scientific conception, as it was demonstrated in practice that "with the aid of the proletariat of the advanced countries, backward countries can go over to the Soviet system and, through certain stages of development, to communism, without having to pass through the capitalist stage."¹⁵

Socialism has vastly enlarged the potentialities of the peoples of the former colonies by helping them to throw off the foreign yoke and opt for the socialist orientation, above all in

Asia and Africa, and by facilitating the fulfillment of progressive tasks. Still, the following fact should not be ignored either: the concessions wrested from the imperialist powers are being eroded by the existence in some countries of fully-fledged capitalist structures of production and corresponding social structures, a fact which has a crucial effect on the line of socio-economic development. A negative effect is also exerted by ties with the imperialist states and their economic blocs. But there is no reason at all to assume that such direct forms of neocolonial and "modified" capitalist exploitation of the young national states will last for a lengthy historical period. The working class, which is growing and gaining in strength, will seek democratic change and socio-economic transformations even where the ruling forces take a capitalist orientation.

The struggle by broad social movements and new revolutions will turn more and more countries of this group into strong bastions of anti-imperialism, thereby consolidating world socialism.

1. Bericht des Parteivorstands der DKP an den 7. Parteitag, Berichterstatter: Herbert Mies, Vorsitzender der DKP, Nuremberg, January 6-8, 1984, p. 30.
2. F. Castro, *The World Economic and Social Crisis. Its impact on the underdeveloped countries, its somber prospects and the need to struggle if we are to survive. Report to the Seventh Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries*, Havana, 1983.
3. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, March 22, 1983.
4. Associated with the EEC under the Lomé Conventions are 63 developing states in these regions of the world. For details see Ludwig Muller, Fritz Rische, "EEC Neocolonialism in Action," *WMR*, No. 10, 1981. — Ed.
5. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, May 19, 1983.
6. *Handelsblatt*, April 25, 1983.
7. *Funfter Entwicklungspolitischer Bericht der Bundesregierung*, February 23, 1983, p. 54.
8. *IPW-Forschungsheft*, No. 4, Berlin, 1981, pp. 20-21.
9. *Bulletin Press und Informationsamt der Bundesregierung*, Bonn, No. 31, March 29, 1983, p. 266.
10. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, May 17, 1983.
11. See *Handelsblatt*, January 4, 1984.
12. Boris N. Ponomarev, *Der Kommunismus in der sich verändernden Welt*, Verlag Marxistische Blätter, Frankfurt am Main, 1984, p. 259.
13. *Parteiprogramm der DKP*, p. 7.
14. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works in three volumes*, Vol. 2, p. 403.
15. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 244.

Ireland: defending neutrality

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The Irish Republic is the only member country of the Common Market group of ten which is not also a member of NATO. And yet Ireland, which is pursuing a policy of neutrality, occupies a relatively crucial strategic location on the western flank of Britain, straddling the main communication routes between North America and Western Europe — a position which faces independent Ireland with a constant pressure to abandon its neutrality or at least turn a benevolent blind eye to current NATO infringements of it.

Ireland's situation is further complicated by the fact that the national revolution, the winning of national freedom from British imperialism, has not yet been completed. Britain directly occupies the north-eastern part of the country (which is therefore also directly involved in NATO) and dominates even the independent Irish Republic through the power of its economic and financial interests and the compliant collaboration of a section of the Irish bourgeoisie.

While Ireland is not a party to the aggressive war bloc of NATO, it is nevertheless involved

in the whole ideological offensive of imperialism. Successive Irish bourgeois governments (including today's coalition government headed by the Fine Gael Party) have repeatedly maintained that the state's military neutrality did not imply any ideological neutrality, and that Ireland supported the "democratic" values of the Western world.

This statement is, in fact, a reflection of the peculiar contradictions within which the Irish bourgeoisie find themselves; the need, on the one hand, to pay lip-service to the continuing demand for national reunification of the great majority of the Irish people, while, on the other hand, coming to terms with the political and economic realities within which the bourgeoisie operates.

An attack on Irish neutrality is, however, taking place on a broad front and involves the use of every means of ideological, political and economic pressure. In particular, membership in the EEC poses a serious threat to our neutrality. The misgivings of opponents of the Common Market were justified. The Communist Party and the Irish Congress of Trade Unions

were right when they served warning that entry into the EEC would affect the republic's sovereignty and imperil its traditional neutrality.

This is now confirmed by the Common Market leaders' effort to draw Ireland into the political integration process of the West European Ten. A resolution passed by the European Parliament under pressure from the "Atlanticists" urges EEC countries, and consequently Ireland, to cooperate more closely in guaranteeing the "defense and security of Europe."

There are attempts to confront our people with a fait accompli and to make them believe that the fate of Ireland has already been decided and so resistance is pointless. During an inspection tour of Northern Ireland in the spring of 1983, British Defense Secretary Michael Heseltine went beyond a sharp condemnation of the republic's refusal to join NATO. He declared in no uncertain terms that in all circumstances NATO was responsible for the whole region, including West European countries outside the North Atlantic bloc. Despite opposition demands that the government repudiate this statement, Fitzgerald issued only a minor admonishment to Britain.

The "Atlanticists" unabashedly exploit the Irish people's long-standing desire for national reunification in trying to make Dublin discard its traditional policy of military political non-alignment. Time and again, it is hinted that Britain might withdraw from Northern Ireland and "accept" its incorporation in a united Irish state if Dublin joined in "mutual security" measures, or, in other words, sacrificed neutrality and allowed Ireland to serve the strategic designs of NATO in the North Atlantic.

A recently published study prepared by the British Commonwealth Office in 1951 said: "Failing some firm and satisfactory assurance as to the attitude in war of a united Ireland . . . there are strong strategic arguments for the retention of the friendly bastion of the Six Counties . . . as part of the Commonwealth."

These considerations are the main determinant of British policy toward Ireland. It is these issues which swing the balance of imperialism's policy firmly toward the continued occupation of Northern Ireland, no matter what the cost in terms of repression, violence and lives lost.

The fact of the matter is that NATO is intent on using the strategic location of our country in its plans aimed at transforming Western Europe into a base for war preparations against the socialist community. What is disturbing is

that the bid to end the neutrality of our republic is materializing.

NATO "emergency" plans to occupy vital links within the territory of Ireland, such as Shannon Airport, have already been exposed. Nor is that all. It has been revealed that U.S. cable companies have, with Dublin's consent, laid the whole telecommunications linkages for Ireland. We have the curious anomaly that remote towns on the West coast, with little population but with great potential military significance, have been endowed with telecommunications superior to those given to major cities. In addition, Irish neutrality has already been compromised by the fact that an alternative route for Britain's communications cables from Northern Ireland to London has been established through the Irish Republic. There is also evidence that this linkage has already been used by the British for military purposes.

But Ireland has one more potential military significance for NATO. Given the effectiveness of modern anti-radar devices, the West coast of Ireland is an area where the British can set up observation posts to control the air space over distant approaches to Western Europe from the ocean.

Britain has already developed a series of mobile forward sight observation posts, which, in the event of war, nuclear or conventional, can be transported by helicopter and established within 30 minutes of decision. With the cable communications already laid — ostensibly for civilian use, but in fact courtesy of the U.S. and British military — such posts could be immediately operational. It would be a relatively small-scale operation then to occupy certain vital points to protect these existing installations in Ireland even against an Irish government.

The significance of Ireland as an observation post for NATO was focused on at the turn of the year, during a press debate on the real purpose of the radar station on Mt. Gabriel, Cork County. It appears that already there are relay stations which can be linked at once to British mobile radar stations if necessary.

In January 1984 *The Phoenix* listed some tasks already being fulfilled by the Mt. Gabriel radar station. Situated in the extreme southwest of Europe, it has closed the circuit of radar installations in the area, described by NATO headquarters as the "Western approaches" to the continent. The NATO command has entrusted their "security" to Britain. *The Phoenix* also pointed out that Ireland was the only neutral country in Europe to transmit to a foreign power signals received by its radar instal-

lations, thereby enabling it to control our air space. With reference to official denials of these facts, the journal asked why the British Defense Ministry had financed the construction of the radar facilities on Mt. Gabriel if they really have nothing to do with military aims.¹

The republic's continued dependence on imperialist powers results quite often in foreign political concessions and injures its traditional course on the international scene. The Irish representative to the UN refused to vote for a resolution condemning nuclear war as the worst crime and a violation of the most important human right, the right to life. Under Washington's pressure, interpreted by public opinion as a "grave violation of Irish neutrality," the government emasculated a resolution of parliament expressing solidarity with the peoples of Central America.

Irish neutrality is compromised and our country tied more strongly to NATO by the participation of our government in a series of anti-Soviet moves, such as the expulsion of three Soviet citizens from Dublin on false charges of "spying"² concocted by British Intelligence or the barring of Aeroflot planes from Shannon Airport.

Besides, there is no official reaction to British counter-intelligence activities on our territory. Charles Haughey, the Fianna Fail leader, told about direct British interference in Irish internal affairs. He accused Britain's secret services of trying to bribe his closest assistants and expressed the fear that his home was bugged. As regards the nature of Irish-British relations, he said it nearly made impossible all defense from the "ramified" secret network set up in Ireland by London.³

The issue of neutrality has a domestic importance for Ireland because it raises sharply the country's relations with imperialism. And the bourgeoisie has divided on this matter according to the strength of its willingness to assert an independent policy against imperialism, particularly in terms of achieving reunification.

Without going into the historical origins of these differences, we must note that there exist two wings inside the bourgeoisie. One of them is grouped around Fine Gael, a strongly pro-British extreme right-wing party. The other is represented by sections of Fianna Fail, who express the interests of the manufacturers and small-scale entrepreneurs, and are more flexible about their attitude to imperialism. This division of attitude toward imperialism is reflected in the degrees of vigor with which the different sections of the bourgeoisie defend neutrality.

It should be remembered that neutrality

emerged in Ireland as a rejection of imperialist ideology and practice. It was not the bourgeoisie who raised the standard of neutrality in the first instance but the working class, when the Irish Citizen Army (champion of Irish freedom and sovereignty) led by the Marxist revolutionary, James Connolly,⁴ flew a banner over its Liberty Hall headquarters which proclaimed: "We serve neither King nor Kaiser but Ireland."

Connolly raised this banner in opposition to the imperialist war of 1914-1918. It was a position in marked contrast to that of the majority of the social democratic parties of Western Europe, and only paralleled by that of Lenin, who led the masses in Russia.

The Home Rule bourgeoisie, primarily the commercial interests whose direct lineal descendants form the current governing party in Ireland, favored fighting for Britain in the war to win imperialism's benevolence toward Ireland. This same section of the bourgeoisie, organized in Fine Gael, holds to the same attitude. It favors the closest possible relations between Ireland and Britain, and its current leader, Garret Fitzgerald, the present taoiseach, or head of government, is an enthusiastic advocate of closer Common Market integration, including Irish involvement in a common West European "defense" system.

There are, however, elements even within the government party which reject this line, most noticeably the Foreign Minister, Peter Barry. In the middle of last February he endorsed "positive neutrality." True, he said in the same breath that "in ideological terms and in terms of economic and political links we may be closer to the members of one alliance than to those of the other."⁵ We need hardly explain what "alliances" he meant, especially since in the summer of 1983 he admitted the existence of a government commitment to take part in coordinating the positions of EEC countries on the political and economic aspects of security.

For the major opposition party, the party of the indigenous entrepreneurs, Fianna Fail, the issue is equally divisive. A more nationally assertive element, personified by Charles Haughey, has recently won the leadership in Fianna Fail, an element which consciously plays to anti-imperialist feeling.

However, this same element is also more favorable in general terms to the United States than to Britain. It has hoped that close kinship relations between Ireland and a section of the U.S. population could be used to bring pressure on Britain to withdraw from Ireland. In return, they hinted — vaguely — that they would be

willing to join NATO if Irish unity were conceded.

However, U.S. policy has always placed a special premium on its relationship with Britain. Reagan, in particular, values highly the aggressive militaristic stance of Margaret Thatcher, and showed in the Malvinas war that he was prepared to risk U.S. positions in South America rather than offend Britain. How much more is at stake for the U.S. in relation to Britain's position in Ireland.

It is now clear — and becoming understood by increasing numbers of the bourgeoisie — that the USA will not pressure Britain over Ireland. The result has been a distancing of the national bourgeoisie from imperialism in general, and a more vigorous condemnation of U.S. policy in Central America, especially as regards El Salvador where the Irish Catholic Church has become more vocal in condemning the puppet U.S.-sponsored government.

And so, within Fianna Fail, there is a growing demand for a stronger affirmation of Irish neutrality, not just in the sense of non-participation in NATO but in support for the non-aligned movement as well. While there is a certain amount of political opportunism and posturing involved, since Fianna Fail is in opposition, the position is an important development for domestic Irish politics.

For the Left the position is clearer. There is mounting mass support for continued neutrality and non-involvement in NATO. The peace forces in the Republic of Ireland, which are of a very broad nature, have concentrated to a large extent on the issue of neutrality as being Ireland's main contribution to the cause of peace. The Communist Party has helped to win an important commitment to neutrality in the trade union movement, while the demand that our neutrality be written into the constitution has won popular support.

However, the forces for peace are conscious of the fact that even though we are neutral this would not protect Ireland from the effects of a nuclear war. The CPI argues that the government representing, as it does, one of the few neutral countries in Western Europe, should promote moves for peace more vigorously at all international forums.

Instead of pursuing a reactionary role on the world stage, the Irish government could work together with other neutral countries in Western Europe in promoting the concept of a step-by-step establishment of a nuclear-free zone for the whole of the European continent. The starting point would be the whole of Ireland; this is a demand which has considerable support in both parts of our partitioned country.

A positive approach to neutrality would also include the government lending its weight to any genuine peace offers, rather than remaining silent, as has so far been the case with all the realistic proposals for ending the arms race put forward by the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Treaty countries.

Regrettably, the social democrats — the Labor Party and Workers' Party — will be inconsistent battlers on these questions. While both parties are formally committed to seeing neutrality written into the constitution, in practice neither is prepared to collaborate with the mass movement to win this aim. In some cases they even support government measures undermining the foreign political standing of the country. A Workers' Party leader spoke approvingly of the action against Aeroflot at Shannon Airport. "So much for defending the workers' interests," was the ironical comment of *Irish Socialist*.⁶

To ascertain the roots of this obvious inconsistency of both parties, one must take account of two circumstances. In the first place, they fear any independent mass mobilization which they cannot control, precisely because it might take a consistent and thoroughgoing anti-imperialist direction. And secondly, because of their economism, both the Labor Party and the Workers' Party are equivocal about membership in the Common Market, tending more and more to accept it as an unchangeable "reality" despite the dangers to neutrality which continued membership poses. Their commitment to neutrality seems to be merely a means of winning votes.

The Communist Party of Ireland, one of the few political organizations operating in both parts of the island, is in the vanguard of those who are defending Irish sovereignty and championing reunification on democratic principles. "The struggle for world peace," said the political resolution of the 18th CPI congress, held two years ago, "is complementary to our struggle for a democratic solution to the national question . . . Our aim must be to make the whole of Ireland free of war installations and completely detached from any kind of military alliance."

What has to be recognized is that in the various levels of the anti-imperialist struggle in Ireland, of which the struggle for a British declaration of its intention to withdraw from Ireland is paramount, the issue of neutrality is a key one. In essence it is the issue which determines how independent Ireland will really be. Territorial reunification would be no victory if it were won at the expense of neutrality, for it

would be merely a formal unity without independence.

It is now clear that Britain could establish a modernized neocolonial relationship with a compliant Irish state that would guarantee British imperialism the same financial return from its domination over a united Ireland as it gains from the two partitioned statelets. But even a united Ireland within NATO would not meet Britain's desires, because the control of the so-called western approaches would not necessarily be in British hands. Britain's own status within NATO would be diminished if the USA were to directly control bases in Ireland.

These inter-imperialist rivalries are an important element which must be taken into account when we consider what role Ireland can play in the world peace process. It is quite clear that no element of the bourgeoisie can be trusted to adhere firmly to an anti-imperialist

course, and that the most radical bourgeois element, Fianna Fail, believes it can play off one section of imperialism against another.

We are looking ahead with optimism. Public pressure can make, not just the social democrats, but the national bourgeoisie as well, take a more resolute stand against plans endangering the very existence of Ireland. We are well aware that unity of action of the progressive forces of the country is the only road to real independence and continued neutrality.

1. See *The Phoenix*, January 20, 1984, and *Irish Socialist*, February 1984.

2. For details, see *WMR*, No. 3, 1984.

3. See *The Irish Times*, February 20, 1984.

4. James Connolly (1868-1916), the first Irish socialist to link the struggle for national liberation with the struggle for socialism; leader of the National Rebellion of 1916 against British imperialism — Ed.

5. *The Irish Times*, February 16, 1984.

6. *Irish Socialist*, October 1983.

Fighting the fascist dictatorship

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PCP CC member

Our national politics this year were highlighted by an event whose significance can hardly be overestimated. For the first time since a brutal fascist dictatorship was imposed long ago, opposition members held a mass political rally in the center of the capital, Asuncion. The rally demanded prompt and concrete steps to democratize public life and put the economy on a healthy basis. Speakers denounced the state of emergency that the regime has maintained for three decades now. Large police units were moved up to the square where the rally took place but they did not venture to disperse the participants, who chanted in unison: "The military dictatorship shall end!"

The action showed that Latin America's oldest tyranny (Stroessner seized power in 1954) has been unable despite terror and repression to break the working people's will to fight for a radiant future.

The Paraguayan fascist camarilla owes its continuing rule solely to U.S. imperialism, which renders it substantial economic, political and military aid, with CIA advisers shamelessly meddling in the affairs of the police and army.

In exchange for the "benefits" it gets from the USA, the anti-popular dictatorship not only gives its unqualified support to the militarist, expansionist policy of the Reagan administration — a policy made only too evident by the invasion of Grenada — but also helps turn our country into an economic appendage to foreign monopolies plundering our natural resources and ruthlessly exploiting our people. This is a tell-tale example of the role held by imperialism in store for its puppets in seeking global domination, an objective sought by the U.S. military-industrial complex.

"Paraguay," says the PCP program, "is part of the world capitalist system, an economically underdeveloped country dependent on imperialism."¹ Its history fully bears out Lenin's thesis about the Latin American countries that have won independence yet remain in bondage. Lenin classed most Latin American republics as "countries which, politically, are formally independent, but in fact are enmeshed in the net of financial and diplomatic dependence."²

The history of Paraguay also bears out Lenin's thesis about the nature of imperialism

and the role of local oligarchies as its tool in pursuing selfish expansionist aims. Lenin justly stressed that "imperialism is, in general, a striving toward violence and reaction." And he added: "The specific political features of imperialism are reaction everywhere and increased national oppression"; "whatever the political system, the result ... is everywhere reaction."³

The Paraguayan variety of fascism

"Fascism in power," Georgi Dimitrov said in his report to the seventh congress of the Communist International, "is an open terroristic dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic, most imperialist elements of financial capital."

Experience has shown that terroristic dictatorships vary in form according to circumstances, such as the context of the class struggle or national traditions. In Chile and Uruguay it came to the forcible abolition of parliamentary systems and political parties. As for our country, we still have a travesty of parliament and a caricature of representative democracy.

The peculiarities of Paraguayan fascism change nothing in its conservative, ultra-reactionary essence. Under the Stroessner dictatorship, fascism reveals its "classical" features through brutal repression, the arrest of thousands of patriots, general round-ups and searches, raids on peasant communities, torture, outrages, murders or the disappearance of suspected dissenters. Torture and the physical elimination of leading as well as rank-and-file members of the Communist Party are a common practice, an official policy whose slogan is "democracy without communism." Added to this are political discrimination, imprisonment for an indefinite term and drastic anti-democratic laws restricting freedom on the pretext of combating "subversive activity of international communism." The regime grossly interferes in trade union affairs and plants police and employers' agents in the unions' leadership.

Paraguayan fascism is characterized, first, by a permanent state of emergency, which has enabled the regime to nullify all democratic rights. Every detainee who invokes the principle of *habeas corpus* is invariably told by the police that he has been arrested under Article 79 of the constitution concerning the state of emergency, "by order of the President of the Republic." The situation is made worse by the fact that in 1982 the Supreme Court adopted a decision entitling "any representative of the political authority" to make arrests. Thus the

principle of *habeas corpus* was simply abolished. Most of the accused are not even brought to trial.

Second, there is a grotesque system of electoral frauds, a frank mockery of the people's will. One and the same electoral farce recurs once in five years, in the atmosphere of persecution and a ban on the activity of communist, Christian Democratic and other opposition parties. The votes are tallied solely by government officials. In this way General Stroessner, dictator virtually for life, invariably "wins" from 87 to 90 per cent of the vote in every electoral comedy.

The purpose of the electoral subterfuge is to prolong fascist rule under the guise of "representative democracy," which makes it possible for extollers of U.S. imperialism, with Reagan in the lead, to declare (as in the case of El Salvador) that the human rights situation in Paraguay is "improving."

Third, the military fascist camarilla of Stroessner wields the main levers of state power, with Stroessner himself enjoying the right to make the most important decisions. The corrupt leadership of the regime, which has amassed a fortune by means of legalized smuggling, bribes, dirty deals, drug traffic and speculation, uses for its selfish ends certain sections of the National Republican Association (known as the Colorado Party) led by Juan Ramon Chavez, a puppet. Stroessner has contrived to bring the Colorado leadership under his control through hand-outs, lucrative appointments and the division of part of the money made through dirty business deals, as well as by making out Colorado to be the "ruling" party. What is more, he has ordered all army officers, civil servants, teachers and others to join Colorado, which has become the political mainstay of the "dean" of Latin American dictators.

However, Colorado includes currents led by politicians who are aware of the domestic situation and take an open stand against Stroessner and his anti-popular, pro-imperialist policy.

Fourth, the dictator encourages the penchant for corruption shown by his underlings — mostly top military men — to tie them still more to himself. He gives his satraps a chance to become latifundium owners and cattle-dealers, to engage with impunity in smuggling, drug traffic and speculation involving foreign exchange. This is, in the tyrant's own words, "the price of internal peace."

Fifth, the fascist dictatorship tries to conceal its crimes against the people behind the smoke-screen of a vicious *anti-communist and anti-Soviet campaign*. The regime obligingly supports the militarist, aggressive policy of the most bellicose sections of U.S. imperialism. Posing as a spokesman of the "free Christian world," Stroessner urges Washington to attack Nicaragua and other countries of Central America and the Caribbean. He applauded the infamous invasion of little Grenada which the USA carried out to "strangle communism," as Reagan said. To the same end the Paraguayan despot, echoing the U.S. President, advocates a crusade against the socialist community.

The new "constitution," approved by the puppet National Constituent Assembly in 1967, imposes a "ban on the class struggle." This provision, which is contrary to the socio-economic realities of the country and the existence of antagonistic classes, is laughable to say the least. Nevertheless, the police use it to give the semblance of legitimacy to their outrages against the working people, against diverse social sectors and political forces, primarily the PCP.

Reactionary propaganda describes the communists as people who have "invented the class struggle." This prompts us to quote Marx, who wrote: "And now as to myself, no credit is due to me for discovering the existence of classes in modern society or the struggle between them. Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this class struggle and bourgeois economists the economic anatomy of the classes. What I did that was new was to prove: (1) that the *existence of classes* is only bound up with *particular historical phases in the development of production*, (2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the *dictatorship of the proletariat*, (3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the *abolition of all classes* and to a *classless society*."⁴

The regime sees its "ban on the class struggle" as a justification of terror against dissenters. Referring to the "validity" of repressive legislation, particularly Law 209 on "Defense of the Peace and Personal Freedom" and Law 294 on "Defense of Democracy," and insisting on the need to maintain internal peace (said to be threatened with a communist "uprising"), the ruling clique persecutes democrats and patriots of all classes and political parties, including Colorado.

The tyranny resorts to aggressive chauvinism in an effort to disguise its betrayal of national interests, which expresses itself in surrendering the country's natural resources,

economy and sovereignty to imperialist monopolies and international finance capital.

Such are some aspects of the Paraguayan fascist dictatorship.

Fettered by imperialism

Paraguay is uncommonly rich in oil, uranium, hydroelectric power resources and fertile lands. But these riches do not belong to the people, for in the years of dictatorial rule they have been taken over by six major transnationals. The U.S. oil consortium, REPSA, and other foreign monopolies are plundering the country. Legalized smuggling on a huge scale is ruining our industry. Imperialist banks make loans conditional on the prohibition of trade with socialist countries.

Over three-fourths of the finest lands are owned by Stroessner, his myrmidons and foreigners. The people's lot is poverty and privation. One in three Paraguayans has had to flee the country in order to get away from hunger and persecution.

A certain upturn in the economic activity (1970-1980) was followed by stagnation. Investments in the Itaipu hydroelectric project were drastically cut. Late in 1983 the number of jobless people rose to 300,000, or 30 per cent of the workforce. Exports last year diminished by more than one-fourth and the export of cotton fiber by 60 per cent, according to the Central Bank of Paraguay. The regime, submitting unquestioningly to the demands of the IMF, has frozen wages at the starvation level of nearly one-third of the subsistence minimum. The foreign debt is mounting. Payments on it swallow over half the export earnings (150 million dollars a year). The government tries to hoodwink the people by alleging that the current economic difficulties are due to the world crisis. Yet our party has repeatedly pointed out that this situation is largely due not only to external factors, but to Paraguay's backward socio-economic system and dependence on imperialism, primarily U.S. monopolies. Under the existing structure it is impossible to ease the lot of the working people, who are ruthlessly exploited and doomed to enormous hardships. There is a need for radical change. The objective conditions for a democratic, agrarian, anti-imperialist revolution have matured.

The United States is attracted by both Paraguay's vast natural resources and its strategic location in the heart of South America. The ruling classes of the USA want to keep our country as an agrarian, cattle-breeding domain, a source of raw materials, an immense ranch, and to turn it at the same time into a military base, a bridgehead for armed intervention

against other Latin American countries. The dictatorship in every way facilitates this. This was exemplified in 1965 by the participation of Paraguayan troops in the U.S. Marines' invasion of the Dominican Republic.

Washington's plans for aggression have assumed a particularly sinister character now that the winds of freedom and democracy are blowing away the clouds of reaction darkening the skies of many South Cone countries. Paraguay lies very near to Bolivia, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Peru, Ecuador and Uruguay. U.S. strategists consider that their rapid deployment force could carry out from Paraguayan territory punitive and destabilizing operations against the peoples of these countries on the notorious excuse of "defending vital U.S. interests." This topic came up during the visit which a delegation of the U.S. Defense Department paid to Asuncion in 1983. Our party exposed the Reagan administration's interventionist designs and called on all patriotic forces to thwart them.

Resistance is growing

The new wave of repression started by the regime after the electoral farce in February 1983 did not hit workers and peasants alone but affected members of the professions, the petty bourgeoisie and other social sectors and groups.

Nevertheless, the democratic movement goes on developing. This is confirmed by the formation of the Inter-Trade Union Solidarity Commission grouping the major organizations of wage and salary earners. An independent alignment, it demands higher pay and takes an open stand against the regime's interference in trade union affairs and for the removal of the government and employer camarilla from the leadership of the Confederation of Paraguayan Workers. Another case in point was the recent strike of the employees of the Coca Cola transnational company. Defending their dismissed leaders, they advanced anti-imperialist slogans. Mention should be made, furthermore, of the strike of more than 600 staff members of the Clinical Hospital of Asuncion, who insisted on the release of their arrested colleagues; the strike of hundreds of workers building Route VI; the mass actions launched by the capital's transport workers in defense of the eight-hour day and other democratic rights; protests from 43 trade unions against cuts in social benefits. In many areas vigorous activity was also shown by poor peasants, who demanded land and an end to evictions.

Students involved in an independent university movement have joined in the strug-

gle. They protested against the illegitimate arrests of their fellow-students and came out for freedom of speech and the repeal of repressive laws. Dozens of imprisoned young men and women went on hunger strike, demanding the release of the arrested and democratization of the country. A mass rally of relatives of political prisoners demanded freedom for the prisoners and the lifting of the state of emergency. Gaining strength is a national and international solidarity movement for the salvation of the lives and the release of jailed patriots.

The struggle involves journalists who have refused to sell themselves to the regime and who uphold the right to a professional organization of their own and to freedom of speech and the press. The Catholic church, which has repeatedly served Mass for the release of prisoners, likewise declares for the abrogation of repressive laws, against corruption and the brazen lies of official propaganda, and for the repatriation of the thousands of exiles.

The actions of the opposition parties, trade unions, public figures and intellectuals for democratization show that resistance to the policies of the Stroessner dictatorship is growing.

The regime falsifies information on the domestic situation and tries to prevent the truth about Paraguay from becoming known abroad. Paraguayan press reports about events on the continent are censored. However, Paraguay is inseparable from Latin America and the world. The winning of democracy in Bolivia and Argentina, mass actions against dictatorship in Brazil, Chile and Uruguay and the upsurge in the national liberation movement in other countries of the continent unquestionably have a positive impact on the Paraguayans' resistance. These realities are an inspiration to patriots, whom they show that joint and organized actions by the people will bring down Stroessner, Pinochet, Alvarez and other flunkies of imperialism and reaction in the same way as they brought down Batista in Cuba and Somoza in Nicaragua.

Democratic, patriotic, anti-imperialist and anti-war trends defending national sovereignty and championing social progress are gaining ground in Latin America. The historic achievements of the Soviet Union and the world socialist system as a whole, the development of the international working class movement and the expanding national liberation struggle are decisive factors accelerating these trends.

Unity is a guarantee of victory

The paramount task of Paraguayan patriots

today is to overthrow the Stroessner fascist dictatorship. This calls, in our opinion, for organized effort to unite the masses. It is a question of intensifying political and ideological preparation and coordinating the actions of the healthy forces of the nation (both civilians and military men) more efficiently, using diverse forms according to circumstances. The important thing is to destroy the tyranny and form a provisional military-civilian government of democratic and patriotic unity as a first step toward more substantial changes leading to socialism.

Anti-dictatorial sentiments in favor of unity are increasing in the country. However, insufficient unity and organization are still the main shortcoming of the revolutionary, popular movement. The formation of a national front excepting no one and directed against the regime is an objective necessity and would be a dependable factor for victory. To bring it about, we will mobilize and unite all who are opposed to fascism, without giving in to sectarianism or compromising with the tyranny.

Regrettably, as the Manifesto of the Political Commission of our party CC points out, some opposition leaders so far have failed under the pressure of the dictatorship and imperialism and the influence of their anti-communist preconceptions to respond to the people's desire for broad unity. Certain leaders of National Concord⁵ oppose communist participation in the common struggle instead of extending the coalition by including workers, peasants, students and members of other classes and sectors so as to strengthen the anti-dictatorial forces. They are willing to sacrifice the coalition for fear of a broad unification of the masses. Owing to their class nature, these leaders favor conciliation and want no real democratization. Even so, we will continue proposing joint action with National Concord, even if only on some specific issue.

Thirty years of dictatorship and of rigorous clandestinity, with many of our finest leaders and fellow-communists persecuted, tortured, murdered or kidnapped, have failed to undermine the communists' patriotism or make them abandon their consistently internationalist position. Notwithstanding hard blows and the misdeeds of the police and its CIA advisers, our party continues unmasking the butchers of our people, and is stepping up resistance to the venal fascist Stroessner's camarilla. The PCP policy for broad unity without exceptions and for the formation of a real national anti-dictatorial front is gaining support among patriots. How many times Stroessner and his menials have announced the "destruction" of the

Communist Party! Even opposition leaders believed it to have been routed because many of our leaders had been killed or were missing. Yet each time the party would rise from the ashes like the phoenix, heal its wounds and win greater prestige and influence than ever. And its members would join with redoubled energy in collective effort, using the time-tested Leninist methods of criticism and self-criticism and keeping the rules of vigilance more strictly than ever.

In working with devotion to put its policy line into effect, the PCP has registered both gains and setbacks. Its negative experience includes underestimation of ideological work and the fact that our ranks were infiltrated by agents provocateurs who did enormous harm to the communists and the entire Paraguayan revolutionary movement. A recent conference of the party leadership worked out measures intended to help bring about a radical change in political and ideological work and enable every communist to improve his Marxist-Leninist knowledge, understand the party line better and realize how he can implement it.

Many outstanding members of our party fell into the hands of our enemies. They include Miguel Angel Soler, Secretary of the CC, Ruben Gonzalez Acosta, member of the CC, and Derliz Villagra, Secretary of the Federation of Communist Youth. The butchers also seized PCP CC First Secretary Antonio Maidana and CC member Emilio Roa. We are all greatly disquieted by the kidnapping and subsequent disappearance of Maidana, whose name has come to symbolize resistance to the fascist dictatorship. He gave all his energy to the task of unifying the working class party and enabling it to lead the struggle of the masses to bring down the aging reactionary regime.

The communists of Paraguay, who have been educated in the spirit of unshakable loyalty to the proletariat, Lenin's invincible teachings and internationalism and are being led by Julio Rojas, an experienced and firm communist, are confident that our growing involvement in the nation's life will be an appreciable factor in overthrowing fascism and ushering in a new period in the history of our country, and will contribute to the fight for peace and social progress.

The PCP CC Political Commission has defined as a key task of the communists the need to extend the solidarity campaign for the salvation of the lives of Antonio Maidana and other missing comrades, the release of all political prisoners and a general amnesty. The PCP considers it important to strengthen the standing of the party and its organizations in the more

important areas, extend the circulation of our paper *Adelante* and to publicize with greater energy the ideas of our program in order to win new members who could become staunch and consistent fighters. Besides, it has decided to intensify our work in the army so as to lean on patriots in its ranks, on those who have nothing to do with repression or dirty deals, and to draw them into the struggle to overthrow the hated fascist tyranny. Life has shown that underestimation of influence on the military detracts from the effect of actions against the reactionary regime.

The strength of our party lies in its revolutionary program, correct strategy and tactics, loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and the principles of the international communist movement; it lies in our readiness to creatively borrow the experience of fraternal parties, primarily the CPSU, in orientation to the masses, fidelity to the interests of the working class and other working people and the experience of struggle gained to date. There can be no doubt that by steadfastly following a principled line, we are strengthening the vanguard of the proletariat as a force capable of leading the people to victory.

In the present explosive international situation we communists strive in common with the patriotic and anti-imperialist forces of the continent championing peace to unite our workers and peoples in a joint struggle against war-

mongers, against the plans for aggression made by U.S. imperialism and its accomplices. We must show people how very real the threat of a nuclear holocaust is and unite all peace supporters to stave off the impending disaster. This calls for a real ideological offensive against the reactionary, bellicose sections of imperialism and its revisionist menials and for a prompt and effective rebuff to the campaign of falsehoods about the so-called "Soviet threat," whose organizers equate aggressors and warmongers with defenders of peace. It is also necessary to increase support for the peoples seeking liberation.

The working people of Paraguay need still wider international solidarity, which will help pave the way for the decisive victory — the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship and the achievement of freedom, democracy and social justice as the prerequisite for advancing to socialism.

1. *Bases*, No. 1, 1973, p. 19.

2. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 263.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 268, 287, 297.

4. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1969, p. 528.

5. Opposition coalition comprising, the Authentic Liberal Radical Party, Revolutionary Febrerist Party, Colorado Popular Movement (which has broken away from the "ruling" Colorado party) and Christian Democratic Party.
— Ed.



Rejecting the language of agreements

THE READER WANTS TO KNOW

In your journal you have noted on several occasions that the USA is violating international law and that it is not fulfilling its commitments to ease tension and limit the arms race. However, exactly the opposite is asserted in some right-wing Greek publications. What is the actual situation? Could you give it in some detail in view of the fact that in my country and perhaps in others, people are not adequately informed on this problem?

P. Diamantopoulos
Athens

The following survey has been prepared by the Working Group of the WMR Commission on Peace and Democratic Movements on the basis of the Soviet government's memorandum of January 30, 1984, official documents of the U.S. government, and media reports (treaties and agreements are mentioned in the sequence they were signed).

In the period from the mid-1960s to the latter half of the 1970s a series of bilateral and multilateral treaties and agreements designed to reinforce the then nascent process of détente

and create the conditions for its development were concluded between capitalist and socialist countries. The pivot of the system of international law that was taking shape consisted of actions complementing the easing of political tension with a lowering of the level of military confrontation. Most of these actions, vital to the destiny of the human race, were initiated by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. At least 30 international documents on disarmament have been signed on their initiative over the past 15 years.

The efficacy of each such document separately and of all of them taken together depends, however, on the readiness of the signatories to abide in their political practice by the underlying judicial principle of *pacta sunt servanda*. Regrettably, it has to be noted that the U.S. administration has quite often ignored this indispensable condition for the maintenance of normal state-to-state relations.

Over recent years there have been many instances of Washington flatly refusing to comply with its commitments. All such deviations from the norms of international law are motivated by the aspiration of the U.S. ruling circles to tilt the present approximate strategic parity and achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union and its allies in total contravention of the letter and spirit of Article 2 of the 1972 Basic Principles of Relations Between the USSR and the USA, which, in part, declares: "The prerequisites for maintaining and strengthening peaceful relations between the USA and the USSR are the recognition of the security interests of the parties based on the principle of equality."

The following are examples illustrating the USA's evasion of its commitments under some of the most important documents in international law.

Treaty on the Banning of Nuclear Tests in the Atmosphere, Outer Space, and Underwater. Signed by Great Britain, the USSR, and the USA in 1963. It has since been signed by more than 110 nations.

In violation of this Treaty the USA:

— in conducting underground nuclear tests takes no effective measures to prevent radioactive debris from entering the environment and extending outside the nation's frontiers; for example in the Nevada nuclear testing ground many explosions caused cracks through which escaped radioactive clouds that winds carried over long distances (the Preamble says that the aim of the treaty is "to put an end to the environment's contamination by radioactive debris," while in Article I.1b the parties undertook "to prohibit, to prevent, and not to carry

out any nuclear weapon test explosion and any other nuclear explosions ... in any other environment (i.e., in those not envisioned by the treaty. — Author) if such explosion causes radioactive debris to be present outside the territorial limits of the State under whose jurisdiction or control such explosion is conducted");

— following its unilateral suspension, in 1981, of the relevant talks, it has been obstructing the drawing up of a treaty "resulting in the permanent banning of all nuclear test explosions, including all such explosions underground" (see Article I.1b and the Preamble).

Treaty on Nuclear Non-Proliferation. Signed by Great Britain, the USSR, and the USA in 1968. It has since been subscribed to by 122 nations.

In violation of this Treaty the USA:

— having begun deploying medium-range missiles in Western Europe in November 1983 closed the possibility of achieving agreement at the talks on limiting and reducing nuclear armaments (Article VI commits the signatories "to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament");

— abrogated the amendment to the law on U.S. aid to foreign states prohibiting the sale of armaments to countries, which, being outside the control of the International Atomic Energy Agency, are proceeding with nuclear development (this restriction is envisaged in Articles III.1 and III.2);

— extends material, scientific, and technological assistance to such "near-nuclear"* states as Israel, Pakistan, and South Africa, thereby helping them to acquire nuclear weapons, which is prohibited by Article I;

Soviet-U.S. Treaty on Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems. Signed in 1972, it has no time limit.

In violation of this Treaty the USA:

— has built a large radar station on Shemya Island (of the Aleutian chain), utilizing components tested for anti-missile defense systems, and is setting up along its Atlantic and Pacific seaboard and also in its southern regions new large radar systems with parameters brought up to the level of anti-missile defense requirements (Article VI.a makes it binding, in particular, not to give radar other than ABM radar "capabilities to counter strategic ballistic missiles or their elements in flight trajectory and not to test them in an ABM mode");

*"Near-nuclear" states are countries possessing the material resources for manufacturing nuclear weapons.

— has announced plans for developing ramified ABM systems on land and in outer space covering the entire territory of the country or several countries, including military and civilian installations (in Article I.2 each of the parties pledged “not to deploy ABM systems for a defense of the territory of its country and not to provide a base for such a defense”);

— is working on the development of mobile ABM systems (this is banned in Article V.1);

— has used camouflage for interceptor missile silo launchers (Article XII.3 prohibits the use of “deliberate concealment measures which impede verification by national technical means of compliance with the provisions of this Treaty”);

— is developing multiple warheads for interceptor missiles (Article III.a places a strict limit on the number of interceptor missiles and, consequently, of warheads);

— is testing Minuteman-1 intercontinental ballistic missiles with the purpose of giving them the capacity of interceptor missiles (Article VI.a says specifically that missiles other than interceptor missiles should not be given “capabilities to counter strategic ballistic missiles or their elements in flight trajectory” and that these should not be tested “in an ABM mode”).

Soviet-U.S. Interim Agreement on Certain Measures with Respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms (SALT-1). Signed in 1972 for a term of five years. In 1977 the two countries pledged compliance with this agreement until a new agreement was signed (SALT-2 was signed in 1979).

In violation of the Interim Agreement the USA:

— built covers for ICBM silo launchers (Article V.3 contains the commitment “not to use deliberate concealment measures which impede verification by national technical means of compliance with the provisions of this Interim Agreement”);

— with covers over the silos re-equipped Minuteman-2 launchers, thereby allowing for the assumption that Minuteman-3 missiles with multiple independently targetable warheads have been installed in them (Article II bans this sort of modernization).

Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction. Signed in 1972 by Great Britain, the USSR, and the USA. It has now been signed by over 70 nations.

In violation of this Convention the USA:

— is dramatically expanding microbiological research and development funded

by the Defense Department, especially with the use of genetic engineering (Article I.1 declares: “Each state party to this Convention undertakes never in any circumstances to develop, produce, stockpile or otherwise acquire or retain microbial or other biological agents, or toxins whatever their origin or method of production”);

— unilaterally, in 1980, suspended the negotiations on banning and destroying chemical weapons and, until the spring of 1984, repeatedly declined the proposals for resuming these negotiations (the Preamble sees this Convention as a “possible first step toward the attainment of agreement on effective measures to prohibit the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons”).

Soviet-U.S. Treaty on Limitation of Underground Nuclear Tests. Signed in 1974. The USA has not ratified this treaty but pledged compliance with it.

In violation of this Treaty the USA:

— has, according to information available to the Soviet Union, time and again gone beyond the 150-kiloton yield limit in the devices tested by it (Article I.1 says that each party “undertakes to prohibit, to prevent, and not to carry out any underground nuclear weapon test having a yield exceeding 150 kilotons”);

— in 1980 unilaterally cut short the negotiations on a total and general ban on nuclear weapons tests (such negotiations are envisaged in the Preamble and in Article I.3).

Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Signed in 1975 by 33 European states, the USA, and Canada.

In violation of its commitments under this Final Act the USA:

— is deploying new American first-strike nuclear missiles in Europe, including the Mediterranean (Sicily);

— has created the conditions for a significant increase of U.S. forces in Europe equipped with mass destruction systems — nuclear, chemical, and others;

— annually holds in Europe massive-scale military exercises which are increasingly hard to distinguish from an actual deployment of armed forces for war.

(Actions of this kind are contrary to (a) the Preamble under the heading “Questions Relating to Security in Europe,” which envisages ensuring the conditions in which the European peoples “can live in true and lasting peace free from any threat to or attempt against their security”; (b) Article II Section 2 on confidence-building measures and certain aspects of security and disarmament requiring efforts “aimed at lessening military confrontation and

promoting disarmament"; (c) the provisions in the section "Questions Relating to Security and Cooperation in the Mediterranean" envisaging "extending the process of strengthening security" to the Mediterranean area.)

USSR-USA Treaty on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms (SALT-2). Signed in 1979. The USA has not ratified this treaty but pledged compliance with it.

In violation of this Treaty the USA:

— is deploying in Western Europe ballistic Pershing-2 and long-range land-based Cruise missiles, which can hit targets on Soviet territory and are, consequently, an obvious addition to the USA's arsenal of strategic offensive weapons (the Preamble draws special attention to the need for a further limitation and reduction of strategic arms and says that the signatories shall be "guided by the principle of equality and equal security"; Article XII commits the sides "not to circumvent the provisions of this Treaty, through any other state or states or in any other manner");

— is speeding up its program for the development of a new generation of intercontinental ballistic missiles (MX and Midgetmen), ballistic missiles for Trident-2 submarines, B-1 and Stealth bombers, and air, sea, and land-based Cruise missiles (Article I commits the signatories "to exercise restraint in the development of new types of strategic offensive arms").

* * *

In addition to violating existing agreements, the USA is impeding the conclusion of agreements that could hinder the plans of the Washington administration for ending the approximate strategic parity between the USSR and the USA and preparing war against countries of the socialist community.

The following are some instances illustrating the USA's policy of obstructing disarmament.

Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Chemical Weapons and Their Destruction. Negotiations commenced between the USSR and the USA in 1976.

In 1980 they were cut short unilaterally by the USA. At the Geneva Disarmament Conference in April 1984 the USA tabled the draft of a convention prohibiting the production, possession and use of chemical weapons. This draft reserves to the USA the right to possess a "limited chemical capability for retaliation" and envisages such control and verification as to constitute interference in the internal affairs

of the signatories to this convention.

General and Total Ban on Nuclear Weapons Tests. Talks got under way between the USSR, the USA, and Great Britain in 1977. By 1980 agreement had been reached on practically the entire text of a relevant treaty. However, the talks were unilaterally terminated by the USA.

Limitation and Subsequent Reduction of Military Activity in the Indian Ocean. Negotiations between the USSR and the USA were instituted in 1977. These were suspended unilaterally by the USA in 1978.

Limitation of the Sale and Delivery of Conventional Armaments. Talks between the USSR and the USA were opened in 1977. They were brought to a standstill unilaterally by the USA in 1978.

Use of Satellite-Killer Systems. Talks were started between the USSR and the USA in 1978. Upon completion of a round of talks in 1979 the sides did not set a date for the next meeting. The USA replied negatively to all of the Soviet Union's proposals for resuming these talks.

Limitation of Nuclear Armaments in Europe. The USSR and the USA began these negotiations in 1980.

By refusing to work out a solution that would maintain the approximate parity between the USSR and the USA and between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization, and by beginning the deployment of Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles in Western Europe, the USA disrupted the possibility of attaining a mutually acceptable agreement. In this situation the continuation of the talks on limiting nuclear arms in Europe would only have served as a cover for the actions of the USA and some other NATO countries to subvert European and world security. For that reason the Soviet Union felt it could not continue participating in these negotiations.

Limitation and Reduction of Strategic Armaments (START). Talks between the USSR and the USA began in 1982.

The overall strategic situation changed when in November 1983 the USA began to deploy new medium-range missiles in some West European countries. This compelled the Soviet Union to reconsider all the problems that were under scrutiny at the START talks, and the date for these talks was not set.

By blocking agreement on the above-mentioned key problems the USA wants to ensure to itself a free hand to escalate the arms race in each of the aforesaid military spheres.

Against the madness of another "crusade"

A LOOK AT THE AMERICAN JOURNAL FOREIGN AFFAIRS

In the USA the election race is in full swing. The President has now joined it. His first step was to issue — needless to say, not from himself personally but as a White House project — a public relations brochure claiming that in three years he had achieved more than any of his predecessors in a four-year term. Where he has been really successful is that by his policy he has brought international tension to an inordinately dangerous level, seriously impaired U.S.-Soviet relations, and unleashed an arms race of unprecedented proportions in U.S. history. The conversion of Western Europe into a launching pad for U.S. nuclear missiles targeted on the USSR and its allies, the start of the militarization of outer space, the massive stockpiling of chemical weapons, the lawlessness in Lebanon, the occupation of Grenada, and the undeclared war against Nicaragua are only a negligible part of the record of the present leaders in Washington. Driven by their hegemonistic ambitions and rabid anti-communism, they are cynically disregarding the interests of the peoples, including those of the American people, and gambling with the future of the entire human race.

Naturally, this gives the question of war and peace top priority in the nation's socio-political life. "Never before in U.S. history has such a great number of Americans expressed opposition to a government war policy,"¹ said Gus Hall at the 23rd national convention of the Communist Party USA in November 1983. The mounting anti-war feeling in the USA and the growing anxiety that Reagan's policies are a straight road to thermonuclear catastrophe are influencing the attitudes also of a section of the ruling class. An indication of this is the sharp ongoing debate in the U.S. bourgeois media, particularly in the journal *Foreign Affairs*.

This quarterly of 240-250 pages enjoys the reputation of being a focus of foreign policy thinking in the USA and in the West as a whole. In addition to contributions from prominent Americans it has often printed articles by Valérie Giscard d'Estaing, Helmut Schmidt, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, and other leaders of the capitalist world. It is published in New York by the Council on Foreign Relations, an

influential non-governmental body with close links to monopoly capital groups.

What are the contributors to *Foreign Affairs* writing about the U.S. administration's foreign policy? Let us straightaway note that there is a wide spectrum of attitudes. Those contributors who represent the most bellicose imperialist circles unreservedly back this policy. But the majority of contributors articulate the growing realization that the Reagan approach to international problems, to relations with the Soviet Union in the first place, is unacceptable in the epoch of nuclear missiles. This group urges a less adventurist and dangerous (in terms of consequences) strategy, which, they feel, would be more in keeping with the aim of stabilizing and consolidating the positions of U.S. imperialism in the world.

What aspects of the Reagan administration's foreign policy are criticized by those ideological spokesmen of monopoly capital who are to some extent inclined to reckon with international realities? What causes the split in the American ruling class on questions of global strategy?

The divisions between the administration and its opponents in the bourgeois camp begin with the philosophy behind the Reagan foreign policy, namely, bellicose anti-communism, which not only prescribes all official White House propaganda but also sets the line across the board for U.S. foreign policy.

"The present administration represents a mighty comeback of the messianic approach to foreign policy," writes Arthur Schlesinger Jr., historian and professor at the City University of New York, in the journal's issue for the fall of 1983. The U.S. leaders are so obsessed with ideological prejudices, he says, that they urge "a jihad, a crusade of extermination against the infidel." However, a "holy war" is "singularly unpromising in the epoch of nuclear weapons,"² Schlesinger concludes.

The bourgeois politicians, academics, and analysts writing for *Foreign Affairs* have no liking for existing socialism, but they feel that it would be much too hazardous for the USA to gamble on nuclear weapons in a confrontation with the USSR. And it is nuclear weapons that are assigned pride of place in the Reagan "crusade." The White House chief has proclaimed his administration's determination to

fight "evil," his term for socialism, with all the might available to the USA. The Pentagon is building up the material base for the first-strike doctrine at a quickening pace. The Defense Department's directive for military policy for 1984-1988 leaves no doubt on this score, saying that the USA would like to have a nuclear potential to enable it to "prevail even under the condition of a prolonged war."³

Many of the contributors to *Foreign Affairs* are also worried by the fact that the administration's "instinctive anti-communism," which is now the "talk of the town," precludes the very possibility of stable coexistence with the USSR, let alone promoting relations. They want an anti-communism of a different order, "rational" and flexible, which would not entail the risk of nuclear disaster to the USA and yet allow it to attain its aims in more subtle ways.

This is the tenor, in particular, of an article headed "Habitual Hatred — Unsound Policy" in which member of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee Senator Charles Mathias Jr. offers a detailed critique of the administration's guideline. The Senator is worried not only by the increased likelihood of a military conflict between the two nations but also by the fact that the USA has narrowed contacts with the USSR to the extent that it has lost the "levers" (negotiations, trade, credits, and so on) that might have allowed it to benefit by the "serious difficulties" that he believes are characteristic of the "communist system." But Reagan's stance toward the USSR, Mathias says, rules out every other approach save "sustained confrontation."⁴

The basic elements of this confrontation are now the reckless arms race, chiefly the nuclear arms race, and the conduct of an all-out economic and psychological war against the USSR. In this way the Washington crusaders count on achieving strategic superiority in order to compel the Soviet Union to make political concessions, "wearing it down" economically, and forcing the Soviet leadership to abandon its active foreign policy and solidarity with the world's forces of peace, democracy, progress and national liberation.⁵ This, writes the French political analyst Michel Tatu in *Foreign Affairs*, amounts to "applying global and strategic pressure intended to destabilize the entire Soviet system."⁶

This aspect of the Reagan "crusade" also comes under scrutiny in *Foreign Affairs*. The journal is concerned chiefly with whether the strategy of "total confrontation" with the USSR is justified from the standpoint of the ultimate objective of consolidating to the hilt the USA's position in the world. Will it, as the White

House believes, undermine existing socialism, cause the world communist movement to disintegrate, erode the progressive regimes in developing countries, and clear the way for U.S. world supremacy? Or is Washington, by going all out to inflame tension, taking an unnecessary risk, setting itself unattainable objectives, and throwing huge sums of money to the wind and thereby undercutting its own economic potential and international positions?

The most distinct division in the U.S. ruling class is seen over the question of the role of nuclear weapons in military-political strategy. The basic premise of the Pentagon's present doctrine is that after the needed "first-strike" capability has been created (it includes MX, Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles, and the Trident-2 submarine) the USA will be in a position to "prevail" in a nuclear war. The Pentagon strategists maintain that with the element of surprise and with nuclear warheads of a heightened accuracy a single crushing strike will destroy Soviet strategic systems and control centers and, for all practical purposes, deny the USSR the capability for retaliation. Many contributors to *Foreign Affairs* challenge these calculations.

Spurgeon M. Keeny and Wolfgang K.H. Panofsky debunk the "perception that the outcomes and scale of a nuclear conflict could be controlled by the doctrine or the types of nuclear weapons employed." They write: "The principal danger of doctrines that are directed at limiting nuclear conflicts is that they might... form the basis for action without appreciation of the physical facts and uncertainties of nuclear conflict."⁷

The innumerable scenarios produced in the USA in recent years indicate that practically any conflict involving the use of nuclear weapons will erupt into an all-out nuclear exchange.⁸ This is the firm view of American academic and even military circles not linked directly to the Reagan administration. "Little seems to be more dangerous," says Arthur Schlesinger Jr., "than the current fantasy of controlled and graduated nuclear war, with generals calibrating nuclear escalation like grand masters at the chessboard. Let us not be bamboozled by models. Once the nuclear threshold is breached, the game is over."⁹

Under nuclear parity, leading military experts and academics point out, the use of nuclear weapons by the USA would inevitably spell out its own destruction. "The USSR," writes the former Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara, "is obviously prepared to respond if NATO chooses to initiate nuclear war."¹⁰

Amplifying these words in an interview with *Newsweek*, he said: "... If NATO initiated the use of nuclear weapons, it would almost surely lead to the destruction of Western civilization."¹¹

Scientific data is piling up to show that a nuclear war would result not only in colossal loss of life and destruction but also in a climatic catastrophe imperiling the conditions for biological life on earth. This was the conclusion drawn at the Post-Nuclear-War World Conference held in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in April 1983. It attracted nearly 100 people from the U.S. academic world. Because of this conference's wide ramifications, *Foreign Affairs* invited the eminent astrophysicist Carl Sagan to comment on these ramifications. In this comment Sagan stresses that a massive nuclear strike would be tantamount to suicide for the attacker even if he were not subjected to a retaliatory strike: the irreversible changes in the climate, the biosphere, and the environment would not let him survive.¹²

A strong impression was made in and outside the USA by an article written for *Foreign Affairs* jointly by four persons who have held high posts in the U.S. government — McGeorge Bundy, George F. Kennan, Robert S. McNamara, and Gerard Smith. In this article, which incurred the cold displeasure of Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, they demonstrated the unacceptability of the first-strike doctrine and urged the government to undertake a "no-first-use" commitment.¹³

While they are opposed to the Reagan administration putting its stake mainly on nuclear weapons, McNamara and like-minded people urge a substantial build-up of conventional weapons. What they want is not so much a reduction as a redistribution of the military budget. Further, these critics of the administration are suggesting not the renunciation of nuclear weapons as such but the renunciation of the approach to them as a means of warfare.¹⁴ They contrast the Pentagon's present military doctrine to the doctrines of previous administrations. There is a big difference between them, of course. But it should also be realized that the doctrine of a first strike and a winnable nuclear war did not appear overnight. It is the product of the USA's undeviating post-war line toward improving mass destruction, chiefly nuclear weapons. It is well known that U.S. imperialism had counted on using them under certain conditions. Professor George F. Kennan, who is one of the most experienced foreign policy experts in the USA, said: "But we must remember that it has been we Americans who, at almost every step of the road, have taken the

lead in the development of this sort of weaponry. It was we who first produced and tested such a device; we who were the first to raise its destructiveness to a new level with the hydrogen bomb; we who introduced the multiple warhead; we who have declined every proposal for the renunciation of the principle of 'first use'; and we alone... who have used the weapon in anger against others."¹⁵

What, in the long run, has this policy brought its initiators? More security, as Reagan argues? No way. Besides, considerations of security have not guided those who ever since the nuclear weapon was developed have used it as the principal lever for blackmailing and pressuring the Soviet Union, planned the nuclear bombardment of Soviet cities, and are now once again running around with the lunatic idea of "prevailing" over socialism. But instead of "decisive superiority" over the socialist community all they have achieved is a higher level of strategic confrontation. By beginning the deployment of first-strike weapons in West European countries and forcing the USSR and its allies to take counter-measures, the Reagan administration has brought the world — and the United States itself — dramatically closer to the deadly threshold.

The USA's present policy is a model of what policy should not be like in the nuclear age. International tension inflamed by the USA has now brought into sharper focus than ever before the need for realism and common sense in the approach to American-Soviet relations and the importance of cooperation between the USA and the USSR to prevent another world war.

Elements of such realism are to be found in some of the articles in *Foreign Affairs*. Republican Senator Charles Mathias Jr., whom I have already mentioned, urges the U.S. administration to stop its attempts to deal with the USSR by means of "megaphone diplomacy" (i.e., intimidation and threats) and lay the foundations for understanding in areas where this is possible. He feels that the USA bears the responsibility for the tension in its relations with the Soviet Union. He writes that "the particular barriers we would have to lower are largely ones that we raised ourselves... Thus, the first gestures would have to be unilateral American ones."¹⁶

Professor of the University of Ohio John L. Gaddis, who has written several books on foreign policy, notes that it is in the interests of the USA to achieve constructive results in disarmament and that it should ratify SALT-2, resume the talks on a total ban on nuclear tests, and begin reducing both medium-range and

tactical nuclear weapons in Europe.¹⁷

Also indicative is that in calling for a restructuring of relations with the USSR, spokesmen of circles opposed to Reagan hold that it is necessary to refute his "Soviet threat" myth — the attribution to the Soviet Union of an aspiration for strategic superiority and an intention to start a war against the USA. Robert H. Johnson, Resident Associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, writes that these are purely American inventions used to justify the rapid build-up of the USA's military capability. By reducing the Soviet aims to an imagined drive for military superiority, he says, the White House and the forces behind it "project upon the Russians a way of thinking that is characteristic of American foreign policy" since it is the Americans who "tend to equate power with military capabilities."¹⁸

Of course, those contributors who castigate the outrageous distortions of Soviet aims and intentions are likewise far from any radical reconsideration of the "Soviet threat" myth. What they want is the abandonment of no more than the extreme form of the Sovietophobia that is used as the ideological basis for the Reagan administration's course toward confrontation with the USSR.

American messianism, the USA's pretensions to unchallenged leadership, the simplistic vision of the world where the Soviet Union is seen as the enemy in everything and in all cases, and the proclamation of military response as the most effective way of resolving foreign policy problems irritate and vex even those ruling circles of NATO countries that on the whole follow in the wake of the Reagan line. Stanley Hoffman, Chairman of Harvard University's Center for European Studies, writes in this connection: "Europeans ... worry about the U.S. tendency to give everywhere priority to the Soviet threat ... They worry about the administration's apparent belief that no dialogue with Moscow is possible unless the Soviets accept American notions of restraint ... They worry about what they see as an American nostalgia for the 1950s, for the era of American nuclear superiority ... and unquestioned American leadership."¹⁹

Reagan's "crusade" against socialism is founded on total misconceptions about the Soviet Union's economic potential and the trends of its socio-political development. This view is being accepted by a growing body of American foreign policy experts, including leading Sovietologists.

The feeling of many of them is summed up in an article headed "Reagan and Russia" contributed by Seweryn Bialer, Director of Columbia

University's Research Institute on International Change, and Professor Joan Afferica. They write that the U.S. administration's principal objectives "to effect a gradual transformation or a collapse of the Soviet system of government" and change the direction of Soviet foreign policy are fallacious, "maximalist, and unrealistic." The Soviet Union, they point out, has "enormous unused reserves of political and social stability that suffice to endure the deepest difficulties."²⁰

A similar view is offered by John L. Gaddis. After three years of Reagan's tenure in the White House, he writes, "there seems to prevail in the higher circles of this administration the belief that if only we 'stay the course' on defense spending, we can ultimately force the Russians to bankrupt their economy in the effort to keep up. If the historical record is any guide, we should be wary of this vulture-like argument: predictions of a Soviet economic collapse have been circulating since 1917 and it has not happened yet."²¹

The U.S. administration's prognostications are debunked also by a large group of American experts, who compiled a two-volume survey of the Soviet economy for the beginning of the 1980s on assignment from the Congressional Joint Economic Committee.²²

What is the point of departure of the U.S. leaders in their course toward "exhausting" the Soviet Union? Actually, the stereotypes of anti-Soviet propaganda that fit into the ideological prejudices of Reagan and his aides, but these do not stand the test of reality. A compelling illustration of this is the failure of Reagan's sanctions relative to the trans-European gas pipeline. In the summer of 1983 the Office of Technology Assessment of the U.S. Congress presented a special report stating that the White House's interdictions and restrictions on trade with the USSR had not significantly affected its economic and technological development. It confirmed the opinion of those who had from the outset believed that the "economic war" would rather foster a deterioration of relations between the USA and its West European allies than a debilitation of the Soviet system.

This look at the journal *Foreign Affairs* shows that a large body of opinion within the U.S. Establishment is worried about the foreign policy currently pursued by Washington. This anxiety is seen in the sharp criticism of the administration in the media, in the growth of opposition in the Senate and House of Representatives to the gigantic military budget, and in the nuclear freeze movement that involves very large sections of American society.

True, official Washington propaganda has

lately been trying to create the impression that Reagan has moderated his tone, that he has reconsidered some of his attitudes, and is prepared to move toward normalizing relations with the USSR. However, if a judgment is made on the basis of what the White House does rather than of what it says, it is that Reagan's "peaceableness" and his statements about wanting peace are nothing more than a political, situation ploy designed to calm American public opinion in an election year. The USA continues to inflame international tension, refuses to modify its unrealistic approach to arms limitation and reduction, and goes on with its preparations for war.

The White House and the Pentagon are doing everything to speed up the mammoth strategic program for the 1980s. MX intercontinental ballistic missiles, designed to destroy Soviet strategic installations, are to be deployed in a number of states beginning in 1986. It is planned to allocate an astronomical sum of nearly 27 billion dollars in 1985-1989 for the development of an anti-missile system in outer space to safeguard the USA against a retaliatory strike in a nuclear war.²³ The development of a "third generation of weapons" is in full swing at the Pentagon's research centers: these are based on the release of directed energy rays. The physicist Edward Teller, called the "father" of the U.S. hydrogen bomb, says that by comparison the present armaments would be mere toys. The administration has already intimated that if Reagan is returned as President 2,000 billion dollars would be spent on the USA's further military build-up in the period up to the end of the current decade.²⁴

Thus, all the signs are that imperialism's most bellicose circles have no intention whatever of surrendering their positions. But it is also true that at every turn the Reagan policies are coming into conflict with the realities of international life. The critique of the present Washington strategy in *Foreign Affairs* is a further illustration of the untenability and futility of a policy based on bellicose anti-Sovietism, an unbridled arms race, and confrontation with existing socialism.

Alex Ason

1. Gus Hall, *Main Report to the 23rd National Convention*, Cleveland, Ohio, November 10-13, 1983, III. *The World in Crisis*, p. 4.

2. Arthur Schlesinger Jr., "Foreign Policy and the American Character," *Foreign Affairs*, Fall 1983, pp. 5, 7.

3. *International Herald Tribune*, August 25, 1982.

4. Charles Mathias, Jr., "Habitual Hatred — Unsound Policy," *Foreign Affairs*, Summer 1983, p. 1020.

5. *International Herald Tribune*, May 23, 1982; March 11, 1983.

6. Michel Tatu, "U.S.-Soviet Relations: A Turning Point?", *Foreign Affairs*, Winter 1983/1984, p. 600.

7. Spurgeon M. Keeny, Jr., and Wolfgang K.H. Panofsky, "Mad Versus Nuts: The Mutual Hostage Relationship of the Superpowers," *Foreign Affairs*, Winter 1981/1982, p. 287. Keeny was Assistant Director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency from 1977 to 1981; Panofsky served for a number of years as White House consultant on science and disarmament.

8. *Foreign Affairs*, Winter 1983/1984, p. 261.

9. Albert Schlesinger Jr., op.cit., p. 11.

10. Robert S. McNamara, "The Military Role of Nuclear Weapons: Perceptions and Misperceptions," *Foreign Affairs*, Fall 1983, p. 67.

11. *Newsweek*, December 5, 1983, p. 17.

12. Carl Sagan, "Nuclear War and Climatic Catastrophe: Some Policy Implications," *Foreign Affairs*, Winter 1983/1984, pp. 276, 292.

13. McGeorge Bundy, George F. Kennan, Robert S. McNamara, Gerard Smith, "Nuclear Weapons and the Atlantic Alliance," *Foreign Affairs*, Spring 1982.

14. Robert S. McNamara, op.cit., p. 272.

15. George F. Kennan, *The Nuclear Delusion. Soviet-American Relations in the Atomic Age*, New York, 1982, pp. 177-178.

16. Charles Mathias Jr., op.cit., p. 1025.

17. John L. Gaddis, "The Rise, Fall and Future of Détente," *Foreign Affairs*, Winter 1983/1984, p. 370.

18. Robert H. Johnson, "Periods of Peril. The Window of Vulnerability and Other Myths," *Foreign Affairs*, Spring 1983, pp. 950, 968.

19. Stanley Hoffman, "NATO and Nuclear Weapons: Reason and Unreason," *Foreign Affairs*, Winter 1981/1982, p. 342.

20. Seweryn Bialer, Joan Afferica, "Reagan and Russia," *Foreign Affairs*, Winter 1982/1983, pp. 262-263.

21. John L. Gaddis, op.cit., p. 368.

22. *Soviet Economy in the 1980s: Problems and Prospects*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1982.

23. *International Herald Tribune*, October 19, 1983.

24. *Ibid.*, February 4-5, 1984.

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The Thatcher war

Tom Dalyell, MP, *Thatcher's Torpedo. The Sinking of the "Belgrano"*, Published by Cecil Woolf, London, 1983, 80 pp.

The Falklands (Malvinas) war continues to be the subject of ceaseless debate in Britain, not least over the reasons for the Tory government's specific actions. Why was the Task Force sent in such haste? Why was the Argentine cruiser *General Belgrano* sunk?

At the time there were few serious political commentators who swallowed Mrs. Thatcher's chauvinistic rhetoric, or who doubted that sooner or later real negotiations would have to take place with Argentina over the destiny of the islands. Even after the Task Force had set sail there was a widespread feeling that it would take some weeks for it to arrive, plenty of time for negotiations and a settlement of sorts. Indeed, it was argued that it would be impossible for such a military mission to succeed — because of logistical and meteorological factors.

In the House of Commons itself it was agreed that force — the show of force — was essential to back the negotiating process, and this argument played an important part in shaping the response of the Parliamentary Labour Party. It led to the fatal error of support for the despatch of the Task Force, and though the PLP later was extremely critical of Tory strategy, this initial support enabled the Thatcher government to establish its strategy and mobilize opinion in the country.

In that situation, to question the sending of the Task Force was to invite an accusation of treachery. The political analysts who saw the stupidity of the venture were reduced to voicing their scepticism in a very muted way, and many ordinary people who were deeply worried and uneasy about the war saw no way of expressing this uneasiness.

There was a protest movement, however, and while the demonstrators were small in number they came from a broad spectrum of opinion.

The Communist Party of Great Britain took the approach from the start that the Task Force had to be opposed, that military force, far from

being a means of strengthening negotiations, was an *alternative* to negotiation. The party condemned the Argentine military takeover of the islands while making it clear that Britain should renounce its claim to sovereignty and agree to constructive negotiations.¹

One of the Labour MPs who played an outstanding part in exposing the reality of what happened produced this 80-page book, which is based on his probing questions to the Prime Minister in parliament and on some studies of the conflict.

Tom Dalyell feels that for Mrs. Thatcher the Falklands was largely a "personalized war." She had total overall control: "For 33 days, between 2nd April and 5th May (1982), when she needed wise counsel, she called no meeting of her full cabinet to discuss the Falklands" (p. 80). As is well known, the experienced Lord Carrington, Foreign Secretary at the time, resigned. His replacement, Francis Pym, was never one to be taken into Mrs. Thatcher's confidence.

The author deals particularly with what he sees as a crucially important decision — the order to sink the *General Belgrano*. This was horrific in itself, leading to the loss of over 300 lives. But a further horror, as Tom Dalyell points out, is that in his view the cruiser had been under close surveillance for two days before the order to sink her was given, and that she was in any case moving away from the Exclusion Zone² and any position that might pose a threat to the British Task Force.

The author's persistent questions brought out in the open many inconsistencies in the official review of the events. Thus, Sir John Nott, Defense Minister at the time, is quoted as saying, "On May 2nd, HMS *Conqueror*³ detected the Argentine cruiser *General Belgrano*," the implication being that as soon as found, the cruiser was sunk — an ordinary naval operation. But then Tom Dalyell quotes another report, which sheds light on what really happened: "We were asked to look for and find the *General Belgrano* group," said Commander Wreford-Brown of HMS *Conqueror*. "... We located her on our passive sonar and

sighted her visually on the afternoon of 1st May. We took up a position astern and followed the *General Belgrano* for over 30 hours . . . We remained several miles astern and deep below her. We had instructions to attack if she went inside the total exclusion zone" (p. 78). And then the following took place. Commander Wreford-Brown said that on 2nd May he received a signal from the Commander-in-Chief, Fleet Headquarters at Northwood, which made a change in the rules of engagement and allowed him to attack the Argentine cruiser outside the total exclusion zone.

The author believes that the order to fire the torpedoes that sank the *General Belgrano* was designed also, and primarily, to wreck the Peruvian peace initiative then under way.

Other details dug out by him indicate that a highly misleading version of events was consistently fed to parliament and the public.

The book leads to the disturbing conclusion that if small wars are fought in this way, with

political ambition and domestic political considerations being so dominant, what can be expected in a more serious case? Who will believe the British government's assurances about controls on nuclear missiles being dependable?

The lesson surely is that repudiation of force in international relations, respect for the principles of the United Nations, and disarmament are the guarantee of humanity's survival.

Gerry Pocock

Political Committee member,
Executive Committee of the
Communist Party of Great Britain

1. The attitude of the Communist Party of Great Britain is discussed in Gerry Pocock, "The Madness of Military Gambles," WMR, No. 7, 1982. — Ed.

2. The zone marked out by the British government as out of bounds for Argentine vessels, a zone in which they ran the risk of being sunk. — Ed.

3. This vessel is a submarine. — Ed.

Where they rule with the whip

Nicholas Haysom, *Ruling with the Whip*. Report on the Violation of Human Rights in the Ciskei. Center for Applied Legal Studies, University of Witwatersrand, South Africa, 1983, 90 pp.

The title of this book accurately characterizes the regime ruling South Africa, the only country in the world where the doctrine of racial superiority is the cornerstone of the state structure and sanctifies genocide against the African people.

In South Africa, racism is not merely the ranging of one section of the population against another by means of discriminatory acts. It is a minutely planned system of social, economic, and political ethnic division propped up by military and police terror. Its objective is chiefly to ensure a privileged status to the white community by means of the most brutal oppression of the Black majority. One of its most monstrous aspects is the country's division into "white" South Africa and 10 special tribal homelands or bantustans for Africans. The latter are artificial entities located in barren, desert regions, bereft of mineral and energy resources, and entirely dependent on Pretoria. The vast majority of the able-bodied population has to work in "white" industrialized regions.

This book, published by the Center for Applied Legal Studies at the University of

Witwatersrand, South Africa, is about the life and struggles of the population of one of them, the Ciskei.* A huge array of facts and a profound knowledge of South African reality have enabled the author, who teaches at the university, to produce a powerful, documented indictment.

In his short but informative introduction he reveals the background to the granting of "independence" to the Ciskei, describes its economy, administrative structure, repressive apparatus, and racist-designed legislation. He gives a political portrait of Lennox Sebe, the head of this pseudo-state. His career is typical for African collaborators who have betrayed their people for mercenary interests. A former minor official in King Williams Town, he ingratiated himself with his white masters by his zeal and slavish servility. Ignoring the total opposition of the Xhosas, concentrated in the Ciskei, Pretoria appointed Sebe to head the local "government" in December 1981. Power quickly went to the head of this puppet of the criminal regime. Two years later he appointed himself "President for Life" and amassed a

*This is the fourth bantustan to be proclaimed "independent." That this is a fiction is seen if only from the fact that even some of its "governmental" agencies are in racist South Africa. Pretoria actually lays down the domestic and foreign policy of the Ciskei. — Ed.

huge fortune. This megalomaniac, a brutal, greedy and corrupt servant of the racists, has a pathological hatred for the ANC and the SACP.

The book gives an account of the bus boycott organized by the people of Mdantsane, the main dormitory town of the bantustan Ciskei. Thousands upon thousands of workers commute daily to the city of East London in the "white zone," i.e., formally in another state.

Since Mdantsane is vast and widespread, the most convenient form of transport is the bus service operated by the Ciskei Transport Corporation, in which the "Ciskei government" has a 50 per cent shareholding. The CTC operates over 650 buses to transport nearly 50,000 commuters daily. In May 1983 the CTC announced an increase in bus fares. The workers elected a committee of 10 to negotiate with the CTC. After the bus company refused to negotiate, a decision was adopted at a mass meeting to boycott the buses, to resort to a method of struggle used successfully many times before by the South African workers. People began commuting to East London by train. As Haysom writes, "many of the commuters have to walk between 12 and 32 kilometers a day to the station, depending on the zone or unit of Mdantsane they live in . . . This may mean leaving for work at 3.30 a.m. and returning after 8 p.m." (p. 27).

The boycott was met by a frightening reign of terror. Sebe and his thugs used various forms of harassment, intimidation and violence to break the resistance of the people. These thugs included the police, troops and special vigilante groups.

From the first day people who used cars and taxis were beaten up by these semi-fascist hoodlums. Violence was used also against train commuters. Daily the commuters were asked to produce all sorts of official and unofficial documents, including membership cards to the Ciskei National Independence Party (the only party functioning legally in the bantustan) and proof that they had contributed money to erect a statue of the "Life President," which Sebe himself had commissioned. On their way to work workers were shot at indiscriminately and in the period July-December 1983 more than 90 people were gunned down. In the first three months of the boycott more than a thousand were arrested. Torture was used on an extensive scale. This included, "physical assault: the helicopter (the suspension of a crouching victim by means of a pole which runs behind the victim's knees and over his elbows); hooding (the application of a canvas or wet sack hood over the victim's head so that the victim is asphyxiated until or just before he loses consciousness); electric shock; suspen-

sion by means of manacling one hand to a high crossbeam"; and in at least one case, the victim was "dragged behind a boat by means of his handcuffed hands" (p. 23).

The narration of the bestial acts committed by the cutthroats evokes pain and anger. The vigilantes, housed in the changing-rooms underneath the grandstand of a sports stadium, herded some 80 detainees at a time, men and women, into two of the rooms, each seven or eight meters square. These unfortunate people were held without food, water, blankets or toilet facilities. Thus people were forced to relieve themselves in the detention rooms. The detainees included children and young people, who, like everybody else, were routinely tortured. Women detainees were beaten and raped.

Trade union leaders and members, in particular of the South African Allied Workers Union, have been dealt severe punishment. Thosamila Gqweta, President of the SAAWU, has been detained an estimated eight times, and Siza Njekelana, Vice-President of SAAWU, at least six times. Although Gqweta was never charged he was badly tortured. His mother and uncle were burned to death in a home which was wired from outside, making escape impossible. His girlfriend was shot dead by the police when they opened fire on mourners returning from the funeral.

The butchers did not spare even school-children. Many were arrested and beaten up for coming out in support of their parents. In spite of that, school boycotts were successfully organized, not only in Mdantsane but also in the surrounding areas.

The authorities were unable to cow the people into submission. The following vividly describes the heroism of the fighters against the arbitrary rule by Sebe and his myrmidons: "People sing freedom songs as the train leaves the station at Mdantsane. Singing continues until the train reaches its final destination, apart from periods when announcements are made, meetings announced, new developments in the boycott are discussed . . . Union members encourage their fellow-passengers to join unions . . . It is apparently dangerous to be a CNIP supporter in such a carriage. Persons caught tape-recording the singing of freedom songs and the speeches of commuters are thrown out of the moving carriage" (p. 84).

The bus boycott has been totally successful. Haysom rightly notes: "Given the scale of the harassment, the persistent inconvenience, the extensive violence, the nearness of death, other communities would have buckled to an authority that appears to know no bounds in imposing

its will" (pp. 80-81). The conflict assumed the dimension of a "clash between the regime . . . and a people who have begun to identify every unpalatable aspect of their daily lives with the ruling regime and particularly with their Life President" (p. 81). This all-round remarkable resistance has earned the respect and solidarity of people throughout South Africa and the world. In support of their struggle, Umkhonto We Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC, carried out a number of attacks on offices of the Ciskei authorities in Johannesburg and Durban.

Eight months after the bus boycott began, Sebe was forced to reduce the fare increase.

In the beginning businessmen ignored the plight of the Ciskei workers, but they too have changed their attitude. The courageous resistance of the people of Mdantsane compelled them to put pressure on Pretoria to bring its puppet to his senses. Fearing the anger of the people, the "Life President" sought temporary asylum in East London. To keep his job he had to order the detention of his brother, head of the Ciskei Intelligence Service, the ministers of the interior and agriculture, a senior vigilante, who had earlier been appointed to run Mdantsane, and senior bureaucrats and police officers. Also arrested, but later released because of pressure from Pretoria, was Major-General Minnaar, a white security policeman who had been sent to set up and operate the Ciskei Intelligence Ser-

vice. Thus, instead of breaking the will of the people, Lennox Sebe's own private army, police and bureaucracy are coming apart at the seams.

By exposing the brutality of the regime and by meticulously portraying the heroic resistance of the people of Mdantsane, Haysom has done a notable service for the struggle against apartheid inside and outside South Africa. He shows clearly that the people in the bantustans are not independent of racist South Africa. This tribute to a remarkable section of the South African working class shows in a practical way why the working class is the main force for revolutionary change. It is above all the working class acting in concert which possesses the capacity to endure the most difficult and frightening aspects of the struggle. It is their united action which galvanizes other strata of the population and brings about stresses and strains within the ruling circles and monopoly capital.

The courage, heroism, determination, commitment and discipline shown by the workers of Mdantsane will certainly give an impetus to the liberation movement in South Africa. The oppressed and exploited masses, led by the ANC and the SACP, will never give up the struggle for a united, democratic, independent and progressive South Africa.

Essop Pahad
South African journalist

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