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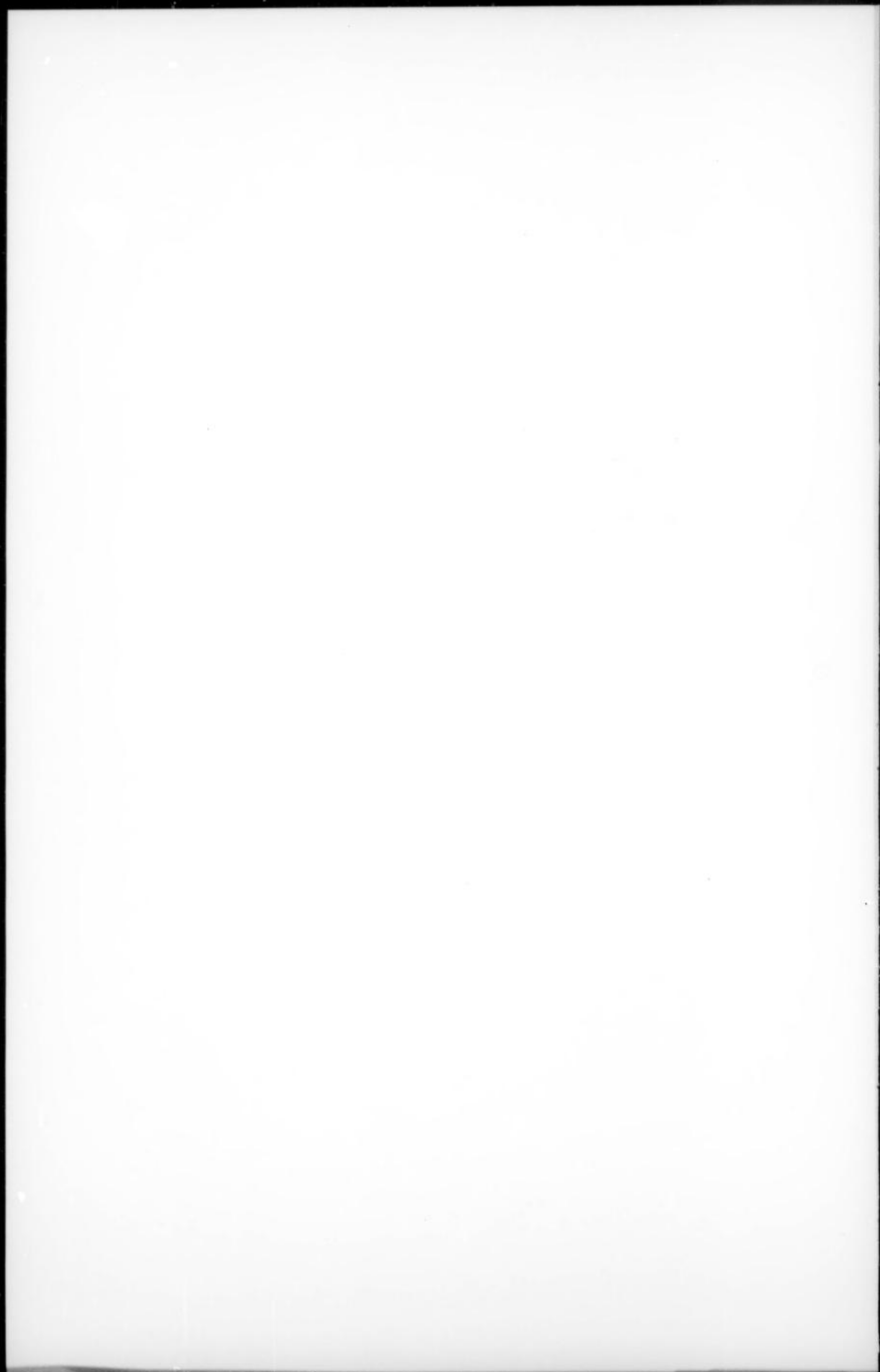
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features

The Ideological Impact of the October Revolution on Modern World Politics

Discussing the importance of the Great October Revolution for the historical destiny of mankind, V. I. Lenin took care to single out the issue of peace, of the struggle against war. He wrote that 'in this question, too, our October Revolution marked the beginning of a new era in world history', that it marked 'the first victory in the struggle to abolish war'.¹

In the articles presented below prominent figures of the communist and working class movement speak about the impact made on today's world politics by the socio-political and ideological factors of peace born of the October Revolution, about their role in attaining today's most urgent and important objective—that of preventing nuclear war.

Firmness, Restraint and Constructive Stand

Carlos Rafael Rodriguez – Political
Bureau member, Communist Party of Cuba
Central Committee, Deputy Chairman of
the State Council and the Council of Ministers
of the Republic of Cuba

THE victory of the proletariat of Russia, led by the Bolshevik party, won 67 years ago and the establishment of socialist government in the former empire of the tsars led to the emergence on the world scene of history's first state for which peace was a fundamental and permanent objective. The well-known French Socialist Jean Jaures said that imperialism was a carrier of war just as a cloud was a carrier of rain. One might add, in the same vein, that socialism is a vehicle of peace.

It was not a spontaneous decision of Lenin and his comrades but the logic of their entire revolutionary programme which led the new government of workers and peasants to proclaim, on October 26 (November 8), 1917, the historic Decree on Peace calling on all peoples and governments to immediately conclude a just democratic peace, a peace, it was added, without annexations or indemnities. Obviously, while proclaiming peace and seeking ways to attain it, the newborn

socialist state was also ready to unswervingly defend the rights of its people against aggressive international reaction. And it did have to defend them from the outset.

Since then and to this day the Soviet government has used every opportunity in its tireless efforts to ensure durable peace and attain universal and complete disarmament. If one turns to the history of the discussions the League of Nations conducted over issues of peace and disarmament (the United States did not join this organisation for political reasons), one will inevitably recall the consistent proposals of the USSR delegation concerning both general disarmament and partial steps in that direction. The definition of aggression has also been a subject invariably followed by the Soviet Union and its representatives.

As to peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems we know that in 1920 Lenin gave this reply to the question of a correspondent of Universal Service, a US news agency, about the basis of peace between the Soviet Union and the United States: 'Let the American capitalists leave us alone. We shall not touch them.'²

Those obsessed, like Reagan, with anti-communism try to falsify Marxism-Leninism and slander the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, so as to charge them with the intention to establish socialism through war. But there is nothing in the countries of existing socialism which could confirm these accusations.

The claim that world wars are inevitable is by no means a product of Marxism-Leninism. True, our theory does maintain that capitalism leads to war. This trend is a reality, and it would be naive to discount it. However, both Lenin and his heirs have demonstrated that a firm and rational policy (naturally, the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community are aware that they must be ready to repulse by armed force any aggressive forays) can rely on the striving for peace common to all peoples, including the peoples of the capitalist powers, so as to secure support for the positions of peace and mutually acceptable proposals which makes it possible to settle complex problems of international politics by non-military means.

Such has been the invariable objective of the Soviet Union. And this is what shapes its course today, when Reagan's hidebound anti-communism puts world peace in danger. Soviet policy combines firmness and restraint in the face of threats with proposals of constructive formulas for negotiations aimed at reducing international tensions through gradual disarmament and at removing them completely through universal and complete disarmament. Such proposals are being made continuously by the USSR and other members of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation. They have been advanced repeatedly and consistently in statements by Soviet leaders—Leonid Brezhnev, Yuri Andropov and Konstantin Chernenko.

The threat is real but not inevitable. Working to prevent war are the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community, hundreds of millions of workers, intellectuals and peasants not only in the vast world of developing countries but also in developed capitalist nations, including NATO member states—a fact demonstrated by the recent action of peace champions in Bonn, London, New York and Paris.

Cuba's Communists draw their conviction that peace can be saved precisely from their faith in socialism as a system committed to peace, from their faith in the will of the peoples to prevent nuclear conflagration. But we should not entertain any illusions. No doubt, the possibility that irresponsible forces can unleash war does exist. Today, these forces shape the policy pursued by the US government and try to impose this course on their NATO allies. The latter—despite the noticeable contradictions among them—bow to the reactionary quarters of US imperialism; this has made it possible to deploy new US nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

Cuba, where socialism is a vibrant reality, is not only concerned over the threat of world war but also works to preserve peace. We are also aware of the danger of a war which, having started in Central America and the Caribbean, could expand considerably, affecting, in this or that way, all of Latin America. This refers not to an imperialist attempt at using armed force to solve what might be described as East-

West contradictions, that is, contradictions between socialism and capitalism, but to a war born of the interventionism of the current US Administration, of its striving to impose its policy on Central America and to make it impossible for the socialist system in Cuba to survive and for genuine revolutions to occur in Central America or other parts of Latin America.

Cuba's response to this threat is connected with our struggle for peaceful coexistence and peaceful settlement of international disputes. The policy platform of the Communist Party of Cuba sets the objective of safeguarding peace as a prime and principled objective of the party's and the nation's foreign policy. At the United Nations, in the non-aligned movement, in the Group of 77 and at other international forums Cuba holds a firm and consistent position, advocating peace and doing all it can to bring about any, even minimal steps aimed at the prevention of war. At the local, Latin American level we also favour peaceful solutions. In his letter to the Presidents of Mexico, Colombia and Venezuela Fidel Castro expounded the motives behind our support for the initiative of the Contadora Group and stated that Central American problems, including those connected with the struggle of the Salvadoran people for a truly democratic solution to their present dramatic situation, must be settled only by negotiation.

Cuba has been and will be exerting all possible efforts in this direction. It is ready to assume—in what concerns the Central American and Caribbean region—all obligations resulting from the talks now in progress and from the decisions which will be taken by the government of Nicaragua and the Sandinist Front, by the revolutionaries of El Salvador and other Latin American countries. Naturally, this requires that the United States government, too, undertake appropriate obligations and share the responsibility; without this any peace in Central America will be unthinkable for the United States and none other is the source of the real threat.

At the same time, Cuba is strengthening its defence capacity, for a Cuban revolution which is weak and unable to repulse with its well-trained armed forces and all its people military imperialist aggression, could only whet the appetite of imperialists like Reagan. After all, they have demonstrated in Grenada that they have a taste for easy victories over peoples who cannot rebuff them. Reiterating its readiness for talks, including those concerning the possibility of examining, on the basis of mutual respect, the disputes between the governments of Cuba and the United States, our republic also contributes to peace by making the imperialists think before committing the mistakes of going through with the plans of attacking it.

In celebrating the anniversary of the October Revolution, we not only pay tribute to the proletariat which was the first to reach the peak the French workers had begun to climb towards during the Paris Commune. We not only pay homage to the peoples of the USSR who bore the brunt of the burden and responsibility in the struggle to prevent nazism and all forces of facism, sworn enemies of peace, from overrunning Europe and the world. In celebrating the anniversary of the October Revolution, we are also mobilising to uphold peace by any means—naturally, including efforts to strengthen our countries' defences, for without this the obvious power of peoples could have an insufficiently dissuading effect.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, pp. 55, 56.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. 30, p. 365.

Our Invariable Solidarity with the Soviet Union

Franz Muhri – Chairman, Communist
Party of Austria

THE Great October Socialist Revolution whose 67th anniversary we are celebrating, the formation of the USSR, the emergence, development and consolidation of the first socialist state and the building of socialism on one-sixth of the world's surface—all this is connected with the great progress and transformations which are of importance not only to the peoples of the Soviet Union. The October Revolution is also of great and everlasting significance for the international working class and liberation movements and for the peace struggle. I would like to illustrate this point by citing, as a specific example, the historical experience of my country.

The victory of the October Revolution stirred up the Austrian working class movement and gave a powerful impetus to the struggle of working people. It contributed to the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, the proclamation of the Austrian Republic in November 1918 and the establishment of parliamentary bourgeois democracy. Between 1918 and 1920 Austria's workers secured the introduction of a number of reforms; for example, an eight-hour workday was introduced and legislation was passed on production councils, on paid leaves and the like. The bourgeoisie was forced to make these concessions for fear that, inspired by the ideas of the October Revolution, the working class might start to 'speak Russian'—that is, turn the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist one.

The Soviet Union was the only great power which refused to recognise the annexation of Austria by nazi Germany in March 1938. Thanks to the consistent Soviet position, the Moscow Declaration of 1943 proclaimed the restoration of an independent Austria as one of the military goals of the Allies. The Soviet Union made the decisive contribution to the liberation of Europe, including our country, from the dictatorship of Hitler's nazism and from foreign subjugation. The USSR paid for it with huge losses. Thus the Soviet people carried out the greatest mission of liberation in history. The liberation of our country enabled its three democratic parties to sign, on April 27, 1945, a document on the establishment of the Second Austrian Republic. One of the signatories was Johann Koplenig, Chairman of the Communist Party of Austria who had been its leader for decades.

The Soviet Union, the men and officers of the Soviet Army effectively helped the Austrian people in their first steps to rehabilitate the economy, to combat hunger. It was the USSR which, relying on its increased international prestige and displaying consistency, frustrated the schemes of the Western powers to partition Austria and subsequently drag it into a Western military bloc. Conclusion of the State Treaty on the Restoration of an Independent and Democratic Austria and the voluntary acceptance by the National Council of the status of permanent neutrality on October 26, 1955 became possible only when the Western powers and the leaders of the Socialist and the People's parties which headed the country's government at the time had been convinced that the Soviet Union would never permit Austria to be turned into a Western forward base in the struggle against the socialist countries. The State Treaty, partially incorporated into the Republic's Constitution, contains important provisions on ensuring independence and democratic rights and freedoms and on preventing the emergence of a new fascist threat. Permanent neutrality proved a great boon to our country. Since then, the development of Austria's political, economic and cultural ties with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries has been, on the whole, positive. There is every reason to view these relations as an example of the way the opportunities inherent in peaceful coexistence and mutually

beneficial cooperation between countries with different social systems can be realised. Today, economic contacts with the socialist countries preserve some 150,000 jobs in Austria. Meanwhile, the growing pressure from competition on the part of the monopolies, the European Community and the United States contributes, together with other factors, to long-term unemployment in our country which is increasingly affecting our young people too.

One would be perfectly justified to say that the victory of the October Revolution and the existence of the Soviet Union have always had a positive impact on the destiny of the Austrian people. But for the USSR, a sovereign, neutral and independent Austria would be nonexistent in today's world.

The Decree on Peace was among the first legal instruments adopted by Soviet government 67 years ago. Since then, peace has invariably remained the basis of Soviet foreign policy. If today we can say that the peoples of Europe, including the Austrian people, have lived in peace for almost four decades since the end of World War II, they owe it above all to the existence of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, to their consistent policy of peace. This is what has made it possible to prevent a third world war. Socialism and peace are inseparable. And so we say: the stronger socialism is, the stronger peace is.

For the possibility of preventing a world war (and this war would inevitably turn nuclear and destroy all mankind) to become a firmly established reality, it is also imperative to step up the struggle by the nations of Western Europe, of the entire capitalist world. In this connection the Austrian Communists attach great importance to the peace movement. It has emerged as a force which the imperialist ruling quarters can no longer discount. A movement for peace has appeared in our country too. Cooperating within it are people of different parties and philosophies—Christians, Socialists, Communists and those without any party affiliation. Austria's Communists are making a constructive contribution to the staging of action and the solution of the tasks identified by peace activists as a result of a democratic discussion. We uphold the platform of the national peace movement which prompts the Federal government to take a well-defined stand, support the demands that US nuclear missiles be withdrawn from Europe and that militarisation of outer space be prevented, and to come out against the rise of militarism in Austria.

The growing threat to peace, freedom and national independence emanates from the reactionary quarters of US imperialism, Reagan and his Administration acting as their tools. The arms buildup also threatens jobs and the material living standards of working people. The aggressive imperialist quarters have recently intensified their efforts to drag Austria into a policy of confrontation with the Soviet Union and the socialist community as a whole. This makes the conclusion of our 25th Congress especially topical and important: the struggle for peace is a foremost national political mission of the Austrian Communists. Our solidarity with the first socialist country, the country of the October Revolution, our work for friendship between the Soviet and the Austrian peoples serve the cause of peace and Austria's national interests.

Main Factor for Improving Inter- national Relations

James Stewart – General Secretary,
Communist Party of Ireland

THE Great October Socialist Revolution launched a new era for the peoples of this planet, bringing a qualitative change into the political and social relationships of humanity on a world scale.

For the first time the working class—under the leadership of its vanguard party—the Communist Party—had demonstrated that with its allies amongst the peasantry it could wrest power from capitalism and imperialism and go forward to build a socialist society. The fact that this was achieved in the largest land mass in our world has resulted in profound changes in international relationships, opening the way for significant advances: in the international working class movement's struggle for social emancipation; in the fight of peoples against colonialism; and in the development of a global consciousness amongst the masses for the need to end all wars of conquest.

The Soviet achievement of 1917, consolidated by its defeat of the interventionist forces of 14 imperialist powers, laid the basis for the overwhelming defeat of fascism in World War II and the emergence of a qualitative change in the balance of world forces. A world socialist system was born, giving new impetus to the struggles of the working class in imperialist countries for political, social, and democratic advance, and to the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and in Ireland.

Faced with this threat, monopoly capitalism launched an intensive ideological, political and economic campaign against the Soviet Union and its allies in the socialist countries, which is defined in history as the 'cold war'. Its aim was to isolate the USSR and to roll back the victories of socialism and national liberation. Despite their attempts and their successes which created anti-Soviet hysteria in the advanced capitalist countries, colonialism disappeared as a major factor in world relations with the continued achievements of the national liberation movements, supported by the Soviet Union and the international communist movement. And in the advanced capitalist countries in Europe and North America the working class was able to gain real, if temporary, improvements in its living conditions and an extension of its democratic rights within the confines of capitalism.

But, above all, the existence of a world socialist system guaranteed by the ideological, economic and military strength of the USSR meant that imperialism, headed by US imperialism, could no longer determine that developments on a world scale or in a particular country, would take place in its interests.

The world socialist system, the forces for social emancipation, the movements for national liberation, and the peace movements emerged from the cold war significantly stronger. In these conditions the imperialist powers were forced to adhere to new forms of international relations. The consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union, a policy based on the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence, equality, and mutual security between differing social systems had become a powerful, major factor in shaping international relations. This policy led to detente and the Helsinki accords.

However, these new developments were not, and are not, to the liking of certain sections of imperialism's ruling strata, particularly those circles supporting the Reagan regime in the USA and Thatcher's Tory government in Britain. These forces have worked consistently to undermine the Helsinki agreements; to launch once again an intensive anti-Soviet, anti-communist ideological campaign through the mass media; to intensify the economic exploitation of Third World countries; to

attack militarily countries, who are in the process of escaping from the yoke of imperialism, and to undermine the stability and cohesion of the world socialist system. Thus we find the dirty and sinister hand of US imperialism at work in El Salvador, Nicaragua, Africa, Afghanistan, Poland, and the Middle East. At the same time, in the advanced capitalist countries—in the USA, the Federal Republic of Germany, Britain, Japan, and others—the world crisis of capitalism has increased the attacks upon the living standards and hard-won democratic rights of the working people.

Above all the major question of our time is world peace, threatened as never before by the war-mongering policies of the Reagan Administration, which has launched an unprecedented arms race in a futile but costly effort to gain military superiority over the Soviet Union and its allies; and in an effort to hold up the economic, social and democratic advances being achieved in the socialist countries.

The siting of US cruise and Pershing-2 missiles in European NATO countries and Reagan's planned nuclear space weapons strategy have raised the peace-loving forces throughout the world to new mass activity. This is particularly so in the USA, Holland, the Federal Republic of Germany, and Britain, where the broadest possible forces have been involved in the campaign against US missiles in Europe. A campaign which has embraced not only Communists and Socialists, but bourgeois parties and the churches. In the process of this campaign against Reagan's nuclear arms race more and more people are becoming aware that it is not correct to equate the two 'superpowers'—the USA and the USSR—as equally endangering world peace by the possession of nuclear weapons. In the struggle for nuclear disarmament, despite the insidious propaganda of the NATO countries' mass media, greater numbers of people from different social strata are reading about, discussing, and beginning to understand the consistency of the peace policies of the government and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the firm stand currently being taken by the USSR on this major and vital issue. Greater numbers than before, faced with the naked bellicose stand of US imperialism, are coming round to the realisation that the guarantee for world peace lies with the world socialist system headed by the USSR.

'Land, bread and peace' was the revolutionary programme of the Bolsheviks, which revolutionised not only the former tsarist empire but changed the world, creating conditions for the appearance of the socialist community, which can rally and support the peace-loving forces in the world, stem US imperialism's mad nuclear arms race, and removes the inevitability of world wars.

There are no nuclear weapons on Irish soil, but the struggle for peace through nuclear disarmament is growing in our country, embracing wide social forces. The peace issue in Ireland has its own special features and its own priorities. The fact that Northern Ireland is still under the control of British imperialism means that it is part of NATO and subject to all the dangers which that war bloc poses for the peoples who are its members. In military terms, the Republic of Ireland is neutral. But the pressure is consistent from the USA and the leading powers of the EEC to push the Dublin government into membership of NATO.

The Communist Party of Ireland is quite clear on this issue, exposing in our newspapers and in all our agitational work the attempts being made by the NATO powers to encourage the Irish Republic to join their ranks as a condition for the achievement of a unitary state in Ireland. Such an agreement would not mean self-determination and political independence for our country. It would instead make the Irish people more dependent on the whims and aspirations of the major imperialist countries.

Two major issues face the peace movements in Ireland. First: the defence of the military neutrality of the Republic of Ireland and the development of that neutrality into a positive political neutrality outside the camp of imperialism. Second: the struggle to make Ireland a nuclear-free zone and to ensure that no cruise and

Pershing-2 missiles, or other nuclear weapons are based on Irish soil—North or South.

The forces engaged in this struggle are developing and embracing members of the bourgeois parties, trade unions, women's, youth, and students' organisations, plus clergy and lay members of the Catholic and Protestant churches. The major bodies actively involved in this work are: the Irish Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, which is organised on an all-Ireland basis; Peace and Detente Association, which is based in Northern Ireland (with trade union affiliation); and Pax Christi, which organises members of the Catholic Church nationally. A positive development during September of this year was the foundation in Northern Ireland of the Trade Union Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament under the leadership of the organised trade union movement's Northern Committee of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions. In Northern Ireland and the republic, Belfast and Dublin have been declared by their city councils as nuclear-free zones. The extent of the Irish people's opposition to Reagan's nuclear arms drive and his attacks on the peoples of Latin America was shown during his state visit to the Republic of Ireland this year. Mass demonstrations of opposition were held throughout Ireland, the biggest in Dublin, which involved people from practically all parts of the political spectrum, trade unions, youth, women, and was led by nuns and clergy.

The message is clear—the people of our island want no part of US nuclear weapons. They realise that the presence of such weapons in Britain and other European countries is a violation of their most basic democratic right—the right to life! And in the battle of ideas, which is reaching new intensity around this vital issue, more and more people are coming to realise that the Soviet Union, today, as always, since its revolution 67 years ago, is pursuing policies which are consistent with the objectives of disarmament and the eradication for all time of the threat of world wars.

The Sources of Our Conviction

Khaled Bagdash – General Secretary,
Central Committee, Syrian Communist Party

THE key ideas of the Great October Revolution which the glorious party of Lenin led to victory are inexorably exerting increasingly effective and broad influence in all spheres of life of every individual nation and of the world as a whole. The entire subsequent history of humanity confirms it.

A concept of paramount importance elaborated by the founders of Marxism-Leninism and translated into reality by the October Revolution is that it is possible to build a society free from exploitation of man by man. Another key idea is embodied in the lines Karl Marx and Frederick Engels included in the *Communist Manifesto*: 'In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to.'¹

The Marxist-Leninist precept that 'there are two nations in every modern nation'² points to the principal dividing line running through nations—to the existence of two classes, of the exploiters and the exploited, of the oppressors and the oppressed. With regard to capitalist countries, this precept not only remains applicable but is also being thrown into bolder relief with each passing day. The situation is different in the Soviet Union where a new social entity, the Soviet people, has emerged; this entity

can be defined as a single 'nation of working people'. Its unity is the principal source of the vitality and strength of developed socialist society.

One can make the following general point: the main ideas whose victory the October Revolution heralded and which shook the world to its foundations are abolition of exploitation of man by man and of subjugation of one people by another; equality in relations among states, nations and nationalities, whether big or small, developed or backward; the right of each people to political independence and free choice of a socio-economic development path; peaceful coexistence as the best basis of relations between countries with different social systems; and renunciation of the use of force or military means in the solution of international problems. It is these ideas which play an increasingly prominent role in shaping world developments.

The Decree on Peace, signed by Lenin, a great leader of a great revolution, was the first legislative act of the victorious proletarian revolution. In this way, from the very outset, the peaceful essence of socialism asserted itself—of socialism which is now fighting unswervingly against the most terrible threat to the survival of our civilisation, the threat of a new global conflagration. Since the victory of the Soviet Union in the Great Patriotic War mankind has lived without global armed conflicts for almost forty years (while only 21 years separated World War II from World War I). The foremost reason behind it is the increased might of the USSR and the socialist community as a whole.

It was clear from the beginning and it became increasingly obvious subsequently that the October Revolution was a turning point in human history. This explains the vitriolic hatred of it on the part of world imperialism. This explains the incessant attempts imperialism has undertaken, for over six decades, to isolate, to seal off the socialist countries, to put an end to the new system as such.

This is an obvious historical truth which no proletarian fighter, no revolutionary can ignore. Lenin said that 'reciprocal relations between peoples and the world political system as a whole are determined by the struggle waged by a small group of imperialist nations against the Soviet movement and the Soviet states headed by Soviet Russia. Unless we bear that in mind, we shall not be able to pose a single national or colonial problem correctly, even if it concerns a most outlying part of the world. The communist parties, in civilised and backward countries alike, can pose and solve political problems correctly only if they make this postulate their starting point.'³

This quotation from Lenin is perfectly relevant at the current stage of world history. The impression is that Lenin foresaw the situation obtaining today, now that the imperialist powers, led by the United States, are frantically trying to 'bury' existing socialism.

The ideas of October 1917 which revolutionalise the masses, the great material and moral force which was born of the revolution's victory and which latter ensured the defeat of nazism, the most monstrous and revolting manifestation of imperialism, have erected a serious obstacle to the predatory and aggressive forays of US imperialists and their NATO allies.

'The Bolsheviks,' Lenin wrote, 'are establishing completely different international relations which make it possible for all oppressed peoples to rid themselves of the imperialist yoke.'⁴ Ever since its birth, the Soviet government has followed this course. In spite of the huge economic difficulties it encountered after the foreign armed intervention and the civil war, it extended great assistance to neighbouring nations. This assistance was an important factor in the success of the national liberation revolutions which broke out in those countries. The Soviet Union supported the struggle for freedom in different regions, including anti-colonial outbreaks in the Arab countries—such as the 1919 uprising in Egypt, the Rif Struggle led by Abd al-Kerim in 1921-1926 in Morocco, and the Syrian national uprising of 1925-1927.

As the power of existing socialism increased, especially after the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War and the emergence of the world socialist system, the national liberation movement gained more and more strength. The imperialist colonial regime collapsed, and scores of new independent states sprang up in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East.

The Arab peoples remember the support rendered by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries during the three-power aggression (Britain, France and Israel) after the 1956 nationalisation of the Suez Canal and during the 1967 aggression committed by Israel with US connivance. Soviet policy again demonstrated its consistency during the liberation war of October 1973 and the Lebanese people's heroic resistance to the US armed intervention and the annexationist moves of the Israeli brass. In short, the Soviet Union extended invaluable support to the Arab national liberation movement in all spheres—political, military and economic.

The economic assistance provided by the country of the October Revolution is as important as political or military support. For example, all of Syria's key economic projects instrumental in raising the national income and designed to serve as the backbone of heavy industry, as the firm basis of economic independence and progress—the Euphrates High Dam, the railroad network, the national oil and petrochemical industry, fertilizer factories, etc.—have been constructed with the assistance of socialist countries, above all of our loyal friend the Soviet Union.

Such are the ideas of the Great October Revolution and the excellent results of their realisation; they are making a far-reaching impact on the development of each country and of the world as a whole.

Today, Communists are not the only ones who spare these ideas and fight for their implementation. Hundreds of millions of people on all continents advance slogans of peaceful coexistence and equality in international relations, of international security; they advocate elimination of the last vestiges of national and colonial oppression, removal of the causes of world wars, and defence of peace as the foremost task in this century.

It is clear that the escalation of international tensions is a result of the course pursued by the aggressive imperialist quarters, above all the United States which is seeking military superiority, spurring on the arms race, primarily the nuclear arms race, vying for world domination and undermining other peoples' national sovereignty.

The Reagan Administration proclaims the objectives of US imperialism for all to hear and acts with unprecedented insolence. This is perfectly obvious in our region, the Middle East, too. Claiming that the Mideast is of 'vital importance' to the United States, Washington, in collusion with Zionist Israel, its 'strategic ally', pursues an interventionist policy. Its underlying purpose is to overthrow the patriotic regimes there, ensure Israeli annexation of new Arab territories, station US military bases, test the Rapid Deployment Corps and perpetuate the presence of the US naval armada in the region.

Like all their comrades in the Arab world and together with other patriotic progressive forces irrespective of their affiliation with this or that movement, Syria's Communists are working to frustrate the US-Zionist schemes which also involve several other NATO countries in efforts to implement them. The mounting popular struggle is clearly bringing results; this is borne out by Syria's firm stand in the face of its enemies' incessant forays, by the abrogation by Lebanon of its agreement with Israel of May 17, 1983 and by the solidarity of the PDRY and other countries of the region. This struggle makes an important contribution to the resistance against the global expansionist policy of the United States, to the worldwide movement for peace, for saving mankind from nuclear war.

The Communists are using every opportunity of mobilising the masses to action to uphold national independence and rebuff imperialist plots which pose a direct threat

to our country and to the peoples of the entire region. Generally, our party supports the patriotic anti-imperialist policy of the Syrian government. This is expressed in the SCP's overall activities and in its cooperation, within the Progressive National Front, with the Arab Socialist Renaissance party and other constituent organisations.

Syria has been firm in its opposition to the Camp David policy jointly imposed by the United States and Zionist Israel, to the stationing of military bases in the region and to the concentration of naval vessels in its waters. Syria has been and is a fighter for the liberation of all Arab territories seized by Israel during the 1967 aggression; it staunchly supports the right of the Arab people of Palestine to return to their homes, their right to self-determination and to establishment of their own independent nation-state. Syria supports Soviet initiatives aimed at preserving peace on Earth, including the July 1984 proposals on the convening of an international conference on a Mideast settlement with the participation of interested parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

We are aware that this is a patriotic policy consonant with the common struggle of all progressive mankind to prevent nuclear war and maintain international peace. At the same time, the Syrian Communists stand by their positions regarding domestic issues. This refers, above all, to expansion of democracy, efforts to solve the people's vital problems, defence of the interests of industrial and rural workers and resolute action to break the hold of the parasitic and bureaucratic bourgeoisie which robs both the people and the state.

Aside from its participation in the general efforts of the peace forces against imperialist forays, our party organises broad campaigns to bring the danger of nuclear catastrophe home to the masses. In Damascus, the country's capital, alone, 65,000 people signed a petition addressed to the President of the Republic, the UN Secretary General and the President of the World Peace Council. The petition condemned the policy of imperialism, above all US imperialism, the deployment of US Pershings and cruise missiles which had begun in Western Europe and the creation of military bases in our region. Thus the scores of thousands who signed the petition came out in support of the Soviet initiatives and proposals aimed at preserving peace.

The Syrian Communists' conviction that nuclear catastrophe can be averted is rooted above all in the might of the Soviet Union, in its unshakable resolve to prevent the NATO bloc from acquiring military superiority over the Warsaw Treaty countries. Another source of this conviction is the broad and steadily mounting struggle of the popular masses against the arms race, especially the nuclear arms race, and for universal peace—a struggle involving scores of millions of people in Western Europe and the rest of the world, including the United States.

¹ Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 503.

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, p. 32.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 31, p. 241.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 477.

The March of Revolutionary Popular Government

Jambyn Batmünh – General Secretary
of the MPRP Central Committee, Chairman
of the MPR Council of Ministers

TWO important events which occurred 60 years ago proved major landmarks in the development of Mongolia after it won its national independence in 1921. In August 1924 the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party adopted, at its Third Congress, an overall policy of non-capitalist development for the country; in November, the first People's Great Khural¹ proclaimed Mongolia a People's Republic.

Closely interrelated, these two events were a natural continuation of our revolution. The new historical conditions bore out the Marxist precept concerning the importance of securing political power in the class struggle: at first the oppressed class fights for a share of that power and then for all of it, so as to secure the opportunity of changing the existing laws in accordance with its own interests and needs.²

Between 1921 and 1924 radical anti-imperialist and anti-feudal transformations were carried out in Mongolia's social fabric. The establishment of popular government, the development of its forms and content reflected both the general trends of the revolutionary process and the particular, distinctive features rooted in the country's transition from feudal relations to democracy and socialism bypassing capitalism. The drive to ensure democratic rights for working people, oppressed and deprived of all rights in the medieval feudal conditions at the time of the people's revolution, and subsequently, further efforts to expand and develop these rights were a major aspect of MPRP activities in directing political and socio-economic transformations in the country. Viewing people's democratic government as the principal tool in the building of the new society, the party worked hard to involve the masses in these transformations.

Today, drawing on the results achieved in the past 60 years, socialist democracy in the MPR continues to develop both horizontally and vertically. It is a powerful means in the attainment of the objectives set by the party.

The building of the new society and of a democracy geared to its social basis is the principal historical result of the revolutionary transformations effected by the MPRP and our people. Carried out for the first time within a sovereign country, the transition from precapitalist relations to socialism was of paramount theoretical and practical importance for further socialist transformations in the republic. This experience may also be of interest to the progressive forces of the countries which are now tackling the issues of transition to socialism bypassing capitalism.

Having assimilated, since its inception, the liberation ideas of the Great October Revolution, the party of Mongolia's revolutionaries kept the goal of national independence closely interlinked with the prospect of social emancipation of working people.

The MPRP's emphasis on continuity and interconnection of general democratic and socialist transformations was rooted in Lenin's theory of revolution which shapes our party's overall policy and the specific forms, ways and means of implementing it. We know that Lenin saw social revolution as an integral process passing through a sequence of stages. Each—and the experience of Mongolia confirms it too—has a quality of its own and presupposes a policy adequate to its distinctive features pursued by the revolutionary party. Remaining topical throughout the process, the precept concerning the combination of the struggle for democracy with the struggle for socialism takes different forms at different stages. Of decisive importance here are

the nature and scope of the revolutionary gains, the degree of mass involvement in the emancipation movement, and the level of working people's consciousness and activity.

As democratic tasks were being solved, social transformations moved increasingly to the foreground of the MPRP activities. The First Party Programme, adopted in March 1921, stated: 'The party strives to develop the freedoms and rights of the Mongolian popular masses and to end their oppression, exploitation and bitter suffering so that they can build a peaceful life, asserting their creative abilities for progress and happiness equally with other peoples.'³ Pointing to the methods by which these goals were to be attained, the Programme noted that the party would tackle the issues of internal administration, foreign relations, religious affairs, established traditions and economic practices in the spirit of the times and in accordance with the nature of future change in the interests of the Mongolian people's welfare and progress.

These provisions were based on the ideological principles of the arat⁴ revolutionaries—principles which had emerged prior to the convocation of the party congress. For example, a series of articles in the *Mongolyn unen* newspaper, which was launched in November 1920, advanced the idea of creating a new form of government in the shape of people's khurals (assemblies), elected and controlled by the masses and serving the people. In this the arat revolutionaries refused to follow the formal canon of bourgeois democracy; on the contrary, they emphasised clearly that it was above all necessary to warn the masses against possible error, for not every elected government met their genuine interests. Examples were cited of individual capitalist countries where government, although created on the basis of elections, was not popular and where the working masses—the overwhelming majority of the population—were downtrodden, oppressed and miserable.

Bourgeois ideologists claim that a socialist restructuring of society is in itself a negation of democracy. They either dismiss or belittle the role of the revolutionary forces in the struggle for broadening the people's democratic rights and freedoms. Opponents of socialism assert that the passing of political control in a society into the hands of the revolutionary vanguard of working people blocks all avenues of democratic development. They cite the victorious socialist revolutions as examples, presenting them as some sort of anti-democratic acts.

But let us turn to our country's experience to see what happens in actual fact.

With the victory of the 1921 revolution, a popular government assumed control of Mongolia. Having become the ruling party, the MPRP was aware that, in the conditions obtaining at the time, the establishment of a republic would be a premature step; accordingly it was decided to proclaim a new Mongolian state in the form of a limited monarchy under King Bogd Haan Javdzandamba.⁵ Under a special agreement concluded between the popular government and Bogd Haan in November 1921, the powers of the latter were strictly limited and confirmed to church administration. This agreement, historically known as the 'Solemn Contract', essentially expressed the popular democratic nature of the new state and was an important step forward in the policy of separating the church and religion from the state. The existence of a people's state in the form of a constitutional monarchy during the first years of new government was explained by complex external factors, a distinctive alignment of forces within the country and regard for the religious sentiments of an overwhelming majority of the population.

In setting the essential tasks of building a people's democracy, Damdiny Suhe Bator, the leader of the Mongolian revolution, stressed that the establishment of popular government meant abolition of the despotic exploiter system and assurance of freedom and welfare for the people. From the very first post-revolutionary years revolutionary transformations of great political and socio-economic importance began to be implemented with Suhe Bator's vigorous participation—including the

abolition of serfdom and of all sorts of feudal tributes imposed on arats, the introduction of a new government tax, and the suspension, and subsequently complete cancellation of debt payments exacted by foreign companies from the population. All these steps were aimed at the political and economic emancipation of the arats.

Democratisation of local government bodies was instrumental in undermining the feudal lords' political power and establishing the statehood of the arat class. The elections of these bodies held, for the first time in Mongolian history, in 1923 and 1924, dealt a crippling blow to one of the political pillars of feudalism—to the institution of inheritance rights of the feudal princes. As a result of the party's comprehensive canvassing efforts and the vigorous involvement of the masses in this campaign, some 90 per cent of the feudal rulers were stripped of their powers. The people elected over 20,000 members—mostly poor and middle arats—to the new local government bodies.

In October 1924, 77 members were elected to the first People's Great Khural; of these, 71 represented the arat class and only six, the former tayji (nobility). All this showed that the party's class-oriented policy in the field of government organisation and the increased political activity of the arat masses dismantled the feudal state apparatus and produced new, democratic bodies of popular government throughout the country.

Meeting four weeks after the elections, the People's Great Khural reviewed the country's socio-political development and adopted the first Constitution which proclaimed Mongolia a republic with all power belonging to working people. This codified under the law the revolutionary gains of the popular masses in the struggle to eliminate political domination of the exploiter class. The Constitution confirmed the abolition of the feudal lords' hereditary rights and privileges, stripped them of the right to vote and proclaimed separation of the church from the state. Working people were granted broad democratic and political freedoms.

People's khurals struck roots throughout the country. They embodied Lenin's idea of peasants' Soviets as a new type of government, a mass organisation expressing the interests of working people. The establishment of a people's republic resolved the contradiction between the revolutionary-democratic nature of the Mongolian state and its monarchic form.

In terms of its class essence, popular rule in Mongolia was at that time a form of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasants. The factors that enabled this dictatorship to function were Marxist-Leninist leadership on the part of the MPRP and the international alliance of the arats with the workers of Soviet Russia.

The first People's Great Khural owes its outstanding significance to the fact that, guided by the MPRP orientation on Mongolia's non-capitalist development, it laid the legal foundation for the operation of the people's democracy, the eradication of the feudal system, suppression of resistance by the overthrown class, defence of revolutionary gains and national independence, the creation of a public sector in the economy, and advancement of cultural and other spiritual and intellectual activities in the interests of working people.

Codified in the Constitution, revolutionary-democratic rule played a vigorous role in carrying out radical democratic and socialist-oriented transformations in the political, economic and cultural spheres. It was an intermediate link in society's transition to socialist democracy.

The record of government organisation in Mongolia fully bore out Lenin's conclusion to the effect that 'like everything else in the world, the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry has a past and a future. Its past is autocracy, serfdom, monarchy, and privilege. In the struggle against the past, in the struggle against counter-revolution, a "single will" of the proletariat and

the peasantry is possible, for here there is unity of interest.

'Its future is the struggle against private property, the struggle of the wage-worker against private property, the struggle of the wage-worker against the employer, the struggle for socialism.'⁶

Effective anti-feudal revolutionary transformations directed by the MPRP largely concluded the democratic stage of our country's revolution by 1940. The Tenth Party Congress held in March and April 1940 summed up the advances the republic had made and declared that the country had embarked firmly on the non-capitalist road of development. The congress adopted the Third MPRP Programme which formulated the tasks of laying the foundations of socialism.

The Eight People's Great Khural convened in the wake of the party congress endorsed a new Constitution codifying the far-reaching changes which had occurred in the country's political and socio-economic fabric. During that period, feudal economic structures had been eliminated, and consequently, the class of feudal lords had disappeared, the MPR's national sovereignty had grown stronger in the struggle against internal and external enemies, economic dependence on the capitalist world had been overcome, the public and cooperative sectors with their socialist nature had gained considerable ground, and new social forces—the national working class and people's intelligentsia—had emerged. Comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union, its economic and cultural assistance, and the joint struggle of the Soviet and Mongolian peoples against the common enemy for upholding revolutionary gains were important factors in these advances. The Constitution proclaimed that the Mongolian People's Republic was an independent state of working arats, workers and intelligentsia ensuring the country's non-capitalist development for a subsequent transition to socialism.

As the building of socialism developed, the people's democracy gradually assumed the functions of a dictatorship of the working class. Thus the case of Mongolia, too, served to bear out Lenin's prediction about the evolution of the revolutionary-democratic system into a socialist one. Of decisive importance for this process in Mongolia was the strengthening of the leading role of the MPRP whose weapon was scientific socialism. The people's democratic rights were broadened further, and the people were increasingly active in government and in the socialist transformations.

The people's government stepped up its economic and organisational activity; this was reflected in planned management of economic and cultural affairs and in the greatest possible mobilisation of working people's efforts to develop the productive forces. The people's government launched large-scale efforts to strengthen the country's defences, assist the fraternal Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945 and make a vigorous contribution to the victory over nazi Germany and militarist Japan.

Taking into account the positive social changes attained, the Presidium of the People's Lesser Khural abrogated, in 1944, the Constitutional provision depriving certain categories of citizens of the right to vote; these people no longer constituted an organised force opposing popular government. Most of them were by that time engaged in socially useful work.

The 1949, the People's Great Khural discussed further democratisation of the electoral system and decided to introduce general, direct and equal elections to all government bodies by secret ballot. Based on the new system, the elections to the People's Great Khural and to local government bodies held since the early 1950s have invariably demonstrated increased political activity of working people and firm unity of our party and people.

In the late 1950s the struggle to lay the foundation of socialism reached the stage of complete incorporation of arats into cooperatives. The victory of the cooperative movement was brought about by the correct policy of the MPRP, guided by the principles of Lenin's cooperative plan and resolutely supported by the popular

masses, above all by working arats. This victory reflected their political consciousness and striving for a better life.

The mass incorporation of arats into cooperative established socialist relations of production throughout the economy and forever eliminated the causes which gave rise to exploitation of man by man in Mongolia. It was a triumph of the party's overall policy of leading the country towards socialism bypassing capitalism. Since then, Mongolian society has consisted of two classes maintaining friendly relations—the working class as the leading social force and the arats united in cooperatives, as well as the people's intelligentsia.

Social property in the principal means of production in the forms of state or cooperative property has since remained the economic basis of our socialist state, the material basis for the development of genuine democracy for working people. Socialist democracy ensures that all citizens of the MPR irrespective of the social position, ethnic origin or sex have the right to be genuinely active in government and in the solution of the country's political, economic and cultural questions.

These historic achievements of the Mongolian people are formalised in the MPR Constitution adopted by 1960. Thus has the radical restructuring of socio-economic relations begun by the revolution created, on the one hand, the material basis for actual realisation of working people's democratic rights and, on the other, made it possible to introduce freedoms unheard of under capitalism, above all freedom from exploitation of man by man. In this way the revolution has not only established genuine democracy in the country's political affairs but also, for the first time in Mongolian history, instilled democracy in society's basis, in the entire system of socio-economic relations.

Having created the foundation of socialism, Mongolia has entered a new stage of its historical development—the stage in which the building of socialist society is to be completed. The principal tasks facing the party and the people in this period, as well as specific ways and methods of accomplishing these tasks are laid down in the Programme of the MPRP, adopted at its 15th Congress (1966) and currently in force.

With its exceptional emphasis laid, in the course of completing the building of socialism, on the development of socialist statehood and democracy, the Programme stresses that the party will be steadily enhancing the role of the socialist state, a powerful tool of social transformation, by promoting the functions it discharges in the spheres of economic management, culture and education. The Programme envisages consistent efforts to ensure social equality, consolidate socialist democracy, and involve the working masses in government, economic and cultural management and organisation of state and social control.

The deepening of the content of democracy at the current stage in the building of socialism is rooted in objective factors. First, the creative role of the socialist state is increasing steadily. Second, while improvement of democracy is a result of radical social transformations, it is also indispensable for success in the building of socialism. Third, like other processes in the building of the new society, democracy does not develop by itself but as a result of conscious efforts by the working masses led by the party.

The MPRP is the mainstay of the system of socialist democracy in the republic. The concept of the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party in the state and in society is the cornerstone of Lenin's doctrine of socialist statehood and democracy. In Mongolia, this principle was codified constitutionally as early as 1940. The 1940 Constitution stated that the most active and politically conscious citizens from among industrial workers, working arats and the intelligentsia were united in the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the advance guard of working people in the struggle to make the country stronger and ensure its non-capitalist development, the leading core of all—both public and government-sponsored—organisations of working people.

This clear-cut definition of the place and role of the MPRP in society's political system was the outcome of a struggle against two extremes which had existed in the interpretation of relations between the party and the state: the right opportunist trend of putting state bodies above the party and reducing its role to mere education and propaganda, and the left adventurist deviation which belittled the role of state bodies and advocated that the party replace them. The MPRP overcame both these extremes.

Lenin's principles regarding the ruling communist party in the political system of socialism are the lifeblood enabling genuine democracy for working people to discharge its functions and develop. In their attacks on socialism, our class opponents often cite the absence of political opposition as proof that our political system is 'undemocratic'. It is perfectly clear that these fraudulent allegations are groundless. From the very beginning of its activity, the MPRP stated openly that it had nothing against cooperation with other parties should they emerge and champion national liberation and social emancipation of the Mongolian people. However, in our country the arats were the only social force capable of creating such a political organisation. By leading the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution and the subsequent democratic transformations, the MPRP was able to rally all patriotic and progressive forces. And, naturally, the elimination of class antagonisms meant that there were no longer any social motives for opposition parties to emerge.

The leading role of the communist advance guard in socialist society is an objective and logical phenomenon. Armed with the science of Marxism-Leninism, the party determines the overall prospects of society's development, shapes the socialist state's domestic and foreign policies, directs and regulates the activities of bodies engaged in government and social management, and expresses the common and distinctive interests of all classes, social groups and generations of the builders of the new society. This role of our party is growing steadily—a major objective law in the development of a genuine people's democracy.

The party is the main embodiment of the principles of socialist democracy, the guarantor of its realisation and perfection. The activities of Communists are to ensure the fullness of the powers exercised by the popular masses, the comprehensively democratic nature of state and public organisations, and strict observance of the interests and rights of all working people. Under socialism, these activities blend into a single whole the managerial functions of state bodies and the creative initiative of the masses which participate in the management of social processes via various elements of the system of socialist democracy.

The record of the building of socialism proves that any weakening of the role of Marxist-Leninist parties in the system of state, trade union and other civic organisations, any deviation from the Leninist principles maintaining that the party should direct their activities is detrimental to the building of the new society not only in a given country but also throughout the world socialist system.

Led by the MPRP, the Mongolian people are advancing confidently along the socialist road. Our party has always directed and will continue to direct all its activities at consistently implementing the overall course charted in the MPRP Programme, at realising the domestic and foreign policy mapped out at the 18th Party Congress in May 1981. This is guaranteed by the continuity of the MPRP policy and leadership, demonstrated at the 8th Extraordinary Plenary Meeting of the party's Central Committee and its Political Bureau, in the unshakeable unity of the Mongolian people who have rallied around their Marxist-Leninist vanguard.

As we mark the glorious anniversary of our republic, our people justly take pride in their accomplishments, in the revolutionary historical mission discharged so well by the MPRP. At the same time, we are profoundly aware that what we have achieved provides the basis for solving even more significant tasks arising in the course of Mongolia's progress. This calls on the party and the people to focus their efforts on

outstanding issues, effectively use the available economic potential, thoroughly study the rich experience of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, consistently apply this experience with due consideration for our specific conditions, as well as comprehensively promote and support the initiative of the working masses. We will have to do much to discharge the responsible task of preparing for the 19th Congress of the MPRP. The party's Central Committee considers it an urgent necessity to encourage party organisations, Communists and all working people to prepare a worthy welcome to this important event.

Democracy develops in all spheres of Mongolia's life. Our Constitution guarantees to MPR citizens the right to participate in government and in social and economic management both through their representative bodies and directly.

At all levels, government bodies proceed from the principles of democratic centralism which means organic combination of centralised leadership on a planned basis with encouragement for local initiative, of stronger state and labour discipline with the promotion of creative efforts by working people.

All adult citizens of the MPR participate, on a democratic basis, in the shaping of supreme and local government bodies; they have the right to elect and to be elected. For example, today industrial workers make up 27 per cent of the People's Great Khural, members of agricultural associations (AAs), 28.7 per cent; office workers and intellectuals, 44.3 per cent; women, 24.3 per cent. Of those elected to all local khurals 21.2 per cent are industrial workers, 30.9 per cent are AA members and 47.9 per cent are office workers and intellectuals; women comprise 28.7 per cent of those elected and young people under 30, 20.3 per cent. These figures demonstrate that in Mongolia, power both at the highest and at the local levels belongs to the people and is exercised by their representatives.

Scores of thousands of the people's elected representatives have been learning political leadership and state management at all levels. For example, of the more than 15,000 people who won their local khural seats in the latest elections, 55.1 per cent were new members. One form of effective participation by khural members in government is their work in the khurals' standing commissions which study various economic, social and cultural questions and draw up relevant projects, take part in preparing draft legislation and government decisions, and monitor the operation of government agencies. The total membership of the khurals' commissions exceeds 50,000.

Today, management of socialist society is a task that is constantly expanding and becoming more complex. In this connection the party is taking steps to deepen socialist democracy and ensure further balanced development of all its elements. Socialist legislation and the legal basis of government bodies' activities are being perfected. At its sessions held over the past ten years, the People's Great Khural has adopted legislation on a variety of subjects, including the MPR Council of Ministers, local khurals, the status of khural members, supervision by the public procurator, the juridical system, medical care, education, environment protection, the way to process proposals, requests and complaints by working people, greater penalties for violations of public order, etc.

We have also moved to expand the rights of ministries, state committees and agencies, local government bodies and enterprises. The party wants them to have compact and competent management which would function smoothly and without delays as a creative force of great skill and initiative. This calls for strict observance of socialist legality, combination of the cadres' conscious discipline and responsibility with creative initiative, ready and attentive response to people's opinions and requirements. It also demands that we wage a struggle against red tape, sloth, highhandedness at the local level and parochialism. It requires the organisation of competent, objective and unbiased control involving the working masses. Such is the essence of the current imperative to strengthen democracy in the operation of

government and civic organisations.

Socialist democracy permeates not only the political but also the economic system of the country. Further development of the national economy, improvement of relations of production, better use of all socialist society's latent resources and capacities, combination of the advances of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of socialism—all these processes are profoundly democratic.

Concern over the wellbeing and interests of the people is the highest principle of all activities pursued by our party and state. Our people fully enjoy their right to work, to guaranteed remuneration according to the quantity and quality of the work performed, to rest and recreation, to pensions and social security benefits. Existing socialism provides the Mongolian people with all that is necessary to meet their growing material and spiritual needs, to ensure all-round personality development for all.

The people's real income has increased 80 per cent over the past ten years. Medical care is free. Today, we have 23 doctors and 109 hospital beds per 10,000 people. We are effectively solving the task of making eight years at school a universal educational requirement. As many as 2,723 people per 10,000 of the population study at some educational establishment, including 264 who attend institutions of higher learning or specialised secondary school.

Socialist emulation reflects the high level of working people's involvement in economic development, their growing political consciousness and maturity. The forms of socialist emulation practised widely today include personal plans for improving labour productivity, upgraded counterplans of enterprises, contests between crews of construction workers and the like.

Trade unions make up our biggest public organisation and contribute greatly to the development of socialist democracy. Virtually all working people are trade union members. Mongolia's trade unions enjoy extensive rights and prerogatives with regard to direct participation in the management of production, in strengthening its democratic principles, promoting creative initiative by workers and tackling economic issues.

As the 18th Congress of the MPRP emphasised, trade unions are to discharge a dual function—to do all they can to advance the national economy, enhance its efficiency and labour productivity, as well as to display direct concern over the legitimate rights and interests of working people. That, we all know, is the essence of trade union activity under socialism. The major forms this activity takes include participation in the drawing up and implementation of state plans of socio-economic development and in tackling the distribution and use of material and financial resources, control over working and living conditions, defence of working people's social rights, and assistance in the strengthening of production discipline.

The Mongolian Revolutionary Youth League (MRYL) which unites over 240,000 young men and women fills an important niche in the system of socialist democracy. The League enjoys the right to propose legislation. The party fully supports and encourages its younger comrade-in-arms. The MRYL renders assistance to priority economic projects, aids in the training of young rural workers and takes part in the efforts to educate youth by drawing on the revolutionary, militant and labour traditions of the older generations in the spirit of internationalism and socialist patriotism.

Of great importance for the development of democracy in Mongolia are the activities of women's and other mass voluntary associations of working people.

People's control agencies are another channel for the party policy of perfecting socialist democracy, encouraging the masses' initiative and creative efforts and stimulating the activity of their organisations. There are over 40,000 people's inspectors elected to their posts throughout the republic. Besides, scores of thousands belong to volunteer patrols and MRYL sentry posts and take part in

inspections conducted by public organisations. This is Lenin's behest for control to become 'country-wide, all-embracing, omnipresent'⁷ in action.

All foreign policy efforts of the Mongolian people's state are based on the peaceful internationalist course charted by the MPRP Programme and the country's Constitution. Mongolia's Communists and all other working people have always considered it their foremost duty to comprehensively strengthen friendship and cooperation with the great Soviet Union, with fraternal socialist countries, to uphold international solidarity with the forces of national liberation, social progress and democracy.

The Mongolian People's Republic is active in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, in efforts to implement the Comprehensive Programme of Socialist Economic Integration. The country's Communists and all other working people welcomed with great satisfaction the decisions and historic documents of the CMEA Economic Summit. Its results contributed greatly to the growing unity of the socialist community, to the strengthening of its economic, scientific and technological potential. This summit forum of the party and state leaders of the socialist community again demonstrated their consistent policy of peace and their resolve to uphold peace, national independence and social progress.

Now that the reckless policy of imperialism, led by the United States, is dangerously aggravating the international situation and increasing the war threat, the Mongolian People's Republic, together with all peace forces throughout the world, keeps up its resolute struggle to preserve and strengthen peace, enhance international security, save mankind from nuclear catastrophe and defeat militarist, revanchist and hegemonistic forays.

In attacking existing socialism our enemies vilify socialist democracy from the fraudulent positions of 'pure' democracy. Exposing this bourgeois trick, Lenin stressed that there has never been nor could be any 'pure' democracy anywhere in the world—especially in countries with exploiter system. Democracy under capitalism means freedom for the rich to exploit and oppress working people. For the poor, it means absence of rights, misery and unemployment.

Bourgeois attempts to misrepresent democracy and freedom under socialism are clearly aimed at disparaging the outstanding accomplishments of genuine democracy and at eroding the attractiveness of the socialist example, of the profoundly democratic solution of basic social problems in the interests of working people. The fallacy of these efforts to distort facts can be seen, among other things, from the steadily growing activity of the MPR's working people in all spheres of the building of socialism, from everyday public involvement in the operation of our government bodies and civic organisations.

All this bears out Lenin's conclusion that 'living, creative socialism is the product of the masses themselves'.⁸ The role of the people as the decisive factor in history, as builders of their own happiness is revealed most fully in the countries of existing socialism where socialist democracy—democracy for the greatest popular masses—operates and improves constantly.

¹ The highest legislative body of the MPR.—Ed.

² Frederick Engels, 'Trade Unions' *The Labour Standard* (London), Nos. 4 and 5, May 22, June 4, 1881.

³ *Mongol Ardyn Khuvsгалт Намын тогтоол шийдвэр, баримт бичгууд*, Vol. 1, Ulan Bator, 1981, p. 47.

⁴ Arats are livestock breeders.—Ed.

⁵ The absolute monarch of the Mongolian theocratic state from 1911 to its abolition by the Chinese militarists in 1919, the eighth 'incarnation' of the Bogdo, and the head of Mongolia's Lamaist church.—Ed.

⁶ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 9, pp. 84-85.

⁷ Ibid., Vol. 26, p. 105.

⁸ Ibid., Vol. 26, p. 288.

Government in the Name of Humanity

Horst Sinderman – CC Political Bureau
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the GDR

UNDER socialism the steadfast consolidation of state power and the promotion of democracy are two closely inter-related tasks. They are carried out primarily by enlisting citizens into planning and state administration and also into the fulfilment by the people's representatives of their economic-organisational functions. This is illustrated by the 35 years' experience of revolutionary changes in the GDR under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

The democratic nature of the socialist state is seen with growing clarity as we move forward. The transfer of the means of production, formerly owned by capitalists, to the ownership of the people and the break-up of the bourgeois-fascist state apparatus were major events in our country's history, for they cleared the way for the establishment of a genuinely people's government. This only commenced the process of turning the exploited person controlled by the bourgeois state machine into a free citizen. This was the first step, to quote Engels, 'from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom'.¹ It is only after this that the free citizen begins to learn how to use the attained power for the welfare of the whole of society and of his own self.

In our workers' and peasants' state we have witnessed the fulfilment of the dream of German humanists for a free and democratic way of life, while social relations have acquired a new historic quality, becoming relations of comradely cooperation and mutual assistance. Asked once what he felt was the most perfect government, Goethe replied: 'One that teaches us to govern ourselves.'² It took 'the total restructuring of the state and the total transformation of the economic and social foundations of society',³ urged by the Communist Party of Germany at its constituent congress (December 1918–January 1919), for this to come true.

Of course, constant quests for the most perfect forms and methods of organising the new power have been and remain difficult, for actually this is a long process of the moulding of a new person, a process directed by the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party. Spurred by the growing unity of personal and social interests, citizens are more and more actively undertaking to resolve diverse concrete questions of administration. No person can really be the master of his destiny until he accepts responsibility for the life of society as a whole. But he neither can nor will want to undertake this responsibility as long as the state is alien to him and in conflict with his interests, as long as he sees it as insensitive to his needs. In this situation, a person remains an 'abstract citizen', as Marx put it.⁴

He considered that an 'individual in the true sense' was the citizen using his right to participate in the most diverse areas of society's political, economic, intellectual, and cultural life. However, the ability and capacity to govern, to influence social processes by concerted effort do not fall from the sky and do not come solely from a theoretical knowledge of the principles of socialism. This was pointed out by Rosa Luxemburg: 'While exercising power, the masses must learn how to exercise it.'⁵

In building a socialist state, delineating its basic functions, and defining its aims, our party has invariably been guided by the concepts enunciated by the founders of scientific communism. 'Compared with the exploiting system, really existing socialism is still young,' said Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the SED Central Committee. 'By building socialism humankind is moving along a completely new and unexplored path. The founders of scientific socialism could not offer ready-made recipes for all occasions. This did not enter into their thoughts. But they did work out the fundamental truths and the basic conclusions.'⁶

One of these fundamental truths of the proletarian revolution is that it is necessary to dismantle the old state machine, an instrument used by the ruling bourgeoisie to oppress all other classes and sections of the people. To the question about the structure of the new society, Marx and Engels replied: the old state mechanism has to be replaced by raising 'the proletariat to the position of ruling class', by winning 'the battle for democracy'.⁷ Marx saw in the Paris Commune the ways and means of fighting for democracy, a new organisation enabling the proletariat to become the ruling class. It dismantled the bourgeois institutions of power and replaced them with entirely different, unprecedented institutions. Marx saw the key characteristics of these institutions in the following: 'The Commune was formed of the municipal councillors, chosen by universal suffrage in the various wards of the town, responsible and revocable at short terms. The majority of its members were naturally working men, or acknowledged representatives of the working class.'⁸

The revolutions of 1905 and 1917 in Russia demonstrated the universal significance of the propositions put forward by Marx and Engels about the character and structure of the proletarian power. In his analysis of the experience of these revolutions, Lenin wrote: 'This new type of state machinery was created by the Paris Commune, and the Russian Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies are a "state apparatus" of the *same type*.'⁹ He held that 'if the creative enthusiasm of the revolutionary classes had not given rise to the Soviets, the proletarian revolution in Russia would have been a hopeless cause, for the proletariat could certainly not retain power with the old state apparatus, and it is impossible to create a new apparatus immediately.'¹⁰

In alliance with the poorest sections of the peasants the working class itself, in a genuinely democratic way, has brought to life forms of its power, the instruments of this power, by means of which the revolutionary people achieves social progress and, at the same time, safeguards the fruits of this creative work against the attacks of the capitalists. The central issue of a revolution is, as everybody knows, that of power, and it is precisely this that is the target of increasing assault by reaction.

Marx considered that it was extremely important that the Commune was a working body, 'executive and legislative at the same time'.¹¹ The proletarian power that was given birth by the October Socialist Revolution was structured along the same principle. This principle withstood the test of time, and was then embodied in the specific conditions obtaining in other countries of the socialist community, including the GDR.

Socialist people's representative bodies and bourgeois parliaments differ fundamentally from each other. 'The Commune,' Lenin wrote, 'substitutes for the venal and rotten parliamentarism of bourgeois society institutions in which freedom of opinion and discussion does not degenerate into deception, for the parliamentarians themselves have to work, have to execute their own laws, have themselves to test the results achieved in reality, and to account directly to their constituents.'¹²

Lenin substantiated another essential indicator of the socialist state, a specific feature of the work of people's deputies: 'No elective institution or representative assembly can be regarded as being truly democratic and really representative of the people's will unless the elector's right to recall those elected is accepted and exercised' as an indicator of 'the actual subordination of the elected to the people'.¹³

Following the downfall of the nazi dictatorship in 1945 the German Communists set about translating into reality their dream of a new society. We have warm recollections of the Soviet comrades and friends who by word and deed helped us to apply creatively the teaching of the founders of Marxism-Leninism. In accordance with their postulates socialist revolutions took place in all the fraternal states. However each communist and workers' party of our community proceeded from the actual historical situation that had taken shape in its own country.

The German Communists had the task of accomplishing the revolution in a developed capitalist country that had a strong working class. But because of the nazis that country had been devastated and nazi ideology had gained possession of the minds of many people. The transition from the anti-fascist democratic system to the building of the foundations of socialism proved to be extremely hard to accomplish in our republic also because for some time there was no dependably defended frontier with the other German—imperialist—state.

After political power is won and the resistance of the bourgeoisie is broken, the Communists begin building the new state in alliance with people belonging to all the formerly oppressed classes and social strata. This task is immeasurably more difficult than the destruction of the old state, but it is an inspiring task because it requires people to apply all their creative talents. 'The principal difficulty,' Lenin wrote, 'lies in the economic sphere, namely, the introduction of the strictest and universal accounting and control of the production and distribution of goods, raising the productivity of labour and *socialising production in practice*.'¹⁴ This is exactly what we had to do following the abolition of bourgeois relations of production and the transfer of private, capitalist-owned means of production to the hands of the people. Let me make the point that the character of fascism's defeat allowed punishing the war criminals and expropriating their property in fulfilment of the decisions of the Potsdam Conference. But even that act was accomplished with the broad participation of the working people, on the basis of a referendum. The significance of this step was from the outset to give an impetus to the assertion in society of the ideology of the proletariat as the ruling class, to which henceforth belonged the socialised means of production. The workers won the support of the peasants as their main ally, because the first step of the anti-fascist democratic government was the expropriation of the estates of the Junkers and the big landowners (if these estates measured more than 100 hectares) and the transfer of this land to landless and land-hungry peasants.

All these steps were taken in an extremely complex situation—the existence of four occupation zones and, later, the existence of two states with different social systems, in other words, on the boundary between the socialist and imperialist worlds. During the early years following the war the difficulties were eased by the presence of the Soviet Army, of the Soviet military administration. The SED used the historic opportunity to enforce socialist reforms, and all the adversary's attempts to sting us with statements alleging that without the Soviet Army's assistance the Communists would not have coped with the tasks they had set themselves could not shake our confidence in the road we had chosen. It can only be regretted that other parts of Germany were occupied by imperialist powers.

To all this we must add that already at the initial stage of the revolution there was a need for a strong and united party of the working class. Such party could arise only if there was unity in the working class itself, on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist world view, having absorbed everything of value from the treasure-store of the ideas and experience of proletarian revolutionaries, from the League of Communists to the Bolsheviks. The SED became such a party, and such it will continue to be.

We see a major service by our party in that it appreciated the need for a policy of alliances and successfully implemented that policy, with the result that in addition to the working class and the working peasants other sections of the people were enlisted into the building of the new system. This is an important historical lesson. The SED gave its allies the opportunity to set up their own independent parties through which, under the leadership of the working class, they in fact—organisationally and politically—take part in the exercise of power. The same may be said of the trade unions, and the youth, women's, peasants', and cultural organisations; by participating in the discussion and decision of affairs of state as an organised force—each with its own range of interests and aims—these organisations give many useful

impulses to the development of the democratic principles underlying the country's life. In the process of planning and administration all citizens thereby have the opportunity to state their requirements and interests and coordinate them with those of the whole of society.

The political power of the working class continues to gain strength in the course of building developed socialism. The CC report to the 10th Congress of the SED (April 1981) declared that 'guided by the Marxist-Leninist party, the socialist state power and its prestige and ability to function comprise the foundation and prerequisite for successful progress. This was, is, and will remain the fundamental question of the socialist revolution'.¹⁵ Only a strong socialist state can satisfy the basic interests of the workers, of all working people, and guarantee democracy, freedom, and humanism to them.

The development and perfection of socialist democracy presuppose a growing concurrence of the interests of society as a whole and of every individual. Since the 8th Congress of the SED (1971), which formulated the principal aim of our present policy, we have built a solid foundation for such a concurrence. The indivisible unity between economic and social policies demonstrates that conscientious work for society benefits each and every person. This is very lucidly illustrated by the SED's social programme.

A situation is created in which citizens adopt an increasingly more active stand in state affairs. This resolves an extremely difficult problem in the building of developed socialism, namely, enlisting the wide participation of the working people, of work collectives and public organisations into administration and planning, and hence into the promotion of society's progress. Thus is implemented in practice a fundamental Marxist tenet, which states that the building of the new system can and should be the conscious and organised effort of the people themselves. In this connection Lenin wrote: 'Our aim is to ensure that *every* toiler, having finished his eight hours' "task" in productive labour, shall perform state duties *without pay*; the transition to this is particularly difficult, but this transition alone can guarantee the final consolidation of socialism.'¹⁶

In our republic citizens are drawn into making decisions on social matters in accordance with the Constitution: 'Work jointly, plan jointly, administer jointly.' Much attention is accorded to enhancing the efficiency of the socialist state, for the constantly developing concentration, specialisation, and cooperation of production require the implementation in the economy of new forms and methods of management and planning. For instance, in recent years we have set up in the various districts production and building combines—large economic units with their own facilities for research, production, and marketing. This form of organisation allows for better management of the entire process of reproduction in accordance with the principles of self-supporting. There has been further progress in other areas as well. Management is being perfected in all other spheres. However, the attitude of the people to the affairs of society, to government remains of decisive significance. When the people are well informed about everything, when they are able to form an opinion about everything and act consciously, this strengthens our state.

We have unfailingly accorded considerable attention to promoting socialist democracy; the perfection of our socialist state's economic and organisational functions is constantly in the focus of our party's work.

Steady economic progress is needed for the attainment of socialism's basic aim, namely, the ever fuller satisfaction of the people's vital material and cultural needs. The GDR's economic development plan is considered annually by the People's Chamber, whose approval gives it the force of law. Similarly, local people's assemblies approve the plans for the territories administered by them. These plans are realistic and, at the same time, ensure the needed economic growth, which is facilitated by the very procedure of drawing up these plans. In accordance with the

principle of democratic centralism, complete drafts are submitted for discussion to the working people, to their collectives. The trade unions, which are the largest class organisations of the workers, have an important say at the stage of drafting plans and in their implementation. Year after year their members make tens of thousands of suggestions during debates and adopt collective and personal commitments. The socialist emulation movement, organised by the trade unions, concentrates on the cardinal issues of our economic strategy: the transition of the GDR's economy to all-sided intensive extended production and the acceleration of the growth of the national income with the simultaneous decrease of the expenditure of energy and raw and other materials.

Intelligent, substantiated suggestions submitted when the draft plan is discussed are included in the final variant. Here the trade unions invoke, in particular, their right to influence the content of the law at the highest state level: they have their own faction in the People's Chamber. It is only under socialism that the working people can play such an active role in management and bear a collective responsibility for economic development.

Young people, members of the Free German Youth in the first place, likewise contribute greatly to the development of our society. They have very impressively demonstrated their devotion to the republic this year at the nation-wide festival in preparation for the celebrations of the GDR's 35th anniversary.

In developed capitalist countries unemployment among young people has become one of the most acute and painful social problems. But in our country, where unemployment has been abolished long ago, nearly 43,000 youth teams are currently working in key sectors of the national economy. Members of these teams display outstanding initiative and resourcefulness in economising on raw and other materials and increasing the output of robots and other automatic equipment. Would young people put so much thought and energy into this if they felt that modern machines were threatening their jobs?

The production innovators movement, the holding of exhibits of scientific and technological innovations by young people, and the efforts of organisations of the Free German Youth to economise on raw and other materials are important not only in terms of their material contribution to the economy but also in terms of moulding the consciousness of young people, of their communist upbringing. New forms of behaviour take shape gradually in youth collectives, whose members see the latest breakthroughs in science and technology as challenges to their knowledge and abilities. Young people learn to trust each other, use their professional skills for the benefit of the entire collective, make sure that their actions match their words, present arguments in support of the stand held by them and, if necessary, persuade their colleagues that they are right. At the start of their careers many deputies in representative organs of power, mayors, and ranking officials of the state apparatus won public recognition by their work in the Free German Youth.

Other examples may be cited to show the active participation of citizens in administration. Members of the Democratic Women's Union of Germany are very resourcefully improving the conditions of day-to-day life in residential districts. Cultural workers and other intellectuals united in the GDR Kulturbund see their task in fostering the further burgeoning of culture and art in our republic.

A large role in strengthening the socialist state and reinforcing democracy is played by the people's representative organs, in which the SED cooperates constructively with four other political parties and with mass organisations. In analysing the accumulated experience a specific answer can be given to the question of the class distinction of these organs from bourgeois parliaments: the nature of the socialist people's representative bodies becomes obvious as soon as mention is made of what laws are enacted by them for the benefit of the people. For example, in the People's Chamber the faction of the trade unions submitted in 1977 a draft Code of Labour

Laws, which was discussed by millions of citizens; the latter produced several thousand suggestions on how to specify and improve the initial text of the document. The law that was passed was, as a result, drawn up not only in the interests of but also with the direct participation of the working people.

Is this conceivable in the capitalist world, where private property relations slow down social progress? The answer to this question was given recently by representatives of the West German big bourgeoisie in the Bundestag. When, to defend their jobs, metalworkers had to invoke their right to strike they were attacked by reactionaries from the podium of the 'free' parliament.

Under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party our republic is coping successfully with one of the most acute problems of present-day world development, a problem that cannot be resolved by the capitalist system. Scientific and technological progress in industry and agriculture necessarily entails social costs. For instance, in the FRG and other bourgeois countries unemployment continues to grow even when production is somewhat increased. The introduction of improved technological processes on a mass scale makes labour power superfluous, virtually pushing it out of the production process. Hence concepts such as 'jobkiller'. It is growing increasingly evident that the operation of objective laws is leading capitalist relations into the impasse of hopeless contradictions. But under socialism science and technology benefit the people, contributing to social progress. The day-to-day efforts of the working people and their elected organs are aimed at further enhancing production efficiency and perfecting democracy.

Can this pattern of action be followed by a bourgeois parliament, in which representatives of the ruling political forces tirelessly assure the people that they regard freedom and democracy as the highest values? Assertions of this kind do not dovetail with capitalist reality, with the exploitation of man, with his steady destruction as the chief productive force, with the growing profits of the powers that be and the simultaneous impoverishment of millions of workers. Innumerable facts bear out again and again Lenin's assessment that bourgeois parliamentarism is no more than an instrument ensuring capitalist domination of society. Even an inexperienced observer noted that references to freedom and the prattle about democracy become louder with the growth of unemployment. The more helpless bourgeois society is to resolve the problems of our time, the more feverish become the anti-communist tirades on the part of parliamentary leaders as they try to camouflage capitalism's crimes.

In recent years the People's Chamber of the GDR has enacted a series of important laws concerning the environment and the health of citizens. These include the law on the planned protection of nature and the socialist organisation of the use of land, the law on the handling of chemical poisons, and the law on the use of nuclear energy and on protection from the dangers linked to such use. These acts are replies to objective problems generated by continued industrialisation and the modernisation of the means of production. Not only the laws themselves, but above all their implementation are highly assessed by experts in capitalist countries. Of course, environmental protection requires the development of new technologies to make it possible to use production waste without destructively influencing the environment. But in our conditions this sort of work is facilitated by the fact that we do not have to overcome, as in capitalist society, the barrier created by the drive for maximum profits. In a socialist society the health and welfare of people are placed above everything else.

In the past few years the legislation enacted by the People's Chamber covered yet another area. Let me remind you that in the republic there are public courts, over 26,000 conflict commissions (with a total membership of 230,000 persons) at industrial facilities, and 5,200 arbitration commissions with 55,000 members in the towns and rural communities. These public organs hold a firm and honoured place in

the judiciary: they help reinforce the state's security, prevent crime and other offences, and re-educate those citizens who have committed an offence and been punished. Moreover, the commissions protect and ensure the respect of the law-guaranteed human rights of socialist society. Consideration for public property and revolutionary vigilance relative to the enemy's subversive activities constitute one of the main tasks of our state. This task cannot be successfully carried out without the active participation of the people.

In 1982 the People's Chamber promulgated a law on these public courts. The draft of this law was widely discussed by members of arbitration and conflict commissions, and many reasonable considerations put forward at these discussions were included in the final text. Representatives of the government, the trade unions, and the National Front cooperated closely, in comradely fashion in drawing up the law. This is the usual legislative procedure in the republic. Our principle is that any act affecting society must take into account the opinion of the largest possible number of citizens.

The people's direct interest in social problems and their willingness to help resolve them are constantly felt by deputies in representative organs and by officials of the state apparatus. A steadily growing number of citizens regard the appeals for greater efficiency in our economy as being made personally to them and are giving all the help they can: collecting reusable raw materials, cultivating small plots of land on which big farm machines cannot be used, helping to build houses, to enlarge nursery schools and creches, and so on.

Of course, this activity, which is voluntary, must be directed into the channel of state planning and administration. An extremely important role is played by local representative bodies. Nearly 203,000 deputies, half of whom were workers, were elected at the communal elections last May. At the very first sittings resolutions were passed committing the deputies to pay close attention to promoting the efficiency of the economy, mobilising production reserves, and improving the everyday living and working conditions of citizens. Generally speaking, our local representative bodies have no time for empty talk and parliamentary prattle. Their close tie to life is clearly illustrated by an important orientation of their work: we in the GDR calculate on resolving the housing problem as a social issue by 1990 in exactly the way it was raised by Engels in his *The Housing Question*.¹⁷

The housing programme is a key element of the SED's social policy. In our people's history this question has never received so much attention as in recent years. The reason for this is that this objective can only be attained in a society oriented towards the satisfaction of the people's requirements and not towards the receipt of profits. Much has already been accomplished: the housing of six million persons has been improved in the period between 1971 and 1983. By the close of the current decade another 4,300,000 persons are to receive new or renovated housing. Lately the emphasis has shifted to construction in town centres, to the modernisation or reconstruction of these centres, where many workers live in old housing, a part of which is regrettably still inadequately modernised.

In one way or another, these matters affect all citizens and their commitment is very big. In the emulation movement under the slogan 'Let us beautify our towns and rural communities. Join actively in this work', and in the communal contracts signed by local councils and factories the well-considered housing programme receives not only understanding but also the active support of the population, who display enormous energy and initiative. The politically mature citizen called upon to administer his or her socialist state, participates in the adoption and implementation of cardinal decisions in which his or her personal interests more frequently and more fully coincide with those of society.

The fulfilment of such large-scale and long-term projects unfailingly presupposes an account of the entire range of inter-related issues, and requires precise leadership and strict control. Considerable responsibility devolves on local representative

bodies: in some parts of the GDR there are unjustified discrepancies in construction efficiency. The councils show that they are indeed working organs: they organise the sharing of experience and painstakingly compare and analyse work results.

While strengthening our socialist state, we also discharge our internationalist duty. By consolidating socialism's international positions we erode imperialism's militarist and misanthropic ideology. And, of course, we contribute to the attainment of the *vitally* important task of safeguarding peace as humanity's highest value and preventing humanity's destruction in a nuclear conflagration.

The most aggressive circles of imperialism, headed by the USA, are calling upon reaction throughout the world to mount a 'great crusade' against the new society. Those who, like us, German Communists, revere the heritage of the anti-fascists, devote themselves to the defence of peace. The words that war should never again begin on German soil are enshrined in our republic's 'birth certificate'. We are actively helping to give effect to all of the Soviet Union's peace proposals, wholeheartedly support the initiatives of countries of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, to which the GDR belongs, welcome the idea of setting up nuclear-free zones and, as the General Secretary of our party's CC has assured, are prepared to extend such zones to our republic.

The Reagan Administration constantly replies in the negative to all the constructive proposals of the socialist countries, but this does not deter us from resolutely insisting on the settlement of all outstanding issues by peaceful negotiation. Erich Honecker stated that 'the deterioration of the international situation demands an intensification of the striving for peaceful coexistence. There is no reasonable alternative. It is better to sit down at the negotiating table ten times than to shoot once.'¹⁸

While consolidating and developing socialist state power in the GDR, bringing ever more fully to light the laws governing the building of a developed socialist society, strengthening the working class and enhancing the leading role played by its party—the Socialist Unity Party of Germany—the Communists of the GDR, in close alliance with the cooperated peasants and other sections of society are working perseveringly and consistently for the benefit of the people, for a worthy life for them, and for peace in the world.

¹ Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Moscow, 1959, p. 391.

² Johann-Wolfgang von Goethe, *Maximen und Reflexionen*, Berlin-Weimar, 1982, p. 66.

³ *Revolutionäre deutsche Parteiprogramme*, Berlin, 1967, p. 109.

⁴ Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 168.

⁵ Rosa Luxemburg, *Gesammelte Werke*, Vol. 4, Berlin, 1974, pp. 511-512.

⁶ *Karl Marx und unsere Zeit—der Kampf um Frieden und sozialen Fortschritt. Internationale wissenschaftliche Konferenz des ZK der SED*, Berlin, 1983, p. 17.

⁷ Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 504.

⁸ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1969, p. 220.

⁹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 102.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

¹¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 2, p. 220.

¹² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 424.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 26, p. 336.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. 27, p. 241.

¹⁵ *Protokoll der Verhandlungen des X. Parteitages der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands*, Vol. 1, Berlin, 1981, p. 120.

¹⁶ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 273.

¹⁷ See Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 2, pp. 305-370.

¹⁸ *Neues Deutschland*, August 18, 1984.

In a Spirit of Comradeship and Unity of Action

Athos Fava – General Secretary,
Communist Party of Argentina

LAST July, fifty years after the Latin American Communists had their first meeting in Buenos Aires in 1929, the Argentinian capital was the venue of a conference of South American communist parties.¹ This conference demonstrated the viability of the revolutionary movement's vanguard, a movement closely linked to the history and struggles of the working people of our 'turbulent' continent, as it is called.

Over half a century ago the question was of embryonic parties with the mission of giving a scientific explanation of reality, which, as the struggle for the interests of the working class developed, brought them round to the conclusion that dependence and imperialism were the main obstacles to the liberation of the Latin American peoples.

The July conference, convened for the purpose of sharing experience and coordinating action to repulse on a regional scale the Reagan Administration's aggressive, bellicose policies, was attended by representatives of 12 parties² that have been tempered in class battles, won strong positions, and enjoy high prestige among wide sections of the people. A delegation from the Communist Party of Cuba attended the Buenos Aires forum as an observer.

The conference was highlighted by profound discussions of cardinal issues such as solidarity with Nicaragua, the struggle for peace in Central America, and the promotion of the anti-war movement in the region as a whole. Moreover, it analysed the role of our parties and of the whole international communist movement in preventing a nuclear holocaust. Considerable attention was devoted to problems of democracy, the defence, consolidating, and deepening of the advances that have been made, the unity of the working class movement, and the attitude to the external debt.

A Turbulent Continent

The conference considered the current volatile situation in South America, in fact throughout the whole of the Latin American continent, which is today one of the most troubled regions of the world. The anti-imperialist struggle, whose traditions date from the close of the 19th and early years of the 20th century reached its highest point with the triumph of the Cuban revolution and the creation of the first socialist state in the Western Hemisphere. Cuba dispersed the myth of geographical fatalism and is building a new society a mere 90 miles from an imperialist colossus.

Our history is illustrative of unending Yankee aggression and mirrors the dialectics of the Latin American national liberation movements with their upsurges and the counter-strikes by reaction, with the alternation of civilian bourgeois governments and military regimes (progressive, nationalistic, reformist, and also bloodthirsty dictatorships). Moreover, a lesson of the past is that fascism and reaction have never been either effective or lasting.

Imperialism's most recent counter-offensive, which took place in the 1970s, was preceded by the 1964 coup that installed a dictatorship in Brazil—this was the first of the reactionary regimes in the countries of the Southern Cone. Then followed the coups in Bolivia, Chile and Uruguay. In 1976 the last link in the chain was Argentina. As a consequence, some analysts believed that a long night of fascism had engulfed the continent.

However, like the breath of a spring breeze at the height of winter, a ray of light in the darkness of reaction, the Nicaraguan revolution of 1979, which put an end to the

more than 40-year-long Somoza dictatorship, heralded the new, mighty upswing of the democratic movement in Latin America.

The present situation in the region, the conference statement notes, is characterised by a growth 'of popular actions, in which the principal role is played by the working class of our countries that has contributed and continues to contribute to the democratic and anti-imperialist advances'.³ These actions demonstrate the determination of the Latin American people to repulse the policy of destabilisation and the putchist plans of the local oligarchy and the imperialists, and show their conviction that lasting democracy must be achieved.

However, despite the fiasco suffered by the OAS and TIAR,⁴ which they had sponsored, the imperialists managed to increase our republics' dependence by means of new forms of financial, technological, and military expansion.

At the conference it was noted that during the past few decades the structural crisis in Latin America had deepened and widened, and that the social confrontation had grown more acute than ever. In the meantime, there has been a growth of the role played by the Latin American states in the world community and of their objective contradictions with the USA not only in the economic, financial, and trade but also in the political, diplomatic, and military spheres.

There is increasing discord between the imperialists. Many people in capitalist Europe are questioning the correctness of North American policy towards Central and South America. True, when it is a case of 'protecting the system itself' (witness the conflict between Britain and Argentina over the Malvinas and the external debt problems), the imperialists continue, albeit with some posture distinctions, to present a united front.

Further, the conference noted that the discrepancy between the USA's imperial ambitions and the national interests of the Latin American nations and its people is generating deepening and widening resistance. The struggle is being joined by more and more strata and classes, peoples, and even governments representing a broad spectrum of ideological schools. A growing number of people sees Latin American unity as indispensable to repulsing imperialist aggression and settling such acute and pressing structural problems as backwardness and dependence.

Our Experience

The above-mentioned considerations, borne out by the experience of the past decade, underlay the contribution of the Argentinian delegation at the conference. Beginning in the 1930s there have been in Argentina many reactionary, pro-imperialist and pro-oligarchy coups, each of which caused a further deterioration of the conditions of the people's life.

Throughout almost all the 66 years of its existence the CPA has functioned in secrecy and been subjected to savage repressions. But today—and this is eloquent evidence of the changing situation—we have been able to organise and hold at the proper level a meeting of representatives of fraternal parties in Buenos Aires and tell them about the struggles of our people. These struggles brought about the overthrow of the military dictatorship and the establishment of bourgeois democracy with all the accompanying changes, advantages, and problems.

The regime fell not only under the weight of its own international conflicts and errors. Its disintegration was predicted by three indivisible factors: the struggle by the working class and the entire nation, the impossibility of perpetuating a model of society based on repressions and dependence, and the contradictions that surfaced during the Malvinas war. Our party and the popular movement correctly assessed these factors and, without vacillation, took advantage of the objective conflict with imperialism to put forward their far-reaching demands in opposition to the speculative aims pursued by the dictatorship.

The anti-colonial war awakened in the people a clearer understanding of the

criminal essence of the conspiracy between the US and British imperialists and the attitude of their NATO allies, and showed who the true friends of Latin America are—the socialist community and the non-aligned nations.

Despite all the difficulties in implementing it, the CPA's line was ultimately crowned with success. The Argentine Communists have always believed that however long it would last the night of fascism would not be eternal. But to defeat the chief enemy it was imperative to rally his opponents, to take a differentiated approach to the armed forces, to single out and isolate the putschist elements in it, and to develop forms of action and organisation that would allow rejuvenating mass actions and beginning a forward movement under new conditions.

Aware that not a single legal possibility or what had already been achieved could be given up without a struggle, and that the people's gains destroyed by reaction had to be recovered, the CPA adopted an active stand from the very outset. It continued to work perseveringly in spite of the innumerable obstacles on this road.

We began to act energetically in the working class movement and took part in the first multi-party actions in defence of human rights. Relying on the masses, the Communists went to the army barracks and openly spoke of political prisoners and 'missing persons', of the living standard of the working people, and other problems worrying the population.

Risks had to be taken and we took them, using every opportunity to rebuff reaction and build up strength. We paid dearly for this: thousands of Communists were arrested, tortured, and killed, or 'disappeared without a trace'. Moreover, many of our comrades lost their means of livelihood.

Leading the People's Struggle

The conference in Buenos Aires reaffirmed the line mapped out by the 1975 Conference of Latin American and Caribbean Communist Parties in Havana and the need for 'still greater unity and understanding amongst all who are part of the anti-imperialist forces'.⁵

The Havana forum was followed by a series of meetings of representatives of communist parties of Central America and the Caribbean, and a conference of Communists of countries of the Southern Cone (Lima, 1982). Moreover, there were other bilateral and multilateral contacts that mirrored the growth of the revolutionary process.

The Buenos Aires conference reaffirmed Lenin's proposition about the vanguard role of a communist party, a role that we have to work for daily and hourly. "For it is not enough to call ourselves the 'vanguard', the advanced contingent," Lenin wrote, 'we must act in such a way that *all* the other contingents recognise and are obliged to admit that we are marching in the vanguard.'⁶ This role is not accorded by decree or established by anybody. It can only be won in the process of political work and a mass struggle enriched by experience and relying on the scientific, Marxist-Leninist world view.

Many examples were cited at the conference to demonstrate that the Communists can step into leading positions under the most diverse conditions: in a peaceful or armed struggle, during elections, and through participation in governments. An organisation becomes the vanguard when it sinks deep roots in the working class movement, and is broadly represented at large industrial facilities and proletarian centres. This allows withstanding any difficulty. Even if reaction succeeds in dealing it a painful blow, the party recovers, continues to fight, and nothing and nobody can tear its ideals out of the hearts of the working class and the entire people. This is proven by countless facts from the history of our region, where the Communists, banner-bearers of the anti-dictatorship movement, ultimately defeated reaction despite taking enormous losses.

The vanguard party role is played by the communist parties at various stages of the

struggle for the socialist and political unity of all the motive forces of the revolution in order to bring them to the conquest of power and the building of socialism.

Nuclear War Must Be Averted

In June 1918 Lenin wrote that the unleashing of war by capitalism will 'involve a complete rupture with the latest achievements of civilisation and culture, but that it might, that, in fact, it inevitably would, undermine the very foundations of human society. Because it is the first time in history that the most powerful achievements of technology have been applied on such a scale, so destructively and with such energy, for the annihilation of millions of human lives.'⁷

The prophetic words were borne out in the terrible years of the Second World War. Today nobody can even imagine what will happen if there is a nuclear holocaust, towards which the US armaments monopolies are pushing the world.

Our conference focused on the role of the Communists in preventing this madness. It was emphasised that with the White House's criminal policy starkly threatening humanity with war the Communists can and should unite their forces.

'The whole planet has become the objective of imperial ambitions: the socialist community, which they are attempting to destabilise and destroy; Western Europe; the Middle East and the Persian Gulf; Southern Africa and Southeast Asia; the Indian, Atlantic, and Pacific oceans; Latin and, in particular, Central America and the Caribbean. All of them face the mortal threat of chemical, space, and, chiefly, *nuclear war*,'⁸ says the Buenos Aires statement.

In their resolution on the struggle for peace, the South American Communists expressed their total support for the peace initiatives and consistent foreign policy of the USSR and other socialist countries. They stressed that our peoples have to be shown that a close link exists between this policy and the aid extended by the socialist community to developing nations. Attention was drawn to the need to defend existing socialism and its achievements, and resolutely rebuff the anti-Soviet and anti-communist slander campaigns.

Delegates pointed out that the inventions of the imperialists about 'Soviet expansionism', 'Cuban interventions', and the 'Sovietisation of Nicaragua' are weapons of psychological warfare and a component of the USA's aggressive designs in our continent. Using these inventions as a screen, the government in Washington is seeking to tip the military-strategic equilibrium in its favour, assert its claims to world supremacy, and place the burden of the crisis and the arms race on the shoulders of the peoples, including the people of the USA.

These cynical intentions are stated openly in the Santa Fe document,⁹ which has become an action programme and a sort of textbook of intervention by which the White House is guided to perpetuate in a study headed 'Strategic Aims Up to the Year 2000' written by R. Kuperman and W. Taylor, experts of Georgetown University. With impudence evocative of recent words spoken by Reagan, this study suggests turning the OAS into a military bloc and acting with its assistance; further, it says that the North American armed forces should be used only as a last resort. However, this by no means rules out the possibility that the Pentagon will go on organising demonstrations of its naval strength and sending advisers and even strategic bombers to the region.

It is not hard to see that the landing of US Marines on Grenada, the 'covert operations' of the CIA in Central America (as earlier in Chile and many other countries of the region), and the fiendish mining of Nicaraguan ports are in keeping with the recommendations of these documents. These actions show clearly the source of the threat to democratic legality in our countries, and who, to the accomplishment of the malicious anti-communist hysteria, encourages reactionary putschism by the military.

The following facts clearly illustrate the extent to which imperialism's

aggressiveness has grown in Latin America and the Caribbean and how this fits into its global strategy: following the war between Britain and Argentina the Malvinas have been turned into a NATO nuclear fortress, into yet another element of imperialism's world-wide cordon of military bases. Let us recall also the Pentagon's usurpation of Guantanamo and its strongholds in the Panama Canal Zone and on Puerto Rico. The Pentagon is now planning to take over the Trinidad (Brazil) and Easter (Chile) islands. Let us add that Honduras has been turned into a springboard for operations against Nicaragua and El Salvador, and that occupied Grenada and the states of the eastern Caribbean are being militarised.

At this point it would be appropriate to say that imperialism is not only shifting the economic burden of its arms race to the developing countries by increasing bank rates but is encouraging commerce in armaments in the region and fostering the growth of the military-industrial complexes in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, Peru and Venezuela, all of which are dependent on the USA.

To ensure the implementation of its strategy the USA is backing the establishment of murderous military dictatorships and bolstering such thoroughly corrupt regimes as that of Stroessner in Paraguay and the Duvalier 'dynasty' on Haiti.

A simple listing of the many forms of Yankee aggression shows that the USA's bellicosity is directed against democracy, national independence, the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of Latin American nations, and the policy of peace.

Our republic's experience—the recent Malvinas events and now, to some extent, the form of settling the frontier dispute with Chile over the Beagle Channel (attempts are being made to reach a settlement through the mediation of the Vatican)—indicates that the USA is in collusion with the British invaders. The government in Washington demonstrates its scorn for the OAS and the TIAR, which it itself had created, when the question concerns the possession of the incalculable natural wealth of the continent's southern zone and controlling a strategically important region of the South Atlantic. The USA's global plans call for using its military base in that region to hinder democratisation in Latin American states.

The war over the Malvinas made an indelible imprint on the history of Argentina and the whole of Latin America and its effects will be undoubtedly felt in the future. That is precisely why Argentine and international reaction is now disturbed over the imagined threat of the 'Malvinisation' of the external debt and is trying, to use its own terminology, to 'demalvinise' Argentina's domestic and foreign policies, in other words, to deprive the nation of its independence to prevent even the hint of an anti-imperialist thrust and of adherence to the ideals of peace.

The struggle for peace cannot be considered in isolation from the struggle for democracy and national and social liberation or, much less, in contrast to the latter. These movements do not come into conflict, nor does one exclude the other. On the contrary, they mutually complement and enrich each other and thereby grow stronger.

At their conference the South American Communists declared their conviction that massive social and political forces can be enlisted into the struggle against nuclear madness. This is confirmed by the signatures of the presidents of Argentina and Mexico on the so-called Appeal of Four Continents,¹⁰ calling for an end to the arms race and the prevention of a nuclear war, and also the 'Appeal of 100 for Continued Life' formulated by leading Argentine political, religious, scientific, cultural, and sports personalities. Despite their different ideologies, the persons who signed this document proceeded from the belief that where the defence of the right to life was concerned there could be no division. They suggested calling upon the nations possessing nuclear missiles to undertake a no-first-use commitment, as has been done by the USSR, and conclude an agreement first on freezing the nuclear arsenal and then on destroying it entirely. Argentine public opinion responded to the 'Appeal of

100' enthusiastically: thousands of people have already signed the document that is to be sent to the governments of the USA and the USSR. Many anti-war events of a social, cultural and sports character are held throughout the country.¹¹

The Buenos Aires conference analysed the experience of national anti-war movements and underscored that they must be resolutely expanded and developed. It passed a resolution on the 40th anniversary of the victory over German fascism with the calls to link that day to active participation in the worldwide movement against the nuclear threat.

The Power of Solidarity

Life is demanding closer unity among the forces of progress and greater anti-imperialist solidarity. The combination of unity and solidarity with the struggle of peace, it was stated in Buenos Aires, is vital for cutting short the USA's criminal plans in Central America and throughout the world. These plans represent a tangible threat.

This is demonstrated once again by the Kissinger commission's report on Central America. Essentially speaking, this report is an agreement between the most reactionary elements of the two main parties in the USA. It sums up what has been done in implementing the recommendations of the Santa Fe document and enunciates the renovated notorious 'anti-insurgency' theories and the doctrines of the USA's 'national security' and 'vital interests'. The conclusions offered by the commission make it plain that the ultra-left wings of the Democratic and the Republican parties are unanimous in wanting to strangle the revolution in Latin America. They reaffirm that the USA intends to continue supplying armaments to the anti-people regimes in El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala, obstruct the efforts of the Contradora Group to find a settlement,¹² and have recourse to direct intervention against Nicaragua. The commission states in its report that whatever the price that would have to be paid tomorrow for present-day actions, inaction at the present stage would cost many times dearer.

The Communists of South America must show their peoples that aggression in Central America is directed against Cuba, which is an inspiring example for the entire continent; against Nicaragua, which personified the new democratic and revolutionary thrust in Latin America; and against the Salvadoran and other peoples fighting for genuine independence.

At the conference it was pointed out that to a considerable extent the destiny of democracy, justice, peace and revolutionary changes throughout our continent was now being decided in Nicaragua. For that reason a steadily widening ideological spectrum of social and political forces is taking action to defend the right of the Nicaraguan people to self-determination and prevent North American military intervention. A special resolution passed in Buenos Aires declares that the Communists of the region should understand this and use every opportunity to turn solidarity with revolutionary Nicaragua into a broad and powerful movement far removed from sectarianism.

In Argentina solidarity with Nicaragua has ranged beyond the left forces. Today it unites prominent personalities of all democratic parties, and also civic and trade union leaders, and finds expression in various actions, in the formation of committees nation-wide in support of Nicaragua.

Block the Road to Putschism

The development of the democratisation process was examined at the Buenos Aires conference from the angle of the experience that permits putting an end to reactionary coups on the continent. It was noted that attainment of constitutional stability would ensure the best possible conditions for the unfolding of the mass struggle, for achieving political and trade union unity, and organising the working

class. A situation conducive to the consolidation of the revolutionary forces would thus be created.

A lesson of history is that every reactionary military coup in Latin America only exacerbates the crisis with the working people as the main victims. The putschists set up all-embracing repressive agencies. Republican institutions are reduced to a caricature or abolished altogether. The state apparatus is evocative of a resilient web.

The participants in the conference drew the conclusion that there was a need for a more profound analysis of militarism, of the role played by the armed forces in the region, upon which the Pentagon is attempting to impose a 'doctrine of national society'. In exposing the reactionary military as a concrete phenomenon we proceed from the circumstance that in a capitalist state the army serves the exploiting classes and guards their interests. But we should not lose sight of the far-reaching changes in the balance of forces that have taken place on the world scene and also in the consciousness of the people. To some extent these changes are expressed also in the armed forces, chiefly of dependent nations or those threatened by imperialist aggression. Society's problems ultimately affect its armed forces as well. Therefore, in working among different strata of the population the Communists should not lose sight of the military, and they should not let the oligarchy and imperialism acquire unchecked influence over the personnel of the armed forces. It is the duty of domestic and progressive organisations to fight for the armed forces, to win them to the defence of democracy and national sovereignty.

On the strength of an analysis of the latest series of military coups on the continent, it was emphasised that imperialism's policy of destabilisation is directed not only against revolutionary governments. Reaction wants to halt the reformist and democratic processes headed by the local bourgeoisie, processes that adversely affect the interests of the international oligarchy and imperialism's global militarist strategy.

The conference reaffirmed the determination of the South American Communists to press steadfastly for cohesion among broad national and continental forces capable of blocking any attempts at reactionary coups.

External Debt as a Form of Aggression

As I have already noted, in Latin America the USA is having recourse not only to military but also to financial-economic aggression. This is well known on our continent. Dependence dooms the working people to misery and backwardness. An example is the external debt. During the past nine years it has grown by 400 per cent to reach 350 billion dollars. As a result, the countries of the region are saddled with almost half of the aggregate debt of the Third World.

This new form of colonial bondage and robbery of our countries 'has now become an instrument of blackmail and political and economic subjugation', with the use of which imperialism 'is trying to compel the peoples to pay for the crisis of its system and the arms race'.¹³ At the same time, this is a result of the policy pursued by the oligarchy and the big pro-imperialist bourgeoisie; the latter dominates our countries politically and economically and is hitching their economies to capitalism's financial system, which is in deep crisis.

A large proportion of the external debt consists of the accumulated interests that has to be paid to the big foreign capitalist banks, notably of the USA. The debt springs from the piratical activities of the giant transnational corporations, whose revenues in the region are much greater than their investments.

Speaking specifically of Argentina, we are convinced that whether the settlement of the external debt problem is positive or negative it will unfailingly affect the nation's political future. The CPA therefore calls upon the people to act vigorously in order to bring pressure to bear on the government and force it to reject dictation from the International Monetary Fund. Of the concrete actions mention is merited by the

protest march against the IMF's policies held on the initiatives of the Movement of Youth Political Organisations, which, in addition to the Communists and Peronists, consists of the ruling party's Youth League and about ten other groups. More than 150,000 persons took part in this action, which was held in Buenos Aires and some other towns.

However, the debt problem is still far from being resolved. It will unquestionably be further aggravated as time passes. Hence delay will only tend to strengthen our people's main enemy—Yankee imperialism.

For Working Class Cohesion

The role of the working class in the democratic anti-imperialist struggle in the region was justifiably the central issue at the conference. Much was said of the need for an in-depth analysis of the new phenomena to be observed in the Latin American working class movement, for 'promoting its unity, reinforcing the mass organisations of the working people, and studying questions of tactics; this will allow specifying all the factors facilitating cohesion and also the obstacles to cohesion, and help to achieve the broadest interaction of the trade unions in each country and the coordination of their efforts in the struggles throughout the continent'.¹⁴

In the light of the changes that have taken place in the working class movement, the Communists who gathered at Buenos Aires stressed that there was a need to 'develop new bold initiatives that would clear the way to unitary actions and subsequently lead to close unity among all the trade unions on the continent'.¹⁵

In this context the conference paid special attention to the Appeal of the Bolivian Workers' Centre to all Latin American proletarians to coordinate their actions against the IMF and support the Bolivian government's decision to suspend payments on its external debt. It was stressed that such examples merited simulation. One of our conference's resolutions recommends 'developing and coordinating unity of action and initiatives by the working class movement' and 'inspiring the people to take militant action' against the IMF, taking into account the 'broad possibilities that have already been mentioned at various levels and at international forums'.¹⁶

Life-Giving Force of Marxism-Leninism

'As we emphasised at the Conference of Communist Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean in Havana (1975),' the Buenos Aires Statement says, 'our parties are a vigorously functioning component of the world communist movement. They steadfastly adhere to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We are part of the powerful current that will change the course of history and create a society in which there will be neither exploiters nor exploited.'¹⁷

At the discussions it was pointed out that the general laws of Marxism-Leninism and the proletarian revolution were valid for all countries. It was noted that there had to be an invigoration of the ideological struggle against the enemies of the working class and the people, against all who distort and misrepresent Marxism.

Practice is showing our peoples, who have been forced into dependence, socialism's indisputable superiority over capitalism. Extremely eloquent in this respect was the report delivered by the Cuban delegation. In 1983 small Cuba's gross national product rose by 5.5 per cent, while in Latin America as a whole it dropped by 3.3 per cent. Cuba has wiped out illiteracy, which continues to reign on the continent; it has put an end to social scourges such as unemployment and starvation, while its health care system has reached heights unprecedented in Latin America.

It was stated at the conference that the main orientation of our ideological struggle should be the defence of existing socialism in the person of the USSR and all other countries of the socialist community and the exposure of anti-Soviet and anti-communist lies. The peoples must be shown that the 'guarantees of the extraordinarily important process through which humankind is now going (the

transition from capitalism to socialism.—*Ed.*) are the existence and powerful development of the world socialist system'.¹⁸

For Stronger Unity

The conference in Buenos Aires made it plain—and this is one of the main conclusions that may be drawn—that despite some nuances and distinctions in approaches, in the international communist movement meetings may be held and coordination of action achieved on key issues of political development.

All the delegations were unanimous in their desire to work actively in order to convene a world forum of Communists to consider our contribution to the prevention of a nuclear war. We are convinced that such a conference is necessary and possible. It is necessary on account of the immense significance of the task of preserving the continued life of humanity. It is possible because in the course of many years, during which no conference of that scale was held, the understanding has been growing in the parties belonging to our movement that they must together undertake the historical responsibility for the preservation of peace. A resolution passed on this question says: 'The communist parties of South America will bring this recommendation to the notice of all communist and workers' parties so that they should examine this initiative, which is in keeping with the interests of the peoples of the world.'¹⁹

The conclusions and resolutions of the Buenos Aires conference bear out the Latin American communist movement's high degree of maturity.

Our discussions showed that the struggle for social and national emancipation is, on the whole, gathering ever greater momentum in each individual country and in the region as a whole. Although its growth rate is not the same everywhere, it is acquiring new forms and bringing the masses vast experience of organisation and militancy. We Communists are drawing significant lessons from our triumph and temporary setbacks.

In one way or another the role played by the communist parties and the viability of the most general laws of the process of revolutionary changes are reflected in all the events taking place on the continent. Delegates spoke at length on the question of the direction of these events and specially noted that coordination and unity are an imperative of the further growth of the influence enjoyed by the Communists.

Many-sided interaction was a keynote of the conference's proceedings. We have no doubt whatever that the conditions are now ripe for rallying broad forces, the peoples, and even the governments of the continent for a joint struggle to halt foreign imperialist interference and defend the sacrosanct right of every nation to decide independently what socio-economic system it prefers.

In addition to its profound analysis of problems, a hallmark of the conference was the spirit of comradeship. The atmosphere of candidness and brotherhood in which the discussions, lively and unconstrained, took place allowed achieving greater results than we ourselves expected. Every party spoke of its own experience and tried to draw the greatest possible benefit from what was said by comrades. In Buenos Aires it was noted again and again that we must unite our intellectual powers, strength, and actions. A resolution was passed on the formation of a commission for exchanges of information and for the maintenance of links between parties.

We left the forum of the South American Communists politically and ideologically enriched. We have grown stronger than ever before through the experience of the fraternal peoples, of their working class and communist parties. We have acquired more of the knowledge needed to understand objective reality and socio-political processes. The conference indicated the path that will lead the countries of our continent to democracy, wellbeing, peace and socialism.

¹ July 5-7.—Ed.

² Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Guyana, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela.—Ed.

³ *Nueva Era*, No. 17, 1984, p. 19.

⁴ An inter-American treaty of mutual assistance signed in Rio de Janeiro in 1947.—Ed.

⁵ *Conferencia de los Partidos Comunistas de América latina y del Caribe*, Havana, 1975, p. 69.

⁶ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 370.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. 27, p. 422.

⁸ *Nueva Era*, No. 17, 1984, p. 19.

⁹ See Rodney Arismendi, 'Global Madness Once More', *WMR*, No. 7, 1981.—Ed.

¹⁰ It was signed by Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden, and Tanzania.—Ed.

¹¹ For example, a lesson devoted to the memory of the victims of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima was held in schools on August 6 on the initiative of the Ministry of Education. The Argentine Football Association decided that on that day there would be a minute's silence at all stadiums before kick-offs. Exhibitions have been opened in many towns.

¹² See Edgar Caicedo, 'What Is the Contradora Group?', *WMR*, No. 9, 1984.—Ed.

¹³ *Nueva Era*, No. 17, 1984, p. 22.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

Dialectics of the International and the National in the Social Struggle

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As in Latin America and the world as a whole, the present situation in Brazil poses the Brazilian Communists with the extraordinarily acute problem of the correlation between the international and the national in the revolutionary movement. What, specifically, is the cause? On the one hand, the present accelerated internationalisation of the class struggle; this process is now global, embracing all countries, and increasingly influencing home policy and society's life in each of them, including Brazil. On the other hand, the growth, alongside and in relation with this process, of the significance of the national factor in the revolutionary movement, especially in developing countries, where the tasks of national liberation and of ensuring sovereignty and independence from world imperialism are far from having been consummated. How, in the light of these circumstances, is the policy of the revolutionary party of the working class to be framed? Of what consists the objective dialectics of the international and the national in the development of the anti-imperialist movement at the present stage? How is it mirrored in the activities of the Communists?

For us these are by no means abstract questions (I believe they are urgent also for the communist parties of other countries). They are intimately linked to practice, to the evolution of our strategy and tactics, to the quests for the most effective ways and means of fighting for democracy and socialism.

The general principles for resolving the problem of the correlation between the international and the national in the class struggle were scientifically substantiated by the classics of Marxism-Leninism. In considering this issue they invariably proceeded from an analysis of the basic contradictions of bourgeois society, contradictions that are international, noting that in essence the struggle waged by the proletariat is

international. 'The emancipation of labour,' Marx wrote. 'is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem, embracing all countries in which modern society exists.'¹ However, the founders of scientific communism insisted that account should in all cases be taken of the national factor, which predicates the specifics of the revolutionary process in accordance with the actual conditions obtaining in each given country. 'Though not in substance, yet in form, the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie is at first a national struggle. The proletariat of each country must, of course, first of all settle matters with its own bourgeoisie.'²

In the revolutionary struggle of the workers the international thus manifests itself in national form in keeping with the specific conditions obtaining in each country and expresses the interests of the international proletariat regardless of nationality. This is a socio-historical hallmark of the working class, which 'by its nature is international'.³ Regarded from this angle, the international, taking the shape of the underlying principle of the revolutionary activities of the workers, of proletarian internationalism, is a factor converting the proletariat from a passive object of world history into the maker of that history, from 'a class in itself' into a 'class for itself'.

Proletarian internationalism is inseparable from the essence of the working class movement, from the historical mission of the working class. It permeates all the basic aspects of the ideology, policies, culture, and practical struggle of the Communist parties. There is no sphere of communist revolutionary activity in which internationalism has not manifested itself in one way or another and has not influenced the struggle of the Communists in one form or another. Far from refusing to recognise the sovereignty of nations and the multifariousness of specific local conditions, the Marxist-Leninists proceed from this recognition, always taking into account the national specific in their approach to international problems. Engels stressed that the international unity of the proletariat is altogether unrealistic outside the national, that 'an international alliance is possible solely between nations whose existence, autonomy, and independence in home affairs are included, consequently, in the very concept of internationalism'.⁴

Marxism-Leninism regards the international and the national in unbreakable unity, as representing not merely a combination arising from time to time, dependent on a spontaneous concurrence of circumstances, but a dialectical, developing correlation implicit in the struggle between the classes of present-day society. It is not something given once and for all and suitable for all times and for revolution in all countries. It undergoes modifications with the passage of time and depends on the character of the social system in one country or another, on the level of social and economic development, and in other concrete conditions. What are the proportions of this correlation. Is there a common yardstick that allows determining them correctly relative to the struggle of the Communists in this or that situation? Yes, there is. Lenin noted that revolutionary practice serves as the best indicator of the correctness of the correlation between the international and the national on the policies of the Marxist party in any situation. He clearly formulated this criterion, writing that the Communists had to struggle to 'the utmost possible in one country for the development, support and awakening of the revolution *in all countries*'.⁵

For many decades the Marxist-Leninist approach to this problem has been misrepresented in every possible way by bourgeois and opportunist ideologues. A feature in common in all these misrepresentations is the schematisation of the dialectical unity of international and national factors as reflected in revolutionary theory. Attempts are made to reduce the correlation between these factors to a contradiction in which they mutually exclude each other. The adversaries of scientific socialism assert that the internationalism of the Communists is incompatible with national interests, that it 'negates' these interests.

It is well known, for instance, that in Brazil and other Latin American countries anti-communism, which speculates widely with this 'thesis', is directed not only

against the Communists, Accusations of a lack of patriotism invariably serve as the main pretext for repressions against patriotic movements that have a democratic and national content. The central newspaper, the so-called 'big press', tirelessly charge that the Left is acting against the vital interests of their country despite the fact that such charges are totally refuted by everything that the Communist Party does. In 'A Democratic Alternative to the Brazilian Crisis', a document published after the National Meeting for the Legalisation of the BCP (1984), it is stated: 'The democratic forces and, in particular, the working class . . . should actively foster the unity and invigoration of the patriotic movement on the basis of such concrete issues as: the protection of the Amazon basin and the nation's natural resources; the exposure of the humiliating treaties imposed by imperialism and the pressure the latter brings to bear upon our development and upon our foreign policies (this is implemented by the Reagan Administration, the International Monetary Fund, transnational banks, and transnational corporations).'⁶

Indeed, Marxism-Leninism attaches paramount significance to the international factor. But, first, this has nothing in common with national nihilism, from which the founders of scientific socialism had always dissociated themselves. Second, the character of the relation between the international and the national is not one of subordination of principles or ideas, but represents a dialectical relationship reflecting real social processes predicted precisely by the class struggle, by social contradictions that come forward in the objective reality as determining factors of development.

The Marxist-Leninist interpretation of the international and the national derives from its analysis of society's social structure, of the status and role played in it by the various classes and strata, of their relation to the means of production, of the interaction of all these factors on the national and international levels, in short, from its comprehensive study of the objective course of society's development. This method is a dependable basis for showing the dialectics of the international and the national in the working class movement. It provides the key to correctly understanding the logic of the revolutionary process, to understanding the general laws governing the transition from capitalism to socialism in organic relationship, with account of the specific conditions of the class struggle, of the many ways it manifests itself in different countries and at different stages of development.

In our epoch the revolutionary process has become global in the true sense of the word, in fact embracing all the capitalist countries regardless of their size, population, development level, and political system. On the social level it has become universal both for its aims (the abolition of all forms of exploitation and oppression, and a basic restructuring of all aspects of society's life in the interests of the working people) and the composition of the participating forces. The anti-imperialist process has become indivisible: the internationalisation of the class struggle has consolidated and deepened the interconnection of all the currents and components of the international liberation movement and linked the potentialities and prospects of the struggle of the working people of each country to the global confrontation between the two social systems.

Latin America has become an arena of the fierce clash between the forces of oppression and reaction and the forces of national liberation and progress. The scale of the democratic, anti-imperialist movements is growing on the continent. More social strata are joining in the revolutionary actions. The working class and other large sections of the people are fighting for economic independence and sovereignty, for social emancipation. They are acting ever more closely with other currents of the world revolutionary process. Never before has this struggle been so intimately dependent on the overall balance of strength in the world, on the achievements of the anti-imperialist movement in other countries.

All the above-listed factors, which express the objectively existing cohesion of the

modern revolutionary process, by no means signify a uniformity of the way this process manifests itself in different countries and regions. On the contrary, its social content grows increasingly more complex chiefly as a result of the unevenness of its development under imperialism, while the forms in which it is realised display a growing spectrum of diversity. Even in Latin America alone the revolutionary forces are today acting not only under dissimilar conditions but are at different levels of socio-economic and political development. The liberation movements in Latin American countries have an extraordinarily heterogeneous class composition. Depending on specific conditions these movements represent a complex combination of many social forces. Moreover, huge numbers of politically inexperienced people are joining the anti-imperialist struggle.

The uneven character of economic and political development under imperialism is seen in Latin American countries in ugly forms that consolidate the existence—often within the boundaries of one country—of the most diverse socio-economic systems—from primitive-communal to state-monopoly. While leading to the disappearance of archaic systems and facilitating industrial growth, the process of economic internationalisation under these conditions does not stimulate progressive changes and slacken dependence on imperialism because it is subordinate to the mercenary needs of foreign, chiefly North American, capitalism, to the interests of transnational corporations.

Brazil is one of the nations where the most profound changes have taken place during the past two decades under the impact of this process. It has witnessed the appearance of modern industries and the formation of the economic structures and mechanisms of state-monopoly management of the economy, drawing it closer to the industrialised capitalist powers. There has been a radical change of the population's social and demographic composition. The numerical strength of the working class has grown almost three-fold—from eight to 23 million, which is roughly half of the economically active population. Two-thirds of Brazil's population live in the towns. Brazil has become a nation with a medium level of capitalist development. Alongside Mexico and Argentina, it exports manufactured goods to less developed nations. But at what cost has the 'Brazilian miracle' been achieved? How does it look today.

Most of the new industries are controlled by transnationals: the entire automobile industry, 70 per cent of the electronics industry, 59 per cent of the heavy engineering industry, and so on. Brazil's external debt is nearing the 100 billion dollars mark. In only 1984 it has to pay over 11 billion dollars in interests. Industrial growth and the diversification of economic structures, chiefly by imports and the installation of advanced equipment, have rather increased than reduced the nation's dependence on imperialism and not led to the solution of pressing social problems—a fairer distribution of the national income, the abolition of hunger and poverty, and the bringing down of unemployment. The economic crisis that struck the capitalist world in the 1980s is still further aggravating the relations of dependence and social injustice.

Investments in Brazilian industry, which began to diminish in the mid-1970s, have now ceased altogether. The number of small and medium enterprises run by the Brazilian bourgeoisie and falling into bankruptcy is growing steadily. Almost one-third of Brazil's industrial capacities are not utilised. The inflation rate has topped 10 per cent. At the same time, unemployment is growing. The employment level has now dropped to the 1969 level. Infiltration by transnationals has led to the superexploitation of labour. In view of the lower labour productivity, the Brazilian worker has to toil a whole month to receive what a North American worker earns in 10 hours. Social inequality has become still more marked during the years of economic growth. The concentration of wealth is accompanied by the pauperisation of large sections of the population. The income of 10 per cent of the wealthiest Brazilians exceeds the aggregate income of 50 per cent of the poorest. Two-thirds of

Brazilian families suffer from undernourishment. A thousand children die daily, and in some regions the child death rate is reaching 40 per cent. The 'Brazilian miracle' has become a national disaster. Its visible indications are the camps of unemployed in some cities, where hunger riots have become usual occurrences.

What relation has all this got to the problem we are considering? The most direct. The data we have mentioned—and there is no end to the likes of them—show, first, that the internationalisation of production and exchange in capitalism's 'peripheral' zone has a clear-cut specific: it constantly reproduces and deepens on a new basis the social and economic imbalances between imperialist and developing countries, and preserves the dependence, the subordinate status of the latter. These data are evidence that the process of internationalisation exacerbates rather than blunts national problems.

An account of these elements allows bringing to light the untenability of the views that the growing internationalisation of society's life is tantamount to pushing aside and suppressing the tendency towards the self-assertion of nations, to abandoning the efforts to strengthen national independence. The contradictory nature of world development in our epoch lies, in particular, in the circumstance that while acquiring an increasingly more tangible international content it accentuates some features of the national specific. The dialectics of the correlation of these tendencies is by no means that one of them grows at the expense of the other. Development proceeds in such a way that their interaction also deepens.

Why do we have to accentuate attention on this? The point is that the struggle against the ideology of national-nihilism, typical of the Trotskyists, anarchists, and other leftist groups, is still a problem in Brazil as in some other Latin American countries. These groups are worming their way into the anti-imperialist movement and perceptibly influencing paupers, the unemployed, and a section of the revolutionary youth. While disorienting the forces waging the liberation struggle, spokesmen of these groups distort the very substance and fundamental principles of proletarian internationalism. Instead of the dialectics of the international and national movement they offer the metaphysics of 'pure internationalism' in opposition to patriotism and everything national. They reject the principle of revolutionary solidarity in favour of their adventurist 'export of revolution' doctrine; they substitute Lenin's thesis that socialism can triumph in one country taken separately with the romantically sounding but politically absurd slogan calling for a continental or planetary 'revolution', and so on. The left-opportunist approach to national problems pushes the working class into refusing to join in democratic movements and leads to sectarianism and adventurism. In criticising attitudes of this kind, Lenin noted that they signify the ignoring of the political struggle now, at present, immediately, and at all times'.⁷

Leftists leaders tag the label of 'nationalism' to the non-acceptance of these anti-scientific ideas by the working class and its revolutionary vanguard, asserting that the patriotism of the Communists and their struggle for national interests are 'splitting' the international proletariat and 'uniting' the workers with the bourgeoisie. Our party emphatically denounces attacks of this kind as being totally unfounded and contrary to the interests of the anti-imperialist movement. Acting from Marxist-Leninist positions, it seeks to play a bigger role in the life of the nation. This means using all legal forms of struggle, displaying initiative wherever possible to get the best of bourgeois reformism in resolving national problems, and participating actively in democratic movements and coalitions, in short, in everything that creates the conditions for turning the party into an influential national force.

The Communists regard the legalisation of the BCP as the immediate task on this path. Why? Because, for the party, which with the exception of two years (1945-1947) has been outside the pale of the law throughout its history, legalisation is something much more than a simple formal reaffirmation of the legality of its activities. It

signifies society's recognition of the BCP as an organic element of national life. This spells out new possibilities for using political institutions to extend the party's influence among the people and resolve problems confronting the nation. This signifies a major condition for turning our party into a force capable of heading the struggle of the working people, disputing power and directing social processes along the path leading to socialism. Lastly, it is a significant advance in the democratisation of Brazil's entire state-political system.

As a result of the struggle waged by the Communists with the support of other democratic movements, the BCP is already now acting as a virtually recognised organisation on the scene of social struggle. Together with the other parties advocating democracy, the Communists are militantly demanding the restoration of democratic freedoms, the annulment of the reactionary 'national security law' and all extraordinary laws, the convocation of a constituent assembly, and the holding of direct presidential elections in 1985. At the preceding elections in 1982 several Communists were elected members of parliament.

In pursuing a policy of uniting all of society's democratic forces in a national front, our party sees the prospects for this front's development in the fact that its core and vanguard will consist of the working class. We feel that this is quite a realistic prospect. The proletariat's class interests and its striving to abolish all forms of oppression and achieve genuine popular rule and social justice objectively coincide with the basic interests of the nation and allow it to unite around itself all strata of society oppressed by local and foreign monopoly capital. Along with the working class and peasantry, growing sections of the intelligentsia, military servicemen, small proprietors, and a segment of the non-monopoly bourgeoisie are taking part in the anti-imperialist struggle today. The aspiration to unite their efforts in the struggle against the monopolies and in looking for ways of ending the crisis processes in the interests of the working masses is natural for the revolutionary party acting in the name of the working class.

Are there concessions to nationalism in this? Definitely not. The Brazilian Communists have been and remain consistent internationalists. In elaborating its strategy of alliances, the BCP combines revolutionary firmness with a readiness to cooperate with all democratic, anti-imperialist movements. The deepening of this cooperation does not require anybody to renounce ideological principles. We have plenty of common ground for each to abide by his principles and to promote the concerted struggle against imperialism. In the revolutionary activities of the Communists internationalism is inseparable from patriotism, expressing love of one's country, pride in the contribution that one's nation has made to humankind's progress, and a striving to deliver the people from all forms of oppression and reshape society along socialist lines. The national responsibility of the Communists fuses with their internationalist duty, their fidelity to revolutionary principles, with their devotion to their country and to the defence of their nation's interests.

Patriotic aspirations underlie the national unity that the Communists, together with all other genuinely democratic forces, counterpose to the bourgeois-nationalistic course towards 'national integration' pursued by the ruling circles of the oligarchy. The substance of this course is, on the one hand, to achieve class peace under the guise of 'national consensus' and, on the other, to subvert and debilitate the organised working class movement. This policy is consonant with the interests of US imperialism and the transnational corporations. In the Latin American countries they have always relied on the privileged strata that depict nationalism as a supraclass force, a universal remedy for all problems, but in fact use it to camouflage the exploitation of the working people and to crush the struggle waged by them.

One of the central measures of 'national integration' was to attract workers into 'participation in profits' by offering them a portion of shares as a material symbol of their affiliation to the world of private property. However, in Brazil the class

contrasts have long ago and irreversibly driven a wedge between the interests of the working class and those of the monopolies. Although capitalism can, by means of social manoeuvring and nationalistic propaganda, still give a section of the working people the illusion of a national community of these interests, it is unable to bridge the gulf between them. Nor was the situation saved by the attempts to throw across it a narrow bridge glued together of so-called 'people's shares', a bridge that, of course, collapsed under the weight of the class struggle.

A fiasco was also suffered by the government's attempts to turn the trade unions into organs of social partnership, to 'put an end' to strikes. This is illustrated by the magnitude of the workers' economic and political actions; the Communists are active in or head many of these actions. The strike movement gripping the entire country is extremely indicative in this context. It involves large sections of the population—from seasonal agricultural labourers to professors of autonomous federal universities. Suffice it to recall, for example, such events of this year as the actions of sugar-cane cutters in the states of Pernambuco and São Paulo, the orange harvesters in the state of São Paulo, the victorious strike at the National Steel Company (the first in the 43 years of its existence), in which 20,000 workers took part, and others.

The anti-monopoly, anti-imperialist struggle of the masses gives birth to the nation's true unity. Taking shape on a democratic foundation, it strengthens national independence and facilitates progressive social and political changes.

Such is the BCP's approach to this problem. Far from conflicting with Marxism-Leninism and with the party's internationalist traditions, it stems naturally from them. In upholding national interests, we proceed from Lenin's precept that the motherland 'is a most powerful factor in the class struggle of the proletariat.'⁸

The enhancement of the role played by this factor in the activities of the communist party does not in any way belittle the significance of the party's internationalist aims. They constantly have the party's attention. This is dictated by the need to keep a close eye on the present changes in the world revolutionary process and on the international scene, which place national problems ever closer to the aims of strengthening the solidarity of the Communists of all countries and furthering the international consolidation of the world's democratic, anti-imperialist and peace forces.

The internationalist solidarity of the Communists and their cooperation with other anti-imperialist forces have now become much more ramified and diversified than they have ever been. They continue to develop: some features are dropped and others are acquired, and new forms of ideological expression and practical manifestation are developed.⁹ This is a natural process predicated by the logic of all the preceding development of the world revolutionary movement and the changes now taking place in it. This process is confronting the Communists with the complex problems of perfecting former and developing new forms of their mutual relations and expanding international solidarity. With other progressive forces.

The BCP attaches special significance to the further promotion of cooperation with the fraternal parties of Latin America, this being due to the geographical factor and the visibly common conditions for the class struggle in the region. The fundamental economic structures, the forms of exploitation, distribution, and consumption, and the essential aspects of working and living conditions are basically the same in most Latin American states. There are similar indications in the class polarisation, in the course of which other working strata oppressed by monopoly capital and the big landowners are drawing ever closer to the proletariat. The Communists of Latin America have a common chief enemy—Yankee imperialism, which is trying to perpetuate its ruthless exploitation of the region's labouring masses and natural wealth and create a dependable military-political bridgehead south of the Rio Grande. Taking all this into account, the Latin American Communists are making every effort to strengthen regional cooperation on the basis of class, internationalist

principles. This cooperation is today embodied in broad and systematic inter-party links, bilateral and multilateral meetings, discussions of theory, and joint political actions on concrete issues of the anti-imperialist struggle.

This activity has nothing in common with making regional solidarity an absolute, with setting it off against the principles of proletarian internationalism. It is inseparable from solidarity and cooperation among the Communists of all countries united in an integral international movement by common interests and aims of struggle. As was stated in the summer of 1984 in Buenos Aires at a conference of South American communist parties, in which the BCP participated, the Communists of the region will continue doing everything to promote the world communist movement on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninist and proletarian internationalism.

In our view, the question of the attitude to victorious socialism is of fundamental significance in the theory and practice of internationalism. The experience of history teaches that revolutionary policy cannot be effective if it rules out solidarity with existing socialism. The Brazilian Communists consider that it is their internationalist duty to wage a consistent ideological and political struggle against those who seek to undermine socialism's positions and discredit it in the eyes of the masses. Any other attitude inevitably boomerangs against the working class and its organisations, against the national interests of peoples, especially in difficult times for the struggle for peace, democracy, and social progress.

We are in precisely such times now. Imperialism, notably North American, is pursuing an adventurist course towards revising the results of preceding world development and going ahead with the arms race, the military confrontation with socialist countries and the preparations for a thermonuclear war. Imperialism's foreign policy has the objective of consolidating the international position of capitalism as a system, and preventing further social and political changes in the world. This is a policy of expansion and counter-revolution. In opposition to it is the course pursued by socialism—this is a policy of peace, of internationalist solidarity with all the forces of progress, a policy of struggle for the national independence and social progress of all peoples.

In one way or another all the major developments in the world are linked to the confrontation between the two social systems. None of the social processes taking place in individual countries and no political movement or ideological school can objectively escape the impact of this internationalised class conflict of the epoch. It is impossible to remain aloof from it. In this context there is for the Brazilian Communists no question of a choice of position. Close solidarity with socialism in the struggle against imperialist reaction is dictated by life, by our party's entire experience.

The international community of interests of Communists continue to deepen on the basis of proletarian internationalism, which constantly absorbs everything new that is introduced into relations between the national contingents of the working class and its parties by the development of the revolutionary process.

The growth of the socio-political sphere of operation of proletarian internationalism is accompanied by the enrichment of its content, chiefly, in general democratic aspects that have specifics of their own in each revolutionary current. However, this does not signify that it is losing its proletarian character. On the contrary, proletarian ideas and the principles of internationalist solidarity are becoming the patrimony of ever wider masses of working people, including non-proletarians. Our party sees fidelity to proletarian internationalism as an indispensable condition for an effective struggle by the Communists against the nuclear threat and for creating the conditions enabling the peoples to move along the road of peace, national liberation, and social progress.

¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 2, 1969, p. 19.

² Ibid., Vol. 3, 1969, p. 118.

³ Marx-Engels, *Obras Escogidas* en tres tomos, Ed. Progreso, Moscú, 1973, t. I. p. 121.

⁴ Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Works*, Vol. 3, p. 35 (Russian translation).

⁵ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 292.

⁶ *Uma Alternativa Democrática Para a Crise Brasileira*, São Paulo, 1984, p. 183.

⁷ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, p. 16.

⁸ Ibid., Vol. 15, p. 194.

⁹ The enrichment of the content of proletarian internationalism today is dealt with in: Vadim Zagladin, 'A Great Unfading Heritage', *WMR*, No. 9, 1984.

A Patriotic Class Position

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THE victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, whose 67th anniversary we are celebrating this year, had a tremendous impact on the working people in the capitalist world. It roused the peoples of dependent and colonial countries enslaved by imperialism to a liberation struggle; a powerful wave of national liberation movements swept across these countries, as the founders of Marxism-Leninism had foreseen. Heterogeneous in composition, degree of maturity and ideological orientation, they shook the foundations of the colonial system, gathering momentum along with the revolutionary movement of the working class and often interlocking with it. This struggle enjoyed the support of the first state of working people, the Land of Soviets, from the outset.

The working class, standard-bearer of the working people's liberation from the yoke of capitalists and landlords, came forward as a natural ally of the subjugated peoples. The founders of Marxism-Leninism always considered it an inherently proletarian task to contribute to the cause of national liberation, for 'a people enslaving another people is forging its own chains'.¹

Shortly before World War I it became evident that imperialist suppression of the peoples could not be stopped without support from the revolutionary forces of the working class, the only class consistently resisting capitalism and all oppression. However, Marx's and Engels' revolutionary ideas on the national and colonial question as well as other Marxist theses were falsified and betrayed by leaders of the Second International. The leaders of the socialist parties of the main colonial powers—Great Britain, France, Belgium, Netherlands and others—refused to back the liberation fight in 'their' colonies.

It took much principled effort by the Bolshevik Party, primarily Lenin, to formulate the Communist position on the national and colonial problem at the new, imperialist stage and thus to end both nationalist confusion and a nihilistic approach to the matter. The party declared in no uncertain terms that for a Marxist party the settlement of the national question in our epoch is inseparable from and subordinate to the struggle of the working class for socialism, that actions by the peoples of colonial and dependent countries merge into the broad worldwide liberation movement, and that the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party resolutely support every liberation struggle and the right of nations to self-determination.

The Leninist principles of settling the national question were put into practice as a result of the October Revolution and the founding of the Soviet Union (1922).

October paved the way for old nations of the capitalist epoch to become socialist nations and helped create other, new socialist nations. The victory over Hitler fascism in World War II was of immense significance in the struggle for the freedom and independence of peoples. The Soviet Union, which lost 20 million of its sons and daughters, contributed decisively to it. That great victory delivered humanity from Hitler fascism and freed the peoples of a number of European and Asian countries from capitalism, militarism and survivals of the past.

These epoch-making achievements of socialism were accompanied by the disintegration of the age-old colonial system. Over 70 new independent states sprang up in the three first post-war decades. The transformation of socialism into a world system and the break-up of colonial rule marked a new historic change in favour of the forces of progress and to the detriment of imperialism.

Loyalty to Progressive Traditions

Ever since 1918, when the Communist Party of Greece (originally called the Socialist Workers' Party) was founded, its theoretical activity, policies and practical work have been guided by revolutionary Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Even before it came into being, socialist groups in Greece were cooperating with revolutionary socialist parties in the Balkans, opposing World War I. Thus our party had a solid basis on which to fight for solutions to national problems in the people's interests and rid the country of oppressive foreign dependence.

In the very first months after it was founded, the party condemned the participation of Greece in imperialism's armed intervention against Soviet Russia. That military campaign fell through. Our people did not want it. It was an action directed both against the international working class movement and against vitally important political, economic and other interests of Greece, as subsequent developments showed.

To be sure, CPG policy did not attain maturity overnight; years passed before our cadres assimilated the invaluable contribution of the Bolshevik Party, of the great Lenin, to the theoretical elaboration and practical settlement of the national question. The party had to eliminate mistakes, such as the tendency to reduce the question to defence of the rights of minorities.

This was done in the main following the definition of our party's strategy by the Sixth Plenum of its CC in 1934 with the aid of the Communist International. The meeting stressed that the situation in Greece was characterised by strong dependence on foreign capital and by the lop-sided and inadequate development of its industries and its productive forces generally due to that dependence. Semi-feudal survivals of the past in the countryside and the oppression of minorities were other aspects of the situation pointed out at the time.

The big imperialist powers, the meeting stated in a relevant resolution, are subjugating Greece, involving it in this or that bloc and making it an instrument of the policy in the Balkans and the Middle East. This was facilitated by the ruling classes of the country. The working population of Greece, its workers and peasants, its numerous taxpayers, were the subject of two-fold exploitation on the part of domestic and foreign capital.

Taking account of the place held by Greece in the world imperialist system as a dependent country and bearing in mind other factors, the resolution of the meeting on the party programme concluded that the coming revolution in Greece would be a bourgeois democratic one tending to develop fast into a proletarian socialist revolution in the course of hard struggles against the reactionary oligarchy.

The emphasis which the strategy adopted in 1934 put on the issue of foreign dependence helped the CPG in large measure unite the people in an anti-imperialist struggle under the leadership of the working class.

In the course of that activity, which coincided in time with the growth of fascism in

the world and in our country, the party worked to overcome outdated and erroneous, sectarian and right opportunist theses concerning likely temporary or permanent allies of the working class in the struggle against fascism and war. The Seventh Congress of the Comintern was very helpful to communist parties in this respect.

Loyal to the people's patriotic and democratic traditions, the CPG condemned the policy of making Greece subservient to the British, French and other imperialists, a policy adopted by the main groups of the ruling class. The party strove to inculcate a modern, universally valid revolutionary ideology in the people with due regard to their traditions. These found an expression in a song dating from the early years after the establishment of a Greek state under a monarch brought from abroad; one line of the song runs 'foreign locusts—how much longer?'.

The CPG is the only Greek party consistently opposing servility to foreign powers and a fatalist view of the 'omnipotence of the United States' and NATO inspired by certain forces.

Our party has always administered a firm rebuff to the unbridled anti-communism and anti-Sovietism of the imperialists and their accomplices. We refute their calumnies to the effect that the party has no policy of its own towards the national question and is a 'mouthpiece of Moscow'. They know very well that the Communist Party is a mouthpiece of the working class and other working people. The CPG has produced real heroes from its ranks, internationalist patriots, fighters for peace and the happiness of humanity, people of admirable greatness.

There have been both victories and reverses in the years-long history of our party but it has always stood firm on Marxist-Leninist positions and found a way out of difficult, occasionally critical situations, marching on as it built up its theoretical armoury and giving hope to the country's working class and other working people. No party in Greece can compare with the CPG in durability of spiritual ties with the common people. The CPG has deep and long-standing roots among the people. Our party, which will observe its 66th anniversary in November, has held its ground in striving steadfastly for its great goal, socialism.

Class Criterion

Marx and Engels formulated in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* the Communists' class approach to the national question as follows: 'Since the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to be the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself *the* nation, it is, so far, itself national, though not in the bourgeois sense of the word.'²

National interests are not identical with class interests. Both are relatively autonomous but not separated from each other; indeed, they often interlock. They combine variously in various periods of history and various international conditions.

The form and significance of national movements vary from one period of history to another. They are no longer the same as in the initial period; they also vary from situation to situation. Marxism-Leninism considers every national struggle in terms of what class is guiding it and what place this struggle holds in the peoples' general effort for progress and peaceful cooperation among nations and nationalities. And we must remember that when the bourgeoisie talks about national interests it means chiefly interests dictated by its own policy.

The class approach to the study of social phenomena does not at all imply underestimation of their national aspect. There are objective reasons for this that also explain the very rise of nations and the evolution of the problem. We do not deny the significance of the national community and patriotic aspirations of peoples. Our internationalism stems from the very conditions of exploitation of the workers by national and transnational monopolies under capitalism, from the general ideal of fighting for socialism. Internationalism safeguards us against manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism but it neither implies, nor can imply any disregard of

national interests. This has been demonstrated by many national liberation struggles in which Communists and their allies were in the forefront and invariably cooperated with other forces as widely as the latter were involved in the common struggle. A case in point was the great battle against Hitler fascism.

The ruling class in developed capitalist countries and, for that matter, other bourgeois countries stopped representing its nations long ago. During World War II many top oligarchic groups proceeded contrary to national interests to retain their class rule. There are numerous examples showing that in some countries, Greece included, these plutocratic groups collaborated with the fascist invaders and betrayed national interests to further their own narrow class interests. At present the main factions of the rulers of NATO countries have largely subordinated national interests to the dictates of a hegemonistic US imperialism in spite of the contradictions dividing them.

One of the primary tasks facing the CPG and its supporters is to resist US and NATO policy, which encroaches on our national sovereignty and is increasing the dependence of our country. We Communists are accomplishing this task with the support of our people as well as that of other peoples. The Greek people, in turn, support these peoples' struggle against imperialism. There are those who, referring to the threat posed by the Turkish chauvinists, want the CPG to furl the banner of anti-imperialist struggle in the name of 'national unanimity'. They would like us to pursue a policy similar to that of anti-communists on the right and socialist national reformists as well as the leadership of the so-called 'internal' party following in their footsteps. Such a course would mean betraying both our principles and the people's interests.

Against Imperialist Diktat

As a consequence of US imperialism's expansionist ambitions after World War II, Greece was in a way the first area to be affected by the cold war. To give the British ally of the USA due 'credit', we wish to remind the reader that the cold war was declared by Winston Churchill in his Fulton speech. Afterwards the self-delusion of the United States and its temporary intoxication with its 'omnipotence', which cost so many lives and caused such devastation in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, manifested themselves in US imperialism's moves against our country.

Twenty-nine months after the victory of EAM,³ which freed Greece in 1944, during the offensive of Soviet armies in the Balkans, was nullified, President Harry Truman announced his notorious 'doctrine' (March 1947). This was the prologue to the offensive of a US imperialism seeking world domination. At the same time the USA pushed aside the enfeebled British 'lion', which had begun to plunge Greece into the civil war of 1946-1949. In either case imperialism was backed by the worst reactionaries in our country. The progressive forces were compelled to fight a war for national independence and democracy. As a result, the Greek people went through untold suffering. 'The armed intervention of the British and then the US imperialists was the main source of the postwar misfortunes of Greece,' said the CC CPG in its Statement on the 60th anniversary of the party.

About half a million inhabitants of little Greece lost their lives in the struggle for national liberation. Imperialist interference by Britain and the USA, which came out against our National Resistance, led to the defeat of the people's forces in the civil war, took a toll of many more tens of thousands of lives and inflicted deep wounds.

However, the Greek people, educated by its party—the Communist Party of Greece, which produced tens of thousands of selfless fighters from its ranks—showed staying power, firmness and confidence in the cause of national independence, democracy, peace and progress.

Ever since the Greek-British armed conflict (December 1944) and US intervention, which sparked off the civil war, our people have been carrying on a

difficult struggle in defence of their national independence. The measures adopted by the alliance between the USA and the reactionary forces inside the country—the establishment of US and then NATO military bases in Greece, the involvement of our country in this aggressive bloc and in the EEC, as well as other measures of a similar nature—tightened the fetters of foreign dependence, increasingly restricting Greek sovereignty.

These restrictions were imposed in the past and are imposed today under the pretext of safeguarding Greece against the 'threat' of the Warsaw Treaty countries 'laying hands on Greece'. Under cover of this myth, the United States and its NATO allies forced the traitorous colonels' junta on the Greek people in 1967. The junta tyrannised the people for more than seven years and ended by betraying Greece and Cyprus and increasing the threat to peace in the region.

So who is it that constantly takes his cue from without? Surely those who remain unquestioning adherents of the militarist plans of the USA and NATO even though the situation in the world has changed radically to the detriment of imperialism. Yet these plans are aimed at, among other things, controlling the behaviour of the Aegean countries dependent on the USA and NATO; this runs counter to the interests of these nations and of peace.

Thanks to the determined stand of the CPG, which removed political and organisational shortcomings in its work, to the formation of a broad left front and to international solidarity, the Greek people succeeded in making substantial gains in the postwar struggle for their immediate demands, for a better life, to which they were fully entitled, for the restoration of democracy and the overthrow of the junta.

In the wake of the legalisation of the CPG after 27 years of continuous clandestinity, Greece passed through a turbulent period of diverse mass struggles against the regime's authoritarian trends, for real democratisation, independent economic development and peace.

The economic crisis in the capitalist world also hit Greece, lowering the working people's standard of living. The need to remove the Right from power was particularly stressed by the CC CPG in the summer of 1980. This demand became a slogan that also won widespread approval outside the party.

Progressive democratic forces scored gains in the October 1981 elections. The Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), which demanded the dismantling of foreign bases and the withdrawal of Greece from NATO and the Common Market, became the ruling party.

The CPG warned the people that the changes effected in October were a long way from marking a decisive advance towards the changes needed by Greece. The party rejected the opinion that structural and other reforms would gradually lead to the transformation of capitalism into a new social system. At the same time it took exception to the simplistic view claiming that the transfer of state power from the conservative New Democracy party to PASOK was merely a 'change of guard' even though a section of the financial oligarchy calculated on this kind of change.

The 10th CPG Congress (1978) emphasised that the main political contradiction of Greek society is that between the anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly forces, on the one hand, and the monopoly oligarchy and imperialism, on the other. Why was it important to draw attention to this? The people had to be shown that their condition was disastrously affected by the domination of the alliance between domestic monopolies and international imperialism. This meant that in the context of the new balance of forces, at a time when PASOK policy and the overall situation in the country were contradictory and unstable, the CPG was to spot and make use of the new opportunities offered to the people's democratic forces.

The people welcomed the formal recognition of the role of the National Resistance, the partial democratisation of labour unions and some other organisations, the granting of new rights to women and other democratic steps.

However, PASOK proved unable to stop the advance of the Right. Its principle of 'Self-sufficing strength'⁴, proposed to and accepted by the people, could not compensate for the lack of cooperation among all progressive forces under a programme for change. In other words, the only level making it possible to implement such a radical programme directed against monopoly and imperialism was lacking. PASOK went back on its own promises regarding negotiations on the US bases, the attitude to NATO and the Common Market, the Voice of America radio station set up in Greece and other matters of vital importance, such as steps to curb the high cost of living, stop granting financial advantages to monopolies, and so on.

The country found itself in a complicated and contradictory situation. For all the inconsistency of PASOK policy, the offensive of the Right in the elections to the European Parliament in June 1984 largely failed although it misled a considerable part of the population. PASOK lost some votes. The CPG retained its positions and even registered a slight gain in votes. Its correct and consistent policy enabled it to pass that hard test. Our party gained in prestige. Its voice rang out far and wide among the people. But it was difficult to win a still greater number of votes because PASOK often used the slogan 'PASOK or the right'. This helped it capture votes that would otherwise have been cast for the Communist Party.

In July 1984 a plenary meeting of the CC CPG, making an early assessment of the outcome of the electoral struggle, described the election results as 'a warning to the government, which must revise its policy in favour of really solving the people's problems, in favour of real change'.

The resolution passed by the meeting points out that since the elections politics have entered the phase of still sharper collisions. Against the background of the current international confrontation and an intensifying cold war, imperialism is trying to shift the axis of our national politics to the right. The ruling class is putting pressure on the government to make it embark on a more conservative course that would undermine the popularity of the ruling party.

There is ferment in PASOK. To judge from the early steps taken by that party's leadership since the June elections, it has failed to draw the right conclusions and sticks to the logic of 'self-sufficing strength'. While continuing to advance certain ideas about detente and a 'freeze' on the deployment of new US nuclear missiles in Europe, it has entered into negotiations on the purchase of a large batch of US Phantom planes, a purchase known in Greece as the 'deal of the century'. The cost of the planes is estimated at about 3.5 billion dollars. As for repaying the requisite loan, it will entail a much larger sum. First of all, the deal will make our defences dependent on the USA or even put them under the direct control of the Pentagon, which, moreover, encourages Turkey's chauvinist claims in the Aegean and is building up the aggressive machinery of NATO in the area. Second, this will mean considerable risks for the economic independence of Greece and the future of whole generations, for a colossal sum will have to be paid and the foreign debt will grow. The deal will only benefit monopoly and encourage the USA and NATO to proceed even more aggressively.

Lately a mass strike movement has developed in our country against the 'deal of the century', the high cost of living and the privileges granted to big capital. Everywhere members of the CPG and the Communist Youth of Greece as well as their supporters take the initiative of uniting all workers, peasants, handicraftsmen and traders in the struggle for the satisfaction of the people's pressing needs. They are working to strengthen the Communist Party, which is needed to overcome the obstacles on the country's road. The CPG links these mass actions with the demand for adopting the only policy that can improve the present situation, a policy renouncing one-sided 'austerity', mobilising the masses, promoting cooperation among progressive democratic forces under a common programme for substantive change and aimed at forming a government backed by these forces.

Our party sees the key prerequisite of normal preparations for the next general election (the powers of parliament will expire in October 1985) in the enactment of an electoral law on a system of simple proportional representation precluding any doctoring of election results. The government refused for a long time to take a definitive stand on the issue. At present it promises to submit a draft law whose provisions are still unknown. This prompts the democratic forces to doubt its intentions.

The Most Important Task

Throughout its history the CPG has closely linked the fight for national independence, democracy and socialism with the defence of peace. Greeks hailed the first decree of the October Revolution, which proclaimed peace for the peoples. Its appeal evoked a particularly strong response in our country, which had long suffered from the evils of war.

We have said that from its first steps on our party educated the working class by dint of strenuous efforts and heavy sacrifices to ensure that it took the lead in the peace movement. After World War II and the beginning of the cold war, when Greece found itself among the countries dominated by the USA, it was here that Nicos Nikiforidis, a Communist, was sentenced to death and executed (1951); a fighter for the people's cause, he had been collecting signatures to the Stockholm Appeal for peace and an end to nuclear weapons tests.

Now that the paranoiac policy of the USA and its NATO allies is putting the planet on the brink of nuclear annihilation, the Greek people are among the first to rouse to the defence of peace and fight against the nuclear danger. They are rallying together in support of the demand for an end to the arms race.

The past two years have seen the peace movement grow stronger and extend to every section of the Greek people. The movement is multiform in terms of its approach to the problem of protecting life on earth and its ideological orientation. Operating in the country are the Greek Committee for International Detente and Peace, the Movement for National Independence, International Peace and Disarmament, the Non-Aligned Peace Movement, the Movement for Deliverance from US and NATO Bases, and others. The movement against the deployment of US Pershing-2 and cruise missiles in Europe—a development that has turned our continent into one of the likely areas of a nuclear conflagration—has assumed particularly vast proportions.

Our party took a positive view of the proposal of PASOK to put off the deployment of US missiles for six months in order to make possible a positive culmination of the negotiations that were going on between the Soviet Union and United States at the time. It supports the proposal to make the Balkans a nuclear-free zone. Together with the CPG the mass of the Greek people approve of the proposals which the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Treaty allies continuously put forward in the interest of maintaining military parity limiting nuclear and other armaments, banning the militarisation of space, and other initiatives.

Vigorous as it is, the Greek people's fight for peace needs to be further intensified. It is a question of our country's contribution to a cause of paramount importance, the defence of world peace.

Imperialism is the force bearing the full responsibility for the extreme deterioration of the situation in the world. It mercilessly suppresses or threatens many peoples in the Middle East, Africa, Asia, South and Central America, specifically in El Salvador and Nicaragua. We disagree with pacifists who 'halve' the blame for the foregoing and contribute, at least objectively, to the denigration of the socialist community and to the intensification of the psychological war started against socialism by imperialist centres. Nevertheless, in spite of differences, we actively support every unity movement really defending peace, if only half-heartedly.

Imperialism has raised the world 'level of terror' and lowered the level of security, which it pretends to be concerned for. The reckless buildup of nuclear arsenals, the escalation of fierce slander campaigns against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the brainwashing of the populations of US-influenced countries, designed to accustom them to the prospect of what imperialist strategists call a 'limited' or 'protracted' nuclear war, are evidence of growing danger. The Greek people were outraged by Reagan's macabre 'joke' about a nuclear bombing of the Soviet Union, a 'joke' which revealed both his irresponsibility and the intentions of the US ruling class.

When the defence of peace is at stake there is no time to lose. Imperialism refuses to accept the fact that the years of its world domination are over. It cannot settle the ideological controversy with socialism at the international level by means of war. But unless curbed, it can cause unprecedented suffering to humanity. Just as the outcome of the ideological struggle inside a country is ultimately decided by the people's will, so the peace forces of the world are equal to imposing on the imperialist warmongers a new logic of international relations consonant with the realities of our nuclear age.

A course towards agreement, detente and peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems is the only reasonable approach to world politics today. By keeping to this course, we are strengthening the vanguard positions of the working class in the great battle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

We are optimists, for we are backed by the invincible strength of the people. We are optimists, for we are confident that the international communist and working class movement will achieve closer cohesion and take further initiatives in the interest of the urgent task of safeguarding peace.

¹ Karl Marx, 'The General Council of the International Working Men's Association—to the Federal Council of Roman Switzerland'.

² Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 1, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1969, p. 124.

³ Short for National Liberation Front, the organisation which led the Greek people's fight against fascism.—*Ed.*

⁴ Meaning that PASOK shall be the decisive force in parliament.—*Ed.*

the party

For a City of Peace and Jobs

Dietmar Ahrens – Deputy Chairman,
Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin

TO a large extent the work of the 7th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin (May 25-27, 1984) was dominated by the question of how the West Berlin Communists could increase their contribution to the preservation of peace, which is humankind's supreme blessing. Our party stands firm on the great commitment of the German Communists to do all in their power to prevent the threat of war ever again coming from German soil. Our unshakable position is that Europe must not be turned into a Euroshima.

The proceedings at the congress were guided by the view that there was no cause for pessimism and frustration despite the new situation created by the deployment of Pershing-2 and cruise missiles in the FRG and other West European countries and the

resultant growth of the war threat. The forces of peace have grown stronger thanks to the increasing might of existing socialism and the working class movement in capitalist countries, the political and social progress of Third World countries, and the extension of the anti-war struggle on all continents. There is a growing awareness that despite individual, transient setbacks, it is possible to counter militarism and reaction successfully and to consistently uphold the cause of peace and detente.

The worsening of the international situation as a result of the Reagan Administration's policies is causing anxiety among large sections of the people. US imperialism is openly pursuing the objective of breaking the military-strategic equilibrium and achieving superiority over the socialist world. This is stated frankly by the US proponents of the 'policy of strength', which intimately affects West Berlin, a city located in the heartland of a Warsaw Treaty nation, east of the NATO missile launchers and on the crossroads of the trajectory. But this is not all that makes the situation menacing to West Berlin. A contributing factor, as was stated clearly at the congress, is that in the wake of the FRG government the leading parties of West Berlin—the Christian Democratic Union and the Free Democratic Party—unconditionally backed the stationing of US nuclear missiles. Despite what the incumbent Mayor, Eberhard Diepgen (CDU), said during his visit in the USA, our city is not part of the Federal Republic and, consequently, does not belong to NATO.

Our congress emphatically rejected the falsehood that West Berlin is threatened by socialist states. It showed that this falsehood is a pretext for US imperialism's aggressive policy, which is undermining peace. In fact, West Berliners now have to defend what was achieved in the period of detente. At the congress it was noted that in the past years the GDR has done much to improve the life of our city's inhabitants. Without GDR cooperation and assistance the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin, signed on the initiative of the Soviet Union, would have been inconceivable. For the sake of West Berliners the GDR has temporarily sacrificed some of its sovereign rights.

An outcome of detente, this agreement can remain viable only on its foundation. The almost 40 years that have elapsed since World War II have lucidly demonstrated that neither the security nor the future of our city could be assured in the periods of confrontation, when West Berlin was given the role of a 'spear in the body' of socialism and the 'cheapest atomic bomb'. Our congress called upon West Berliners to draw the only possible conclusion from the experience, namely, that every person, whether a Communist or a Social Democrat, a member of a trade union, a participant in alternative movements, a liberal, a Christian, female or male, young or old, should insist upon a policy ensuring the collective security of the European peoples and states on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. On hand is the readiness for this on the part of the Soviet Union, the GDR, and other socialist countries.

Our party urges the NATO and Warsaw Treaty states to sign a treaty renouncing the use of force in accordance with the proposals that have been made by the Soviet Union and its allies. The nuclear powers should subscribe to the USSR's no-first nuclear-strike commitment. It is vital that an agreement is signed banning the manufacture and deployment of chemical weapons and toxins in Europe, and that there is a freeze on and gradual reduction of military budgets. The congress urged the countries participating in the Stockholm Conference to reach firm understandings on measures to build up confidence and ensure security and disarmament in Europe. Our party has declared itself in favour of treaties setting up nuclear-free zones as a step in the direction of a nuclear-free Europe and of all countries renouncing the militarisation of outer space.

In West Berlin, for decades regarded as a bastion of US imperialism's global strategy, the opponents of militarism have made a large contribution to the worldwide anti-war movement. Our party's congress could justifiably note: 'The West Berlin peace movement has developed into a major, mass political movement. It is

largely due to the efforts of our party members that in the period under review it has made considerable quantitative and qualitative progress.' Mention may be made of the following large-scale actions by West Berlin peace fighters:

- the 80,000-strong demonstration against the visit by the then US Secretary of State Alexander Haig: despite Haig's views, its participants emphatically declared that nothing was more important than peace;

- the 100,000-strong demonstration against the US President's plans for a 'limited' nuclear war in Europe;

- the youth peace concerts held in front of the Reichstag on the initiative of the Youth Against Armaments organisation and watched by 120,000 people;

- the huge demonstration of more than 150,000 people in October 1983 in front of the Schöneberg Town Hall (headquarters of the West Berlin Senate)—this was the biggest action in our city against the Pershing-2 and cruise missiles, for disarmament in both East and West;

- the participation of over 300,000 West Berliners in the Peace Week sponsored by the United Nations in October 1983.

It is our party's view that the population of West Berlin can live in tranquility, only in the event peace is assured. But the policy of the present government in Washington, which relies on military strength, on the threat of using violence, and is thereby pushing the world towards a nuclear disaster, is incompatible with the interests of security. The preservation of the European system of treaties and the observance of the letter and spirit of these treaties are fully consistent with the interests of West Berliners. Conversely, these interests are prejudiced by the Reagan Administration's course aimed at destroying the detent policies, at emasculating and subverting international agreements.

The US first-strike weapons targeted on socialist nations from the FRG and other West European countries are a deadly menace to our entire continent, in fact, to all humankind. Those who doubt that this menace implies the destruction also of West Berlin should acquaint themselves with *Airland Battle*,¹ the new US strategy for the conduct of war. As everybody knows, the Warsaw Treaty nations formulated concrete proposals in the Prague Declaration of January 5, 1983, the Moscow Statement of June 28, 1983, and the Appeal of May 7, 1984 to the NATO member states. These moves are appreciated by large sections of public opinion in West Berlin.

For political, economic, and social reasons West Berlin vitally needs not the confrontation, the trade-and-economic war, and the embargoes demanded and enforced by the USA but cooperation with the Soviet Union, the GDR, and other socialist countries.

The congress was further evidence that proletarian internationalism has sunk deep roots in our party. This was expressed, in part, by the cordial reception given to the delegations of 27 fraternal parties and organisations in the journal *World Marxist Review*. The speeches by foreign comrades were a demonstration of the SUPWB's fraternal solidarity with the international working class movement, with the party of Lenin, which is the vanguard of the struggle for peace, and with the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, under whose guidance the first state of workers and peasants on German soil continues building developed socialism.

The report of the party's Board and the speeches of delegates were permeated with militant solidarity with the 250,000 foreigners residing and working in West Berlin. This internationalist solidarity was strikingly evidenced by the greetings to the congress from a combined delegation of foreign workers.

The words 'Peace, Jobs, and an Assured Future' of the congress slogan stress the close relationship between peace and jobs, between spending on armaments and the folding up of social programmes. This relationship is recognised also by our city's largest class organisation, the trade unions, which in their decisions and resolutions

proceed from the view that where money is put into armaments, social insurance is undermined and life is threatened.

The Christian Democratic Union has been ruling West Berlin for three years, and lately in coalition with the Free Democratic Party. These years have witnessed concessions to the monopoly bourgeoisie and encouragement of big industrial facilities, banks, and concerns. The burden of the crisis and of the arms race is being shifted more and more openly onto the shoulders of the working majority, and tens of thousands of jobs have been closed for the sake of profits. Unemployment has become a prolonged phenomenon and, according to official statistics for May 31, 1984, affects roughly 11 per cent of the able-bodied population of West Berlin. Actually, the jobless rate is much higher because statistics ignore, for example, young people who have graduated from school and have no opportunity for professional training or getting a job, young foreign citizens, and women not covered by unemployment insurance. Directly or indirectly, this social evil affects approximately 300,000 West Berliners.

Our congress drew the conclusion that in fact there has been a large-scale reduction of social gains. Undisguised attacks are being made on the positions of the working class and the trade unions and democratic rights are being restricted in many areas of society's life. Benefits and privileges continue to be enjoyed by employers, millionaires, owners of land and houses, profiteers, and concerns; at the same time, the interests of working people, poor people, invalids, and pensioners are being undercut. Today there is not more but less social confidence and justice. The class struggle has sharply intensified. We are witnessing mounting discrimination in the city against foreign fellow-citizens.

The SUPWB opposes big capital's frontal offensive with a clear-cut alternative. This alternative is not dependent on situation changes and is the outcome of patient discussions that have been conducted for a number of years with workers, trade unionists, members of production councils, and Social Democrats and Christians. Our Congress reformulated the following demands:

- a 35-hour week with no pay cuts and no reduction of the workforce, and protection against dismissals in parallel with production rationalisation and the prohibition of overtime; extension of the rights of trade unions, production council members, and work collectives to participate in the management of factories; prohibition of any relocation of factories;

- implementation of the Constitution provisions on the right to work through a policy of providing full employment and regulating the economy;

- granting state subsidies to private firms that honour the tax commitments to allocate funds for the preservation of existing and the creation of new jobs; big industrial facilities and concerns that violate these commitments, halt or relocate production should be made municipal property as required by the Constitution;

- in accordance with the state programme, creation of jobs at factories in promising industries, chiefly those linked to environmental protection, the organisation of centralised heating and the reprocessing of household and industrial waste; extension of social services and the public transport; termination of the practice of turning public services over to private enterprise;

- implementation of an active wages policy aimed at increasing real incomes;

- ensuring working people's control of and participation in decision-making on all matters pertaining to production, investments, the installation of new technology, the establishment of prices, and any changes of the numerical strength of the workforce of enterprises;

- the formation of an economic council independent of the capitalists—it is to consist of members of production councils, trade union representatives, technicians, engineers, and economists; it should participate in determining the overall structure of industry, in planning investments, and in apportioning social funds; it should be a

factor influencing the city's external economic relations.

The 7th Congress stressed that the funds needed to create jobs were unquestionably available. During only the past ten years the city's authorities have renounced tax incomes amounting to 49 billion marks in favour of the concerns; another 65 billion marks have been transferred to the Bonn budget and a quarter of that sum went into armaments.

The working people's readiness to defend their class interests has grown substantially. This evaluation, given in the report, was borne out by the situation in which the 7th Congress was held. This was demonstrated by the battles fought by the workers of the metal-working, printing, and construction industries in defence of jobs and for a shorter working week and a higher wage. The offensive of the 'upper classes' against the vital interests of the working 'lower strata' has been countered by a stepping up of the class struggle. Further, a blow has been struck at the ideology of a 'social partnership' between labour and capital, whose spectral character has been brought to light by antagonism-fraught reality.

The West Berlin Communists see their task chiefly in representing and upholding the view of the working class. This means, in particular, helping people to perceive and understand the social contradictions. The party explains the close relationship between the struggle for peace and the fight to ensure the people's right to work and their democratic and social rights. All this is inseparable from the alternative guaranteeing the future of the city.

The justification and effectiveness of the platform of 'The SUPWB and the Tasks of the 1980s', adopted three years ago, was reaffirmed at the 7th Congress in the report and in the speeches of 32 delegates representing different areas of society's life. This platform gives the city's working people, pensioners, youth, women, and jobless the answer to the question of how to protect their interests by concerted efforts.

We are the only party in the city that in the face of the capitalist crisis has for several years been demanding a shortening of the working week with the full preservation of wages and jobs. Moreover, we have championed the working people against the effects of capitalist modernisation of industry and pressed for an extension of the participation of trade unions, production councils, and work collectives in the management of industrial facilities. We are fully aware that here it is a question of a long and bitter struggle.

The party is under no illusion that the problem of mass unemployment can be resolved by reducing working time. Under the capitalist mode of production the most that can be done is to ease the problem temporarily. The Communists, especially in view of the ongoing debate about the economic policy, regard as indisputable the need for making the working people see that the working class movement must strive to restrict and ultimately depose capitalist rule.

A crucial condition for changing the balance of strength in our city in favour of the working people is to reinforce and further promote unity of action by the working class and democratic organisations. The backbone of such unity has been and remains cooperation between the Communists and the Social Democrats, between the SUPWB and the SDP. The 7th Congress noted: 'We devote our attention mainly to unity of action and do this because we are guided by the conviction that the working class faces a common enemy in the person of big capital. The working class has common basic interests which it can translate into reality only by combined effort. Hence, for the party unity of action has never been nor is a question of tactics—it is our general political line.'

The fact that the SUPWB is on a true course is shown not least by the response of the bourgeois mass media to the results of the bourgeois mass media to the results of the 7th Congress. They acknowledge that communist influence has grown considerably in the peace movement, the trade unions, the production councils, and among workers in education. Many of the ideas advanced by the Communists have

been adopted by West Berliners. Indeed, cooperation with the Social Democrats, trade unionists, people belonging to alternative, Christian, and other democratic movements is opening up broad possibilities. On the basis of the experience of mass political work in past years the SUPWB Congress was able to declare that 'unity of action has shown that it is stimulating the formation of broad alliances that assume all-embracing forms and attract many people who do not belong to any organisation. The most striking example is that there are increasingly closer links of the peace movement with the working class movement in our city.'

The documents approved by the delegates mirror the wide spectrum of activities of the forces of peace and democracy. The congress adopted a statement headed 'For a City of Peace, Jobs, and an Assured Future'; it sent an appeal to the participants of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures, Security and Disarmament in Europe; it resolved to start actions for a 35-hour working week with the full preservation of wages and jobs. It passed a special resolution on solidarity with the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples of Central and South America and of the Caribbean.

Looking back over the past three years, the West Berlin Communists had every right to note at their congress that the party's policies, strategy and tactics had justified themselves.

The party has made progress. Its membership has increased. Its influence has grown. Therefore, spurred by confidence in the future, we were able to set ourselves the aim of enlisting more members, chiefly from the working class, within the next few months.

'This congress,' declared the SUPWB Chairman Horst Schmitt, 'focused on the defence of peace and the vital interests of the working people and the jobless, of all the wage-workers in the city. In fact, it gave our party an impetus to prepare for the elections to the City assembly (parliament) in March 1985.'

'This congress has shown that the party is growing stronger, that it is consistently carrying out its political programme ('The SUPWB and the Tasks of the 1980s'), and is answering the newly arising important questions of the struggle for peace, democracy, and social progress.

'This was a congress whose hallmarks were militant optimism, high competence, and a realistic approach to problems.'

¹ This strategy is discussed in *WMR*, No. 7, 1983.

The Road to a Vanguard Party

Shimelis Mazengia – Political Bureau member and CC Secretary, Workers' Party of Ethiopia (WPE)

The birth of a Marxist-Leninist party is always an event of great moment. The formation of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia, proclaimed at its Founding Congress (September 6-10, 1984), was an event of this nature, an act of truly historic significance. The following article tells how the WPE was formed in the course of the Ethiopian revolution.

TEN years have elapsed since the masses of the Ethiopian people embarked upon radical socio-economic and political transformations that have shaken the

foundations of a multistructural society to the roots.

Predominantly a feudal society with an embryonic capitalist sector, pre-revolution Ethiopia was a backward country where the masses suffered from gross oppression and exploitation at the hands of ignominious aristocrats, feudal lords, usurers, bureaucrats, higher clerical functionaries and foreign monopolies. Though the Ethiopian masses heroically defended their independence against intruders, aggressors and colonialists throughout the ages as exemplified by their resounding victory of Adwa in 1896 over Italian imperialism, the archaic and oppressive socio-economic relations that prevailed in the country kept them in utter misery and bondage and only benefited the few. Though nominally independent, the country was held in the crippling clutches of imperialist control, with her pride mortgaged for the survival and longevity of the exploiting feudal and bourgeois classes. It was under these circumstances that the tides of the 1974 Popular Revolution swept the entire country and set the society on the transitional course towards socialism.

Undoubtedly, the conception of socialism was a result of objective and subjective historical conditions, the maturity of capitalism and the rise and development of an industrial proletariat. However, as the founders of scientific communism themselves have correctly theorised and as experience has corroborated, this does not mean that all the regions of the world have to go through the agonies of capitalist relations in order to go over to socialism. Marxist literature has clearly and consistently indicated that, given the objective possibility of non-capitalist development, backward regions can take a 'shortened' path of development with the assistance and after the example of the victorious proletariat of advanced countries.

This path, termed the non-capitalist path of development, i.e., the socialist orientation, or designated as a stage of implementation of the programme of national democratic revolution, is a stage of the specific revolutionary process through which backward regions lay the essential political, ideological, technical and material foundations for the transition to socialism. It is not a 'third way' but a transitional stage towards socialism if there are proper prerequisites.

The transitional process is characterised by the formation of a national front of progressive, revolutionary democratic forces comprising workers, peasants and other democratic elements of the middle strata, and by a concerted class struggle against feudalism, imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism.

Political power passes into the hands of the revolutionary democratic forces. A revolutionary state which takes radical socio-economic and political measures with a socialist perspective is subsequently established. The formation of a genuine vanguard party, if there is none, to lead society in the construction of socialism is one of the imperative tasks to be accomplished at this stage. On the international level, the state establishes close relations and fully cooperates with the socialist countries and with all the progressive and anti-imperialist forces of the world.

The proletarian victory brought about by the Great October Socialist Revolution and the subsequent rise of the mighty world socialist system unquestionably fulfilled the international conditions for any country to move towards socialism. Consequently, imperialism entered the era of its general crisis long ago. Hence, the main content of the history of the epoch is the transition of mankind from capitalism to socialism. This reality, coupled with the acute internal socio-economic contradictions which exploded a decade ago, ushered in a new era in Ethiopia, the era of a radical transitional process towards socialism.

The Eruption of the Revolution

By 1974 the long-simmering resentment and anger of the exploited masses—workers, peasants and other democratic forces—had reached a climax. The irreconcilable class conflicts and contradictions had become more acute. The already destitute and miserable condition of the broad masses had been further worsened by a deep

economic crisis. Famine had claimed the lives of 200,000 people in some parts of northern Ethiopia while the feudal and bourgeois regime neglected the fate of the stricken and strove to hide their plight from the Ethiopian people and the world public.

By that time, the myth of the ancient regime had begun to crack irreparably. The masses clearly saw the cruelty, insensitivity, hypocrisy and self-seeking nature of those in power. From top to bottom, it was a glaringly corrupt system. The masses of the Ethiopian people could no longer bear the multiple burdens laid upon them for centuries. Unusually heated mass protest actions engulfed the whole country. Strikes by workers and most of the office employees, peasant uprisings and mass demonstrations spread to all corners, including the army.

As the revolution had erupted in a country without democratic traditions, it should be clear that at that juncture the masses lacked an organised body that could consciously and properly reflect their aspirations through a correct platform, unite them against their class enemies and lead the revolution. Thus, the Ethiopian men-in-uniform, who were themselves sons and daughters of the broad masses and had time and again shown their own resentment at the old system, accepted the challenge of history, elected representatives from their respective divisions and formed the Coordinating Committee of the Armed Forces, the Police and Territorial Army on 4 June, 1974.

Well aware of the anti-feudal and popular nature of the uprising, the Coordinating Committee soon took urgent measures that further exposed and undermined the mythical rule of the feudal autocracy, thus dealing a crippling and fatal blow to the citadel of reaction and opening the way for further radical changes.

The greatest milestone in the history of the masses of the Ethiopian people was reached on 12 September, 1974. On that date, with the deposition of Emperor Haile Selassie, Ethiopia was relieved once and for all from the rule of a decadent feudal monarchy which had oppressed the masses and kept them in backwardness and misery for centuries. In the process, power, the central question in any revolutionary struggle, passed from the hands of the oppressors to the revolutionary democratic forces that were to use it for the benefit of the masses. The Coordinating Committee, which renamed itself the Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC) and is popularly known as the Dergue, assumed the political leadership of the country and began to take radical and popular measures that set the Ethiopian society on the course of a deep-going transitional process leading to socialism.

The PMAC took historic measures which freed the people from oppressive socio-economic and political relations and aroused, organised and prepared the masses for active and creative participation in the making of their own history. The radical proclamations, to date about 250, whose implementation was guaranteed by the participation of the victorious and organised masses under the leadership of the PMAC, have brought regeneration, true independence and progress to Ethiopia.

The adoption of a policy declaring socialism the guiding ideology of the revolution and the proclamations that nationalised all the major means of production, including rural and urban lands and industries, are among the epoch-making measures that have freed the Ethiopian masses from oppressive and exploitative relations of production. The Programme of the National Democratic Revolution of Ethiopia, issued in April 1976, is the historic document which reflected all the radical measures being effected and gave them pattern, meaning and depth, a document clearly defining the aim, content, tasks and direction of the revolution.

The aim of the revolution was defined as the complete abolition of feudalism, imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism in Ethiopia, and the laying down of a strong foundation for the transition to socialism. To this end, the minimum programme envisaged the unity of the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist forces under the leadership of a workers' party on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance and collaboration with

the democratic sector of society and, in the process, the establishment of a people's democratic republic.

In order to give substance to the objectives set in the programme, various political, economic and social measures, whose implementation intensified the class struggle and assured the victory of the Ethiopian masses, were taken.

Political Gains

In political terms, the PMAC did not merely abolish the monarchy and demolish some archaic feudal institutions, it also removed the leading representatives of the old order from key posts in the state bureaucratic apparatus, replaced them with progressive and democratic elements, effectively putting the administrative machinery under its effective control. Thus, through various appropriate actions, a state ready to issue and implement popular proclamations and measures was established.

Realising from the start the indispensability of a vanguard party to lead the revolution, the PMAC called upon all genuine revolutionaries to rally around the National Democratic Programme and to organise a vanguard party in line with the principles of scientific socialism. To expedite fulfilment of the task, measures facilitating the dissemination of the revolutionary ideology of Marxism-Leninism and promoting organisational work were taken. These included the establishment of the Provisional Office for Mass Organisational Affairs and the Yekatit 66 Political School for cadre training. To accelerate and reinforce the politicalisation of the masses, discussion forums were established in factories, government offices, schools, universities and army barracks where workers, peasants, students, teachers, soldiers, etc., were given systematic political and ideological education.

Gradually five organisations, all declaring their allegiance to Marxism-Leninism, formed the Union of Ethiopian Marxist-Leninist Organisations (1977) and work started towards party formation. However, one of the member organisations deserted the camp of the revolution shortly after and joined the ranks of counter-revolutionaries, while another was expelled from the Union because of its wrong ideological and political line. Problems also beset the remaining three organisations due to the destructive rivalry among them and because of their failure to abide by the principle of democratic centralism.

Due to these and similar problems, the method of merging various organisations to form a party failed and a new approach had to be sought. The new approach envisaged created a centre that would make it possible to assemble all genuine revolutionaries on the basis of their personal merits. The centre was to be led by Comrade Mengistu Haile Mariam who, through his indefatigable work, commitment and decisive leadership from the start, symbolised the resolve of the Ethiopian masses to build a new society free from oppression and exploitation. Thus the Commission for Organising the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia (COPWE) was established in December 1979, with Mengistu Haile Mariam as Chairman.

COPWE, though not a party, heroically traversed a long and arduous path, accomplishing the tasks of a vanguard party. Its main objectives being the dissemination of Marxism-Leninism among the masses of the Ethiopian people and thereby establishing a workers' party, COPWE began by dividing its work into three phases, namely, preparation, activity and party formation.¹

In order to facilitate the fulfilment of its mission, COPWE held two congresses and eight regular plenary meetings and one extraordinary meeting of the Central Committee as well as weekly Executive Committee meetings.

The last phase, which began by implementing the resolutions of the Second Congress of COPWE (1983), was a decisive stage at which the actual process of party formation took place. The main tasks of this period included the evaluation of the performance of various bodies and members of COPWE's structure, the preparation

of the party Programme and Statute, the process of holding party founding meetings, and conferences on primary, district, provincial and regional levels which culminated in the historic Founding Congress of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia, held in September 1984.

The Congress heard and approved the Central Report, presented by Mengistu Haile Mariam, as a main document of the WPE. It adopted a WPE Programme and Statute and a ten-year plan (1984-1993) for the socio-economic development of the country, and elected leading party bodies. Mengistu Haile Mariam was elected General Secretary of the CC WPE.

The PMAC, COPWE and all revolutionaries always stressed the fact that the success of a popular revolution is guaranteed only by the involvement of the conscious, organised and armed masses of the people. Therefore, all efforts were exerted to mobilise the masses of the Ethiopian people. As a result of these efforts, the workers, peasants, youth, women, urban dwellers and people of various professions, organised according to their interests and pursuing the aims of the national democratic revolution, operated as a staunch bulwark of the gains of the revolution in developing and defending them.

The mass organisations and professional associations, with over 1,300,000 popularly elected leaders, have proved their worth as tested forums for the practice of democratic rights. In a country that knew no democracy, this is indeed a great stride forward. Mass organisations and professional associations have done much to protect the vital interests of their members, upholding the aims of the revolution, operating as a bridge between COPWE and the broad masses, educating their members on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and linking the struggle of the Ethiopian working people with that of progressive and socialist forces in the world arena.

The overwhelming majority of the adult population are involved in these organisations through their membership in the All Ethiopia Trade Union, All Ethiopia Peasants' Association, Revolutionary Ethiopia Youth Association, Revolutionary Ethiopia Women's Association, Urban Dwellers' Associations, Working People's Control Committees and various professional associations.

Revolutionary Steps to Restructure the Economy

As pointed out earlier, pre-revolutionary Ethiopia was a predominantly feudal society. With the historic proclamations that made all rural and urban lands and extra houses public property, feudal relations of production were abolished and nascent capitalist exploitation in rural areas was nipped in the bud, which emancipated the hitherto oppressed masses of the Ethiopian people. These measures cleared the path for the rapid development of the productive forces. The policy guidelines which were adopted later to establish service and producers' cooperatives in the agricultural sector paved the way for the gradual introduction of socialist relations of production in rural Ethiopia. With the successful establishment of over 1,000 producers' cooperatives based on careful guidance and the option of the peasants themselves, the idea of cooperatives has become accepted among the Ethiopian peasantry.

Former monopoly or private plantations have either become the property of peasants' cooperatives and former farm labourers or are part of fast-developing state farms.

The major industrial establishments and financial organisations, too, have been freed from the grip of imperialist monopolies and local exploiters through revolutionary proclamations putting all such major undertakings, with much of the trade, mining, etc., under state control. Thanks to these measures, monopoly control has been curbed and private capital restricted, and the economy is at present developing in line with the interests of the toiling masses.

During the last few years, much attention has been devoted to rehabilitating the infrastructure wantonly damaged by counter-revolutionaries and foreign aggressors,

and to expanding the existing industries to meet the consumption needs of the working people. The Red Star Campaign launched in the northern part of the country contributed remarkably to the reconstruction of the economic infrastructure in the Eritrean region devastated by the frantic and desperate secessionist bandits. By now the economy has been rehabilitated and valuable experience of profound and planned development gained.

Encouraging achievements have also been recorded in the field of communications, mainly in road construction. In pre-revolution Ethiopia there were 6,638 km of road which have now grown to 16,000 km as a result of mass participation in construction endeavours.

Besides, major industrial establishments have been set up with the aid and cooperation of socialist countries. They produce cement, textile and farm machinery. There is intensive activity in mining, oil and gas prospecting, etc. Economic, scientific and cultural cooperation with the socialist countries is growing fast.

The Social Services

During the last decade, laudable results have been achieved in the fields of education and health. These years have truly been years of cultural revival and regeneration for the majority of the Ethiopian people.

Illiteracy has declined in the course of a few years from the pre-revolution rate of 93% to 37%. School attendance has tripled, the percentage of children attending modern schools rising from 19% to 48%. The number of schools has grown from about 2,694 to 7,598. Kindergartens and other facilities for children are also expanding at a considerable pace.

School facilities have now spread into rural areas. The content of education has also been reoriented, it has shed its former feudal and capitalist bias and is developing in a revolutionary and socialist direction.

In the health services, too, encouraging results have been achieved. Many of the modern health facilities which in the past were limited to urban areas are spreading to remote regions of the country. In pre-revolutionary Ethiopia only 15% of the population had access to modern health services but by now this has grown to 45%. Between 1974 and 1983 the number of clinics increased from 650 to 1,850 and that of health personnel, from 6,472 to 16,220. As health hazards in Ethiopia can largely be tackled through preventive efforts, much is being done in the fields of vaccination, sanitary work and the health education of the masses. It is hoped that in a matter of a decade, 80% of the total population will have access to modern health facilities.

The Revolutionary Government and the Ethiopian people have also done commendable work in rehabilitating and resettling compatriots from drought-stricken areas as well as disabled citizens.

Defending the Revolutionary Motherland

From the start, the Ethiopian revolution has been under concerted counter-revolutionary attack from both internal class enemies and external reactionary forces. As the path of the revolution became clear with the passage of time, the all-out attack of the reactionary bloc coordinated by international imperialism reached its climax in 1977, threatening the very survival of the country.

The feudalists, grouped in the so-called Ethiopian Democratic Union (EDU), the anarchistic rifraff and terrorists engaged in 'progressive' rhetoric under the so-called Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP), the Eritrean secessionists and the Somali aggressors, backed by more than a dozen reactionary countries, all under the full support and guidance specially of American imperialism, arrayed themselves against the Popular Revolution and attacked the country from various directions.

As the class struggle did not spare even the ranks of the revolutionaries, anti-people forces within the PMAC itself raised their heads at that moment and

attempted in vain to derail the revolution. However, genuine revolutionaries led by Mengistu Haile Mariam took prompt action against the culprits and saved the revolution from peril.

The masses of the Ethiopian people were urged to heighten their vigilance, strengthen their class unity and defend their country by the call of the 'Revolutionary Motherland' which our revolutionary leader issued in his nation-wide speech in April 1977. The Ethiopian masses—workers, peasants, intellectual and patriotic elements—heeded the call of the revolutionary leader and prepared themselves for every sacrifice to save the revolution. The Revolutionary Army was restructured with due regard to the popular nature of the defence effort. Workers and peasants recruited their own defence squads who stood guard everywhere, defending people and property against saboteurs. The most brilliant achievement of that period was the training and arming of the People's Militia—over 300,000 workers and peasants in arms, trained in a matter of three months and sent to the war fronts.

The Revolutionary Army, thus strengthened by the involvement of the popular masses, swiftly crushed the enemies in the south, southeast and north, in all regions where the revolution was in danger. Thus the Somali aggressors, the secessionist bandits and feudal lords were beaten and the revolution marched on, victorious and invincible.

It must be clear that the disinterested internationalist assistance which the Ethiopian revolution received at that hour of trial from the Soviet Union, Cuba, the PDRY, the GDR and the other fraternal socialist and progressive countries was decisive for its victory.

Besides the consistent political and ideological work among the ranks of the Revolutionary Army, the proclamations establishing a National Military Service and a Local People's Militia rendered the defence system a popular character and helped it continue gaining strength.

In the face of imperialist threats and adventurism as well as the irredentist dreams of reactionaries, the Ethiopian masses have no other choice but to strengthen their defence capability.

In the sphere of international relations, revolutionary Ethiopia is guided by the well-known principles of proletarian internationalism and peaceful coexistence. By virtue of the internal radical changes, no doubt. Ethiopia has detached herself from the exploitative nexus of imperialism, develops all-round cooperation with the socialist countries, gives staunch support to the national liberation and anti-imperialist movement in Africa, the Middle East, Asia and Latin America and comes out in support of the working class fighting within the capitalist system.

Revolutionary Ethiopia gives special attention to developing mutually beneficial relations with neighbouring countries and with Africa at large and has been striving to strengthen its ties and collaboration with these states. It also strives to develop friendly and mutually beneficial relations with states that have a different social system.

Revolutionary Ethiopia strongly respects and abides by the well-known principles of non-aligned nations, the Charter principles of the UN and the OAU. Because of her correct and principled stand in her foreign policy revolutionary Ethiopia's prestige has increased in the regional and world arena, where she is playing her legitimate role, firmly upholding the cause of peace, freedom and progress.

In his opening speech to the Founding Congress of the WPE, Mengistu Haile Mariam pointed out that 'what makes the Founding Congress of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia unique and historic is not only that it marks the realisation of the vanguard party of our society and that a basic question of the revolution is thereby resolved, but is also an occasion in which a reliable condition with regard to our future development endeavours will be created'.

The Ethiopian Revolution has traversed a long way in its democratic phase.

Feudalism has been done away with and imperialist control and capitalist trends have been effectively curbed, while the task of laying down the foundation for the establishment of socialism has attained solid ground.

However, a serious struggle and challenges still await us in effectively concluding the democratic phase of the revolution and accomplishing the transition to socialism. Our current tasks in creating a new political system and developing the productive forces are immensely significant in this regard.

To be successful in the task of the construction of the new political system, the newly formed Workers' Party of Ethiopia has to be strengthened in its vanguard role and give all-round leadership to society in accordance with its Programme and Rules. Building a new popular state is another task of the utmost urgency. As the further deepening and widening of organised and conscious popular participation is decisive for the success of the revolution, much has to be done to strengthen the popular organs of power and heighten the consciousness of the masses.

Moreover, in order to improve the living conditions of the working people which is the *raison d'être* of the revolution, all efforts must be exerted to develop the productive forces by implementing the ten-year plan, which is aimed at effecting radical scientific, technological and cultural transformations in society leading to socialist agriculture and industry.

¹ For details on COPWE, see also Gesahem Gebre, 'The Stages of the Ethiopian Revolution', *WMR*, No. 9, 1984.

new experience

Our Interviews **We are Multiplying Our Strength and Steeling Our Cadres**

Kali Shankar Shukla – Central Executive
Committee member, National Council,
Communist Party of India

Unni Krishnan – Leadership member,
CPI organisation in the State of Kerala

—The 12th Congress of the CPI¹ raised the task of fostering the numerical growth of the party and the mass organisations led by it, consistently implementing the Leninist norms of party life, and improving the work of primary party units. How are these injunctions being carried out?

K. S. Shukla. The Indian Communists concentrate much of their efforts on furthering the numerical growth and qualitative improvement of the party's ranks and increasing the CPI's influence among the people. We are now everywhere reinvigorating our work among young people. Further, we try to draw into the party people belonging to the most oppressed tribes and castes, women, and Moslems. There has been some headway, but the task that has been set is not an easy one: these groups, it should be borne in mind, are the least developed in social and political terms.

India is mainly an agricultural country, and in the party most of the members come

from the rural population. They are principally agricultural labourers and landless or land-hungry peasants. In our ranks we have middle peasants and even well-to-do peasants, but their number is insignificant. The primary party units in rural areas are usually organised on the territorial principle.

As regards factory workers, they make up not more than 10-12 per cent of the membership. We are, of course, giving priority to increasing the number of workers in the party, and to setting up production cells and committees at industrial facilities. At factories where the party is still insufficiently strong, the Communists function in the organisations of the All-India Trade Union Congress,² while being simultaneously members of territorial cells at their place of residence, in workers' neighbourhoods.

A large role is played in India's public life by intellectuals from the middle classes. They are the most educated and politically active section of the population and enjoy considerable influence in the party. The CPI is influential among university and college teachers and also teachers of elementary and secondary schools. It is indicative that party cells and committees are now being formed at many of these institutions, where there were almost no Communists a few years ago.

U. Krishnan. Speaking of the state of Kerala, most of the new party members are young people, and the average age of the Communists does not exceed 35-40. More than one-third of the membership of the state's party organisation consists of workers or people from working class families, roughly 30 per cent are peasants, and the rest are from the middle classes. Territorial party cells are predominant in the state but with the growth of industry in the 1950s there appeared production party organisations, on which we strive to rely in every way. For example, in the state's capital these are organisations of workers of the electrical engineering industry, teachers, civil servants, transport workers, and people of other professions.

—What are the terms of admission to the party?

K. S. Shukla. Every Indian citizen over age 18 can apply for membership of the CPI. He needs the recommendations of two senior party members. The period of probation is six months. If in this period the candidate has not shown himself or herself enough, it may be prolonged for another six months. The candidate then becomes a full member or is struck off the list of candidates.

U. Krishnan. I should like to add that we do not wait until a person applies. If during a political campaign some person has shown that he or she is a militant, we take the initiative to persuade that person to join the CPI. But this has its reverse side. A Communist who is not sure of his convictions is sometimes passive, at best limiting himself to paying membership dues. Such persons usually leave the party during the annual re-registration. That is why in the last three or four years we have been giving special attention to boosting inner-party work, particularly with new members.

—The CPI Congress made it mandatory for party organisations to improve their ideological and educational work among members, to make sure that Communists are constantly concerned with acquiring more political knowledge. What is the situation in this area now?

K. S. Shukla. The development of party study is being slowed down by a number of objective circumstances. Suffice it to say that almost 70 per cent of India's population is illiterate. Most members of the party are agricultural labourers or peasants, a very large proportion of whom is illiterate. In some cases we have to educate people in elementary subjects, including even the geography of their own country. There are other difficulties: an acute shortage of funds, premises, and cadres.

Nonetheless, the CPI has and is enlarging a well-organised system of ideological

and political education, without which we feel the party cannot keep up with present-day requirements. In the localities there are three- and five-day courses, whose purpose is to ensure that every party member knows something about Marxism. Classes are held regularly in every district for the middle level party activists. For students and teachers there are courses of a higher level. These function during the summer holidays. The CPI has two central party schools with a six-week cycle of study: instruction is in English and Hindi. For party members speaking other languages, classes are organised in a number of states throughout the country.

As regards the curricula, these naturally differ depending on the education level of the students. Those attending the central schools, for example, study Marxist-Leninist theory, Indian philosophy, history, India's economy, the current political situation in India and in the international communist movement, questions concerning party building, and work in mass organisations. Usually after they finish their studies we request graduates to state their comments and wishes, in accordance with which we make corrections in the forms and content of the classes.

U. Krishnan. The situation in Kerala is more favourable than in other states. The illiteracy rate there does not exceed 15 per cent. When, for example, the National Council passes a political resolution we can notify all party members in printed form by sending a letter to the primary organisations. We see the central task of ideological education in promoting the militancy of the Communists. We achieve this aim in two basic ways: by regularly providing information on pressing political subjects and having the problem articles carried in the party press discussed at meetings of primary cells. We get considerable help from the journal *Problems of Peace and Socialism* (*World Marxist Review*), which is published regularly in Malayalam.³

—Would you say a few words on how your party's research is organised?

K. S. Shukla. Our possibilities are, I regret to say, limited. Even though in our party we have prominent scholars and leading specialists in various fields of knowledge, a shortage of funds is often the obstacle to convening major conferences and symposiums. Many of our comrades conduct research independently, in existing research institutions. For instance, Marxist historians are working successfully at the All-India History Society, where the party plays a large role. As for the party's scientific work, it is conducted at the central schools and by special research groups. Some work is conducted in the states, for example in Kerala. Institutes of Marxism-Leninism are in the process of formation in some states.

U. Krishnan. In Kerala we concentrate our scientific forces on the study and generalisation of the CPI's ten-year experience of heading the state government,⁴ especially in the handling of economic problems. Our second direction is to make a Marxist analysis of Kerala's history. This is of immense significance because today we are observing a revival of religious and chauvinist views, of communalism, as we call them in India. The struggle against them requires well-considered and irrefutable arguments, and this opens up a broad field for the work of Marxist scholars.

—It is well known that the Communist Party of India has a ramified press network. What are its role and potential in the political education of Communists, militants of mass organisations, and the population as a whole?

K. S. Shukla. In a certain respect it may be said that the Communist Party has the best organised press in India. Our circulation is, of course, way below that of the commercial bourgeois publications but, if we have in mind precisely the party press we are probably stronger than any other party in this field. We have a central daily newspaper in Hindi, *Jan Yug*, popular weeklies like *New Age* (in English) and *Hayat* (in Urdu), and three monthly journals. We are now beginning the publication of two

new periodicals: one on the social sciences and the other on culture. The party's publishing house in Delhi regularly brings out Marxist literature. The CPI organisations in many states have their own periodicals.

U. Krishnan. In Kerala the Communists have won access to the radio as well: we participate in programmes on problems of the working class and take part in educational broadcasts. This facility is linked to our long participation in the government and also to the fact that today, being in the opposition, the Marxists are a strong force in the state.

—Effective party work in all areas, including ideology, requires a solid core of trained cadres. What is the situation here?

K. S. Shukla. We have full-time functionaries in the central apparatus and in the leading organs in the states. As regards the next level—local and district committees—everything depends on the numerical strength and financial potential of each concrete organisation. In some districts the party still does not have even premises of its own. In the party cells all work is voluntary. Our goal is to train cadres among young Communists—workers, students, and trade union activities. We ask them to go over to full-time party work or, when funds are not available, devote a large portion of their spare time to it.

U. Krishnan. In our state part-time work in the party acquires various forms. For instance, a bank employee may be elected one of the secretaries of a district committee and devote two or three hours a day to this work. A university teacher may head a unit in the system of party education. At present in each district we are forming a voluntary propaganda body of the best-trained communist activists. The task of these activists, whose number is growing steadily, is to explain the party's policies to the lower cells and the mass organisations, and to reach out to every person looking for an answer to urgent questions of Indian reality and seeking to contribute to the struggle for the people's happiness.

¹ Held in the spring of 1982 in the town of Varanasi, Uttar Pradesh.—*Ed.*

² The All-India Trade Union Congress (over 3.5 million members) is a mass organisation of the working people functioning under the leadership of the CPI.—*Ed.*

³ *World Marxist Review* is published in India in English and 10 national languages.—*Ed.*

⁴ The first Communist-headed government in Kerala was in office in 1957-1959. Then, in the period from 1967 to March 1982 the CPI was invariably in the united left front government. From November 1969 to October 1979 members of the CPI were chief ministers of the state.—*Ed.*

Documents

POLAND

REINFORCING THE BOND WITH THE WORKING CLASS

The Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party passed a resolution noting that the PUWP is reinforcing its class character, enhancing the role of the working people in drawing up and making decisions, heeding their opinion, familiarising them with its policies, and gradually restoring its influence in society.

The resolution says that more workers should be enlisted into problem commissions and consultative groups, and that they should be invited to plenary

meetings of party bodies of different levels and their executive organs, that open meetings of Communists should be held more frequently, and that the leadership of all levels should continue and expand its contacts with work collectives. The PUWP committees and organisations should pay more attention to advanced, highly skilled veteran workers, who are the main proponents of class traditions and values. The resolution directs all party organisations to invigorate their efforts to draw a larger number of workers into the PUWP.

CHILE

FOR A WAY OUT OF THE NATION'S CRISIS

The Communist Party of Chile circulated in Santiago an appeal to working people, the unemployed, middle and small businessmen, and office workers urging unity among all the opposition forces in Chile against the anti-people Pinochet regime. If the opposition closes ranks, the appeal says, it will be able to halt the pillaging of the nation's wealth by imperialist circles and put an end to the machinations of the big economic clans linked to banking capital in the leading capitalist powers.

The appeal spells out a programme of urgent measures to be taken to resolve the acute economic crisis gripping Chile. This programme consists of the following points: a general pay rise; allowance for all unemployed, whose number has now reached 1,400,000; a freeze on prices and control over prices for staple foods; a ten-year moratorium for all small and medium debtors and the cessation of the repayment of foreign debts; a halt to government subsidies to private banks; nationalisation of all enterprises owned by US companies and the repeal of legislation granting broad benefits and guarantees to the transnationals, North American monopolies in the first place, in the mining industry; annulment of the agreements with the International Monetary Fund; return to the people of large estates and forests now in the hands of finance capital; the uninterrupted supply of food to the population.

In the Mirror of the Press

L'Humanité

LIVING LESSONS OF THE PAST

This newspaper of the French Communists regularly carries reports on the preparations to found the National Resistance Museum, which is to be opened on May, 8, 1985 to mark the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism. The French Communist Party, which played a leading part in the Resistance, has been extremely active in helping to build the museum. After announcing that it would contribute two million francs to the museum fund it organised an active fund-raising campaign, to which tens of thousands of French citizens have already responded.

L'Humanité underscores the great significance of past experience for present and future class battles. History, the newspaper writes, teaches indispensable knowledge and culture.

It did not prove easy to show different aspects of the fight put up by the Resistance,

by the organisations comprising it, and the role played by the PCF and the working class. Resistance fighters abided by the iron-clad rule not to leave any documents and any trace of their activities. Nevertheless in the course of twenty years of painstaking study, the Association for the Creation of the Resistance Museum was able to put together unique exhibits and materials on the history of the struggle against the nazi occupation: 3,000 newspapers and journals of the 1940-1944 period, 400 posters and placards, thousands of leaflets and photographs, printing and stenciling machines, weapons, and so forth. The museum, the newspaper says, will be an inestimably valuable source of information for researchers and academics and one of the main centres of the nation's history, and it will play a significant role in educating the rising generation in the spirit of the French people's glorious traditions.

At the Beginning of the Road

GENERALISING THE PRACTICE OF IDEOLOGICAL BATTLES

A little more than a year has elapsed since the publication of the first issue of *Al-Nahj*, a quarterly joint journal of communist parties of Arab countries. We carried a report on the printing of its first issue. Below Fahri Karim, the journal's editor-in-chief speaks of the new publication, of the ideological struggle in the Arab world, and of the tasks of the Communists in this struggle.

For us, Communists of Arab nations, special significance is being acquired by the intensification of the ideological work. This is closely linked to the situation in which the Arab working class and national liberation movement have found themselves. Two factors decisively influence this situation.

First, the ideological and propaganda offensive by imperialism, chiefly US imperialism, which is acting in alliance with zionism and Arab reaction. This offensive, designed to further the USA's global strategy and aid its attempts to gain full control over the Middle East, pursues many objectives, which include: inflaming nationalistic, chauvinistic tendencies and religious discord, sowing among the people a sense of defeatism, a spirit of capitulation, and doubt about the former successes of the national liberation movement, imposing on the people the 'consumer society' values, and provoke in them hostility for communist ideas. In addition, the US ruling circles are trying to justify their ruthless exploitation of the natural resources of the countries in this region, slow down their socio-economic development, and tie them more securely to the world capitalist system. Imperialism, zionism and reaction are spearheading their attacks against the communist parties and the Marxist-Leninist doctrines, and mobilising all the means available to them for disrupting the links between patriotic and progressive forces, splitting their ranks, and driving a wedge between them and the socialist countries, notably the Soviet Union.

Second, the complexity of the ideological processes in the Arab World. Capitalist development, accelerated in countries that receive huge revenues from the sale of oil, has brought with it profound changes in the social structure of these countries and led to the appearance of new social groups. This is strongly influencing the views and behaviour of all classes, including the working class. The ongoing process of social differentiation is extremely intensive and is accompanied by a more clear-cut ideological demarcation between the various forces but, at the same time, it is causing ideological confusion. The fact is that disenchantment with the social consequences of capitalist development, the rise of a bureaucratic and compradore bourgeoisie, and dependence on foreign capital are having various effects. Many organisations that proclaimed Marxism-Leninism as the foundation of their activities have sprung

up in Arab countries in recent years. At the same time, there has been a strengthening of religious schools that are proclaiming themselves the alternative to non-religious movements and secular authority and suggesting their own way of resolving social and economic problems.

In this situation the Communists face some important problems. The principal task is to cut short the ideological offensive mounted by imperialism and reaction and prevent them from splitting the national liberation forces and subordinating the mass consciousness in Arab countries. Further: to generalise on a theoretical level the complex social and ideological phenomena so that the parties of the working class can use the resultant conclusions to determine their immediate and long-term objectives, the ways and forms of cooperation with other progressive forces, and the tactics of struggle in broad national democratic associations; lastly, to deepen the political consciousness of the working class and its allies, to put forward slogans embodying the patriotic aspirations of the working people, help newly-founded organisations that gravitate towards Marxism, and put an end to their ideological and political weaknesses. Here it is important to be constantly aware of the need to protect the Marxist-Leninist doctrine against the attempts at vulgarising and revising it.

Fulfilment of these tasks obviously requires that there should be ideological-theoretical interaction and exchanges of opinion between communist parties functioning in the region. Some forms of such cooperation have been practised for a long long time, for instance, conferences of Arab communist parties to discuss common issues of ideological and propaganda work. However, in the present situation this is no longer enough. For that reason the publication of the joint journal *Al-Nahj* should be regarded mainly as a major step along the road to ideological unity of the Communists of Arab countries, as illustrative of their desire to generalise accumulated experience.

The very first issue raised a key theme for the Communists—the present state of the Arab national liberation movement and the factors behind its development. The second issue was devoted mainly to the question of the attitude of the communist parties of Arab nations to the Palestinian problem. While contributing to the elaboration of this theme, the journal seeks to cooperate with leading personalities of the communist movement in Arab countries and other Marxist analysts. Our point of departure is that an objective discussion on the basis of Marxist-Leninist approach ultimately leads to the shaping of a common political line by the Communists, to the working out of a common stand on the major problems being encountered by the communist parties and the national liberation movement as a whole. This will help to mobilise all of the revolutionary forces for the struggle against imperialism, zionism, and reaction.

Further, the journal does not confine itself to Arab problems. Its contributors analyse the theoretical and practical experience of fraternal parties that has a special relation to the liberation movement in our region and consider issues debated by Communists of Arab countries.

One of the journal's major objectives is to explain the stand of the USSR and other socialist states and also of the international communist movement on problems of war and peace, expose the aggressive policies of imperialism, notably of US imperialism, which has turned the Middle East into a dangerous breeding ground of tension.

The publication of *Al-Nahj* is not only confirmation of the need for and significance of reinvigorating the ideological work of Arab communist parties but also an attempt to make this work more effective, and reinforce the scientific traditions of the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the political, social, and economic phenomena in the Arab world. Moreover, it is a step towards the formation of a joint scientific centre of the Arab communist parties, whose major objective would be to conduct research in various areas to help the Communists define more accurately the tasks of the revolutionary forces and the ways and means of carrying out these tasks.

In Brief

NEWSPAPER FESTIVALS

Newspapers of communist parties have held their traditional festivals. These were *Rudé právo* (Czechoslovakia), *Avante!* (Portugal), *L'Humanité* (France), *Land og Folk* (Denmark), *Pueblo* (Ecuador), *L'Unità* (Italy), and *Volksstimme* (Austria). At these festivals the Communists spoke of their policies and strengthened their links to the people.

ANGOLA

The first-ever national seminar on the study of public opinion was held in Luanda with the participation of ideological workers of the MPLA-Party of Labour, party activists in the capital, and representatives of mass organisations. The seminar concentrated on the ways and means of ascertaining the sentiments of the people in order to conduct ideological work correctly and help to further their political consciousness.

BULGARIA

A major political campaign headed 'The Communist and Discipline' has commenced in Sofia's party organisation by decision of the capital's city committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party. Its aim is to enhance the vanguard role of the Communists in creating an atmosphere of intolerance of violators of labour, technological and planning discipline and of embezzlers of socialist property, raise the significance of criticism and self-criticism, and invigorate the work of primary party organisations in the period of preparations for the next BCP Congress. This campaign is to last eighteen months.

DENMARK

The progressive Tiden Publishing House is completing the issue of a large printing of 15 volumes of selected works by V. I. Lenin. Considerable assistance is extended to the publishing house in popularising Marxism-Leninism by the club formed at its offices. The purpose of this club is to study Lenin's heritage and sponsor meetings and debates with readers.

ITALY

At the pre-schedule administrative elections on Sardinia the Italian Communist Party polled 28.7 per cent of the votes (or 2.5 per cent more than at analogous elections in 1979) and thus won two more seats on the regional council. The ICP has been successful also at the elections to the municipal councils of the town of Riolo Terme (Emilia-Romagna region). In Martano, for instance, it won 10 per cent more votes than at the 1980 elections, and in terms of voter support it overtook the other political parties.

exchange of views, discussion

The Effects of the Crisis. The Communist Alternatives

International Symposium in Copenhagen

The severe economic crisis which hit the capitalist countries in the early 1980s rocked every sphere of life in the capitalist society to its foundations; it has had a grave effect on the condition of millions of men and women and has caused sharp shifts in the living standards of broad masses of people and in their social consciousness. The socio-economic, political, ideological and moral consequences of the crisis are now being felt all over the capitalist world. The monopoly bourgeoisie wants the working people to absorb the costs of the crisis, while using its effects to bolster its own domination and to increase its privileges.

How should the working class respond? What are the communist alternatives to the bourgeois and reformist policies in fighting back for the interests of the popular masses and advancing in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism?

These issues were central to an international symposium 'The Struggle of the Communist Parties of Industrialised Capitalist Countries Against the Effects of the Crisis' which was held in Copenhagen by *WMR* together with the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Denmark. It was attended by **Rosemarie Atzenhofer** (CP Austria), **Paul Marcus** (CP Belgium), **William Stewart** (CP Canada), **Ib Nørlund** (CP Denmark), **Hans Giersiepen** (German CP), **Bert Ramelson** (CP Great Britain), **Evangelos Papachristo** (CP Greece), **Gunnar Wahl** (CP Norway), **Gorjão Duarte** (Portuguese CP), **Ramón Mendezona** (CP Spain), **Kenneth Kvist** (Left Party-Communists of Sweden), and **John Pittman** (CPUSA). The symposium was addressed by **Jørgen Jensen**, Chairman of the CP Denmark.

Below is a summary of the discussion.

PARTICIPANTS in the symposium said that at the present phase in the development of the world capitalist economy its main indicators are contradictory and misleading. Is the capitalist world getting out of the bog of the crisis? Have the main difficulties been overcome? Is the worst behind it, as some bourgeois leaders claim, and does the immediate future hold promise of radiant prospects?

Indeed, business activity has been picking up,¹ but the recovery is uneven and lopsided, and the economic outlook from country to country and from industry to industry is very patchy. The decline in production over the past several years has not been made good. In 1983, US industry turned out 3.0 per cent less goods than it did in 1979, and West European industry—2.3 per cent less.

Far from all the sectors have been involved in the slight recovery: many are still in a state of stagnation and decline. The structural crisis, reflecting the deep-seated disproportions in the development of capitalist production and the processes

resulting from the impact of the scientific and technical revolution, is still being manifested in the most destructive forms. In the ferrous metallurgy, chemicals, automobiles, textiles and ship-building of some countries, the loading of the available production facilities has dropped to an extremely low level. Participants in the symposium said that the optimistic forecasts being made by some bourgeois leaders, above all by those who are trying to prove a beneficial nature of 'tough' methods of treatment, like those administered by 'Reaganomics' or 'Thatcherism', are not at all borne out by the state of the capitalist economy.

The volume of investment, on which the economic outlook in the years ahead depends, remains small, and this is especially characteristic of the West European states, from which there is an outflow of capital largely to feed the recovery in the United States. The vast US budget deficit—now at the all-time high of \$200 billion—is being covered to a great extent by the EEC countries, which have to pay for Washington's policy by the price of slower growth and economic depletion. The highest-ever interest rates and the overvalued dollar keep pumping funds from other states and that, some specialists believe, threatens fresh financial and economic upheavals over the next few years and on a much larger scale than ever before. Thus, the 1984 Report of the Bank for International Settlements (BIS), known as the 'bankers' bank', which has among its members the central banks of some European countries, the United States, Canada, Japan, Australia and South Africa, says that the capitalist world could soon be in the grip of an even deeper and more destabilising recession than that of the early 1980s.²

Participants in the symposium emphasised that the growth of military spending and the arms race being stepped up by US imperialism, together with the direct threat to peace and the danger of annihilation of the very foundations of modern civilisation, already tend to generate—in peace time—negative economic consequences gravely undermining the potentialities for economic recovery. The point is not only that these expenditures signify outright plunder of the social wealth and withdrawal of resources necessary for satisfying the population's vital requirements. The vast military outlays are having a profound effect on the whole mechanism of capitalist reproduction, sharply compounding its organic contradictions and exacerbating the crisis processes. The militarisation of the economy means a slowdown of investment in the civilian industries, a reduction in paid-up demand for civilian products, and a narrowing down of the markets, so intensifying inflationary trends and financial and monetary upheavals.

It is not only the mammoth national debt of the United States, crucially caused by the unparalleled military expenditures,³ but also the stepped-up military preparations which the United States has imposed on its NATO partners that are having a noxious effect on the whole of the world capitalist economy. The United States has been dragging the capitalist world into a snowballing arms race and has acted as the 'locomotive' of a train of negative phenomena in the economies of other capitalist countries.

Economics and People

Participants in the symposium considered the present economic situation in the capitalist world and emphasised that the temporary revival of business activity does not at all signify any positive shift in the life of the working people, the strata of the population hardest hit by the crisis. The concept of 'economic growth' does not itself give an idea of the condition of broad masses of people, the extent of their employment, their purchasing power, social security and so on.

Speakers at the symposium stressed as the key feature of the present economic situation the fact that the slight pick up in production activity has not gone hand in hand with any growth of employment or a rise in living standards. Indeed, the working people have received very little and have in fact continued to lose jobs and

earnings. Even according to official data, in 1983, the number of unemployed in the OECD area—and it includes all the industrialised capitalist countries—totalled 32 million, and very much more, according to trade union estimates. This year, the reserve labour army has been far from dissolving, despite the advertised 'recovery'.

The peculiar feature of the present period is that the retooling and the introduction of new technologies under the crisis have mostly led to the development of the least labour-intensive industries, to a reduction in labour inputs, and a decline in the demand for labour-power.

In Great Britain, for instance, where the ruling circles are advertising an 'upturn' in production, the number of unemployed—even according to the official and greatly understated figures—comes to more than 3.3 million, or 12.6 per cent of the labour force. In actual fact, the unemployed total more than 4 million, or almost 16 per cent. In some areas hit by the calamity, the level is twice as high! In Canada, where there was a marked GDP growth in 1983, unemployment involved 11.9 per cent of the labour force officially, and 15-16 per cent, actually. In Spain, the gross domestic product in 1983 went up by roughly 2 per cent, but the number of jobs dropped and unemployment officially involved 2.4 million, or 18.4 per cent of the active population, with the prospect of further growth in the period ahead. From 1980 to 1983, employment in the FRG shrank by almost 1 million, of which 0.5 million developed during 1983, a year of economic 'recovery'. The country now has more than 3 million jobless, which is much more than 10 per cent of the active population. If this trend persists, some economists believe, unemployment could go up to 4-6 million by the end of the 1980s, as fresh contingents of the labour force arrive on the labour market. Give or take a few facts, we find a similar picture in many other industrialised capitalist countries.⁴

However, the effects of the crisis for the working people are not confined to mass unemployment and its attendant social problems, for these are merely the most manifest urge of the capitalists to make the utmost use of the crisis to step up their exploitation of wage-labour and to slash the gains of the working class along various lines and in various forms, with the ultimate objective of reducing the costs of production by minimising labour costs and so boosting profits. Under the crisis, the monopolies' exploitive policies assume the most brutal and inhumane forms.

Who Loses and Who Gains

In the period of the crisis, the working people's living standards in the industrialised capitalist countries and all the other conditions of their existence have been severely curbed. This applies above all to wages, which have been either reduced directly or made to lag markedly behind the growth of labour productivity and intensity. The AFL-CIO has estimated that the real, spendable earnings of US workers, said **John Pittman**, have dropped since 1977 by 14.3 per cent. The new contracts negotiated by the trade unions over the past two years under the threat of plant closures and massive lay-offs in many industries, it was said at the Second Extraordinary Conference of the CPUSA, meant a transfer of \$200 billion from the working class to the corporations. In the four years between 1978 and 1982, the median adjusted income of white families dropped by 9 per cent, and that of Afro-American families by 16 per cent.

In the capitalist countries, wages are under pressure from various sides: they are being held down by employers, sliced in the course of collective bargaining and by rising prices of goods and services, and frozen as a result of government 'prices and incomes' policies, 'austerity', etc. The growth of taxes, and the increase in various contributions to social security funds, above all in connection with the growth of unemployment, markedly erode real earnings and working class family budgets.

Net earnings per wage-worker in Austria are now below the 1976 figure, said **Rosemarie Atzenhofer**. Wages tend to lag behind the rate of inflation and the increasing social insurance deductions. In 1984, the so-called 'package of measures'

to 'ease the budget' went into effect, and this roused the cost of utilities and other services. A tax reform infringing the interests of the working class and a pensions reform envisaging larger contributions by the working people to the pension fund are in preparation.

In 1983, said **Kenneth Kvist**, the real wages of industrial workers in Sweden were 12 per cent below the 1976 figure. In the two crisis years, the number of persons relying on social aid in order to make ends meet went up by 35 per cent, to 544,000 persons last year, or 10 per cent of the country's adult population.

In the FRG, **Hans Giersiepen** said, the level of real wages in 1983 was 5.1 per cent down from 1979.

In Portugal, consumer prices rose by an average of 25.5 per cent last year alone, and have continued to grow in 1984, said **Gorjão Duarte**. In 1983, real wages dropped by 5 per cent, and are expected to fall by another 7.8 per cent this year.

The increase of real wages in some cases does not yet mean a corresponding increase in family budgets. **Bert Ramelson** said that while the wages of those who work in Great Britain were somewhat higher in 1983 (mainly because of more overtime), the working people's living standards on the whole declined because of the sharp reduction in social benefits and services, which are an important item in the earnings of many categories of the population.

'Social dismantling' and cutbacks in government outlays on public health, education, science, housing construction, culture, environmental protection, sport and the infrastructure (roads, urban renewal, various community arteries, etc.) are a characteristic feature of the 'anti-crisis' policies of most capitalist governments, and this has noticeably worsened the 'quality of life' of broad masses of people. In the United States, for instance, the Reagan Administration has amputated over \$100 billion in appropriations for social programmes in order to 'economise' on government expenditures. This year, government appropriations for science and education in the FRG were cut back by 13 per cent, and aids to families, young people and public health by 6.8 per cent. Since 1979, considering the growth of prices, the outlays by the federal ministries dealing with these matters have been reduced in real terms by a third.

Far from all the categories of the population in the capitalist countries have suffered material losses over the past several years. The earnings of the big bourgeoisie continued to be high. Thus, from 1979 to 1983 the purchasing power of workers or employees in the FRG dropped by an average of 3,000 marks, while those who do not work for a wage saw their earnings go up by 24,000 marks. In 1983, net income from entrepreneurial activity and property ownership went up by an average of 10.5 per cent. Over the past three years, the profits of the major transnationals in the USA have more than doubled, while the rate of profit has gone up from 12 per cent to 19 per cent. In 1983, monopoly after-tax profits in Canada rose by 58 per cent. That same year, the number of millionaires in Sweden almost doubled. **Kenneth Kvist** said: "The crisis has intensified the parasitic character of the capitalist system as a whole. There is fast growing speculation in land, housing, bonds, shares and other securities, and foreign currencies, and the number of economic crimes has gone up."

Big capital is trying to use the early-1980s crisis to whittle away not only the working people's socio-economic gains but also their political and trade union rights, with special efforts to disarm the working class and to deprive it of the capacity for organised and concerted action in defence of its interests. To that end, a wide offensive has been mounted against the trade unions.

The British government, for instance, has used the crisis situation to introduce anti-trade union legislation. It pushed through a law aimed to hamper picketing and other methods of struggle by striking workers. The traditional practice under which new workers are hired by employers only with the consent of the trade unions has been abolished. One of the government's latest acts has been to ban the

establishment of trade unions by the workers of some governmental institutions. New laws are being prepared, on the one hand, to weaken the trade unions from inside, and on the other, to undermine their traditional ties with the labour movement.

It is the non-unionised strata of the wage-workers that suffer most from the crisis, and this tends to widen the earnings gap between various strata of the labouring population, a fact being used by the bourgeoisie in its efforts to fan anti-union attitudes, to confuse the working people with propaganda about the need for 'free choice', 'free play of market forces', etc.

At the same time, the big bourgeoisie and the authorities have tried to divide the trade unions and to push them into class collaboration and accommodation. The fact that 41 per cent of trade union members were involved in US-based international unions had a negative effect on the activity of Canadian trade unions in the crisis period, said **William Stewart**. The employers seek further to narrow down the sphere of the activity of the trade unions, which involve only 40 per cent of the wage-workers (apart from those working in agriculture), and to break up the trade union movement.

With the monopolies' drive against the interests and rights of the working class, speakers emphasised, primary importance attaches to the communist parties' elaboration of alternatives to the strategy of big capital and the formulation of concrete socio-economic programmes in the light of present-day conditions so as to provide a basis for massive struggles.

Two Opposite Lines

Jørgen Jensen, Chairman of the CP Denmark, extended greetings to the participants in the symposium and said: "We believe that the Communists' main task is to work out a sound alternative policy and to develop the working people's joint action on the basis of the key planks of that programme." Such a task is reflected in the documents of many parties and the decisions of their congresses.

In their programmatic documents, said **Gunnar Wahl**, the Norwegian Communists have determined that the role of the party should not be confined to merely voicing protests: "By confining ourselves to issuing protests against the effects of the crisis, we put the working class on the defensive. The Communists' alternative programmes are constructive, they are not only 'against' but also 'for'."

Considering the alternatives put forward by the communist parties, the participants in the discussion said that the Communists' fightback against the effects of the crisis is based on a realistic consideration of the limits to which the working people's interests can be protected in a capitalist society. Within the framework of monopoly capitalism, said **Bert Ramelson**, it is impossible to eliminate unemployment, to secure uninterrupted economic growth, to expand the social and welfare services and secure the continuous satisfaction of the people's constantly rising expectations, both material and cultural.

That does not mean, however, as some ultra-leftists claim, that nothing can be done 'until a revolution takes place' and the social system is changed. While combating the effects of the crisis, the Communists are also working out and advocating realistic alternatives to the policies of the ruling class, which means, on the one hand, easing the burden on the working masses and defending the working people's concrete interests, and on the other, striving to secure a growth of their political consciousness in the course of the struggle for these goals, to overcome the trade-unionist mentality, to alter the balance of forces in favour of the working class, and to advance along the way of socialist transformations.

The struggle for a way out of the crisis, said **Evangelos Papachristo**, should be subordinate to the struggle of the working class and its allies for their victory. The Greek Communists believe that the effects of the crisis can be overcome through the

organisation of a mass movement for genuine anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly change.

The Communists' alternative programmes are varied, reflecting the national features and the peculiar conditions in the various capitalist countries. At the same time, these programmes have common features which are determined by the common causes behind the crisis phenomena in the capitalist economy, and by the Communists' principal approach to overcoming these problems, an approach which differs at root from that of the bourgeois and reformist politicians.

The communist parties' approach is dictated above all by the answer to this question: who has to bear the cost of the crisis—the monopolies or the working people, the exploiters or the exploited? Monopoly capital makes use of its domination to get the working class to shoulder the burden of the crisis. In defence of the interests of the popular masses, the Communists want the 'rich to pay', so that the funds required for putting through anti-crisis measures and reviving the economy should come out of the inordinate profits of the big bourgeoisie, instead of the pockets of the working people or amputated social funds and programmes. Nor are these only demands for social justice, but also for ways to overcome the stagnation in production.

The bourgeoisie, its economists and managers insist that cutting labour costs is the only way to increase investments and right the economic situation. Thus, the above-mentioned BIS Report says that if another economic recession in the capitalist countries is to be avoided 'there is a most insistent need to boost profits, reduce the price of labour with respect to the cost of capital, make the labour market more flexible, and improve the atmosphere for enterprise'.⁵ The participants in the discussion noted that this kind of medicine now being prescribed by the official healers of the capitalist economy is in fact poison which tends to aggravate its ills.

'Austerity', 'wage freeze', 'belt-tightening', 'prices and wages' and similar other policies have been applied in all the capitalist countries in one form or another over a period of many years under the pretext of cutting costs and obtaining funds for capital investments and expansion of production, 'stimulation of private initiative', giving business 'room for manoeuvre', and so on. The result has been, on the one hand, an even greater redistribution of the national wealth in favour of big capital, and on the other, a reduction in consumer demand, a contraction of the domestic markets, and a growth of crisis processes in the sphere of production.

Towards the end of the 1975-1976 cyclical crisis, said **Hans Giersiepen**, the then Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt put forward the following 'three-element' formula: profits today mean investments tomorrow, and jobs after-tomorrow. Only the first element of that formula now remains: profits have, indeed, soared by roughly 30 per cent, while investments have either been cut back or have gone abroad. Unemployment has assumed an unprecedented scale. In 1983, said **Ramón Mendezona**, wages in Spain declined, while business earnings increased. But investments dropped by 1.1 per cent.

The communist parties of the industrialised capitalist countries offer a different prospect: higher living standards for the people, instead of profits for the monopolies and an increase in the working people's effective demand as this would help to enlarge the volume of domestic markets and so stimulate the growth of production and employment.

Bourgeois leaders usually insist on the need to curb wages and consumption through a policy of 'austerity' on the plea that heightened demand allegedly tends to fuel inflation and so ultimately to 'overheat' the economy. But that is an eventuality which stems only from the drive for profit and the monopolies' urge to assure themselves of high earnings and high prices so as to more than make up for the nominal growth of wages. That is why the Communists' alternative programmes in many countries provide for the establishment of price controls and wage indexation.

The communist parties reject the view that inflation results from higher wages, for that makes the working people themselves responsible for the higher cost of living. The fight against inflation, the Communists believe, has to be carried on through a slashing of military spending, an end to speculation, a reduction in the bourgeoisie's parasitic consumption, and a redistribution of incomes in favour of the needy, instead of eroding the purchasing power of the labouring strata of the population.

In the light of their national conditions, communist party programmes propose various concrete measures to extend the social services, develop public health, education, science and culture, improve housing construction, public transport, and environmental protection, and to maintain every possible form of social insurance and aid above all to the unemployed, and also to the most deprived groups of the population, the elderly, and the young.

The Communists in many capitalist countries want to see an increase in every type of working people's incomes, and therefore also support the demand for a reduction of working time without any loss of wages, a measure which is regarded simultaneously as a means for improving the living conditions of the masses and as an instrument for reducing unemployment. The introduction of new labour-saving technology, the communist parties believe, should not result in men being supplanted by machines or in a growth of unemployment, but in a reduction in working time. The restructuring of industry on the basis of modern scientific and technical advances, which now turns out to be a social calamity for millions of people in the capitalist world, could help to provide workers and employees with more time for leisure, study and cultural pursuits. The communist parties of the FRG, Great Britain, Austria and several other countries have proposed the introduction of a 35-hour working week. In some countries, the idea is to lower the pension age (in Norway, for instance, from 67 to 62 years), to increase the study period for young people through a reform of secondary education (the introduction of a compulsory tenth grade in FRG schools), or through an extension of higher education.

Source of Funds

The Communists have indicated the concrete possibilities of implementing both the long-term and the short-term programmes of measures capable of ensuring a democratic way out of the crisis.

Bourgeois governments usually plead a lack of funds to effect the proposed measures and economic imperatives which allegedly make it impossible to meet the working people's demands, and so declare the proposals made by the communist parties and other democratic forces in the social and economic sphere to be 'unrealistic' and 'demagogic'.

However, participants in the symposium indicated the concrete sources from which funds could be drawn to finance the progressive transformations. These sources lie above all in switching the monopoly-appropriated resources to socially useful purposes and the satisfaction of the needs of the popular masses. Many communist parties insist that progressive fiscal policies, with higher taxes on large fortunes, are an important source of government revenue, while a reduction of taxes on the working people could help to increase consumption and so to expand the domestic market. At the same time, there must be an end to various handouts to the monopolies in the form of diverse subsidies, benefits and privileges, and understated prices for government services, together with measures to halt the 'flight' of capital abroad, which leads to a shrinking of investment funds.

Resolute resistance to the crisis policies of the ruling class, **Paul Marcus** emphasised, means forcing those who are to blame for the economic chaos, i.e., finance capital and the beneficiaries from its domination, to loosen their purse strings, and that is the meaning of the alternative proposed by the Belgian Communists to the country's working class. The Communist Party has put forward a 12-point

programme entitled 'Let the Wreckers Pay!', a document designed for discussion by all the progressive forces and formulating, among others, the following demands:

- a lowering of interest on bank loans;
- the imposition of an 1-2 per cent tax on private fortunes in excess of 20 million francs;
- the allocation of a statutory low-interest loan among holding companies and banks;
- the imposition of a 'deterrent' tax on the export of capital;
- the encouragement of enterprises making new investments and creating new jobs.

The CPUSA, said **John Pittman**, has proposed that federal taxes on corporations and the rich should be raised by \$300 billion, which is only a modest share of the \$1.5 trillion in surplus-value which, according to estimates by the economist Victor Perlo, US workers produce every year. Together with a reduction in military spending and other sources, that would make it possible, in particular, to repair and expand the country's infrastructure, to develop the social services, to extend housing construction and to take the necessary measures to protect the environment, so helping to create millions of new jobs.

A reduction in the huge military expenditures and their switch to peaceful and constructive purposes, the Communists believe, are the most important source for financing socially useful projects and for funds to improve the health of the economy.

The FRG Communists' principled approach to the elaboration of a socio-economic strategy was defined at the Seventh Congress of the GCP in January 1984 as follows: 'The alternative economic policy of the working class should be a policy of peace and should be anti-monopolistic.' It 'should be aimed to gear our country's powerful economic potential to the satisfaction of the people's social and cultural requirements, instead of monopoly capital's drive for profits and the arms buildup'. The Communist Party demands an end to the policy under which cutbacks in federal spending on social purposes are paralleled by accelerated growth of military appropriations. **Hans Giersiepen** said: "Seventy billion marks a year is now being spent in the FRG on weapons, while we are told that there is 'no money' for the creation of jobs. The link between unemployment and the arms race is perfectly obvious. That is why the working people have put forward the slogan: 'Jobs, Not Missiles!'. The GCP's Sixth Congress passed a special resolution 'The Alternative to the War Economy', under which concrete proposals were later formulated for the creation of jobs in the country's civilian industries."

In Great Britain, **Bert Ramelson** said, a reduction in the vast expenditure on arms, now totalling £16 billion, even by one-half would help to release funds for reviving a number of industries and developing the services, thus markedly reducing unemployment. Many trade unions are discussing the problems of reconversion of the arms industry and have drawn up concrete plans for switching arms enterprises to the production of socially useful goods.

John Pittman remarked that the money being spent on military purposes created only a third or a quarter of the jobs created by civilian appropriations. The use for peaceful purposes of the funds now going into the US military budget could help to create more than 10 million jobs, which is roughly three times the number now involved in the combined military and civilian jobs of the military programme. The CPUSA demands an immediate slashing of the military budget by \$200 billion, so proposing a measure which would not just halt the dangerous arms race, but also substantially ease the lot of the most deprived strata of the population and reduce the burden of unemployment.

Speakers at the symposium considered the external conditions having an effect on the economic state of this or that country and pointed to the need to improve international financial, trade and economic ties, to do away with the relations of

dependence and subordination among states and the diktat of the transnational corporations, and to ensure the peoples' right freely to choose their way of development and to decide on their own future.

The discussion showed, however, that there were some differences in approach to concrete problems by some parties, as in their attitude to the Common Market. The Danish Communists believe that the struggle against the effects of the crisis is directly linked with the fight against membership in the EEC, which is a formidable obstacle to putting through any democratic or progressive measures in the economic sphere. The British and Greek Communists take a similar view. The Portuguese CP is opposed to their country's entry into the Common Market, as this would make it dependent on economic and political centres controlled by foreign monopolies. The CP Belgium believes that an extension of the EEC is useful, together with an extension of the rights of the European parliament, as that would provide greater opportunities for resisting monopoly capital. In the opinion of the CP Spain, the country's entry into the Common Market does have some negative aspects, but it would amplify the working people's prospects for cooperation with the peoples of other West European states.

Nationalisation: The Key Issue

The communist parties regard the nationalisation of various industrial, energy, transport and other enterprises and monetary and financial institutions owned by monopoly associations and having national importance as a key instrument for democratising the economic structures, carrying on the anti-monopoly struggle and resisting the crisis processes in the capitalist economy.

US Communists believe that nationalisation of the basic industries, sources of energy and communal enterprises could help to limit the domination of the monopolies and to carry on activity for the people's benefit. This relates especially to the traditional industries which are doomed to degradation because of the self-seeking policies of big capital and the structural crisis.

The CP Canada demands the nationalisation of the subsidiaries of the US transnationals operating in the country, banks and natural resources, and the establishment of democratic social property in the basic spheres of economic life. That would help to obtain the funds for developing production and make economic planning possible.

The strategy of the British Communists envisages the conclusion of binding agreements between the government, private companies and trade unions on the planning of production. Companies failing to abide by such agreements would have to be nationalised. In addition, at least one major transnational corporation should be nationalised in every sector of the economy.

Nationalisation of the key industries under democratic control and participation of the working class in the management of the economy are among the basic principles of the alternative policy put forward by the GCP's Seventh Congress (switch to detente and disarmament, distribution of the social wealth in favour of the working people, reorientation of state fiscal policy on the basis of tax equality, democratic economic planning and control over capital investments). In the FRG, a quarter of all the workers are now employed at state enterprises and establishments, and their rights must be defended.

The CP Denmark demands the nationalisation of banking, monetary and credit institutions, oil and gas deposits, and key industries which are threatened with liquidation. The party advocates state investments, state production, an active policy in environmental protection, and use of the country's resources for the national interest.

The programme for developing Swedish industry over the decade ahead worked out by the Left Party—Communists of Sweden envisages a balanced expansion of the

state sector and protection of the existing state enterprises against the attempts to convert them to private property.

The Norwegian Communists demand broader nationalisation in industry, primarily of enterprises facing foreign competition. Production should be restructured under a long-term plan, with the state and the trade unions playing the decisive role.

The programme for genuine change worked out by the 11th Congress of the CP Greece (1982) also provides for an expansion of the state sector of the economy as the main instrument in the efforts to overcome the crisis. This means above all nationalising the strategically important industries and enterprises which are of primary significance for the population, with the state sector to be transformed and 'cleansed' on a democratic, anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist basis.

Participants in the symposium said that nationalisation of enterprises within the framework of the capitalist society was not in itself a guarantee of their use for the benefit of the working people. The task was to channel production activity along a new way and to make it serve the people, instead of monopoly capital.

Nationalised enterprises have an important role in the Austrian economy, said **Rosemarie Atzenhofer**, for they employ roughly one-fifth of all those working in Austrian industry. Nearly one-third of the industrial investments go into that sector. The Communists advocate its expansion and are opposed to the attacks being made against such enterprises in various forms. That is where most jobs were eliminated in the period of the crisis and where wages have fallen most drastically. In this way, the sector is being discredited in the eyes of the working people and efforts are being made to split the workers and employees of the nationalised and other industries. Nationalised enterprises are often turned into adjuncts of foreign companies. The state acts as the 'central capitalist' and protects the interests of the monopolies. That is why, the Austrian Communists believe, nationalised industry can acquire key importance in the struggle for the rights and interests of the working class only if the 'bailiffs' of the monopolies are removed from the agencies running the state economic sector.

The current crisis is a crisis of state-monopoly regulation, **Evangelos Papachristo** emphasised. When we speak of state intervention in the economy, he said, we never forget the kind of state we have to deal with. It is not something that stands over and above class. One cannot expect the existing state actually to pursue a policy for the benefit of the workers. That would require a change in its class character.

Gorjão Duarte analysed the specific conditions in Portugal which resulted from the April Revolution. If the economy is to develop on an upgrade and the country is to move out of the present crisis, efforts must be made to prevent the restoration of the positions of state-monopoly capitalism. The counter-revolution is conducting a policy of restoring these positions. That is why the main thing for the Portuguese CP today is to stand up for the gains of the Revolution and to safeguard the Constitution it has produced, the democratic regime, the fruits of nationalisation and the agrarian reform.

Democratisation of Management

The participants in the discussion considered the problem of using state instruments to combat the effects of the crisis not only in connection with the problem of nationalisation but also in a broader context. They pointed out that the demands put forward in the Communists' alternative programmes—such as the expansion of the social services, reduction of working hours, control of prices and investments, cutbacks in military spending, progressive taxation policies, and so on—are ultimately addressed to the governmental agencies.

It was pointed out at the symposium that noticeable shifts in economic management methods have occurred in some of the major imperialist countries in the

course of the crisis, with the accent on the 'market economy forces' and 'release' of private capitalist activity from all manner of governmental 'restraints' and 'restrictions', a policy which is contrasted to state intervention and regulation of production activity. However, the state has in practice continued, as it did in the past, to intervene in socio-economic processes, merely taking a more open stand on the side of big capital, making less use of social manoeuvring (the possibilities for which tend to be reduced during the crisis) and doing more to directly safeguard the interests of the big proprietors.

That is the objective, said **John Pittman**, of 'Reaganomics' in the United States, which is aimed above all at giving the corporations a free hand.

In Great Britain, **Bert Ramelson** said, 'Thatcherism' has used as its cover calls for 'free choices' and 'free play of market forces', which, it claims, can be expected to ensure fair distribution. But the government has interfered in the economy on a very wide scale, so confirming the fact that, under state-monopoly capitalism, the state plays the dominant role and acts in favour of the monopolies. It is now trying to camouflage this and to create the impression that it is refraining from any intervention. It is highly important to dispel such illusions. At the same time, it is necessary to insist on state intervention in economic life for the benefit of the working people. The working class is not helpless, it can put pressure on the state and extract concessions from the authorities. But the working people's demands cannot be realised without massive extra-parliamentary struggles.

This idea was elaborated by many participants in the symposium. The state in the FRG, said **Hans Giersiepen**, is an instrument of monopoly capital and has pursued a policy for its benefit. Legislation in the country is being 'liberalised' to give employers a freer hand in dealing with workers and employees, some juridical guarantees against lay-offs are being abolished, the scope of collective contracts is being limited, trade union rights in setting wage rates are being undermined, etc. Meanwhile, the existing laws are not being fulfilled whenever they clash with the interests of big capital. Thus, the constitution of the Land of Hessen contains an article prohibiting lockouts, but when the owners of printing enterprises threatened to respond with a lockout to a strike staged by workers to back up their demands for a shorter working week, the prime minister of the Land declared that he had 'no means of compelling compliance with the constitution'. That is why it depends on the balance of class forces and on the militancy of the masses to force the state to meet their demands.

The struggle in the sphere of legislation, for the extension and realisation of the working people's rights is also being carried on by other communist parties, and the results of their efforts are of especial importance in view of the crisis. The Norwegian Constitution, said **Gunnar Wahl**, contains an article which says that the state is responsible for the provision of jobs, an obligation that has not been fulfilled. The party has started a campaign to compel implementation of that article and has proposed that the trade unions should have the right to veto any plant shutdowns.

The Communists of Canada, **William Stewart** said, want a review of the Constitution to incorporate in it a Charter of Labour Rights, including the right to work at trade union rates, the right to strike, the right to join the trade union of one's choice, women's right to equal pay for equal work, and other social guarantees.

The communist parties believe that democratisation of economic management at every level—from the individual enterprises to state nation-wide agencies—is the most important way of safeguarding the working people's interests under the crisis. **Jørgen Jensen** stressed that this means not only a development of self-management at various levels, but also democratic management of nationalised enterprises with the participation of elected workers' representatives.

The British Communists believe that trade unions, representatives of the working people should constitute a majority on the boards of enterprises and companies, having a say in matters like investment policy, the location of production, installation

of new technology, man-power employment plans, etc. The FRG Communists believe that the substance of democratic participation by production collectives and trade unions in management does not consist in some 'social partnership' which leaves the prerogatives of capitalist management intact, but in strengthening the positions of the working people fighting for their interests. The Communist Party of Belgium wants the establishment of state control over the key enterprises (for instance, the major electric-power plants and electricity-supply systems) which should be placed under the regional authorities, with the working people being given broad opportunities for a say in management. The Communist Party of Canada demands the right of workers to have a say in decisions on all production matters. The Greek Communists insist on the enhancement of the working people's role in the management of state enterprises.

Enlightening the Working People

Considering the possibilities for realising these alternatives, the participants in the symposium drew special attention to the need to raise the level of the masses' consciousness and political activity as the key prerequisite for implementing the communist parties' proposals.

We demand democratic planning and control, said **Gunnar Wahl**, and so seek to extend the workers' influence in economic management. However, such demands imply a definite level of the workers' political awareness, and that is one of the most difficult problems faced by the Communists in Norway. After all, our alternative programmes have to be correctly understood and accepted by the workers, if we want them to back these programmes as their very own.

The effects of the crisis, said **Ib Nørlund**, do not automatically revolutionise the working people's consciousness. The growth of discontent with their conditions does not yet imply a comprehension of the true causes of the crisis or an understanding of how to get rid of its calamities. Both the bourgeoisie and the Social Democrats deny that the crisis stems from the capitalist system, and claim that it is some sort of universal and elemental calamity which has nothing to do with the capitalist social system. The advocates of the bourgeoisie preach individualism in order to divide the working class, and argue that everyone has to 'forge his own happiness' individually, which is why the working people's organised action and solidarity are allegedly useless. Efforts are being made to deprive the workers of confidence in their strength and make them feel a sense of depression and fear. This propaganda is closely bound up with the spread of reactionary, chauvinistic and anti-communist ideas, and efforts to smear the socialist perspective. The struggle for a way out of the crisis that would be in the interests of the working people has to envisage active rebuffs of the ideological propositions of the ruling class.

It is not only the mood of pessimism and hopelessness produced by mass unemployment, but also the intensive spread by bourgeois propaganda of optimistic forecasts about the crisis being 'behind us', and 'prosperity' being 'just round the corner' that tend to dampen the militancy of a section of the workers, said **William Stewart**. Many working people still entertain illusions about the capitalist system being able to find a way out of the present crisis without harming the people's interests.

That idea was elaborated by **Kenneth Kvist**, who said that the crisis could increase the ideological influence of monopoly capital because some of its consequences tend to breed something like 'sectarianism' among the working people. Bourgeois ideologists insist that not all, but only a minority suffer from unemployment, declining wages and worsening social security. The masses see the bureaucratic and undemocratic character of the state sector and the reformist trade unions, and all of this leads to the spread of individualistic, anti-union, bourgeois views, and even of some hostility towards democratic institutions. But the power of the bourgeois

ideology should not be exaggerated either. Objective processes provide a wealth of facts to blast the myths of official propaganda. It is now hard to keep saying, for instance, that 'Everyone in Sweden is equal', or that 'We are all in the same boat', etc., in view of the ever deeper social stratification, the concentration of capital, the growth of wealth at the one pole, and the decline in real wages and worsening living conditions, at the other. The 'Swedish model', which was most strenuously advertised over a period of years, has now been decidedly tarnished.

Participants in the symposium said that the working people's actual experience helps the communist parties to carry on active explanatory work among the masses. The practice of the capitalist way out of the crisis at the expense of the working people itself provides sound arguments for blasting the ideological postulates of the bourgeoisie about the 'engine of free enterprise', the need for 'sacrifice by everyone', etc. At the same time, there are ever wider opportunities for rallying the working class and other strata of the working population round the communist parties' alternative programmes. That is the basis on which the bourgeoisie's ideological pressures can be successfully resisted, the working people's class consciousness raised, and their resolve to fight for their rights and interests fortified.

In some industrialised capitalist countries, it was said at the symposium, socialist and social democratic parties under pressure from the masses seek to secure their support by writing into their electoral programmes some good proposals meeting the interests of the working people, but once in office they tend to 'forget' about them or to declare such proposals to be 'unrealistic'. That causes disappointment among the working people and paves the way for rightist and conservative forces.

The social democratic leadership in the FRG, **Hans Giersiepen** added, does not have anything that could be called a genuine programme for combating the crisis, but a sizable number of members of the Social Democratic Party and its supporters in the trade unions take a progressive view of that struggle, and that is where the two class lines within social democracy tend to clash.

Hans Giersiepen gave the following example. The SDP commission on the problems of wage-workers decided this year to insist on the transfer of the steel industry into the hands of the state under democratic control, although the party leadership rejected the demand and came out in favour of a 'market economy' and against restrictions on the economic power of big capital. The clash of the two class lines within social democracy in the FRG creates the prerequisite for a swing in socio-economic policy similar to the one which occurred under the pressure of large numbers of rank-and-file Social Democrats and trade unions from 'Yes to Missiles' to 'No to Missiles'.

The CP Austria ties in the struggle for its alternatives with the exposure of the ideas and practices of 'social partnership', for it seriously hampers the defence of the interests of the working class, said **Rosemarie Atzenhofer**. Many Socialist Party and trade union leaders have not displayed a readiness to fight, and have acquiesced in the lay-off of working people, the policy of social dismantling, and 'belt-tightening'. They have tried to persuade the workers that 'temporary sacrifices' can help to cope with the economic difficulties. However, the effects of the crisis show that such sacrifices turn out to be long-term ones.

* * *

How effective the working people's resistance to the crisis strategy of big capital is today largely depends on their international solidarity and joint action in defence of their rights and interests, and for peace and social progress. Participants in the symposium said in this context that many propositions of the communist parties' alternative programmes are attractive for broad masses of people, are being adopted by trade unions, by other left-wing political forces and are then put forward on their

own behalf. It goes without saying that the Communists have no objection to that because it helps to extend the platform for joint action by the anti-monopoly and democratic forces. The communist parties oppose the harmful effects of the crisis, it was said at the symposium, and seek the broadest possible unity of all those who sincerely want to improve the working people's lot and reject the anti-people's policy of big capital.

The discussion showed that the struggle against the effects of the crisis and for progressive democratic alternatives of socio-economic development is now an important line of the Communists' activity in the industrialised capitalist countries. International exchanges of experience in this struggle are a prime condition for its effectiveness and success.

¹ According to the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), after the 1982 recession, the gross national product of its 24 members, capitalist countries, increased by 2.4 per cent in 1983; this year it is expected to go up by 4.2 per cent, and then to drop to 2.7 per cent in 1985. For the United States, the figures are, respectively, 3.4; 6.0 and 2.5 per cent, and for the EEC, 1.1; 2.2 and 2.2 per cent. In some West European countries, production continued to decline in 1983 as well (see *Le Monde*, June 22, 1984).

² *L'Humanité*, June 18, 1984.

³ The US budget for fiscal 1985 is to increase military appropriations to nearly \$300 billion, that is, more than double the figure for 1980.

⁴ Unemployment problems were examined at an international symposium in Athens arranged by WMR together with the CP Greece (see WMR No. 5, 1984).

⁵ *L'Humanité*, June 18, 1984.

viewpoints

Socialist Economics: Developments at a New Stage

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THE Communist Party of Czechoslovakia drew up the guidelines of its current economic policy back at its 14th Congress in 1971. The guidelines were based on an analysis of long-term development trends of the new society. The period that has followed has confirmed that comprehensive intensification of the national economy is an organic element of the overall course aimed at the building of developed socialism. The changes in the world's general economic situation have enhanced the urgent need to implement this strategy. Comrade Gustáv Husák, General Secretary of the CPCz Central Committee and President of the CSSR, noted at the 16th Party Congress in 1981: 'Attainment of the objectives set in the seventh five-year plan calls for a more consistent realisation of the long-term economic strategy which stresses high production efficiency and overall work quality. The basis is the economy's transition to the path of intensive development, together with effective structural changes, rational use of the production potential, highly frugal use of all resources, improved management, greater initiative by working people, and more vigorous participation by our economy in socialist integration and the international division of labour.'¹

The record of the European socialist member countries of the CMEA shows beyond doubt that transition to a principally intensive type of reproduction is a logical feature of the stage at which mature socialism is created and perfected. What are the foremost qualitative differences between this type of development and the preceding

Continuing the 'Socialism: Unity of Theory and Practice' series. See WMR, No. 12, 1983; Nos. 3, 6 and 8, 1984.

stage? In the postwar decades, the fraternal countries ensured their economic growth primarily through the involvement of additional manpower, material and financial resources in social production. This was imperative in order to heal the wounds of war, build and strengthen the material and technical basis of socialism, and create, within a historically short period, an economic potential which would make it possible to steadily raise the people's material and cultural wellbeing and guarantee a firm position for our community should a confrontation with international imperialism arise.

But even in those years, social labour productivity was growing rapidly and the role of intensive development factors was gradually increasing in the socialist world. Improvement of production efficiency became an important element in the economic policy of the fraternal countries. That is why economic growth in the socialist countries was not purely extensive even in the first postwar decades.

Nevertheless, at the new stage of the development and perfection of socialism there surfaced an urgent need to reappraise the priorities of economic policy and to direct it, first and foremost, at the best possible use of the production potential available, at a better quality of economic growth and at improvement in the overall performance of the national economy. The dynamics of this performance must depend more on increases in the efficiency of social production than in the amount of social labour performed—both materialised and live.

Transition to a primarily intensive type of reproduction presupposes far-reaching changes in the structure of the growth factors. Of key significance among them is scientific and technological progress. This is precisely what Karl Marx foresaw when he wrote that at a certain stage in the development of the productive forces the creation of real wealth would depend less on the time and labour spent than on 'the general state of science and on the progress of technology, or the application of this science to production'.² In this way science develops into a direct productive force.

In the new situation, other growth factors also acquire decisive importance. They include the development of socialist economic integration, the restructuring of production to adapt to the changes in domestic and international conditions and finally, an improvement of the economic mechanism which gears it to the current state of the productive forces.

The beginning of the 1980s was a difficult period in the implementation of our party's economic strategy. On the one hand, although economic development in the previous decade was, on the whole, positive, it proved impossible (as the 16th Congress of the CPCz noted) to fully bring about the necessary turn to the intensification of production, greater returns from and better quality of labour, higher efficiency in capital construction, and more rapid application of scientific and technological advances. On the other hand, changes in the international situation demanded that these urgent problems be solved as soon as possible. Terms for purchases of fuel and energy resources on the world market deteriorated perceptibly. Tensions in relations between the two social systems increased; the Reagan Administration tried to bring economic pressure to bear on the socialist countries, specifically, it attempted a credit blockade. This made it incumbent on us to attach great importance to an economical use of fuel, energy and material resources, bring about structural changes in the national economy, and restore our external economic balance at a faster rate.

How should our economy develop intensively while remaining, in the long-term perspective, both dynamic and stable? We cannot expect to secure much greater amounts of energy-producing substances, raw materials and other commodities. Consequently, the only solution is to ensure, with the help of scientific and technological progress, considerable savings of resources, including materialised labour, sharply raise production efficiency and increase the competitiveness of Czechoslovak products on foreign markets. To accomplish these tasks, the party, the

state and the people must exert all the efforts they can.

In identifying the key parameters of further development and the priorities of economic policy, we try to take into account the possible changes—both for the better and for the worse. One drawback of the external economic situation is that the world capitalist economy faces a serious threat of new upheavals. The prime reason for that is the current instability of the capitalist finance and credit system. This instability is rooted above all in the huge increase in military spending and resulting profound internal financial imbalances and the unwarranted hike in the US interest rates which exacerbates inflationary developments in all capitalist countries. Another factor affecting the situation perceptibly is the great external debt of developing countries. The resultant aggravation of the crisis of the world capitalist monetary and credit mechanism may adversely affect Czechoslovakia's ties with non-socialist countries, that is, the external economic conditions of our economic development.

This highlights even more the advantages of fruitful cooperation among the fraternal countries, especially of socialist economic integration. These advantages hold the great promise and the firm guarantee of a boost to our economic development. Hence the vast importance to our community of the implementation of the decisions taken at this year's CMEA Economic Summit.

Positive factors can also be spotted in the field of internal conditions of social reproduction. For example, temporarily, Czechoslovakia's manpower situation will improve somewhat. Two decades ago effective steps were taken which led to a tangible rise in the birth rate in the mid-1970s. The results will be felt with the advent of the 1990s, when the influx of young people into the national economy will reach a record mark in the postwar era—over 1.4 million between 1991 and 1995 (only some 1.1 million in the current five-year term). This population increase is what distinguishes the CSSR from most other industrialised countries.

External economic conditions are favourable to us in that the abrupt and violent change in the balance between power, fuel and energy prices on the one hand and prices of finished articles on the other essentially ended in the past decade and that a recurrence of such upheaval is unlikely both in the late 1980s and, in all probability, in the early 1990s.

Naturally, as in the past, we uphold the principle of both *full* and *effective* employment in conditions of intensive development too. Full employment means the realisation of the right to work under socialism. However, it is not an end in itself but a means of solving other socio-economic tasks facing society. Therefore, the objective is to provide the newcomers with skills and occupations geared to the strategy of intensive economic development, to the interests of technological progress and the demands of the basic economic law of socialism—meeting the people's material and spiritual needs ever more fully.

The principle of effective employment makes it impossible to channel the entire new influx of the employed exclusively into production, for this could adversely affect the dynamics of labour productivity. Therefore, we will gradually develop the non-productive sphere and consider the adoption of new social measures (for example, extending the period in which mothers can take care of their small children at home while receiving benefits from the state, and the like). Thus the population increase which, under capitalism, would have aggravated social conflicts, will be used in socialist Czechoslovakia as an intensive development factor to improve, in terms of age and skills, the structure of the principal productive force—our manpower resources.

Environmental protection is one of the new important factors which shape our country's economic growth. The concept of the forthcoming social and economic development takes into account the inadequate environmental conditions in certain areas of the republic. Environmental protection demands the introduction into production of preventive measures and structural changes which would favour the

environment (specifically, the partial switch from brown coal and high-sulphur black oils to natural gas, the development of the nuclear power industry, etc.). This also concerns the introduction of scientific and technological advances which not only meet the demands of intensification but also preserve the environment—for example, closed technological cycles. Parallel to this long-term programme for maintaining a balanced environment, we will have to work on a large scale to neutralise existing pollution—to ensure proper sewage disposal and water purification, install devices to eliminate solid particle wastes, remove sulphur from products of combustion, etc. All this is taken into consideration in structuring future capital construction.

The considerations listed above are the point of departure in the elaboration of directives for the 1986-1990 five-year plan and the guidelines for the CSSR's economic and social development up to 1995. The goal of greater economic progress in conditions of intensification pushed quality to the foreground.

This puts the problem of optimum economic growth rates in a new perspective. Determination of these rates calls for a specific historical approach with due regard to our distinctive conditions. Today, the main problem is how well this or that rate may enable us to attain the socio-economic goals society has set for itself over the next ten to twelve years. In Czechoslovakia's case, these goals primarily mean a long-term and stable rise in personal and social consumption—attained by switching the entire economy to the path of intensification—as well as introduction of progressive changes into the structure of the economy, maintenance of a dynamic domestic and external economic balance, and positive shifts in the environmental sphere. Under these conditions, optimum rates do not mean maximum rates.

On the other hand, it is important to rule out any long-term drop below a certain minimum, so as to ensure the realisation of the advantages of socialism in the peaceful competition of the two opposite social systems. Besides, personal and social consumption should rise perceptibly enough to ensure a stimulating effect of differentiated remuneration and other socio-economic factors on social production and its efficiency.

It is on record that the economic development of the CSSR slowed down considerably in 1981 and 1982; the biggest drop was in the rates of capital construction, its volume diminishing even in absolute terms. This was no wild or spontaneous slump but a rather complicated economic manoeuvre. As we look back, we can say that its effects were, on the whole, positive. The nation's balance of payments improved—which is important in itself. But the most important result was that we were able to consolidate to intensive development. As early as 1983, this made it possible to again accelerate economic growth: the national income increased 2.8 per cent and industrial output, more than three per cent. Conditions are ripening for national income to increase somewhat more within the current five-year period than could be expected a mere two years ago. Hence the decision by the Tenth Plenary Meeting of the CPCz Central Committee in April 1984 to upgrade plan quotas for the current year and economic development rates in general. We believe that this trend will continue not only in the coming year but also throughout the new five-year period and that it will accelerate after 1990.

Intensification of the national economy involves radical changes in its structure, resulting above all from an internal restructuring of individual branches or groups of branches and from a stronger productive and non-productive infrastructure. Industry will continue to gain somewhat in its weight in the overall context of the Czechoslovak economy—mostly because the considerable potential already available in industry can be utilised more intensively. Here, priority will be accorded to those industries and individual production processes where, by broadly introducing scientific and technological advances, we will be able to increase the share of the items calling for great amounts of skilled labour and reduce the percentage of energy- and material-intensive products. The decisive role in the intensification of the national economy is

to be played by general and electrical engineering; the latter is to develop at a particularly high rate. Development rates of these industries will remain somewhat higher than those of industrial production as a whole; consequently, their weight will increase too.

The fuel and energy complex needs a thorough restructuring. Up to the end of the century, the annual increase in the consumption of energy from its various sources may not exceed 25 per cent of this increase in the 1970s (in terms of symbolic fuel). Hence the great importance of fuel and energy savings for the development of our national economy. The structure of consumption will show an increase in the use of electric power (nuclear power production will develop at a faster rate) and natural gas.

The policy of intensification will also introduce substantive changes into several other branches of the economy. The share of the steel industry in the overall volume of industrial production will diminish, for our intention is not to produce more metal but to use it more efficiently. This industry is to be restructured radically; the purpose is to cut down on energy-intensive production and considerably increase the output of items into which more live labour goes and which have a higher use value.

Compared to its counterparts in industrially developed countries, Czechoslovakia's chemical industry plays a relatively minor role. But, since our goal is to continue broadening the use of chemical products in the national economy, the plan is to eliminate the chemical industry's lag behind the overall production development rates while at the same time changing its structure to favour the production of fine chemicals.

Further advancement is stipulated for industries using domestic raw materials, such as those producing glassware, ceramics and porcelain, and the timber, pulp and paper and printing industries. On the contrary, the textile, garment and leather industries will develop at a slower rate; instead, these industries will also produce more items with a high consumption value so as to better meet popular demand and make our exports more competitive.

Greater self-sufficiency in terms of foodstuffs will remain the principal strategic objective of our agro-industrial complex. Besides, new demands are being added: first, to maintain a balanced environment in the course of intensifying agricultural production; second, to develop the food industry at higher rates so as to increase the use value of foodstuffs by using additional labour; and third, to sharply cut down on losses throughout the production cycle—from harvesting to purchasing to storage to processing to marketing.

It appears that the share of construction in the productive sphere will diminish, since the emphasis in capital investment will be not on the construction of new buildings but on the modernisation of machinery and equipment (with the overall level of capital investment remaining at the old level, or even growing somewhat lower). Within the construction industry, the plan is to increase the capacities necessary for the completion of projects so as to reduce their duration.

Among the branches of the production infrastructure, the highest development rates will be attained in communications and information systems (their importance for scientific and technological progress is increasing), as well as in trade and material and technical supply. As to the non-productive sphere, I repeat that in future, especially in the early 1990s, we will channel more manpower and more capital investments into this field; this will add to the role of this sphere in the national economy and enable us to meet the people's social needs more fully.

The solution of all these tasks will depend to a great degree on Czechoslovakia's more vigorous involvement in the international division of labour which is of decisive importance in the shaping of structural relations among and within the various branches of the national economy. Making these relations as effective as possible is a priority task in the cooperation of the fraternal countries at the present time. The

transition to the new, mostly intensive stage of economic development demands a new approach to increasing the contribution each country of the community is to make toward the common objective and to enhancing the effects of joint efforts. Here, it is important to make the best possible use of the conditions obtaining in each country and of its economic capacity. Of particular importance for Czechoslovakia is to continue expanding our ties to the USSR, since they have been exerting decisive and positive influence on the dynamics of growth and the structure of our economy.

A profound analysis of today's international situation, of progress achieved and the requirement inherent in the inexorable progress of the productive forces of the socialist community countries, as well as a study of the economic laws operating in the period of the building and perfection of developed socialism was the basis of the decisions of the Moscow summit of the CMEA. The summit reiterated that swift transition to intensified and more effective production is a priority task for the fraternal countries in the field of their national economies and cooperation.

A fundamentally new step has been taken above all as concerns in-depth efforts to coordinate *economic policy as a whole*. Here, the decision is to concentrate, first and foremost, on fields connected with cooperation; interested countries may extend this coordination to a broader range of socio-economic development issues.

Czechoslovakia is particularly interested in joint efforts which, together with further dynamic expansion of economic co-operation, would, in the near future, result in a long-term structural strategy and in a coordinated scientific and technological policy for key fields. This position of ours is rooted, first, in the distinctive features of our country's economy as a whole for which effective involvement in the international division of labour is a major growth factor and second, in our conviction that the socialist community objectively needs a joint and long-term economic strategy.

There is no doubt that as socialist economic integration advances, coordination of national economic plans—a form of cooperation long and effectively employed by the CMEA member countries—will play an increasingly important role. This coordination will become a highly useful tool of concerted economic policy and of implementing the agreements reached. This makes greater demands on the content and quality of such joint work. Time will introduce certain changes into its results: together with steps to determine the volume of mutual deliveries and the structure and proportions of the exchanges, agreements directly affecting the preparations for production and the production process itself will assume an ever growing importance. Of particular significance here will be the coordination of major capital investments in fields of interest to the parties concerned, as well as of the key aspects of specialisation and the cooperative effort.

The summit decided to step up the elaboration of the Integrated Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress, designed for a period of fifteen to twenty years. It is to be the basis of coordinated—and, in some cases, single—scientific and technological policy the CMEA countries will pursue in chosen fields. We in Czechoslovakia are aware of the urgent need to undertake more in-depth specialisation of our research potential. We hold that only in this way can we focus all its capacity on the implementation of a relatively narrow range of extremely important problems. This will be in keeping with the overall interests of the community and will enable us to enhance the competitiveness of our economy, especially in fields of its future purposeful specialisation.

Of prime importance in the fraternal countries' cooperation is the division of labour *within individual branches of the economy*. Undoubtedly, it is to become the major factor of further progress in our mutual economic ties. For international exchanges to grow faster than a nation's income (which is especially important from the viewpoint of intensification), new forms of cooperation should be used more vigorously too—such as comprehensive efforts to expand direct links between

production associations, enterprises and economic management agencies and greater promptness in preparing the necessary conditions for the establishment of joint firms and enterprises. To put these decisions into practice, we should not only create the necessary legal conditions but also negotiate a number of economic problems (concerning financing, prices, etc.) stemming from the differences between the economic mechanisms of individual countries.

The nature of the Czechoslovak economy makes it vitally important to maintain broad exchanges between economic branches. This concerns, first and foremost, our relations with the Soviet Union which supplies the CSSR with the bulk of fuel and energy resources and raw materials. Without these deliveries—even if we do raise production efficiency as high as we can—it is impossible to develop our national economy effectively or make the best possible use of its capacity for the benefit of the entire community. However, we are fully aware that in order to ensure continuation of these deliveries, it is important for us to gear Czechoslovak exports better to the developing requirements of our chief partner. This applies, first, to the structure, quality and technological level of engineering products which will remain our chief means of payment for imported fuels and raw materials and second, to increases in certain types of the raw materials and high-quality consumer goods we export.

We will be more active in developing our economic relations with non-socialist countries. This overall strategy of the CMEA member countries is formulated in the Declaration of the Economic Summit. It is a policy of fruitful trade and other economic ties, as well as of scientific and technological contacts with all countries which have confirmed by their deeds their readiness for cooperation. It rules out any methods of economic pressure or aggression, it means a vigorous restructuring of international economic relations on just and democratic basis.

In realising this joint strategy, Czechoslovakia strives to attain a better balance in the structure of economic exchanges with industrialised capitalist countries. Today, this structure is short of both our economic capacity and the tasks of its intensification. It is important for our exports to feature an increasing share of items in which great amounts of skilled labour have been invested. This objective can be furthered by the development of modern forms of mutually beneficial cooperation: introduction of cooperative efforts into industrial production, concerted action with regard to exports to third countries and the like.

Expansion of economic relations between the socialist world and developing countries profits both sides. The plan is to diversify Czechoslovakia's imports from these countries, so that, together with the traditional deliveries of raw materials and agricultural produce, consumer goods would feature more prominently in them. This would be mutually beneficial.

Qualitative changes of the productive forces of socialist society during the transition to a primarily intensive type of development result in the objective need to improve relations of production. Their basis—socialist property in the means of production and the corresponding mode of appropriation—remains unchanged. Meanwhile, under socialism, the law of relations of production conforming to the productive forces manifests itself through the improvement of the economic mechanism.³ However, the degree and nature of its restructuring depend on the quantitative and qualitative changes in the sphere of the productive forces.

Marx's point that each mode of production proves its historically progressive nature by demonstrating how powerful its impulses are and how it restricts the obstacles to the development of the productive forces is valid for socialism too. Our party congresses the CPCz Central Committee plenary meetings have noted repeatedly that the economic mechanism operating in the country does not yet adequately stimulate scientific and technological progress and socialist economic integration. For this reason, substantive changes will be introduced into it. It is especially important to make prompt application of scientific and technological

advances a vital necessity for all economic agencies.

Speaking on policy issues, Comrade Lubomír Štrougal, member of the Presidium of the CPCz Central Committee and Chairman of the CSSR Council of Ministers, noted that 'the management system as it stands today and the economic mechanism call for a really thorough restructuring, and all we have done in this direction to date is only the beginning. We maintain that dominating the management system should be central economic planning and such elements which would be the most effective in paving the way to intensive development, efficiency and product quality.'⁴

A thorough restructuring like that is a lengthy process which will be completed, in all probability, only in the 1990s. Nevertheless, the main objectives should already be clear at the initial stage. The most important thing is to enhance the role and the long-term aspect of national economic planning, to orient all participants in the reproduction process more effectively on securing the best possible end results and consistently use physical and value criteria in the optimisation of plans. They will make it possible to ensure a dynamic domestic and external economic balance. It is also important to better articulate the role of the profit-based element of the economic mechanism so as to enhance its self-sufficiency and responsibility.

The essence of the problem our party and government face in this sphere is that here it is necessary to consistently introduce the principle of democratic centralism into economic management. This means, first, providing a better scientific basis for direct management efforts, improving the organisational structure of the production base and perfecting the system of economic levers so that, operating as an integral whole, it would make greater demands on the commercially self-sufficient elements. Second, these demands can be advanced only if these elements are given greater elbowroom for taking decisions independently, if there is a principled and consistent evaluation of the performance of enterprises and individuals, and if moral and material incentives to them are based on the actual results and efficiency of their work. All this will make it possible to promote working people's involvement in economic management and the masses' creative initiative so as to radically improve the national economy.

The problem of improving the economic mechanism is also of great international importance. The deepening of integration processes within the CMEA relies on and, in turn, enhances the internationalisation of the productive forces. These changes inevitably affect both national and international relations of production. First, the need arises for the economic mechanisms of individual countries of the community to better stimulate their involvement in the international division of labour and for the differences in the planning and management systems not to obstruct the establishment of direct contacts between the commercially viable organisations of the fraternal countries. Second, there is a need to improve and update the international integration mechanism and the operation of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

The policy of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia furnishes all necessary conditions for the 1980s to become a turning point in the transition of the national economy to primarily intensive development and to ensure new advances in the building of developed socialist society.

¹ *Sborník hlavních dokumentů XVI. sjezdu Komunistické strany Československa*, Prague, 1981, p. 18.

² Karl Marx, *Grundrisse* (Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy (Rough Draft)), Penguin Books, London, 1973, p. 705.

³ The economic mechanism comprises the organisational structures of the national economy and all forms, methods and tools of its planned management (planning, the method of commercial viability, national economic norms, the instrument of material incentives and participation by working people in management).

⁴ *Rudé právo*, March 22, 1984.

A Political Report Guardians of Memory, Sentinels of Peace

Jerzy Waszczuk – representative of
the Polish United Workers' Party on WMR

Domingos Lopes – Central Committee
alternate member, Portuguese Communist
Party

Rafic Samhoun – CC Political Bureau
member, Lebanese Communist Party

ON the high bank of the Dnieper, surrounded by tall trees, there burns an Eternal Flame. Across the river, as far as the eye can see, there are the new residential and industrial districts of the capital of the Soviet Ukraine. To be exact, however, the word 'new' can be applied to most buildings in the ancient city of Kiev. Retreating under the blows of the advancing Red Army four decades ago, nazi invaders blew up and burned down all they could, so that on Kreshchatik, Kiev's main street, we were shown only one house which survived the war.

Fresh flowers lie at the tomb of the Unknown Soldier in any season. But they are especially numerous on May 9—Victory Day. In the words of a popular Soviet song, this day means 'joy with tears in the eyes'. On the soil of the Ukraine which lived through long years of nazi occupation, we realised the aptness of this phrase. We felt it when we bared our heads before the Babi Yar Memorial to the scores of thousands of men, women, children and old people, murdered by the nazis and buried in that ravine. We felt it when we learned that the fate of Oradour and Lidice befell 600 Ukrainian villages where all inhabitants were exterminated and all houses razed to the ground.

Memories of the past live on in every Soviet family, for every family lost someone they loved in the ordeal of the war. And so it is natural that these memories make every Soviet citizen, whether young or old, especially sensitive to questions of war and peace and personally concerned over safeguarding himself and others from new losses, new destruction, new grief.

War propaganda is a crime under the law in the Soviet Union. You won't find any films extolling violence in any form in Soviet film theatres or television programmes. The same is true of books and the press. But, someone might object, nowhere else do people discuss or write about the war as much as in the USSR. That is, in fact, the case. But the message of these works—at least of those we are acquainted with—is a direct opposite of militarism. They offer a passionate portrayal of the misery and suffering war inflicts on people and say how important it is to prevent it from breaking out anew.

This wasn't a first trip to the Soviet Union for any of us; besides, at home we follow closely developments in the first country of existing socialism, the way it overcomes, step by step, the difficulties that arise and solves major problems of the building of the new society. The Soviet Union's achievements warm the hearts of Communists in any country, but each new visit to the USSR strikes one with the rate and scope of change. This time, we experienced this in Moscow when, on our way to the village of Gorki Leninskiye, we saw the capital's satellite urban communities, when we listened to the enthusiastic account of the new and rapidly growing Siberian industrial centres by a party functionary who had just returned from the Tyumen oilfields.

And so, when Nikolai Chetverikov, first deputy chief of the International Information Department of the CPSU Central Committee, said that "there are no problems we would be unable to solve in conditions of peace" and that "the party's greatest concern is to ensure conditions of peace for the Soviet people's constructive work", we were convinced that was not propaganda but a true reflection of the peaceful essence of socialism.

He stressed that in Soviet society there are and there can be no forces in any way

interested in war or quarters profiting from the arms race, there is nothing even remotely resembling a military-industrial complex, the entity which shapes the militarist policy of imperialism. The resources the USSR is forced to spend on strengthening its defence capacity could be used for creative peaceful purposes—to further the people's wellbeing, to help other nations. The policy of the CPSU and the Soviet government is a policy of safeguarding peace, a policy which conforms to the essential interests of working people and enjoys their wholehearted support.

Indeed, no matter with whom we met—young workers, heads of state farms, top-ranking officers of the Soviet Army, activists of the peace movement and other public organisations, journalists, writers, war veterans, veteran workers, teachers or schoolchildren—the conversations began and ended in the same way: we spoke about what all of us together and each of us individually could do to safeguard peace and prevent nuclear catastrophe.

Instilled Since Childhood

The village of Voronkovo near Borispol in Kiev Region had a past typical of many other Ukrainian villages: of the 1,500 prewar farmsteads, barely 50 were still standing at the time it was liberated in 1944. In the centre of the village there is a large, well-tended garden and in the garden, a monument to those who did not return from the battlefields of the last war. Of the 800 young and not very young people who had left Voronkovo to fight the invaders, 470 were killed. Their names are carved on the obelisk. As at any other monument, fresh carnations are brought here, and schoolchildren mount a guard of honour on holidays.

The Voronkovo secondary school we visited draws on the heroic traditions of the older generation to implement a diversified programme of civil education of teenagers. We talked to Dmitri Karpenko, a history teacher. He came to Voronkovo four years ago, having graduated from the history department of the Kiev Teachers' Training Institute. He sponsored the establishment of the school's Planeta political study club which combines purely educational and emotional aspects of training.

Here is an illustration. Preparing a club session devoted to the events in Lebanon, the teacher suggested that the schoolchildren get some background by reading books and the press. Then they were shown a video recording of *Alien Clouds over Beirut*, a documentary programme of national television. This approach made it possible not only to describe but also to highlight the plight of a people against whom an aggression was committed and of its younger generation which imperialism robbed of childhood.

We learned that the political study club arranged meetings of senior graders with experts on various international issues. It is clear from the questions asked at such meetings how thoroughly the boys and girls prepare for them. For example, the session 'I Accuse Fascism in Chile' was an intense emotional experience which helped club members grasp two Marxist precepts: a revolution can win both by force of arms and peacefully, and a revolution must be able to defend itself.

When the school bell announced the end of a class, we asked if we could talk to someone who was a member of the Planeta Club. And, chatting with Nadya Ruchko and Igor Zaborny, both tenth-graders, we realised that both the club and other educational techniques were quite effective.

"Everyone can and must uphold peace," Igor said. "And to be successful in this, we try to study well, to prepare ourselves as much as we can for our future as useful members of society." Nadya offered an apt and concise definition of her country's peace policy: "Our people have never attacked anyone, nor do we intend anything of the sort. But all of us are ready to defend our freedom and our right to live the way we want to. For this reason the USSR does not seek military superiority; at the same time we will not allow anyone to gain superiority over ourselves."

The education of young people in the spirit of peace, friendship and international

cooperation was among the major subjects we wanted to study on this trip. We were interested not so much in the principles—they are laid down in the USSR Constitution, in the rules of the party and the Young Communist League—as in the specific aspects and forms of this effort. We did learn much: that a homeroom period devoted to peace is conducted in all of the country's schools on the first day of the school year, that peace is the subject of school compositions, artistic contests and the like. The receptive mind of a child acquires unforgettable impressions which breed not only the awareness of the need to uphold peace but also a profound inner urge to help people. These qualities are instilled forever.

A Unique Millionaire

A unique agency has its headquarters on Kropotkinskaya Street in downtown Moscow. It is a millionaire which produces nothing, pays no taxes, spends hundreds of thousands of roubles and expects no profit. For all that, it is never 'in the red'. 'The Soviet Peace Fund,' says the plaque at the entrance.

We did not meet with Anatoly Karpov, winner of three world chess championships and Chairman of the Board of the Fund: he was playing in an international tournament. Instead, we were received by his deputies—Vassily Yemelyanov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and the cosmonaut Vladimir Aksyenov, twice Hero of the Soviet Union.

We learned that the Soviet Peace Fund spent millions of roubles for the construction of a mother and child care centre in the city of Hanoi devastated by US bombs and sent shiploads of food, clothing and medical supplies to Vietnam during the war and to the long-suffering people of Kampuchea. Relief was sent to the victims of the Israeli aggression in Lebanon and the victims of an earthquake in Northern Yemen. The Fund pays for the education of hundreds of Third World students in the USSR.

We saw hundreds of small coupons covered with handwritten notes heaped on a table—stubs from scores of thousands of money orders the Fund receives every day. We picked up a bundle of such stubs at random: first-graders in Kamchatka gathered wild berries and sold them to a state purchasing agency; they asked that the ten roubles they earned be spent for assistance to Nicaraguan children. A pensioner from a distant Siberian village sent her contribution of 100 roubles to be used for buying milk for Lebanese and Palestinian children. More sizable contributions come not in money orders but in bank drafts—from entire enterprises and offices. The Fund often receives the cash parts of various prizes and awards, royalties, bequests of money and valuables, family jewels.

This noble solidarity and concern for peace take different forms. For example, a street in the Ukrainian city of Chernovtsy is named after Pavel Nikitin, an army lieutenant from Siberia who was killed in the liberation of the city on March 25, 1944. Nine years ago a team of joiners put Nikitin's name on its personnel roll as a member. Each Victory Day the workers stand a memorial shift and meet Nikitin's quota; his wages are sent to the Peace Fund. Theatre, vocal and dance companies perform on their days off once or twice a year, and the returns are also used to support the cause of peace. The Church is also a contributor. The Fund's donors total some 90 million people.

A Popular Movement

The Soviet people hold that their efforts to develop their country's economic, scientific and defence potential are their major contribution to the cause of peace. At the same time, they take political action to express their determination to prevent nuclear catastrophe and curb the arms race. They support CPSU and Soviet government moves in this direction. The foremost channel of expression of the popular will is the country's broadest public movement, the movement of Soviet

peace champions. We visited the headquarters of the Soviet Peace Committee.

Oleg Kharkhardin, first deputy chairman of the SPC, told us that the committee was established in 1949, in response to the appeal of the international peace congress held in Paris and Prague that year. Since then the composition of the SPC has been decided at all-Union conferences representing all of the country's geographical regions, national and ethnic groups, social strata, religions, major public organisations and artistic and literary unions. Thus the committee's composition reflects the structure of Soviet society itself. This enables the SPC to mobilise vast numbers of people. It is no accident that annually, as we were told, up to 160 million people take part in mass anti-war action.

Thousands of activists devote all their spare time to volunteer work in the movement. They organise rallies, meetings and mass marches, deliver lectures, write, produce and disseminate posters, pamphlets and films and carry out a vast amount of explanatory work.

We met with truly selfless enthusiasts of this cause in the spacious halls of the recently inaugurated Kiev branch of the National Lenin Museum. Director Svetlana Kirillova and author Yuri Bedzik told us how the Ukrainian Peace Committee organised a major demonstration. The Committee began with coordinating with the city organisers the routes along which people carrying posters and floaters were to reach the central square to hold a rally. Then the sponsors appealed for trade union and Young Communist League participation. The march was scheduled to be held on a Sunday which turned out clear and warm. From all around Kiev, people converged on the central square along streets cleared of traffic. The opening of the rally had to be delayed because more and more people kept arriving, finally reaching the 250,000 mark. Judging by photographs we saw, it was an impressive sight indeed.

Smaller-scale action is also staged—such as an anti-war meeting in the village of Melniki, in the Ukraine's Cherkassy Region, attended by 268 peasant women whose husbands had not returned from the war in 1945.

"Those who know what war means, who understand the meaning of the words 'widow' and 'orphan'," one of the participants said, "will come all out in support of the peace policy of our party and government. I propose that we appeal to all people of goodwill to spare no efforts in the struggle for peace. All of us soldiers' widows will sign this appeal, and in every letter there will be our pain, our blood, our tears and alarm over our children's future."

The meeting sent this appeal to the United Nations in New York—we saw a copy. The mothers who signed it told their sons and grandsons to firmly repulse any aggressor who dared interfere with the peaceful work of the Soviet people.

Those Soviet citizens who took up arms to defend their country in the grim years of the war are vigorous champions of peace. Many of them are now retired. Society treats them with great affection and care, and their prestige with the people is great. War veterans invariably participate in anti-war demonstrations. They are often invited to visit with schoolchildren, with young Soviet Army servicemen.

In the Soviet War Veterans' Committee we had a memorable meeting with Alexei Maresiev, one of the committee leaders. Maresiev himself is a living legend. He was the man about whom the late Boris Polevoy, an author and long-time chairman of the Soviet Peace Fund, wrote his *Story about a Real Man*, a favourite novel with Soviet youth. The protagonist is an Air Force pilot who, having lost both his feet, finds the courage not only to discard his crutches but also to return to the frontlines as a fighter pilot.

"Our committee," Alexei Maresiev told us, "is an organisation of war veterans, of former fighting men. But today our foremost task—and so says our Charter—is to fight for peace. We do it primarily by telling young people what war means, by raising them to hate war. We speak about the decisive role the Soviet Union played in routing the nazis, but we also pay tribute to the contribution of the Allies and of the

Resistance movement. Together with schoolchildren, the veterans, most of whom are over 60 now, visit the sites of war battles, help the kids to set up school museums, and teach them to honour the heroism of their fathers and grandfathers, to love their country and to defend peace."

We think that all these various initiatives reflect the moral climate of the Soviet Union. They also make it perfectly clear to the country's friends and enemies abroad that the striving to prevent nuclear catastrophe and the commitment to defend socialist gains are one in the hearts, minds and deeds of the Soviet people.

If you really want to hear the voice of the peace-loving Soviet public and learn about its true attitude to international issues, you don't have to actually travel to Moscow. The Soviet anti-war movement makes wide use of the mass media to publicise its views.

The Novosti Press Agency has been set up by Soviet public organisations. We met with Pavel Naumov, chairman of the Agency board. A well-known journalist, he is also secretary of the USSR Parliamentary group, a deputy chairman of the SPC Presidium and a secretary of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation. His fellow board members include scholars, writers and representatives of industrial and office workers. Pavel Naumov showed us the books, pamphlets and magazines the Agency publishes in more than 50 languages and offers to readers in various countries. These publications tell the truth about the Soviet Union and its foreign policy and quote both experts' opinions and popular views on what can and must be done to uphold peace.

Soviet peace champions admit openly that they would like this truth to be heard as widely as possible: objective information about the positions and activities of the Soviet public is scant and rare in the capitalist media.

'Our movement,' we were told in the Soviet Peace Committee, 'cooperates vigorously with national peace committees in the socialist countries and promotes joint action with other anti-war movements, including those with which we differ considerably in our assessments and positions. We want to do all we can to help strengthen the unity of peace forces for the sake of attaining the principal common goal—preventing nuclear catastrophe.'

Concerted action for peace is often hampered by the misinformation disseminated by bourgeois propaganda about the nature of the Soviet peace movement. There are, for example, charges that it does not oppose the ruling party and the government. But why should any member of the anti-war movement criticise his or her country's leaders for signing the Helsinki Final Act? Why does the anti-war movement support, say, the proposals of the Swedish or Greek governments on the establishment of nuclear-free zones in their respective regions? Why does it support Soviet peace initiatives? In our opinion, primarily because these proposals and initiatives serve the peace interests not only of the Swedish, Greek or Soviet people but also of all nations.

We asked how the changes in the world situation brought about by the beginning of the deployment of the US first-strike missiles in Western Europe affected the mood and action of the Soviet public.

'In late 1983,' Committee activists told us, 'demonstrations and rallies of protest swept the country. People abruptly stepped up both their efforts for peace and their work to ensure the security of the USSR and its allies. The struggle has not let up, and the principal slogans remain the same: "Stop the deployment of US first-strike missiles in Europe! Withdraw those already deployed! No nuclear weapons West or East, no nuclear weapons in Europe or elsewhere!'. The demand that is most pronounced is that everything be done to stop the nuclear maniacs, to dispel their illusion that they can push the launch button with impunity.'

The Army as a School of Internationalism

It is common knowledge that the Soviet Union possesses and constantly improves

large and well-equipped armed forces. Bourgeois Sovietologists and the mass media play on this fact in an attempt to brainwash people in the non-socialist world into believing that this army and this military might discharge a dual function—that they are used both to ‘maintain order’ within the country and to promote ‘Soviet expansionism’ abroad. It is also insinuated that Soviet servicemen are indoctrinated with hostility to other nations. Naturally, no self-respecting Communist would believe these tall tales but, to get first-hand information on the matter, we asked for a meeting with a ranking officer of the Chief Political Administration of the Soviet Army and Navy.

Lt. General Boris Utkin who deals with ideological work in the Soviet Armed Forces, anticipated some of the possible questions. These are the fundamental points he made. First, the sole function of the Soviet Army is to defend socialist gains from external aggression or a threat thereof. Under no circumstances can the army be used for tackling domestic problems. It follows that, second, ideological education of the servicemen is part and parcel of the ideological work the party conducts among the people. Its content and thrust are determined by party bodies at all levels, while its forms may display distinctive features geared to army life.

We listened to General Utkin’s explanations and recalled Igor Zaborny and his tenth-grade classmates from Voronkovo who were about to don the army uniform, discharging their Constitutional and moral obligation to learn to defend their country. They will join the army with the store of knowledge and ideological convictions they have accumulated in the Young Communist League, at school and in the family. A busy life in the armed forces will temper them physically and morally and train them for a military occupation (which is often a civilian occupation as well). But, perhaps most importantly, the army will also teach them to be vigorous patriots and internationalists.

With his erect military bearing and greying temples, General Utkin tried to say as little as possible about himself. He had fought in the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people too and had tasted both the bitterness of retreat in its initial period and the joy of victory. He drew on his own experience—not on books or newspaper articles—when he told us about the respect and friendship Soviet servicemen displayed towards the peoples they were bringing freedom to when they liberated East European countries from the nazis. These sentiments are alive in the Soviet Army to this day.

“Judge for yourselves,” he told us. “A company is a unit of 100 men, and they often include scores of people of different national and ethnic groups living in the Soviet Union. They all live, study and work together. Each can read books and subscribe to newspapers and periodicals in his own language. Can this have anything in common with ethnic hostility, let alone hatred of other peoples?”

We could not help recalling a recent newsreel showing US soldiers, their faces contorted with hysterical rage, bayonet a training dummy in a Soviet Army uniform. Or, in Los Angeles, thugs wearing T-shirts with the logo ‘Kill a Russian’.

Since we are talking to a military expert, we asked the general to comment on the current world situation. Briefly, what he said was that the all-out imperialist war preparations were aimed at securing a strategic military superiority over the USSR and its allies; but, he added, the armed forces of the Soviet Union and of the other Warsaw Treaty countries had all they needed to prevent it. He quoted the well-known remark by Konstantin Chernenko, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet: “June 1941 will not be repeated. Retribution will immediately overtake any aggressor. Let everyone—both our friends and our foes—know this.”¹ In conclusion, General Utkin said: “Today it is very important to prevent a potential aggressor from entertaining even the illusion of a possible military advantage at some point in time or in some area. That is why we were forced to adopt immediate counter-measures in response to the deployment of new US nuclear first-strike weapons in Western

Europe. And I can assure you that these measures can be relied on."

* * *

'We know, we know only too well,' Lenin said at the dawn of Soviet government, 'the incredible misfortunes that war brings to the workers and peasants. For that reason our attitude to this question must be most cautious and circumspect. We are ready to make the greatest concessions and sacrifices in order to preserve the peace for which we have paid such a high price.'² Today, when the USSR is more powerful than ever before, the heirs to Lenin's cause share this concern of the founder of the Bolshevik party and the Soviet state.

The year 1985 will mark the 40th anniversary of the victory over German nazism and Japanese militarism in World War II. These four decades of peace have been a very important gain for the Soviet people which they use for constructive purposes. And they value peaceful life and work above all else. It is clear why, when the draft of the new USSR Constitution adopted in 1977 was discussed, scores of thousands of letters and resolutions of public meetings proposed that defence of peace be incorporated into the country's Fundamental Law as a duty of Soviet citizens. This was done, and we can testify that the relevant provision has not remained a dead letter.

The meetings and talks we had, the destinies we learned about and the documents we examined in the Soviet Union prove that the entire nation—leaders and rank-and-file workers, young and old people, Communists and non-party people—is a monolithic bulwark of peace, a reliable shield against aggression, a champion and guarantor of international security. That is why the road taken by the Soviet Union, its people, party and government is the right road for all those who are concerned over the threat of nuclear catastrophe and want survival and progress for human civilisation.

¹ *International Bulletin*, No. 13, 1984, Peace and Socialism, Prague, p. 13.

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 148.

Militant Determination of the British Miners

*Mick Costello – Morning Star
Industrial Correspondent*

THE strike of the British miners, which has been going on for more than six months,¹ has no precedent in Britain's history. There has never been a strike of a whole basic industry for so long. More important, there has never been one maintained in the face of undisguised opposition from the state, such widespread use of the police and judiciary, and such savage attacks by the bourgeois press and TV propaganda. Without precedent is also the fact that the strike is in a nationalised industry, mining. Whatever the progressive nature of securing nationalisation under capitalism, this dispute has highlighted the reactionary character of the bourgeois state as a direct employer.

The conflict was triggered by the announcement of the National Coal Board that it

intended to close at least 20 pits (out of the remaining 174) with the loss of 20,000 jobs. The National Union of Mineworkers learned that the closure programme was to be much wider and that some 70,000 jobs were on the line.

The first to be hit was the Cortonwood colliery in Yorkshire. This happened despite the agreement signed between the NUM, the NCB, and the government, as long ago as 1974, and confirmed in 1981. This agreement was named Plan for Coal. The NCB in fact violated the clause that pits would not be closed purely on the ground of temporary 'economic' considerations. Its massive closure programme and job-destruction exercise also flew in the face of the Plan for Coal guarantee of an expanding industry.

The response has been a strike which now involves nearly 150,000 miners. Coal production has ceased at most pits. By mid-August output dropped by 40,700,000 tons, of a year's production of about 100 million tons.

The strike is solid despite repeated campaigns by the government and the National Coal Board, backed by massive police action, to break the picket lines and bus strike-breakers to work. There have been over 6,000 arrests, 2,000 pickets have been injured by police, and two miners have died. The NUM members have lost nearly £450 million in unpaid wages.

The strike began in conditions that were unfavourable for the miners. In agreement with the Tory government, the NCB provoked the strike, for it had been warned that the intention to close pits would lead to a cessation of work. Two years earlier swift action through strikes by the miners had forced the board to withdraw a similar programme.

What made the Thatcher government have another go and to choose the time it did? The point is that it had made some headway in its anti-union policy.

At the end of 1983 the tightly-organised and militant print-workers' National Graphical Association was defeated in a battle against employers, who were backed by the state: it failed to win the reinstatement of a number of sacked workers. In that dispute the police successfully tried out its recently-reorganised tactics for breaking big picket lines. Early in 1984 the government was successful in getting trade union membership banned at one of its major communications establishments in Cheltenham, in the West country.

It had seen the passage of anti-trade union laws with no massive response of opposition. Throughout, the majority of the leadership of the Trades Union Congress had done everything it could to prevent the challenge the government had thrown down from being picked up and to avoid a confrontation. The level of pay rises slightly exceeded the rate of inflation. Surely this was the time for the government to hit at a section of the organised working class, to defeat it and thus to intimidate other sections. It was no accident that the miners found themselves in the line of fire. There was also the crude element of revenge. It was the miners who defeated the pay policy of the Edward Heath government of a decade earlier, and Margaret Thatcher was eager to settle old scores.

The government appointed Ian MacGregor, an American who had been bought at a transfer fee of £1 million, as chairman of the National Coal Board. His credentials were that he had been a member of the board of British Leyland when it pushed through its contraction programme and got rid of militant shop stewards. He had then been chairman of the British Steel Corporation when production was 'restructured' with a loss of nearly half the workforce.

Armed with these 'successes' and determination, this callous person, backed up by the government and its agencies, was going to 'rationalise' mining and make it profitable by the crudest capitalist criteria.

The NUM had earlier, in special conference, decided that an injury to one was an injury to all. Thus, when the government struck its first blow at the Cortonwood miners, another special miners' union conference endorsed the action of the NUM

Executive in their defence and made the defence of Cortonwood and the demand that the NCB abandon its wholesale closure programme a national issue. One after another the majority of mining areas came to a halt in support of the Yorkshire and Scottish miners who were first to strike. The government tried to play on the fears for the future of the industry that are strong in some mining areas and sought to split the NUM. Despite all this, 80 per cent of the membership joined the strike and have remained out.

The government openly sided with the NCB. From Margaret Thatcher downwards, ministers became directly involved. The degree of 'news management' reached unprecedented proportions. The central issue in the dispute—the fight for jobs—was masked. The miners' pickets were portrayed as marauding thugs out to destroy society.

In the course of the strike the miners developed their responses to the government's attacks and new forms of struggle. Not noted for being advance posts for women's emancipation, the miners' villages threw up women's action groups that tightened internal solidarity. These groups organised demonstrations and travelled to other regions to win support outside, and they set up 'soup kitchens' providing hot meals for the striking miners and their families. This time employers and the government failed to foster divisions within the families and using, as had been successfully done in the past, wife against husband when the going got rough. This marks a big change that is of great significance for the future.

In terms of personnel the mining industry is now a young one, with average ages in the 36 to 38-year-old range. Most of them have not had experience of sustained national strike action. Some had not started working and others had only begun to work when the massive actions of 1972 and 1974 took place. Yet the young miners have risen to the occasion, assisted by a dynamic leadership headed by the NUM President Arthur Scargill, Vice-President Michael McGahey, and General Secretary Peter Heathfield. They are not afraid of the police batons, and are manning the picket lines and travelling the country to rally support.

Travelling outside the miners' communities has been of the greatest importance in rallying massive public support. Virtually all trade unions in Britain are making donations to the NUM. Many workers who have not themselves been successful in avoiding the cutting edge of the government's policies see the miners as fighting on behalf of all workers. In every part of the country, in the workplaces, on the streets, and in the shopping centres millions of pounds have been collected. Convoys of lorries regularly go to the mining areas, delivering food and clothing. Miners' delegates to all parts of the country are being housed and looked after in people's homes. Working people throughout the nation have rallied on the side of the miners.

This is the popular response to police brutality and the government's attempt to starve the miners back to work. The government is depriving miners' wives and children even of state assistance to which they are entitled, while the police harass the many supporters who collect money for the miners from door to door and in shopping areas.

The firm stand taken by the miners has encouraged working people in other industries to give solidarity of the highest form—through industrial action. Railway workers, seafarers, and lorry drivers have refused to carry coal produced by blacklegs or imported in strike-breaking ships. Dockers have twice been on national strike in disputes arising directly from attempts to use them to break the miners' strike.

The Communist Party has thrown itself into the solidarity movement. It has held mass meetings all over the country. It is collecting money and producing explanatory material. There is universal agreement in the trade union movement that the *Morning Star* has been the newspaper of the miners, daily championing their cause and giving weight to the miners' case that no other newspaper will touch.

There has been wide international solidarity with the British miners. In Australia

coal for Britain has been banned. The Norwegian Miners' Union has instituted an aid fund for the striking British miners. The Soviet people's support, expressed at innumerable rallies in mining regions in the USSR, has been particularly noted by the miners' leaders. Miners of a number of Soviet pits have donated a day's wage to help the British miners. The communist parties in West Germany, Holland, and Belgium have sent money and food for miners' families. Several socialist countries, as well as miners' organisations in France and Belgium, have invited miners' children to free holidays.

At its annual congress in Brighton in early September the British Trades Union Congress approved the statement of its General Council by an overwhelming majority of votes. On behalf of the TUC's ten million members this statement expressed total solidarity with the strike action taken by the miners to save their pits and jobs. The statement called upon all trade unionists to block the transportation of coal to enterprises being picketed by the miners and also to increase material aid to them.

Support from their class brothers in and outside the country unquestionably bolsters the strength of the miners.

This acute class conflict has brought into clearer focus some new features of the present-day bourgeois state. For instance, the government has demonstrated that it has, to all intents and purposes, established a national police force without this having been sanctioned by parliament. This has been shown by the coordinated actions of the country police forces against the miners. In addition to forcibly dispersing demonstrators and pickets, the police are stopping free movement on the highroads. Roadblocks have been set up repeatedly at county borders and potential pickets stopped from moving freely under pain of arrest.

The traditional bias of the British judges against the trade unions has been demonstrated by their attempts to intimidate the National Union of Mineworkers and the striking miners. As though they are criminals, pickets and potential pickets have had punitive bail inflicted on them—being confined to their houses or pit villages.

The following case is indicative. Two local transport companies whose lorries were used to drive at speed through the picket lines were blacklisted by the miners in South Wales. The firms appealed to the court under the Anti-Trade Union law. The judge ordered a halt to the picketing of the firms' lorries. The miners defied the order and were fined £50,000. The leaders of the Welsh miners refused to pay the fine. The court then ordered the confiscation of all the funds of the local trade union, nearly £1 million, including part of the donations by the public to purchase food for the miners' families. But far from intimidating the miners, this robbing of their funds has stiffened the determination of the miners to fight on and has acted as a catalyst to the further development of the movement of solidarity with the miners.

A point to be noted is that the cost of the miners' strike to the state is high. By mid-September it had amounted to £4,000 million in lost coal production, growing production costs in power stations, lost taxation revenue, NCB overheads, and the expense of the police operations.

In spite of the assertions to the contrary in the bourgeois press, the NUM leadership has not adopted an extremist stand and is prepared to negotiate the settlement of the conflict. Arthur Scargill has denounced the 'orchestrated campaign in the mass media' and repeatedly called on the NCB leadership to reopen negotiations based on the agreed Plan for Coal. He said in an interview with the *Morning Star*: 'It would appear that the government and the Coal Board are more intent on defeating the NUM rather than on resolving this damaging strike. To resolve the dispute requires the Coal Board and government to adhere to a signed agreement called Plan for Coal. If they are prepared to do that then we have a basis of a settlement.'²

Whatever the outcome of the dispute, the British trade union movement will not be the same again. The miners have dented the 'Falklands spirit' on which Margaret Thatcher had traded to demonstrate her alleged invincibility. The miscalculation by the government that the miners could be quickly broken has cost it dearly. It has promoted divisions in the Thatcher cabinet and in the coal industry management. The attempt to crush the miners has given rise to a level of support and solidarity within the trade union movement and beyond that no other factor has done since the Tories came to power in 1979. The use of the police and other punitive forces has opened the eyes of many people who still cherished illusions about the supposedly neutral nature of the state in Britain.

Within the trade union movement itself, the right wing, that successfully betrayed other sections of workers which were in battle with Tory economic policy, has become increasingly isolated. For their own credibility its more far-sighted thinkers need a success for the miners.

Throughout the dispute the miners' leaders have kept close to the grass roots and have made their appeal to the healthy base of the British trade union movement. This will have a lasting affect on the movement as a whole. The Communist Party is striving to gain valuable experience from the political lessons of this major class confrontation.

¹ The strike started on March 12 of this year.—Ed.

² *Morning Star*, August 15, 1984.

the book scene

The Non-Aligned Movement: Origins, Aims and Problems

Rikhi Jaipal, *Non-Alignment, Origins, Growth and Potential for World Peace*, Allied Publishers Private Ltd., New Delhi, 1983, 214 pp.

S. P. Amarasingam, *Non-Alignment and World Peace*, Tribune Publications, Colombo, 1983, 107 pp.

Indira Gandhi on Non-Alignment. A Collection of Speeches. Compiled and edited by K. Ramamurthy, MP, and Govinda Narain Srivastha. Published under the auspices of Indian Institute for Non-Aligned Studies, New Delhi, 1983, 32 pp.

The non-aligned movement (NAM), which represents the majority of the world's population, is in the main a product of the national liberation struggle of our times. Both the nature of relations within it and the content of its collective decisions largely reflect the problems of this struggle and the processes under way in today's world.

Operating against the background of the historical struggle between socialism and capitalism, NAM, which encompasses over a hundred nations, is an important factor positively influencing the course of world development. Ever since its rise it has openly declared against colonialism, neocolonialism and imperialism though some of

its members show less than a sufficient degree of commitment. The USA and its main partners, realising that non-alignment is an impediment to imperialism's attempts to perpetuate its system of neocolonial exploitation and dominate the world, exert much effort to split and weaken the movement.

The anti-imperialist stance of the countries that have won freedom is promoted by the objective need to defend their political and economic independence and national sovereignty and achieve a high development rate. This can only be done in a climate of peace, and so NAM advocates international relations governed by the principles of peaceful coexistence and demands the removal of the nuclear war menace, an end to the arms race and the abolition of military blocs and foreign bases. It is only natural and logical that this approach to key problems of today provides the movement with a broad basis for joint actions with the socialist community in the interests of humanity.

The theory and practice of non-alignment is the subject of many books and studies published in various countries. The phenomenon is treated, needless to say, according to the authors' political attitude and the degree of their objectivity or bias. We would like to review three publications brought out in India and Sri Lanka. They are worthy of note, first, because both countries helped create NAM (India is its chairman now), and second, because the books supply detailed information on the history, aims, nature and problems of the movement, giving a better idea of its friends and foes.

The author of *Non-Alignment* is a noted Indian diplomat. He deals with the origins and growth of the movement, citing many interesting facts and bringing the more important problems to the fore. However, this reviewer wishes to state from the outset that he cannot agree with several formulations.

Jaipal correctly traces the genesis of NAM to the aspiration of several states which have freed themselves, including India, Sri Lanka, Burma, Indonesia, Egypt and Ghana, to pursue an independent foreign policy aimed at defending peace, bringing about decolonisation and eliminating racial discrimination in Southern Africa. In depicting the evolution of the movement, he refers to the final documents of non-aligned summits, including the Sixth Conference (Havana, 1979).

The book mentions the fact that the criteria of non-alignment were laid down during preparations for the First Summit (Belgrade, 1961). They include an independent policy based on non-alignment and the coexistence of states with different political and social systems, consistent support for national liberation movements, non-participation in multilateral military alliances concluded in the context of great power conflicts, and non-concession of military bases in the context of those conflicts (see pp. 64-65).

The author considers that these criteria are neither specific, nor explicit enough. He stresses that it is increasingly difficult in practice to determine what is 'the context of great power conflicts' or whether a country is pursuing a truly non-aligned and independent foreign policy. We believe, however, that the formulations cannot but be general, for NAM is a heterogeneous movement comprising countries with different socio-political regimes.

Every movement is estimated according to its real deeds. Despite incessant attempts by the USA and its allies to veer the non-aligned countries away from their anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-racist policy, this policy is still dominant. This is also confirmed by the final documents of the 1983 Summit at New Delhi, which adopted an explicitly anti-imperialist programme for peace, disarmament, detente and a restructuring of international economic relations, and against colonialist, neocolonialist and racist practices.

Jaipal, who has taken part in several conferences of NAM, gives interesting details of them and shows how collective resolutions are drafted and passed. He points out that the established principle of obtaining consensus ensures reflection of the preponderant opinion. Delegates having reservations can lodge them after consensus

has been achieved. 'For many years now,' Jaipal writes, 'the non-aligned nations have been content to take consensus decisions which are weaker in substance than the majority resolutions adopted by the General Assembly sessions of the UN on the same questions' (p. 183). Nevertheless, the preservation of the widest unity on the basis on consensus adds to the movement's prestige and influence in the world, now as in the past.

NAM's main achievement is in the sphere of decolonisation, as Jaipal sees it. As for the fight against racism and apartheid, it has borne little fruit so far due to the bitter resistance of international reaction. In the years of detente the movement focused more attention on winning economic independence and concretising its stance on neocolonialism. In due course this developed into a struggle for a new international economic order. Dependence on imperialist powers, unequal trade, the diktat of transnational corporations trying to control the economies of one-time colonies, and lagging technology are still the main obstacles to rapid progress in non-aligned countries. The deepening capitalist crisis is aggravating these problems. Fidel Castro, Chairman of the State Council and Council of Ministers of Cuba, made a comprehensive and in-depth analysis of the causes of this state of affairs in his Report to the New Delhi Summit.

No task is more important for humanity today than to preserve and consolidate peace. The Reagan Administration's policy of aggression has noticeably increased the danger of nuclear disaster. The very first non-aligned summit stressed that a war using atomic weapons would inevitably cause unprecedented devastation or even annihilate all life on earth.

NAM is convinced that it is of paramount importance to stop the arms race, primarily in nuclear weapons, evolve effective disarmament measures, resume detente, respect the principles of peaceful coexistence and refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of other states. This is why the movement also demands the removal of imperialist military bases in different parts of the world, the creation of nuclear-free zones and the conversion of the Indian Ocean into a peace zone.

The movement's positions on all these issues are close to or coincide with those of the socialist community countries. Mutual understanding between them has helped bring about positive resolutions at the UN General Assembly, such as those prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons and on the prevention of nuclear war. Joint efforts with existing socialism enable NAM to play a more active role on the international scene. 'There was no doubt,' Jaipal concedes, 'that the socialist countries had lent full support to several non-aligned causes and this had to be recognised' (p. 103).

However, Jaipal's reasoning betrays a position of equidistance from the socialist countries and imperialism. He often puts the USA and the Soviet Union on par, ignoring the fundamental distinction between the aggressive NATO bloc and the defensive Warsaw Treaty Organisation, between the diametrically opposite foreign policy lines of the Soviet Union and the United States.

Non-Alignment and World Peace, an essay by a noted Sri Lankan journalist, shows very clearly who are the movement's friends and foes. Amarasingam introduces his book as 'an attempt to examine some of the more important trends in continuing attempts by the Western alliance to disrupt or weaken the NAM in order to weaken Third World countries' quest for independence and economic emancipation' (p. 11). He approaches problems from a progressive standpoint, expressing himself in a candid and forthright manner. The most interesting part of his book is that dealing with the Seventh (New Delhi) Summit.

'Even cynics,' he points out, 'have now begun to admit that though the possibilities of divisions and quarrels exploding and shattering the Non-Aligned Movement still exist in theory, in actual practice a common set of interests prevailed to hold the movement together—interests which made all members close their ranks on the basis

of compromises against a common enemy, namely, imperialism . . . ' (p. 17).

Amarasingam reveals in detail the unseemly ploys to which imperialism, particularly US imperialism, resorted in the period immediately before and during the Seventh Summit in a frantic effort to disrupt the unity of the movement with the help of certain delegations and to make it change policy. The imperialists calculated chiefly on the situation around Afghanistan and Kampuchea.

On the eve of the New Delhi conference, the author writes, US Secretary of State Shultz visited Beijing to reach an accord on supporting reactionary Kampuchean forces. Malaysia, in turn, moved on behalf of a group of ASEAN countries that these forces be admitted to the conference to take the vacant Kampuchean seat.

Amarasingam, who arrived in the Indian capital as a correspondent to cover the summit, writes that the USA tried through its surrogates to throw the summit into disarray by whipping up passions over Kampuchean representation (see p. 54). But to Washington's great dismay, the matter was never taken to the meeting. The Foreign Ministers decided by consensus to keep the Kampuchean seat vacant.

Speaking of the reasons for the failure of this subversion by US diplomacy, the author comments that 'there was no mystery involved in this' (p. 55). And he adds that while open defiance of the USA shown by a non-aligned country when a vote is taken at the US General Assembly is fraught with economic reprisals from US imperialism, the principle of consensus applied at NAM's conferences never reveals the attitude of any particular country. This is why Singapore, prompted by Washington, wanted this principle to be abandoned in favour of a head count.

The New Delhi Summit was a success. The participants expressed deep concern at growing international tensions and emphatically condemned attempts to revive the cold war, the policy of defending spheres of 'vital interests' and the imperialists' bid to involve non-aligned countries in their bloc strategy. The summit reaffirmed the movement's progressive positions on pressing problems, such as the struggle for world peace and disarmament, the defence of national sovereignty, the elimination of racial discrimination, and the establishment of a new international economic order. It expressed solidarity for the struggles of the peoples of Palestine, South Africa and Central America and stated that imperialism, above all US imperialism, bears the blame for their plight. The conference denounced 'the support given by the US to the Israeli entity in all fields, especially military and political' (p. 61).

The Reagan administration was annoyed by the final documents approved at New Delhi, Amarasingam writes. State Department spokesman Alan Romberg complained of 'unfair attacks' on the USA, and claimed that the political section of the final declaration was 'in many respects an unbalanced and polemical document' which did not reflect the principles of non-alignment proclaimed by the movement (see p. 64).

Washington's groundless accusations against NAM are understandable, since the movement speaks out with growing determination against the reckless policy of the USA, a policy based chiefly on force. The invasion of tiny Grenada by US marines revealed to the world imperialism's cynical disregard of the sovereignty of other countries. That bandit-like action and threats to intervene in Nicaragua by force are the White House's way of 'teaching a lesson' to third world countries to make them toe the US line (see p. 72).

To pave the way for outright interference in the affairs of countries that have won freedom, the United States has 'launched a psychological warfare against the Soviet Union—committed to a policy of detente. This policy of ideological subversion is combined with explicit calls for war against socialism' (p. 100). Amarasingam notes that the propaganda agencies of the imperialist West, taking advantage of their monopoly in third world countries, have mounted a drive there to intimidate the population by the myth of the 'Soviet military threat'; they falsely accuse the Soviet Union of 'expansionist aspirations . . . and above all what they call export of social

revolutions' (p. 101). One of the main objectives of the ideological offensive of imperialism, the author concludes, is to loosen the growing ties of friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and members of the movement.

The book *Indira Gandhi on Non-Alignment* contains speeches by the Indian Prime Minister to the non-aligned summits at Lusaka (1970), Algiers (1973) and Colombo (1976) as well as two speeches delivered by her at New Delhi in February 1981. It provides a guide to understanding the nature of NAM and its approach to the solution of major problems of today, first of all that of preserving peace.

'Many more nations,' Indira Gandhi said, 'have joined our family. What is the spirit that moves us? The spirit of national freedom. What is the common objective for which we work? Peace—which can be achieved and preserved on the basis of political and economic equality among nations, the elimination of military domination and a determination to bring about disarmament' (p. 29).

We have already noted that India has taken over the chairmanship of the non-aligned movement from Cuba (as required by the rule of rotation). It is interesting to know, therefore, what foreign policy India itself is committed to.

'We want to be friends with all,' its Prime Minister stated. 'India's policy is to consolidate friendship where it exists; where there is indifference, to create understanding and interest; and where there is hostility, to make every effort to minimise it. It is also our endeavour to find common areas, however small, between us and other nations, and to enlarge them' (p. 30).

Addressing the Lusaka and Algiers summits, Gandhi called for carrying forward 'the unfinished revolution of our time'. One of its aspects is 'the political liberation of the peoples of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean. Another is the endeavour to overcome the economic, technological and intellectual consequences of colonialism' (p. 9).

A determined opponent of neocolonialism insisting on a reduction of external dependence and on self-reliance, Gandhi condemns price manipulation on international markets to the detriment of primary producer countries. She stresses that the non-aligned countries' struggle for their economic interests also means breaking 'the resistance of entrenched groups, often aligned with foreign interests, especially the faceless multinational corporations' (p. 10).

Gandhi, as well as speaking of problems, proposes solutions. She considers it very important to establish a new international economic order and advocates immediate negotiations at global level.

Many of Gandhi's speeches point out that non-alignment is neither neutrality, nor indifference. 'It involves active and free exercise of judgement on certain principles' (p. 32). But then this is precisely what irritates the imperialists. In September 1983, speaking to the UN, where Gandhi had arrived to deliver the New Delhi Message, President Reagan made a bitter tirade against NAM and described its stance as 'pseudo-non-alignment'. Thereby imperialism once again revealed its attitude to the problems and aspirations of the countries inhabited by the majority of the world's population.

NAM is a topic of animated debates in the most diverse political quarters of many countries. As regards the Communists' approach to the movement, it is reflected in, among others, the Political Resolution of the 12th Congress of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka. The resolution says that the movement 'has developed into an important force for world peace, detente, national liberation and restructuring of world economic relations.'

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A Living Legend

Tsola Dragoitcheva, *De la Défaite à la Victoire*, Mémoire d'une révolutionnaire bulgare, Sofia-Presse, 1983, 520 pp.

Published in Sofia, *From Defeat to Victory. Memoires of a Bulgarian Revolutionary*, was written by a prominent party and public figure whose popularity transcends our nation's borders. Having joined the communist party over sixty years ago, Tsola Dragoitcheva has made a tangible contribution to the international communist and working class movement and taken part in many a glorious struggle of the women's and peace movements. Her outstanding services have earned her many important national and international awards, including the International Lenin Prize for Strengthening Peace Among Nations and the Eugenie Cotton WIDF Gold Medal.

Paying tribute to Dragoitcheva on her 85th birthday last year, Todor Zhivkov, General Secretary of the BCP Central Committee and Chairman of the PRB State Council, said: 'Always and everywhere a fighter like any other and a member of the leading cadre of our party of Blagoyev and Dimitrov, she has always been an ardent and dedicated champion of communism, of the life-giving friendship between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union.'¹

Dragoitcheva recalled her rich revolutionary experience in the trilogy which was published in Bulgaria under the title *Moved by My Duty* and which won high acclaim with readers, literary critics and historians.

From Defeat to Victory, an abridged version of the trilogy, has been published in Russian, German, English, French and Spanish. Of the many reasons why it deserves broad publicity, let me mention two.

First, the author is a living legend, a participant in the Bulgarian revolution who miraculously survived the ordeals that befell her. Her record includes two death sentences by fascist courts, a total of ten years in prison, numerous arrests and brutal tortures. Georgi Dimitrov called her a hero of whom Bulgaria was justly proud. A member of the BCP Central Committee since 1937, Dragoitcheva was repeatedly elected to the BCP Central Committee Political Bureau and is a member of the PRB State Council. For more than two decades, she was in charge of the National Committee for Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship and is now its honorary president.

The second reason is the story the book tells. A memoir, *From Defeat to Victory* is also a saga of more than twenty years of our country's revolutionary movement and politics—the crucial years from 1923 to 1944 which shaped Bulgaria's historical destiny. The defeat she refers to in the title is the bloodbath which ended the September 1923 armed uprising of working people, led by the communist party, against the fascist monarchy. It took 21 hard and selfless years for our people, inspired by the great socialist ideals, to prevail and finally emerge victorious from severe trials, having learned from their mistakes and paid the price of thousands of lives.

All this has been an integral part of the author's life. Still a teenager, Dragoitcheva became a fighter for the people's freedom and happiness. I have already mentioned that in the latter half of the 1930s she was a member of the party's principal cadre. Those were the years when, led by Dimitrov, the BCP worked to organise a popular front. That new strategy of the Communist International, proclaimed at its Seventh Congress, was aimed at rallying all democrats and champions of peace to the common struggle against the onslaught of fascism and the war threat.

From 1940, when World War II was already raging in Europe, Dragoitcheva was a member of the Political Bureau and the secretary in charge of organisational questions in the Central Committee of the Workers' Party.² Working in the underground, she was closely involved in the elaboration and implementation of the

party's policy. In 1942 she was directly in charge of setting up a clandestine Fatherland Front the programme for which was written by Dimitrov. Comprising the nation's anti-fascist, democratic forces and led by the Communists, the Fatherland Front rallied most of the population together and led the people to a struggle for freedom, national independence and social progress. Sentenced, in absentia, to death for the second time, Dragoicheva discharged her duty to the country and the people unswervingly, displaying exceptional courage and brilliant political skills. The culmination of her, and all Bulgarian patriots' efforts was the Communist-organised victorious uprising of September 9, 1944, which owed much of its success to the decisive role played by the Soviet Army's mission of liberation.

The book describes these developments in fascinating detail and is permeated with profound respect for the historical truth. The subject is the entire Bulgarian revolutionary experience—its mistakes and setbacks as well as its successes. Dragoicheva traces vivid profiles of virtually all prominent Bulgarian revolutionaries, her teachers and comrades-in-arms.

From Defeat to Victory is a meticulously drawn picture of the purposeful and consistent efforts of Bulgaria's Communists who, since the 1920s, worked to unite all progressive forces in the struggle against the fascist monarchist yoke, for working people's socio-economic and political rights. It was these efforts that made it possible to establish the Fatherland Front which brilliantly stood the test of time during the armed struggle and now serves as a firm mass base of the popular government, mobilising the people for the building of mature socialism.

Dragoicheva's memoir also examines the way the Communists of Bulgaria and other Balkan countries developed their relations and militant cooperation before and during World War II and discusses their joint action against the fascist regimes and nazi invaders.

The author admits that she had her doubts when she took up her literary project: 'Will I be able to soberly grasp, to recreate in writing at least a small part of what I have experienced, what has been my reason for living, what has filled the lives of several generations of revolutionaries with admirable moral values, pride and nobleness?' (p. 10).

Now that the book has been written and is popular, one can say with confidence that Dragoicheva has proved equal to the task of soberly grasping and recreating what she has experienced. Her book, a strictly truthful and sincere drama of defeat and victory, of events which left an indelible mark on Bulgaria's political history will no doubt find a place of honour among other memoirs of communist revolutionaries.

Stefan Zhelev
Bulgarian journalist

¹ *Rabotnichesko delo*, September 21, 1983.

² The Workers' Party was established, under BCP guidance, in 1927 to make use of legal work channels. In 1938 it was decided that only the Workers' Party, which the BCP members also joined, should remain. In 1944 it was renamed the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists) and, four years later, the Bulgarian Communist Party.—Ed.

surveys, information and mail

Indictment of Imperialism Survey Six

Adventurism in foreign policy, a course towards political, economic, and military confrontation with socialism and the 'psychological backing' for this course, violence and terror towards freedom-loving nations, the pillaging of developing countries, and the intensified exploitation of working people in the capitalist world are hallmarks of the line of conduct pursued by world imperialism, notably US imperialism, as was shown in the previous issue of the *Indictment* (*World Marxist Review*, No. 2, 1983). Less than two years have elapsed, and these have witnessed further and more heinous evildoings by the imperialists.

A new reckoning must now be presented to imperialism for its crimes against peace and humankind's progress. The following are the most serious of these crimes.

Extreme Inflaming of International Tension.

A Further Unwinding of the Handwheel of the Arms race.

Intensification of the Nuclear Threat

On November 1, 1983 West Europeans saw on their television screens the landing in Britain of a heavy transport aircraft that had arrived from the USA with the first batch of equipment for the installation of US cruise missiles. That same month containers with Pershing-2 missiles components arrived in the FRG. US first-strike nuclear weapons appeared in Italy as well. Thus commenced the realisation of an element of the Reagan Administration's adventurist blueprint for breaking the military-strategic parity existing between the USA and the USSR, between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation.

The start of the deployment of US intermediate-range nuclear systems in a number of countries of Western Europe, which the USA regards as a bridgehead, a potential theatre of hostilities, ushered in a new stage in the whipping up of international tension by the superhawks in Washington.

What brought about these developments? The answer is obvious: the maniacal urge of the most aggressive quarters in the USA to achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community, the global hegemonistic ambitions of US imperialism. But the blame is shared by the USA's NATO allies, particularly the governments of Britain, the FRG, and Italy, which, despite the protests of the majority of the people of their countries, subserviently gave the green light for the deployment of new missiles.

The American nuclearisation of some NATO nations is the central but not only step in US imperialism's transition from *planning* to gain military superiority in the world to *practical actions* in that direction. The machinery for building up the USA's armaments has been set in motion and wide-ranging programmes have been adopted for developing and deploying new, chiefly strategic, weapons: MX and Midgetman intercontinental ballistic missiles, Trident missile-carrying nuclear submarines, B-1B and Stealth bombers, the multipurpose Shuttle space system, and long-range air-, sea-, and land-based cruise missiles. The USA plans a more than 50 per cent increase

of its arsenal of strategic nuclear warheads by the close of the 1980s—from the present 12,000 to 20,000 units.

Growing importance is being acquired in the USA's military preparations by the accelerated development of space armaments, including not only nuclear but also other, notably laser-based, weapons. In Washington, they have adopted, in contravention of the USSR-USA 1972 treaty, a decision to build up a broad system of anti-missile 'defence'—precisely this word is accentuated in the propaganda cover for the course towards the militarisation of outer space. The actual purpose of Star Wars militarism is to enable the USA to deliver a nuclear first strike with *impunity*. It is quite obvious that this direction of military preparations is especially dangerous to international stability.

Militarisation hysteria is seen not only in imperialism's unrestrained buildup of its nuclear arsenals. It is spreading to conventional armaments, some of which are being boosted to the level of mass destruction weapons.

More than 30 types of weaponry of enhanced effectiveness are being developed. The US Air Force expects to get 5,000 new aircraft; the Army is to receive 7,000 M-1 tanks; the number of warships is to be increased to 600 units. The arming of the US military machine with chemical weapons is proceeding apace: these are mainly new highly toxic substances although the Pentagon's stockpiles of chemical weapons (over 150,000 tons, approximately 3,000,000 units) are already now the largest in the world.

On the whole, as the Reagan Administration sees it, a very important quantitative and, most important *qualitative* stage of the arms buildup is to be completed by the close of the 1980s. The beginning of this stage was signalled by the rapid growth of military spending (a rise of 75 per cent in the period from 1981 to 1984). The Reagan Administration's five-year military programme for 1985-1989 will require funding amounting to over two trillion dollars (which is more than was spent in the previous 15 years) to the detriment of civilian areas of the economy and the satisfaction of acute social requirements, the appropriations for which were cut significantly precisely during Reagan's tenure of the White House.

The allocation of colossal sums of money for a new round of the arms race is dictated, contrary to official assertions, not by 'defence' needs, for nobody is threatening the USA. It is dictated by the interests of the US industrial concerns, notably for those for which military contracts are a gold mine: the profits of the corporations getting these contracts average 70 per cent higher than the profits of companies producing civilian goods. The military-industrial complex acquired a strong hold over the USA's economy and policies long ago. This is now an overriding influence.

US imperialism does all it can to encourage militarist activities by its allies. The West European Union, set up in 1954 (Britain, France, the FRG, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg) has lately begun to be reinvigorated. In mid-1984 the FRG got its allies in this union to lift the last restrictions preventing it from producing conventional weapons and thereby obtained the possibility of manufacturing weapons such as missiles of all types, missile-carrying submarines and surface warships, and other offensive armaments. The 500,000-strong Bundeswehr is entering a period of intensive re-equipment and modernisation. The FRG's relevant expenditures in the next 12 years will, according to some estimates, amount to the huge sum of over 300 billion marks. Apart from all else, this has created a favourable climate for the activation of neofascist and revanchist circles.

In the past few years the USA has been giving growing attention to Asia and the Pacific, where it is maintaining its second largest overseas military forces to those it has in Western Europe.

The Pentagon has had its 'Central Command' for the Middle East, Southwest Asia, and the Indian Ocean in Karachi, Pakistan, since early 1983. The interventionist Rapid Deployment Force of nearly 300,000 men is designated for this region above all.

In Washington they are doing their utmost to breathe new life into the Pacific minianalogue of NATO—the ANZUS (USA-Australia-New Zealand) pact, in whose sphere of operations the Indian Ocean has also been included. An increasingly active course is being steered towards the revival and reinforcement of Japanese militarism. There is already a de facto tripartite military alliance between the USA, Japan, and South Korea. US strategists are counting on gradually turning the Association of Southeast Asian Nations into a military bloc.

This bloc policy, whose objective is to create a close-knit system of military-political treaty obligations in a vast zone under the aegis of US imperialism, is part and parcel of global hegemonism, whose bulwark consists of over 1,500 US military bases and other military installations, over half a million servicemen, and a diversity of armaments, including nuclear weapons, deployed in over 30 countries.

This escalation of imperialist militarism all along the line—from the feverish buildup of nuclear armaments to attempts at extending the system of military blocs—is combined with cynical disregard of the will of peoples, with criminal negativism relative to all initiatives to finally halt the further stockpiling of armaments and begin the process of disarmament. This is eloquently borne out by the US posture at the United Nations, where the United States delegation practically always votes against initiatives that would obstruct the arms race to one extent or another. Such was the case, for example, at the 38th UN General Assembly (September-December 1983).

Resolutions on Disarmament Passed by the 38th UN General Assembly

Resolution	Moved by	US vote
Condemnation of nuclear war	USSR	Negative
A freeze on nuclear armaments	USSR	Negative
A no-first-use of nuclear weapons commitment	Cuba, GDR	Negative
Convention banning the use of nuclear weapons	India	Negative
Prevention of nuclear war and nuclear disarmament	Argentina	Negative
Non-proliferation of the arms race to outer space	Egypt, Mongolia	Negative
Prohibition of neutron weapons	GDR	Negative
Prohibition of all nuclear tests	Mexico, Sweden and others	Negative
Condemnation of the nuclear armament of Israel	Iraq	Negative
Condemnation of the nuclear armament of South Africa	Sierra-Leone	Negative

To 'justify' politically the unbridled buildup of the nuclear potential, the Reagan Administration raised a ruckus over 'Soviet military superiority', as though forgetting that in SALT-2 (1979) both sides recognised that there was an approximate equilibrium, which simply could not have changed within two or three years. Seeing SALT-2 as a hindrance to the further escalation of the arms race, the US ruling circles prevented its ratification, as they had earlier done with the treaties on limiting underground nuclear weapons tests (1974) and on underground nuclear tests for peaceful purposes (1976).

The US obstructionist tactics are also expressed in many other recent facts:

- the refusal to undertake a no-first-use of nuclear weapons commitment as the Soviet Union had done;
- refusal to freeze nuclear arsenals;
- refusal to resume talks on a total ban on nuclear tests with the pretext that there was no clarity on the question of verification;
- the blocking of talks on chemical weapons by making deliberately unacceptable verification conditions;
- the torpedoing of a treaty on the non-use of force between the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO;
- evasion of the talks, proposed by the Soviet Union, on preventing the militarisation of outer space;
- attempts to discredit the Soviet offer on reaching agreement on a series of norms in the relations between nuclear powers.

There is only one interpretation of this line of action: *the ruling circles of the USA and other NATO powers are deliberately and purposefully accelerating military preparations and this is raising international tension to bursting point and increasing the real threat of war.* This fact cannot be refuted by the innumerable high-flown statements about 'devotion to peace' made by Reagan in his fourth year in the White House in an effort to rid himself of the reputation of being the 'president of war' on the eve of the coming presidential elections. Verbal peaceableness changes nothing in real politics. The guide for the latter is, in particular, the 'National Security Directive No. 32, signed by Reagan in May 1982. The quintessence of this directive is the stake on winning a nuclear war by means of a nuclear first-strike, by backing up aggression with 'effective action' from outer space.

Academics have warned and continue to warn that the use of modern nuclear weapons would be catastrophic for all life on earth. They are convinced that such a step would be the most heinous of crimes. But the preparations for it—accompanied by enormous outlays of material, labour, and financial resources that could be used to solve many acute global problems, for the welfare of people—*spell out preparations for a crime and are, as such, a crime by aggressive imperialist forces against peace and humankind.*

The overall objective of the massive war preparations by the USA and its allies is to retrieve the positions lost by imperialism. More specifically, this is a line chiefly towards undermining, debilitating, and destroying existing socialism. Militarism is the central and most dangerous but not the only manifestation of this line.

Renunciation of Peaceful Coexistence. Attempts to Undermine Existing Socialism. Strategy of Confrontation

In the early hours of September 1, 1983 US intelligence conducted a carefully planned provocation in the Soviet Far East with the use of a South Korean passenger airliner. The scenario for this operation called for an 'accidental' loss of course and an incursion deep into Soviet airspace. The purpose was to compel the Soviet air-defence system to move into high combat readiness and thereby enable US special services to register the signals of its electronic back-up equipment. The finale: the violator-aircraft, whose identity could not

be established at night, did not obey signals from Soviet interceptors and was shot down.

This inglorious outcome of the spy action served the US mass media as the pretext for a hysterical propaganda campaign against the Soviet Union. The Reagan Administration reacted with further economic 'reprisals' and irresponsible anti-Soviet demagoguery in the United Nations and other international organisations. Thus, one single development mirrored at the *basic aspects—propagandist, political, economic, and military—of the policy of confrontation with the Soviet Union, with the socialist community, pursued by the ruling group in Washington.*

The confrontation doctrine is not a Reagan invention. It was scripted long ago by the US ruling elite, which saw clearly that the Soviet Union and the socialist community were the main obstacle to US imperialism's hegemonistic ambitions. Ever since the initial years following World War II the relations with the USSR and other socialist countries have been regarded by Washington mainly through a prism of 'strength'. Forced somewhat to relax the confrontational character of their foreign policy during the period of detente, the US ruling circles turned quite definitively onto the path of aggression and militarism as early as the close of the 1970s under cover of the 'Soviet threat' myth.

Started under Carter, this switch was consummated by Reagan, who clearly outdid his predecessors in zeal in serving the interests of the military-industrial complex and in his pitch of hate for socialism generally and for the Soviet Union in particular. Reagan declared that world socialism was an 'empire of evil' and in June 1982 called for a 'crusade' against it with the ideology of primitive anti-communism and anti-Sovietism as his guide. In his hate he went so far as to articulate his dream of 'outlawing Russia forever' and 'begin bombing in five minutes'.

Under the Reagan Administration *there has been a sharp reinvigoration of the economic and propaganda actions of the imperialist 'crusaders'.*

What is in fact an *economic war* is being conducted against the socialist countries in order to subvert their economic potential. Its central element is the self-same war-mongering: in *stepping up the arms race, imperialism's strategists hope it will exhaust the socialist countries economically. Also to be observed is the systematic disruption of normal economic and commercial relations with all sorts of discriminatory actions* (embargoes, sanctions, blockades, and so forth). A series of such actions was taken against the USSR and Poland in 'response' to the proclamation of martial law in Poland in December 1981. The USA tried hard to disrupt the building of the Siberia-Western Europe gas pipeline. Washington has cut off all economic relations with Cuba, Kampuchea, and Laos. Periodically it lengthens the list of 'strategic' goods banned for export to countries of the socialist community (the last such extension was made in July 1984).

By and large, and this is acknowledged also by the bourgeois press, the 'USA is conducting an economic war with all the means at its disposal',¹ not shrinking from impinging on the interests of other capitalist countries.

Needless to say, the imperialist circles are trying in vain to weaken the socialist states economically. Moreover, these efforts are hitting those who initiate them. US analysts estimate that the *Reagan 'sanctions', which spiked many contracts and led to the corresponding decrease in production and trade, have cost the US economy tens of billions of dollars. The political cost to international relations does not lend itself to a quantitative estimate. But it is obviously enormous.*

The same may be said of the *psychological war* unleashed by the imperialists with the objective of destabilising and weakening socialist society by ideological, political, and propaganda subversion. In this war the principal role is played by the US Information Agency and the Central Intelligence Agency. The relevant agencies of the US Defence Department and NATO cooperate with them. The overall guidance

is provided by the White House. The *International Herald Tribune* newspaper has reported that in the first 15 months of his presidency Reagan signed nearly 80 directives aimed against socialist countries.

In collaboration with the CIA, the USIA coordinates the activities of more than 150 'public' centres—associations, councils, foundations, commissions. These plan and carry out anti-communist propagandist actions, train and infiltrate CIA agents into socialist countries, and fund and use renegades. The USIA runs many periodicals and powerful radio stations.

For their war in the ether against the Soviet Union and other European socialist countries Western special services have more than 300 transmitters and 36 television relay stations along the frontiers of the GDR and Czechoslovakia. The 'public' status is used by Liberty and Free Europe, which are spy and propaganda branches of the CIA. This network is being enlarged. New stations have recently been commissioned—Radio Marti, Radio Free Kabul, and Radio Free Asia. Some 30 additional radio transmitters are planned for Europe, Asia, and Africa. Lies are rolling in tidal waves across Cuba, Afghanistan, the Middle East, and the Pacific basin.

While all these radio voices use quite a wide spectrum of 'approaches' to listeners, they employ a common method and have one orientation. They claim to be unbiased, but in fact seek, on the one hand, to rouge up bourgeois reality, conceal its deep-seated vices, and camouflage the expansionist ambitions of the USA and NATO and, on the other—and this is the main thing—to *discredit the socialist system, to make people doubt that the domestic and foreign policies of the socialist states are consistent with the vital interests of the masses and the aims of preserving peace and consolidating international security*. In certain situations *imperialism's mouthpieces are given undisguisedly subversive functions*, as was the case during the events in Poland when Radio Free Europe transmitted detailed instructions to underground anti-socialist groups.

Having rejected peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems as the only sure and intelligent way of promoting international relations and having opted for confrontation imperialism now seeks to shift this confrontation to the military sphere. But the historical debate between socialism and capitalism cannot be settled by force of arms. Insistence on the latter is to threaten peace and the existence of civilisation. This is a criminal path.

The targets of imperialism's 'power' politics are, along with socialist countries, the national liberation and revolutionary movements, and progressive regimes in different parts of the world.

International Brigandage, Acts of Aggression, Vandalism, and Genocide Against Freedom-Loving Peoples

At dawn troops of an imperialist power invaded a small independent nation from the sea and air. Townships in flames, and civilians dying in the rain of bombs. . . . This picture is familiar to people of the senior generation to have lived through the horrors perpetrated by Hitlerite fascism. But this nation was **Grenada**, and the time was October 1983. The aggressor was the United States of America.

Such is the modus of action of the military machine of imperialism, which claims permissiveness in international affairs. It brings the peoples bloodshed and destruction.

Nearly a thousand human lives were snuffed out in the course of the US military adventure on Grenada. In St. George's City Hospital alone 206 civilians died of firearm wounds. Children's and educational institutions and many dwellings were destroyed. During the very first days of the occupation more than 2,000 Grenadians were seized and put in prisons or concentration camps. Just ponder the following

statistics: thousands of victims of aggression in a country whose population totals only 110,000.

By its actions in Grenada US imperialism demonstrated total scorn for universally accepted norms of international law and the lofty principles of the UN Charter. World public opinion has been challenged openly and brazenly. A serious crime has been committed against peace and humanity.

Memories are still fresh of imperialism's piratical actions in the Middle East, where for almost 18 months in 1983-1984 the US military tormented the long-suffering land of **Lebanon**. The following are only a few facts to illustrate. On December 4, 1983, the Bekaa Valley was attacked by 28 US bombers. On December 13, the same region was shelled by ships of the US 6th Fleet. On the 14th, the 16-inch guns of the battleship *New Jersey* opened up; this was the same battleship that had sown death along the Vietnamese coast in 1968. In February 1984, Lebanese towns and villages again found themselves under fire from US aircraft and naval artillery. Some 500 civilians were killed in these attacks in Beirut and its suburbs and also in the mountain districts of Chouf and Aley.

These barbarous actions by US imperialism fostered an intensification of military action by its Israeli ally, who resumed the shelling and bombing of various parts of Lebanon and perpetrated massacres of refugees in the Ain-al-Hilwa, Nahr-al-Barid, and other Palestinian camps.

Acts of aggression and brigandage are committed wherever imperialism and its accomplices try to break the popular movement for social and national liberation, erect barriers to the independent development of nations, and put back the clock.

US imperialism has spent tens of millions of dollars to drown in blood the Sandinist revolution in **Nicaragua**. This money is being used to train, arm, and infiltrate numerous bands of terrorists and counter-revolutionaries into Nicaragua, to conduct bandit raids from the sea and air, and to mine the republic's ports and sea approaches.

In parallel with expanding subversive operations, Washington is speeding its preparations for direct armed aggression against Nicaragua. The aircraft-carrier *John F. Kennedy*, which was used in the invasion of Grenada, and tens of other US naval vessels are cruising off the coast of Nicaragua.

This undeclared war against the Nicaraguan people is being denounced not only by world public opinion. The main judicial organ of the United Nations—the International Court at the Hague—has found the USA culpable of unlawful actions against Nicaragua. *However, imperialism has no intention of heeding the will of the peoples. In April 1984 the US President signed Directive No. 138, which envisages the 'pre-emptive' use of specially trained units, including units of the armed forces, against national-patriotic and revolutionary movements. Decisions of this kind sharply increase the likelihood of further military adventures.*

Bloody traces of imperialist brigandage are to be seen also in Africa. In December 1983, in accordance with a plan drawn up by US advisers (code-named 'Lotus-83'), a South African expeditionary force of 10,000 troops supported by aircraft and artillery invaded the territory of **Angola**. This was a particularly barbarous invasion: chemical weapons, including nerve-paralysing substances, were used. There were massive missile-bombing strikes at many population centres, causing innumerable casualties among civilians. Dwellings, hospitals, and schools were reduced to rubble. In April 1984 the CIA organised a major act of terrorism in the Angolan town of Wambo—the blowing up of an 11-storey residential building with a toll of many lives, including women and children.

Deliberate killings take place daily in **Namibia**, a country occupied by South Africa. Its northern regions have been turned into a death zone. People are incarcerated in concentration camps and subjected to inhuman treatment. All attempts to settle the Namibian problem peacefully are blocked by the imperialist powers.

An interventionist action mounted in **Chad** by France with undisguised US support lasted for 13 months. This brought tragedy to the population of this African country.

Using gangs of paid thugs and reactionaries of all hues imperialism commits acts of vandalism and genocide in different parts of the world.

Hundreds of people have lost their lives during the past two years as a result of the foreign-orchestrated campaign of violence in the state of Punjab, **India**. An inquiry conducted by Indian officials showed that terrorists are being paid and trained by US intelligence agencies with the purpose of destabilising the situation in India. Large caches of US-made arms and ammunition have been found

In **Afghanistan** bandits have destroyed 1,814 schools, 31 hospitals, 111 health centres, 14,000 kilometres of communication lines, and scores of irrigation and industrial facilities. They have devastated 906 peasant cooperatives. For subversive activity in that country US imperialism allocated 100 million dollars in 1983 and 125 million dollars in 1984. The Afghan bandits have received over £18 million from Britain and 60 million marks from the FRG.

In just the first six months of 1983, **El Salvador**'s puppet regime, nourished by US imperialism, executed 2,823 persons without trial; there have been innumerable cases of unspeakable torture. This 'art' is taught to the Salvadoran police in the USA, for which purpose the US Treasury has allocated 800,000 dollars. The total annual dollar injections received by the regime in El Salvador exceed 500 millions.

The following is an account from **Guatemala** published in the American press with the words: 'For people with steel nerves'. Describing the treatment meted out by soldiers of the Guatemalan junta to the inhabitants of a village, an eyewitness said: 'Bullets were not wasted on children. They were seized by the legs and their heads were smashed against the walls of houses.' Let us make the reminder that the crimes of the Guatemalan reactionaries are likewise paid for by US imperialism.

Wherever US imperialism and its hirelings are active they use the same grisly techniques—intimidation of the civilian population and mass terror. This is state terrorism and a crime against peoples.

Imperialist counteraction to the national liberation movement is not confined to the use of weapons, to naked military force. This brigandage evokes protests from world opinion, with the resultant mounting political discrediting of imperialism and a numerical growth of its opponents. For that reason increasing use is made of more 'subtle', covert methods of such counteraction, of means of neocolonialist exploitation of developing nations.

Neocolonialist Exploitation. Inhibition of Economic and Social Progress in Developing Countries

'They stumble along on dusty dirt paths. Emaciated, frail and ravaged by hunger, they are on a desperate journey for food. Some are blind, a result of vitamin A deficiency, or sick with pellagra, diarrhea, cholera and various starvation-related diseases. . . . You see people scrabbling through litter for food, and you see people literally dropping dead in the street. . . . We were walking through villages of death. In village after village people wanted to come with us, but they were too weak. . . .' This picture was seen not long ago in Tropical Africa by a *Time* correspondent.

In the world today more than a billion people are going hungry. Every day nearly 40,000 children die in developing nations from exhaustion or infectious diseases, and many others become invalids or mentally retarded. The child death rate in these countries is 20 times higher and the mean expectancy of life is 20 years shorter than in the industrialised states. No medical assistance is available to 1,500 million people; 2,000 million people have no stable and dependable supply of water; and more than 1,000 million live in abject poverty. A large proportion of the urban population is

homeless. More than 800 million adults are totally illiterate, and 250 million children have no opportunity to go to school.

This calamitous condition of the people and the socio-economic backwardness of most of the new nations are largely an outcome of their neocolonialist exploitation by imperialist powers and international monopolies. According to UN statistics, nearly 200 billion dollars flow annually from the developing nations, and of these 100 billion go to the transnationals. US monopolies, for example, annually extract from these countries a profit amounting to 2.5 times their investments.

Transnationals, mostly North American, are the main exponents of neocolonialist exploitation. Having control of some 40 per cent of the industrial output of the developing world and of 50 per cent of its foreign trade, they hinder the balanced growth of the productive forces, in fact reducing the new nations to the role of suppliers of raw materials, at best industrial raw materials, to the capitalist centres.

The activities of the transnationals adversely affect living conditions in the new nations. In order to provide the 'legal basis' for the superexploitation of cheap labour, these imperialist giants are pushing national governments into adopting harsh anti-labour and anti-trade union laws. In many capitalist-oriented states strikes are prohibited and only limited participation is granted to trade unions in talks with the management of monopolies. Meanwhile, at the enterprises run by international corporations in Asia wages average one-tenth of the wages of American workers of the same level of skill, the working day is half again or twice as long, and social expenditures are one-fourth of those in the industrialised nations. All this ensures a profit rate that is several times higher than in the developed capitalist countries.

Together with the purposeful policies of the imperialist monopolies, the operation of the economic laws of capitalist production determine the steadily deteriorating terms of trade for the developing nations. In a situation marked by a grave economic crisis, the demand for their goods is dwindling. The prices of many kinds of raw materials, which comprise the principal source of foreign currency, have dropped to their lowest level in 50 years.

Stiffer discriminatory measures are being taken in regard to the industrial output of developing countries with the result that this output is finding it harder to reach the markets of the capitalist centres. According to UNCTAD, there are at least 700 kinds of protectionist barriers to the import to these markets of goods produced in African, Asian, and Latin American countries. Particularly rigid restrictions have been imposed by the Reagan Administration.

The falling prices have led to a diminution of the value of the exports of developing nations with the resultant increased pressure on the balance of payments. They have to borrow heavily (in 1983 alone their foreign debt rose from 700 billion to 810 billion dollars). But even in this respect the situation has deteriorated sharply during the past two years. The proportion of credits with a fixed rate and of favourable loans along the line of official 'aid' has decreased. *At the same time, there has been an increase of the proportion of short-term loans and also of credits granted by private banks at extortionate 'sliding' interest rates. Because of the exorbitant interest demanded by usurer-bankers, chiefly in the USA, there has been a marked worsening of the currency-financial situation in many countries.*

The growth of debts and of the interest paid on them is due not least to the increase of loan interest rates in the USA: during the first four months of 1984 they have been raised on four occasions, reaching 13 points. At present the developing nations have to pay 130 billion dollars annually only in interest on their debts. There has been a sharp deterioration of the correlation between current debt repayment commitments and export revenues. In 1983 the former exceeded the latter in a number of states in Asia, Africa, and Latin America (for instance, by 79 per cent in Argentina, 29 per cent in Mexico, and 22 per cent in Brazil). A growing number of countries is having to request the rescheduling of debt repayment.

Financial institutions controlled by the USA and other imperialist powers, for instance, the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, are being used more and more openly by neocolonialism as a weapon of bringing economic and political pressure to bear on African, Asian, and Latin American countries. For example, loans granted by them are usually linked to the borrower-nation committing itself to 'austerity'—to reducing budget expenditures (including expenditures on social programmes), bringing down the level of consumption, and clipping planned and ongoing investment programmes. Such commitments exacerbate the already difficult economic situation of developing nations and undermine their possibilities for economic growth. Political terms are also dictated: a limitation of the role played by the state in the economy, the 'liberalisation' of import policy, the encouragement of market forces, and the creation of additional benefits for foreign private capital.

The course of and prospects for socio-economic development are very adversely affected by the hegemonistic policies of the imperialist powers, notably of the USA, and by the imperialist-inspired intensification of the arms race into which many Asian, African, and Latin American countries are finding themselves drawn. Since the beginning of the 1980s developing nations have been spending 100 billion dollars annually on armaments. In terms of money the import of armaments accounts for nearly half of the deficit of their aggregate balance of payments. On the average, military spending exceeds the expenditures on public health six-fold and on education three-fold, and it is growing much faster than the gross national product (during the past 20 years it has increased 4.5-fold, while the GNP has grown only three-fold).

All this is widening the economic disparity between industrialised capitalist countries and the developing nations. By and large, the position of the African, Asian, and Latin American states has worsened dramatically in recent years. Their huge payments on external debts and the colossal deficits in their balances of payments (according to IBRD experts these deficits will amount to 276,000 million dollars by 1985) are forcing them to reduce both the physical volume and value of their imports. The accumulation rate is falling, many large economic projects have been frozen, and state expenditures on economic and social programmes are being reduced. The cutback on imports is negatively affecting the entire economy and has seriously hit industrial production. At present the developing nations account for only 11-12 per cent of the world's industrial product.

Profiting from the misfortunes and sufferings of hundreds of millions of people, the slowing down of the social and economic progress of Asian, African, and Latin American countries, the conservation of their backwardness and inequality, and dragging them into the arms race is a grave crime being committed by imperialism against more than half of the human race.

Socio-economic oppression by imperialism is experienced not only by the peoples of developing countries. It is also experienced by the working people of industrialised capitalist states.

Frontal Assault on the Vital Rights of Working People

Cecil Andrews, 37, unemployed, of Jacksonville, Alabama, used benzine to immolate himself; Normal Peters, 54, and his wife committed suicide with exhaust gases; Peter van Westering, 39, jumped from a fifth-floor window; nearly one hundred (!) of the persons discharged by Wisconsin Steel Company committed suicide. An abundance of facts of this nature was cited at the National Congress of the Unemployed in Chicago in mid-1983.

Each of these facts exposes the social evil that imperialism breeds and multiplies in its own citadels.

There are a little under 13 million jobless in only the EEC. If we add up the total

number of unemployed in the capitalist member states of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, we shall find that it is nearly 35 million (32 million in 1982).

The calamity of unemployment spells out not only material hardship. According to latest studies, a growth of the number of jobless by one million over a period of five years brings with it:

- nearly 50,000 premature deaths;
- over 60,000 cases of mental disease;
- at least 14,000 imprisonments.

Let us make the reminder that the scourge of unemployment strikes hardest at the least protected (in social terms) categories of the population:

- young people up to the age 25 now comprise half of the newly unemployed;
- among women the unemployment level is almost twice as high as among men;
- senior citizens are the first to be pushed out of jobs.

The arms race started by imperialism furthers the growth of the army of unemployed because it swallows the funds taken from industries producing civilian goods.

The growth of military spending has in recent years deprived the economy of industrialised capitalist states of the possibility of giving jobs to more than 5 million people. According to some estimates, in the USA the allocations for 'defence' in 1983 allowed creating 5,058,000 jobs. But if the same money had been channelled into civilian industries there would have been 7,069,000 new jobs, or 2,011,000 more.

In recent years there has been an increase of the number of people who have neither jobs nor a permanent address, in many cases not even a roof over their heads. At the close of 1983 the US Department of Health, Education and Welfare estimated that there were two million homeless people in the USA. In New York alone there are 60,000. In Italy a million families have nowhere to live and nearly three million others are constantly under threat of eviction. According to official statistics, there are over 100,000 vagrants in the FRG. In Britain, 1,250,000 families have no roof over their heads.

According to the latest statistics, in the USA, the richest country of the capitalist world, the number of people officially living below the poverty line rose by 868,000 in 1983 to comprise 15.2 per cent of the American population. In New York alone the soup kitchens cater daily for 600,000 elderly people and children.

The number of people denied intellectual food is also growing. At present 40 per cent of the people of the ethnic minorities in the USA are totally illiterate. There are two million illiterate people in Britain, over two million in France, and 11 million in Italy. For a long time, it was considered that in the FRG the problem of illiteracy had for all practical purposes been resolved, but the most recent studies indicate that in that country there are nearly three million illiterates or semi-literates.

The millions denied jobs, homes, food and education are acutely in need of help. But imperialism squanders on military preparations money squeezed out of the already meagre social programmes.

In the USA the cutbacks in social programmes totalled 110,200 million dollars in the period 1981-1984. Of this money 27 billion dollars came from the food card programme and unemployment insurance; 18,500 million dollars from the medical care programmes for poor people; and 13,700 million dollars from education and services programmes.

The following gives an idea of the growth of the profits of individual corporations of the US military-industrial complex in 1983; General Electric (components of missiles and submarines)—two billion dollars (or 400 million dollars more than in 1982); General Dynamics (submarines, cruise missiles)—236 million dollars (or over twice as much as in 1982); United Technologies (anti-satellite systems)—over 500 million dollars.

Monopoly capital thirsts for more and more profits. It gets them by escalating the

exploitation of those who have not yet been affected by the calamity of unemployment.

This is done by perfecting the methods of 'wringing sweat', complicating labour, and making it more intensive. Some studies have shown that in the USA, Britain, and the FRG *the exploitation level* of the working peoples has grown 1.5–2-fold in the past decades. Labour intensification has raised the number of industrial accidents (for instance, in the USA up to two million are registered annually, and of these tens of thousands are fatal) and pushed up the occupational diseases rate.

Cumulatively, unemployment, inflation, 'income regulation', 'austerity', and rising taxes are increasingly affecting the *real wages of the working people*. In the USA they have dropped by over 14 per cent since 1977. The quality of life of large sections of the people has deteriorated as a consequence of the cutbacks in the budget allocations for health care, education, housing construction, and other social requirements.

On the whole, there has in recent years been a further stepping up of state-monopoly capitalism's frontal assault on the vital interests of the working people. *The abolition of more and more millions of jobs, the growing exploitation of labour, and the transfer of state financing from social requirements to the insatiable maw of militarism constitute the principal socio-economic elements of the crime being committed by imperialism against the masses in the industrialised capitalist countries.* With this are also closely linked political elements.

Police Tyranny and Violence. Political Reaction on the Rampage

On June 18, 1984 pickets of striking miners at a coke factory in the town of Orgreave near Sheffield, Britain, were attacked by 3,300 mounted and foot police. The horses rammed into the ranks of the pickets, trampling them or flattening them against a stone wall. The burly riot police rained blows on people with truncheons, knocked them to the ground, twisted their arms, and dragged them to the police vans. Dogs were let loose on those who sought safety behind the factory's gates. More than 100 persons were arrested, over 70 were wounded. Arthur Scargill, leader of the miners' union, was taken to hospital with a skull injury.

This is one of many episodes of the long struggle waged by the British miners. They began their strike in March 1984 in protest against the Tory government's intention to close 20 pits and thereby render 20,000 persons jobless. The British bourgeoisie, which plumes itself on having democratic traditions, has sent police and regular troops against the strikers and their pickets, and orchestrated raids and searches in miners' townships. During the first six months of the strike three miners were killed and over 2,000 were injured.

Reports of clashes between working people and 'custodians of the law', evocative of military communiques, are coming from many capitalist countries. A result of the worsening economic situation is the shrinking of the material base for the policy of social manoeuvring, which their ruling circles have been pursuing since the end of World War II. *To protect the dominant position and privileges of the monopolies the managers of imperialism are now having increasing recourse to undisguised violence.*

With the aid of the state the big bourgeoisie is trying to weaken and disarm the working class, to cut down as much as it can the working people's potential for resistance. For instance, the British government has railroaded through parliament a series of bills restricting the right to take industrial action, impeding picketing, and forbidding solidarity strikes. In the USA repressions against strikers have been legal since 1947 and used on innumerable occasions. A harder line has been adopted under the Reagan Administration. The summary treatment of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organisation, which was dismantled in 1981, eloquently illustrates this line. In 1984 the US Supreme Court passed two undisguisedly anti-union verdicts.

One stringently limits the formation of new trade unions, and the other, for all practical purposes, gives employers the right arbitrarily to tear up labour bargaining agreements.

Arm-twisting of union activists, surveillance, disciplinary measures, dismissals, and prosecution have become common occurrences. For instance, 14 leaders of the communal workers' union were put on trial in the FRG in November 1983 for participating in a nation-wide warning strike by civil employees. Fred Carter, leader of the US miners' union, was tried for organising a big strike. Thugs hired as factory guards and the mafia are used against working people.

The facts show that a massive assault has been started against trade unions in imperialism's citadels. The purpose of this assault is to give the monopolies a totally free hand in social relations, break the backbone of the working class movement, and undermine trade union rights and freedoms.

Lately, pressure and threats have begun to be directed not only against trade unions but also against all progressive social movements. Those laws are being hardened that can be used to restrict freedom of political expression of will. *In some capitalist countries the repressive apparatus is being reinforced and all public activity that the government finds objectionable is rigorously controlled.*

The repressive authority and activities of the CIA and FBI have been significantly increased in the USA under the Reagan Administration. For surveillance of US citizens the FBI spends nearly 200 million dollars annually. Its computers store information on practically the country's entire adult population. Dossiers are kept on 34 million persons, and 171 million persons have had their finger-prints taken. According to the American Civil Liberties Union more and more cases are now being registered of houses being searched arbitrarily, suspects being illegally detained and interrogated, and persons regarded as objectionable deliberately killed in the course of police operations. There are thousands of political prisoners.

In the FRG anybody venturing to articulate doubts about the legality of any action of the ruling circles is proclaimed an enemy of the Constitution. There is increasing surveillance. The police, the Department for the Protection of the Constitution, and the military counter-intelligence agency have made loyalty checks of 6,400,000 citizens. Berufsverbot, which deprives people of their jobs for having democratic views, has become widespread throughout the country. More than 5,000 persons have fallen victim to this practice.

In Britain, a bill is in the making on police and criminal testimony envisaging permission for people to be searched in the streets, for prolonged arrest without charges, for interference in people's private lives, and even for violation of medical discretion. Surveillance has become massive. British police computers contain information on 36 million people.

Despite the bombast about 'freedom and equality', the imperialist state is demonstrating growing intolerance of any actions against racial and ethnic discrimination and brutally suppresses such actions. In the USA the repressive organs are harassing the coloured population. Practically every week new facts come to light about the murder of Afro-Americans, Chicanos, and American Indians by the police and gangs of racists. Leaders of the civil rights movement are assassinated or jailed. The Afro-American worker Jonny Harris, who took part in demonstrations protesting against racial discrimination and the violence practised by the Ku Klux Klan, has been in prison since 1970. Leonard Peltier, a courageous champion of the rights of American Indians and a leader of the American Indians movement, has been in prison for eight years. Twelve activists of this movement have been bestially murdered.

The British government is using armed force in an effort to suppress the actions of Northern Ireland's Catholic population for self-administration and religious freedom. A British expeditionary corps has been in Ulster for the past 15 years.

During that time nearly 2,400 Northern Irishmen have lost their lives and more than 20,000 have received mutilating wounds.

The legalisation of terrorism and the whipping up of an atmosphere of racism have become fertile soil for the reinvigoration of ultra-right forces. More than 150 neofascist organisations are active in the FRG. They openly hold meetings and convene congresses on the scale of lander and the whole country. In Britain the blackshirts assemble regularly in special military training camps. In the USA there are hundreds of groups that openly preach hatred for coloured people and Jews.

The neofascists act with impunity and even have open encouragement from the authorities. This is compellingly illustrated by the decision of a court in Greensborough, North Carolina, which acquitted nine neofascists and Ku Klux Klanners guilty of murdering participants in an anti-racist demonstration. The acquitted included two FBI agents. Special agencies make wide use of right-wing extremists for provocations against democratic movements, for infiltration into trade unions and anti-war organisations, and for terrorist acts.

The repressions against members of anti-war movements are conspicuously brutal. Bourgeois 'democracy' is using police truncheons, water-cannon, and tear gas more and more frequently against manifestations. Alongside mounted and foot police, troops and even tanks are often used to disperse demonstrations and break up peace camps. Arbitrary police action is often backed up by attacks by racists and neofascists. Odious McCarthyist methods—charges of spying for Communists, dismissals from work, fines, and imprisonment—are used to discredit and intimidate peace fighters.

Imperialism responds to the mass movement against militarism and against infringements of the socio-economic rights won by the working people with assaults on democratic freedoms, with police violence and reactionary political actions. This is further evidence of the increasingly criminal, anti-people character of its activities.

* * *

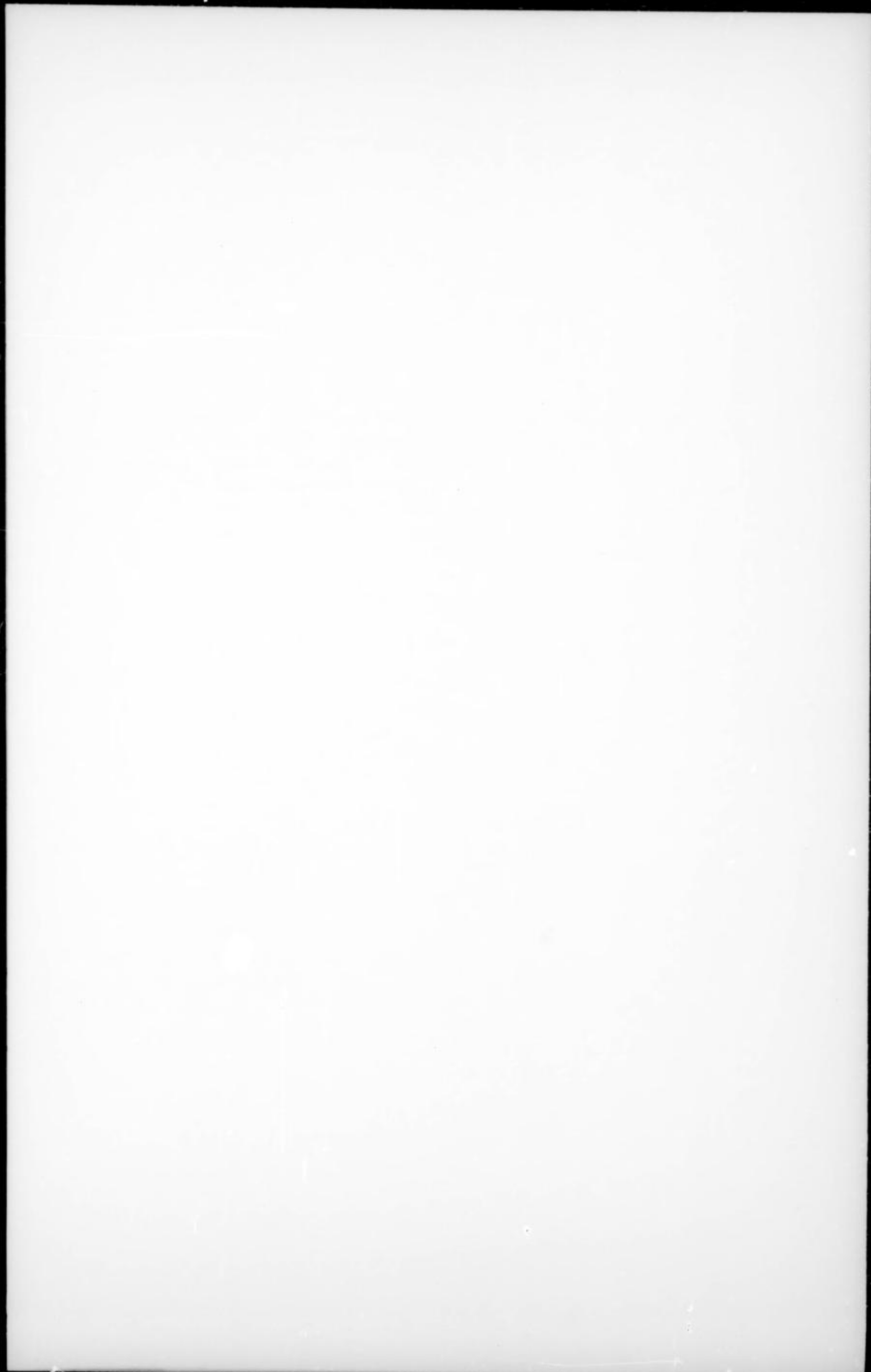
Incontrovertible facts demonstrate that imperialism, whose arch-reactionary nature is currently embodied most fully by US imperialism, is the source of the growing threat to peace and the most sinister enemy of socio-economic and political progress of nations and the democratic gains of the working people.

Imperialism's predestination of doom makes it capable of any crime, of going so far as to be prepared to put in doubt humankind's continued existence.

All the forces of peace, progress, and democracy see their duty in ruling out this terrible possibility, in resisting more strongly imperialist actions in whatever field they are undertaken.

**Working Group of the WMR Commission
On Scientific Information and
Documentation**

¹ *Le Monde*, August 11, 1984.



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