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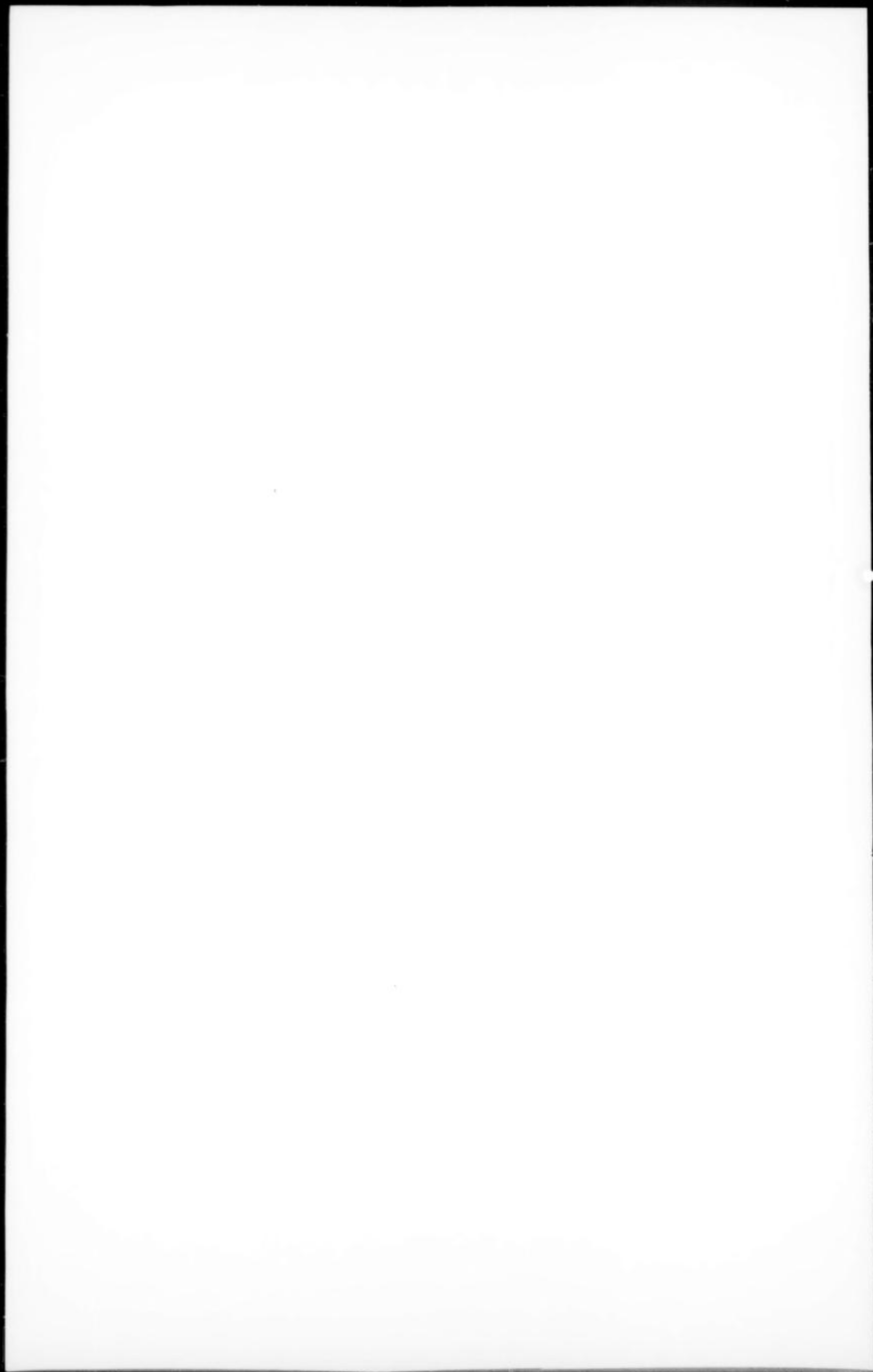
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Communique
on the Discussion of the Work of the International Journal
World Marxist Review
(Problems of Peace and Socialism)

THE work of the international journal of communist and workers' parties, *World Marxist Review* (Problems of Peace and Socialism), was discussed in Prague from December 4 to 6, 1984. In attendance were delegations from 91 parties: People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, Party of the Socialist Vanguard of Algeria, MPLA—Party of Labour (Angola), Communist Party of Argentina, Socialist Party of Australia, Communist Party of Austria, National Liberation Front of Bahrain, Communist Party of Bangladesh, Communist Party of Belgium, People's Revolution Party of Benin, Communist Party of Bolivia, Brazilian Communist Party, Bulgarian Communist Party, Communist Party of Canada, Communist Party of Chile, Colombian Communist Party, Congolese Party of Labour, People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica, Communist Party of Cuba, Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL), Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Communist Party of Denmark, Dominican Communist Party, Communist Party of Ecuador, Egyptian Communist Party, Communist Party of El Salvador, Workers' Party of Ethiopia, Communist Party of Finland, German Communist Party, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Communist Party of Great Britain, Communist Party of Greece, Guadeloupe Communist Party, Guatemalan Party of Labour, People's Progressive Party of Guyana, United Party of Haitian Communists, Communist Party of Honduras, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Communist Party of India, Communist Party of Indonesia, People's Party of Iran, Iraqi Communist Party, Communist Party of Ireland, Communist Party of Israel, Italian Communist Party, Workers' Party of Jamaica, Japanese Communist Party, Jordanian Communist Party, People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea, Workers' Party of Korea, Lebanese Communist Party, Communist Party of Luxembourg, Madagascar Independence Congress Party, Communist Party of Malta, Martinique Communist Party, United Socialist Party of Mexico, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Party of Progress and Socialism of Morocco, Communist Party of Nepal, Socialist Unity Party of New Zealand, Communist Party of Norway, Communist Party of Pakistan, Palestinian Communist Party, People's Party of Panama, Paraguayan Communist Party, Peruvian Communist Party, Communist Party of the Philippines, Polish United Workers' Party, Portuguese Communist Party, Romanian Communist Party, San Marino Communist Party, Communist Party of Saudi Arabia, Senegal Party of Independence and Labour, South African Communist Party, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Communist Party of Spain, Communist Party of Sri

Lanka, Communist Party of the Sudan, Left Party—Communists of Sweden, Swiss Party of Labour, Syrian Communist Party, Tunisian Communist Party, Communist Party of Turkey, Communist Party of Uruguay, Communist Party of the USA, Communist Party of Venezuela, Communist Party of Vietnam, Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, Yemeni Socialist Party, and also two parties whose names are not mentioned at their request. A report by the Editorial Board and Editorial Council on the work of the journal from November 1981 to November 1984 was submitted.

The delegations analysed the journal's activity and made concrete comments and proposals with a view to further improving their collective publication. Particular attention was devoted to the issues of strengthening peace and international security, rebuffing aggressive imperialist policies, and highlighting the varied experience of the Communists' struggle.

The representatives of fraternal parties recommended to the Editorial Board and the Editorial Council that they should take into consideration the wishes expressed, seeking to ensure that the international collective of the *World Marxist Review* always works in a spirit of equality, cooperation and respect for each party's interests, and facilitating the dissemination and strengthening of the ideals of peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism, and the consolidation of the unity and solidarity of all progressive forces.

The discussion proceeded in a frank, comradely atmosphere.

features

The Advantages of Socialist Economic Integration

Lubomír Štrougal – Presidium member, CPCz CC; Chairman of the Government, Czechoslovakia

AS a historic frontier in the development of our society—the memorable February 1948—when the people of Czechoslovakia firmly opted for the socialist way, recedes into the past, we have an ever closer awareness of the benefits of all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries, something that has been confirmed, again and again, in various spheres of historical practice, and especially in Czechoslovakia's economy, whose development objectively could not have gone forward without ever broader participation in the international division of labour, notably the international socialist division of labour.

That is precisely what Klement Gottwald had in mind when in 1947 he designated the orientation of our foreign trade as follows: 'Our foreign trade line should be determined in such a way as to give us the most possible guaranteed market for the sale of our products and constant sources for satisfying our export requirements that would not depend on the economic fluctuations and crises of the capitalist world. That requires above all a drastic expansion and deepening of economic relations with the Soviet Union. . . . Our economic relations with all the other countries should also simultaneously be deepened.'

What Gottwald said at the time is of exceptional importance for us today, and will continue to hold good in the future.

Czechoslovakia's vital stake in cooperation with the other fraternal states which have taken the socialist way was manifest as early as 1949, when we were among the founding members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), and fully adopted its programme. The CMEA is a new type of international body which differs in principle from the various capitalist communities. The economic relations between the socialist countries are a reflection of the very substance of the social property in the means of production they have established and their consistent practice of the principles of socialist internationalism, as written into the Statute of the CMEA, which formulates its purposes and which is one of the key documents of our international organisation. Apart from the common goal of developing and deepening all-round economic cooperation for the purposes of building socialism and communism and preserving world peace, the CMEA countries' concerted action primarily helps them to develop their national economies in a balanced manner and

on this basis to raise their people's living standards.

At every stage of the CMEA's development, its tasks were expressed in concrete and specific terms, as will be seen both from the Basic Principles of the International Socialist Division of Labour (1962) and the Comprehensive Programme of Socialist Economic Integration (1971). Cooperation within the framework of our community has brought about radical changes in the national economies of the socialist states, which have flourished economically.

External factors were among the reasons for which the CMEA was set up, because only by pooling their forces could the socialist countries stand up to the economic discrimination, embargoes, import bans and other sanctions applied by the imperialist powers. The record shows that the socialist community has fully justified that purpose of its as well.

The CMEA countries now have a population which comes to roughly 10 per cent of the world's. They turn out over 25 per cent of the world's national income, as compared with 15 per cent in 1950, and about a third of the world's industrial output, as compared with 18 per cent in 1950. High economic growth rates are an essential feature of the fraternal countries' development: from 1960 to 1982, their aggregate national income went up by 230 per cent, as compared with the EEC countries' 110 per cent.

Impressive results have been achieved in aligning the levels of the CMEA countries' economic development, a salient feature of the historically new type of economic relations, as will be seen from the following fact: in 1950, the highest and lowest national income per-head levels stood in a ratio of 3 to 1, but by 1981 it had gone down to 1.5 to 1. Apart from everything else, that was achieved precisely through the rapid rate of growth of the national economies which was, of course, differentiated in accordance with each country's conditions. Thus, from 1950 to 1982, the CMEA's aggregate income multiplied 8.3-fold, while increasing much faster in countries that used to be mainly agrarian at the CMEA's inception: 13-fold in Bulgaria, and 15-fold in Romania.

The CMEA countries' joint efforts have helped to solve their raw materials and energy problems. They have set up a ramified network of oil and gas pipelines, electric-power transmission installations, and a telecommunication system, while improving their railway, highway and water transport.

With the ever wider range of the CMEA countries' economic, scientific and technical cooperation, their trade with each other was intensively expanded: from 1950 to 1983, it multiplied 36-fold, to 58.6 per cent of their total foreign trade. They have consistently expanded their cooperation in production above all in the higher forms of division of labour, such as specialisation and cooperation, and this has imparted new qualities to the integration process as a whole. In 1982, specialised products accounted for 37.6 per cent of the total exchange of engineering products within the community.

The CMEA countries' economic successes have made it possible steadily to raise our peoples' living standards and to improve them in terms of quality, and this as an ever more telling manifestation of the fundamental social advantages of the new system. We are now consistently tackling the task connected with the satisfaction of the people's growing material and spiritual requirements through extensive social programmes, with an eye not only to the quantitative growth and expansion of the range of goods available on the domestic market of each country, but also an improvement of living conditions, public health care, and rising standards of education.

Czechoslovakia has made and continues to make full use of the economic advantages of socialist cooperation. Ours is an industrialised state with inadequate or one-sided sources of raw materials and other natural resources, and also with limited

potentialities for marketing the products of large-batch production on a relatively small domestic market. That apart, Czechoslovakia's need to mesh with the international socialist division of labour is dictated by a number of scientific, technical, demographic and other circumstances. Our participation in socialist economic integration is a factor of prime importance in making our economy more efficient, and an essential prerequisite for the proportional development of our national economy which helps to meet its requirements. That is why Gustáv Husák stressed at the 16th Congress of the CPCz (1981): 'Ever broader inclusion of the Czechoslovak economy in the international division of labour system is an objective necessity. This process is based above all on the all-round development of mutually advantageous trade, economic, scientific and technical relations within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, and our expanding involvement in socialist economic integration.'²

The scope and significance of cooperation will be seen from the fact that in 1980 Czechoslovakia's trade with other CMEA countries came to 65.5 per cent and in 1983 to 71.9 per cent of the country's foreign trade. Our share of the CMEA countries' overall trade with each other is about 11 per cent, which is the third highest figure after those for the USSR and the GDR. The Soviet Union naturally has the crucial role to play: in 1983, it already accounted for 44 per cent of Czechoslovakia's foreign trade.

Our relations with the other fraternal states help us to cover 77 per cent of our imports of fuel, and raw and other materials, 74 per cent of machinery and equipment, and 63 per cent of consumer goods, while over 80 per cent of our machine and equipment exports and about 70 per cent of our consumer goods exports go to the CMEA countries. From 1975 to 1982, Czechoslovakia's exports under specialisation agreements increased by more than 350 per cent, while their share of our exports to the CMEA countries went up from 11 per cent to 24 per cent.

Positive results have also been achieved in scientific and technical cooperation, joint construction projects and other forms of economic relations within the CMEA framework. It is a fact that our economic ties with the fraternal states are being steadily consolidated with a simultaneous improvement of their quality, that is, with their priority development in the production sphere. There is, therefore, undeviating fulfilment of the line of the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

The internal and external conditions for the economic development of Czechoslovakia and the other CMEA countries underwent a marked change in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

Some of the external conditions, such as the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the changing balance between the prices of raw materials and manufactured products are determined by deep shifts in the world economy as a whole. Competition on the world market has been sharply exacerbated, with rising demands on technical and economic standards and product quality. Marketing now depends not only on the traditional factors, but increasingly on the speed with which a product or technology can be put on the market.

The unfavourable effects of the economic crisis in the capitalist world, the large debt and other grave problems facing the development countries have also had a telling effect on our external conditions. The anti-communist policies of the United States and its allies have aggravated international tensions and have also had an effect on foreign trade in the form of diverse discriminations and sanctions mounted against the socialist countries.

The economic situation within the CMEA framework has also largely become a new one, with the above-mentioned shifts in the world economy having a partial effect. All the members of our community have opted for an accelerated switch to mainly intensive development, perfection of the structure of production, thriftier use

of fuel and energy, and balanced external economic relations. That has caused some changes in our socialist partners' demand for Czechoslovak exports, whose volume and mix have been influenced by the reduced investment activity and other factors, among them, for instance, the tendency to balance out trade and payments relations on a bilateral basis. But one should also reckon with positive phenomena, such as the further alignment of economic development levels of most CMEA countries, the growing role of engineering in their industrial production, and the gradual reduction of differences in technical standards and product quality.

These changes in external conditions are paralleled by changes in the internal conditions of Czechoslovakia's economy, which are characterised, in particular, by the impact of the limitations of some of the traditional factors of extensive development, namely, the availability of raw materials, energy, and labour resources. Besides, the slowdown in the growth of the overall efficiency of the Czechoslovak economy in the latter half of the 1970s and especially in the early 1980s has also had a telling effect. It was expressed in a decline in labour productivity growth and lower efficiency in the use of fixed assets and materials. We believe that the main reason for that lies in the unsatisfactory renewal of production capacities, and the insufficiently fast pace at which scientific and technical achievements are applied in production. In order to balance out Czechoslovakia's economy, we deliberately decided in 1981 and 1982 to relax the dynamic of national income and material production growth, while simultaneously creating the prerequisites for allowing the Czechoslovak economy to adapt to the new conditions at a faster pace and on the necessary scale, so that the measures designed for intensification should be put through in all the units of the economic mechanism and the reproduction process as a whole.

The correctness of our conceptions for the Seventh Five-Year Plan has been borne out by subsequent developments. In 1983, Czechoslovakia's national income went up by 2.7 per cent, and industrial output by 3 per cent over the previous year. Positive results were also achieved in 1984. It is highly important that the trend towards more efficient economic management, especially in industry, and the reduction of overall, notably material, inputs has assumed clearcut outlines.

The country is advancing along what is undoubtedly the right course, but our economy does not yet fully meet the criteria of predominantly intensive development. We are still at the very beginning of the way, but we are aware that we cannot afford to be late in any sector because the constant acceleration of scientific, technical and economic progress is one of the most characteristic features of our day, and the world will not wait for us to catch up.

We are aware that economic intensification is a complicated and long-term process, calling for a totally new approach to the problem of increasing national income, because its dynamic has to be ensured at lower cost, through more efficient use of all the economic components. The new approach also means that the creation of national income must meet the requirements of the highest social usefulness, that is, production must satisfy the consumers' high demands, without material stocks and inventories constituting an excessively high proportion of the annual volume of national income.

It is logical that intensification is connected above all with the development of science and technology and the extensive application of their achievements in the national economy. Accordingly, the Eighth Plenary Meeting of the CPCz CC (June 1983) stressed the need to concentrate all efforts and resources on the crucial lines of scientific and technical progress which are highly important from the standpoint of the social perspectives, progressive changes in the structure of the national economy and a substantive rise in its technical standards. These tasks can and must, of course, be tackled only together with the other socialist states.

We find that the development of external conditions and their interaction with internal economic conditions has already caused a definite need for predominantly intensive economic development, but its importance is dictated mainly by the high level attained by the society's productive forces and the tasks in further boosting them, both in Czechoslovakia and in all the other CMEA countries. It was emphasised at the CPSU CC Plenary Meeting in June 1983 that 'in our social development we have now reached a historical frontier at which profound qualitative changes in the productive forces and a corresponding perfection of the relations of production have not simply matured, but have become inevitable'.

It follows from the foregoing that in order to deepen cooperation within the CMEA framework there is a need to promote the development of the productive forces in the individual CMEA countries even more effectively. It is also important to tap the reserves and spotlight any shortcomings within the system of socialist economic integration and steadily to improve the mechanism for directing it.

These demands were met by the decisions of the CMEA's Moscow economic summit in June 1984. Czechoslovakia was actively involved in its preparation, and backed the proposals aimed to deepen economic policy coordination, which has a key role in further perfecting integration processes and bears primarily on all the spheres relating to mutual cooperation. The countries concerned will, in addition, coordinate all their activity in other areas of the economy on the scale they deem to be necessary.

Economic policy coordination viewed in that light creates the conditions for collective elaboration of ways to tackle long-term economic problems which are of common interest and also for the joint definition of ways for direct cooperation in science, technology, production and capital construction.

Coordination of national economic plans continues to be the main instrument for economic policy coordination, but elements of a totally new approach will be manifested here even in the 1986-1990 period in what relates, for instance, to close interconnection of economic, scientific and technical cooperation, designation of projects on which joint work will run beyond the year 1990, and also consultations on the guidelines for economic and social development until 1995.

We intend to coordinate capital investments in areas of common interest so as to cut labour costs, use investments more purposefully, and make the individual countries' production complexes more complementary to each other. This means above all capital investments having a substantial impact on the improvement of the structure of production, raising its technical standards and expanding export potentialities. Coordination will also involve investments in the extraction of mineral and fuel raw materials, power generation and joint construction projects.

The Moscow summit decisions concerning the new level of cooperation in planning fully meet our present requirements. We are now working on the eighth five-year plan and on a long-term projection of Czechoslovakia's economic and social development from 1986 to 1995. While coordinating our plans with those of other CMEA countries, we want to agree on the basic proportions and structure of our mutual trade and on the areas of our production cooperation. It is structural policy that needs to be concerted above all within the framework of integration processes, because it can be actively realised only through extended effective specialisation and cooperation of production, establishment of joint enterprises, and so on. That would help to outline the optimal contours of our participation within the overall international socialist division of labour system, and enable Czechoslovakia to make an even greater contribution to it.

The initial results of the efforts to realise the economic summit decisions were considered at the CMEA's 39th session held in Havana, the capital of Cuba, in October 1984. At the session we expressed the view that, for all the difficulties caused by the present political and economic situation in the world, the material and

technical basis for the fraternal countries' cooperation is being consolidated, and that there is a need for more consistent and flexible cooperation in the key spheres that are of crucial importance for the dynamic development of our integration and the economic progress of each CMEA country.

We regard the development of production cooperation and the establishment of direct ties between associations, enterprises and organisations as a highly significant element in improving the economic mechanism of cooperation. When realising such forms of cooperation, the corresponding conditions need to be created for the juridical backup of direct economic relations and for the elaboration of their overall structure, something to bear in mind when further improving the national economic system of planning and administration. More attention needs obviously to be given to creating an atmosphere for the activity of associations and enterprises that would enhance their responsibility, while giving more room for initiative. At the same time, we believe that it is important to do more to stimulate the interest of enterprises in broader involvement in socialist integration. The development of direct relations does, of course, also require a gradual removal of the differences in the national systems of economic administration which are still a constraint on the improvement of our cooperation. That is why we support the urge to make the structures of the CMEA countries' economic mechanisms more akin to each other.

Scientific and technical progress is ever more manifestly acquiring an integration character, and it now has the chief role to play in the economic policy of all the fraternal states, which have a large scientific and technical potential and roughly one-third of the world's researchers. The primary task in which we all have a stake is to make effective and comprehensive use of the potentialities of jointly regulated cooperation in this area, and to work for the complex improvement of all the elements of the cycle: research—production—marketing—application.

Here, Czechoslovakia is well placed to make a contribution to the common effort. In 1983, our research, development and production organisations were involved in fulfilling over 2,800 assignments under multilateral and bilateral CMEA agreements. Czechoslovakia has delivered to other CMEA countries 3,622 sets of scientific and technical documentation and has sold 18 licences. In 1983 alone, such partnership gave us an income of 1.2 billion crowns.

We still have difficult problems to cope with in scientific and technical development, and that cannot be done without cooperation with the fraternal countries. The buildup of the material and technical basis of mature socialism calls for joint efforts in the creation of new industries (electronics, micro-processors, robotics, and biotechnology). Current practice is also aimed to deepen our mutual ties in the fabrication of computer hardware, equipment for nuclear-power plants, and for the chemical and petrochemical industries, modern means of transit, and high quality foods and consumer goods.

In order to accelerate scientific and technical progress, the CMEA countries agreed at their Moscow summit on jointly framing a Complex Programme in this area for a period of 15-20 years to provide the groundwork for the CMEA countries' coordinated, and in some areas common, scientific and technical policy. This year the programme is to be put before the CMEA's supreme body for its consideration. It has been agreed that the programme will range over the problems of the fuel and energy complex, the extraction and processing of mineral raw materials, engineering, agriculture and food production, forestry, building, transport, consumer durables, medicine, public health, protection and improvement of the habitat.

Czechoslovakia will be actively involved in the coordinated scientific and technical policy, so as to create the prerequisites for the necessary specialisation of its own research and development potential and simultaneously for the optimal concentration of effort on the key national economic tasks.

The advance of intensification is an inducement to further steps in integrating the fuel and power complex, together with the tapping of one's own reserves. It is a great boon for Czechoslovakia to be able largely to rely on Soviet deliveries in the future as well for it gives us great confidence and provides a reliable basis for sustained economic progress.

Writing on the results of the economic summit, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Nikolai Tikhonov noted that over the next five years the Soviet Union intends to increase its natural gas and electric power exports to the fraternal countries. In this context, a proposal was made for the joint construction of a new gas pipeline from Western Siberia to carry 20-22 billion cub.m. of gas, and it would naturally help to extend the gasification of Czechoslovakia's economy and improve the structure of our fuel consumption.

We are fully aware that if the present level of fuel extraction and development of new deposits in the USSR is to be maintained, sizable capital investments, material resources and foreign-exchange funds have to be marshalled. Conditions for satisfying Soviet demand for Czechoslovak engineering products, consumer goods, foodstuffs and high-quality structural materials over the forthcoming five-year period—all in the necessary quantities and range—are being created in Czechoslovakia's national economy in accordance with its potentialities. We plan to take part in building joint facilities for the extraction of raw materials on the territory of the USSR, for remodelling Soviet light-industry enterprises, and so on.

We are simultaneously striving for the utmost economies in fuel, energy and raw materials by remodelling our enterprises and applying scientific and technical achievements. We seek to tackle all these problems in a complex by implementing programmes for the rational use of energy and raw materials, which is why we are also most interested in cooperating with other members of the community in this field.

The CMEA countries attach much importance to developing the nuclear-power industry and making fuller use of all the energy sources, including new and unconventional ones. Agreement has been reached on the joint elaboration of a programme for building nuclear electric-and-heat generating plants until the year 2000.

In Czechoslovakia, nuclear power is to determine the restructuring of the fuel-and-energy complex over a long term. We have already concluded intergovernmental agreements with the USSR on cooperation in building 12 nuclear blocks with 440 MW water-cooled reactors and 4 blocks with 1,000 MW reactors. Equipment for these nuclear-power plants is to be supplied under a multilateral intergovernmental agreement among the CMEA countries. Our most difficult problem is that the building of the nuclear-power plants is being delayed, which is why we need to seek other ways to speed up their construction and make it more efficient.

All the fraternal countries also concentrate their attention on the complex solution of the food problem, and this was once again borne out at the economic summit in Moscow.

Considerable successes in fulfilling the Complex Programme for Socialist Integration and the Long-Term Goal-Oriented Programme for Cooperation in Agriculture and the Food Industry adopted in 1978 have been achieved over the past several years. Czechoslovakia's multilateral and bilateral ties with other community members have enabled it to use new grades of seed, to obtain the seeds of cereals and certain other protein-rich feed crops, and also to keep highly productive breeds of cattle, introduce new and more effective technologies in the processing of agricultural raw materials, etc. Under a multilateral agreement, our country is taking part in building the Mozyr nutrient-yeast plant in Byelorussia (USSR) with the prospect of annually importing 20,000 tons of the valuable product every year after 1985.

The multilateral agreement on specialisation in the production of seeds, hybrids

and seedlings for agricultural plants is highly important in raising the level of our agriculture. The CMEA countries are engaged in the exchange of seeds and seedlings of 45 species of plants. Czechoslovakia traditionally imports the seeds of the best strains of wheat, and exports the seeds of barley, oats, peas and certain other vegetables.

The priority lines in cooperation for improving the agro-industrial complex include increasing food output through the introduction of new progressive technologies; building up and improving the material and technical facilities in agriculture and the food industry; and steadily expanding mutual deliveries of top quality foodstuffs in order to improve food supplies and diet structures at home.

The Food Programme, adopted by the CPSU CC and the USSR Council of Ministers in 1982, is highly important not only for the Soviet Union's agriculture and food industry, but also for food production throughout the community. In line with the concrete Soviet proposals under the programme, we plan to take part in remodelling existing and building new enterprises in the processing industry in the USSR, in return for greater deliveries of some types of farm machinery and mineral fertilisers from the Soviet Union. Cooperation in the manufacture of plant protectors, preservatives, etc., is also to be expanded.

The Moscow summit mapped out a concrete programme of further action to meet the current and long-term requirements of the fraternal countries' economic development, and all the measures being adopted are complex and mutually tied in. Apart from these lines of our cooperation, the strategy of socialist integration also ranges over all the other spheres of the national economy.

The Presidium of the CPCz CC and the Federal Government of Czechoslovakia gave a high appreciation of the results of the Moscow economic summit, whose decisions increase the demands on all the elements of the Czechoslovak economy, on the whole process of reproduction, and the entire system of administration and management. In saying so, we are aware of the importance of sharing the common responsibility for consolidating the CMEA's economic potential. The utmost account should now be taken of the main summit decisions in the national-economic plan coordination for the 1986-1990 period and the final drafting of these plans. We believe that the proposals and mooted measures should envisage a sufficiently high technical level, that they should make economic sense and promote the growth of labour productivity and the development of the productive forces in each country and in the socialist community as a whole.

Given the CMEA countries' close economic ties with each other, the economic progress of each and the possibility of satisfying their various requirements increasingly depend on the economic development of the other partners and of the whole community. That is why there is a need to coordinate the fraternal countries' economic policy, whose most essential feature is their common economic strategy for the immediate future.

Our community is faced with responsible tasks, and socialism, as a social system, has everything necessary for their successful fulfilment. The community's forces, however, can be set in motion only by means of conscious scientifically-grounded activity, in this case, the coordinated political activity of the ruling communist and workers' parties. That is why the participants in the Moscow summit decided to hold regular meetings on the level of the highest party and state leadership to coordinate the fundamental lines of the CMEA countries' economic strategy over the long term.

The fraternal states have been acting in the light of their historical experience, which confirms that the effectiveness of their foreign policy, and especially the preservation of world peace, depends on the socialist community's economic might and defence capability, and its growing unity. The military equilibrium between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO makes it impossible for imperialism to realise its

militaristic, political and economic schemes, and is the bar to its attempts to establish world domination and to bend the developing countries to its will. The socialist states strive tirelessly to maintain the military-strategic equilibrium between the two systems, and regard it as their great achievement, in which economics is, of course, of prime importance. Absorbing as it does all the scientific and technical advances, economics will be paramount in resolving the basic contradictions of our epoch, the contradiction between socialism and capitalism.

The current and long-term practical tasks also make great demands on the development of the political economy of socialism, and here the problems of socialist economic integration and the new external economic relations as a whole are of especial importance. The creative conclusions drawn by economic science should be based on a view of these relations which reckons with their functions in saving social labour and the role of integration as a continual process of intensification of socialist economic development on an international scale. We feel that there is a need above all to concentrate the attention of our theoretical cadres on showing the specifics of the economic relations between the fraternal socialist countries. Of much interest is the elaboration of various aspects of commodity-value and its creation under socialist property within the framework both of the national economy and of the whole community. It is essential to formulate the problems of efficiency in the international socialist division of labour. Among the theoretical tasks is a summing-up of the fraternal countries' experience relating, for instance, to administration and planning systems, for such research would help to formulate concrete and well-grounded proposals for bringing the economic-mechanism structures closer together, a sphere to which the fraternal countries' theoretical potential should be applied more efficiently and jointly.

As our society advances, it is most imperative to comprehend the gist of the contradictions in its economy, which are known to be non-antagonistic, and to show the causes for which they originate and the possibilities for resolving them. It follows from the fundamental principles of dialectics that relations of production and economic uniformities without contradictions simply do not exist. The conscious resolution of non-antagonistic contradictions inherent in the very nature of socialism acts as the motive force of social progress. I should like to illustrate this by indicating the contradictions which are determined by shortcomings in our economic work, such as the unwarranted dispersal of funds, the excessive growth of inventories, and the discrepancy between the mass of goods and the incomes of the population. The resolution of these contradictions is a task both economic and political.

The Moscow summit demonstrated the fraternal countries' unity and their resolve to work out and realise a long-term strategy for perfecting their cooperation. The summit documents and overall outcome confirm beyond a doubt that the communist and workers' parties of the socialist states are fully aware of their historical responsibility for solving the vital problems of socio-economic development, both those facing the socialist community and mankind as a whole, and for the preservation of world peace.

That is why the CMEA countries, displaying concern to strengthen and invigorate their relations, also reaffirmed their interest in mutually advantageous ties with developing and industrialised capitalist countries in a spirit of respect for the partners' rights and interests. In so doing, the fraternal countries intend to go on abiding by the principles of justice and equality. The socialist community counters the policy of discrimination, threats and armed aggressions, as practised under the imperialist line of the United States and its allies, with its own urge for cooperation, which helps to strengthen the cause of peace and ameliorate international economic relations.

¹ Klement Gottwald, *Spisy*, Vol. XIII, Prague, 1957, p. 114.

² *Sborník hlavních dokumentů XVI. sjezdu Komunistické Strany Československa*, Prague, 1981, p. 24.

The Europe We Are Fighting For

René Urbany – Chairman, Communist Party of Luxembourg

PEOPLE in all countries are concerned over today's European developments. The future of all mankind will depend to a great degree on what path Europe chooses. The deployment of the new US nuclear missiles on European soil and the consequent aggravation of international tensions again demonstrate the importance of events in Europe for all nations.

Here, in Europe, many fundamental issues of social development, of the struggle for peace and social progress are acute and pressing problems. Here is where socialist and capitalist countries face each other directly, here is where the two biggest military and political alliances confront each other. Here is where broad social movements emerge and pitched class battles are being fought.

This year, the 40th anniversary of the conclusion of World War II and of victory over fascism reminds us of the incalculable losses the nations of Europe suffered in their struggle for liberation from the Nazi plague; the tenth anniversary of the Helsinki Conference also has a message for us, stressing the need to search tirelessly for ways to strengthen peace and promote international cooperation and telling us that these objectives can indeed be attained. At the same time, the deterioration of the international situation and the resurgence of a number of political currents which pose a threat to Europe show how arduous this path is, how much must be done to realise the hopes of millions of people.

Of foremost significance for Europe's historical prospects and for the future of her nations is an answer to the question of which ideas and principles will underlie politics and international relations in the Old World, which approach to European affairs will prevail. Will it be the broad and farsighted approach which proceeds from the aspirations of the popular masses and is permeated with concern for the interests of all nations, or will it be a course shaped by the self-serving and near-sighted schemes of certain small but influential socio-political groups. Recent developments have highlighted the dangerous fallacy of the latter.

You can hardly hear the word 'Europe' used anywhere as often as it is in Luxembourg. There is the so-called European Centre with its buildings of the European Parliament and its Secretariat, the European Court of Justice, the various services of the Commission of European Communities, the European Investment Bank and the European Computer Centre. The more than 100 big banks with offices in our country perform financial transactions in 'Euromarkets'. Luxembourg's radio and television produce 'European programmes' aimed at audiences far from our national borders.

In short, Luxembourg lays claim to the role of the 'capital of Europe', of its administrative, political and financial centre. During the elections to the Europarlament held in June 1984 the press said that this Europe numbered 270 million people and was an important focus of political, economic and military power.

The proper question here is, what kind of 'Europe' is that? After all, any textbook on geography will tell us that this part of the world has a population of 700 million, that it comprises over thirty sovereign states and that it lies between the Atlantic in the West and the Urals in the East. Why then is the word 'Europe' used to denote only part of the continent which has borne this name since ancient times?

Obviously, here we are dealing with a special, unusual sort of political geography. The semantic shift in the concept of 'Europe' is no accident, it is not a slip of the tongue or a case of linguistic license. It pursues far-reaching political and ideological goals.

Aside from economic imperatives and the need to expand markets, those who advocate unification of West European countries and the gradual merger—first in economic and then in political terms—into a single entity named 'Europe' also cite common 'European' traditions. They pose as the heirs to and guardians of 'European' ideals, of the values of 'European' civilisation, culture and the like. They also claim that Western Europe is where these ideals and values are translated into reality. West European countries are presented as members of a 'single, common family'. The other half of Europe is anathemised and rejected as an alien entity.

However, those who make these claims fail to admit that 'European' traditions and values are by no means homogeneous.

Two traditions, born of the struggle between the oppressed and the oppressors, the exploited and the exploiters, have left their mark on European history. If we confine ourselves to the 19th and 20th centuries, these have been the traditions of the struggle of, on the one hand, the proletariat for its social emancipation and, on the other, of the bourgeoisie for preserving its domination and privileges. In the course of this struggle, democratic and progressive and anti-popular and reactionary ideas and forces clashed and confronted each other. The ideals of the emancipation of labour, of social justice, socialism, peace and brotherhood among nations were at one pole; at the other were the 'values' of pursuit of profit, capitalist exploitation, colonial robbery and imperialist wars. There was the First International and the police persecution of its members throughout Europe. There was the Paris Commune and the Versailles terror. There was the Great October Socialist Revolution and the intervention of the Entente. And, turning to the experience of the current generation, there were the atrocities of fascism and the ideals of the anti-fascist struggle.

Events which differed in their historical meaning occurred in Europe, reflecting the aspirations and objectives of different class forces. And so, the latter-day builders of 'Europe' are heirs not to all her traditions but only to some of them; they uphold not generally 'European' values but the values of the bourgeoisie. By invoking 'European' ideals, these people would like to disguise the fact that their 'Europe' is a product of the monopolies, of narrow class interests.

As the 23rd Congress of our party noted in 1980, 'the processes under way in the so-called European Community increasingly bear out our view that capitalist integration is nothing but concentration of big monopoly power and is aimed against the interests of working people in West European countries. Within the framework of this community, the multinationals have consolidated their domination and exacerbated the exploitation of working people. The contradictions and crises of the capitalist system have been raised to a higher level . . .'

Indeed, today's 'Europe of trusts' is a vivid illustration of the sway of big capital. The results of its activities have nothing in common with the vistas advertised so much by the founders of the Common Market 30 years ago.

Instead of the promised prosperity, this 'Europe' is wrecked by crisis after crisis. Whole sectors of the economy are doomed to slumps and decline. Unemployment has reached catastrophic proportions. In 1984 there were over 13 million 'redundant' workers in the European Economic Community (EEC) countries. Within the next few years, employment is expected to diminish even further.

The drop in the growth rates and the depression of the West European economy demonstrate that those who clamour loudest about 'Europe' are the last to be concerned over the interests of its peoples. After all, one of the reasons why West European industry is marking time and lagging behind others is that investment is being reduced, that the owners of big capital refuse to commit their money to industrial development. According to EEC Economic and Social Committee figures published in July 1984, net capital investment in the Community has been almost

halved over the past ten years. At the same time, the 'capital drain' away from Europe across the Atlantic has assumed staggering proportions. Many West European high finance interests prefer to transfer their money to the United States where higher interest rates promise greater profits. This graphically illustrates the idea that capital has no country of its own or, rather, that its home is where the gain is greatest. The barons of industry and finance need 'Europe' only inasmuch as it is possible to make money there. The moment the conditions deteriorate, their national and 'European' patriotism evaporates.

For a small country like Luxembourg, the rampage of the monopolies in 'united' Europe has been a veritable calamity. Our people's interests have been sacrificed to the self-seeking greed of the transnationals. The country's basic economic structures have been undermined. Shutdowns in the steel industry, the lifeblood of the Grand Duchy, has cut the number of those employed in it in half over the past years. The people's purchasing power has diminished considerably. According to the Economic and Social Council, 25 per cent of the population of our 'affluent' country are either 'poor' or approaching this status.

Such is the price working people have to pay for the 'European' ambitions of those who inspired the Common Market.

This undermining of the economy is closely connected with the restrictions placed on the country's sovereignty, with the moves to deprive our people of the right to manage their own affairs themselves and with the increasingly 'supranational' character of the EEC governing bodies. The new plans of the 'Europeanists' go even further in that direction. The draft treaty on a 'European Union' adopted by the European Parliament in February 1984 and providing for much broader powers available to it—up to the passing of laws mandatory for all members of the Community—threatens to erode their sovereignty even more.

These prospects and pernicious consequences of EEC activities give rise to growing dissatisfaction and protests on the part of large segments of the population. This was clear from the results of the elections to the Europarlament. Taking part were less than 60 per cent of the EEC electorate, the rest preferring to stay away from the polling stations. (Although voting is mandatory in Luxembourg, many people either refrained from it or dropped blank ballots into the box.) Gaston Thorn, representative of Luxembourg in the Commission of European Communities which he used to chair, admitted that the results of the elections were 'catastrophic'. By abstaining en masse, he said, the electorate demonstrated explicitly their lack of confidence in the European Community as a whole.

Many other observers share this view. 'The voters, whether they did or did not vote,' wrote *Le Monde diplomatique*, 'know that if the Community, even with the new Parliament, continues along the same road, there will soon be another several million unemployed in it, irrespective of who holds the majority in this or that country.' Leading to economic deterioration and a growing dependence on the United States, this course could result in a 'Latin American situation' in Europe.²

Such prospects have nothing in common with the interests of West European peoples. Today, when the transnationals arrogate the right to shape these peoples' future and regard all Western Europe as their preserve, defence of national independence and sovereignty becomes a priority issue.

Upholding national interests, we Communists act simultaneously both in the interests of the national working class and in the interests of a Europe in which working people could be masters of their own destiny. We emphasise that unification of the bourgeoisie should be opposed by the solidarity of working people.

As the 24th Congress of our party noted in 1984, 'when we defend the steel industry of Luxembourg against the "transnational" and "supranational" schemes of the European monopoly bourgeoisie, we never lose sight of genuine European

solidarity. We displayed this solidarity when the Walfil workers from Liege came to Esch to demonstrate together with Luxembourg workers. This solidarity unites us with the Saar steel workers . . . with the workers of Lorraine. There is the true "European community" which meets the interests of our country for it embodies the joint aspirations of workers!"³

Together with the working people of neighbouring countries—Belgium, France, the FRG and other West European nations—we strive to organise joint resistance to the monopoly onslaught.

This is how our party articulated its position of principle in this matter in the programme drawn up for the elections to the European Parliament: 'The Communists do not oppose European cooperation which meets the economic needs of the day. Capitalist integration within the EEC framework is, although at variance with our views, a reality which must be taken into account. It is imperative for different countries of the Community and for the European Parliament to offer broader resistance to the policy which is turning our countries into a playground for big multinational companies and which fails to ensure a future for the economy and protection of the social and democratic rights of working people.'⁴

The Communist Party of Luxembourg emphasises that today preservation of peace is the foremost factor of success and the fundamental basis of the struggle for these rights. And here we encounter other aspects of 'Europeanism' which we firmly reject and against which we protest. Some of its 'traditions' pose a grave threat to peace in Europe and the world.

Entering 1985, the 40th year since the victory over fascism, it would be appropriate to recall that the nazis made wide use of 'European' slogans to mask their true aims, to prepare and launch their aggression. Hatching their infamous plots to subjugate nations, they posed as 'saviours' of Europe from communism, as champions of 'European civilisation', etc. This rhetoric evoked a favourable response from the reactionary quarters of other capitalist countries and from anti-Soviet and anti-communist figures. In a talk with Hitler on November 19, 1937, shortly before the Munich deal, Edward Halifax, Lord-President of the Council of Great Britain and personal envoy of Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, said that British-German understanding 'would be of tremendous importance not only for both nations but also for all of European civilisation'. He said members of the British cabinet were 'well aware that the Fuehrer has accomplished a great deal not only in Germany itself but has, by destroying it in his country, barred communism from Western Europe; therefore Germany has every right to consider herself a Western bulwark against Bolshevism'.⁵

When Hitler's troops were overrunning one European nation after another, the henchmen of fascism extolled the 'civilising mission' of nazi Germany. In our country, which was languishing under the nazi yoke, several representatives of the big bourgeoisie who collaborated with the invaders obsequiously asked Hitler, in a letter they sent him on August 1, 1940, to find them a place in a 'new European order' and expressed the hope that a solution for Luxembourg would also be found 'in the course of the forthcoming rebirth of Europe'.⁶

Propaganda about 'saving Europe' was also used as a smokescreen to justify Hitler's aggression against the USSR. On June 22, 1941, the day the nazi troops crossed into the Soviet Union, the newspaper *Escher Tageblatt*, at that time controlled by the nazis and collaborationists, declared that 'the Soviets have betrayed Europe', and published the infamous 'Appeal of the Fuehrer to the German People' which claimed that Moscow 'is trying to set fire not only to Germany but also to all of Europe', that Soviet leaders 'have tried incessantly to impose their domination on us and on other European nations'.⁷

Obviously, the latter-day authors of the 'Soviet threat' myth have invented nothing

new.

In those grim years of fascist oppression, the fighters against nazi tyranny were dreaming of a different Europe—a Europe of freedom and democracy in which the aspirations and vital interests of the masses would be met, a Europe of comprehensive and equal cooperation among all nations of the continent in the name of peace and progress. That was the Europe for which millions who fought in the armies of the anti-nazi coalition and in the anti-fascist Resistance shed their blood. The decisions of the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences charted the outlines of a post-war organisation which was consonant with those aspirations and hopes.

However, the far-reaching social transformations which occurred in East European countries after the war, the introduction of the socialist system there, and the world-wide upsurge of democratic, liberation movements, an upsurge born of the collapse of fascism, incensed the imperialist forces. Having launched a cold war against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, these forces did their utmost to divide Europe against itself. The signing of the North Atlantic pact in 1949 was a decisive step along this road.

Significantly, 'European' ideas became closely intertwined with 'Atlantic' concepts. Talk about a 'European-Atlantic' culture and a single 'Western' civilisation was, on the one hand, designed to disguise the anti-socialist and anti-Soviet thrust of the Atlantic policy which was rooted in class interests and, on the other, to justify the submission of West European countries to the United States. One led to the other, and both remain indivisible to this day.

Today, some advocates of 'Europeanism' delight in showing off their intention to ensure Europe's 'independence' both of the Soviet Union and of the United States, to present it as a 'third force' in world affairs.

No doubt, the contradictions dividing Western Europe and the United States are quite acute and important. Relying on its technological, economic, financial and military power, the United States is fighting ruthlessly against its capitalist competitors.

Nevertheless, for all the sharpness of the contradictions between the United States and West European countries, we see influential interests among the Old World ruling quarters yield to the pressure of their overseas partner and generally follow its political lead.

Again, those who clamour loudest about 'Europe' as a distinctive and autonomous force actually push West European countries to lose their distinctive qualities and independence and embark on a course threatening their very survival.

The people of the Common Market countries were long exhorted to sacrifice their national aspirations in the interests of 'building up Europe'; today it turns out that even the common aspirations of West European peoples are burned on the altar of 'Atlantic solidarity', or, more precisely, are sacrificed to the strategy pursued by the more aggressive and reactionary quarters of US imperialism.

Instead of promoting cooperation with the other half of Europe, our countries are being drawn into a policy of military confrontation, financial, economic and other 'sanctions', psychological warfare and an anti-Soviet 'crusade'. Again as in the past it turns out that 'defence' of Western Europe against the alleged 'menace from the East' in fact not only threatens her subjugation by its self-styled 'defenders' but also entails the risk that she will become a bridgehead of aggression and war.

It is not Europeans who need the new US nuclear missiles being deployed in several West European countries: it is those who would like to 'roll back' and, if possible, completely destroy socialism, to secure for themselves 'positions of strength' in the confrontation with the USSR and the other socialist countries.

Among the sophistries marshalled to justify this reckless step, 'Europeanist' arguments feature prominently. It is claimed, for example, that the new missiles will rally West European countries together around a 'common responsibility', that this

enhances the interdependence between these countries and the United States in matters of security, assuring peace for the nations of the Old World.

Nothing can be further from the truth than such assertions. Rather, the 'common responsibility' looks like the complicity binding together those who are planning a crime. By deploying its missiles in Western Europe, the United States merely ties her more securely to its political course and turns her into a springboard for aggressive plans.

Today, some West European politicians express concern over the fact that American 'guarantees' to Western Europe are growing less reliable and, specifically, that Washington's plan to create a space-based missile defence system may lead the United States to 'isolate' or 'dissociate' its security from that of Western Europe.

However, these arguments proceed from fallacious precepts. The underlying assumption is still the adage about the 'threat from the East' against which one must defend oneself. In actual fact, however, the mortal danger is not that the United States may refuse to 'defend' Western Europe but that it may involve its allies into a devastating war. And, if one does refer in this connection to the US plans for a space-based 'anti-missile shield', they do indeed sharply increase the risks for the European members of NATO. Relying on this 'shield' to keep them safe, Pentagon strategists could more readily plunge into reckless ventures and activate their schemes for a 'limited' or 'sustained' nuclear conflict. That would make Europe into a 'forward-based battleground', a 'theatre of operations', as the NATO military put it.

Citing the questionable nature of the US 'guarantees' concerning the defence of Western Europe, some bourgeois politicians are again peddling the idea of a 'European defence community' and trying to revive the West European Union⁸ (WEU) which was created as far back as 1955 but which was later eclipsed by the activities of NATO.

An important step in this revival was the June 1984 lifting of the last limitations imposed on the West German manufacture of offensive armaments thirty years ago, at the time the WEU was established. Having now secured the right to produce strategic bombers and long-range missiles, the FRG, already possessing the strongest conventional army among NATO's European members, is increasingly asserting its role as the bloc's main striking force in Western Europe.

If one considers the rise of revanchism in the Federal Republic, it becomes clear that the moves in question are not at all defensive but aggressive. It is a new challenge to the champions of peace on the eve of the 40th anniversary of the defeat of Nazi Germany; some quarters would like to consign the lessons of this defeat to oblivion and to cancel its results. A new impetus has been given to the arms race and to the militarisation of Western Europe.

Does this mean that the strengthening of the West European focus of military power makes us less dependent on the United States and our peoples more secure? No, this is simply a way of consolidating the 'European foundation' of the North Atlantic bloc and supporting the United States' military efforts.

Today the warning made at the 1974 Brussels Conference of Communist and Workers' parties of Western Europe remains fully valid and becomes even more topical. At that time they warned that 'The creation of a new West European military organisation, linked in any case with NATO and directed against socialism, would run counter to the advances in international detente, European security and disarmament which are the order of the day, and would burden the peoples of the member countries with great expenditures. Far from assuring European independence, it would exacerbate the peoples' subjugation by the United States.'⁹

No, the way toward greater security and durable peace in Europe, toward the possibility of swifter socio-economic development and progress lies elsewhere. It is not the fomenting of hostility and hatred among nations, not the 'positions of strength' policy, not nuclear threats and blackmail, not attempts to 'revise' the results

of World War II and of the victory over fascism. It is detente, disarmament, the strengthening of mutual trust, peaceful cooperation, and the expansion of trade, of scientific, technological, cultural, athletic and humanitarian exchanges and of joint moves in environmental protection—these are the instruments of really 'building up Europe'. It is not the intensification of the confrontation and military opposition between the two parts of Europe, but efforts to overcome its division into the opposite military blocs—this is the way to be followed.

This path has been mapped out in the well-known bilateral and multilateral international treaties and agreements European nations concluded during the period of detente and, above all, in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

We know that at various international forums, numerous constructive proposals have been made, designed to ease military rivalry on our continent and promote all-European cooperation. For example, at the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures, Security and Disarmament in Europe the socialist countries proposed that the conference participants possessing nuclear weapons pledge not to be the first to use them (the way the Soviet Union did) and that the NATO and the Warsaw Treaty countries conclude a Treaty on the Mutual Non-Use of Armed Force and the Maintenance of Peaceful Relations. There have also been proposals of cuts in military spending, of freeing Europe from chemical weapons, of nuclear-free zones in different parts of the continent, of limitations on the scale of military exercises, etc. Important initiatives have been advanced by a number of neutral and non-aligned countries. In other words, there is no shortage of ideas which, if implemented, would make it possible to improve the international situation; there is, however, the lack of good will and readiness on the part of NATO countries with regard to cooperation.

When one ponders why the peace initiatives aimed at returning to detente fail to secure support among certain quarters of capitalist Europe and are systematically rejected, one is led to conclude that these quarters still plot territorial and social revenge. They still hope that by using force they would manage to impede and perhaps even end the development of socialism, cancel its historic gains and, at the same time, affect social processes in bourgeois countries, prevent social progress and the emancipation of working people from oppressive exploitation. This logic of militant anti-communism and anti-socialism has been expressed in the slogan 'Better Dead than Red', proclaimed by the more ardent champions of NATO. The objective is to have people believe that the threat to capitalist society (or to the much-publicised 'Atlantic', 'European' or 'Western' values) emanates not from within, from the social injustice and class contradictions inherent in this society but from without—from the East, the South or somewhere else. Thus the fraudulent cry of 'Soviet military threat' is used not only to step up war preparations but also to combat progressive forces, launch anti-communist campaigns and suppress democracy.

Naturally, one must not lose sight of the fact that there are countries of two different social systems in Europe, that it is through Europe that the actual dividing line between two worlds—socialist and capitalist—runs. However, this does not rule out peaceful and friendly relations between countries on both sides of the line.

The ideas of peaceful coexistence proclaimed by the socialist countries and serving as the basis of their foreign policy provide everything that is necessary for it. This policy is supported by the realistically-minded spokesmen of the bourgeoisie and by democratic and progressive forces in Europe.

As concerns the Communists of European countries, their position is well known. At the 1976 Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties which discussed the struggle for peace, security, cooperation and social progress in Europe, at the 1980 Paris Meeting of European Communist and Workers' Parties which adopted the Communist Appeal to European Nations for Peace and Disarmament,

the Communist parties expressed their determination to fight for the implementation of all provisions of the Helsinki Final Act, for deepening*and promoting peaceful and friendly relations among the peoples of Europe.

The communist parties advocate a Europe in which working people would have the decisive vote, in which all socio-economic and political processes would serve their interests, in which each nation would enjoy its right to independence and social progress in peace and security.

Working to achieve these goals, the Communists are striving for the unity and concerted action of all democratic and peace forces. This unity is especially imperative today, when the reactionaries are on the offensive and the imperialist quarters are trying to coordinate their operations on the regional and global levels. We believe that in this context it would be useful to consider efforts to prepare and organise, at an appropriate time, a new meeting of the communist and workers' parties of Europe or, better still, of the entire world so as to jointly discuss the more important issues of the struggle for peace and social progress, of the way imperialist reaction should be rebuffed.

Many documents of the international communist movement and the decisions of European communist parties' congresses held in recent years tirelessly point to the indelible bond linking the solution of the urgent social problems which face the working class and all the other working people with the efforts to ensure peace on the continent and remove the war threat. The 24th Congress of our party noted that 'not international confrontation but only good and friendly intergovernmental political and economic relations with all countries can facilitate the solution of the grave socio-economic problems our country encounters'.¹⁰ Peace and security, the Central Committee told the congress in its report, can only be guaranteed by a policy of disarmament and international accord.

However, this simple and self-evident truth is far from universally accepted; it makes headway only by overcoming stiff opposition, for both in Europe and across the Atlantic there are forces whose self-serving, narrow caste interests are connected with the policy of stepping up the arms race and international tensions. To curb these forces, to oppose them with the unity of great masses, of all those who cherish the true wealth and values of the Old World and its very future is essential for building a Europe of peace, international cooperation, democracy and social progress.

¹ 23. Kongress vun der Kommunistischer Partei vu Lëtzebuerg. *Lëtzebuerg-Dummeldéng*. May 31—June 1, 1980, p. 22.

² *Le Monde diplomatique*, July 1984.

³ 24. Kongress vun der Kommunistischer Partei vu Lëtzebuerg. *Esch-Uelzecht*. February 4-5, 1984, p. 32.

⁴ 15 *Virschléi fir Lëtzebuerg*, Luxembourg, 1984, p. 38.

⁵ *Documents et matériaux se rapportant à la veille de la deuxième guerre mondiale*. Archives du Ministère des affaires étrangères d'Allemagne. (Tome 1, novembre 1937-1938), Moscow, 1948, pp. 14-20.

⁶ 1921-1981. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kommunistischen Partei Luxemburgs*. Centre Jean Kill, Luxembourg, pp. 129-130.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

⁸ Comprising Great Britain, France, the FRG, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg.

⁹ See: *L'Humanité*, January 20, 30, 31 and February 1, 1974.

¹⁰ 24. Kongress vun der Kommunistescher Partei vu Lëtzebuerg, p. 21.

Commentary Entering 1985: Time to Choose

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FOLLOWING an old tradition, let us use the coming of the new year as an occasion to reflect on the past, assess the present and try to look into the future—all the more so because the year 1985 gives one ample food for thought. Foremost among its landmarks will be the 40th anniversary of the victory over the most reactionary forces of imperialism, over nazi Germany and militarist Japan—a victory for which the peoples of the anti-nazi coalition paid a price of blood and sweat and which launched the world into new orbits of social progress and national liberation.

The twelve months that have passed and that have spotlighted the major trends of the late 1970s and the first half of the 1980s give rise to many thoughts. Although the alignment of forces existing in the world has enabled mankind to live without a 'big war' for four decades and although it ties the hands of imperialism in the 'small wars' waged against Asian, African and Latin American peoples, the course of human events warns us that the world has entered a highly dangerous period of its history.

The Illusion of Military Superiority

Throughout the past year, the political barometer kept falling, grimly forecasting a storm capable of plunging the world into a deadly 'nuclear winter'.¹ Tremors in the centres of local conflicts could be easily detected without any supersensitive seismographic equipment. And the fluctuations in the political lines of force typical of election clashes in the United States could not deflect the needle of the compass: it pointed to Washington as the source of destabilisation in international affairs.

Let us, in this connection, turn to the military policy pursued by the US Administration. Made public in January 1984, Presidential Directive 119 actually expressed readiness to use nuclear weapons in a first, 'pre-emptive' strike. Proceeding from this guideline, the US ruling quarters are currently thinking not about strategic parity, let alone disarmament, but, in the words of the Republican Party election platform, about ways to 'keep our country stronger than any potential adversary'.

Over the past year, Washington acted at different levels to upset the existing approximate global military parity between the Soviet Union and the United States, between the North Atlantic bloc and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation. Methodical efforts continued to turn Western Europe into a launch pad for first-strike weapons targeted not only on the socialist countries but also on the Middle East, North Africa and the entire Mediterranean. Washington went to great lengths to prepare for militarisation of outer space, including the development of a large-scale anti-ballistic system with space-based elements.

Presented as 'defensive', Reagan's 'space concept' is in fact a component of the strategic offensive complex. With the help of the planned system, Washington would like to secure an ability to deliver a first strike without fear of retaliation which the missiles, lasers and other weapons deployed in advance in orbit around the Earth are designed to 'neutralise'. This means that, transferred to space, the age-old competition between shield and sword, armour and projectile will start a qualitatively

new round of the arms race. As for the US working masses, preparations for 'Star Wars' will force on them new sacrifices to the nuclear Moloch in the name of the illusory 'impenetrable' missile umbrella over 'fortress America'.

Washington continued working hard to rally under its banner its North Atlantic bloc partners. The emphasis was on forcing them, first, to increase their military spending—this time by seven per cent a year—and, second, to accept US strategic precepts. The ruling quarters of the United States' closest allies showed 'understanding' of this course.

The annual conference of Britain's Tories reiterated the policy of deployment of US Tomahawk missiles on the British Isles and approved rearmament of the British submarine fleet with Trident-2 missiles, also provided by the United States. As a result, London's military spending will be 17 billion pounds in fiscal 1984/1985, compared to 3.6 billion ten years ago.

In mid-1984 the Council of the West European Alliance lifted *all* restrictions on West German manufacture of conventional armaments. Seizing this opportunity, the West German government drew up a programme of armed forces development up to the year 2000. This programme stipulates, inter alia, the arming of the Bundeswehr with 'new generation' weapons; this will cost at least one trillion marks.

The motive force behind the acceleration of the imperialists' war preparations is their obsession with stopping the revolutionary renovation of the world and then reversing the march of history. This adventuristic course is spearheaded above all against the Soviet Union and its allies, against the peoples who have broken with capitalism and turned to restructuring their social fabric on a socialist basis. Pressure brought to bear on developing countries assumes increasing importance in the global strategy of imperialism. Nicaragua and El Salvador, the Middle East and the Caribbean, Afghanistan and Angola, Kampuchea and Chad became targets for Washington and its allies. Efforts were intensified to complete the partition of Cyprus by legalising the self-styled 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus'.

A particularly 'fashionable' pretext for combating progressive trends in 1984 was the crusade against 'international terrorism' proclaimed by Reagan. However, fewer and fewer people naively believe that Washington would really like to put an end to hijackings or the killing of innocent hostages. Judging by the statement of US Secretary of State George Schultz who includes, of all things, revenge for national inequality and the organisation of social and political revolutions into the objectives pursued by terrorists, it is clear that revolutionary and democratic movements are the true target of the White House. The US ruling quarters resort to semantic fraud in a bid to justify their own banditry.

Reagan and his ilk gained ground in their diplomatic effort to secure support for their pursuit of military superiority. They even attained a record of sorts: during Ronald Reagan's first term in the White House, the United States did not sign a single accord with the Soviet Union or other socialist countries on limiting the arms race, and blocked completely all talks on these questions. In order to build up armaments, Washington began to openly violate the accords already negotiated, including the vitally important agreements on strategic offensive and defensive armaments. In the political sphere, Reagan questioned the postwar European realities. This, naturally, encouraged a revanchist upsurge in the FRG and Japan.

Having given to the electorate an injection of 'new patriotism', as they euphemistically call unbridled chauvinism in Washington, plus promises of 'prosperity', Reagan was able to keep the keys to the White House. An important factor here was also the peaceful tone of his campaign declarations. Let us not speculate on how Reagan's second term will turn out. One alarming sign should, however, be noted: virtually the next day after the vote had been counted, the US war machine was launched into full gear, clearly threatening aggression against freedom-loving Nicaragua.

Facts prove incontrovertibly that responsibility for pushing the world in 1984 still closer to the brink of nuclear war rests squarely with imperialism, above all with US imperialism. Essentially, this was the conclusion at which the Brussels Tribunal arrived in September 1984. Serving on it were prominent civic activists, political figures, wellknown legal and military experts from industrialised capitalist and developing countries. Having examined all aspects of US foreign policy, they agreed unanimously that 'the Reagan Administration has substituted force for the rule of international law in its conduct of foreign policy around the world. It has thus created a serious threat to the maintenance of international peace and security'. In accordance with the United Nations Charter, the Brussels Tribunal stressed the applicability of enforcement measures to the United States.

Assessing from a class viewpoint the processes under way in the United States and other capitalist countries, Communists maintain that war preparations are a concentrated expression of the imperialist trend towards a repressive policy at home and abroad. Lenin noted that 'both in foreign and home policy imperialism strives towards violations of democracy, towards reaction'.²

Firm Foundations of Peace

Nevertheless, for all the obvious danger existing in international relations at the turn of the year, there are and there can be no grounds for pessimism, for any docile expectation of catastrophe. The imperialist-induced political and military destabilisation is not irreversible. The objective processes which made the switch from the cold war to detente in the late 1960s and early 1970s historically inevitable have not lost their validity in today's world.

The socialist community is the main dam which stems the militarist tide. Drawing on the community of their ultimate goals, on their broadening and deepening economic integration, on the Warsaw Treaty Organisation as the military and political mechanism which ensures the security of socialism and defends world peace, the socialist countries jointly elaborate their foreign policy and work vigorously for its realisation.

Participants in the June 1984 CMEA Economic Summit expressed profound concern over the increase of the war threat and stated that 'today there is no task more important than that of safeguarding world peace and averting a nuclear catastrophe. It is of paramount importance to end the arms race, move to arms reductions, and maintain the strategic military equilibrium at progressively lower levels.'³

Each member country of the community contributes to the struggle against the war danger. The Czechoslovak position was formulated definitively by Comrade Gustáv Husák, General Secretary of the CPCz Central Committee and President of the CSSR. 'Socialist Czechoslovakia,' he wrote, 'will go on doing its utmost to contribute to the political, economic and defence power of the fraternal community. Today, when the international situation has been made much worse by imperialism's aggressive militarist forces, our common efforts are aimed at preserving peaceful conditions for life on our planet, easing international tensions, bringing about disarmament and resuming the policy of peaceful cooperation of all countries irrespective of their social systems.'⁴

The Soviet Union plays a special role in safeguarding peace. A country possessing a powerful economic and military potential, it focuses its attention on a search for effective ways to avert global catastrophe. This is the objective of the norms of relations among states possessing nuclear weapons, formulated by the Soviet leaders and summed up by Konstantin Chernenko, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in March 1984.⁵

The 'code of conduct in the nuclear age', as the Soviet initiative was dubbed immediately by those who strive for peace, is aimed at solving two organically linked

tasks. First, to have the buttons controlling the juggernaut of world-wide destruction securely blocked and second, to make it possible to gradually reduce nuclear armaments up to and including their complete elimination. Imperative for the attainment of both these goals are efforts to ensure equality and equal security.⁶

The socialist countries' initiatives in this vitally important sphere are a balanced programme for removing the threat of nuclear war. Its salient points are:

- a Soviet-American agreement to prevent militarisation of outer space, including complete renunciation of anti-satellite systems, with a mutual moratorium on the testing and deployment of space weapons imposed on the day the negotiations begin;

- a quantitative and qualitative freeze by nuclear powers on all nuclear armaments and their gradual reduction;

- conclusion of the work to draw up agreements on a complete and universal ban of nuclear weapon tests;

- assumption by Washington, following the example set by the Soviet Union, of the pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons.

The Warsaw Treaty Organisation member countries are conducting their peace offensive along the entire front of the struggle to end the arms race and strengthen international security. The most specific expression of their course can be found in the 1983 Prague Declaration covering a series of questions which, solved, would help to radically improve the international climate.⁷ In strict accordance with the proposals set forth in the Declaration, the socialist countries modify and expand them with due regard for the development of the military and political situation, in the search for mutually acceptable compromise with the United States and its partners.

Elaborating their foreign policy, the communist and workers' parties of the socialist community proceed from a scientifically substantiated assessment of the factors shaping the course of international developments. Here are those of particular importance among them.

The increased economic power and the high scientific and technological potential of socialism are the firm basis of the policy to uphold peace and make the principles of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems an established feature of international relations. Having ensured stable growth of the people's wellbeing, the economic progress of the socialist countries which continued in 1984 also served as a reliable basis for their efforts to strengthen their defence capacity. Opportunities for rendering comprehensive assistance to the peoples fighting for their independence and for peace have expanded.

Maintenance of strategic military parity between the Soviet Union and the United States, between the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and the North Atlantic bloc is a factor of decisive importance.⁸ In 1984 the fraternal socialist countries faced, in this connection, the need to take difficult but inescapable decisions. The deployment of US first-strike nuclear missiles which began in Europe and the rapid development in the United States of new types and makes of offensive armaments, including air-, sea- and land-based long-range cruise missiles, forced the Warsaw Treaty countries to adopt appropriate counter-measures.

On agreement with the Soviet government, the governments of Czechoslovakia and the GDR decided to deploy on their territories Soviet enhanced-range operational-tactical missile complexes and then to increase their number in the GDR. In August 1984 the USSR Defence Ministry reported successful testing of Soviet long-range land-based cruise missiles and in October, the beginning of the deployment of similar missiles on strategic bombers and submarines. As a result, the efforts to restore nuclear parity began to yield results as early as within six months.⁹

Attaching decisive importance to the preservation of strategic military parity so as to safeguard universal peace and ensure their own security, the Warsaw Treaty Organisation member countries intend to continue following this course. 'June 1941 will not be repeated,' Konstantin Chernenko has said. 'Retribution will immediately

overtake any aggressor.'¹⁰ This warning is particularly relevant today, when the world's nations are preparing to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the victory over nazi Germany and militarist Japan, the victory to which the Soviet Union made the decisive contribution.

It is sometimes alleged that the socialist countries' efforts to prevent the strategic balance from being upset are militarily 'unjustified' since, at any rate, the USSR can 'destroy any enemy many times over' and that the steps taken merely add to the already huge nuclear arsenals. These views—shared, unfortunately, even by some sincere advocates of peace and disarmament—should be approached in the light of the fact that the Soviet nuclear missile capability is designed to *prevent the very possibility* of an attack against the socialist countries, of a new world war. This makes it incumbent on the Soviet Union to create a sufficient arsenal of nuclear warheads and their delivery means to convince any would-be aggressor that the Soviet armed forces will inevitably retaliate no matter what losses they may incur as a result of a surprise attack.

An accurate quantitative and qualitative assessment of the global strategic balance and a prompt response to any changes in it are essential for retaining the potential capability to deliver a crushing retaliatory strike against the territories where the missiles are deployed and from where the orders to launch them are issued. The consequences which have resulted from the deployment of the Pershing-2 and Tomahawk missiles in Western Europe is a case in point. Having increased the accuracy and sharply reduced the time in flight of its missiles, Washington has given rise to an essentially new military situation and threatened to change the qualitative balance of forces in favour of imperialism. Given all this, the only option open to the Warsaw Treaty Organisation was to take counter-measures *fully commensurate* to the existing threat in terms of scale and nature.

Let us repeat: the measures taken by the USSR and its allies to maintain strategic parity are forced measures. The Warsaw Treaty member countries are fully aware of the dangers connected with a rise in the level of parity—if only because of the increase risks of nuclear conflict due to, say, a mistaken assessment of the situation or a mechanical malfunction.

Equality and equal security does not at all imply an irreversibly upward trend in the level of the nuclear confrontation. The socialist community countries consistently advocate an immediate freeze on such armaments followed by their reduction, the establishment of nuclear-free zones, etc. They are convinced that there are no insurmountable barriers to solving these questions through negotiation. This approach is evident in the recent Soviet initiative which has led the Soviet government and the US administration to agree to begin new talks so as to reach mutually acceptable agreement on the entire range of issues concerning nuclear and space armaments.

The *non-aligned movement* is an impressive force in the struggle for peace and international cooperation. The numerous bilateral and multilateral meetings of non-aligned countries held over the past year have demonstrated that their policy is increasingly shaped by anti-imperialism.

The various *civic movements of peace activists* place a powerful obstacle in the path of militarist schemes. These movements acquired a new and larger scope in 1984. Reckless plans to prepare a global conflict evoke protests even on the part of many realistic figures of the ruling classes in capitalist countries. Understanding is growing that to describe a nuclear conflict as a war is as absurd as calling death an illness. The 'nuclear plague' may become the last epidemic to afflict man.

The need for international commercial, scientific and technological exchange is among the objective factors making it possible to strengthen the principles of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems. Lenin said that 'there is a force more powerful than the wishes, the will and the decisions of any of the

governments or classes that are hostile to us. That force is world general economic relations, which compel them to make contact with us.'¹¹ This trend is gaining prominence amid the rapid scientific and technological revolution. Today, the socialist countries' economic, scientific and technical contacts with capitalist nations shape the material basis of the policy of peaceful coexistence.

Equally objective are the *inter-imperialist contradictions*. Although the North Atlantic Council session held in the spring of 1984 to mark the 35th anniversary of NATO was accompanied by a fanfare of self-congratulation, it failed to drown out the discordant notes in the Atlantic orchestra. For example, Denmark, Greece and the Netherlands increasingly often refuse to toe the US line in various matters of international politics, including the deployment of new US missiles in Europe. The governments of several NATO countries refuse to support unconditionally Washington's position and, in various forms, advocate a return to detente and oppose expansion of NATO's 'sphere of activity'.

Such are the factors which, even in today's obviously dangerous situation, strengthen the conviction that opponents of war can stop the nuclear maniacs and bring the world back to the path of detente and cooperation among all nations. This is what lies at the heart of our historical optimism.

The Most Vigorous Force

Analysing the threat mankind now faces, communist and workers' parties warn that the future is being shaped today. They believe that in the last quarter of the 20th century there exists no acceptable alternative to a policy of detente and mutually beneficial cooperation of countries with different socio-economic systems.

Features on the congresses of fraternal parties and articles by their leading figures published in our journal over the past year, as well as the discussion of the journal's work at the December 1984 meeting of the participating parties are proof that the international communist movement views the increased threat of nuclear war with a high sense of responsibility. As the vanguard of the working class, as resolute fighters against oppression and exploitation of man by man, for national freedom and independence, the Communists also work to uphold the human right to life. They see this as the paramount purpose of their activity.

Vigorous cooperation on the basis of proletarian internationalism among communist and workers' parties in the struggle for peace is now more important than ever. Unity of the political and revolutionary vanguard of all working people is indispensable for an effective struggle against the war threat. Understanding of this imperative is clear from the increasing cooperation of the fraternal parties, from the way they link their national objectives with the discharge of the internationalist and profoundly humanitarian duty of saving mankind from a nuclear holocaust. The Communists see their historical mission in firmly rejecting the appeals from the bourgeois camp to agree to the preservation of the social status quo throughout the world 'for the sake of peace', and uphold by deeds their solidarity with the champions of social progress and national freedom.

The trend toward identifying common objectives in the defence of peace was reflected in the course of the bilateral and multilateral talks Communists held over the past year. This trend was prominent at the discussion of the current political situation by the Communist leaders of the Common Market countries, at a meeting of Arab communist and workers' parties and at a meeting of South American communist parties.

A global threat to peace calls for a global response. This means that it is now of paramount importance to involve all peace forces in the anti-war struggle. The Communist view is that readiness to act for peace, against nuclear war preparations, is the only criterion to assess the possibility of joint action. Naturally, here

Communists neither make any ideological concessions nor give up their struggle against capitalist exploitation.

Attaching prime importance to efforts to ensure more vigorous anti-war action by the working class, the fraternal parties strive to ensure unity of working class action. The years which preceded World War II demonstrated the pernicious effects of disunity, let alone rivalry, among organisations of working people. This was the leitmotif of the decisions taken by the Seventh Congress of the Communist International; we will mark its 50th anniversary this coming summer. The guidelines adopted by the congress and aimed at the establishment of a popular front comprising anti-imperialist and peace forces remain topical to this day.

Over the past year communist and workers' parties did much to promote a vigorous political dialogue and cooperation with socialist and social democratic parties; in matters of war and peace, many of them are increasingly adopting positions which bring them closer to the socialist countries' proposals. The current course pursued, albeit not in a fully consistent manner, by the Socialist International also contributes to this cooperation. Trade unions, including those not affiliated with the World Federation of Trade Unions, increasingly understand the link connecting the position of working people with an end to the arms race, and this offers opportunities for broader involvement of the working class in the struggle against the war danger.

The Communists' particular responsibilities in the drive to prevent nuclear catastrophe are rooted in the fact that, as equal participants in the peace movement, they stand on consistently anti-imperialist positions which help them to correctly identify the sources of the war threat and ways to defuse it. This has assumed particular importance now that the aggravation of the international military and political situation has posed complex problems before the anti-war forces. Let us list them.

First, international public opinion has never been as critical of nuclear war and the arms race as it is now. This is clearly a positive development. It has helped to rapidly expand the social and political spectrum of the forces taking part in the peace movement. Working side by side with the Communists are Social Democrats, liberals, conservatives, environmentalists and religious groups. Together with the peace activists united under the aegis of the World Peace Council, other influential anti-war organisations take part in the drive. The role played by youth and women has increased dramatically. However, all this has introduced into the movement new elements relating to its demands and the way it defines its positions, and differences concerning these positions are often in evidence.

Second, the ruling quarters of imperialist countries have stepped up their pressure on the peace forces in a bid to split the movement or divert it to a channel which would pose no danger to militarist policy. With this end in view, bourgeois propaganda tries to impose false concepts on the public. For example, the importance of strategic military parity is denied and the reasons for the counter-measures taken by the Warsaw Treaty countries in response to Washington's attempts at achieving military superiority are questioned. Peace forces are exhorted not to meddle in questions of disarmament but to work instead for 'liberalisation' in the socialist countries.

Third, more and more often, the leaders of imperialist countries, especially of the United States, pose as 'peacemakers'. To this end they advance and do their best to publicise proposals which would give them advantages and which are therefore obviously unacceptable to the other side, at the same time spreading all sorts of fabrications aimed at maligning socialist foreign policy.

Fourth, attempts are undertaken to convince the popular masses that, contrary to actual facts, questions of war and peace are decided in the 'corridors of power' and not 'in the streets', thus aiming to sow doubts in the usefulness of anti-war action.

Fifth, efforts are made to prove that there is no connection linking the socio-

economic development of Asian, African and Latin American countries with disarmament. Besides, local conflicts unleashed by imperialism to suppress peoples fighting for freedom are blamed on Communists.

However, these imperialist attempts have fallen short of their objectives. If one tentatively sums up the results achieved over the past year, no doubt, the foremost conclusion will be that despite the differences in ideological and political views and in the ways different problems are approached, the peace forces continue the struggle and strive for joint action. Refusing to be dejected by the deployment of US first-strike weapons which began in Western Europe, the anti-war movements have stepped up their action and are launching mass offensive against the 'war party'.

Communists are in the forefront of the struggle against aggressive imperialist plans. They help the peace forces to become a political factor capable of bringing effective pressure to bear on the militarist quarters of capitalist countries. The communist view is that in order to achieve this goal, it is indispensable to consistently combine the mass nature of the movement with its unity, the broad front of the peace offensive with concentration of efforts along the main directions, and the equality and independence of all partners with a tolerant attitude to one another's views.

* * *

The situation that took shape on the eve of 1985 offers a choice of only two ways. Either the peace forces succeed—and succeed now—in frustrating the highly dangerous schemes of the more bellicose imperialist quarters, or the nuclear catastrophe becomes an even more tangible possibility. It is a grim dilemma, and every one of us must grasp it fully and make a choice: whose side is he or she on? Is it the side of reckless militarists or of peace champions? The Communists see it as their sacred duty to follow Lenin's pledge: 'We promise the workers and peasants to do all we can for peace. This we shall do.'¹²

¹ Prominent scientists believe that a conflict involving even a fraction of the available nuclear weapons can catastrophically upset the radiation balance, thus producing global changes in the world's climate: the temperature in the upper strata of the atmosphere will rise greatly, and surface temperatures all over the world will drop to 50°C below zero, killing all life forms.

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, p. 43.

³ *Information Bulletin*, No. 16, 1984, Peace and Socialism, Prague, p. 17.

⁴ *WMR*, No. 8, 1984, p. 13.

⁵ See *Pravda*, March 3, 1984.

⁶ For more information, see 'Peace Code in the Nuclear Age' in *WMR*, No. 6, 1984.

⁷ For more information, see 'Socialism in the Drive for Peace' by Pavel Auersperg and Sergei Tsukasov in *WMR*, No. 3, 1983.

⁸ For more details, see Oleg Bykov, 'Military-Strategic Parity in the 1980s', *WMR*, No. 11, 1983; Jurgen Reusch, 'Dangerous Transformations of the "Deterrence" Doctrine', *WMR*, No. 1, 1984; Zdeněk Procházka, 'Nuclear Missiles in Europe: Two Opposite Lines', *WMR*, No. 7, 1984.

⁹ In the 1960s, it took at least a decade to eliminate American superiority.

¹⁰ *Information Bulletin*, No. 13, 1984, p. 13.

¹¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 155.

¹² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 379.

the party

Communist Congresses

Prevent a Shift to the Right

Anthony Vassallo – CC General Secretary, Communist Party of Malta

Malta

OUR party is relatively young, having come into being in 1969. During the past 15 years it has developed into an independent political factor of Malta's life. As our Third Extraordinary Congress (held last May) noted, the CPM has in recent years been able to maintain its course in spite of difficult conditions and unceasing attacks by internal and external reaction. In all our actions we were guided by the basic principle of the party Programme, namely, that the vital interests of the working class had to be defended against assault by the capitalists. Together with other progressive forces the party has been tireless in its efforts to achieve social progress in Malta. In summing up some results, we can state with confidence that our efforts have been beneficial to the working class in Malta.

Throughout almost the entire period since the CPM was founded there has been a Labour government. The Labour Party defeated the Nationalist Party¹ in 1971 and has been in power ever since. The Communists take a differentiated approach to its policies: on the one hand, we are pressuring the government to desist from prejudicing the interests and gains of the working people and, on the other, we support its positive foreign policy of turning the Mediterranean into a zone of peace, security, and cooperation, and extending the dialogue and improving relations with socialist countries.²

This course puts us in a bit of a quandary, that of coming through to workers in a dual role, supporting the government on the one hand and criticising it on the other. I believe that to some extent this has blunted the CPM's numerical growth. Nevertheless, we feel this course is correct for a number of valid reasons. The Labour government's policy of non-alignment and its efforts to improve the political situation in the Mediterranean and promote relations with countries of the socialist community are helping to strengthen peace and security in Europe, and this means the security of our republic. The people of Malta are very much disturbed by the upgrading of the USA's and NATO's military preparations in the Mediterranean, by their attempts to draw our country into the orbit of imperialism's main military bloc.

Detente is not only a solid and the only guarantee of peace but a vital condition enabling all nations, including the Maltese people, to go their way and achieve economic and social progress. For example, closer trade relations between Malta and socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union, and joint projects are an alternative to our country's total financial and monetary dependence on the Western world, notably Britain and the EEC. Contracts with the USSR are also a means of creating jobs and improving the condition of the working people.³

The Labour government's domestic policies are quite another matter. It is true that in its 13 years in office the Labour Party has admittedly made substantial changes in the social services: the introduction of allowances for children, increased old-age pensions, unemployment benefits, and some other reforms vital to the working class. Of course, the Communists supported all these changes. But we have been severely critical of the government for acting in many cases against the interests of the working people and refusing to resolve some important social problems. As a result, there are in Malta unhealthy phenomena inherited from former governments: first the colonial administration and then a conservative government.

The unemployment rate is very high: there are 20,000 jobless, which is 15 per cent of the workforce. Young people are among the hardest hit. After having created broad opportunities for getting an education, the Labour Party has done little to ensure jobs for graduates of educational institutions or to improve the system of vocational training. True, in recent years it has formed young jobless into a paramilitary labour corps, which is used on road repairs and other work of this kind. Military discipline keeps young people away from the pernicious influence of the streets and gives them something to do. However, young unemployed people are kept in this corps for only a year, after which they are compelled to return to forced idleness. Hence the growing drug-addiction, bitterness, and parasitical mentality.

Under the Labour government there has been a significant growth of corruption, including on the part of civil servants. This is affecting morals. Many people adamantly refuse to look for work, preferring to make money illegally. Moreover, long years in power have made some leaders of the Labour Party arrogant. This attitude has seeped down to party officials of various levels. Many of them are acting as *nouveaux riches*. Malta, it must be remembered, is a small country where everything becomes known quickly.⁴ The workers did not expect such behaviour from Labour Party members, who claim to speak for the working people. Small wonder that the population is gradually losing its confidence in the government.

The aforesaid concerns pensioners, among others. Their disaffection is of a moral rather than a purely material order. Government officials are insensitive to their problems and make people feel humiliated.

Lately some other social groups, for instance, self-employed artisans, have turned against the ruling party. They have traditionally been allies of the Labour Party, and their votes at elections bring the party about three of its seats in parliament. Under certain circumstances it may depend on these groups which of the largest parties comes to power.⁵ When the Labour government introduced new forms of social insurance it did not take the specific condition of self-employed artisans into account. While people in government employment now have only to pay half of their insurance, and those employed in private industry only pay one-third (the rest is paid by the employers and the government), self-employed artisans have to pay the full rate. But they are not recipients of all benefits. In particular, they get nothing if they are sick or close shop temporarily.

Some of the government's actions prejudice the working class as a whole. For instance, it has decided to restrict the growth of wages. The official prices of prime necessities have likewise been frozen, but many much-needed commodities, for instance, medicines, are not subject to government price control. And this in a situation in which many workers are not working a full week, thereby losing one-fifth of their wage. Meanwhile, the dividends of banks and capitalist enterprises are not controlled and there are no limits on the profits of private firms.

The General Workers Union is the largest organisation of the working people of Malta. It had in fact been the vanguard in the struggle for better living and working conditions—it is now entirely subservient to the government, in particular supporting the restrictive wages policy. This surrenderist policy has already given the Nationalist Party the opportunity to set up its own trade unions, which are outwardly very vigorous in backing the demands of working people. Their social demagoguery attracts a section of the workers, who do not understand that the main objective of these unions is, actually, to erode the positions held by the Labour Party among the working class and split the workers in order to make them helpless in the face of the onslaught by private capital.

Many Maltese, it was noted at the CPM Congress, now no longer see Labour policy as a genuine alternative to the course steered by the Nationalist Party. The latter has made substantial inroads into the working class, helped and abetted by the Labour Party, which, misusing socialist phraseology, is doing everything to dissipate working

class unity. There is a real threat of the conservative forces winning the next elections.⁶ They are being helped in every way by the Catholic Church and international reaction. Malta has become a major target of the activities of the recently formed International Democratic Union, which consists of the most reactionary political parties of capitalist countries and in which the Nationalist Party has the status of an associated member.

In the face of these difficulties it is the CPM's policy, despite the Labour government's inconsistency, to support that government against countless attempts of reactionary circles in the West to destabilise the situation. It is its policy to prevent reaction from coming to power. For that reason our party decided not to nominate candidates for the 1981 parliamentary elections: that might have diverted a section of the electorate from Labour. The results of the elections, from which the latter emerged only slightly ahead of the Nationalist Party, proved how right the Communists were. At the same time, we try to persuade the Labour Party that unless it does something now to restore its prestige there may be a swing to the right.

In the long term, the CPM's aim is to break the two-party system now operating in Malta. Here the main task is to amend electoral legislation. It ensures alternating dominance by either of the two major political parties, thereby excluding parliamentary representation for small political groupings.

In 1984 the CPM put forward demands for changes in the Constitution of the Republic to guarantee country-wide voting for party programmes and lists of candidates. Such an electoral system would eliminate the practice of reshaping electoral boundaries to favour the ruling party and ensure parliamentary representation for other political parties, which would make the government more conscious of the needs of the people, diminish parochialism and clientelism, and induce voters to vote for party programmes rather than for individual politicians.

In those conditions our party's day-to-day ideological and propaganda activity is directed towards strengthening the positions of the left-wing, progressive forces in Malta. At the same time, we point out constantly that true socialism does not lie in the direction taken by the Labour Party, and that the situation can hardly be improved by following the recipes offered by the Nationalist Party. The struggle of the Communists for a guaranteed right to work, wider civil rights, fair broadcasting, separation of state and church, and other reforms is part and parcel of their work directly among the people. It is our purpose to form a popular movement very unlike the traditional groupings and parties, a movement around which a political majority of the Left can be developed with the aim of bringing about a fair distribution of the national income to take the interests of the working people into account.

The CPM attaches considerable significance to political activity at industrial facilities, especially at the Valletta dockyards. There are Communists on the trade union councils at workshop level and in the self-management committees at the dockyards.⁷ The CPM constantly seeks to increase employment for dock workers and supports their actions. Due to efforts on the part of the Communists, many disabled workers' families have received large cash allowances. The CPM has in principle agreed with the reforms at the dockyards proposed by the Labour Party in order to make them more efficient. But we declared that this should not be done at the workers' expense and stated our unconditional solidarity with all actions that the workers find necessary in order to safeguard their rights. I must say that our position is strongest among dock workers, who comprise one of the leading contingents of the working class in Malta.

It was pointed out at the congress that the CPM pursues a principled and, simultaneously, flexible policy in the trade union movement, endeavouring to strengthen it and prevent any further split among the workers. While calling upon the workers to rally round the General Workers Union, the Communists use their influence to compel the union's leaders to renounce their conciliatory attitude and

regain their former militancy.

We are doing more work among young people and women. Young people are now more active in the struggle for social changes and for the preservation of peace. As for women, they have lately begun playing an increasingly more visible role in the country's political life, and most of them are on the left. It will be no exaggeration to say that the female vote saved the Labour Party at the last parliamentary elections.

The Communists are now facing an extremely important and difficult task: in the conditions of growing polarisation of the population, the working class as well, between the Labour and Nationalist parties, to increase the CPM's numerical strength. As the 3rd CPM Congress pointed out, this aim can be achieved only through consistent and purposeful activity in the interests of the workers, and planned organisational and educational work among them. In particular, we intend to make a bigger effort to enlist more workers into the party.

Another objective set by the congress is that the CPM should give more attention to its new members. Not all of those who join the party remain in it. This is to a large extent due to the ideological instability of some new members of the party, but this is not the only trouble. People who declare they want to join the CPM are usually already members of other organisations of the working people, for instance, trade unions, and they come to us because they want answers to the problems worrying them, have more opportunity for political activity, and receive help in the work they are doing. In cases where their hopes are not justified, the result is usually that they become disenchanted and even quit the party. In other cases, a person is attracted by the stand taken by the Communists on specific issues, but his own political views are very vague. In such cases it is up to his party comrades to help him disperse the ideological haziness and become a consistent militant.

The party is concentrating much of its efforts on ideological work, countering the increasingly more savage attacks of the reactionaries with more vigorous propaganda work. For instance, since June 1983 we have been publishing a monthly newspaper, *Zminijietna* (Our Times), which we are trying to turn into a voice for the Left in general. It is printed partly in English and partly in Maltese. This is especially important for the workers: despite the fact that English is spoken widely on the island, they naturally prefer their own language.

The newspaper deals with foreign policy issues and international problems. It is giving special attention to explaining the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, to actions against the deployment of US missiles in Europe, to exposing the USA's aggressive policies, and to the problem of turning the Mediterranean into a peace zone.

Another important area of this work is the publication of the classics of Marxism-Leninism in Maltese. We started with the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. Although more than 130 years have passed since it was written, it continues to be read avidly, and Malta is no exception. Moreover, we have printed Lenin's *What Is To Be Done?* and *On the State*. The former is of extraordinary significance to the CPM in helping it to chart its policies under present-day conditions. The latter, which shows the possibilities for using the state in the interests of the working class, helps our criticism of the Labour Party. The publication of these books in Maltese has popularised them in our country and now references to them are to be found more and more frequently in the bourgeois press.

We have also our edition of *World Marxist Review* (which is published under the title of *International Political Review*) and of the *Information Bulletin*. These help to foster the political level of the Communists and our propaganda activity among the island's population. For instance, to students, who in Malta traditionally study several languages, we suggest—not without success—the *International Political Review* in English and other languages as a study aid.

Last March we began publishing our own quarterly political journal in Maltese. It

carries, among other items, reprints from the *International Political Review* that directly concern problems of the Mediterranean, and comments and articles by contributors in socialist countries.

I should like to mention our regular newspaper-type publications for individual constituencies that are the principal arena of political struggle in Malta. The CPM is doing everything it can to strengthen its positions in these constituencies and spread its views more energetically. In special publications for them we deal with local problems, suggest ways and means of resolving them, and conduct a polemic with our political adversaries on specific issues.

Lastly, let me mention the CPM's participation in the peace movement. In terms of the size of the country's territory and population, this movement is very strong. As was noted at the congress, the main thing is to unite in it all people who stand up for peace and security, and establish effective links with peace fighters in other countries. We have been successful in much of this. Young Communists were among those who organised mass support in Valletta for the Peace Cruise around Europe in September 1983 initiated by the World Federation of Democratic Youth. A conference attended by peace fighters from Italy, the FRG, and Libya and also by representatives of the Maltese youth and journalists' organisations and trade unions was held at the close of 1983 on the initiative of the Malta Peace and Solidarity Committee, in which we are active. This conference's final document sharply denounced the deployment of US missiles on Sicily. The launching pad of these missiles near Comiso is closer to Malta than to Rome. Of course, this is the cause of much anxiety. For that reason the anti-missile actions are continuing on a growing scale. We feel it is our duty to give it our support.

In fulfilment of the Third Congress resolutions, the CPM is now striving to play a more active role in the political life of the country. We constantly tell people that in comparison with the policies of the Labour government and the projects of the Nationalist Party there is a better alternative for Malta and it is the one proposed by the Communists. It is our aim that the working people should see the CPM not merely as a party that acts consistently in their interests but something bigger—a party that can be trusted to help in resolving the acute problems confronting the nation.

¹ It represents the interests of the right-wing forces and the big capitalists and is closely linked to reactionary circles abroad. It was in power from 1964, when Malta obtained its independence, to 1971.—Ed.

² This is discussed in Paul Agius, '60 Miles from US Missiles', *WMR*, No. 5, 1982.—Ed.

³ For instance, in February and March 1984 Malta and the USSR signed a series of agreements on shipbuilding and the purchase of manufactured goods. These transactions are providing jobs at many facilities for at least three years, and will help to reduce unemployment.

⁴ Malta has a population of 320,000, and there are 18,000 residents in the capital, Valletta.—Ed.

⁵ The Labour Party currently holds three seats more in parliament than the opposition.

⁶ Elections are to be held in 1986.—Ed.

⁷ These are run by the workers.

The Ability to Overcome Difficulties

Mahdi Habib – CC General Secretary,
Communist Party of Saudi Arabia

Saudi Arabia

THE Second Congress of our party, held at the close of last summer, took place later than stipulated by the Rules.¹ This was due to the difficulties attending work in strict clandestinity and to the extremely complicated domestic political situation (especially between 1979 and 1983) created by an official campaign of repression against Communists and other progressives. The convocation of the congress was made possible by the sustained preparatory work which leading party bodies and party branches carried on over a long period by taking part in the formulation of the agenda and in the discussion and enrichment of the content of documents to be submitted to the congress.

The convening of the congress after the blows that the repressive regime had lately delivered to the progressive patriotic movement in the country, in a worsening economic situation, with the standard of living of the workers and other working people declining, demonstrated our party's ability to weather and overcome difficulties, displaying unity of will and action and a high degree of ideological, political and organisational cohesion. We owe this to the fact that the CPSU has invariably abided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Our party has shown that its existence and activity, which are at once a continuation and a qualitatively new stage of the national and social struggle of our working class and our people as a whole, are dictated by both objective and subjective conditions and by the requirements of the current historical phase of society's development. They are a materialisation of the conviction that the working people cannot rid themselves of oppression and exploitation unless they organise and close their ranks. Strengthening the Communist Party, vanguard of the working class and defender of its interests, helps strengthen the entire progressive patriotic movement and paves the way for the party to accomplish its national and internationalist tasks.

The Second CPSA Congress proceeded against the background of a deteriorating international situation and an intensifying offensive of imperialism, Zionism and reaction against the Arab national liberation movement, an offensive aimed at dealing a crushing blow to its every contingent and at forcing the Arab peoples to surrender. This is an expression of the US and NATO imperialists' aggressive militarist strategy based on a bid for hegemony, on interference in the internal affairs of nations and attempts to shape these nations' destinies and take possession of their resources, on a bid to escalate confrontation and put an end by hook or by crook to the atmosphere of detente in international relations.

US imperialism, pursuing a policy of provocation and aggressive ventures, is stepping up tensions in the area of the Persian Gulf and Arabian Peninsula. Washington is fanning the flames of the devastating Iraq-Iran war, taking advantage of it to extend its direct military presence in the region, an activity meeting no obstacles whatever from the reactionary regimes of the region. The undisguised interference of the United States and other NATO countries in developments in the Gulf area is an attempt to restore their shaken prestige and make up for the damage resulting from the bad defeat inflicted on them in Lebanon and the Middle East as a whole by Syria, the national patriotic forces of Lebanon and the Palestine Resistance Movement, which operated together and were backed by fighters for freedom and progress in Arab countries and the world. Along with acts of armed intervention,

Washington is carrying on preparations for the deployment of medium-range Pershing missiles in Saudi Arabia as it strives feverishly to turn our country and other Gulf states into a base and bridgehead for conspiracies against patriotic forces and regimes (above all in the PDRY, Ethiopia and Afghanistan) and into an area from where it could pose a further threat to the Soviet Union from the south.

The overall effect is that the region and, indeed, the world are in serious danger. Much of the responsibility for this falls on the reactionary regimes of Saudi Arabia and other members of the Gulf Cooperation Council.² They join unquestioningly in the implementation of imperialism's aggressive schemes and take a hostile stand on problems of vital importance to our people and other Arab peoples, particularly on the Palestinian problem. To be sure, these regimes and US imperialism occasionally clash over secondary issues but in the end they settle them within the framework of a common strategy motivated by intense hatred for the forces of freedom, progress and socialism.

On the other hand, the present situation in the Arab world and on the international scene generally is characterised by a revolutionary upturn and growing resistance from these forces, in whose van is the Soviet Union, to the destructive policies of world imperialism headed by the USA, policies entailing a reckless arms race and threatening humanity with nuclear disaster. The influence of the peace forces is mounting and the anti-war movement in its diverse forms is becoming a mighty torrent merging into a common stream, the struggle against imperialist oppression and for peace and socialism.

Our party's whole activity is intimately linked with the struggle of the Arab peoples, of their progressive forces, who are resisting the attacks of imperialism, Zionism and reaction as they fight for the liberation of the territories seized by Israel in the course of the 1967 aggression and for the restoration of the legitimate national rights of the people of Palestine, including their right to self-determination and the establishment of a national state in their homeland. The CPSA is striving in collaboration with the communist and workers' parties of other Arab countries to build up the staunchness of the anti-imperialist forces in the region, whose mainstay at this stage is Syria, its patriotic policy and its emphatic rejection of separate plans for a settlement based on surrender. We see the need to strengthen the alliance of Syria, the Palestinian fighters and the Lebanese national patriotic forces and to help restore and consolidate the unity of the Palestine Liberation Organisation on a patriotic anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist platform rejecting surrender in any form, and we support all constructive initiatives to this effect.

The CPSA, which regards defence of the Soviet Union and Lenin's great party against all attacks as one of its programme tasks and a statutory duty of its members, is a steadfast champion of Arab-Soviet friendship. We have a high opinion of the many meaningful initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries aimed at upholding and finalising international detente and strengthening the pillars of world peace; among other things, we support the proposals intended to settle the Middle East crisis on a fair basis and by peaceful means and to turn the Persian Gulf, Red Sea and Indian Ocean into peace zones.

The significance of the Second CPSA Congress lies in the fact that it has reaffirmed these fundamental guidelines as a precisely formulated policy of the party.

The past period has been most eventful; it has witnessed abrupt and highly contradictory changes in various spheres of the life of Saudi society. The Second Congress made a scientific, consistent class analysis of new phenomena—it is contained in various documents and other records of the congress, primarily in the political and organisational reports of the Central Committee and in the re-edited party Programme. Important amendments introduced into the Programme were aimed at reflecting more accurately the situation objectively shaping up in the country and providing the party membership with guidelines enabling them to mobilise the

masses all the more successfully in the struggle for their rights and interests.

The congress stated that since the early seventies Saudi Arabia has been advancing fast on capitalist lines, a development accompanied by a deepening of social distinctions and an exacerbation of class contradictions. Although the structure of Saudi society is still transitional, which manifests itself primarily in the incompleteness of the system of bourgeois social relations and the concomitant incompleteness of the process of social and class differentiation, the past decade has seen the features of antagonistic social classes and sectors stand out more than before. The people of Saudi Arabia are now faced with the task of completing the stage of national liberation, that is, fully attaining the goals of the national democratic revolution. Accordingly, the CPSA programme defines the main contradiction of the current stage as the antagonism between the class bloc of exploiters—feudal lords, landed proprietors and parasitical sections of the domestic bourgeoisie, who are tied to world imperialism, primarily US imperialism, by close bonds—on the one hand, and the workers, peasants, beduins, revolutionary-minded intellectuals and the petty bourgeoisie as well as influential sections of the national bourgeoisie, on the other.³

The leading position in the exploiters' bloc is held by feudal lords and semi-feudal members of the Saudid clan, which wields all legislative, executive and judicial power (first of all through the king), for Saudi Arabia is an absolute monarchy without a constitution or any representative bodies. The current trend towards greater (but still limited) involvement of bourgeois bureaucrats and technocrats in administration and management, particularly of the economy, is merely an indication of increasingly strong ties linking together the members of the feudal-bourgeois alliance.

The reactionary anti-popular policy of the regime is aggravating Saudi Arabia's total dependence on world imperialism, primarily US imperialism, and perpetuating the lag of the country. The economy is lop-sided, being based solely on oil production, which supplies 70 per cent of the national income and 99 per cent of export earnings. All other fields are in a state of decline: there is virtually no heavy industry, the role of light industry is small and agriculture is still dominated by feudal and semi-feudal relations.

The enormous profits made by recklessly exploiting natural resources are by no means used in the people's interest but diverted to satisfying the greed of imperialist monopolies and a handful of feudal lords and domestic capitalists. In conformity with their policy of serving the economic needs of the world capitalist system, the Saudi ruling classes encourage private enterprise (chiefly in trade and the service industry) and back parasitical sections of the domestic bourgeoisie. The role of the public sector is decreasing and the shares of enterprises belonging to it are sold out inside the country and in Gulf countries. As the Saudi Arabian economy and home market as a whole do not absorb more than 40 per cent of the national income, the rest is remitted to US and European banks and spent on major economic projects in big capitalist countries which eases the impact of the crisis affecting them. These funds are also used for the purchase of incredible quantities of arms abroad exceeding the actual requirements of national defence many times over,⁴ for the financing of subversive activities against national liberation movements and progressive patriotic regimes, and for aid to reactionary governments, primarily in the Arab world.

As a consequence, the Saudi economy is in a state of stagnation and crisis made worse by unfavourable fluctuations on the world capitalist market and dwindling receipts from oil, which is due largely to the regime's anti-national policy coordinated with the international oil cartel. The search for a way out is going on, as usual, at the expense of the vital requirements and interests of the people. In a country possessing countless riches and spending exorbitant sums on arms purchase or on projects prompted by considerations of prestige, the majority of the rural and nomadic population still lack decent housing, water supply, electricity, medical care and schools. Appropriations for these purposes are cut time and again. With the

economic situation deteriorating, prices continue rising, the real incomes of workers and other sections of the working and disinherited population are falling off and the number of ruined small and medium entrepreneurs is growing. The regime stops financing and freezes certain projects and resorts to massive layoffs.

All this is accompanied by stepped-up terror and repression, which are inseparable from the policy of the monarchic regime, especially since Fahd's accession to the throne as a member of the Saudid clan's wing maintaining particularly close links with the US imperialists and showing extreme intransigence towards any democratic freedoms and the least signs of opposition. The top rulers are backed by a vast repressive bureaucracy on whose maintenance the regime spends nearly half the budget appropriations. The domestic atmosphere is one of arbitrariness and violence. Things like freedom of speech, opinion or assembly are non-existent; anyone who engages in political or trade union activity is jailed for a long time without trial or the right to defence and is subjected to refined physical or mental tortures. Saudi Arabia is probably the only country in the world where inhuman punishments like flogging, cutting off the limbs, stoning or beheading are meted out.

The regime uses Islam to hold the masses down, dissemble its theft of the nation's riches, foment hostility to the ideas of freedom and progress and whip up intercommunal discord. The victims of discrimination and harassment include Shiites, Zeidites and Ishmailites.⁵ These are not allowed to perform their religious rites, barred from many government offices and generally treated as second-rate people. Operating through 'committees for the encouragement of virtue and the condemnation of sin', the authorities arrogantly meddle in the private lives of Saudis and force definite behavioural standards upon them.

The reactionary anti-national policy of the monarchic regime and the absolutist, repressive methods of government come up against mounting popular discontent and resistance. Leading the way in this resistance is the young Saudi proletariat, which initiates and leads popular actions, as it did in 1953, 1956, 1967 and 1979.

The November events of 1979—the uprising in Eastern Province and the seizure of Mecca's chief mosque—were indicative of a growing revolutionary ferment. They constituted the biggest and most powerful action ever launched in our country against absolute rule and its patron, US imperialism. The people, having roused to action, used the most diverse forms of struggle, both peaceful and armed ones, and furnished proof of their firm opposition to the prevailing political and socio-economic situation. The regime retaliated by killing or injuring dozens of people and jailing hundreds more.

A large peaceful demonstration held in El Katif in January 1980 identified itself with the victims of repression and demanded the release of the arrested. Faced with the people's mounting anger, the rulers resorted to terror again. In the middle of 1982 they began a wide campaign of persecution and harassment against progressive patriotic forces, including Communists. People were put behind bars, maltreated and tortured. Our party described the campaign as part of an imperialist, Zionist and reactionary plot spearheaded against the peoples of Arab and Middle East countries, against the Communists and other progressives of the region.

Repression failed to break the people, who united more and more closely around the national patriotic movement and pressured the authorities to secure the release of political prisoners. Faced with an exceedingly complicated situation, the CPSA leadership showed a high degree of vigilance, activity and perseverance as it organised resistance to reaction's attack and took steps to restrict it and do away with its effects. Of tremendous importance was in this respect a world-wide campaign of solidarity with Saudi patriots, our comrades, who courageously held their own in prison. The regime had to back down—the prisoners were set free in June 1983. This was a big success scored by the progressive patriotic forces of the country and we regard it as the beginning of a radical, historic change in the nation's life.

'The upsurge in the struggle of the working class and other working people,' the CPSA Programme stresses, 'makes for a deepening of the crisis of the autocratic monarchic regime, which bears the chief responsibility for all the evils that have befallen our country; it offers opportunities for the abolition of the regime, which is a pressing task dictated by the interests of our country and meeting the people's aspiration for freedom, democracy and social progress.'⁶ This task should be accomplished, in the Communists' opinion, by a broad national democratic front expressing the interests of the overwhelming majority of Saudis, whom the ruling exploiters' bloc is trying to hold in bondage. We see the formation of this front as a most urgent need and a decisive prerequisite for success, as a lasting strategy that we must follow if we want to win and not as a passing, tactical slogan.

The CPSA visualises the national democratic front as an alignment of political parties, trade unions and other organisations as well as independents adhering to a national patriotic programme, with every participant remaining independent organisationally, ideologically and politically. Contradictions between them over secondary matters are only natural and quite permissible provided they do not go beyond the framework of patriotic unity.

Our party is prepared to make a fitting contribution to the activity of the proposed national democratic front. What enables it to continue and step up its fight against the most brutal, reactionary and bigoted regime is, first and foremost, the fact that it leans on the will of the working class and other working people and expresses their hopes and aspirations. We realise, however, that the growing strength of the CPSA does not depend on subjective factors alone but also on the might and scope of the world revolutionary process. This means that it lies in the party's internationalism, in its being a component of the international communist and working class movement. The CPSA, working to bring about complete national liberation and striving for a national democratic revolution, never loses sight of the ultimate goals which are common to the Communists of the whole planet: eliminating the exploitation of man by man and class domination and oppression in any form, and building socialism and communism.

¹ The CPSA Rules provide that the party shall meet in congress once in every five years. The First Congress was held in 1975.—Ed.

² The Council comprises Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Qatar and Oman.—Ed.

³ See *Programme and Rules of the Communist Party of Saudi Arabia as Amended by the Second CPSA Congress*, pp. 9-10 (in Arabic).

⁴ The press has carried the following information: since 1975 Saudi Arabia has spent about 100 billion dollars on equipping an army slightly more than 50,000 strong. In the 1982 fiscal year its military budget amounted to an unprecedented 24.4 billion dollars. This indicator moved it into fifth place in the world, putting it ahead of industrial countries like France, Britain and Japan. Military expenditures swallow about 20 per cent of the country's GNP. In 1981 and 1982, Saudi Arabia accounted for one-third of US and two-fifths of French arms exports. Also, it has signed major contracts with British, Italian, West German, Spanish and Japanese arms manufacturers (see Kasem Ja'far, 'Fahd's Luxury War Machine', *South*, October 1984, p. 16).—Ed.

⁵ Members of Muslim trends different from the Wahhabi variety of Sunnism dominant in Saudi Arabia.—Ed.

⁶ *Programme and Rules* . . . , p. 22.

Annals of Courage Fortitude

The Communist Party of Greece has gone through many hard tests. The following recollections, told to us in Athens by two CPG veterans, are accounts

of the courage and self-sacrifice of Communists who fought against reaction in prisons, exile, concentration camps and death cells. It was an unequal battle in which soldiers of the party stood by their ideals and principles as they defended their country's freedom and dignity.

Two Out of Thousands

Avra Partsalidou joined the Communist Youth organisation at the age of 17 and was only 19 when she found herself in prison; afterwards she was given a life sentence and spent a total of twenty years in prisons and concentration camps. She fought in all the battles carried on by the vanguard of the Greek working class, devoting special attention to the women's movement. In 1946 she was elected alternate member and in 1953, full member of the CPG Central Committee. The 11th Congress (1982) awarded her the title of Party Veteran (now borne by another four CPG members tried and tested in struggle). At present 76-year-old Avra Partsalidou holds a key post on the party's ideological front.

Kostas Vassalos, 84, was our other interlocutor. Party members respectfully and affectionately call him Uncle Kostas. He was elected to parliament for a second four-year term to represent Lesbos, the 'Red Island'. What prompted him to join the CPG, nearly 60 years ago, were a life full of hardships and trade union work in which he engaged on being demobilised from the army. He has been a professional revolutionary ever since 1927. He did underground work for many years and spent 26 years (18 of them in a row) in concentration camp, prison or exile.

Two of Vassalos' brothers died fighting the fascist invaders and domestic reactionaries. One of them was shot by the nazis in May 1944, at the firing range in Athens' Kaissariani district; the other lost his life as a prisoner of reaction in 1949. Kostas himself escaped the same lot by a miracle; sentenced to death three times, he awaited execution for five years. International solidarity forced the regime to commute the death sentence to one of life imprisonment.

Avra Partsalidou and Kostas Vassalos are among the thousands of Greek Communists who have dedicated their lives to the struggle for freedom, peace and social progress. Notwithstanding their age, they are both amazingly young at heart and mind, alert and tireless, and are vigorously fulfilling the party's assignment as educators of young Communists.

Prison As a School

"The fact is," Vassalos began, "that the communist party had to operate in strict clandestinity or at best in conditions of semi-illegality from the time it was founded, that is, 1918, till September 1974, when, following the downfall of the 'Black Colonels' dictatorship, it became an officially recognised force. But even when it wasn't formally banned the CPG was persecuted and the Communists were constantly threatened with arrest and exile to distant islands.

"As far back as 1929, the Vénizélos government passed a law on a 'specially qualified crime'. Under that law anybody who was engaged in communist activity or wrote for a paper linked with the CPG could be sentenced to a prison term of up to three years or to exile for up to five years. Subsequently other laws were made, including the sadly notorious 'emergency laws 375 and 509'. These two laws were widely applied in the civil war years (1946-1949) and immediately after it to pass and carry out death sentences on members of the National Liberation Front who fought the fascist invaders. In those circumstances it was very important for the CPG to ensure that legal work was coupled with underground work and that there was permanent contact between the Communists who remained free and those in prison."

When you meet a communist who has not merely lived a long life but has over a quarter-century of prison and exile behind him you cannot help wondering what his life as a prison inmate or internee was like, what gave him strength and confidence

even during the darkest periods of national history.

"Communists," Vassalos said, "adjusted their life and work in prison or exile to the conditions in which the party was fighting. Of course, there were restrictions for us political prisoners even when the party had a semi-legal status. However, prison and camp regulations were not very strict in those periods and so we were in a position to organise party work more effectively.

"All political prisoners and exiles, Communists, and non-Communists alike, belonged to 'collective life groups'. The groups held meetings to elect leading bodies and criticise their own activities. Naturally, precautions were taken not to be surprised by the guards.

"When in exile we always did our best to establish as cordial relations as possible with local people, to dispel doubts and anti-communist prejudices that official slander and pressure could have bred among them. Far from inconveniencing the population, we used to help them as best we could, taking advantage of the fact that among us political internees there were doctors, lawyers, teachers, agronomists, handicraftsmen.

"Internees made a point of spending their free time usefully. In addition to doing physical work (laying in firewood for heating, preparing meals, replenishing our water supply), we would use every opportunity to educate ourselves. With due regard to the educational, ideological and political background of each, we would set up groups for the study of philosophy, political economy, the trade union movement, problems of organising clandestine work, and so on.

"Those classes were valuable not only because we acquired knowledge that helped us on regaining freedom. We wanted everybody to learn, first, to express his thoughts clearly, and second, to grasp the substance of social problems. This was all the more necessary because many of the internees were peasants or workers who were shy of speaking in public at first. Gradually they shed their shyness and hesitations. When preparing to address a meeting or speak in a class, many would even climb the nearby rocks to 'rehearse' their speech like Demosthenes, the ancient Greek orator."

"We called prison and places of exile a school or university," Avra Partsalidou said, continuing the narrative. "It was there that I mastered the fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist theory. There, too, many illiterate people learnt to read and write. The lack of literature was always a very great handicap. I remember how under the Metaxas dictatorship¹ I was banished to the distant island of Gavdos, between Crete and Africa. You can't imagine how hard it was to come by books there. We had a tradition, however. When prison regulations were not too strict many political prisoners would bring literature with them and before going back would bury their books in the ground from where new arrivals would dig them out."

Partsalidou also stressed the important fact that contact with the party never broke off. Communist prisoners received information on the party's life and struggle, on its congresses and CC meetings, and studied documents adopted at them.

Kostas Vassalos reminisced that Communists invariably formed party groups among prisoners, doing it even in the most difficult years of civil war. Needless to say, detention camps offered greater opportunities to organise life. In prisons, however, the problem was much knottier. The inmates had to keep the strictest secrecy because each time the authorities detected the existence of a party group or discovered communist publications they had the responsible court-martialled. The death sentences passed by the court were carried out at once. This was the case in Akronafplia prison, where many Communists charged with forming party organisations were shot.

Establishing contacts between various sections of a prison was an important aspect of life in detention. Use was made to this end of the time allowed for exercise, work in the kitchen and even the Sunday divine service. Organisation was the prisoners' only means of self-preservation.

Farewell Dance

"I don't have to tell you," Vassalos said, "that in the years when executions were particularly frequent² and those condemned to die expected the fatal call to come any moment, it was impossible to devote as much time to study as before. In such periods work was carried on among those sentenced to death to help them face execution with dignity. We did our best to strengthen their confidence in the party and show them that by meeting death courageously they would make a tremendous contribution to our common revolutionary cause. With the exception of a few who lost heart and so failed the test, everybody displayed great staunchness. Notes hastily scribbled by prisoners sentenced to be executed became valuable evidence of courage and indestructible confidence in a better future."³

"Parting with Communists going into their last battle was a particularly poignant experience. Their names used to be called out the day before execution. If the prison courtyard was not shut off everybody would come out to give the condemned strength and staunchness by performing a farewell ritual, that is, dancing Greek folk dances and singing revolutionary songs. If, however, we were not allowed to leave our cells we would bid farewell by singing right in our cells. At six o'clock in the morning, when the condemned were taken away, they would shout, 'Farewell, boys!' And then the whole prison would stir into action, shouting slogans and calls for struggle as it saw off fellow-inmates."

"Communists faced with their executioners," Partsalidou added, "derived courage from our people's traditions. When, in 1821, the Greeks rose against the Turkish yoke men and women alike accomplished heroic deeds involving self-sacrifice. Splendid traditions developed in the National Resistance years. All this gave strength to the women—my fellow-prisoners—who went to meet death with head raised high."

"The only plant in the asphalted courtyard of Athens' Averof prison was a date-palm, which symbolised for us prisoners staunchness, beauty and resistance. It had become a tradition for women about to be executed to perform a Greek dance at first, moving around the tree, and then to walk away, singing a song in unison with those left behind. Such a death was seen as honourable."

Here's an extract rendered in prose from a song sung by women condemned to die:

"O my people, to you and Greece
We give our all every hour:
When one of us loses his life
We close our ranks but
shed no tears:
Now as before we want freedom for the people—
It is the goal which so many of us die for."

"Prisoners were also helped in preparing to face interrogation or torture," Partsalidou told us. Those who had been manhandled by torturers offered fellow-inmates advice on how to comport themselves at Asphalia⁴ headquarters, warning them that they mustn't betray anything about their work or fellow-Communists and must behave with dignity. They were told of the importance of vigilance, since interrogating officers often pretended benevolence and offered to convey a secret message from the prisoner to somebody to 'warn' him of danger.

"Our enemies would also promise to release a prisoner exhausted by torture provided he signed a *dilossis*, or a statement recanting his political convictions, renouncing the CPG and declaring it a party of traitors. A prisoner who accepted the offer could be set free the next day even if he had been sentenced to life imprisonment or to death. Our enemies would try in this way to tread prisoners' dignity underfoot, and would use the *dilossis* for their own ends, as by publishing it in the press. Communists fought against those methods of extorting repentance."

A Man of Legendary Fame

"It's hard to describe all that Communists who stayed loyal to their party and the working people had to go through," Vassalos went on. "Their staying power, fortitude and selflessness won legendary fame among us. I would like to tell you about Manolis Siganos, a Cretan doctor, who was seized during nazi occupation, underwent atrocious tortures and showed courage that amazed even his enemies.

"It happened in Athens in June 1944. Manolis went to meet somebody on instructions from the party but was noticed by a German patrol. He was wounded in the chest but managed to escape. Shortly afterwards, however, he ran into collaborationists who handed him over to the invaders.

"A few days later Manolis was taken to a room with a large table and made to lie down on the table. Four soldiers held him down while nurses applied an ether mask to his face. When Manolis recovered from the anaesthetic the nurses began to ask him questions in different languages about his home address, safe houses and the names of his associates. Manolis realised that if the method were repeated he might give important information against his will, such as the address of a party arms cache. This would have done enormous damage to the organisation and compelled his comrades to start from scratch. Besides, everybody would have learnt that Manolis had 'blabbed'. Having realised the danger Siganos decided to kill himself.

"He soon had a chance to do it. One of the guards, a party sympathiser, brought Manolis an empty can for water with a jag at its edge. Manolis whetted the jag on the concrete floor and by nightfall it was sharp. At midnight, when everybody was sleeping, he cut his wrist to open his artery. But his 'knife' proved too short. So Manolis pried up the artery with his fingers and slashed it. After that he covered up the wound with his blanket to muffle the sound of gushing blood. At dawn he was found unconscious in a pool of blood.

"The same guard informed the party of Manolis' death. Two days later the Athens Committee of the CPG held a brief meeting in memory of the comrade who had 'fallen in the battle for freedom and deliverance from the fascist yoke', and on August 20, 1944 *Rizospastis*, which was published in the liberated areas, carried an obituary.

"But Manolis wasn't dead. The prison doctor gave him first aid and he was put in a small cell. Afterwards Manolis said *evzones*⁵ flocked to the door of his cell because they were amazed at the courage of a Communist. In the end Manolis Siganos was transferred to a hospital from where he soon escaped."

The Force of Solidarity

A further activity of political prisoners mentioned by the two veterans was resistance to the regime's attempts to isolate Communists from the outside world.

"We always did our best to keep in touch with people outside prison," Vassalos said. "We did it in various ways, mainly through those who visited us, that is, by the nearest relations. Using that channel, we would inform the party of the situation in prison and give warning of coming executions. This would enable the solidarity movement to help us and even to prevent the execution of political prisoners.

"To call attention of Greek and international opinion to executions, in extreme situations we would also resort to hunger strikes. I remember how in 1948 we went on a hunger strike twice, each time for two weeks. During the second strike some died because the prison authorities tried to foil it by force feeding prisoners with milk through the nose. The 'feeder' had only to show the slightest carelessness for the milk to get into the prisoner's lungs and choke him. On Kefalonia Island, where I was confined during the second hunger strike, five prisoners died in this way. But we achieved our goal, for a protest movement surged high at home and abroad and executions were suspended for a year.

"It follows that in every situation we tried to strengthen the unity of prisoners and coordinate their actions, if in elementary forms, and secondly, to keep in touch with

the outside world by every available means."

"Greek Communists who found themselves in prison or exile camp," Partsalidou added, "received every manifestation of international solidarity with deep gratitude. In turn, they never forgot about memorable dates in the world revolutionary and communist movement, including the movement in Greece (May Day, November 7, November 17—founding day of the CPG) and contrived to mark national holidays: March 25, the anniversary of the uprising against the Turkish yoke, and October 28, the day of 'ohi' (no), which was the people's answer to the attack of Italian fascist troops. These actions added to the prisoners' confidence in the ideals of the party and raised their morale."

The hardest thing, both veterans pointed out, was to endure detention over a long period. Some people sentenced to death showed calm courage at the likelihood of early death but broke down under the burden of protracted detention, finding it even harder to bear than execution. After all, some found themselves in prison at the age of 20 and did not come out until the age of 40, after spending the best years of their lives behind bars. Without unshakable confidence in the ideals of communism, it would have been impossible to pass the hard tests that thousands of Communists were put to.

The hardships, difficulties and tortures that Avra Partsalidou and Kostas Vassalos had to go through failed to break them. They held out. Many of their fellow-Communists fell in battle but more and more new fighters took their place in Greece. It was also to them that Nazim Hikmet directed his famous lines expressing the sentiments of those who gave their lives for the people's happiness: "Wherever you are . . . whether in the Red Square, amid banners and songs, or . . . in a prison cell, threatened to be shot, you are the happiest person of the twentieth century if you have worked like a Communist, thought like a Communist, loved like a Communist, fought like a Communist and lived like a Communist."

Efstratios Korakas
alternate member, CC
Communist Party of Greece

Sergiou Tatais
journalist

¹ Imposed on August 4, 1936.—*Ed.*

² Meaning primarily the civil war years (1946-1949).—*Ed.*

³ Many notes which prisoners wrote on slips of paper and threw out of the prison wagon as they were taken away to be executed have been preserved.

⁴ State security agency.—*Ed.*

⁵ Members of a select infantry corps wearing national costumes who collaborated with the invaders.—*Ed.*

new experience

Our Interviews Federalisation Completed

Roel Jacobs – member of the CC
Political Bureau and Secretariat,
Communist Party of Belgium (CPB)

With the congresses of the Walloon, Flemish and Brussels organisations of the CPB in 1983 and 1984, the process of the party's federalisation is virtually complete. What are the reasons for which the party's structure has been changed?

FOR historical reasons, Belgium finds itself straddling the frontier between the Germanic and the Romance culture in Europe. The whole social, political and cultural life of our country is so divided between these two linguistic zones that the Walloons have a better knowledge of what goes on in France (because they speak the same language) than what goes on in Flanders, while the Flemings (who have a language of their own) are more in touch with events in the Netherlands than with Walloon realities.

The marked distinctions between the country's North, inhabited by the Flemings, and the South, inhabited by the Walloons, have a long history, for they first appeared when the country was just taking shape and when the French-speaking bourgeoisie, striving for unitarism, began a drive against the Flemish cultural identity. With the passage of time, these problems spilled over the cultural framework and acquired an economic dimension.

Belgium's industrialisation began in the South and up until the middle of the 20th century led to a fairly high level of concentration of production, so creating the conditions for relative prosperity in that region, as compared with Flanders. The working class movement in Wallonia, which developed before the church began to take an interest in it, is dominated by the traditional left-wing forces, i.e., the Socialists and the Communists, while the trade unions are mainly under the influence of the Socialist Party.

The situation is different in the North. For one thing, the level of economic concentration there is much lower. The industrial zones are scattered across the region and are concentrated mainly in the big and medium-size cities. The working class movement emerged somewhat later than it did in Wallonia, and is under the strong influence of the Christian Democrats.

Industry in the South began to decline after 1945, while economic activity was increasingly shifted to the great ports of the North (Antwerpen, Ghent, and Brugge). This gave a new dimension to the problem of relations between the two communities. The Walloons, who had (in contrast to the Flemings) never felt any particular need to identify themselves as a national group within the framework of the Belgian state, then came to feel that need, but now it was no longer a matter of cultural identity, but of a socio-economic protest against the decline of their region. Meanwhile, the industrial upswing had given the Flemish nationalistic movement a fresh impetus. It ceased to confine itself to the sphere of culture, and began to demand a broad autonomy for Flanders in the economic and social spheres as well.

There is also the third component of the problems, namely, Brussels, which to some extent complicates the case for federalisation. Brussels is a city with highly specific problems: it has tens of thousands of immigrants who have never actually been integrated with the Belgian society, and there is a strong mood of racism. There is a shortage of housing and industrial enterprises are being closed down one after another. The authorities regard Brussels solely as an administrative and political

centre, and for that reason encourage the development only of the service sector. Despite the preponderance of the French-speaking population in the Brussels region, it is a bilingual and bicultural region. Finally, in contrast to Flanders and Wallonia, which have already received some autonomy (a highly abbreviated one, we think) as the result of the constitutional reform, Brussels has no political rights at all. It remains totally dependent on the government, and this hampers the solution of its problems.

In the political debate over federalisation that has now been under way in the country for 20 years, the Flemings incline to a federalism on the principle of the two cultural and linguistic groups. By contrast, there is a tendency in the South and in Brussels to identify the three regions—Wallonia, Brussels and Flanders—on an economic and geographical basis. But the debate over a two-part or three-part federalism is largely artificial and tends to obscure the problem, notably the urge of the ruling class to maintain the power of the nation-wide institutions which hold out important advantages to the right. Thus, judging by the election returns in Wallonia, a majority of the Left can well take shape in that part of the country. However, the rightists in Wallonia and in Flanders are trying to join efforts to preserve their own coalition on a national scale, so as to go in imposing their will on the country. That is the real gist of the ongoing debates.

So, the Communists stand for federalisation precisely because it should help to set up political institutions close to the population to enable it to exercise better control over the activity of the authorities. That is precisely why we oppose too-rigid a unitary structure and want to see it replaced by a democratic federal system.

What effect has federalisation had on the CPB and its governing bodies?

The first thing to emphasise is that, in contrast to other political entities and trends—Socialists, Christians, liberals and, of course, the federalist (i.e., the Walloon and the Flemish) parties, the CPB continues to exist on the scale of the country as a whole. We still have our national congress, our Central Committee, Political Bureau, and Secretariat. As in the past, the party general political line and international policy are decided on the national level.

At the same time, regional structures (councils and bureaus) have been set up in Flanders, Wallonia and Brussels parallel to the national institutions. The function of these new CPB institutions is to try to pursue a coherent party policy, while differentiating the accents according to the particular features of each of the three regions. Under the party's Statutes, national congresses are now to be called once in four years, and regional congresses in the intervening periods, once in two years.

The first such congresses have been held and one could already speak about the specific aspects and tasks of the activity of each of the PCB's three regional organisations.

Yes, of course. Thus, at the congress in Wallonia, a region where the left-wing forces are pre-eminent and where the economic crisis has been most acutely felt, the discussion bore essentially on the lines of social and economic struggle. A study of the highly interesting dossiers prepared for the congress showed more clearly the approach to take to the problems arising from the region's decline and the need for its economic reconstruction.

At the congress of the CPB's Flemish organisation, the discussion on these matters was not as elaborate, but other topics were examined in greater depth in the light of the traditions of the movement in Flanders. Because of the highly singular composition of the progressive forces and the much greater clerical influence, many problems, especially those posed by the policy of alliances, were examined from a totally different angle. Let us note that the youth, peace and environmental

movements, developing outside the framework of the traditional socio-economic struggle, are more active in the North than in the South.

Finally, the delegates to the Brussels congress mainly discussed the specific problems facing the capital which I have listed. The congress issued a call to turn Brussels into a city of dialogue, instead of confrontation, for it is now a city of confrontation, since it is the site of the NATO headquarters, there is evidence of racism, and it is rent by acute intercommunal antagonisms. An effort should be made to change this state of things and to find solutions to the existing problems that would meet the interests of all of the city's communities.

I think that the CPB is the country's only political force capable of acting with that end in view in a spirit of democratic federalism, preventing splits between the Flemish and the Walloon working people, and, in effect, promoting their unity.

In the Mirror of the Press

Rizospastis

A GROWING READERSHIP

In the autumn of 1984, the Greek Communists' newspaper marked the 10th anniversary of its emergence from the underground. Its circulation has been steadily growing. Its Sunday edition already has a printing of over 140,000 copies, and its readership has been growing not only in the big cities, like Athens and Piraeus, but also in the provinces. In some weeks, the newspaper gains from 2,000 to 4,000 new readers. The daily edition continues to rank first among the Greek morning papers in printing (up to 45,000 copies). These advances testify to the popular masses' broad approval of the ideas and proposals of the Communist Party of Greece, which intends to go on working to carry the voice of the Communists—the voice of truth—to ever larger numbers of people from one end of the country to another, says *Rizospastis*.

Cadres: Ideological Tempering How Our Study System Functions

Jorge Acuna – member of the National Education Commission under the CC of the CP Argentina (CPA)

Each fraternal party has definite experience in the political education of its members in the light of the national specifics and the practical revolutionary struggle. By what is your party guided in organising studies for its members?

Victorio Codovilla, Chairman of the CPA from 1963 to 1970, said years ago that the principal condition in which the communist parties can play their historical role is to

make sure that their members study and master the essentials of the Marxist-Leninist theory, and apply them in their practical activity in the light of the historical traditions and the characteristic socio-economic specifics of each country. In its ideological-education work, the CPA seeks constantly to combine the Communists' theoretical and political training with revolutionary practice.

Since the mid-1970s, we have had a system of party instruction which has absorbed the party's wide experience of many years, and which reflects our desire to create a coherent structure of political education work and instruction of Communists, including the centralised writing of curricula. Instruction is under the general direction of the National Education Commission under the CPA CC, but the process itself is decentralised: special commissions on ideological-education work operate under party authorities at every level.

The study system consists of five school stages, each differing in curriculum, duration of course and tuition methods. Underpinning the pyramid are schools of the first and second stage designed for activists of grass-roots organisations and of the following echelon, i.e., the party committees of the neighbourhoods and enterprises. The course here runs, respectively, to 36 and 60 hours. The complexity and duration of the course are increased at each level: third-stage schools have a programme designed for 200 hours, fourth-stage schools, for 400 hours, and the Higher School of the CPA CC—600 hours. There, at the final stage of the political education network, the subjects include: dialectical and historical materialism; the political economy of pre-monopoly and monopoly capitalism; Lenin's theory of socialist revolution; the contemporary epoch and the international situation; the country's socio-economic structure; the CPA's Programme; the methodology of elaborating strategy and tactics; the fundamentals of the party's history; the contemporary political situation; and the ideological and organisational principles of the CPA.

Among the forms of study are lectures, seminars and consultations. In the course of a year, the Higher School conducts two full-time three-month courses, and one nine-month course for those who cannot leave their job to study eight hours a day. These are primarily activists and leaders of organisations in the working class movement.

We seek to involve as many Communists as possible in the study process. Even under the military junta (1976-1983), when our party was banned and subjected to brutal repression, every unit of the party school, like the whole system of the PCA's political education, carried on its activity. From 1975 to the beginning of 1984, for instance, 13,000 of our comrades—workers, employees, peasants, students and housewives—graduated from the first-stage schools, which are the most numerous ones.

We also have special schools for workers, peasants and women. Their programme includes the same subjects as those of the first-stage party schools, but—and therein lies the difference—there is also instruction in the specific issues which are of particular interest to each of these social groups. The party does much to help young Communists, many of whom are trained at the party schools, and promotes the political education work of the Young Communist Organisation.

What other forms of education for the Communists are there?

There are seminars, party-study days, and circles outside the framework of the school system. Seminars are held to analyse concrete problems in the work of the party and the country's political life. Party-study days are designed for the study of the most important documents of the CPA and the international communist movement. The circles have a special role in organising the Communists' political self-education and help them to acquire the habit of study on their own. The circles meet once in 20 or 30 days and are guided by a consultant in discussing and examining questions in specially

selected topics, say, Marx's *Capital*, some of Lenin's writings, various philosophical works, etc. Some circles take guidance from the programme of the party schools from the third to the fifth stages.

Instruction within the party-study system requires well-trained and experienced cadres. Whom does the party assign to this work?

First of all, the Communists working on the governing bodies of the CPA, in the trade unions and mass organisations who have a flair for teaching. They not only provide guidance, but also give political orientation for the cadres' studies, helping to develop and improve the system, offering assistance in the training of new teachers and lecturers, and making special efforts to develop teaching skills among members of their audience.

What about your study aids?

We keep working to produce and publish programmes, aids and reference material. Over the past decades, for instance, we have had eight editions (with a total printing of 30,000 copies) of the textbook for the first-stage party school, and two editions of the textbook for the second-stage school. We also have a special aid for improving teaching skills.

Our immediate task is to produce one set of programmes and aids designed for each unit of the party-education system to help improve the whole process of instruction. Improvement of tuition methods is another important line. With that end in view, the National Education Commission under the CPA CC annually puts out a bulletin called *El Monitor* (The Instructor), as a methods and bibliographical guide in our work. The bulletin also presents the experience of our party and of other fraternal parties in political education.

What are the problems faced by the CPA in the sphere of party studies, and the prospects of their development?

We have many difficulties. The very fact that the system has been set up does not yet signify that it functions as we should like it to function. The difficult tasks now facing the party prevent us from diverting the best trained cadres for teaching over long periods. There is also the fact that some party committees fail to give due attention to the political education of the Communists. Finally, some problems spring from the different general educational and cultural levels of the students, and the fact that each has his own particular experience of participation in the socio-political struggle.

The CPA sets the guidelines for developing the party-study system above all with an eye to the need to enhance the Communists' role in the working class movement. Hence the line of improving the content and methods of instruction, so as to put it into closer touch with life and help students to sort out the problems of the trade union movement and find the right answers to the problems of the day-to-day struggle. We believe that it is highly important to involve more workers, especially at the big enterprises, in the process of political education and to select and train our teaching cadres more thoroughly.

The heightened demands on our ideological activity are also determined by the task of turning the PCA into a mass party. In this context, the PCA General Secretary Athos Fava says that in the struggle for the growth of our party ranks, the Communists must seek to meet the working people's requirements and also to overcome some misunderstandings. There is a need, therefore, to find the most massive forms for organising the press, propaganda and political education. That is the line along which the Communists of Argentina are working on their political education front with a creative approach and in a spirit of militancy.

Personal Impression The Birth of a Vanguard Party

We have already reported on the foundation of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia (WPE) and the preparations by the Ethiopian revolutionaries for its first, inaugural congress.¹ Among its foreign guests were **Khaled Hammami**, member of the CC Political Bureau of the Syrian Communist Party and member of the *WMR* Editorial Council, and *WMR* staff member **Rustem Sevortyan**. Below is their report on the congress.

A few short hours remained before the opening of the First Congress of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia. A group of foreign journalists and photographers were observing the final preparations for the congress. The backdrop to the platform carried two inscriptions in the ornate letters of the Amharic: on the left—'Marxism-Leninism Is Our Guide', and on the right—'Inaugural Congress of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia, Pagume 1-5, 1976'. Pagume is the shortest of the 13 months of the Coptic calendar, and its several days on which the congress sat (September 6-10, 1984) encompassed an event of truly historic proportions: the birth of a Marxist-Leninist party.

Ethiopia has now been living ten years according to the revolutionary calendar, while the reference to the Coptic calendar is a tribute to the country's rich cultural heritage, of which every Ethiopian patriot is justifiably proud. Mengistu Haile Mariam began his report on behalf of the CC of the Commission for Organising the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia (COPWE)² with a retrospect of the country's distant past and the formation of its ancient state. He gave a wide panorama of the life of the Ethiopian society over the centuries, spoke of the importance of cultural traditions, and gave some vivid denunciations of 'one of the most backward feudal regimes', the regime of the overthrown Emperor Haile Selassie.

The sections of the report on the crucial role of the working people's struggle in the history of Ethiopia were most telling, and the central idea of the report was illustrated by Delachin (*Our Victory*), an exposition of photographs in Addis Ababa. The tone of the exposition was set by two sculptured figures at the entrance: a torch-carrying worker, and a peasant wielding a sickle. On the 2,500 photographs are episodes of the recent past under the monarchy, such as the crowd of demonstrating workers at the headquarters of the trade union confederation hurling denunciations at its corrupt leadership and demanding higher wages and the right to work. Many visitors stop at the now famous photograph, showing the drab greyish Volkswagen in front of Haile Selassie's palace, which is about to whisk away the just deposed 'Negus Negeste', the self-styled 'king of kings'. Other photographs record the mass enthusiasm after the revolution carried out under the leadership of the patriotic-minded sons of toiling Ethiopia, when the energy of the people accumulated over the centuries spilled out into the streets. The country's state independence was safeguarded by the people's courage and dedication. With the power of the oppressors out of the way, the people got down to building a new society.

The imperialist press has repeatedly tried to tag the Ethiopian revolution as 'elitist' and 'military', which is a far cry from the truth. The army's patriotic circles with the Provisional Military Administrative Council at their head have always acted on behalf of the oppressed and together with them, which is why the fledgling power managed to maintain its stand, to gain in strength and to defend itself.

The revolution entered upon a new stage with the formation of its vanguard party. It follows from the documents adopted by the congress—the Report, the Programme and Rules of the WPE—that the party is guided by the ideology of the working class

and speaks on its behalf. It brings together the best representatives of the workers in material production, and also peasants, military men and progressive intellectuals. The party is the leading force of the Ethiopian society and is to become the nucleus of the country's entire political system.

The social make-up of the delegates to the congress is an eloquent one: of the 1,742 delegates, almost 20 per cent are workers, 11.8 per cent peasants, and 68.9 per cent members of the armed forces, intellectuals and government employees. Let us note that just over three years ago, workers made up only 2.9 per cent of the COPWE membership, and peasants even less than that—1.2 per cent.³ However, the number of workers involved in the Commission's activity soon multiplied many times over. This trend continued to grow as more and more forward-looking men and women from the main labouring classes joined the ranks of the future party. In the struggle for building the foundations of socialism, it was said at the congress, the party intends steadily to enhance the leading role of the working class.

As one listened to speeches by the working people's delegates, one found it hard to believe that no more than a decade ago the working man was not regarded as a human being, while the peasant had to slave for the feudal lord and give up threequarters of his crop for the tenure of a scrap of land. The speeches by workers and peasants at the congress gave one the impression of profound commitment, and down-to-earth common sense. A delegate from the province of Bale, for instance, hailed the party's measures to tighten up popular control and stressed its importance for ensuring the 'political supremacy of the working people'. A peasant from Arsi Province considered the problems connected with producer cooperation and plans for agrarian transformations. Such is nowadays the level of thinking among the front-ranking section of those who work in the countryside, and the change in the condition of the whole peasant class is such that its members are actively involved in the life of the society and the state, freely voicing their opinions at the ruling party's highest forum.

The building of the All-Ethiopia Peasants' Association stands in a green, picturesque suburb of Addis Ababa fringed with eucalyptus groves. Its chairman Abdella Sonessa, still excited after the congress debates, told a group of foreign journalists what Ethiopian peasants thought about the party and described their relations with the working class. Chairman Abdella comes from the lower classes and now represents the interests of that labouring part of the countryside. So it is not surprising that he clearly resented one Western journalist's attempts to create the impression that the peasantry and the party, the town and the countryside were almost at the opposite poles of social life. He countered by giving the following figures: 44 of the 45 members of the EPA CC are also members of the party, while 20 members of the WPE Central Committee, including Abdella himself, represent the progressive peasantry. He stressed once again that the goals of the party and the interests of the peasantry are identical, and that the alliance of the working class and the peasantry is imperative, for it is an alliance which guarantees the viability of the new system and realisation of the people's vital interests.

But let us return to the hall where the congress is in session. On a multi-tiered platform set up on the stage are leaders of progressive African and Asian states, representatives of the communist parties of the socialist countries and of the non-socialist world, of the revolutionary working class and national liberation movements: 75 foreign delegations attended the inaugural congress of the WPE, and their presence was a vivid expression of the solidarity with the Ethiopian people's struggle for building a new society, and thwarting the moves by imperialism and its allies, which are hatching counter-revolutionary conspiracies against socialist Ethiopia.

Foreign speakers noted the great contribution to the peoples' liberation struggle and the growing international authority of that major African country, which takes a consistent stand for peace, democracy and social progress. Some of the greetings to

the congress were highly original and colourful. When President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia was given the floor, he invited the Presidents of Angola, Mozambique and Tanzania to chant together with him slogans in Swahili in praise of the Ethiopian revolution. Again and again, delegates sang songs and issued fiery calls readily echoed by the nearly 2,000-strong body of the congress.

Expressions of solidarity with the revolution are highly appreciated in Ethiopia. In the trying year of 1977, when it was under attack from external aggressors and internal counter-revolutionaries, 'Long Live Proletarian Internationalism' was an especially popular slogan among the masses. One will find it on many buildings even today. The people have vivid memories of the exploits of the Cuban internationalists, who fought shoulder to shoulder with the revolutionary army against the invaders, and of the fraternal solidarity of neighbouring democratic Yemen, which was so important when the whole of Arab reaction put its stake on the Somali regime and turned against the revolution. The Ethiopians put an exceptionally high value on the internationalist assistance and support from the USSR and the whole socialist community. Here, great store is set by the assistance of the socialist countries in overcoming the extremely severe consequences of the lengthy drought. The party is mobilising the people to the struggle against this natural disaster.

In the final minutes of the congress, Mengistu Haile Mariam, newly-elected General Secretary of the WPE CC, delivered an emotional closing speech that was something of a retrospect of the way traversed by the patriots. He himself is a participant and an initiator of the historic events of 1974, and has a detailed knowledge of what happened. The leader of the revolution recalled the enthusiasm of his comrades-in-arms as they directed the burst of popular indignation for the overthrow of the corrupt monarchy. Power had turned into a reed that was easily broken, he said. But what was to be put in its place?

The Ethiopian revolutionaries have founded their Marxist-Leninist party, the Workers' Party of Ethiopia, and are advancing towards the establishment of a people's democratic republic based on the laws of the socialist order and the people's conscious participation in running the state.

The delegates, linked with ties of class brotherhood, rose as a body to the solemn strains of *The Internationale* marking the close of the WPE's inaugural congress.

¹ See WMR, Nos. 8, 9, and 11, 1984.

² COPWE was set up in 1979 with Mengistu Haile Mariam as its head. Up until the inaugural congress, the COPWE acted as the ideological and political vanguard of the Ethiopian society, and was entrusted with the work of preparing the foundation of a Marxist-Leninist party in Ethiopia.—Ed.

³ *Documents and Resolutions of the 2nd COPWE Congress*, Addis Ababa, 1983, p. 12.

In Brief

AFGHANISTAN

The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan is marking its 20th anniversary. In honour of the occasion the PDPA Central Committee has adopted a document summing up the party's efforts, outlining its role in the April Revolution and the defence of the people's gains from external and internal enemies and stressing that over the past six years, despite all trials and difficulties, the strength of the PDPA has grown from 15,000 to 120,000 members and candidate members. Mention is made of

the fact that currently, it maintains contacts with 52 revolutionary parties, progressive movements and organisations.

ITALY

Salvatore Zago, a Communist, has been elected mayor of Comiso, the Sicilian town near which US medium-range missiles are being deployed. Salvatore Zago replaced a Socialist holder of this post who supported NATO's war preparations. The new mayor called on the mayors of other West European cities and towns situated close to US missile bases to join the campaign against the deployment of the weapons of aggression.

LEBANON

The establishment of a Democratic Patriotic Front of Lebanon, comprising the Lebanese Communist Party, the Progressive Socialist Party and several other political organisations, has been announced in Beirut. Among the foremost tasks of the Front is the struggle to free the country from Israeli occupation.

PORTUGAL

For the first time, a Communist deputy will serve on the regional parliament of the Azores. José D. Mota, member of the PCP Central Committee and candidate of the Alliance for Popular Unity coalition which includes the Portuguese Communist Party, the Portuguese Democratic Movement and independent members, has won the election despite the stiff resistance of the Social Democrats who have done all they could to bar representatives of the coalition from the regional parliament.

SWITZERLAND

For three days the Swiss Party of Labour and its newspaper *Voix Ouvrière* held their traditional festival in Geneva, this year marking their 40th anniversary. The struggle against the growing war threat in Europe and the world was among the central themes of the event.

exchange of views, discussion

Bourgeois Conservatism: Reaction All Along the Line

The WMR Commission for Problems of the Class Struggle in Industrialised Capitalist Countries sponsored an exchange of views about the substance and dimensions of the influence of bourgeois conservatism today. The participants in this exchange were *Bruno Furch*, Communist Party of Austria, *Bert Ramelson*, Communist Party of Great Britain, *Johannes von Heiseler*, German Communist Party, *Domingos Lopes*, Portuguese Communist Party, *John Pittman*, Communist Party USA, and Professor *A. A. Galkin* (Doctor of Hist.), department head at the Institute of the International Working Class Movement of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The following is a summary of the discussion.

THE early 1980s saw an activation of conservative political forces in the capitalist world. The most obvious expression of this is their assumption of power in leading NATO countries—notably the USA and also Britain and the FRG. Bourgeois conservatism is today affecting various areas of society's life and is a broad-based ideological, philosophical, and political school. The implementation of its tenets, which mirror mainly the interests of the imperialist circles and big capital, signifies, to use a phrase by Lenin, 'reaction *all along the line*'.¹

While noting this activation of conservatism, the participants accentuated the fact that this is only one of the trends in the capitalist world today. There are in opposition to it powerful democratic trends and influential political forces. The objective processes of society's development create realistic prerequisites for the decline of the influence of conservatism, and this depends largely on how organised the resistance is of the forces opposed to it. Developments give many examples of how the right-wing forces suffer setbacks in their efforts to impose their supremacy on society. However, there should be no underestimation of the political and ideological offensive mounted by the reactionary, bellicose quarters of the monopoly bourgeoisie under the guise of modern conservatism (neoconservatism, ultra-conservatism, right-wing conservatism).

Depending on the actual situation, the 'drift to the right' in individual countries manifests itself differently. In some countries (Britain, the FRG, Denmark, Norway, Belgium) it has led to the replacement of social democratic or bourgeois-liberal by bourgeois governments with various hues of conservatism. In others (France, Austria, Sweden), right-wing bourgeois circles are stepping up their attacks with the objective of seizing political power. In some cases an essentially neoconservative policy is pursued, albeit in a toned down form, by ruling social democratic parties themselves.

In the USA the latter half of the 1970s and the first half of the 1980s have been characterised by a shift of the centre of political life to the right. The election to the

US presidency in 1980 of Ronald Reagan, who represents the extreme right-wing conservative quarters of the American bourgeoisie, and the policy pursued by the government in Washington have had some effect on other capitalist states. To put it metaphorically, the USA has become the locomotive hauling the capitalist world in a conservative direction. Reagan's re-election in November 1984 for another four-year term only reaffirmed the preference that US monopoly capital now gives to conservative methods of administration.

It was stressed at the discussion that despite the installation of right-wing bourgeois governments, the conservative trend in Britain and the FRG is not as accentuated as in the USA. The victory of the British Tories at the 1979 elections was in large measure facilitated by the split in the Labour Party, thanks to which they won the majority in parliament without polling even half of the votes. Moreover, this was also a result of the impact of the majority electoral system. The Thatcher government's obvious failures in the economic and social spheres once again left the Tories well below 50 per cent of the votes at the 1983 elections. Nevertheless, the unfair electoral system enabled them even to strengthen their position in parliament.

In the FRG the turn towards conservatism was facilitated by the fact that when they were in power the right-wing socialist leaders pursued what, in many aspects, amounted to a conservative policy, and this eroded the support that they had among the population. The Free Democratic Party's defection to the opposition allowed the CDU-CSU bloc to seize power. It strengthened its positions at the 1983 elections.

In France, the results of the elections to the European Parliament in the summer of 1984, even with a small turnout at the polls, unequivocally pointed to a strengthening of the right-wing forces, including the extreme right that is close to the fascists. In Italy the neofascist party compensates, as it were, for the certain decline, due to a number of reasons, of the influence once enjoyed by traditional conservative forces that dominated the nation's political life for several decades. In Austria the growth of conservative feeling affected the results of the latest parliamentary elections, in which the Austrian People's Party came a close second to the ruling Socialist Party.

Conservatism is making a weaker showing in countries that relatively recently shook off extreme right, fascist regimes: in Spain, Greece, and Portugal. The wounds inflicted by fascist rule and the memories of the close bond that existed between extremist-fascists and traditional conservatives are still fresh. Nevertheless, even in these countries conservative elements are consolidating themselves, trying to retrieve, even if partially, the positions they have lost.

The participants in the discussion were unanimous in the view that the working class movement had to take into account the changes in the bourgeoisie's political strategy, for these changes are significantly influencing the condition of the working people and the struggle they are waging for their interests.

Credo of the Right-Wing Forces

Local distinctions and national specifics do not alter the basic, general content of the credo of the monopoly bourgeoisie's right wing. Spokesmen of conservative circles in industrialised capitalist countries are preaching what are, on the whole, identical views.

In the economy they are out to replace the reformist model of development based on the Keynesian methods of state-monopoly regulation and social manoeuvring by a monetarist model oriented on freeing private business from state interference, on the utmost encouragement for market relations, for private enterprise, and on reduced social spending. This is to be achieved by tax and other benefits for capital and a drastic growth of military expenditures. The economic programmes of the Reagan Administration, the Thatcher government, and the Kohl cabinet are publicised as a return to a 'free market', although all they are doing is to lift some of the restrictions imposed earlier on the monopolies.

In the social sphere the more flexible liberal-reformist policy of promoting a social compromise has given way to an undistinguished bent for an 'austerity economy' at the expense of the working people. The former contention that a 'social economy' can ensure 'universal welfare' has been replaced by an apologia of 'economic realism' purged of sentimentality. Hence the cutback of expenditures on the people's needs in many capitalist countries and the restrictions on social security programmes, and the widening gap between the poor and the rich. The reformist calls for 'social harmony' are now outshouted by the assertions that inequality is a perpetual state, and this has been expressed in a consummate formula in Margaret Thatcher's words about the 'right to equality'. Guidelines of this sort are inducing the conservative forces in industrialised capitalist countries to make forcible attempts to take from the working class and all other working people what had been won by them in the hard-fought class battles of the preceding decades.

Taking advantage of the fear of unemployment, the conservatives have launched what amounts to an offensive in the real sense against the right of working people and against their trade unions and political organisations. Actions such as the dismantling of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organisation in 1981 on direct orders from the US president and the police harassment of British miners (whose strike is the longest in the history of the British working class movement) are evidence of an inclination to intimidate the working people, to break their resistance to an anti-people policy. The readiness to ignore the rules of bourgeois democracy is accompanied by a striving to limit it on the pretext that there is a 'surfeit of democracy' and that consequently the mechanisms of management are not effective enough.

Attention is attracted by the obvious intention of the conservatives, especially those in power, to divert the working people from domestic disorders by whipping up chauvinistic passions, jingoism, and militarist hysteria. In the USA the Reagan Administration persists in preaching the cult of a 'strong America' prepared to use weapons, as has already been demonstrated on Grenada. The British conservatives organised a propaganda orgy over the 'victory' in the conflict with Argentina over the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands. The resultant wave of chauvinism helped them to win the parliamentary elections that were held soon after. In the FRG the ruling CDU/CSU bloc, aided by the FDP, is unabashedly whipping up revanchist feeling and supporting revanchist associations. Frenzied anti-communism and anti-Sovietism are the common denominator of all these efforts to mislead the people.

In foreign policy the accent on the use or threat of force is now more distinct than ever before. 'Godless communism' is anathematised, a 'crusade' has been declared against it, and the course has been set towards an aggravation of the confrontation with the Soviet Union and the socialist world as a whole. Brazen interference in the internal affairs of independent nations is said to be almost a 'moral duty' before God. This is seen most clearly in the USA, where in terms of scale and expense a gigantic programme for 'America's rearmament' has been started with the objective of achieving military superiority and putting the USA in a position to dictate its will to other nations. All the other NATO countries are following in the wake of Washington's adventurist policies, some with vacillations and reservations and others, notably Britain and the FRG, blindly, with their own militarist programmes.

The attitude to settling urgent international problems, it was noted at the discussion, is being worked out in accordance with the recipes of the conservative school of 'political realism', which, proceeding from the fallacious theory that the struggle 'for power and strength' is eternal and inevitable, reduces all processes in the world to the 'bipolar' confrontation of the USSR and the USA, and declare that the buildup of military strength is the sole form of this confrontation. In short, the aggressive aspirations implicit in imperialism generally and predicted by its 'ancestral' features and the growing influence of the military-industrial complexes are to be seen

in ever more sharp relief. The growth of conservative tendencies in domestic policy is giving the incentive for an aggressive foreign policy, which, in turn, facilitates the spread of conservative views.

On the whole, present-day conservatism is an anti-communist, anti-democratic, and anti-liberal trend permeated with hatred of social progress and its champions—all the democratic forces and progressive parties, the Communists in the first place.

The characteristic of the policy and ideology of modern conservatism, given at the discussion, sums up the common features inherent in the political circles representing it in industrialised capitalist countries. Further, it was pointed out that sight should not be lost of the fact that conservatism itself is heterogeneous, that the proponents of a 'hard line' sometimes encounter resistance in their own ranks. In Britain, for instance, the Iron Lady, as Margaret Thatcher has been christened, has on several occasions had to reshuffle her cabinet in order to rid herself of ministers worried about the negative impact that her inflexible policies are having on the positions held by the Tories. On the other hand, in the USA even the accentuated confrontation course adopted by the Reagan Administration in domestic and foreign policies has been criticised by the so-called 'new Right', who speak for the most reactionary segment of the monopoly bourgeoisie. In the FRG, alongside the Christian Democrats, who support revanchist demands, there are conservative elements, albeit not many, who deplore the deployment of US nuclear missiles in the country. Generally speaking, in various countries there are in the conservative milieu, including the government, marked distinctions in the attitude to peaceful coexistence with the other social system—socialism. In the opinion of the participants in the discussion, this differentiation must be taken into account when present-day conservatism is assessed.

Roots of a Phenomenon

The discussion considered what is making the monopoly bourgeoisie turn to the ideology and practices of conservatism. On the historical level, this has always occurred in periods witnessing an aggravation of the crisis development of exploiting society.

In the 1930s, after the Great Depression, monopoly capital went much further in using traditional conservatism. In the onslaught against democracy and socialism the stake was placed on fascism. Differing, of course, from conservatism, fascism absorbed all of its key postulates: a hostile attitude to social progress, the preaching of a strong authority and dependence on military strength, the apologia of the hierarchal principle for society's structure, scorn for the working masses (the 'plebeians'), and a hatred of social movements aimed at reshaping social relations in the interests of the majority of humankind, and chiefly for communism, for the doctrine of Marxism.

After the Second World War neoliberalism and bourgeois reformism moved into the forefront in the bourgeoisie's ideological armoury. This was the consequence of fascism's military and political downfall, which led to the discrediting, world-wide, not only of fascist ideology as such but of conservative thought and currents that were, as a rule, direct or indirect allies of nazism. With the weakening of conservatism the most influential sections of monopoly capital resorted mainly to bourgeois-parliamentary forms of political power.

Meanwhile, the capitalist system's instability globally induced the ruling class, notably its most reactionary, bellicose quarters, to sustain conservatism as a reserve means of maintaining and consolidating its supremacy.

Drawing upon historical experience, the participants in the discussion showed why modern conservatism became active in the latter half of the 1970s. It was then that there was a sharp exacerbation of all of capitalism's contradictions. The years of a relatively stable economic development were superseded by a period of mounting

instability. The cyclical crisis of 1974-1975 proved to be the most serious after the Great Depression of 1929-1933. The upswing of production that followed was sluggish and, more importantly, shortlived. The new crisis of 1980-1983 was long and its effects are felt to this day in a number of countries.

The deterioration of the economic situation brought with it a sharp aggravation of the contradictions in capitalist society. The material base of the policy of social manoeuvring, which was pursued by the ruling class in the preceding decades, shrank significantly. Moreover, large investments in new plant require the mobilisation of additional resources. Reluctant to surrender their profits and agree to a cutback of military expenditures, the reactionary monopoly circles saw as their only source of funds the dismantling of the system of social security created in the preceding years thanks to the struggles of the working people. A reconsideration of views commenced with the object of developing the most preferable forms of ensuring the political supremacy of the bourgeoisie. Those who during the post-war decades had oriented themselves on utilising bourgeois-democratic institutions and indirectly manipulating mass behaviour found their positions weakened. On the other hand, there was a growth of the influence of the proponents of 'folding up democracy' and using direct political compulsion and violence.

Against the background of all these processes it was seen that imperialism could not compete with socialism by peaceful means in a situation of detente. And since the efforts to turn it into a weapon for 'softening' and destroying socialism failed, detente was jettisoned. Conservatives, including those of the extreme right, were found to be best suited for the aspiration of imperialism's aggressive circles to put more pressure on the socialist world and the national liberation movement. The course towards achieving global military supremacy and ceasing cooperation with the Soviet Union, set in the USA by the Carter Administration, was made the foundation of the policies of the Reagan Administration. The support that West European conservatives gave to Washington's illusory hopes of attaining 'positions of strength' relative to the socialist community predetermined the consent of some NATO countries to the deployment of US nuclear missiles in Europe. This has resulted in a dramatic growth of the danger of a nuclear conflict.

The most reactionary groups of the monopoly bourgeoisie not only laid claim to but also got their hands on the direct levers of power largely as a result of the growing influence of the military-industrial complexes in the socio-political life of the leading capitalist states.

Conservatism, it was said at the discussion, proved to be the most suitable ideological and political instrument for realising the strategy of monopoly capital. Of course, in the various countries the new orientation taken by the ruling class manifests itself differently. But despite this diversity it is unquestionable that *in the capitalist world this activation of conservatism in ideology and politics mirrors general in-depth tendencies. It is a result of the sharp aggravation of capitalism's crisis and is a form in which this aggravation manifests itself. The ruling class counts on this replacement of bourgeois-liberal and bourgeois-reformist by conservative methods of administering society producing a means of taking the edge off the crisis development and, correspondingly, strengthening the power that it enjoys.*

Social Changes and the Mass Consciousness

At the discussion much attention was given to the factors that help to spread conservatism's influence in the various strata of capitalist society. As the experience of recent years demonstrates, the right-wing parties are managing to win, at elections, the votes of a large section of the working people, including industrial workers. Noting this fact, the participants in the discussion spoke of the complexity and diversity of the processes that bring certain support to the conservatives. The deterioration of material condition under the impact of the crisis and the mounting

social instability and uncertainty about the future are simultaneously evoking protests and fostering conservative feeling among the people. On the one hand, social demands and the readiness to fight for them are mounting and, on the other, a predominant factor guiding a section of the working people is their fear of change for the worse, a desire to preserve the status quo, and a belief that the conservatives are better equipped to cope with economic difficulties. The diversity in the response to the crisis and to the offensive of the capitalists springs from the dissimilar experience and class consciousness of the various social strata.

While noting the determination of the most conscious circles of the working people, chiefly the working class, to fight for their rights and interests, the participants in the exchange of views tried to ascertain what conditions contribute to the spread of conservative feeling.

The postwar decades saw the rapid break-up of long-established, traditional production structures. In a number of industrialised capitalist countries there appeared large social groups that had lost their former status in society and were compelled to abandon their accustomed life-style and adjust to the new conditions. Of determining significance for the working class was the intensive growth of its ranks through (a) the diminution of the number of people engaged in agricultural and (b) the swift growth of groups of working people employed on non-physical jobs (junior clerical workers, technicians, rank-and-file engineers, and so on).

Of course, these processes proceeded dissimilarly by virtue of the specific conditions obtaining in the different countries. For instance, in the USA, where the traditional peasantry has long been replaced by capitalist agricultural enterprise, the changes in the social structure of the population were dictated mainly by the appearance of new branches of production and the expansion of the services industry. The people employed in the latter industry are weakly unionised and their class consciousness is low. They are consequently often compelled to accept smaller pay and poorer social conditions. By virtue of their political backwardness such groups of the population are, more than others, exposed to the ideological influence of conservatism.

In Britain new strata of working people have formed under the impact of the reorganisation of economic structures. Half of these joined trade unions recently and have no experience of class struggle. That a section of them voted for the Tories is, however, due not so much to acceptance of the Thatcher policies as to their protest against the fact that the preceding Labour government undisguisedly shifted the burden of the economic crisis to the working people by raising taxes, prices, and so on. A similar situation was taking shape in the FRG. There the conservative thinking of a section of the workers was to some extent fostered by the policy of social partnership pursued by the Social Democrats and the trade unions linked to the latter. In a broader context it may be said that the idea of social partnership, in other words, renunciation of the class struggle for the sake of agreement with capital, is a form of the penetration of the bourgeois way of thinking into the minds of the workers. To a large extent this is applicable, for instance, to Austria, where the ruling Socialist Party likewise preaches a concept of social partnership. In that country, as in some other states, the army of wage workers has been increased through the influx of ruined peasants, who brought with them their traditional conservative thinking.

The integration of these groups with the working class proceeded and continues to proceed with contradictions. In cases where they found themselves in united workers' collectives with militant traditions they assimilated proletarian ideology and methods of struggle more easily. In other cases, dissatisfaction spilled over into the backward political views disseminated among unorganised masses.

Although the addition of new strata contributed to the growth and strengthening of the working class, their ideological integration lagged far behind their socio-economic integration with the workers. Even where they assimilated

proletarian methods of struggle (strikes and unionisation), many members of these strata clung to their former, in many cases conservative, political orientations.

Since the close of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s the capitalist way of using scientific and technological achievements has led to a sort of division of production into 'promising' (developing) and 'unpromising' (dying) industries and the relocation of new industries to 'interior' regions, where traditions of unionisation and class struggle are non-existent. The brutal, asocial methods of dismantling 'unpromising' industries evoked in working people the natural striving to preserve their jobs. This has generated a guarded attitude to technological progress, an attitude that is used by the conservatives.

Further, the structural reorganisation of production is accompanied by an aggravation of class battles involving those who are losing their jobs and those who are entering new industries. The latter are quickly finding the advantages of organising in trade unions and of workers' solidarity in safeguarding their interests. In combination with the activities of left-wing parties, of the Communists above all, this is creating the prerequisites for limiting and surmounting the influence of conservative ideology.

The image of the 'social state', of the 'welfare state' allegedly capable of giving all citizens a high standard of living, an image formed in preceding years, was shattered in the mass consciousness by the blows it received from one crisis after another. Since the policy oriented towards the broad utilisation of state-monopoly regulations and, consequently, expansion of the sphere of state intervention in society's life, was identified with it, this policy was the first to be discredited. Simultaneously, the political parties that implemented this policy—in most cases liberal and social democratic but in a few instances centrist-reformist—found their influence downgraded.

Workers with experience of class battles saw the changes in the political situation as stemming from the exacerbation of capitalism's contradictions. For many working people this realisation served as the impetus to shed the illusions, spread by bourgeois propaganda, about the possibility for 'social harmony' under present-day capitalism, and to go over to a more consistent class position.

However, individual groups of workers, disenchanted in myths of the 'welfare state' sort, that had determined their way of thinking in previous years, lost their orientation. Coming under growing socio-economic and ideological pressure from capital, they are accepting a deterioration of the conditions of their life in the hope that a consensus, based on 'lesser expectations', will allow them to retain their jobs and create the conditions for a subsequent return to the former living standards.

Reflecting these sentiments, some right-wing leaders of the British Trades Union Congress, for example, tried to arrive at such a consensus. Drawn up in mid-1983, the 'new realism' concept suggested that working people should take the reality of the capitalist crisis into account and meet employers 'half-way'. This concept encountered strong opposition in the branch trade unions and was ultimately rejected. In 1983 trade union leaders in the FRG consented to a wage cut for working people under new collective bargaining agreements in an effort to find a base for a 'reasonable compromise' within the framework of 'social partnership'. At the present stage the 'lowering of social claims' is making for a more 'tolerant' attitude on the part of a section of the working people to the policy of social dismantling pursued by the conservative forces.

However, the consent of some groups of the population to a lowering of their living standard cannot be long-lived and durable. It only encourages the capitalists to mount a new assault on the interests of the working class. The class conscious segment of the workers is determined to protect its rights. A striking example of this is the many months long strike of the British miners. It began in defence of the right to work, as a protest to the closure of a number of pits on the pretext that they were

unprofitable, but it gradually acquired a political significance, the character of a clash of the British working class with Tory economic policy. This has been underscored by the great tidal wave of solidarity with the miners that has rolled across the country's frontiers.

The growth of the influence of conservative ideology on the working class is obstructed by the latter's objective position in exploiting society. Under crisis conditions what we are witnessing is not so much a diminution of proletariat's militancy as a narrowing of the former base for concessions on the part of the bourgeoisie. The impact of this factor on the class confrontation depends largely on the stand taken by the trade union leadership and also on the potentiality of the powers that be for conducting a 'hard line' towards the working class movement. In Britain the miners confrontation with the government has acquired an exceedingly acute form. In the FRG the initially defensive actions of the working people against unemployment have evolved into an attack with the demand for a 35-hour working week without pay cuts. As this movement gained momentum it was joined by the leadership of some trade unions that had at first held aloof.

A huge potential for an assault has been demonstrated in many West European countries by the struggle of large numbers of working people against the deployment of US nuclear missiles. In many cases this potential is growing into actions against the militarist policies of the USA and NATO, against the arms race, which the latter are escalating, and the accompanying threat of a nuclear disaster. This spells out resistance to conservatism in foreign policy.

It was stressed at the discussion that conservatism should not be regarded as an almost inevitable outcome of the aggravation of capitalism's contradictions. Socialist parties suggesting a reformist way out of the crisis are in power in some Southwest European countries. The reforms that have been carried out in these countries in the interests of the working people were made possible by the struggles waged by the working class and democratic movements against the policies of right-wing elements. In Portugal the counter-offensive of the reactionaries, now being conducted with the hands of right-wing Socialists, is encountering stiff resistance from the people, chiefly from the working class. The democratic movement is thus in a position to place a limit on the penetration of conservatism into the working class milieu.

Although conservatism has been able to bring a section the workers under its influence, it has not had decisive success. The story is somewhat different in regard to its influence on the middle strata, including the petty bourgeoisie, various categories of white-collar workers, and intellectuals. Their values, guidelines, orientations, and political behaviour have undergone serious tests since the end of World War II. The traditional belief that they enjoy a status 'superior' to that of the working class has failed the test of reality. The crises of the past decade have brought many of them material losses, a decline of their status in society, and a limitation on their social mobility. But this did not necessarily lead to the disappearance of their illusions about their status. On the contrary, some groups identify themselves with the privileged class, showing an involvement in conservative ideas and values, this being particularly typical of the petty bourgeoisie. In its midst there has been greater hostility for the trade unions and the strike struggle, which it sees as one of the principal causes of its economic difficulties or as the main impediment to economic recovery.

While the position of junior office employees in the system of social reproduction and their susceptibility to conservative ideas differ little from those of workers, the middle echelon of white-collar workers is much more susceptible to the impact of these ideas. Members of this group are psychologically tied in more closely with the capitalist social system and are inclined to accept elitarian and technocratic theories.

The exacerbation of the crisis development in the latter half of the 1970s and the early 1980s was seen by a considerable segment of the middle strata as evidence that the liberal reformists were wrong in pursuing a policy of increasing the public, notably

socio-economic, functions of the state. Hence this segment's growing support for conservative ideology.

A strong eruption of nationalism has become a specific form of the middle strata's reaction to the falling living standards. In the industrialised capitalist countries the edge of this reaction is often directed at immigrant workers. Regretfully, a section of the working people is involved in the wave of xenophobia. On account of the mass unemployment immigrants have come to be regarded chiefly as rivals for jobs. Nationalistic feeling has also been shown relative to the peoples of developing countries, to whom, largely under the influence of the bourgeois mass media, the responsibility is imputed for the deeper and more frequent economic crisis, the rising rate of inflation, unemployment and so on. Such ideas evoke hostility also towards those states whose stand prevents former imperialist metropolies from regaining their colonial spheres of influence, above all towards socialist states.

The fact that the middle strata are more susceptible to the influence of conservative views than the working class does not at all signify that they are totally submissive to the conservatives. In the USA, for instance, a large proportion of these strata are not relinquishing their bourgeois-liberal views and at the 1984 presidential elections the Democratic candidate Walter Mondale received many votes. In the FRG the Greens and the alternative movements draw support mainly from the middle strata. It could therefore be wrong to ignore the latter's considerable anti-conservative potential.

Further, the discussion touched on the role played by declassé or marginal elements that have been pushed out of society's social structure. Capitalism is constantly enlarging their ranks with the victims of unemployment or of the structural reorganisations of industry. In periods of crisis this process is stepped up perceptibly. Declassé elements are to a large extent inclined to rebellion, which can, however, be funneled in any direction. Political obscurity, instability, and the absence of distinct social aims often turn them into the 'political infantry' of the conservative forces.

The aforesaid does not, naturally, mirror the entire sum of the changes taking place in the social consciousness in industrialised capitalist countries. An aim of the discussion was to identify above all the trend towards the reanimation and spread of conservative views in various social strata and groups. But it is quite apparent that conservatism is not inescapable in the capitalist world and that it is meeting with resistance in different strata of society.

Resistance Is Possible and Necessary

The participants in the discussion were unanimous in the view that *contrary to the will of the conservative forces their anti-people domestic and aggressive foreign policies are building up an enormous potential for resistance from the people*. In the obtaining situation the political parties championing working class interests are concentrating on repulsing the offensive mounted by conservatism, defending and increasing the social gains of the working people.

It was noted at the discussion that conservatism's most vulnerable aspect is that its recipes for resolving domestic and external problems are totally incompatible with the actual imperatives of the day. State-monopoly capitalism has shown how archaic and untenable the economic theories are that had been borrowed from capitalism of the days of free competition. The stake on force in foreign policy, to say nothing of the danger of such a course to the whole of humankind, can offer no hope in the face of the growing strength of the world socialist system.

Conservatism is trying to benefit by the loss of orientation on the part of a section of the working people, especially in view of the crisis exacerbation of capitalism's contradictions. But the way out of the crisis and the means of 'improving' the economy offered by it only signify additional help for the monopolies at the expense of the people. In this lies conservatism's main weakness, for sooner or later, the implementation of its recipes inevitably alienates those strata of the population that

support it. The growth of the mass protest movement and of the strike struggle of the working class in Britain, the FRG, and Belgium, and the shift to the left of such influential contingents of the social democratic movement as the Labour Party of Great Britain and the Social Democratic Party of Germany are bringing about a polarisation of political forces, eroding the social base of the conservatives, and undermining their position. In this connection it was pointed out at the discussion that the efforts of the communist parties to reinforce and promote class consciousness in the working class movement were of paramount significance. It is important that disappointment in conservative methods should not take the shape of leftist or right-radical negativism, that it should acquire a definite class, anti-capitalist orientation.

In its pronouncements modern conservatism dissociates itself from extreme right-wing currents. Indeed, it differs perceptibly from them in a number of ways. Nevertheless, there is a genetic kinship between conservatism and right-wing radicalism, including the latter's fascist variety. Right-wing radicalism only brings the underlying postulates of conservatism to their logical end. This likewise increases its vulnerability in the face of the people's democratic and anti-fascist potential in industrialised capitalist countries. In exposing neofascism, which is, for example in the FRG and Austria, supported by conservative forces, the Communists reveal its camouflaged link to conservatism.

The activation of the people's anti-conservative potential in capitalist countries is an important aspect of the work of communist parties. This work proceeds differently, depending on the actual political situation. Nevertheless, a common feature of this work, in the opinion of the participants in the discussion, is the cohesion of all left and democratic forces, establishment of cooperation with democratic and liberal circles, including those of the bourgeois camp, in order to repulse the attack from the right effectively. This political line was, in particular, reaffirmed at the latest congresses of a number of communist parties. For instance, the 7th Congress of the German Communist Party declared: 'It is legitimate and justified that in the Social Democratic Party of Germany they have made up their minds to regain governmental power as soon as possible. . . . The more resolutely the SPD adopts the stand of the trade union and peace movements, the more it relies on the democratic forces, on the left-of-the-CDU majority, the more realistic will its chances be of inflicting a defeat on the currently ruling parties at the elections. In conducting this policy the SPD will always find that we, Communists, are not adversaries but supporters, albeit of a critical frame of mind.' The Communists are oriented on cooperation with democratic elements in all strata of the population and they use concrete examples to expose the nature of conservative policy, which is directed against the people to the benefit of big capital and imperialist reaction.

The people are finding the communist programme of safeguarding world peace and limiting and ending the arms race increasingly more attractive. US imperialism's adventurist first-strike guideline and its efforts to achieve, for this purpose, military superiority over socialism—hence the unprecedented arms race started by Washington—have evoked an explosion of protests among all classes and strata of the population. *The powerful, anti-imperialist-slanted peace movement is objectively opposed to conservative reaction. While doing their utmost to promote this movement the Communists are trying to wean the people from the influence of conservatism.*

A lesson of history is that the loss by conservatism of its mass base is not always the guarantee that it will depart from the political scene. Once gaining possession of the levers of power, it does not relinquish them without a fight, and if it feels that it may be defeated it has increasingly more forceful recourse to violence and moves ever farther to the right. Drawing upon experience, the Communists are warning the working people against harbouring illusions about conservatism being ready to comply with bourgeois-democratic 'rules of the game' or even elementary

constitutional legality. Authoritarian tendencies are not at all alien to modern conservatism.

The participants in the discussion were unanimous in believing that the working class and its trade unions and political organisations, and the left forces generally have every possibility not only of repulsing the offensive of conservatism but also of inflicting a crushing defeat upon it. Key conditions of success are the consolidation of the working class, the settlement of the divergences between its various groups, and the liberation of the middle strata from the influence of conservatism. In this context it is of decisive significance for the left forces to advance compelling alternative economic and political programmes and work tirelessly to put them into effect.

· V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, p. 106.

An Anti-War Dialogue Continues

A salient feature of the current stage in the peace movement is that those of its members who adhere to different ideologies are expanding and intensifying their cooperation. The meetings of Marxists and Christians, periodically sponsored by the International Institute for Peace (Vienna) and the Vienna University Peace Research Centre since the early 1970s, make a substantial contribution to the examination of opportunities for joint action against the war threat. We have asked participants in such a meeting held in Vienna to explain the importance of the dialogue between the proponents of the two philosophies on ways to strengthen peace.

THE Vienna discussion was held against an alarming background: in a bid to upset European strategic military parity in its favour, Washington had wrecked the Geneva talks on the limitation of nuclear missiles, and US medium-range nuclear missiles had arrived in Great Britain, Italy and the FRG. "All this is happening at a juncture of extraordinary importance for the peoples of Europe and the world," Professor **Nikolai Polyanov** of the USSR stressed. "For the first time in the postwar years there has arisen the danger that developments might take a course which would end the almost 40 years of peace."

This led participants in the dialogue—and this was perhaps its most significant feature—to the awareness that in the face of the terrible threat of war, contradictions in their world views had lost their polemic thrust or moved out of the limelight. It was obvious that there now was a common striving for deeper understanding, for finding ways of bringing the different positions closer together in what concerned the practical aspects of the struggle against the nuclear threat.

According to Professor **Heinrich Schneider**, representative of the Vienna University Peace Research Centre, ideological differences between Christians and Marxists should not prevent them from cooperating in the name of their common goal, that of preserving the sacred gift of life. "European developments," he said, "remind us how fragile peace is and how important it is for people of different beliefs and convictions to pool their efforts to prevent a world-wide catastrophe."

Both Marxists and Christians hold that the rise in the level of military confrontation in Europe is particularly dangerous to peace. While rejecting Eurocentrism in principle as alien to both sides, although for different reasons, they noted that it was necessary to take into consideration Europe's distinctive role in international relations and its unique historical experience in analysing global problems caused by the war threat and in searching for ways to solve them.

Summing up what the exponents of the two philosophies said on this issue, the following key points can be singled out. Wars which later spread to other continents broke out in Europe twice. Today, huge nuclear capabilities are concentrated in this region; a clash between them would inevitably set off a world-wide conflagration capable of turning the entire globe into a lifeless desert. On the other hand, Europe is where processes of paramount importance to the universal cause of peace—detente and the development of the mass peace movement—emerged with particular vigour. Here, peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems has evolved into a structure of global importance which has stymied the war threat not only in Europe but also, to a considerable degree, beyond it.

There is a solid foundation underlying these processes. Stimulating them, said **Anatoli Kutsenkov**, Dr. Hist., of the USSR, is the European nations' awareness of the community of their destinies sealed by the great ordeals they went through in the countless wars of ages past and in the wars which ravaged them in the twentieth century. But this is not the only thing which unites Europeans. They cherish the historical traditions of fruitful cooperation, including those which are connected with both philosophies.

It was in Europe that Christianity grew into a global religion whose postulate—'all men are brothers in Christ'—made its distinct contribution to the emergence of the idea that mankind is a community and to the process which brought this idea closer to the practice of international relations. On the other hand, it was in Europe that Marxism sprang up, uniting the world's working people by its slogan, 'Workers of All Countries, Unite' and embodied today in the world socialist system, in the international communist movement.

The need to prevent nuclear catastrophe, the participants agreed unanimously, demanded that despite the cardinal differences between Marxist ideology and Christian faith, their potential for unity of peace champions be realised as fully as possible, that the two sides cooperate by establishing new contacts and promoting those which had already proven their worth in this regard. "Both Marxists and Christians," **Radomir Bogdanov**, deputy director of the Institute of US and Canadian Studies under the USSR Academy of Sciences emphasised, "have gained great experience of a realistic dialogue which does not demand that either side renounce its convictions but which makes it possible to identify certain common goals, cooperate in attaining them and achieve better understanding."

Asked about the importance of contacts which transcended the boundaries of different world views, **A. van der Bent** of the World Council of Churches said: "I have been convinced for many years that Christians and Marxists, believers and non-believers can and must conduct a tireless dialogue about the establishment of a better, more just and more equal society and today, naturally, take part in the selfless efforts for peace and disarmament. I am also convinced that a Christian can be a true Christian only if he is engaged in an open and honest dialogue with atheists."

Obviously, for all the concern with prevention of war the sides display, conducting this dialogue is no easy matter. After all, each side has its own ideas of what peace should be like, of what should be done to preserve it. Hence the inevitable clashes of opinion; hence also the need for the discussion to become an effort of knowledge in the search for mutually acceptable solutions. In the view of **Rudolf Weiler**, professor of theology at Vienna University, the important thing is to protect this discussion from a 'crusading' spirit, not to lose sight of the common goal which Christians read in the passionate plea 'Let the stars of the Apocalypse not fall to earth'.

Now that the threat of a nuclear conflagration has increased and US imperialism has launched preparations for 'star wars', the 'end of the world' has turned from a hypothetical question into a practical issue of the moment. Significantly, when discussions with Christian thinkers touched on the situation produced by the

deployment of the US first-strike missiles, it was often described as 'prewar'. This assessment reflected the growing understanding on the part of the anti-war movement that the militarist moves by the United States and NATO were not only a strategic military challenge to socialism but also an attempt on the future of all nations, on their very survival. Militarism works to erode the edifice of detente, erected with such great efforts over so many years, and makes Western Europe a hostage of the arbitrary politics of a non-European power.

In their statement, delivered by the Reverend **Pavel Krasnotsvetov**, dean of the Russian Orthodox Cathedral in Vienna, the heads of the churches and religious associations of the USSR noted: 'The reckless decision of the United States and its allies will upset the European balance of medium-range nuclear armaments violently, raise the level of military confrontation substantially and consequently, increase the threat of war; it will also add to the oppressive burden of fear, mistrust and alienation.'

The very composition of the participants in the Vienna meeting made it natural for the discussion to centre on the question whether trust and confidence were possible between the sides contending in the world arena, given the extremely high degree of tension in relations between them.

A. van der Bent examined this question from the standpoint of Christian ethics: "We all share the same home. No matter how tense relations among nations, they cannot disregard what is common in their interests. These common concerns include self-preservation, survival and advancement of human civilisation. It follows that objective opportunities for a compromise do exist and should be used as fully as possible. In the past, Christianity repeatedly proved its capacity for agreement in cases of acute international tensions. Suffice it to recall the Peace of Augsburg, concluded in the mid-sixteenth century.¹ History tells us that Marxism does not reject compromise either. The task is to put this into practice; otherwise, continuation of the arms race and, in the final analysis, global catastrophe are inevitable."

While upholding their ideology and philosophy unswervingly and consistently, Marxists not only accept compromises in international relations but also hold that they are necessary. Communist participants in the meeting stressed that Marxist-Leninist theory contained a ramified and already tested concept of such compromises which ruled out war as a means of resolving the historical contention between capitalism and socialism. This refers to the idea of peaceful coexistence elaborated by Lenin. Thanks to socialist foreign policy, this concept opened the way to detente. "Today, peaceful coexistence is not only a political but also a moral imperative of detente," said Professor **Jozsef Lukacs** of the Institute of Philosophy of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

Many other participants expounded similar views. However, different opinions were also aired. For example, **Ernst Nagel**, professor of Catholic theology at the Bundeswehr Higher School, said that "prevention of war is, of course, a highly moral task. But is it the supreme objective? Peace is necessary. But at what price? And what kind of peace? Is human survival an absolute value? There are values of a higher order, those manifested, for example, in the acts of the Christian martyrs."

Marxist scholars expressed firm disagreement with this approach. In their opinion, peace is definitely the highest of values in the nuclear age. It is pointless to speak about priorities if one accepts the possibility of nuclear holocaust. What values will be left in its wake? Who will need them in a radioactive wasteland? Today, preservation of peace is both a condition and an objective, the source and the continuation of human social development, of life on Earth.

Naturally, this does not mean that other high values are alien to Communists. They said that the Marxist philosophy of peace was inseparable from the concept of social progress, from the ideals of freedom, justice and equality. In the final analysis

therefore, Communists are by no means indifferent to which path human society will take in its development. They are confident that communism will be this future—but communism will prevail not on the nuclear battlefield but in the course of the struggle the popular masses of each country wage for a better life. This is the fundamental precept of socialist foreign policy. Rejecting both export of revolution and export of counter-revolution, this policy ensures the necessary conditions for peaceful coexistence, for humane ways of settling contradictions between countries with different social systems without war.

Professor **Ivan Hodovsky** of the Institute of Social Consciousness Studies under the CSSR Academy of Sciences noted that in their drive to ensure durable peace, the socialist countries demanded no social or ideological price for it—the way it is often claimed by those in the West who think they are facing the alternative of being either 'dead or Red'. Socialism has never advanced this demand. Allegations of this kind reflect the fear of acute internal contradictions and inevitable social change on the part of the ruling quarters of capitalist powers. This talk is a cryptic expression of the truly awesome dilemma now facing not only individual governments, societies or nations but also all of mankind—whether it will or will not survive. While awareness of this dilemma awakens natural instincts of self-preservation, its distortion by fomenting the fear of the alleged 'Red menace' foists a psychology of suicide on people.

It was noted that the call for self-destruction was fraught with grave danger since this was what largely shaped the strategic thinking and foreign policy behaviour of the current US Administration. Combined with its militarist doctrine, the formula essentially means, 'Let the whole world perish rather than turn Red'.

According to **Joachim Kahl**, a Marxist from the FRG, this precept follows from Reagan's scandalous reference to 'inevitable Armageddon'—the last war before the 'end of the world', the war which, the Bible predicts, will usher in the Millennium, the Kingdom of God on Earth. To the US President this means a damned decisive battle with the Soviet Union which is anathemised and as the 'focus of evil'.

Joachim Kahl added that attempts to justify the US military and political doctrine on religious grounds led to extreme adventurism. Compromise with the USSR is virtually ruled out: there can be no pact with a 'satanic force'. There is the insane expectation of victory in a nuclear war which is likened to the battle of the righteous with the Antichrist. And this is not simply the credo of a fanatic blinded by hatred but an expression of the will of powerful military-industrial quarters who are ready to risk total destruction of life on Earth to further their self-seeking interests. As to religious symbols, the West German Marxist added, we should not forget that the belt buckles of nazi soldiers were inscribed '*Gott Mit Uns*—God Is With Us'.

Some Christian scholars reflected that such 'santification' of nuclear war and the arms race was inadmissible and pointed out the need to combat hate-mongering—what Professor **Leo Gabriel** of Vienna University called the 'demonisation of the USSR'. These efforts are all the more important because in some capitalist countries, advocates of peace show certain signs of demoralisation. For instance, according to **Margaret Cotroneo**, professor of Christian ethics at Pennsylvania University, people in the United States increasingly succumb to pessimism, to the opinion that nuclear catastrophe is unavoidable and that it is pointless to resist the war threat; this is a serious drain on the strength of the peace forces.

Moreover, noted **A. van der Bent**, there still exist Christian churches and groups which uphold the concepts of 'limited' and 'sustained' nuclear war and which also preach anti-communism. History, he said, tells us that religious doctrines—including Christianity—can be perverted and used for inhuman goals. Claims that since 'Communists and atheists hate God' they cannot be trusted and must be fought against by any means, including nuclear destruction, clearly contradict the Bible and

the Christian doctrine, he added. Joint efforts are needed to help people overcome the autohypnosis of powerlessness in the face of the growing nuclear threat.

The consensus was that the dialogue marked a step forward in improving understanding between Marxists and Christians, that it helped to further clarify their positions on the issue of peace, identified new common ground and demonstrated the fruitful nature of a joint discussion of today's principal problem in the common interests of upholding peace and preventing nuclear catastrophe.

¹ Concluded in 1555 between the German Protestant princes and emperor Charles V, the Peace of Augsburg ended the Catholic-Protestant wars.

viewpoints

Blaze of Anxiety, Light of Hope

Ales Adamovich – Soviet author

Humankind has entered the year of the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism. People are perhaps experiencing mixed feelings as this anniversary draws nearer: gladness that for so many years the forces of peace and progress have been able to prevent another world war, and anxiety over the fact that instead of diminishing the threat of a nuclear catastrophe has grown more acute. These feelings are shared by Soviet authors, especially those who fought in the war. One of the latter is Ales Adamovich, who was born in and is a resident of Byelorussia, a Soviet Union republic that suffered enormous destruction in 1941-1944. He was with the partisans in the war. His novels and documented books about the war enjoy wide popularity in the USSR and foreign countries.

This year's anniversary is a great and joyful occasion for all people. But it is in some way special for each generation. For example, people born in the year 1945 are Victory children and their 40th birthday coincides with this anniversary. Forty years of peace! It is wonderful that those born in 1945 have had the opportunity to know a life free of crippling devastation, that they have themselves become parents and that some have possibly become grandparents. We hope that the happy lot of bringing up children without war will be shared by an ever larger proportion of humanity, that civilisation will develop intelligently, in a spirit of humanism, freedom, nobility, and love.

In marking the 40th anniversary of V-Day, all of us, naturally, realise that the years we have lived through have not been idyllic. The world has changed in that time, and the changes have been turbulent. The forces of progress have grappled with the forces of reaction: the struggle has demanded sacrifice and good had not always triumphed over evil. There has been practically no respite between wars—local, regional, but taking a heavy toll of human lives. Such wars continue to shake the planet.

This is the reality. However, it is also a reality that none of the conflicts that ended or are still going on have evolved into a world conflagration. This means that in the world there are forces capable of halting the spread of the flames of war and sustaining the light of hope of a life of peace lit in 1945.

Our society, socialism, is in the core of these forces. In the course of its not so very

long existence it has tackled global problems in the real sense: liberate humankind from all oppression—social and national; help peoples to shake off the fetters of colonialism; and safeguard humanity's future in the struggle against fascism. The list of problems is endless. Some have been resolved fully or partially. The settlement of other—important and difficult—problems requires an enormous effort. All the socialist community countries see their principal mission in looking for ways for the dependable defence of peace on our planet. Human society must tackle the most acute problems of its development (and these, naturally, spring up constantly) without the use of force, without nuclear mass annihilation.

The Soviet and all the fraternal socialist peoples who have drunk deep of the cup of suffering and immeasurably heavy losses during the Second World War, are the most militant and *natural* proponents and architects of the most consistent policy of mutual understanding, cooperation, and peace.

I have mentioned people born in 1945, the hope for a happy future for children, and the foundations of our optimism. But these hopes and optimism are inseparable from anxiety for the future and, of course, anxiety for children. It is my belief that nobody has the right to put this sense aside. The very real nuclear threat compels every person, regardless of whether he has children or not, to see himself as a parent of future generations. We who live today are no more than their envoys or delegates. Should we give up in despair in the face of the nuclear threat and become murderers of those who delegated us? Should we incinerate ourselves and prevent them from entering this world? By what right? Solely because we have run ahead of our descendants? Hundreds of billions of future people await their turn to life and in comparison with their huge numbers our nearly five billion are no more than a drop in the bucket. And this drop can make the decision for the future billions? Do we have the right to reduce to dust within minutes all that has been accumulated by mother nature? And without any hope for the restoration of the human race?

I know how great this anxiety is in the hearts of Soviet people, of my family and friends. One of them, a Marxist philosopher, spoke of a simple thought that staggered him. Should the incredible happen and all the children of the world were struck by some fatal disease, who and for what ideological, political, or other considerations, who of the adults would not unite to save them? Yet a nuclear, bacteriological, or chemical war would be in the first place and above all a *war of adult men against children*. Brass-hatted militarist heads are using computers to calculate how much manpower of the enemy will be destroyed by one, ten or now tens of thousands of nuclear and other bombs. These estimates are wrong. The number of children should be counted: How many *children* will be destroyed? Perhaps this will horrify and stop them? Or will they advance arguments here, as has already been done by an American political leaders, who said that there are more important things. What things?

I have an idea of what children had to go through during the Second World War, because I was 14 when it struck my native Byelorussia. Children perished. Children were killed by the fascists. Naturally, wherever they could Byelorussian juveniles went into battle together with adults, fighting the enemy as best they could. Were we to tolerate our murderers? We do not forget the lessons of those years.

On the sixth day of the war the fascists appeared in the workers' township of Glusha where I lived. By asphalt road it is less than 700 kilometres from Glusha to Moscow. We did not even have time to be frightened for ourselves, but our fear, our anxiety for Moscow and the country grew. This was a fear of losing not simply our own lives but everything. The metaphor that the 'enemy struck at the future itself' expressed what we felt, the sadness and the ache in our hearts.

But soon, in December 1941, when the nazis suffered their first stinging defeat in

the Second World War in the battle at Moscow, the confidence was born and then began to grow that the invaders would be crushed. I remember even speaking of this to the German officer who was billeted in our house. Any my grandfather hinted with a proverb what awaited the fascists 'Laugh before breakfast, you'll cry before supper.' I have to admit that although the officer was not at all pleased by the saucy confidence of the boy and the elderly man, he did not act as a fascist. All he did was to knock on my forehead with a bent finger as though my head were made of wood, and warned or promised, I now cannot say for sure: You'll swing for this.

That officer only cautioned, and no more. But soon the Byelorussians saw fascism's bared teeth. The invaders began to hang, shoot, burn, and destroy en masse. And not only men, but also elderly people, women, and children. Yes, children, as well, by the thousand. One in every four inhabitants of Byelorussia was killed; while in some localities it was one in every three. Scores of towns were ravaged and over 9,000 villages were set on fire.

This was not merely a war with Byelorussian partisans, although we fought the nazis, of course. By destroying Byelorussians, the nazis *carried out their deliberate genocidal plan* to 'diminish the biological potential of the Slavs' and other peoples, not only in the East. They had programmed everything (the relevant documents were later captured) and they had worked out the 'scientific grounds' for genocide on the basis of the misanthropic 'Aryan' theory. The 'Aryans' planned to wipe out 'inferior races', by which they meant practically all non-German, assert their 'superior race', and establish a 'new order' in the world. They were not fastidious about the means they used to achieve this aim—gas chambers, incinerators, and mass shootings.

Byelorussian villages were wiped off the face of the earth with 'military' precision. About eight years ago, together with my friends Yanka Bryl and Vassil Kolesnik (both are well-known authors) I toured hundreds of Byelorussian villages and noted down eye-witness accounts of people who miraculously survived the fascist genocide. These accounts made up the documented book *I Am from a Village in Flames*. Right after the war we in Byelorussia did not count all the villages that were destroyed. The main thing at the time was to restore life. In 1969, when the Khatyn (name of a razed village) memorial was unveiled—a monument to our Lidices and Oradours¹—it was found that in Byelorussia there were 627 such ones. Hundreds of villages in which the inhabitants were burned alive! Altogether, 4,000 Byelorussian villages experienced punitive actions by the fascists.

Even the villages that escaped destruction had a rough time of it. Take my native township of Glusha. A planned punitive action once reached it. The young people managed to get out into the forest. But the women, children, and old folks were driven into a thatched shed. The plan was to execute and burn them. But one of the nazi genocide experts, who was on the scene, found that *for the time being* it would be *unproductive* to destroy Glusha. The reason that he gave was that the young people had to be lured out of the forest and that our factory should be allowed to operate a little longer. The people forced into the shed were released. But the ordeal for them had been such that we later hardly recognised the faces and eyes of our mothers and of the children.

Planners of death. In cooperation with the author Daniil Granin I wrote and compiled the *Blockade Book*, which consisted of accounts and diaries of the living and the dead about what Leningrad went through during the longest starvation blockade in the history of wars. One of the accounts is by Alexei Bezzubov, a food industry expert, who tried to help starving people survive—among other things he devised how to cook something eatable out of the most unlikely materials and used conifer vitamin extracts. After the war Bezzubov met a German food-industry expert named Ziegelmeier. During the war the latter also worked on inventions, but these were in the opposite direction—how to starve Leningrad into submission as quickly as

possible. He wondered why the plans he had laid did not work, for he believed he had taken everything into account.

Leningrad survived, although hundreds of thousands of people died. Byelorussia likewise survived, despite the fact that the nazi genocide cost it 2,300,000 lives. In terms of present-day thinking the Second World War, I believe, *can be called fascist genocide by nuclear war fought with conventional means*. The ravaging of our republic in those years is quite comparable with the catastrophe that might have hit Byelorussia had atomic bombs such as the 'baby' exploded over Hiroshima in 1945 been dropped on it. 'Baby' was how some Americans called it at the time.

Free nations survived and won. The world survived. The fuhrers, the ideologists of the 'ruling Aryan race', who intended to govern the world, did not survive. Hitler took poison and his corpse was burned. Goebbels poisoned himself and his children and was burned with them. Himmler managed to commit suicide before the Nuremberg trial. Goering managed to commit suicide after he was sentenced. Ribbentrop, Keitel, and others like them were executed. True, quite a number of odious fascist smaller fry have survived to our day. They have survived physically, but in moral terms they are corpses. But what are morals to them?

Hitlerite fascism has been wiped out. Fascist genocide is a thing of the past. But the germs of fascism, regrettably, live on. The threat of genocide is likewise alive. This threat is of more than genocide, for with the thermonuclear, neutron, and other weaponry now available, it is the threat of *omnicide*, of the extermination of the human race. Fascism planned the mass annihilation of people and carried out its plan. The nuclear bomb likewise threatens mass annihilation. There is consequently a kinship between them. We shall not try to ascertain which of the two evils—the past (which has not been extirpated and is even harbouring mad illusions of revenge) or the present—is 'more humane'. They are birds of a feather. And we should examine their kinship more closely.

Chauvinism or aggressive imperialist nationalism was at the core of fascism. This is directly antipodal to the ideals of socialism—brotherhood and equality of peoples, to internationalism. But extreme nationalism and the assertion of national exclusiveness were not alien either to the ideologists and leaders of the colonialist 'free' world of the 1930s and 1940s. The contrasting of the 'white' race, allegedly charged by destiny to rule those 'doomed' to be subordinate to it—black, yellow, red—has been and remains implicit in the imperialist nature, in old colonialism, and in neocolonialism. One has only to mention South African apartheid.

It was not for nothing that the architects of the 1938 Munich sellout to nazi Germany encouraged the latter to fight the Soviet Union, the world's first socialist state. They were eager to achieve their imperialist aims with the hands of others while, like Pontius Pilot, washing their own. It is a quite different matter that the latter had to defend themselves when the fascist rulers felt the taste of world supremacy and, reluctant to share the loot, struck at the pillars of 'peace-loving' colonialist imperialism. Moreover, they had to look for an alliance against the Third Reich even with a socialist country. For Winston Churchill, who ushered in the cold war against socialism with his Fulton speech as early as 1946, our society was, of course, always evil. But of the 'two evils', he and those sharing his views chose the lesser in 1941.

Imperialist nationalism discarded its fascist uniform but retained its essence in 1945 as well. Besides, upon getting its hands on nuclear weapons imperialism took heart. During the preparations for the peace conference in Potsdam, US President Harry Truman told an aide: 'If it explodes, as I think it will, I'll certainly have a hammer on those boys.'² By 'it' he meant the bomb intended for Hiroshima, but by 'those boys' he meant not so much the Japanese militarists as the Soviet leaders.

The explosion of the 'baby' was needed chiefly to place the USA in a dominating

position in the postwar world and, at the same time, intimidate the Soviet Union. The bacilli that fed the brown fascist monster now found asylum in the atomic bomb.

And is it not these same bacilli that are now warping the minds of the politicians who are asserting that the vital interests of their country embrace the whole world and for that reason they are justified in 'bringing order' to any region or nation without taking the aspiration of peoples for independence into account? Are not the same symptoms to be seen in the 'quips' of some leaders, such as ordering 'for a laugh' the total destruction of the Russians? Or in the description of the neutron bomb as a 'low-cost' deterrent representing a 'moral improvement on the horrors of modern war'?

There are many points of kinship in the attitude to mass destruction weapons on the part of those leaders who began using them (those old weapons) 45 years ago and the ideologists and political leaders championing them (new, sophisticated weapons) today.

These points of kinship include, for instance, the belief that it is effective to use weapons of mass destruction against socialism. I have already dealt with how the 'old weapons' were used. But we have read and heard much to the effect that in the present 'crusade' against socialism, in bridling the 'evil empire', as some quarters call the Soviet Union, 'pre-emptive', 'test', 'limited', or masked by any other epithet but unfailingly *nuclear* strikes cannot be regarded as totally out of the question. Of course, the authors of ideas of this sort are calming the mass of electors, saying that individual strikes will not lead to another world war, their argument being that it is possible to go on inflicting such strikes on primarily military installations over a period of many months and ultimately emerge victorious. The person who said this, Eugene Rostow, headed the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

The 'crusaders' believe that those who need to survive will survive. They have themselves in mind, hypocritically sighing that nothing can be done to prevent casualties. How many? Edward Teller, 'father of the hydrogen bomb' and a contributor to the 'Star Wars' scenario, estimates, saying that he would not like to play around with statistics, that whereas 10 million people died in the First World War and 50 million in the Second World War, between 100 million and one billion would be killed if there were another world war.³ Intelligent life, this nuclear physicist assures us, will not perish. If we follow his line of reasoning it turns out that after the nuclear storm the 'finest people', who had survived it in their super-bunkers, will come out into a world cleansed by the lethal rays from the 'socialist contagion' and establish a spotless 'free order'. They will survive, declares Rostow, giving as his argument that Japan not only survived but flourished after Hiroshima.

Or take another similarity. The US militarists are following in the footsteps of the nazis by inexorably speeding the growth of armaments production. There are nuances that distinguish the former from the latter. Teller and, after him, the top political leaders of the USA are advancing a 'new' thesis, namely, that the arms race is the best guarantee of peace. They are now calling for the 'extirpation' of war through the militarisation of outer space. True, it will be recalled that before the First World War broke out the inventor of dynamite, Alfred Nobel, assured everybody that his super-explosive would do more for the elimination of wars than all the peace congresses. But dynamite did not prevent the First World War from breaking out. In what way are nuclear and laser weapons in outer space more effective?

One can find many other features that the past and present proponents of means of genocide have in common. As in the past, today the super-profits from the arms race go into the pockets of armaments concerns. And another point: as in the past, the owners of armaments factories share a part of their profits with their personnel, diverting them from the peace struggle. The argument for influencing them is simple: If you fight for peace, against armaments, you will lose your job. Thereby,

manufacture bombs and be well off and happy. And put your mind on bringing up your children.

This I feel is enough to understand that *regardless of nationality, social status, and political affiliation all people must unite in the struggle against the nuclear threat as they once united to fight fascism.*

This sentiment is shared by all Soviet people without exception: workers, peasants, political leaders, and intellectuals such as say the nuclear physicist Yevgeni Velikhov, Vice-President of the USSR Academy of Sciences, who heads the Committee of Soviet Scientists Against the Nuclear Threat. The members of this committee act on the opinion that nuclear war is not a joint venture of powers confronting each other nor is it a game with established rules and limitations (this, it seems, is precisely how it is visualised by people like Eugene Rostow), but by virtue of the physical properties of nuclear weapons and the effects of their use it will be the greatest and *terminal* disaster for humankind. In the same way as the American Jonathan Shell, author of the book *The Fate of the Earth*, drew a realistic picture of what will happen if a thermonuclear war breaks out, Soviet scientists are making a detailed study of all aspects of the possible consequences of such a war. They are trying to make their findings known to the largest possible number of people.

If there is a nuclear conflagration there will be no hope of survival. There will be no hope even for the political ignoramuses who plan to hide from the bombs in super-bunkers. The earth's ozone filter will disintegrate and the sun will become a killer of everything living as a result of a *global thermonuclear chain reaction* that will be set off by the very first 'pre-emptive' or any other kind of nuclear strike.

Another area of research by Soviet scholars is what would be the logic of political relations in the nuclear age. I share the view of our well-known sociologist Georgi Shakhnazarov, who identifies the basic principles of this logic: no political aims exist that can justify the use of nuclear weapons; the higher the quantity and quality of the weapons of mass destruction stockpiled in the world the lower the security level in a nuclear confrontation; national security becomes a fiction if it does not fit into the framework of collective security; the logic of the nuclear era imperatively demands the renunciation of national egoism and the unconditional priority of international interests over national interests, which in practice is tantamount to preference for genuine, long-term national interests, over transient, immediate interests.⁴

These notions harmonise with the policy of peace pursued by the CPSU and the Soviet government. It goes without saying that in the face of the nuclear blackmail inaugurated in 1945 the Soviet Union had to respond to the arms buildup initiatives of the USA with the creation of its own corresponding types of armaments. From Hiroshima to the present 'Star Wars' scenario the USA has invariably been the first to begin a new spiral of the nuclear arms race. It has only been the strategic military equilibrium that socialism has been able to create between the two political systems and set it off against imperialism's aggressive plans that has helped to preserve peace in the world. True, in these cases imperialism has always had recourse to demagoguery. Whenever it had to take one more step in the arms race, its political leaders and mass media began a clamour to the effect that the USSR had forged ahead of the USA in armaments. Then Congress and the Senate would allocate billions of dollars for new weaponry, following which it would be found that the Soviet Union had not gone ahead of the USA after all. Such was the case before, and such is the case now, in the face of the 'Star Wars', which the taxpayers are already financing.

However, it is important that decent people throughout the world should know and remember that the Declaration proclaiming actions leading to thermonuclear war a most heinous crime and adopted by the majority of UN member states despite the self-exposing opposition from US diplomacy, was moved by the Soviet Union. They

should know and remember that the most reasonable political action in the present dangerous period of civilisation's history—the globally announced commitment to refrain from a nuclear first strike—was taken by the USSR. Regretfully there was no response to it from the other nuclear powers.

In such situations *joint actions of the peace fighters must be adequate to averting the threat hanging over the human race*. What can be done towards this aim?

In looking for an answer to this question I recalled a meeting I had with a group of young West Berliners belonging to the Atonement Action movement. The sense of this movement is that its members go to the different countries where Germans of past generations had sown destruction and death, and help these countries to build, and as for themselves try to understand the life of people to whom the nazis had brought so much sorrow. For this purpose the young West Berliners had come to Byelorussia.

I went to meet them with mixed feelings. The thought in my mind was that it was good that they wanted to atone for the cruel deeds of their fathers, but was it possible to atone for the enormous Byelorussian graveyard of villages, of the hundreds of our Khatyns? I had no chip on my shoulder as I went to the meeting, but my heart was heavy.

There we were, Byelorussians and Germans, talking. One of the Germans was a shy, awkward lad with a mutilated face. He was blind in one eye and there were no fingers on one of his hands. He and his brother had been caught in an Israeli bombing raid in the Middle East. His brother was killed and he was left disfigured. After we were introduced to him and after one of the German girls said to us: "We believe you more than we believe our parents", the talk took an unexpected turn. We Byelorussian authors began to recall cases, of which regretfully there were few, when during the war Germans behaved not like fascists but like human beings. There was one such German in the village of Borki Maloritskiye: he sobbed and was desperate with grief on the day his fellow-countrymen killed women and children in the village.

We did not want the burden of the crimes of the fathers to bear so heavily on the hearts and minds of these young West Berliners. It struck us that if like them all people were to go out to meet each other with open hearts cleansed of wartime hatred and of the national hostility accumulated in the course of history, this would be an effective means in the struggle against war.

I consider that the behaviour of those young people of the Atonement Action, as the behaviour of millions of other people in the world, is adequate to neutralise the threat of a nuclear holocaust. Adequate behaviour is demonstrated by the English women blockading the missile base at Greenham Common, by the inhabitants of Comiso, who are acting against the missiles being deployed on Sicily, by the women of Scandinavia who have organised peace marches. . . . All of us peace fighters must together stay the hand of those who are reaching for the launching button of nuclear systems. We must develop such criteria and forms of human behaviour, unity, and determination as would increase the forces of peace ten-fold and make it possible to freeze the armaments level and then reduce and, after that, destroy all weapons.

Our memory of the past war is also a weapon against war. It cannot be turned over to a museum. Much in the ability to use such a really peaceful weapon depends upon writers. To this day, in their minds, articles and books, Soviet writers who fought in the Second World War return again and again to what they have personally experienced. In other countries this sometimes surprises people, even our fellow writers. A Dutch authoress once said to me in a tone of reproach "Holland was also a belligerent but we have stopped writing about the war. So many years have passed. Do you not have problems that worry you today?"

We do, and they are big problems. The latest is the problem of humanity's survival in the thermonuclear age. But to resolve it we have to show the same concern about

the threat of war as we showed and still show about the past war. If we do not want another, bigger pain that may befall at the close of this century we should not permit a dulling of the pain for what happened in the middle of our century. It is because that war, most accursed of all, is remembered by Soviet people as by nobody else in the world that we hate it and write about it.

Nothing but the truth should be said about the past war and about the threat of another carnage. For every people the pain of wounds inflicted by history is assuaged by the truth. The expression that 'no salt should be put on wounds' is not applicable in this case. The truth about the past is also that we should understand that in the Second World War there were the dark, bottomless pits of evil and the bright, albeit tragic, strength of triumphing good. We repeat the words of the Czech Communist author Julius Fučík, who was executed by the nazis: There have not been unnamed heroes, faceless victims. It is constantly our duty to bring them to life. It is our duty to return to them their faces, hearts, and existence by the strength of our love and gratitude.

Nor should we forget those who did evil. Evil, fascism, and hangmen likewise walked on two legs, had two hands, and spoke a human language. They should be perpetually arraigned before the court of our conscience, before the agonised eye of human memory. Humankind should not permit the echoes of the past war to enter one ear and fly out of the other.

We have written and will go on writing about the past war. But how to write of the threat of another war in a manner that reaches the minds and hearts of people? To this question we are still only looking for the answer. It was pondered, for example, by the celebrated Soviet Kirghiz author Chinghiz Aitmatov and by the no less celebrated Pakistani poet Faiz Ahmad Faiz, who has been awarded the International Lenin Prize 'For Strengthening Peace Among Nations'.

Aitmatov said that horrible and disgusting as it was, fascism remained within the bounds of human notions of evil. It was tangible, it could be viewed, and one could say to oneself: I will never reconcile myself to this. But it is hard for people, including writers, to envision the evil that is carried by the threat of a thermonuclear war. It is said that if nuclear disaster comes everything living will be reduced to smoke, simply to smoke. And the heavens will cease to be blue. A drab brown sky will look on the scorched earth. How is a writer to ponder dispassionately this sort of probability? Dry information is enough to evoke an outburst of emotion. But these emotions cannot be translated into metaphors.

Faiz Ahmad Faiz pondered the same question from the standpoint of a person who grew up on Oriental traditions. He said that the Orient can imagine even terrible wrongdoing if at the back of it is the will of a ferocious enemy. But nuclear war is for the Orient something inhuman, faceless, and technological. How is it to be imagined, how is it to be explained figuratively? To people in Asia and Africa, the Pakistani poet says, where there is no technological background to the consequences of thermonuclear incineration, it must be explained that it is the end of the world. An irredeemable end. They will then understand.⁵

There are many themes to the threat of war and to the struggle against it, and all are food for thought. For instance: is it realistic to go over to a ban not only on nuclear but also on weapons generally, and all wars. Some people believe it is not. A Soviet journalist asked the renowned Italian author Alberto Moravia what he thought about this. Moravia replied that it depended upon us whether to fight or not to fight a war. If here man has the *possibility* of choosing, he *can* prohibit war. Moravia gave an unexpected historical example. At the dawn of his existence man practised incest, but as they became more intelligent our ancestors realised that incest was hindering the creation of a civilised society. There were many painful economic and physiological consequences: difficulty in transferring tribal or family property, the extinction of a clan, and so forth. For what reason humankind proclaimed incest unnatural and

banned it. It has become taboo. Alberto Moravia added: 'We should now do the same thing to war—proclaim it as unnatural. And believe me, this can be done.'⁶

I, too, believe it is possible.

Let us perceive, understand, and feel what threatens all of us and turn possibility into reality. But here again—how is one to feel? Here's how: I was once given a questionnaire one of the questions of which was: 'What would you say if knowing that a nuclear-missile war was only hours or minutes away you had the opportunity to appeal to all people?'

I decided that there was only one thing to do, to cry out as we all cry out upon realising that a fire is breaking out in a house. 'Children! Are there children in that house?'

In our terrestrial house there are children, more than two billion of them.

So what are you, nuclear maniacs, doing? There are children, billions of them.

I do not know what else to cry out.

¹ Lidice in Czechoslovakia and Oradour-sur-Glane in France were villages which the nazis destroyed together with their inhabitants.—Ed.

² Quoted in *Political Science Quarterly*, No. 1, Spring 1975, Vol. 90, p. 49.

³ *Stern*, July 19, 1984, p. 42.

⁴ *Vek XX i mir*, No. 4, 1984 (in Russian).

⁵ *Voprosy literatury*, No. 9, 1983 (in Russian).

⁶ *Literaturnaya gazeta*, December 14, 1983 (in Russian).

The Cuban People's Social Activity

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THE revolution which triumphed in Cuba twenty-six years ago has brought about radical political, economic, social and cultural changes in our society. The social activity of the masses has been vastly increased by the building of the new life, above all by their deeper comprehension of the significance of socially useful labour, which is inseparable from the comprehension of the experience of our revolution, the practice of socialist construction, the study of the Marxist-Leninist theory and the assimilation of all the best ideas produced by mankind over the centuries. That is how a progressive world view, lofty ideological and political qualities and communist convictions are developed among the working people.

Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the CP Cuba CC and Chairman of the State Council and of the Council of Ministers, emphasised at the party's Second Congress in 1980: 'In the past several years, our people's communist and internationalist consciousness has undoubtedly deepened. In claiming that, we have in mind not only—and not even mainly—the important successes achieved in cultural and theoretical training. We refer above all to the concrete deeds in which our masses manifest their consciousness. All over the country there is evidence of a higher spirit of labour, organisation, exactingness, militancy and revolutionary steadfastness.'¹

The revolutionary enthusiasm, vividly expressed in our people's selfless dedication

as they seek to do their utmost for advancing our society along the way of progress and defence of the gains of our revolution, is an important feature of the social activity of the masses. In guiding the process of construction, our party seeks to preserve and multiply the enthusiasm of the early victorious days, when the people took real political power into their own hands. Since those early years of the revolution, the Cuban Communists have always regarded the consolidation of the close unity of the party and state leadership and the working people as their paramount task, whose fulfilment has been promoted by the measures taken by the people's power against the exploiter classes and groups resisting the transformations. The counter-revolutionaries were routed and most of them fled abroad. Some members of the middle strata having various connections with the exploiters also left the country. Meanwhile, millions of Cubans—the overwhelming majority of the population—deepened their ties with the revolution under the influence of the radical socio-economic and political reforms, and developed and consolidated a new consciousness and massive revolutionary enthusiasm.

That is precisely why the working people's participation in socialist construction is marked by ever greater dynamism and efficiency. Here, the revolutionary experience gained by the party and the people has a telling effect. Due to all these factors, the Cuban people has been able to solve the problem in building the new society much faster and the results of its labour are ever more fruitful.

These features of the social activity of the masses in our country—a high level of political and ideological consciousness, enthusiasm, dynamism and efficiency—are closely interconnected and are complementary. On the whole, these new qualities correspond to the level of the development of the productive forces and the relations of production which have now taken shape in Cuba. But one should also note that the interdependence between spiritual and material life is not straightforward at all. One should bear in mind that the superstructure is relatively independent of the basis and takes shape in accordance with its own laws. That is why social consciousness in some areas (defence of the revolution and its gains, fulfilment of internationalist duty, political and ideological struggle against reaction and imperialist propaganda, voluntary work without pay, etc.) has even somewhat outrun the level of social maturity that ought to correspond to the present stage of our social production development. But there are spheres (and this pertains primarily to the everyday labour effort—observance of discipline, rational use of working time, etc.) which demand of our citizens a higher level of social consciousness that we now have, and it needs to be perseveringly and painstakingly educated.

Our people's high social activity does not, of course, mean that in Cuba we have already built a society that has realised all the tasks set by the party. We do have our difficulties and shortcomings in development, and they spring either from objective causes or from our own mistakes. Far be it from us to underestimate these, but we are still confident of ultimate success. Our conviction is rooted in the fact that in our country we are fostering the new man with a personal commitment to build the socialist society.

The new aspects of the working people's social activity are manifested in the activity of all the units of Cuba's political system, which is based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The masses' participation in political activity is an objective necessity for the development of the socialist society, whose actually functioning constitutional mechanisms, which make it possible to involve ever broader strata of the people in the administration of state affairs, ensure genuine socialist democracy.

Free and democratic elections to local and central organs of power are the main form in which the population is involved in the exercise of popular power.² In addition to the possibility of being elected to these bodies, every citizen is entitled to motion the recall of any deputy, to demand a public report on their activity, to take

part in discussion, etc. Delegates—as men and women elected to the municipal and provincial assemblies are called—and deputies—members of the National Assembly of the people's power—periodically give progress reports to the population on the work done, without concealing the difficulties and shortcomings. The central organs of power regularly inform the public about their activity through the mass media, and that is now established practice. The accountability makes sure that members of the assemblies do not lose touch with the masses, that they constantly heed their voices and give attention to the working people's needs and proposals.

Genuine popular representation on the organs of power and the expression of the people's true interests are guaranteed by the regular renewal of the assembly membership. The deputies and delegates perform their functions voluntarily, after working hours, without any pay or personal privileges whatsoever. That testifies to the working people's high sense of responsibility and the exacting standards of social work. The popular character of the representative bodies will also be seen from the fact that almost one-half of the more than 12,000 citizens elected to the local and central organs of power are workers and peasants.

The working people's social activity also has some influence on the activity of Cuba's juridical and judicial institutions, which are truly popular. The President of the Supreme People's Court and his deputy are elected by the National Assembly, and the provincial and municipal people's courts, by the assemblies of the people's power in the localities. The courts are collegial: their panels consist of professional judges who are graduates of law schools and have appropriate experience, and people's assessors who are not paid for the administration of justice. Like the judges, they are revolutionary activists with high moral qualities, enjoying public respect, taking an honest attitude to their work, and with due cultural qualifications. The overwhelming majority of the judges and people's assessors come from the labouring classes, have a good knowledge of everyday life, and have strong bonds with the masses. When handing down their rulings and judgements in conformity with stringent standards of legality, they are able to draw on the people's collective experience and established criteria.

Public bodies, known as labour councils, and acting as the first instance in the consideration of labour disputes between employees and management, are ever more important in protecting the basic rights of citizens and fostering the socialist sense of justice and morality. These councils are elected by a show of hands at meetings of working people at enterprises, offices, etc., and are organised and controlled by the Working People's Trade Union Centre of Cuba (WPTUC).

In this area, the Cuban society is on the whole guided by this precept of José Martí's: 'Among the peoples who are their own masters, the law should also be popular.'³

All the fundamental principles of our political system are enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic of Cuba, which was enacted on February 24, 1976. The new system provides political, economic and social guarantees of the rights it proclaims. As a draft, the Constitution was put up for national discussion, which involved more than six million men and women, more than 600,000 of whom submitted proposals, recommendations and remarks that were reflected in the final text of the Fundamental Law. With these finishing touches, the draft Constitution was put up for a national referendum and approved by 97.7 per cent of the nation.

All the other laws in our country are elaborated, discussed and enacted in a similar way. That was how, for instance, the Family Code was passed in 1975 to supersede the old bourgeois juridical norms in this area, raising the role of women in our society to a fitting level and changing family legislation in conformity with the level of our social development.

The triumph of the socialist relations of production and the establishment of social

property in the means of production have turned the working people into the true masters of material wealth, thereby consolidating their political power.

The economic activity of the masses is direct and universal. Under the Constitution, every citizen of Cuba has the right to work. The working people also have the right to discuss the plans of state enterprises, and to introduce their own corrections, and that makes it possible consistently to develop and deepen the democratic principles in production and to exert an influence on the shaping of the contemporary economy. The analysis and discussion of the plan, together with the amendments and alterations introduced by the working people turn the state plan assignment into the working people's collective commitment. Millions of men and women take part in such discussions every year. They regard the plan as largely their own creation and so take a responsible and enthusiastic attitude to its fulfilment. Plan realisation is controlled at regular production conferences.

Socialist emulation displays on a large scale the sense of responsibility of members of the collective for successful work at the enterprise and their involvement in management. It is a movement in which the majority of the economically active population takes part: every year, more than 90 per cent of all those employed in industry and in the services make public commitments, and 90 per cent of them are as good as their word. That enables them to tackle key economic tasks, like increasing the production of spare parts for cars and machines, which is of especial importance in view of our country's continued economic blockade by US imperialism.

The trade unions have an exceptionally important role in organising the emulation, for they are tirelessly concerned with further developing the economy, boosting labour productivity, fostering thrift, and helping personnel to raise their technical, professional, educational and cultural standards.

The people's revolutionary conviction, its enthusiasm and selfless dedication are most fully manifested in voluntary labour, which does much to strengthen the national economy and has an important educational role to play. For a long time it was altogether impossible to take in the sugar-cane harvest without voluntary labour, because the work was mainly manual. Now, with mechanisation, rising labour productivity and better organisation, the number of people annually involved in the *safra*⁴ has been substantially reduced, while the economic results have been greatly improved.

'Red Sundays', which are festivals of voluntary work for the common good, are now an established tradition. More than two million men and women, for instance, went out to work on 'Red Sunday' to mark the 67th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. More than 80 million man-hours were worked voluntarily in 1983 alone.

Consequently, the labour of millions of Cubans is acquiring a new quality: once a purely individual business, it is becoming a type of social activity in which their capabilities and their social commitment are ever more fully and comprehensively expressed.

Mass social organisations have had and continue to have a considerable role in labour education, in boosting labour productivity and developing the initiatives and enterprise of the masses. Millions of working people are members of the Defence of the revolution Committees (DRCs), the Working People's Trade Union Centre of Cuba (WPTUC), the Young Communist League (YCLC), the Federation of Cuban Women (FCW) and others. The CC Report to the party's Second Congress said: 'The crucial and important role which mass organisations have acquired over these years is unquestionable. They have successfully deployed their forces in the daily fight against our class enemies at home and abroad. In the political sphere, since the triumph of the revolution and throughout the whole period under review, they have been working to

consolidate the power of the workers and peasants, of workers by hand and by brain, of the working people of town and country.⁵

Discussions of the work of front-rankers regularly arranged at the enterprises by the trade unions have become especially effective over the past several years. These meetings nominate and scrutinise candidates among working people who, in the opinion of their collective, most fully reflect in their life and work the features of man in the socialist society.

The National Association of Small Farmers, a mass organisation of toiling peasantry, which has a crucial role in implementing the policy of getting the Cuban peasants to adopt socialist forms of production, also takes an active part in tackling economic tasks. It carries on systematic and painstaking work in an effort to convince peasant families to switch to cooperation (on a strictly voluntary basis), since it provides greater potentialities for making more intensive use of land and increasing its productivity. The organisation now has among its members almost 200,000 farmers, who turn out 18 per cent of the sugar, 50 per cent of the fruits and vegetables, and 54 per cent of the coffee. Members of the association own 20 per cent of the cattle. The development of progressive forms of economic management among individual farmers is an important reserve for increasing food production.

The YCLC has been doing a great deal to raise the political and labour activity of the masses, and young workers, peasants, intellectuals and students are making a contribution to industry, agriculture, and building. The YCLC is now working on the promising prospect of involving young men and women in the technical re-equipment of the national economy. Youth technical teams, of which tens of thousands of enthusiasts are members, function at all the industrial plants and agricultural cooperatives, successfully engaged in modernising enterprises, and mechanising and automating production processes.

Under the leadership of the YCLC, students are also taking an active part in economic activity, in accordance with the adopted study-and-work plans. This activity is based on the principles of the labour education of young people, which the classics of Marxism-Leninism and José Martí believed to be especially important. That is how 'schools in the field' are organised. They are a fundamentally new type of general education boarding-schools created by the Cuban revolution. There are now about 600 such schools all over the country, and they are secondary academic institutions at which the children simultaneously study and learn farming. The schools are located in the new, once economically backward districts, on the territory of large state enterprises specialising in the production and processing of farm produce. A sizable part of the students' earnings goes to defray the cost of funding these schools. It is important to emphasise that both in the classroom and in the field, educational, ideological and other matters are considered in close connection with economic matters.

The Cuban revolution would have been inconsistent if it had failed to tackle the problems of culture alongside the economic and political tasks. Our country's experience drives home the point that the establishment of a socialist system of public education and training of national specialists is a key condition for overcoming backwardness. Before the revolution, the education system in Cuba was similar to those in most economically underdeveloped countries: it got a pittance in the way of funding, most of the schools were private with access exclusively for the richer strata of the society, there was an acute shortage of classrooms, and so on.⁶ In 1961 (which had gone down in history as elimination-of-illiteracy year), tens of thousands of volunteers travelled to the remotest and most rugged parts of the country to teach over 700,000 adult Cubans how to read and write. But that was only the first step. Today, our working people have a minimum of six years of schooling, and we are successfully tackling the task of attaining universal 9-year education.

The outlays on upbringing and education are now 16 times what Cuba's capitalist government spent before the revolution. The network of academic institutions is being steadily extended: over the last five-year period (1976-1980), 600 million pesos went into the building of over 970 new centres to accommodate 550,000 students.

Active support of this noble effort by all the Cubans has helped to open new secondary and higher schools (the latter have an enrolment of over 220,000, and annually graduate almost 20,000 young specialists), and to train teachers and lecturers for public education.

It is not just a pious hope, not just an ideal, but a real requirement of the socialist revolution that every individual should be fully developed, with a high standard of occupational training and general culture, and with mature political and moral consciousness in accord with the conditions of the new society, and every man educated with diverse spiritual interests and sound physical development.

Consider public health, where as much advance has been made since the revolution as in education. Public health care in Cuba is now at a higher level not only as compared with any Latin American country, but even with some industrialised capitalist countries. Diphtheria, malaria, cholera, poliomyelitis, yellow fever and smallpox have been wiped out, tuberculosis has virtually disappeared, and the incidence of other diseases has dropped. By 1980, infant mortality had fallen to 19.3 per 1,000 births, and has been going down since then.⁷ The average life expectancy for men and women has risen to 73 years.

The giant stride in public health care is, of course, primarily the result of the efforts of the party and the state in implementing the complex programme of measures for the protection of the life and health of citizens. The number of doctors graduated in the last five-year period is 4,688, which is more than the number of specialists with a higher medical education Cuba had in the early post-revolution years.

Millions of men and women responded to calls from the DRCs, the FCW, the YCLC and other social organisations to take part in vaccination drives, to act as blood donors, and to organise massive screening of the population, in fulfilment of the revolution's humane and important task.

The social activity of the masses is also reflected in the broad development of physical culture and sports. The revolution has put at the disposal of our citizens, the young people in the first place, unlimited potentialities for physical development. Sports facilities and clubs, which had once been available only to the privileged social strata, have been handed over to the working people, and dozens of new athletic facilities have been built as the basis both for the general physical training of young people and for the development of many types of sport, whose pursuit in our country has now become truly massive. More than one million men and women annually take part in physical fitness competitions. It took Cuba only a short while to become a major athletic power in the Western hemisphere, second only to the United States.

We are witnessing, therefore, a large-scale and deep-running process in which broad masses of people, instead of individuals or separate strata, are involved in various spheres of social life, believing that it is their vital concern to work to solve the key problems of socialist construction. This fully applies to the sphere of culture, which has an active impact on the moulding of the individual's world outlook, and helps to comprehend social and moral problems, mould internationalist convictions and attitudes, and develop the working people's social activity.⁸

The Second Congress of the CP Cuba made special mention of the participation by mass and social organisations and of all the working people in the development of literature and the arts, and gave a high appreciation of what the masters of culture have been doing to enrich the Cuban people's spiritual life.

Defence of the revolution is one of the key aspects of the activity of the masses for the benefit of the new society. Within a few months after the victory of the revolution,

the National Revolutionary Militias (NRM), consisting mainly of workers, peasants and students, were set up. The people's support of the revolution and their determination to stand up for its gains at any price helped to inflict the first military defeat on US imperialism in Latin America in the action at Playa Giron. Following that fine victory, the Revolutionary Armed forces of Cuba (RAF), which Camilo Cienfuegos called 'the people in uniforms', were further developed and strengthened, now constituting a well-armed, well-equipped, and well-trained force reliably defending socialism in our country. The RAF are steadfast in spirit, ideologically well-trained and dedicated to the people's revolutionary gains. The Territorial Troop Militias (TTM), now with more than 1,000 battalions consisting of workers, peasants, students, housewives, old-age pensioners, and others, has a big part to play in Cuba's defence against the moves by US imperialism. These units are financed by the people and their members are trained on holidays and in the vacation period.

The readiness to defend the gains of the revolution is a vivid manifestation of patriotism, an aspect of mass social activity which is a blend of their love for their country, and for its revolutionary, historical and cultural traditions, and of their loyalty to the ideals of the new system. Socialist patriotism is closely linked with internationalism and is similarly oriented. For Cuban citizens, being a patriot and an internationalist means multiplying the country's wealth and strength by one's labour effort, building up its defences and standing up for the working people's interests everywhere and at all times. The best way to develop the internationalist consciousness is to practise the principles of internationalism. Assistance to Angola and Ethiopia, including military assistance, cooperation with Nicaragua and Grenada (up until the US invasion), and with other developing countries are eloquent evidence of our people's sense of patriotism and conscious fulfilment of its internationalist duty.

The Republic of Cuba has been receiving assistance from many countries, the socialist countries in the first place. We value that assistance and remember that we have our own duties to the international revolutionary movement to perform. The working people of Cuba believe that their main patriotic internationalist duty is building the new society, strengthening the might of the fraternal socialist countries, and helping developing states and national liberation movements. As our revolution gains in strength, multiplying its forces and scoring new successes, we shall exert an ever greater influence on the world revolutionary process, thereby promoting the liberation of the peoples and the growth of their social and political activity.

Our whole people's sincere feelings were aptly expressed by Fidel Castro, when he said: 'Internationalism is the most beautiful essence of Marxism-Leninism and its ideals of solidarity and brotherhood among the peoples. Without internationalism, the Cuban revolution would have hardly existed. To be an internationalist means doing one's duty to humanity.'⁹

¹ Fidel Castro, *Informe Central presentado al II Congreso del PCC*, Ediciones OR, 1980, October-November-December, p. 120.

² There are municipal and provincial assemblies and the National Assembly of the people's power, the supreme organ of power in the republic. Grass-roots delegates are elected by direct ballot, and the delegates to the middle and higher-level assemblies by the municipal assemblies from among their own membership. Persons who are not members of the municipal assemblies may also be elected as deputies to the National Assembly.—Ed.

³ José Martí, *Obras Completas*, Vol. 7, Havana, 1975, p. 102.

⁴ The several months in which the sugar-cane is harvested and processed.—Ed.

⁵ Fidel Castro, *op cit.*, p. 96.

⁶ The following figures show the state of education in Cuba before the revolution: it had one million completely illiterate and over one million semi-illiterate people; 600,000 children did not attend school; for 85 per cent of the children education meant two, three or, at best, four years of tuition.—Ed.

⁷ Before the revolution, with an average of 60 infants in 1,000 dying within their first year, Cuba had one of the worst infant-mortality records in Latin America.—Ed.

⁸ See 'Cultural Progress Is Inseparable from Socialism' by Roberto Fernández Retamar, *WMR*, No. 10, 1984.—Ed.

⁹ Fidel Castro, *Discurso pronunciado con motivo del XXV Aniversario del Asalto al Cuartel Moncada*, Havana, 1978, p. 80.

National Independence and Peace are Inseparable

Albano Nunes — Central Committee
member, Portuguese Communist Party

WHEN Nicaragua was celebrating the fifth anniversary of its popular, democratic and anti-imperialist revolution, Portuguese television afforded us a few glimpses of the huge rally held in Managua, in the square named after Carlos Fonseca, one of the founders of the Sandinist National Liberation Front (SNLF)¹ and hero of the patriotic struggle. Even the brief coverage enabled one to grasp the grand scale of the celebration. We are profoundly glad to receive confirmation of the fact that, having rallied around the SNLF and the revolutionary government, the people of Nicaragua were resolved to defend their historic gains.

However, expressing the pro-American orientation of the coalition government of the Socialist (SP) and the Social Democratic (SDP) parties,² Lisbon television accorded a much more prominent place in that same programme to a rude and slanderous speech of Ronald Reagan who blatantly threatened the Nicaraguan people. What he said could be summed up in just a few phrases—'no' to the Sandinist Revolution, 'no' to Nicaraguan independence, 'no' to the November elections.³

That day the official media broadcast two reports which highlighted the reactionary policy of submission to imperialism pursued by the Soares cabinet. One concerned the intentions of the Prime Minister and other SP and SDP leaders to railroad through the Assembly of the Republic an openly fascist 'Internal Security Act' which gave rise to widespread protests throughout the country, even on the part of some deputies representing the ruling coalition. (Having lost the masses' confidence and facing inevitable collapse, the government was striving to legalise reprisals against the working class and democratic movement in a bid to cling to power by resorting to force.) The other report announced the forthcoming arrival in Lisbon, on invitation from Mario Soares, of the Salvadoran dictator Jose Napoleon Duarte. This visit was part of the US-orchestrated campaign launched to whitewash and support the brutal regime which, isolated both in El Salvador and on the international scene, is still trying to resist the heroic advance of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front.⁴

These facts, no matter how particular they may seem, draw our attention to an issue of utmost importance—to the way in which, in today's world, questions of any country's internal development depend increasingly on its government's orientation

in international affairs, to the close inter-relationship between the struggle for national freedom and the anti-war movement.

In the words of the political resolution adopted by the Tenth Congress of the PCP in 1983, 'defence of peace has emerged as the central and immediate cause common to all nations'.⁵ Naturally, our party maintains that the struggle for peace has distinctive forms in different countries.

In Portugal, the Communists and all peace forces pursue their activities in the anti-war movement at two major levels. The first is connected with the solution of general problems of disarmament, above all nuclear disarmament, with action against the deployment of the new US missiles in Europe and for detente. The second advances what is for us the most important demand—that Portugal pursue a policy of peace and friendship with all nations. This can be achieved only by ending the shameful submission of our nation to US imperialism and to the more reactionary quarters of other NATO countries, by frustrating the attempts to turn Portugal into a bridgehead of provocations and aggression against the socialist community and the Arab and African peoples fighting for liberation.

The anti-war struggle of the Portuguese people is inseparable from the action taken by the working class and the rest of the masses to uphold the gains of the revolution of April 25, 1974 and the democratic principle it proclaimed, for a truly democratic and patriotic turn in the nation's life. This we see as our greatest contribution to the cause of peace. Far from being mutually contradictory, action against the war threat and the struggle for social emancipation and national liberation are actually two sides of the same coin.

Bogged down in a profound crisis, imperialism is striving to slow down and, if possible, reverse the march of progress. By pursuing a 'positions of strength' policy in conditions of nuclear confrontation, it poses a threat to all mankind. Vigorous and concerted action by all forces of progress and peace is needed in order to rebuff this threat.

The struggle of workers and people around the world for social emancipation and national liberation has produced far-reaching transformations which have changed radically the alignment of forces to the detriment of imperialism and reaction. With the emergence and strengthening of the socialist community, with the growing role played by the working class in capitalist countries, with the historic victories of the national liberation movement and the emergence of progressive states in Asia, Africa and the Western Hemisphere, the international scene has changed fundamentally. The turn towards detente and peaceful coexistence which occurred in the 1960s (incidentally, it was clearly a factor which favoured our April Revolution) was brought about precisely by the inexorable upsurge of the liberation struggle of the working people and, generally, peoples of all continents; it was a product of—and, in turn, a factor in—the advance of the world revolutionary process.

Issues of war and peace are no longer rooted exclusively in rivalries and contradictions within the imperialist camp or in its schemes. These issues now depend mostly on the ability of the socialist countries, allied with the other major components of today's revolutionary stream, to prevent the more bellicose imperialist quarters from pushing mankind into nuclear catastrophe, on the capability to deliver a crushing retaliatory blow to reaction and militarism if they dare launch a war. Hence the importance of anti-war cooperation and mutual solidarity of nations. It is for this very specific reason that imperialism tries to fragment the forces which oppose it by resorting primarily to anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

The trend to contrast action for peace to the struggle for progressive social transformations is profoundly fallacious. We must rebuff resolutely the blackmail and pressure with which bourgeois politicians and propagandists often react to the advances of struggle for social emancipation and upsetting the status quo and, most

importantly, as the reason why hotbeds of tensions still exist. (In actual fact, these conflicts are the result of the stiff resistance with which the comprador bourgeoisie and the imperialist quarters respond to social change.)

It is imperative to spare no effort in exposing the fraudulent claims to the effect that the liberation struggle of the masses results from 'superpower contention over spheres of influence' and not from specific conditions existing in this or that country. Resistance to imperialist attempts at isolating from the international community the peoples it is trying to strangle should be equally energetic.

The tendencies to put the blame for the aggravation of tensions on those expressing their solidarity (in political, material or military terms) with the revolutions subjected to reactionary threats and pressure offer an upside-down view of the problem of international security. Furthermore, this approach denies the peoples their right to appeal to their friends and allies for help in rebuffing attacks by imperialism which tries to prevent them from exercising their right to self-determination.

Portugal's Communists and all other working people display vigorous solidarity with the peoples of Cuba, Nicaragua, El Salvador and other Central American and Caribbean countries. They have proved this solidarity repeatedly and in a variety of ways. Their feelings were especially pronounced when Lisbon enthusiastically hosted the Conference on Nicaragua and for Peace in Central America in May 1984.

Free from the fascist yoke, Portugal has several times been chosen as the site of major international forums, such as the international conference of solidarity with the peoples of South Africa (1977), of the Arab countries and Palestine (1979), with the peoples of 'Frontline' African states (1983) and Cyprus (1983). This time the manifestation of solidarity coincided with the tenth anniversary of our April Revolution. Staging mass action to reaffirm their unswerving commitment to defend and strengthen revolutionary gains, Portugal's democrats and all patriotic, progressive and peace forces also expressed their readiness to support the peoples of Cuba, Nicaragua and El Salvador, now in the front ranks of the anti-imperialist struggle for national independence, social progress and peace.

Internationalist solidarity and the anti-war struggle have thus become integral elements of the powerful nation-wide movement of the Portuguese working class, of all the people. In other words, the realities of the class confrontation spreading throughout the country reaffirm with perfect clarity that the solution of national issues is inseparable from the discharge of our internationalist duty. Portuguese working people are gaining firsthand knowledge of the extent to which their struggle benefits from the revolutionary experience of other peoples and vice versa. Our relations with the countries formerly under Portuguese colonial rule are a case in point.

On the other hand, the current situation in Portugal is fraught with grave danger to its future. This refers above all to the domestic policies pursued by several governments and aggravated by the one in power now. Aimed at restoring the positions of big capital, at reinstating the monopolies and latifundia abolished by the April Revolution, it is a course of national betrayal, of submission to imperialism, primarily US imperialism.

A docile tool of Washington's aggressive militarist strategy, the Soares government is active in the US anti-communist and anti-Soviet subversive propaganda campaigns. It has become an instrument of US sabotage and neocolonialist forays—not only in the Western Hemisphere but also in other regions. There is no need to delve far into the past to find revolting examples of this policy. Suffice it to recall the assistance and right of assylum in Portugal granted to the UNITA and Renamo bandits,⁶ the deliberately enthusiastic welcome extended by the Portuguese authorities to Pieter Botha, head of the odious South African apartheid regime, and the visit of the Portuguese Prime Minister to fascist South Korea.

As to the policy pursued by the government, specifically, by the Socialist Party, vis-a-vis Central America and the Caribbean, it can no doubt be described—despite certain cosmetic alterations—as open submission to the Reagan Administration. Mario Soares, General Secretary of the Socialist Party and Vice-Chairman of the Socialist International not only represents the right wing of the latter but also acts as a spokesman for US imperialism in that organisation. This position is particularly valuable to Washington now that the contradictions developing within the Socialist International are forcing its influential quarters to protest US aggressive policies throughout the world, including Central America.

There is no end to the list of facts illustrating the pro-Reagan policies of Mario Soares. Here are some of the more striking cases. Item: the invitation from the Socialist party to Eden Pastora⁷ to visit Portugal; he was welcomed as an old friend and publicly described as 'a hero of the Sandinist Revolution fighting against the totalisation perversion imposed on Nicaragua by communist forces'. Item: Soares's anti-Cuban speech at the Socialist International congress in April 1983 in which he justified US interventionist policy in Central America. Item: the 'understanding' which the Portuguese government expressed with regard to the US armed aggression against Grenada, and which earned Ronald Reagan's publicly expressed gratitude. Item: Lisbon's sympathetic silence over the mining of Nicaraguan territorial waters by CIA agents. Item: the visit of the Salvadoran dictator Duarte to Portugal on invitation from Soares. Item: a conference organised by the SP Foundation for International Relations in the summer of 1984. Alfonso Robelo, leader of the ARDE⁸ counter-revolutionaries, was invited to attend and Lane Kirkland, chief of AFL-CIO⁹ and member of the infamous Kissinger Commission,¹⁰ spoke of the conference. This 'labour spokesman' heaped slander and threats on Nicaragua, brandishing the bugbear of 'Soviet-Cuban infiltration' on the continent. Soares himself also spoke at the conference and came out openly in support of the predatory policy of the International Monetary Fund in Latin America. The conference was so blatantly pro-imperialist and pro-American that even some prominent members of the social democratic right wing prudently abstained from participation while most of those who accepted the invitation did not support Soares who found himself clearly in isolation.

Given all this, no one could wonder why Reagan paid two highly telling and dubious compliments to Soares during his latest visit to Washington. The US President called the head of the Portuguese government his 'very special friend' and 'the kind of Socialist I like'.

Together with all democratic and peace forces, the PCP resolutely exposes and rejects this policy, as a course which undermines our independence, compromises our national dignity and binds Portugal to US imperialism and the more reactionary quarters of other NATO countries who oppose peace, freedom and national independence. The struggle of Portuguese working people against aggressive militarism and their internationalist solidarity are expressed in action to expose the anti-popular, anti-national policy of the present government and attain a democratic turn in the nation's life for which a policy of peace and friendship with all nations is an imperative.

The struggle to prevent war, against the threat of nuclear annihilation has produced a world-wide popular movement. It is obvious that imperialism and reaction went to great lengths to use the events in Afghanistan (and, on a different plane, the crisis in socialist Poland too) so as to harm the cause of peace. Their objective was to weaken and fragment the anti-war forces, and justify the arms race, the deployment of new US nuclear missiles in Europe and the policy of interference in the affairs of other states. The campaigns launched to serve this end—and it was and

still is imperative to combat them resolutely—did impede the progress of the peace movement and hamper the rise of anti-imperialist feelings inherent in it.

But, in the words of a Portuguese proverb, 'truth, like oil, will always surface'. The crimes of US-supported Zionist invaders in Lebanon, the invasion of Grenada, the policy of state terrorism conducted by the Reagan Administration vis-a-vis Nicaragua and its neighbours have demonstrated to millions of sensible albeit sometimes confused people that the threat of aggression emanates not from the Soviet Union or the Warsaw Treaty Organisation but from the United States and NATO, not from 'international communism' but from imperialism.

Attempts to change the world's approximate strategic military parity in their favour are among the prime objectives of the US reactionary quarters. Here, the problem is not simply one of arithmetic. Contrary to what the technocratic manipulators with their 'studies' would have us believe, it is above all a political problem, a central issue of class struggle in today's world, also linked directly with the tasks of the national liberation movement.

Unswervingly, we combine action for peace with demands that the causes of the arms race and the war threat inherent in the very nature of imperialism be eradicated. The anti-war struggle is accompanied by denunciation of specific and more brutal manifestations of the predatory and aggressive nature of monopoly capital.

Today, in the face of the systematic and steadily mounting interference by the United States in Central American affairs and of the threat looming over Nicaragua, the struggle against imperialist policy in that region and vigorous solidarity with its peoples are emerging as a prime factor of our militant readiness, as an integral part of the world-wide peace movement. Indeed, it cannot be otherwise.

The Latin American continent is going through a radical turn to democracy and anti-imperialism. One of the more urgent tasks of the present stage is to expose the nature of imperialist aggression by insistently presenting convincing arguments, to show its role in the global strategy of US imperialism, and to highlight the profound interconnection binding together the struggle of the peoples of Cuba, Nicaragua, El Salvador and other Central American and Caribbean countries and the anti-war movement. In this way we will be able to demonstrate the key significance of international solidarity with the democratic and patriotic forces in the forefront of the anti-imperialist struggle for peace, independence and socio-economic progress.

In fact, Reagan and members of his Administration admit openly that were it in their power, they would mount long-planned and large-scale operations of armed intervention aimed at destroying the gains of revolutionary government in Nicaragua, suppressing the struggle of the Salvadoran patriots and routing the progressive movement throughout the subregion.

The most vitriolic and hidebound anti-communism and anti-Sovietism is an organic element of the Reagan Administration's aggressive militarist policy. In actual fact, what is happening in Nicaragua—and also in Angola, Afghanistan, Kampuchea and several other countries—means assertion of the right of peoples to shape their own future.

Equally hypocritical are Washington's 'fears' that Nicaragua might 'turn into a new Cuba'. What the US reactionaries are really furious about is that this new state wants to take the road of a *new Nicaragua* which has thrown off the age-old yoke of oppression, that its experience confirms the possibility of breaking the imperialist shackles in a region which the bourgeois mass media contemptuously refer to as the 'US backyard'. And so this small country injects into the consciousness of the working masses of the region, of the entire Latin American continent, confidence in the victory of their own struggle for national liberation and social emancipation.

Imperialism is frantically trying to resist these processes, to reverse, throughout the world, the inexorable march of nations toward freedom.

The outcome of the confrontation with the US reactionaries in the country of Sandino and in all of Central America is of enormous international significance. A collapse of the aggressive schemes of US imperialism is important not only to the peoples of this region, it is also indispensable to all mankind, to the cause of peace. Conversely, implementation of militarist plans there could result in an armed conflagration. That is why today, international solidarity with the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean is an important task of democratic, progressive forces.

¹ A military and political organisation named after Augusto Sandino (1895-1934), the leader of the popular struggle against US imperialism and internal reaction, a Nicaraguan national hero. His name became the rallying cry of the Latin American liberation movement.—Ed.

² The current government under Mario Soares, the Socialist leader, was formed in June 1983.—Ed.

³ The Presidential, Vice-Presidential and National Assembly elections held in Nicaragua in 1984. They opened a new stage in the democratic process of revolutionary transformations and marked an important political victory of the people. Daniel Ortega, the SNLF Presidential candidate, won almost 70 per cent of the ballots cast of those participating in the elections.—Ed.

⁴ Farabundo Martí (1890 or 1893-1932) was a prominent figure in the Salvadoran working class and communist movement.—Ed.

⁵ X Congresso. Partido Comunista Português, Resolução Política, Porto, December 15-18, 1983, p. 5.

⁶ UNITA—an Angolan counter-revolutionary group; Renamo—a similar group in Mozambique. Racist South Africa uses both as tools in its aggression against free African countries.—Ed.

⁷ Eden Pastora, who participated in the early stages of the liberation struggle, later defected to the side of the counter-revolutionaries. He is currently head of one of the armed gangs fighting against the Nicaraguan popular government from abroad.—Ed.

⁸ ARDE: an armed gang operating against the Nicaraguan popular government from Costa Rican soil.—Ed.

⁹ AFL-CIO (American Federation of Labour—Congress of Industrial Organisations), the major trade union association of the United States. Its leaders advocate reactionary, anti-communist views.—Ed.

¹⁰ A commission chaired by Henry Kissinger, former US Secretary of State, dealing with questions of US policy in Central America and comprising members of both the Republican and the Democratic parties. The Reagan Administration used the recommendations contained in its January 1984 report as a basis in drawing up plans of further interference in the affairs of the sub-region.—Ed.

The Working Class Movement: New Perspectives

Michael Graber — CC Political Bureau member, CP Austria (CPA) Editor-in-Chief, *Volksstimme*

THE Communists' direct influence on the working class in the industrialised capitalist countries depends on many factors. The party's correct policy is undoubtedly a necessary condition for its growth, but that is not guaranteed by subjective prerequisites alone. For relatively long periods, the balance of forces within the working class may be determined by the objective situation in which it has to develop, by national traditions, long-term economic and social circumstances, specific methods used by the state-monopoly system to assert its domination, and so on, and the longer the period in which there are no open class conflicts, the greater is the importance of all these factors.

Continuing the series on the condition of the working class today. See Ron Bellamy's article in *WMR*, no. 7, 1984.

Small communist parties in the industrialised capitalist countries have to face common difficulties which spring from the growing ideological pressures exerted on the working people by the anti-communist mass media and also by social democracy's traditionally strong positions in the working class movement. But there are also some specific factors in Austria which do much to complicate the Communists' activity. There was the strong international support for the restoration of Austrian capitalism after 1945 with the aim of turning it into a show-case of the world in opposition to existing socialism. In consequence of the favourable economic environment over a period of several decades, there was a rapid growth of profits and a steady and faster growth in living standards in Austria, as compared with those in many other West European countries. This led to the shaping of the system of state-monopoly capitalism domination and the spread of its ideology of class collaboration behind a facade of "social partnership". The result was a dampening of the class struggle at the enterprises following the October 1950 strike and up until the crisis which broke out in the mid-1970s.¹

It is all the more important, therefore, to discern and anticipate the considerable shifts within the working class which necessarily spring from the social conditions and contradictions produced by the development of the productive forces and social processes under capitalism. The Communists face serious trials in the phases of sharp social change, when social structures shaped over the decades cease to exist or, at any rate, are shaken or develop fissures. Those are the points, after all, at which new perspectives and supports are being sought by the old and new strata of the working class and other groups of working people in accordance with their objective condition and interests. The main thrust of the Austrian Communists' activity is to use every incipient element of the workers' independent action and development of their class consciousness and self-awareness, so as to help the labouring man to escape from social reformism and the influence of the "social partnership" ideology.

Capital's Offensive

The cyclical and general crises of capitalism have increasingly undermined Austria's special economic status in the capitalist world which it had not only in the decades of the favourable economic outlook, but also immediately after the 1970s crisis, and this has produced a new set of circumstances. Austria's special status has resulted from its realisation of the advantages of its permanent neutrality, the existence of a large state sector in industry and banking, the relatively high level of its trade relations with the socialist countries and, finally, its well-developed tourist industry. Since the early 1980s, the influence of these factors on the capability of the state-monopoly system for economic and social manoeuvring has been markedly reduced, although it is still there. Meanwhile, economic and social development has moved into even deeper crisis, and this is having an ever greater effect on the working people's working and living conditions. It has been a period of accelerating change in the make-up and structure of the working class.

Over the past ten years, the number of jobs in industry dropped by more than 15 per cent, and since 1980 there has also been a general decline in the employment of wage-workers. Over the past three years, unemployment has more than doubled, to 5 per cent, a high level for Austria. It has also palpably hit the young people, above all the 19-25 year-olds. Since 1980, there has been a downward trend in the working people's real incomes, which had remained on the same level for several years. At the same time, there is a reduction in the volume of social services and various payments to workers from the funds of the enterprises and the state. For the first time since the establishment of the Second Republic, the working people's pension security under social insurance has worsened. Despite the high growth of profits (since 1981, they have gone up by 50 per cent, according to bourgeois sources), the state budget deficit is

being covered through higher taxes, which fall as a burden mainly on the working people.

The spreading social instability has led to a change in the function of the "social partnership" system, which involves the government, the leaders of the employers' federations and the right-wing social democratic top trade union functionaries. This system being an instrument of the bourgeoisie's class domination, it used to determine the measure of the social concessions designed to prevent the trade union movement from making any further advances. Today, its function is to manoeuvre in the conditions of the crisis so as to prevent the working class from putting up any resistance to capital or to reduce such resistance to a minimum. The bourgeoisie's interests are promoted by the cutbacks in social services and capitalist rationalisation of production, and the fold-up and shut-down of enterprises above all in the state sector of the economy. Such measures are timed and located in such a way as to split the working people to the utmost. However, the acceleration of the crisis over the past several years shows that there are limits to such regulation of the capitalist economy and "social partnership" manoeuvring, which is highly important over the long term, because the life of working class generations over the past thirty years has been closely tied up with "social partnership".

These limitations arise from the fact, in particular, that the so-called minimum consensus in "social partnership" is an ever more explicit expression of the interests of capital. The task of maintaining employment at the "highest possible level" is substituted for the "full employment" demand, and this naturally allows for the existence of unemployment both among people of the older generation and among the young. A policy of austerity, meaning a redistribution of incomes in favour of the capitalists, is being propounded in lieu of "fair distribution". Preference is being overtly given to the bolstering of the positions of private capital, especially the foreign transnational corporations, in place of the "mixed economy", i.e., recognition of the equivalence of state and private property.

In 1983, the Austrian Industrialists' Federation presented to the new coalition government led by the Social Democrats a memorandum on economic and industrial policy, which said: "The industrialists believe that Austria has no need of any radical conceptions, even if only because of the social tensions these could cause. However, a long-term strategy of adaptation to the lower growth indicators must inevitably run beyond the life of the present legislature. An accord between the leading political forces in Austria and their social partners on the guidelines for the necessary measures would make it considerably easier to realise such a policy, and would, in fact, generally be the prerequisite for it."²

The authors of the memorandum insist on a reduction in state capital investments and appropriations for social needs; cutbacks in social services and payments; a lowering of wages and wage-related costs; a reduction in the "state's quota" of the social services, which should be transferred to the private sector; a limitation of social rights for the purpose of increasing the "mobility" of the labour force in terms of time and space; a re-establishment of adequate profits which at the stage of unprognosticated stagnation should include a higher "risk premium", and so on. The Austrian Freedom Party, a small right-wing bourgeois party financed, among others, by the Industrialists' Federation and represented on the government as a result of the latest parliamentary elections; has also openly demanded a return of nationalised industry to private hands.

We find, therefore, that for its own purposes capital has mounted long-term offensive, with attacks on the nationalised sector as an important component. But recent events indicate that these attacks are being most resolutely resisted by the working class.

Unity of Action

The core of the Austrian working class is not only concentrated at the big enterprises of Austrian and foreign monopoly capital; it also largely includes those who work in the traditional branches of the state sector: railway transport, communications, the power industry, and also the nationalised industrial enterprises, which are effectively the only large enterprises in many parts of the country, and also in some key industries (steel, structural materials, etc.).

For decades, the nationalised sector of the economy has been the socio-political frontrunner. Just now, private capital has directed the sharp edge of social dismantling against it in the hope of garnering the benefits. In their efforts to isolate the collectives of the nationalised enterprises fighting for the preservation of jobs and social gains, bourgeois ideologists claim that these groups of working people are "privileged". Capital seeks to prevent the resistance to the "rationalisation of production" and social dismantling from spilling over from the nationalised sector of the economy to other sectors, and is trying to incite workers of the small and medium-size factories against the workers of the nationalised enterprises. These moves to divide the working people are supported by the bourgeois opposition Austrian People's Party (APP).

The attempts to split the working class have foundered wherever the masses are aware of the role of nationalised industry in safeguarding the democratic gains of the working class. Since 1980, there have been large-scale demonstrations in the country in defence of jobs, involving sharp forms of struggle (such as the blocking of streets). There have been no demonstrations on such a scale for decades. The loss of confidence in "those on top", that is, those who conduct the "social partnership" policy, is reflected in the mass action by the workers in Judenburg, Niklasdorf, Mürzzuschlag and Ternitz, which are important industrial communities where the nationalised enterprises are concentrated. The working people's growing abstention from elections is a specific form of protest. There is a change in the mentality and a growth of political consciousness among workers of enterprises which have for a long time objectively provided a basis for the spread of "social partnership" illusions, for various reasons, not least importantly because of the strong positions of their production councils and trade union leaders.

The overcoming of false notions is, of course, a process that is not free of contradictions. Thus, the workers' protest tends largely to benefit the APP, which has capitalised on the anti-communist attitudes of the social democratic leadership.

It is noteworthy that the new situation has confirmed our party's conclusion that the nationalised industry offers the most favourable conditions for the working class struggle. The Communists have constantly advocated the preservation and expansion of the nationalised sector of the economy, and even the working people of the enterprises where the Communist Party is not well represented are aware of that. So it is in the nationalised industry that the workers are most keenly aware that their interests have been betrayed by the Socialist Party of Austria (SPA), the country's most influential party, which is why the Communists can act there as an alternative force. That was borne out in the "Arbeiterkammern" elections in April 1984.³ The roll of the trade union Left Bloc was supported by the Communist Party and had a tangible increase in votes in almost all the centres of the nationalised industry. In assessing the success, one could say that it was not merely a result of "protest votes", but also of the working people's comprehension of the Communists' militant left-wing alternative, which is consistently oriented towards the workers' interests in contrast to "social partnership". The most considerable growth in the number of votes was registered precisely where the Communists called on the workers to put forward both trade union and political demands aimed against the policy of reducing employment and social dismantling.

In the present conditions, therefore, there is a characteristic polarisation, a process

in which a larger part of the discontented succumbs to the demagoguery of the bourgeois opposition, while a smaller but growing part puts ever more trust in the Communists.

In order to resist the demagogic influence of the bourgeois opposition within the working class movement, the Communist Party has been striving for unity of action by all the working people in the face of capital's offensive, with special efforts to explain the reasons for the growing social pressure from the SPA and trade union leaders conducting the "social partnership" policy. After all, unless the connection between the line taken by the right-wing Socialist Party leaders and the on-going long-run offensive by capital is spotlighted, the substance of the criticism levelled at these leaders by the Communists will remain obscure. For our party, failing to subject the SPA leadership to criticism means moving away from the workers who are ready for struggle.

The Austrian Communists' consistent orientation towards the working people concentrated in the nationalised industry has so far yielded no more than modest fruit, and that is due to the fact that they constitute only a part of the working class core whose share tends to diminish in consequence of the structural changes in industry and the policy of curtailing the state sector.

While the Communists do exert an influence on the hard-core workers in the traditional industries (and these are industries which predominate in the nationalised sector), their influence is still far from great in the new industries, above all at the large enterprises of the transnational corporations, and also where high technology is most rapidly applied to production.

The reasons for this distinction will be found, on the one hand, in the above-mentioned objective conditions in which the Austrian society has developed. On the other hand, they are also due to deficiencies in our own activity. Up to now, party work has been conducted most purposefully mainly at the enterprises in the nationalised industries and in areas where they constitute a large proportion. That is why, the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of Austria in January 1984 took important decisions aimed to enhance the effectiveness of party work. The congress drew the relevant conclusions, which range over the main lines in the activity of the Austrian Communists.⁴

The structural changes under way in the working class differ from those occurring among wage-workers generally, but there is a definite inter-relation between the two processes. In 1960, about 50 per cent of the labour force was employed in material production, and less than 40 per cent in the early 1980s. Since 1979, there have been more salaried employees than workers in Austria, whereas in 1950, the number of salaried employees came to less than one-half of the workers. However, such shifts do not signify a shrivelling of the working class. Let us recall that the movement of workers from the actual process of production and the growing role of the pre-production and post-production phases, and also of the functions of supervision and control were all anticipated by Marx.⁵

There has been a simultaneous increase in the number of persons employed in the services. Despite the fact that labour technique and working conditions, and also labour legislation in this sphere are akin to those regulating the condition of the industrial working class, the working people's social status in the two major sectors of the economy is still essentially different. The existence of a large number of small and medium-size enterprises in the country is also highly important. Another notable fact is that because of the migration from the rural localities, nearly one in five workers was a peasant only a short while ago. These working people are highly individualistic and set less store by solidarity, a fact on which the bourgeois opposition in the working class movement tends to speculate.

Finally, the concentration and centralisation of capital and production do not

necessarily lead to an increase in the share of the working class concentrated at the large enterprises.

For the working people, scientific and technical progress tends to add importance to problems like technological control, safeguards against capitalist rationalisation, a say in management, and greater trade union rights of control, all of which defy solutions under "social partnership".

Class Struggle Internationalised

So long as the "social partnership" policy provided heavy camouflage, the contradictions among its supporters remained obscure. They have now come to light. The SPA leadership is trying to fortify the "social partnership" and further to bend the working class movement to the interests of capital, but it is a line that is being increasingly opposed by ever larger numbers of rank-and-file SPA members working at the enterprises and in the trade unions. Thus there is growing criticism of the ideology and policy of partnership with capital in some trade unions, like the largest sectoral trade union of employees at private enterprises.

Those who head the production councils in the nationalised industries and usually work hand in glove with the SPA leadership have come under increasing pressure both from above and below. Managers and technocrats have a growing role in the current massive offensive by capital and there is a spreading differentiation among the social democratic trade union and party functionaries, many of whom fear that because of their close ties with the leading groups of "social partnership" they could lose their traditional influence, above all on the workers at the nationalised enterprises.

The discussion and struggle over the 35-hour working week without any cut in wages are an indicator of this process of differentiation. The Communists regard the demand as a drive against mass unemployment, which is a timely one because of the changed working conditions and intensification of labour. The ultimate goal, as Marx once put it, is to counter the political economy of capital with the political economy of the working class, which is a political economy of social foresight.⁶

The trade union and SPA functionaries most closely connected with "social partnership" have characteristically opposed the 35-hour working week most rabidly, setting much store by the arguments of management. However, the demand keynoted the congress of the Austrian Federation of Trade Unions which was held in the autumn of 1983. One of its Land organisations collected 70,000 signatures in support of the demand. A group sponsoring the "35-hour working week with full wages — now!" demand, which was supported by the trade union Left Bloc, collected 20,000 signatures, mainly at the large nationalised enterprises.

"Social partnership" is also under international pressure. There has been a strong response in Austria to the struggles of the West German metalworkers and printers for a shorter working week. The press which reflects the interests of the entrepreneurial circles has indefatigably the almost daily reported on the production losses which Austrian subcontractors have suffered in consequence of the strikes and lockouts in the FRG, thereby trying to create among our workers a mood not only against the West German working people's strike action, but also against the demand for a 35-hour working week.

The internationalisation of the class struggle is being manifested in Austria ever more tangibly. Because of the considerable influence which West German capital has in our country, the workers are faced with this alternative: either to bend to the interests of West German capital in the spirit of "social partnership" or to take an independent stand in defence of jobs and social rights. The votaries of "social partnership" keep saying that working hours can be reduced only "on an international scale", but have shown no inclination to act, for instance, by supporting the strikers in FRG.

This puts on the Communists a clearcut responsibility: action for shorter hours within a united front of class struggle must be tied in, to a greater extent than ever before, with ideological and political explanation work and efforts to strengthen the solidarity transcending the boundaries of enterprises, trade unions and countries. Solidarity with the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries is of especial importance. SPA Chairman Franz Muhri emphasised at the party's 25th Congress that "the struggle against every brand of anti-Sovietism and anti-communism, our solidarity with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, which we reaffirm from the rostrum of our 25th Congress, and also the development of good all-round relations with these states and friendship with these peoples which we advocate meets Austria's national interests, and helps to assure it of a secure and peaceful future."⁷

* * *

A few points of principle in conclusion. What I have said indicates that the CP Austria regards the whole working class as the vehicle of social progress and the force which will ultimately transform the society and build socialism. That is why the CPA calls itself a working class party. Even today, it has to carry on theoretical and ideological struggle against social reformist and revisionist views, whose adherents deny the historical role of the working class and claim that it has lost its revolutionary character and is allegedly no longer a vehicle of social processes, a role which other strata, notably the intelligentsia, have now taken over.

The CPA Programme refutes the arguments of those who want to "bury" the working class. It says: "The working class has been and continues to be the crucial and leading force in the struggle for social progress, democracy, peace and socialism. Ever since capital realised that the working class was its grave-digger, it has kept saying that the working class is dead."⁸ It goes on: "The working class is the major creator of social wealth. Its core is concentrated in the nationalised industry and at the enterprises of big capital with the most progressive means of production. With the development of the productive forces, the division of labour and the scientific and technical revolution, an ever greater part of the aggregate social labour is performed in areas which either precede the process of production as such, accompany it or follow upon it: the service sector, distribution and management. As a result, there is a shift in the numerical relation between workers, employees and public employees. Old trades and skills tend to disappear and new ones to appear. Simultaneously, industrial techniques spread well beyond the limits of the traditional industries. Concerning a sizable majority of those who work in industries not directly related to the sphere of production, one could also say that their labour yields for capital much more than the cost of their labour-power. They, too, are exploited."⁹

In the light of its Marxist analysis of the social structure, the Programme says that the intelligentsia "is neither an independent class, nor an independent political force".¹⁰ An insignificant section of the intelligentsia is a part of the bourgeoisie and even tends to merge with the top bureaucracy of the state-monopoly system, while a much greater — and growing — part of it is connected with material production and is moving closer to the working class. The main thing is that the vital interests of the workers and of the overwhelming majority of the intelligentsia coincide. We believe that it is an important task of the Communists to explain that and the need for an alliance of the intelligentsia and the working class and the consistent defence of their common vital interests.

The Communist Party of Austria believes that its main goal is to unite the working class, the intelligentsia and all the other labouring strata of the population in the struggle for peace and social progress.

¹ See *Resolutionen des 25. Parteitages der KPÖ "Schlussfolgerungen für eine wirksamere Arbeit der Partei"*, *Volksstimme*, January 21, 1984.

² *Memorandum der Vereinigung Österreichischer Industrieller zur Wirtschafts- und Industriepolitik*, Vienna, 1983.

³ Representative bodies elected by all wage-workers in accordance with the law of the Austrian Republic.

⁴ For details see "The Main Direction" by Franz Muhri in *WMR*, No. 4, 1984. — *Ed.*

⁵ See Karl Marx, *Grundrisse (Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy)*, Penguin Books, London, 1973, pp. 703-704.

⁶ See Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1969, p. 16.

⁷ *Volksstimme*, January 14, 1984.

⁸ *Sozialismus in Österreichs Farben. Program der Kommunistischen Partei Österreichs*, Vienna, 1982, p. 25.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

Socialising the National Question in Ireland

Michael Morrissey — National Executive Committee member, Communist Party of Ireland

THE most general position of the Communist Party of Ireland concerns the relationship between Ireland and imperialism, particularly British imperialism. Its analysis is that the possibilities for social revolution in Ireland have been systematically inhibited by British imperialism, whose interests would be threatened by such an event. Thus for Ireland the process of national liberation is inextricably linked to the prospects of socialist revolution. The opposition to imperialism has both national and social dimensions. This position was first articulated by James Connolly¹ and we remain committed to it. However, the articulation of the national question in Ireland in socialist terms does not mean the subordination of the Communist Party to other forces concerned with the reunification of the country.

For us Communists the social content of the national liberation process cannot be realised by merely removing the political border which divides Ireland. For within the new epoch of imperialism, which developed in the aftermath of the Second World War, the situation has arisen where the terms of reunification could be directly in the interests of imperialism. There are forces in Ireland which are not only unaware of this but which are prepared to actively support it.

For example, the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) which, even though threatened by the electoral advances of Sinn Féin, still obtains the majority of the Catholic votes, has as its central aim the reunification of Ireland. It seeks to do so in two ways. The first is to persuade the Protestant community in Northern Ireland that it as a party can act as the guarantor of Protestant interest and heritage. Thus it attempts to demonstrate the impotence of Unionism² in the modern world and asks Protestants to transfer allegiance to itself. At a second level it attempts to internationalise the question through demanding the joint intervention by the governments of Britain and the Republic of Ireland and petitioning the EEC to take an active role in resolving the crisis in Northern Ireland. In both respects there are severe dangers to the working class.

In offering to be guarantor of Protestant interest, the SDLP seeks merely to reproduce the prevailing ideology, which can only inhibit the development of the working class unity and reduce in the long term its ability to grasp state power. In internationalising the question, it creates the danger of enmeshing all of Ireland more firmly in a European economic and potentially military bloc. There is little doubt from bilateral discussions between Irish and British governments that the carrot of reuniting Ireland has been offered to secure Ireland's entry into NATO. In a period when international imperialism is intensifying its cold war tactics of hostility to the Soviet Union, to embroil Ireland in the process would be very dangerous indeed.

Sinn Fein, the political wing of the Provisional IRA,³ is also deeply committed to the resolution of the national question in Ireland. However, following a tradition of nearly a century and believing both in the irreformability of the Northern Ireland state and the impacability of British imperialism, that commitment is manifested simultaneously in a political and military struggle against the British presence in Northern Ireland. In this case the British presence is understood not only in terms of the political and military apparatuses of the British state, but also in residual apparatuses of the Northern Ireland state like the Royal Ulster Constabulary.

Sinn Fein's position is subjectively anti-imperialist and is expressed with a superficial progressiveness in a series of populist slogans like the identification of its Republicanism with the people "of no property". Such slogans provide a sense of historical continuity since they were also employed by the United Irishmen, the political reflection of an eighteenth century republican anti-British bourgeoisie very much in the model of the French Revolution.

In 1984 Republicanism in the shape of Sinn Fein had many of the features of a hegemonic politics. In the aftermath of the Hunger Strike,⁴ it has succeeded in transforming a significant section of Catholic support into an electoral vote. In the 1982 Assembly elections it succeeded in capturing over 10 per cent of first preference votes and obtained five Assembly places which have not been taken up. In the Westminster elections in 1983, it succeeded in increasing its share of the vote to 13.4 per cent resulting in the election of one of its candidates, who was running on an abstentionist ticket.⁵

Sinn Fein has developed a politics originating in a historic opposition to British rule in Ireland, but reproducing that in a modern form in the heavily deprived Catholic urban areas of Belfast and Derry and in rural sections of Fermanagh, Armagh and Tyrone. Its political challenge is hegemonic in that it sustains a bloc of different class fractions through the assertion of an opposition at the ideological, political and, indeed, economic levels.

The main thrust of criticism against the republican movement has been on two grounds: that its military campaign is counter-productive in that it only exacerbates divisions within the working class and that at best it relates only to one section of the working class, namely, the Catholic nationalist section. The republican reply is that national liberation faced with the hostility of imperialism is invariably violent, as has been demonstrated in Zimbabwe, South Africa and elsewhere while the divisions within the working class are the inherent structural manifestations of British imperialist rule, where one section of the working class, the Protestants, identify with that rule. Thus the latter cannot be allowed to inhibit the process of national liberation. The assessment of the relationship between a communist and republican politics is crucially dependent on the evaluation of these criticisms of republican strategy and of the republican response.

Here it is contended that republican strategy contains errors which despite cyclical fluctuations of mass appeal make it an unproductive politic. In the first place, it assumes that the process of national liberation in Ireland has an identical character to that of underdeveloped countries after the Second World War. In fact, the national

question in Ireland is better understood from an earlier historic epoch and is more akin to the ways in which national questions expressed themselves in Europe. The relationship between Britain and Ireland has been so historically long-term that it has transformed itself during different epochs. So rather than a single national question in Ireland with historical continuity, there have been several expressing different class interests and with differing revolutionary significance. The eighteenth century saw an Irish Republicanism in the mould of revolutionary France, the mid-nineteenth in the shape of the Young Irelanders⁶ reflected the revolutionary impulse of 1848, and the latter nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the revolutionary nationalism of the Balkans and Hungary.

The present period has to be analysed in terms of the class forces of the present epoch and within a location in the developed capitalist world rather than in its undeveloped periphery. Northern Ireland is closely integrated within British monopoly capitalism. The crisis of the welfare state and the flight of capital follow a similar pattern in an extreme form to depressed regions in Britain. Their impact is aggravating inequalities between Catholics and Protestants in the labour market due to both national and social oppression, typical of advanced capitalist states.

Thus the national question must be analysed in the concrete realities of Northern Ireland rather than in whimsical allegories about the nature of national liberation. Comparisons between Northern Ireland and, say, Zimbabwe are not based on historic realities but on a romantic view of the process of national liberation. The qualitatively different relations to landed and industrial capital between the European settler and the native, characteristic of imperialist domination, do not exist within Northern Ireland. The national question must thus be expressed in different terms than in the crude liberationist jargon of the Republican movement.

This leads to the second problem for republican politics, namely the place of the Protestant working class in the revolutionary process. The steadfast refusal of this section of the working class to become republican has resulted in republicanism labelling it "irreformable". Two scenarios have been advanced in relation to this group. The first is that it is historically redundant and that no accommodation can be sought with it. At best it is irrelevant to the act of national liberation, at worst it is an obstacle. The struggle for reunification should therefore be pursued whatever the results for this section of the working class. If that entails accepting large-scale emigration then it should be the case.

The second scenario suggests that the Protestant section of the working class should be seen as only capable of participating in a revolutionary politics after the event of national liberation since within the British state and with a guarantee from that state of a link with imperialism it cannot emerge from a false consciousness which has beset it. The pursuit of the national question should be couched in terms offering this section of the working class a role in a united Ireland. Sinn Fein did flirt with this idea when it produced its "Eire Nua" (New Ireland) programme, which promised considerable devolved power to a nine-county Ulster. This has been abandoned, however, and the former position has been unashamedly advocated.

There are considerable problems about labelling a section of the working class "irreformable" when it has demonstrated an intense trade union militancy, generated the bulk of the leadership of the Communist Party in the North of Ireland and has made at least an equal contribution to the votes obtained by Communist candidates in all the elections contested since the Second World War. There are problems of trying to sweep from the historical stage the highest concentration of proletarians in Ireland.

The Communist Party emphatically disagrees with this analysis of the Provisional IRA. For the Communist Party, the process of national liberation is manifest in a politics which poses two main questions: how will a movement towards the unity of Ireland affect the internal balance of class forces making it easier or more difficult for

the working class to advance to state power? And secondly, what would be the implications for the balance of forces internationally?

A united working class is an essential ingredient, otherwise the future direction of a united Ireland will be determined by the bourgeoisie in their own interests. Besides, even if Sinn Fein's plan was capable of being implemented there would be every likelihood that the present "security" problems and inter-communal conflicts would be recreated in a reunified Ireland. Hence it is the view of the Communist Party that if we are to achieve our aims of reunification and self-determination for Ireland, then it is vital that "a certain proportion of the Protestant section of the Irish people must be won away from support of British imperialism and Unionism" (Documents of the 18th National Congress, CPI).

However, a practical problem does exist, namely, how can a politics of the national question be developed within the Protestant section of the working class? The historic role of nationalist ideology, the experience of unequal distribution of disadvantage and the repression exercised by British imperialism mean that a similar question does not have to be asked of the Catholic section of the working class. Throughout the years Northern Ireland's connection with Britain has confirmed for the Protestant section the relative prosperity of remaining with the UK. It has made relative gains from the unequal distribution of resources within Northern Ireland. It has only marginally experienced repression and undoubtedly feels directly threatened by the campaigns of the Provisional IRA and the INLA.⁷

One approach to the problem lies in mobilising the workers around issues of an economy and welfare state in crisis, and linking these to a national liberation perspective. The history of the Northern economy has been one of being unable to provide either full employment, or even a relative prosperity for the mass of the population.

The origin of the current economic crisis stems from the 1960s when the traditional industries of shipbuilding, engineering and textile shed labour heavily and new industries were developed to replace jobs in these sectors by the attraction of external mobile capital. Initially this policy was heralded as a great success. New industries, particularly artificial fibres and telecommunications, came to Northern Ireland in pursuit of very high development grants and because the labour force was relatively low-paid and in terms of industrial relations relatively quiescent.

By the 1970s the situation began to look gloomy. Between 1973 and 1979 industrial output in both traditional and replacement industries decreased. This took place at a much more rapid pace than in Britain. On the other hand it showed that the general depression in the advanced capitalist countries affected Northern Ireland disproportionately, and on the other hand it demonstrated the historic volatility of the process of capital formation; the profitability of the replacement industries had begun to decline and new investment was undertaken elsewhere. After 1979 the closure of certain sectors accelerated. In fact, the rate of decline has been so rapid and its effects so extensive that economists have talked about the possibility of an economy beyond the threshold of recovery.

This crisis has hit both sections of the population, Catholics and Protestants. Unemployment is running at 22 per cent of the workforce and virtually no increase in labour demand is anticipated in the next few years. Estimates for unemployment in 1990s range from 150,000 to 180,000. Catholics continue to have a higher rate of unemployment. Discrimination against them in jobs and housing is used in periods of economic decline and upturn alike. This gave the Protestant section of the working class the impression that they were in some way prosperous although they had a much lower standard of living than their British counterpart. However, the Protestant section has greatly suffered from the closure of many of the multinational concerns

that came in the 1960s, particularly as these plants tended to be located in areas with largely Protestant populations.

Previously the growth in the public sector services was a major safety valve against mass unemployment. This is reflected in the changing composition of the labour force. For example, in 1970, 32 per cent of the workforce was employed in manufacturing and 47 per cent in services; by 1980 employment in manufacturing had dropped to 22 per cent while employment in services had increased to 60 per cent.

Tory policies have not only created an economic wasteland in Northern Ireland, but by their cuts in public expenditure two developments have taken place; jobs in the public sector have virtually disappeared and a major crisis has been generated inside the welfare system. Northern Ireland has not been insulated from Thatcher's anti-welfare policies even though the area requires more than its proportionate share of expenditure, because of the extent and severity of its social problems. Morbidity and mortality are worse than in any other region of the UK. There are 77 people unemployed for each unfilled job vacancy. In the next highest region of the UK the ratio is 49:1. The level of housing unfitness is nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ times the British average. Every survey of social deprivation and poverty puts Northern Ireland in first place among UK regions. This is the reality of life in the north of Ireland and neither Catholics, nor Protestants can escape it.

In such a situation there are always grave dangers of complete demoralisation of the population faced with such attacks. Instead, however, there has been the beginning of a politics of resistance to them. Welfare and unemployment action groups have begun to form and to organise. Parents have vigorously protested the closing of their children's primary schools. Tenants have become aware of the effect of macro policies on their own estates. In conditions like this where resistance is forthcoming, greater possibilities are opened up for the politicisation of economic and social protest on both sides of the sectarian divide and hence for common actions. Similarly, in the trade unions politicisation has to take place including a process which will help combine the social and national questions.

In this connection the Communist Party has developed a social-economic programme with the aim of countering the economic and social decay as well as mobilising a united opposition to Tory policies. The programme contains a number of elements. One focusses on a major increase in public expenditure designed to reverse the economic decline and create many thousands of new jobs. The other involves a major shift within the economic base through the socialisation of many private concerns and the development of economic relations between both parts of Ireland. The programme represents an initiative designed to create a politics around the socialist development of the Northern Ireland economy, affirming an alternative to the monetarist policies of the Tory government.

Significantly, the Northern Ireland Committee of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions has adopted major elements of the CPI document into its "Counter Catastrophe" campaign. This includes demands such as the development of economic links with the Republic of Ireland. The mobilisation of support around this trade union campaign would have important political implications for the situation in Northern Ireland. It would be challenging from the very outset the sectarianism that exists, by bringing Catholics and Protestants together. Besides, this campaign by its very nature is, in fact, raising the central issue of the national question, because it is questioning the way Britain administers Northern Ireland, in particular its economy. Also, by arguing and providing the need for economic ties with the Republic, this programme is challenging the old hatreds to the southern part of the country that the authorities have fomented among Protestant workers in the North. For example, those workers involved in the Northern Ireland gas industry recognise that without the economic links with the South — in their case it takes the shape of a gas pipeline — their industry and their jobs are going to disappear.⁸

These are just some of the ways in which our alternative social and economic programme is linked to the democratic solution of the national question, as well as to relating this central issue in Irish politics to the Protestant section of the working class.

It would be illusory, however, to believe that a social and economic programme *alone* would be sufficient to overcome the intransigence which Protestants have to the issue of the national question. It will take more than this to break the grip that Unionist ideology has on them. One of the main sources of Unionism's strength stems from the so-called "right", bestowed on it by imperialism, to veto any move to sever the link with Britain, in other words, to veto political progress.

For this reason another element in the policy of the Communist Party is the demand that Britain should declare its intention to withdraw from Ireland. The logic behind this call arises from the need to seriously challenge the strength and influence of Unionism. Our 18th National Congress spelt it out in the following terms: "The winning of a declaration of intent to withdraw (from Northern Ireland. — *M.M.*) is of major importance because it would remove from the Unionist bourgeoisie the weapon by which they maintain the division of the working class in the North, i.e., the guarantee of union with Britain. Such an attack on Unionism's ideological base would do much to develop the political unity of the working class of all Ireland that is essential if the Irish people's struggle for self-determination and social emancipation is to be successfully concluded." It is through Unionism that imperialism continues to hold sway over Northern Ireland, therefore a major objective must be to break it.

However, a declaration of intent must be combined with the instituting of democratic laws, since the mass repression and general lack of democratic rights in Northern Ireland have maintained the sectarian divisions and nurtured the paramilitary violence of the IRA, the INLA and the various Protestant terrorist gangs. Hence our party's demand for the dismantling of the apparatuses of repression within Northern Ireland and the implementation of measures to democratise Northern society. This would entail the passing of a Bill of Rights and the establishing of a devolved assembly to ensure that the practices of coercion and discrimination which provide the basis of Unionist power could no longer be carried out.

Our party's strategy is vital if the bloody political stalemate that has gripped Northern Ireland for more than three decades is to be overcome. An accommodation within the working class can be achieved although it will take a formidable campaign for social justice and democratisation not only in the north of our country, but also in the Republic of Ireland. Any campaign there would need to comprise the issues already outlined plus the demand that the sectarian and undemocratic aspects of various laws in the South should be repealed, as they are both an obstacle to winning the Protestant section of the northern people for a united Ireland and an injustice to the people in the 26 Southern counties. Naturally, if the British government is to be forced to renounce its imperialist policies in Ireland, a heavy responsibility will also lie with the British Labour movement and our fraternal party, the Communist Party of Great Britain.

As long as the working class is divided along religious or other lines, the exploiting classes will dominate the political stage and Ireland will remain subordinate to imperialism. The Communist Party of Ireland in its strategy for a way forward combines — in the best traditions of James Connolly — the social and national aspects of national liberation, recognising that the only sure road to progress is through the unity of our working class, Catholic and Protestant.

¹ Revolutionary who fought for Irish independence, and was among the early propagators of Marxism in Ireland. One of the leaders of the Irish Rising (1916), he was shot by the British authorities after its defeat. — *Ed.*

² Trend favouring union with Britain and represented by the bourgeois Unionist Party, which is close to the British Tories. — *Ed.*

³ Illegal paramilitary organisation whose aim is to reunite Ireland by carrying on an armed struggle against Britain. — *Ed.*

⁴ The strike was called by IRA political prisoners in Northern Ireland and resulted in the death (1981) of ten inmates led by Robert Sands, British MP-elect. — *Ed.*

⁵ Political group which joins in elections for the British Parliament but whose candidates refuse to serve if elected. — *Ed.*

⁶ Group of bourgeois intellectuals whose radical members insisted on waging a revolutionary struggle for the independence of Ireland. — *Ed.*

⁷ Irish National Liberation Army, an illegal paramilitary organisation, more extremist than the IRA. — *Ed.*

⁸ And presently on this very issue there is a campaign, because the British government due to reasons of "cost" have decided to cancel their agreement with the Irish Republic to pipe natural gas into the North from the South. This will mean the loss of thousands of jobs.

Democracy and the Revolutionary Process

Orel Viciani — Representative of the Communist Party of Chile on the WMR Editorial Council

THE question of democracy is in the focus of the ongoing political and ideological debate in Chile. All the opposition forces have joined in this vital polemic about the nation's future after it is delivered from tyranny.

The Communists, to quote Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, are now not raising "the question of supplanting the fascist by a socialist state. Nor is it a question of establishing a typically bourgeois system. In other words, we do not face the dilemma of fascism or socialism, or of fascism or bourgeois democracy. The situation demands a new democratic, popular, and national regime that would facilitate and promote the changes springing from the objective imperatives of social progress."¹

Gabriel Valdés, Chairman of the Christian Democratic Party and Chile's Foreign Minister at the close of the 1960s, who has been re-elected President of the right-of-centre opposition Democratic Alliance coalition for a second term, has said: "Of course, the Constitution will have to guarantee the principles underlying the structure of modern democracy: democratic legitimacy of the majority government, continued development, the participation of the people in decision-making, social, political, and ideological plurality and, above all, respect for human rights."² Representatives of other circles are speaking of "pure" democracy, of a new symbiosis of direct and representative democracy, and so on. These debates are of immense significance to the present struggle against the dictatorship and to Chile's future.

Driven against the wall by the popular demand for the immediate restoration of democracy, the fascist regime is trying to engineer a division in the opposition by luring the right-of-centre forces into the trap of anti-communism. To this end use is being made again and again of the battered lie about "contradictions" between communism and democracy, between Marxist-Leninist "totalitarianism" and the democratic freedoms "incompatible" with it. Our party has stated publicly that the snare laid out by Pinochet has not enticed the entire right-of-centre opposition. However, in spite of this positive development, the attainment of political harmony among the forces opposed to the dictatorship continues to run into serious difficulties. The Communists'

clarion call for unity without exceptions has not received the response at the level required by the situation. Those who reject such unity are claiming that it is obstructed by an alleged inconstancy of the Communists in these matters. Even while acknowledging such compelling facts as the persevering, more than 60-year-long struggle of the Chilean Communists for an extension of democratic rights, on the one hand, and the self-evident consistency of the democratic content of their suggestions for the period after fascism is overthrown, on the other, the adversaries of unity are making the absurd charges against the Communists that at some vague moment in the future they will try to put an end to popular rule.

Forecasts of this nature are "backed up" by the similarly far-fetched assertions that our theoretical foundation, our fundamental positions, and the whole of Marxism-Leninism are somehow inevitably alien to democracy. Although the proponents of this so-called "theory" have to admit that the Communists are championing democracy, they doubt or say they doubt that the Communists will remain true to democratic principles tomorrow. It is charged that for the Communists democracy is a purely tactical rather than a strategic aim. Lenin's postulates on democracy are an invariable objective of attacks of this nature. Their critics, including certain "left" leaders who have superficially read some of Lenin's works (or excerpts from them), suddenly discover in Marxism-Leninism a "dogmatic core" that allegedly makes democracy and socialism "incompatible". The sentence that they pass is harsh: they claim that the Communists need democracy only in order to accumulate strength.

We are aware that the class interests motivate such assertions. From the positions of Manichaeism³ some of our critics counterpoise the interests of their class to those of the proletariat, and in one way or another their arguments bear the imprint of innumerable stereotypes, patterns, and prejudices. These are invariably used by reaction in its unbridled campaigns to poison Chilean society with anti-communism. They are now complemented by attacks on or unpremeditated distortions, vulgarisations, or simply ignorance of our theoretical principles. These are all threads of the web of suspicion, distrust, and hostility that they are trying to weave around the Communists and their convictions and principles.

This makes it binding upon us to enunciate our understanding of popular rule insistently and systematically, to show that the entire struggle of the Communists and the entire content of our suggestions are based on the fundamental postulate that democracy is a strategy, the postulate that says that democracy is vital not only "for today" but also "for tomorrow". Moreover, we are calling for an active, doctrinaire-free account of Chilean specifics, of distinctive national realities (not only to interpret these realities but also and above all to reshape them). A consistent and creative application of our world view — Marxism-Leninism — gives a correct understanding of these factors.

The Marxist-Leninist Concept of Democracy

This concept is based on two fundamental tenets. First, we believe that in all cases the question of democracy has a class content, a specific historical character. Second, we believe, as Lenin made clear, that "the proletariat cannot be victorious except through democracy".⁴ This formulation of the question is justified *before, during, and after* the triumph of the social revolution prepared by the working class in fulfilment of its historic mission of putting an end to all forms of oppression and building a society totally and definitively free of exploitation, in other words, a communist society. That is what underlies our strategic (not only tactical) understanding of democracy, of the task of its further development up to the withering away of the state as such.

Both these tenets form a single whole and should never be regarded through the prism of subjectivism, as is being done by vulgarisers of Marxism, who assert that this concept spells out the restriction or alienation of the people's sovereignty. Those who

make this assertion are in fact nourishing intellectual complacency, which places a mass movement over classes and the class struggle. This is the first point. And the second is that they help to distort the actual content of the interests of the proletariat. In this lies the crux of Manichaeism, which we mentioned in connection with the prejudices relative to the democratic convictions of the Communists. Nobody is more interested in social progress than the working class and, for that reason, nobody else has such all-embracing and advanced views about democracy, for the proletariat is the only class that does not see its own liberation without the liberation of the *whole* of society. This means that from the standpoint of the proletariat the class content of democracy is expressed in a struggle for the development of "democracy to the utmost",⁵ in other words, until all oppression is extirpated. This is what some people fear.

For Marxism democracy, being a norm of society's life, is *always* embodied in a form of administration. In this sense Lenin defined it simply as "the rule of the majority".⁶ But he added that the majority had to acquire without delay the actual possibility of ruling and decision-making. This means, on the one hand, "the firm establishment of a political system, a form of state power, making it possible to decide matters by a majority and guaranteeing the translation of this possibility into reality".⁷ On the other hand, Lenin noted "that the class composition of this majority and the interrelation of classes inside (and outside) it should *enable* it to draw the chariot of state concertedly and effectively".⁸

"If political power in the state," Lenin wrote, "is in the hands of a class whose interests coincide with those of the majority, that state can be governed truly in line with the will of the majority. But if political power is in the hands of a class whose interests diverge from those of the majority, any form of majority rule is bound to become deception or suppression of the majority."⁹

Let me make one more important point. Lenin stressed that universal, equal, and direct suffrage was the only electoral system compatible with democracy and that the entire population, in other words, both the majority and the minority, should participate in it. On the same basis, he favoured the election ultimately in one form or another and not the appointment by administrative decree of persons invested with state power. Leninism extends universal voting also to popular representation in state agencies.

For the Marxists the people's participation in administration is the foundation on which various forms of direct and representative democracy must and can interact. Moreover, using the experience of the Paris Commune, Marxism incorporated in its understanding of democracy the principle that the holders of mandates were recallable. In accordance with that principle approval or non-approval of the work of a deputy elected to a representative agency is not reduced to his re-election or non-re-election upon the expiration of his term of office; the mandate may be cut short at any moment, when a large majority of the electorate votes for this, even before the established term of office expires. Further, it is implied that the norms regulating this right of electors must be institutionalised by legislation that guarantees the effectiveness of the entire democratic system.

Citizens thus get an effective system for implementing direct and genuine control over the management of society's affairs, which ceases to be the monopoly of parliament. (Naturally, this does not exclude control over administration also by parliament — such control continues to be one of its functions.) In other words, Marxist-Leninist theory provides for the extension of universal elections to *all* forms of administration and for absolute democracy in the three dimensions we have already considered: *electivity*, *participation*, and *control*. It goes without saying that being the free and sovereign expression of the people's will, universal, equal, and direct suffrage must be by secret ballot and voting must proceed according to carefully monitored lists. Voters must know in advance for whom and for what they are voting.

Cumulatively, the questions we have examined permit us to ascertain the foundations of the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the development of political democracy. This development is the drawing together of the government apparatus and the mass of the people. As a result, the state drops the character of an excrescence separated from and standing above society that has permitted the state apparatus to avoid control by the *entire* population and made it dependent upon the minority (or minority classes and strata), whose interests do not coincide with those of the majority. We believe that only in a system founded on the above vital principles will social freedoms, human rights and guarantees, and respect for the individual (so frequently proclaimed and so rarely observed) be practised and cease to be solely a right to make demands and criticise. It is our view that this democracy must be won by the people themselves. And it must be staunchly defended and safeguarded with all available means against encroachments by enemies.

The latter is of special significance to Chile, for we know that a renovated, popular, and national democratic regime will not grow in our country by "normal" evolution — out of bourgeois democracy. It will be built on the ruins of tyranny, after the defeat of fascism — the terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary circles of finance capital.

Lenin on Democracy and Revolution

We have tried briefly to analyse some *fundamental* postulates that give a perception of the essence of our understanding of political democracy. To get a correct idea of this understanding, all the questions we have dealt with should be considered *cumulatively*. Any one-sidedness, underestimation, or artificial absolutisation of any of these component parts will not permit understanding the inner dialectics of the problem. Equally, it must be considered in organics, harmonious, and consistent interdependence with the Marxist-Leninist world view as a whole in order to see the entire sum of the determining links and categories, for we are dealing with democracy and the state, with the political system and political power; with democracy, classes, rule, hegemony, and the class struggle; with democracy, majority and minority, democracy and revolution; with democracy and the economic basis; with democracy under pre-monopoly capitalism and imperialism; with bourgeois democracy and proletarian democracy; with democracy and socialism; with the withering away of democracy as a form of state power, and so on. It is quite evident that there is a link also between the development of political democracy and the need to democratise the economy.

The aforesaid makes it clear that it is wrong to attribute to the Communists a nihilistic attitude to political democracy. We see as still valid Lenin's caution that "in actual life democracy will never be 'taken separately'; it will be 'taken together' with other things, it will exert its influence on economic life as well, will stimulate *its* transformation; and in its turn it will be influenced by economic development, and so on. This is the dialectics of living history."¹⁰

Within the framework of the "dialectics of living history", we understand that the proletariat has to develop democracy "*to the utmost*". "All this," Lenin wrote, "is one of the component tasks of the struggle for the social revolution."¹¹ The same reasons that induce the working class to accomplish a revolution compel it to fight with perseverance for increasingly broader democracy. This stems from the objective interests of the proletariat. Hence, in historical terms nobody save the proletariat itself is able to understand the *strategic* character of the struggle for democracy.

Meanwhile, the socialist revolution itself is seen by the working class as a democratic event of the highest order. This is history's first revolution whose chief motive force, the proletariat, is calling upon *all* the other classes and social strata, comprising the exploited and working majority of the population, not only to destroy the obsolete social system (as was done in its day by the bourgeoisie when it put an end to feudalism by means of the bourgeois revolution) but also to *join it* in actively *building* the new society. In the long run the socialist revolution is many times more democratic than the

preceding bourgeois revolution, which gave rise to capitalism, for the interests of the working class are incomparably more *in keeping* with those of the majority.

The Marxists-Leninists are certain that "the domination of finance capital and of capital in general is not to be abolished by *any* reforms in the sphere of political democracy".¹² However, we also know that "capitalism engenders democratic aspirations in the masses, creates democratic institutions, aggravates the antagonism between imperialism's denial of democracy and the mass striving for democracy".¹³ For that reason, although we know that "capitalism and imperialism can be overthrown only by economic revolution", that "they cannot be overthrown by democratic transformations, even the most 'ideal'",¹⁴ we consider it possible and necessary for the proletariat and the entire people to fight more energetically for the satisfaction of their democratic demands *under* capitalism too. Is this only a tactic? Are we doing this only to accumulate strength? No, because a "proletariat not schooled in the struggle for democracy," as Lenin put it, "is incapable of performing an economic revolution".¹⁵ Speaking of the indivisible link between democracy as an element forming the social consciousness of the working class and the people, on the one hand, and the socialist revolution, on the other, he added: "Capitalism cannot be vanquished without *taking over the banks*, without repealing *private ownership* of the means of production. These revolutionary measures, however, cannot be implemented without organising the entire people for democratic administration of the means of production captured from the bourgeoisie, without enlisting the entire mass of the working people, the proletarians, semi-proletarians and small peasants, for the democratic organisation of their ranks, their forces, their participation in state affairs."¹⁶ Indeed, "victorious socialism", Lenin wrote, "must necessarily establish a full democracy".¹⁷

The reproach may be made that I have let myself be carried away by quotations, but I am certain that nobody can expose falsifiers, vulgarisers, and misinterpreters of his views better than Lenin himself.

Of course, under capitalism we want democracy for, *among other things*, the accumulation of strength. What party does not want this? But this is only half the truth, to be more exact, the *tactical* part of it. The *strategic* part is that we are fighting for socialism, in other words, for the most democratic organisation of the *whole* of society. Socialism can only be built with the participation of the whole people, and the new social system, in any case in Chile, cannot develop (or its development will entail enormous difficulties) if the masses building it do not acquire solid traditions of struggle for democracy, a profound democratic social consciousness, and a deep-rooted and natural habit of organising and managing things in the most democratic manner.

As far as we are concerned it would be ideal if by the time the socialist revolution is victorious the people have won the satisfaction of the democratic demands that *can* be achieved *under* capitalism. In this case the building of socialism would commence in a situation in which the people would have already had resolved many problems. Regretfully, historical development never follows the most desirable path. Since that is the case, socialism itself has to tackle a long list of democratic tasks that capitalism proclaimed but did not and could not carry out. The definitive triumph of socialism is inconceivable without consistent democracy. By virtue of this, under certain historical circumstances, the revolution has to go through stages that are not socialist proper but in the course of which the conditions are created for lifting the restrictions placed on democracy by capitalism. In other words, in the course of a revolution the people surmount the anti-democratic obstacles erected not by socialism but by capitalism. Obviously, the revolution cannot wait until capitalism does all it has promised to do.

This strategic approach to democracy permits the Chilean Communists to maintain that "in keeping with the ideals of socialism and communism our aim is to extend democracy — first for the working people and then for society as a whole".¹⁸

Project of the Chilean Communists

If we sum up the aforesaid it will be clear that the Communists have no objections whatever to, for instance, the "modern democracy" advocated by Gabriel Valdés, leader of the Chilean Christian Democrats, and that we have no objections to institutionalising constitutionally what he calls its "fundamental structures". Moreover, we are in total agreement with him when he says that there is a need for a "vigorous and dynamic state that would act in the interests of the weak and mobilise collective efforts".¹⁹

Another leading Chilean Christian Democrat, Belisario Velasco, declares: "In politics power is the motive force stemming from the free and sovereign will of the people, and it must be used to establish throughout the whole country . . . the order needed for the given society's advance towards the aims it has set for itself. Free will must be expressed by secret ballot under conditions in which all voters know who and what they are voting for. In democratic countries power comes from the people and the activities of the leaders appointed by them are subject to approval or disapproval by citizens. They express their decision by voting, and the lists of voters must be carefully verified in advance. Our country has not obtained from the government of General Pinochet the fulfilment of its basic promise — to begin returning power to its legitimate and sole master, the people."²⁰

We welcome statements of this kind. It only remains to wish that all that has been said is put into practice without vacillation, and this, as is evident to anybody familiar with Chilean reality, cannot be done without the participation of the working class, of the left forces and the Communists.

But there are issues requiring specification. Something is obviously missing from what has been enunciated. This gap is filled by the propositions advanced in the democratic project of the Communists. These have to be taken into consideration in establishing a lasting democracy. We believe that in any case there already exists a base big enough for the joint inauguration of the process of "drawing" some sectors of the government apparatus "closer" to the population. True, this will become possible only if the policy of excluding Communists is abandoned, a policy founded on prejudice, and when all sides firmly declare (as the Communists have done) their readiness to take the road of determined confrontation with the sworn enemies of democracy — fascism and internal and external imperialist reaction.

It is true that the notions of the various anti-dictatorship forces about our country's future are not identical. However, the project advanced by the Communist Party of Chile creates the basis on which the people themselves, having freely articulated their sovereign will, will decide the road along which the nation is to move in future. Moreover, social progress makes for the maturity of those who are its engine. As a result, opportunities are opened for a closer affinity tomorrow than today. In any case, the Communists are eager that this should happen.

The democratic demands of the Chilean people are making it imperative to beef up the struggle waged by the masses and broaden popular unity. Last year the Communist Party conducted a theoretical seminar at which it was noted that there was an urgent need to restore all democratic human rights — political, economic, social — and emphasised that state law and order, the Constitution, and the judiciary of the future must be based on strict compliance with and respect for them. It is important to assert the principle of the people's sovereignty: only the people can decide all matters pertaining to the new state system, have access to the leadership of the country, and all organs of power must be subordinated to them. The administration of society's affairs must be brought under control of the people, political parties must be legalised, and freedom of speech, mass media, assembly, and organisation must be restored.

Our key demand is that the rights of the working people are recognised, observed, and extended. All labour legislation and trade union freedoms must be restored, and workers must have the right to negotiate with employers and declare strikes. All forms

of property must be made to serve society; free state education in a national democratic system of education must be guaranteed, and the autonomy of reorganised institutions of higher learning must be respected; national cultural treasures must be made accessible to everybody; efforts must be made to grant women genuine emancipation, and the family must be protected; the Indian Mapuche people and the indigenous population of Easter Island must be emancipated.

At the seminar it was accentuated that there was a need to annul the "national security doctrine" and all the repressive, terrorist laws and decrees, disband the agencies set up on their basis, and prohibit torture and all forms of fascism. Persons accessory to crimes against the people must be put on trial. It is important to learn what happened to detainees who disappeared, release all political prisoners, and guarantee the emigres right to return home. Property confiscated from people's organisations must be returned. The nationalisation of the reactionary *El Mercurio* publishing concern has been named as one of the most significant steps towards the normalisation of public life.

The Chilean Communists believe that in order to meet all these demands "neither the parliament, nor the executive power, nor the judiciary, nor the monitoring agencies, nor the municipal administration, nor the electoral system, nor anything else can be restored without deep-going changes; it is also evident that the armed forces of tomorrow cannot be what they are like today. . . In other words, it is a matter of building a more democratic regime than the one in power previously (before the Pinochet dictatorship. — *Ed.*), a regime that would give more freedoms and, at the same time, exclude the restoration of fascism, a regime that would make it impossible for the country to fall victim to a despotic dictatorship again."²¹

Such is the Communist Party project and its theoretical foundations. The Communists firmly believe that this project offers a realistic way of establishing true democracy in Chile.

¹ Luis Corvalán, *Tres períodos en nuestra línea revolucionaria*, Dresden, 1982, p. 212.

² *Chile-América*, Nos. 86-87, 1983, p. 67.

³ This is a religious-philosophical current which says that a struggle between good and evil underlies everything taking place in the world. — *Ed.*

⁴ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 408.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. 25, p. 452.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. 18, p. 282.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. 25, p. 199.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 452-53.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 452.

¹² *Ibid.*, Vol. 22, p. 145.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 23, p. 25.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. 22, p. 143.

¹⁸ Luis Corvalán, "Respuesta a la campaña anticomunista de Pinochet", *Revista Internacional* (Chilean edition), No. 1, 1984.

¹⁹ *Chile-América*, Nos. 86-87, 1983, p. 65.

²⁰ *Análisis*, No. 68, 1983, p. 33.

²¹ Luis Corvalán, *Tres períodos en nuestra línea revolucionaria*, pp. 190-191.

the book scene

Failure after Failure

A Survey of US Publications on Washington's Policy in Central America and the Caribbean

THE war dogs of the Pentagon have been straining at the leash to pounce on Nicaragua, El Salvador and Cuba. No US president in recent times has been more anxious than Ronald Reagan to extend the history of gunboat diplomacy. With unusual frankness, *US News & World Report* summed up the essence of this diplomacy in the following words: "Over a period of nearly 150 years, US armed forces swept into Central America and the Caribbean more than 60 times to topple governments, install friendly regimes . . . and support American business interests."¹

Continuing this policy of blackmail and banditry, Washington hurled its troops against tiny Grenada. It is waging an undeclared war against the government and people of Nicaragua and trying to suppress the liberation movement in El Salvador.

Ignoring the lessons of their crushing defeat in Vietnam, the Pentagon hawks believe they could easily and quickly reverse the course of events in Central America and the Caribbean if only they used the US war machine for a blow at Nicaragua, El Salvador and Cuba. Yet Reagan has not been able to do this. Why?

There are several reasons for this. To begin with, the world balance of forces has shifted against imperialism. Second, the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean have the active support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Third, they have the heartfelt sympathy of such neighbours enjoying prestige in the region as Mexico, Venezuela and Panama. Fourth, US imperialism does not have the full and unqualified support of its Western European allies; indeed, it even encounters some opposition from them. Lastly, Washington's policy toward Central America and the Caribbean comes up against growing resistance in the United States itself. Its opponents today include not only the Communist Party and peace organisations but members of the academic community, religious groups, trade unionists, bourgeois scholars, and journalists.

And this is the subject of our survey of four publications; one of them has come out in Los Angeles, another in New York, a third in Washington and a fourth in Detroit. We wish to note from the outset that none of them is pro-Communist but all are against the US policy of intervention.

We will begin with *High Noon in Latin America*, a small pamphlet.² In 1983 Harvard University, that bastion on conservatism, chose to invite Carlos Fuentes, Mexican diplomat and author, to deliver the commencement address. *High Noon in Latin America* is that address. It points out that in 1927 President Calvin Coolidge denounced Mexico as "the source of Bolshevik subversion" in Central America. There followed a further US invasion of Nicaragua. Fuentes told the Harvard graduates, "The source of change in Latin America is not Moscow or Havana; it is in history" (p. 7). He warned the United States that a whole continent was capable of uniting against it in the name of cultural and national identity and independence (see p. 11). And he appealed to the White House to avoid such a confrontation by taking the road of negotiation. "There is no fatality," the Mexican diplomat said, "in politics that says: Given a revolutionary movement in a country in the region, it will inevitably end up providing bases for the Soviet Union" (p. 12). "Rightly or wrongly, many Latin

Americans have come to identify the United States with opposition to our national independence" (p. 10).

Of course, it is not simply the perception of "some"; more than 150 years of history has firmly established the fact of a US menace to the independence of Latin American nations. After all, for more than half of that period there was no Soviet Union or socialist Cuba to use as an alibi and cover-up for Washington's aggressions and interventions.

Speaking generally, Fuentes' address was an appeal to reason to the "colossus of the North". Welcome as it is, we doubt very strongly that it will be heard by those in the US who make presidents and are directly responsible for today's tensions in Central America and the world.

Penny Lernoux is a widely read US journalist and author who has lived in Latin America for 23 years. Her book, *Fear and Hope*,³ is an appeal for US Central American policies that "encourage the development of political democracy". She believes that the US fears diversity and is unable to see things as Latin Americans see them or to understand the historical causes of popular insurrections.

Lernoux is convinced that US military aid perpetuates an anti-democratic political system in which "the indigenous military serves as an occupying army, and the people are treated as the enemy" (p. 8). She sees two common denominators for the four countries which make up the crisis area of Central America: El Salvador, Nicaragua, Guatemala and Honduras. These are, first, the fact that the people of these countries are treated and made to feel like slaves because of extreme exploitation and brutal repression (since the Sandinist revolution this no longer is true of Nicaragua); and second, the fact that the four nations have been victims of repeated US military invasions (see pp. 8-9).

Revolution in the region is justified, the book affirms, because "all avenues to change have been closed, not just for a few years, but for centuries. The one attempt at change through reform rather than revolution was destroyed in Guatemala in 1954, with the help of the CIA. With no possibility of peaceful change, even the most conservative institutions will support insurrection..." (p. 9). In the author's view, the US Administration cannot understand the national feelings of the Latin American peoples or the depth of class divisions in the region; it does not realise that in Central America human rights imply, first of all, the right to live, to eat, to work, to read and to write (see pp. 10-11).

Lernoux declares that peace is the precondition for democratic growth. For this reason, she predicts the failure of the Kissinger Commission proposals, just as Kennedy's Alliance for Progress failed. The basic flaw in these programmes, she says, is the marriage of military and economic aid. She shows that military aid to the various military dictators and juntas has invariably been used to nullify whatever little economic aid might have trickled down to the impoverished masses (see pp. 14-15).

The message from Washington, Lernoux writes, is clear to both the right and the left: "the United States, despite its reformist rhetoric, would always side with the region's reactionary forces" (p. 15).

In conclusion, Lernoux calls attention to the many laws ignored or broken by successive US administrations and to the need for widespread public discussion and action against the US policies in Central America.

Changing Course,⁴ written by a team of experts in Latin American problems, is a scholarly, well-researched work which makes an incisive critique of US policies in the region and offers a democratic alternative. The main point which the book makes is that "the failure of current Central American policy is rooted in its premises. The Administration assumes that social revolutions in the regions must be seen as an expression of Soviet global ambitions" (p. 11). Thus, the roots of local conflicts are obscured and their nature is distorted. "Policy discussions are reduced to arguments over tactics and solutions are often framed in military terms" (p. 12).

The poisonous effects of anti-Sovietism on policy-making and the methods of rule in the USA are made clear by the authors. "By squeezing the complex range of US interests in Central America into a cold war framework the president has been able to intimidate legislators. . . Growing public opposition is seen as an obstacle to be managed by high-sounding rhetoric and unfillable promises. . . Secrecy, exaggeration and outright distortions are enlisted in the effort to gain support" (p. 12).

In a sharp critique of the Kissinger Report, the authors of the IPS study find that its conclusions "hinge upon the gravity of the Soviet threat to US national security in Central America. But the real crisis is in the inability of the United States to respond appropriately to profound changes in Central America which this nation cannot prevent without damaging our own democratic institutions, our economy and our national security" (p. 12). And later: "The revolutions in Central America have been long in the making, indeed long expected. They are not the product of a Soviet-Cuban conspiracy, although many of their leaders are inspired by Castro's defiance of the United States" (p. 14).

Delving into the origins of the Central American crisis, the study focusses attention on some economic and social data, in particular the following: in the early 1960s, 3.7 per cent of the farms in Guatemala owned 68 per cent of land; in Honduras the respective percentages were 2.4 and 48, in Nicaragua 11 and 73, and in El Salvador in 1971 they were 7.3 and 83. In 1978, 75 per cent of Salvadoran, Guatemalan and Honduran children under the age of five were malnourished (see p. 18).

US direct investment in Central America and the Caribbean totalled 20.8 billion dollars in 1981, or 9.2 per cent of total US investments abroad. US corporations have some 1,400 subsidiaries in Central America and over 1,700 in the Caribbean. It is because the climate in the region is so favourable for making superprofits, and not because the weather is nicer, that so many US corporations have thrust their tentacles there. Wages in St. Kitts, for example, are one-tenth those in the United States.

"While transnational banks have earned record profits from Latin American loans, Central American and Caribbean nations ran up record debts over the past decade, whose repayment has drained scarce foreign exchange away from development projects" (p. 93).

The IPS study indicts the US Administration for using bilateral and multilateral institutions to wage economic war against Nicaragua, pointing out that in 1983, Reagan ordered the US representatives to the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank to vote against loans to Nicaragua in violation of the mandate that these institutions remain apolitical.

Changing Course offers an alternative programme to advance peace and democracy in the region which supports the Contadora proposals; it calls for reducing and withdrawing the US military presence, and for ending the economic warfare against Nicaragua and Cuba.

The study also deals with the impact of the situation in Central America and the Caribbean on US domestic affairs. It argues in favour of legislation to guarantee protection to US workers affected by the export of jobs to the region by US multinationals. Specifically, it calls for reducing tax incentives that encourage US companies to open plants overseas and for these companies to create an equal number of jobs at home when they open plants abroad.

Migration from the region has a significant impact on the US economy. Estimates of the number of undocumented immigrant workers from the region range from 3.5 to 6 million. Many are drawn to the USA by poverty and others by the escalation of violent repression in El Salvador and Guatemala. The study calls for an end to all discrimination against foreign workers, the legalisation of their status, recognition of their rights and an end to Washington's fomenting of anti-immigrant hysteria.

Last and far from least is a 23-page pamphlet published as a special mass edition of AMMO (short for *Ammunition*), one of the publications of the United Auto Workers

Union (UAW). This special edition is entitled, *Why Are US Troops in Central America?*⁵

The pamphlet is noteworthy in that it approaches the subject from the viewpoint of the class interests of the US workers. Thus, it shows that Reagan's Caribbean trade programme will drain US jobs, and that low wages in the region are used by US corporations to undermine US wage standards. It exposes El Salvador's death squads and denounces Washington's support of the anti-popular regime of that country.

The pamphlet warns of the risk of regional war, condemns gunboat diplomacy and comes out in strong support for the Sandinist government in Nicaragua. "The UAW," it declares, "strongly opposes covert and overt US aid to overthrow the government of Nicaragua" (21). It identifies the UAW with the following statement of the Canadian Labour Congress: "In our view the root causes of the political violence in Central America do not arise from East-West tensions but rather from decades of oppression and economic deprivation which will no longer be sustained by millions of working people in that troubled region. For decades Central America has been the private domain of family oligarchies, private armies and US-based multinational corporations and nowhere was this more evident than in the history of Nicaragua since the coming to power of Anastasio Somoza with the support and assistance of US foreign policy interests" (ibid.).

In a concluding section, the UAW publication reaffirms the resolution on foreign policy adopted by the Union's Congress in 1983. The resolution demands the cutoff of US military and economic aid to El Salvador, calls for negotiations for a political settlement and an end to the civil war; it reaffirms UAW support for the people and government of Nicaragua and demands an end to CIA and military involvement in Honduras aimed at harassment of Nicaragua.

We would like to note once again that the four publications under review come from non-Communist sources. Yet they show that despite US reaction's anti-Soviet and anti-Cuban rhetoric, there is a growing understanding in this country of the real causes of the tense situation in Central America and the Caribbean, and a widespread awareness of the danger of a major war in the region. The four publications show again that concern about the aggressive policies of the White House touches ever larger sections of the population in the United States, and most importantly, the working class and oppressed minorities.

For all these reasons, where before a majority arose in the USA to end aggression in Vietnam, today there are growing forces that can prevent Washington from going into open warfare against the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean.

Steven Mark
US journalist

¹ *US News & World Report*, October 17, 1983, p. 36.

² Carlos Fuentes, *High Noon in Latin America*, Los Angeles, Manas Publishing, 1983.

³ Penny Lernoux, *Fear and Hope*, New York, Field Foundation, 1984.

⁴ *Changing Course*. Blueprint for Peace in Central America and the Caribbean, Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, D.C., 1984.

⁵ *Why are US Troops in Central America?*, UAW, AMMO, Detroit, 1984.

"Useful Manuals for Training Communists"

Rosa Luxemburg, *Gesammelte Briefe* (Collected Letters). Vols. 1-5, Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1982-1984; Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the SED CC.

Rosa Luxemburg was one of the outstanding figures in the international working class movement of the twentieth century. A staunch Marxist and militant proletarian internationalist, a selfless fighter against imperialism, colonialism, militarism and war, a consistent adversary of opportunism, she won undying credit by her eventful life. Having discerned the important, universally valid aspects of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, Luxemburg used them in the revolutionary struggle against German imperialism and militarism. Together with Karl Liebknecht she took part in the formation of the Communist Party of Germany, which laid the foundations for the policy of peace and socialism now being carried on by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) in the GDR for the good of the people. "... Not only will Communists all over the world cherish her memory," Lenin wrote with deep respect in 1922, "but her biography and her *complete* works ... will serve as useful manuals for training many generations of Communists all over the world."¹

The five-volume *Collected Letters* of Rosa Luxemburg, brought out by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the SED Central Committee (1982-1984), is the first complete edition of her letters to German Social Democratic and other leaders of the working class movement. It is a further contribution made by the Institute to the publication of the revolutionary's legacy begun in the 1970-1975 period with her *Collected Works*. It comprises over 2,400 letters and postcards to more than 60 people; over 1,700 of them were sent by Luxemburg to her friend Leo Jogiches and to Clara and Konstantin (Kostja) Zetkin, her closest associates. There were hundreds of letters to the Kautskys, Mathilde Jacob, August Bebel, Karl and Sophie Liebknecht, Franz and Eva Mehring, Wilhelm Pieck, and many others. Many letters to Clara Zetkin and about 500 letters, postcards and telegrams to Konstantin Zetkin were unknown to the general reader until now. The whole correspondence between Rosa Luxemburg and Leo Jogiches in Polish appears in German translation for the first time.

The publication was made possible by the enormous assistance which the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the SED Central Committee received primarily from the Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the CPSU CC, Moscow, and the Central Archives of the PUWP CC, Warsaw, as well as from the International Institute for Social History, Amsterdam, the Baden General State Archives, Karlsruhe, the Central Library, Zurich, and the Archives of Social Democracy, Bonn. It is one of the interesting editions of Rosa Luxemburg's correspondence brought out in recent decades in France, Japan, Poland, FRG, Italy and elsewhere.

The earliest letters date from 1893 and were written by Rosa Luxemburg, then a 22-year-old student, to Leo Jogiches. Her last letter, full of pride and confidence in the victory of communism, was sent to Clara Zetkin in January 1919. The collection provides a plastic image of the renowned leader of the working class movement, showing various periods of her life, her many-sided theoretical and practical activity, the logic of her thinking and the motives of her conduct. It acquaints the reader with her traits, her likes and dislikes, her joys and sorrows; the strong and weak spots of her character.

The letters furnish documentary evidence of Rosa Luxemburg as a brilliant personality combining political activity, a militant spirit, revolutionary enthusiasm,

the abilities of a writer, teacher and artist, love of nature, womanliness and profound humanism.

Luxemburg was a diligent and zestful correspondent who could write several letters a day. Occasionally she complained of having to spend too much time doing it. However, most of her letters indicate that she communicated with her friends and associates most willingly. She unfailingly applied a principle formulated by herself. "A proper handwriting and a neat form," she wrote, "are generally part of what is known as 'the politeness of kings'" (Vol. 5, p. 335).

The letters served different purposes. Some of them invited friends and like-minded people to exchange views. Others were in the nature of business communications or notes. They included reflections on events, evaluations, observations, presentiments and misgivings. The revolutionary's letters partly fulfilled the function of a diary, helping her stand her ground in prison. Many of her letters were intended to hearten and cheer up friends. On April 15, 1917, she sent a letter from Wronke fortress to Luise Kautsky, with whom she stayed on friendly terms even after her final political rupture with Karl Kautsky (Vol. 5, pp. 207-208).

"Just tell me," she wrote, "how can you go on singing your cheerless little song like a sad cicada at a time when so rousing a choir of larks can be heard from Russia? Don't you really see that the cause which is winning and triumphing there is our own cause, that it is world history in person fighting its battles and dancing the carmagnoles, drunk with joy? Mustn't one really forget all one's private miseries in view of this trend of the common cause? I know you are downhearted because just now I am not free so as to collect the sparks flying about, so as to help and to steer there and elsewhere. It would certainly have been wonderful and you can imagine how every report from over there electrifies me, as it were, to my fingertips. However, the impossibility of doing my share does not make me sadder by an iota; it never occurs to me to mar my joy at what goes on by moaning over what I cannot alter. . . Don't misunderstand me: this does not imply anything like facile fatalistic optimism intended to disguise my own powerlessness, the kind of optimism I hate precisely about your esteemed husband. No, no, I am always at my post and as soon as I get a chance, I will again strike the keys of the world piano with all my ten fingers to make it resound."

In writing a letter, Rosa Luxemburg invariably and fully "turned in" on the addressee's mood. How very well she could imagine their frame of mind at this or that moment is seen in her very different letters to Sophie Liebknecht and Luise Kautsky. While her letters to Luise Kautsky were marked by a light, natural tone (many of even those written from prison bear the imprint of facetiousness), those addressed to Sophie Liebknecht were markedly cordial. Nearly every letter from jail was inspired by concern for the young woman, whose aesthetic views and values Luxemburg thought highly of. Giving her friend courage and hope without demanding that she should stand up to adversities as easily as Luxemburg herself required a good deal of strength. But Luxemburg always knew that she had enough strength and courage to share.

The correspondence with Sophie Liebknecht was first published by the Executive Committee of the Communist Youth International shortly after Rosa Luxemburg's death. Entitled *Letters from Prison*, it has come out several times since then and is part of the treasure of working class leaders' writings.

Regrettably, few letters from Luxemburg to Karl Liebknecht have reached us. All the more impressive the lines written about him to other friends. A letter to Hans Diefenbach is strongly reminiscent of the spring of 1916, when Rosa Luxemburg went occasionally for a walk in the fields and woods with Karl Liebknecht after a year's confinement in the Barnimstrasse female prison and after the Spartacus Group² had been formed (ibid., p. 197). "Perhaps you know how he lived for many long years: nothing but parliament, sittings, commissions, discussions, hurry, a constant rushing from metropolitan railway to tram and from tram to auto, all pockets stuffed with notebooks, arms full of newspapers he had just bought but could not possibly read all,

covered with the dust of roads from head to foot, and yet always with that friendly young smile on his face. Last spring I made him rest a little and remember that there was another world besides Reichstag and Landtag, and he sauntered repeatedly with Sonja (Liebknecht) and me in the fields and the Botanical Gardens. How he rejoiced like a child when he saw a birch-tree with fresh catkins!"

Rosa Luxemburg and Clara Zetkin were linked by close personal and political relations after the Stuttgart Congress of the SPD (1898). Their friendship lasted nearly 20 years except for small tiffs. Luxemburg's very first articles against Bernstein's revisionism drew the attention of Zetkin — she wrote about "brave Rosa, who is hitting that sack of flour, Bernstein, so hard" (Vol. 1, p. 208).

Only a few of Zetkin's letters to Luxemburg were found. The collection shows, however, that a brisk exchange of opinions went on between them on political questions, in particular development problems of the party. Their correspondence is most instructive for any student of the party's history, for it reveals the background of diverse events and the motivations of various forces engaged in the political struggles of the period. Political and personal matters intertwined in the letters. Each correspondent took to heart all that concerned the other.

Four days before her death, Rosa Luxemburg wrote (Vol. 5, pp. 426-427): "Dearest Clara. . . there is no describing the way of life I — all of us — have been leading for weeks, all the hurry-scurry, the recurrent change of residence, the continuous alarming reports and, in between, hard work, conferences, and so on, and so forth. I literally could not get around to writing to you. . .

"Now, first of all, about non-participation in the elections. You greatly overestimate the significance of this decision. . . Don't forget that many of the 'Spartacists' belong to a fresh generation free of the bemusing traditions of the 'old tried and tested' party, and this must be taken with its sunny and shady sides. We have all decided unanimously not to make the matter one of principle or take it as a tragedy. Actually the issue of a National Assembly is being pushed entirely into the background by fast-moving events. If things go on like this it is very questionable whether it will come to elections and a National Assembly at all. . . When I received your letter and your telegram regarding elections my first impulse was to wire: 'Come at once.' . . . But now I am compelled to say the opposite: 'Don't come yet, wait a little longer until things here calm down somewhat.' Life amid this turmoil, what with the hourly danger, changes of residence, surveillance and harassment, is not suitable for you, and above all, it is quite impossible to work normally or even to confer. . ."

Late last century Rosa Luxemburg met Franz Mehring. In her letters to her elder she wrote sincerely about her ideas, defending both common views and views that did not coincide with his.

Despite the differences in temperament and temporary disagreements, Rosa treated Franz Mehring with profound and abiding respect. "By your books and articles," she wrote to Mehring on February 27, 1916, "you have forged indissoluble bonds linking the German proletariat not only with the classics of German philosophy but also with the classics of poetry, not only with Kant and Hegel but also with Lessing, Schiller and Goethe" (ibid., p. 104).

Rosa Luxemburg enjoyed letter-writing. She wrote about what she valued and considered important, what drew her attention or surprised her, and along with this, about very simple, occasionally very personal things not intended ever to be read by outsiders. The natural quality of her letters was their salient feature. "There is nothing artificial or forced in them," comments Gilbert Badia, her French biographer. "Rosa Luxemburg appears in them as she was, with her moments of depression and her calm heroism, her sense of nature and her predilection for definite works of world literature, her views on the world and people who make history, but also with her sense of humour that came out less often but was by no means non-existent. . . She wrote from a brimful

heart and never by force of habit or as a matter of routine. Her letters, in which she told so much about herself, were almost never confessions."³

Rosa Luxemburg was a masterful writer of letters using a rich palette ranging from genuine cordiality to a well-calculated cold tone. She wrote in German, Polish, Russian and French.

Letters are the best testimony of their writer's individuality. Luxemburg's letters, being one of the most subjective sources, were conditioned by the situation and tinged with feelings, promoted by the day or even the hour, born of a mood and mostly intended for a definite person. They prevent us from overlooking the major facts and circumstances of her life and work as a revolutionary. The purpose of the Preface to Vol. 1 of the *Collected Letters* is to be helpful in this respect. Footnotes give detailed biographical data on all the persons mentioned in the correspondence.

Anyone who reads Rosa Luxemburg's letters is bound to be amazed at her indomitable spirit and to ponder on the questions which she put to her epoch and her friends. We can only agree with Hermann Duncker, a great admirer of hers sharing the same ideas, who described her as follows: first, Marxist revolutionary; second, propagandist, teacher and speaker; third, stylist and rhetorician; fourth, lyric poet (artist); fifth, translator and imaginative writer; sixth, painter; seventh, botanist.⁴ This woman's versatility and dynamism are truly impressive. She was committed above all else to the chief humanist problem, that of freeing the peoples from imperialism and war through the revolutionary struggle of the working class for peace, democracy, socialism and friendship among peoples.

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¹ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 210.

² The propagandistic Spartacus Group came into being in January 1916 as a result of the unification of revolutionary Social Democrats of Germany around *Die Internationale*, a journal founded in 1915. In November 1918 it was transformed into the Spartacus League, a revolutionary organisation of German left Social Democrats having its own CC, which included Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, Franz Mehring, Leo Jogiches and Wilhelm Pieck. Late in December 1918 the Spartacus League and the Bremen Left (revolutionary Social Democratic group of Bremen) merged into the Communist Party of Germany.

³ Gilbert Badia, *Rosa Luxemburg. Journaliste, polemiste, revolutionnaire*, Paris, 1975, p. 754.

⁴ *Hermann-Duncker-Gedenkstätte der Gewerkschaftshochschule "Fritz Hickert" beim Bundesvorstand des FDGB, Bernau.*

Glorious Victories Along An Arduous Path

Frantisek Sita, Nguyen Khac Vien, Marcela Sainerová, Dao Van Xuan, Phan Dang Dieu, *Vietnamská Válka* (The Vietnam War), Nase vojsko, Prague, 1983, 201 pp.

The Vietnam War, published in Prague by "Naše vojsko" (Our Army), is the result of a joint effort by Czechoslovak and Vietnamese authors. They have performed an arduous job of research, made possible by the assistance of CPV and CPCz party bodies and both countries' academic centres. The book covers a great span of Vietnamese history, from the Middle Ages to this day, with its continuous struggle against encroachments on the country's independence.

Many centuries ago, relying not so much on their military skills as on their unity, the Vietnamese people successfully repulsed attempts to subjugate them. This was reflected in the words of Tran Hung Dao, an outstanding general of the 13th century: "The army and the people, like son and father, must be one. The people are the root supporting the entire tree" (p. 28).

In the mid-19th century the place of China against which Vietnam had had to fight many wars was taken up by France, an enemy commanding much greater economic and, above all, military power. Drawing on historical documents, the authors highlight the heroism of the Vietnamese who fought a life-or-death struggle against the oppressors. The book tells of pitched battles which recurred for almost 90 years, of savage reprisals, murders and genocide which exposed the colonial rulers for what they were. Enslaving the nation economically, plundering its natural resources and brutally exploiting its manpower, they also aimed at extirpating the national awareness of the Vietnamese people and at destroying Vietnamese culture. The predatory policies of the foreign oppressors plunged Vietnam and its people into poverty.

The book traces the emergence of the national liberation movement and its evolution from spontaneous and scattered outbreaks into conscious, organised struggle. Gradually, this struggle acquired new forms and an increasingly militant character. The authors stress the particular upsurge in the political activity of the oppressed masses after the October Revolution in Russia. Nguyen Ai Quoc — the man whom the world knows by his subsequently adopted name of Ho Chi Minh — was the greatest exponent of the ideas of the October Revolution in Vietnam. At his initiative, the Communist Party of Vietnam was founded in February 1930, renamed the Communist Party of Indochina (CPIC) later that year.¹

Seizing the opportunity offered by the French surrender to Nazi Germany in 1940, the Japanese militarists occupied Vietnam and established close cooperation with the former colonial authorities. The CPIC called on the Vietnamese people to launch a vigorous struggle for liberation. As early as 1940 and 1941 armed uprisings flared up in Bac Son, Nam Ky and Dol Yong, and guerrilla units began to be formed in several areas. In November 1940, in the province of My Tho, patriots raised, for the first time, a banner with a gold star against a red background, later to become the national flag of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The authors note that at that time the Vietnamese Communists advanced two major goals — liberation of the country from the Japanese invaders and those French colonialists who still remained, and implementation of an agrarian reform under the slogan of "Land to Those Who Work It".

These tasks demanded that the people mobilise all their forces and rally into a united front. And so in late 1940 Ho Chi Minh suggested the establishment of a nation-wide liberation organisation comprising all patriotic forces. In May 1941 the Eighth Plenary Session of the CPIC Central Committee called on these forces to unite in Viet Minh.

the Vietnam League for Independence, which soon developed into a mass and truly popular movement.

In August 1945 the Soviet Union declared war on imperialist Japan and mounted a powerful offensive against elite Japanese troops in Manchuria. The defeat of Japanese militarism produced favourable conditions for progress of the national liberation movement in Asia and of the Vietnamese Revolution in particular. On August 13 the Standing Bureau of the CPIC Central Committee called a party conference which adopted the historic decision to begin a nation-wide uprising and proclaim the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The conference also mapped out the party's tactics at that stage of the revolution. Simultaneously, the Insurrection Committee under the Viet Minh General Committee ordered an offensive. Within two weeks victory was achieved throughout the country. Power was assumed by a Provisional Government led by Ho Chi Minh. The book quotes an excerpt from the famous speech the leader of Vietnam's working people delivered in Hanoi on September 2, 1945. He said that "Vietnam has truly become free and independent. The Vietnamese people are fully resolved to contribute all their spiritual and material strength, to offer their lives and property in sacrifice so as to uphold their right to freedom and independence" (p. 75).

Among the major factors which ensured the revolution's victory the authors single out above all the role of leader and organiser played by the Marxist-Leninist party, as well as its success in rallying the popular masses in a united front.

The government of the newborn republic saw as its primary goals efforts to consolidate popular unity, democratise the nation and draw up a strategy and tactics for defending revolutionary gains in conditions of the French invasion which had by then begun. As early as at the end of September 1945, vigorously supported by the British, the French colonial corps captured Saigon. Hostilities soon spread all over Vietnam.

French imperialism expected to destroy the country's revolutionary government and re-establish its domination at one powerful stroke. But the heroic exploits of the Vietnamese people frustrated this scheme. The DRV armed forces spent the first months of the hostilities in continuous and fierce battles for cities and towns which it took the aggressors to capture much longer than they planned. This made it possible to set up, in almost inaccessible areas, support bases for a protracted war. Within a very short time, the patriots transferred thousands of tons of machine tools, equipment and raw materials to the jungle. Tactics of mobile guerrilla warfare against superior enemy forces were elaborated and successfully applied. The struggle enhanced the masses' political consciousness and patriotism, made the democratic nature of the new government increasingly obvious, and raised and strengthened the prestige of the CPIC which relied on the firm alliance of workers and peasants. Gradually, the Vietnamese army began to seize the initiative, and it launched a series of offensive operations. Guerrilla units were harassing the enemy behind the lines.

The authors note that led by the United States, international imperialism mobilised a considerable potential in order to suppress the Vietnamese people's anti-colonial struggle, an integral element of the world revolutionary process. However, even open US support did not help the aggressor. In March 1954, according to a decision of the Political Bureau of the Vietnamese Workers' Party Central Committee, the storming of Dien Bien Phu, a major French army stronghold, began. The book cites many interesting details of the siege which lasted for 55 days and nights. It culminated in a brilliant victory which made it possible to liberate the North of the country and turn it into a powerful mainstay of the Vietnamese Revolution.

The rout of the colonial army forced Paris to sign, in July 1954, the Geneva Agreements between the DRV and France stipulating, among other things, an end to the hostilities in Vietnam. However, this turn of events ran counter to Washington's plans of turning Indochina into an imperialist beachhead in Asia. Refusing to accept the results of the Geneva Conference, the US Administration hastened to cobble

together an anti-popular Saigon army, to be used primarily for suppressing the revolutionary movement in the South of Vietnam. This was countered, the authors remind the reader, by the creation, in December 1960, of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front; a year later the Liberation Army was formed. The NLF and its army proclaimed overthrow of the pro-imperialist regime and unification of the country as their main goal.

In August 1964 American fighter-bombers lifted off from the carriers of the US Seventh Fleet and attacked the DRV. The book exposes the crimes committed by the US aggressors who even stooped to chemical warfare. One cannot remain indifferent reading the book's account of the terrible ordeal that befell Vietnam. Fighting against these odds, the Vietnamese people, under the wise leadership of the VWP, amazed the world with their exceptional heroism, courage, fortitude and organisation. Neither the millions of tons of bombs nor napalm nor toxic agents saved the biggest imperialist power and its puppets from a crushing defeat. On April 30, 1975 Operation Ho Chi Minh was concluded successfully, and the banner of freedom was raised over Saigon.

The last part of the book describes how thunderheads again piled up soon after the victory and the reunification of Vietnam. In February 1979 Chinese troops blatantly attacked the SRV and inflicted great losses on the country. But with their resolute resistance, the Vietnamese forced the invaders to withdraw.

The great wealth of facts presented in the book is, no doubt, of considerable interest. Retracing the more important stages of Vietnamese history, the book enables the reader to better understand the roots of the patriotism and heroism of the people of Vietnam, a country which, led by the Communist Party, is confidently marching side by side with the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community along the path of peace and progress.

Oldrich Koudelka

¹ Renamed the Vietnamese Workers' Party (VWP) in 1951 and the Communist Party of Vietnam in 1976.

New Books

Boyan Traikov, *Zagovoryt na neokrystonostzite* (A Conspiracy of New Crusaders), Sofia Press, 1984, 64pp.

More than three years have passed since Western special services, primarily the CIA, mounted a large-scale slander campaign against Bulgaria and the socialist community as a whole. The pretext was trumped-up charges against Sergei Antonov, a Bulgarian citizen accused of complicity in the attempts on the Pope's life in May 1981. By the time the Italian police had arrested Antonov, the investigation, begun over a year earlier, had no direct or indirect evidence of his complicity in the crime committed by Mehmet Ali Agca, a Turkish extremist belonging to the Grey Wolves organisation. Nor was any evidence forthcoming during subsequent court proceedings, yet Antonov was not set free. This pamphlet, published by the Bulgarian Telegraph

Agency in several languages, reveals the background and true aims of the provocation. It points out that those behind the provocation would like to influence the sentiments of millions of Catholics the world over, foment hatred for the Communists and discredit socialism as a system in the eye of many people by slandering it. However, this far-reaching design is doomed to fail.

The Politics of Thatcherism, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1983, 344 pp.

In this collection of articles, prominent British economists, sociologists and political scientists examine the ideological, political and historical roots and the essence of the Thatcherist economic strategy and social policy. They note that this British version of neo-Conservatism is shaped largely by the growing trends towards a depression in the nation's economy. The authors hold that the Tories' radical right-wing ideologists have achieved a degree of success in manipulating public opinion by playing on the feelings of insecurity harbored by a large part of the middle strata and the working classes, on their fears of chronic economic stagnation and socio-political instability. They conclude that Thatcherism is a frontal offensive of big capital against the democratic rights and gains of working people.

Kostas Sirinidis, *US Military Presence in Greece*, Synchroni Epochi, Athens, 1983, 120 pp. (in Greek).

A Centre of Marxist Studies publication, the book traces the history of US military bases on Greek soil and highlights the Pentagon's scheme to turn this part of the Mediterranean into its preserve and military bridgehead. The author concludes that the US bases have not only failed to enhance the security of Greece but also aggravated the danger by making the country a target in wartime. He urges removal of the bases and the transformation of the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone.

Clinton Collymore, *Bitter Sugar and the Working People!*, People's Progressive Party Publication, Georgetown, 1984, 49 pp.

Clinton Collymore, secretary of the People's Progressive Party of Guyana Central Committee and member of parliament, reconstructs the long and courageous history of the sugarcane plantation workers' struggle for their rights, including the strikes of the 1970s. Drawing on a rich store of statistics and facts, he analyses the causes of the current slump in the sugar industry, the cornerstone of the country's economy. He stresses that among the requirements for putting the "sick" industry back on its feet are a correct distribution of public funds, skilful management and better social conditions for working people.

The Problems of the Working Women in Sudan, Cultural Bureau of the Women's Union, 138 pp. (in Arabic).

A chronic social and economic crisis, unemployment and rising prices aggravate the position of Sudan's women which is difficult as it is due to the backward, Islam-based view of women as inferior creatures. The book describes the striving of Sudanese working women to play a more vigorous role in the country's social and cultural affairs.

1973-1984. *La táctica del Partido Comunista del Uruguay en la lucha contra la dictadura* (1973-1984. Tactics of the Communist Party of Uruguay in the Struggle Against the Dictatorship), Argentina, May 1984, 208 pp.

This is a volume of documents and other materials of the Communist Party of Uruguay published earlier on a handpress and circulated secretly throughout the country. They give a clear picture of the strategy and tactics used by the Communists against the bloodthirsty dictatorial regime established with the help of US imperialism and the local oligarchy. An end can be put to the tyranny only through a mass struggle, through the unity of all the forces opposed to the dictatorship, through their cohesion in a wide-ranging national movement.

Sofia Davidova, "*Masonskoto Bratstvo*" na transnatsionalnite korporatsii (Masonic Brotherhood of the Transnational Corporations), Sofia, Partizdat Publishing House, 1984, 144 p.

In examining the nature and essence of transnational corporations, this Bulgarian scientist describes how these corporations operate and some effects of their expansion. These giants impose their selfish interests on society, aggravate global problems such as energy and food, and try to model consumption and the way of life under capitalism as they see fit.

Y. V. Andropov, *Leninism-neisчерpayemyi istochnik revolyutsionnoi energii i tvorchestva mass* (Leninism—Inexhaustible Source or the People's Revolutionary Energy and Creative Initiative), Moscow, Politizdat Publishing House, 1984, 559 pp.

This book has been published in conformity with a decision of the CPSU Central Committee on steps to perpetuate the memory of Yuri Andropov, who was an outstanding personality of the Communist Party and Soviet state, and of the international communist and working class movement. The speeches and articles selected for this volume analyse key problems of the conception of developed socialism and discuss at length the ways and means of perfecting the party's work in ideological and political education and promoting the people's consciousness and political culture. They closely examine the positive aspects of Soviet economic development and the difficulties and shortcomings obstructing progress. They accentuate the need for a fuller realisation of the advantages held out by the socialist economic system and for tightening labour discipline—production, planning, and state. Considerable attention is given to showing the essence of the Soviet foreign policy of peace, consolidating the socialist community, and promoting the international communist, working class, and national liberation movements and to the principles of the relations between them.

Gaston Plissonier, *Une vie pour lutter*. Entretiens avec Danièle Bleitrach (A Life Devoted to Struggle, Conversations with Danièle Bleitrach), Paris, Editions Socialies/Messidor, 1984, 224 pp.

This is a dialogue between representatives of two generations of Communists. In a lively, unconstrained manner Gaston Plissonier, CC Political Bureau member, French Communist Party, tells Danièle Bleitrach, one of the youngest members of the CC, about his life, which is linked inseparably to the cause of the working class. Gaston

Plissonier evokes the memory of major milestones of the party's history, which he had participated in and witnessed. He speaks of the Popular Front, the grim trials that in the years of the Nazi occupation fell to the lot of the "party of the executed" as the FCP was called at the time, the opposition of the Communists to the wars in Vietnam and Algeria, and their efforts on behalf of world peace. "In short, wouldn't you say that you have lived a real life?" Danièle Bleitrach sums up. This book by a FCP veteran leaves no doubt about this.

Klaus Mammach, *Widerstand 1933-1939* (Resistance 1933-1939), Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1984, 299 pp.

This GDR historian, who has already won renown by his previous works in this field, traces the evolution and complex socio-political composition of the anti-fascist Resistance in Germany prior to the outbreak of World War II. He singles out three orientations in the Resistance: communist, social democratic, and bourgeois-democratic (with which he associates the clerical opposition). Nazism's opponents had to contend with the extremely difficult conditions created by the fascist regime to enable it to consolidate itself: the main factors against them were terror, social demagoguery, an improvement of the economic situation with the termination of the world economic crisis, and the support given to German fascism by the forces of international reaction. The edge of the fascist repressions was directed against the Communists. It is noted in the book that 28,874 Communists, 3,370 Social Democrats, and some 2,000 other anti-fascists were arrested in the period from January 1936 to May 1939. Although it was weak, had a small potential, and was disunited, the German Resistance, as the book shows, contributed to the common struggle against Nazism.

Paraguay. Por la Comisión Política del Comité Central del Partido Comunista Paraguayo (Paraguay. From the CC Political Commission, Paraguayan Communist Party), Buenos Aires, Fundamentos, 1984, 32 pp.

Antonio Maidana, CC First Secretary of the Paraguayan Communist Party, was kidnapped in Buenos Aires on August 27, 1980 and nothing has been heard of him since then. According to some sources, he was secretly taken to a high-security Paraguayan prison, where he is under heavy guard. Public opinion in Paraguay and Argentina has repeatedly stated its indignation over this CIA-inspired criminal act of the secret police of both countries. This pamphlet contains Maidana's biography written by Alfredo Alcorta, a speech delivered by him on February 19, 1978 marking the party's 50th anniversary, and a declaration by the CC Political Commission of the Paraguayan Communist Party (November 1983) calling for unity among the people in the struggle against the Stroessner dictatorship, for the nation's freedom and independence.

Francesco Lo Sardo, *Epistolario dal carcere, 1926-1931* (Letters from Prison, 1926-1931), Edizioni del Paniere, Verona, 1984, 353pp.

Further testimony of the Italian Communists' selfless fight against fascism has reached the public. The letters written from prison by an MP, Secretary of the Sicilian Regional Committee of the Communist Party, and published half a century later are a political and moral protest against Mussolini's anti-popular regime. The courageous revolutionary's activity goes back to the beginnings of the anti-fascist Resistance, in which the Communists played the chief role. Neither a harsh sentence, nor illness, nor yet the regime's promises to alleviate his fate could make Lo Sardo strike a bargain with his conscience. He preferred death in the cell to repudiating his ideals.

Afghanistan: U.S. Intervention, Government Printing Press, Kabul, 1983, 150pp.

Immediately after the victory of the April Revolution in Afghanistan, the United States set out to form a broad front of Afghan counter-revolutionaries clergymen, feudal lords and various criminals. It was at that time that a first base for the training of armed bands was set up on Pakistani territory with direct support from Washington and with a view to invading the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. By now there are over 100 such bases and camps there. To wage an undeclared war on the DRA, the USA has granted the Afghan counter-revolutionaries over 320 million dollars, apart from the money spent by it on secret operations. This is the subject of the book, written by a team of Afghan journalists. The conclusion drawn by the authors is explicit: US imperialism flouts universally accepted standards of international law by its undisguised, gross interference in the affairs of independent Afghanistan.

surveys, information and mail

Pages of History
Memorable Dates
of 1985

Following up on our readers' requests,¹ we offer a brief list of the more significant anniversaries to be marked in 1985—events which affected world developments as well as landmarks in the history of the communist and working class movement, the revolutionary liberation struggle and the peace movement.

THE major landmark of 1985 will be the 40th anniversary of the complete rout (May 1945) of nazism, an event which made world history, the culmination of a struggle unprecedented in scope and intensity waged against the most reactionary shock troops of imperialism, a victory to which the Soviet people made the decisive contribution. The defeat of German nazism and, later, of Japanese militarism profoundly affected the entire course of world developments, creating favourable conditions for the working masses' struggle for their social emancipation and national liberation. Related to the end of the Second World War are the 40th anniversaries of the Yalta (February) and Potsdam (July-August) Soviet-US-British summit conferences, of the unconditional surrender of Japan (September) and of the opening of the Nuremberg Trial of the principal nazi war criminals (November).

Ninety years ago this year Frederick Engels, one of the world's greatest thinkers and revolutionaries and a close comrade-in-arms of Karl Marx, died in August. Events concerning the ideological legacy of the founders of scientific communism include the 140th anniversary of the publication of *The Holy Family, or the Critique of Critical Criticism. Against Bruno Bauer and Co.*, a research paper by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels (February 1845), and of *The Condition of the Working Class in England* by Frederick Engels (May 1845). In May 1875, 110 years ago, Marx finished his *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, a work presenting extremely important conclusions about the dictatorship of the proletariat and the two phases of the communist social formation.

The year 1985 will also mark anniversaries relating to the ideological legacy of V.I.

Lenin, who brilliantly upheld the cause of Marx and Engels and founded the world's first socialist state. Eighty years ago (in *August* 1905) he published his *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*, a work which enriched Marxism with the theory of the transformation of bourgeois-democratic revolution into socialist revolution and laid the foundations of the tactics which contributed to the historic victory of Russia's proletariat in 1917. Seventy years ago (in *August* 1915) Lenin's pamphlet *Socialism and War (The Attitude of the RSDLP Towards War)* appeared. Formulated in it were several fundamental precepts concerning imperialism, the historical types of wars and the inseparability of the struggle for peace and socialism.

This year will also witness the celebration of several major anniversaries in the history of the class struggle and international communist and working class movement. Eighty years ago in *January* the 1905-1907 bourgeois-democratic revolution began in Russia, the first popular revolution of the imperialist era; led by Lenin's party, the Russian working class rose up in arms against tsarist autocracy and against social and national oppression and displayed exemplary revolutionary heroism in the December Armed Uprising of 1905 in Moscow. The Seventh Congress of the Communist International which marked an important stage in the struggle of the world's Communists against the onslaught of fascism and the threat of the Second World War opened fifty years ago in *July*. Seventy years ago in *September* the International Socialist Conference in Zimmerwald, Switzerland, opened and came out against the imperialist-launched First World War and against social-chauvinism. Fifty years ago, in *November* 1935, armed popular uprisings flared up in several Brazilian cities, led by the National Liberation Alliance, an organisation created by the country's Communists and other patriotic forces. Twenty-five years ago, in *November* and *December* 1960 the Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties Representatives was held in Moscow.

The fraternal parties will also celebrate their anniversaries this year: the 30th anniversary of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party in *March*, the 60th anniversary of Cuba's first Marxist-Leninist party in *August*, and the 40th anniversary of the Workers' Party of Korea in *October*. Ninety years ago in *November* the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class, which later developed into Russia's Marxist party, was established at Lenin's initiative. The Communist Party of India will mark its 60th anniversary in *December*.

Several memorable events concern the history of the world communist press. Sixty years ago (in *January* 1925) the League of Communists of Yugoslavia launched its newspaper *Kommunist. Volksstimme*, the principal newspaper of the Communist Party of Austria, will be 40 years old in *August*; *Granma*, published by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, 20 years old in *October*; and *Rodong Shinmoon*, published by the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, 40 years old in *November*.

This will be the 40th anniversary year of international democratic organisations which play an important part in the struggle for the interests of the working masses—the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) (*October*), the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) (*November*), and the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF) (*December*).

Socialist countries will also celebrate their historic anniversaries. Thirty years ago in *May*, the socialist community countries signed in Warsaw the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance (the Warsaw Treaty) In *August* the Vietnamese people will mark the 40th anniversary of the revolution and of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (today the Socialist Republic of Vietnam) and in *April*, the tenth anniversary of the conclusion of their struggle for the country's reunification. Forty years ago in *November* the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (today the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) was established and ten years ago in *December*, the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

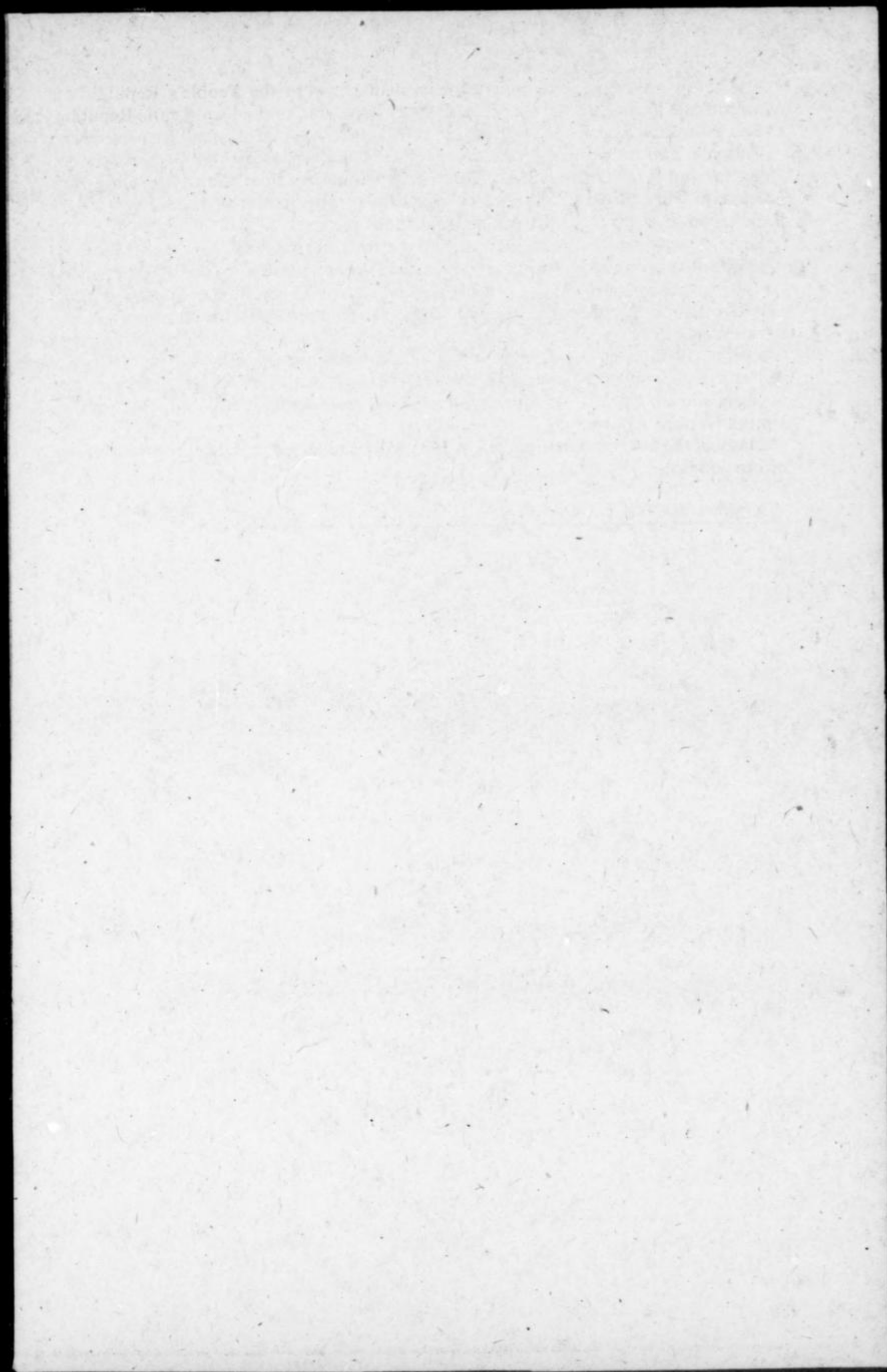
The tenth anniversary of independence will come to the People's Republic of Mozambique in *June*, to the Republic of Cape Verde and to the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe in *July*, and to the People's Republic of Angola in *November*.

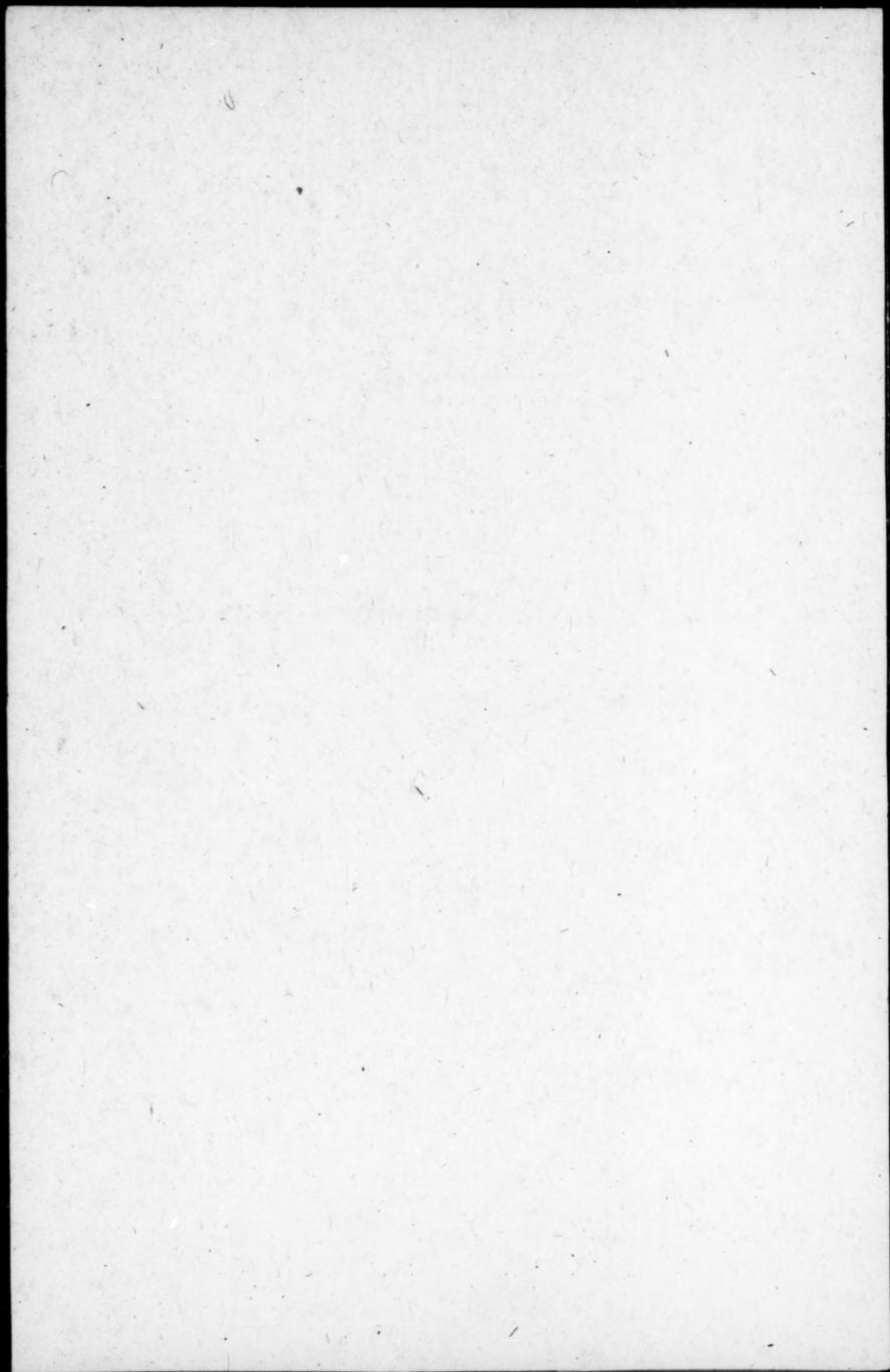
This year nations will also recall tragic events of modern history. Forty years ago, on *August* 6 and 9, 1945 the US Air Force dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. This atrocity becomes a particularly apt reminder today, when US imperialism is stepping up its nuclear blackmail.

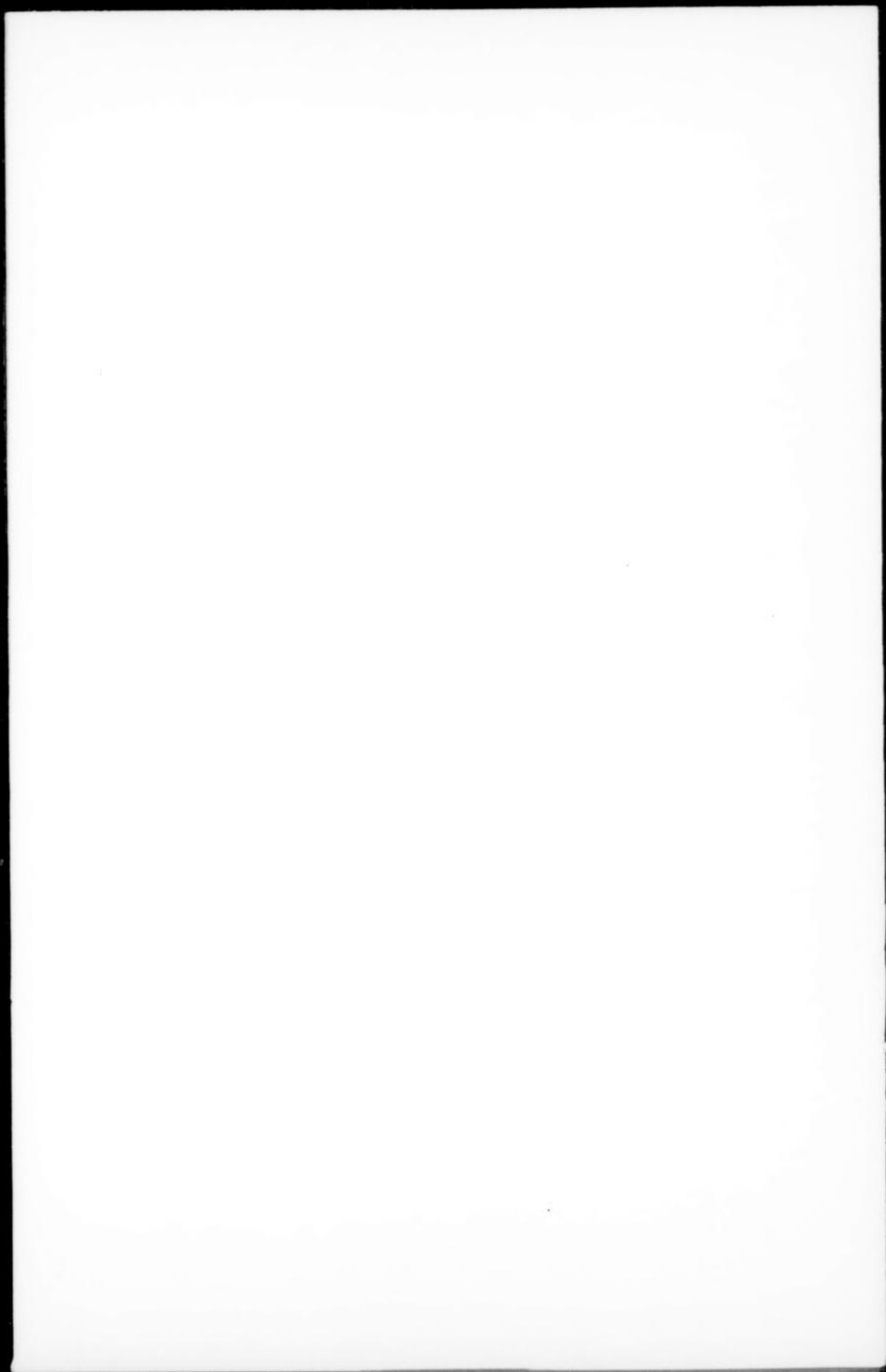
Several anniversaries are connected with the struggle of nations for peace, security, detente and disarmament. *March*: 10 years since the entry into force of the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction. *June*: the 30th anniversary of the World Peace Assembly held in Helsinki. *July*: 20 years since the World Congress for Peace, National Independence and General Disarmament, also held in Helsinki. *August*: ten years since the signing of the Final Act at the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. *October*: 40 years since the entry into force of the United Nations Charter.

Many of the anniversaries marked in 1985 will be reflected in the appropriate issues of our journal.

¹ See *WMR*, No. 1, 1984, p. 118.







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