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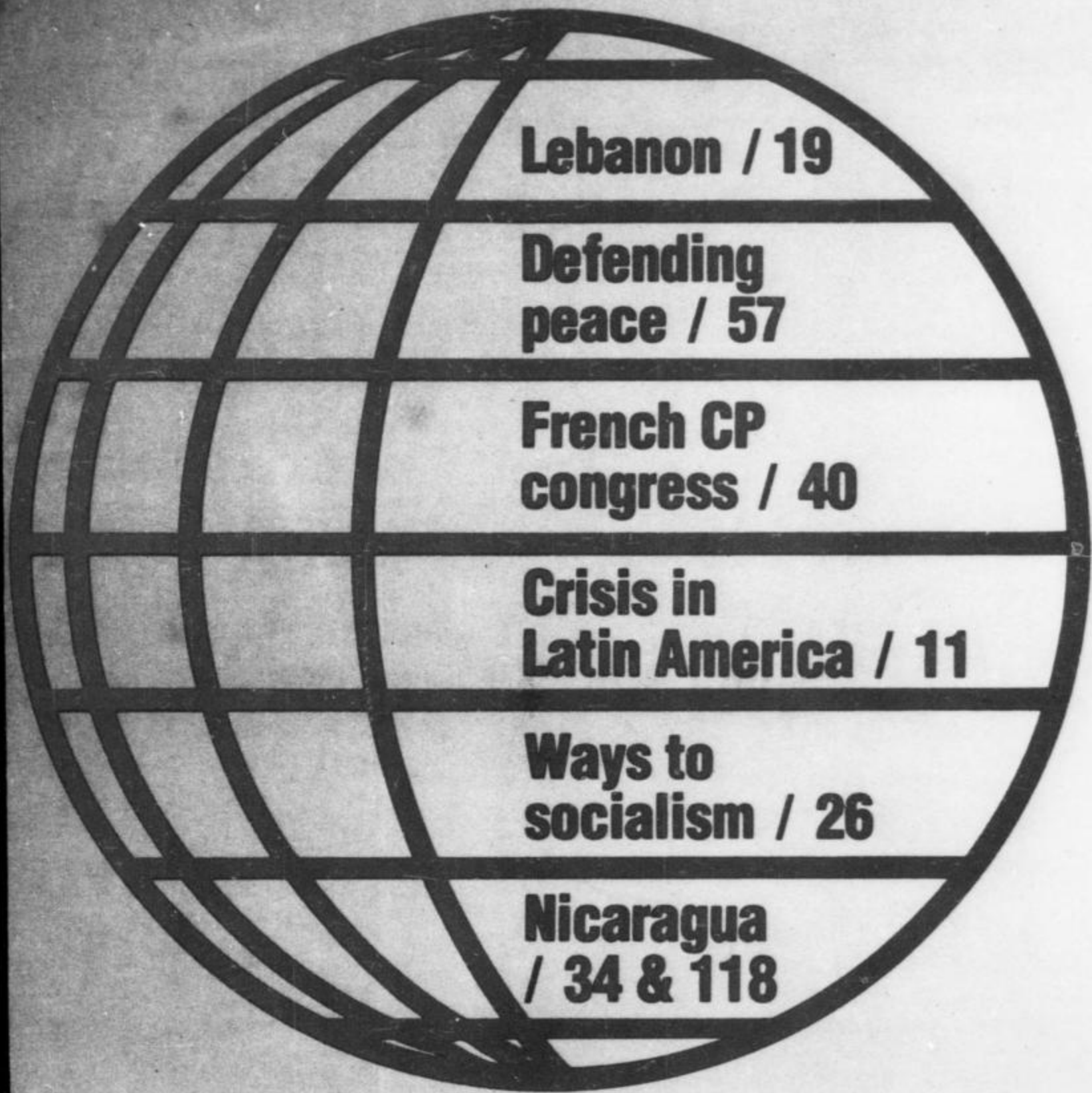
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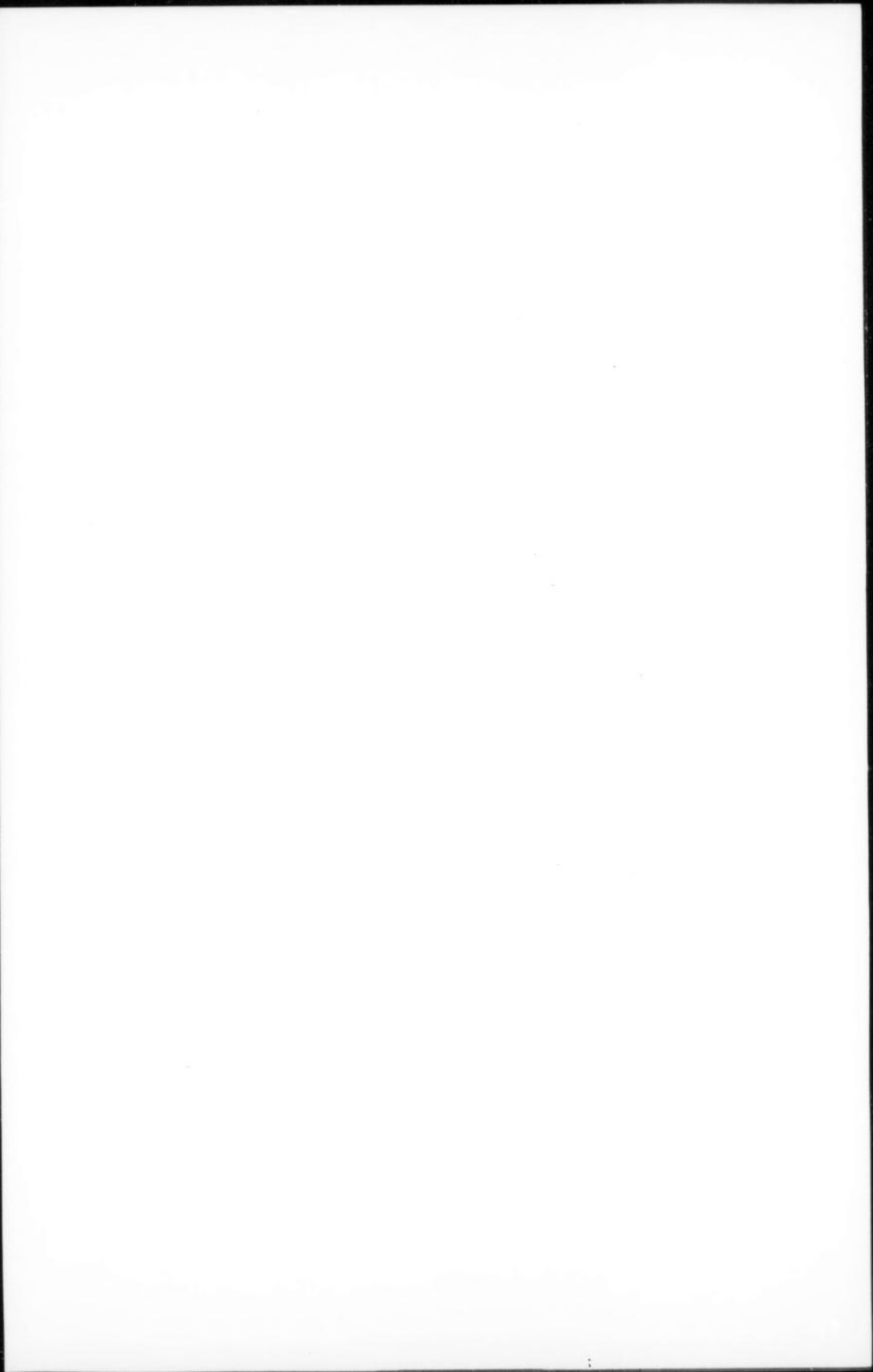
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The Party Cherishing the People's Intelligentsia

Józef Czyrek - Political Bureau member
and Central Committee secretary, PUWP

Marxist revolutionaries have always worked to ensure vigorous involvement of intellectuals in the efforts to add to scientific knowledge and transform reality. Lenin noted that the 'intelligentsia are so called . . . because they most consciously, most resolutely and most accurately reflect and express the development of class interests and political groupings in society as a whole'.¹

Throughout the hundred-odd years of the Polish working class movement, the politically conscious members of the proletariat—while they were aware of the class-rooted stratification of the intelligentsia—have treated with respect those intellectuals who gave their knowledge, expertise, energy and talent to the cause of the working people. More than any other social force, the forerunners of the PUWP valued the progressive role of the brain workers who, together with industrial workers, fought for national liberation and social emancipation, for a new Poland.

Great scope for creative thought and continuous improvement in the course of overcoming contradictions and of the struggle of the new against the old are inherent in the very essence of socialism. Hence the growing need for the intelligentsia's initiative, for its professional and political activity. Despite the specialisation that is only natural in today's conditions, this layer of our society is generally equal to the tasks stemming from the process of socialist transformations—something that calls for unity of ideology, politics and economics. Intellectuals play a prominent part in science, technological progress, education, culture, the drive to ensure efficiency throughout the national economy and the work to introduce socialist humanitarian values into social consciousness and inter-personal relations.

The place and the tasks of intellectuals in Poland's contemporary development were the subject of the 19th plenary meeting of the PUWP Central Committee, held in May 1985. As it was stressed in the course of the discussions, the new social system creates objective conditions favouring vigorous participation by the intelligentsia in the country's life. Socialism puts intellectuals in the same position as that of all other working people and makes them co-owners of the socialised means of production. Their relations with the working class as the hegemon become those of partnership instead of subjugation demanded by the bourgeoisie under capitalism.

Our party is the party of industrial workers. It is therefore natural for it to strive above all for stronger social positions of the working class, for consolidating the role this class plays in various spheres. We believe that this is instrumental and indispensable for enhancing the socialist nature of social progress. However, no belittling of the role played by other social groups is implied here. On the contrary, the discharge of its historical mission by the working class creates optimum conditions for full realisation of the people's potential. 'The course adopted by the Ninth Congress of the PUWP,' Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, First Secretary of the PUWP Central Committee, noted at the plenary meeting, 'follows from the Marxist-Leninist precept that the working class plays the leading role and that the party pursues its class-oriented course not at the expense of other classes and sections of working people but, on the contrary, in the interests of all the people.'²

The union of workers, peasants and intellectuals is based on the community of interests of working people. It serves the cause of socio-economic and cultural progress. The party firmly opposes any attempts at either belittling the leading role of

the working class or fomenting anti-intellectual sentiments. We reject the concept of a 'special mission' of intellectuals who are allegedly the 'driving force of the people's soul'—a concept rooted in nineteenth-century conditions and inapplicable today—but we profoundly respect the intelligentsia's wealth of traditions and its contribution to Polish history and to the progress of civilisation.

The war and the Nazi occupation inflicted huge losses on the Polish intelligentsia which was far from numerous to begin with. According to certain estimates, by 1945 we had only about 100,000 people with a secondary or higher education—half the prewar figure. Today, there are 1.5 million college and university graduates in the Polish People's Republic. Over 50 per cent of them come from the families of workers and peasants—the classes who owe to socialism the broad access to intellectual pursuits they have received. The cultural rise among women, who make up a large part of educated people, is of historic proportions. Today's intelligentsia is taking shape under the influence of a new system of values, in the spirit of our progressive legacy, of our democratic and revolutionary traditions.

These traditions were what guided a large part of the prewar intelligentsia which, immediately upon the country's liberation, was captured by the scope, the profoundly patriotic and humanitarian essence of the policy guidelines contained in the July Manifesto of the Polish National Liberation Committee. Pooling their efforts, workers, engineers, scientists and artists gave new birth to the cities reduced to rubble by the war, developed the country's industry and restored relics and monuments of national culture to their full splendour. Technology and scientific methods of agriculture poured into the rural areas that were freed from exploitation by big landowners.

Polish science has achieved internationally recognised results in theoretical and applied fields. Many new research establishments have been set up, some in areas where such institutions did not exist before. Outstanding works of literature, music, sculpture, theatre and film art are now the legacy of the people and a tangible contribution to world culture. Despite the multitude of problems that kept piling up, the systems of education and health care have been developing dynamically.

Our accomplishments in the building of socialism are obvious, but they could no doubt have been much greater had we not encountered the difficulties and obstacles that kept arising at different stages over these past forty years. Those engaged in intellectual work were particularly sensitive to the adverse consequences of dogmatism, sectarianism and arbitrary assessment of reality. For example, the irresponsible practice of importing licences for Western technology made a painful impact on science and technology because it did not encourage a parallel development of Polish technological thought. Unfortunately, this fallacious policy won supporters and even vigorous sponsors among a certain part of the intelligentsia.

More effective involvement of this layer in the building of socialism was hampered by prejudice clung to by some intellectuals and rooted in the difficulties they had encountered in the past and in their former ties with the propertied classes. Conservative views surfaced, both in combination with obscurantist philosophy and nationalism and blended with an unpatriotic orientation on the West. Members of the scientific and artistic community were often swayed by demagoguery and ill-intentioned advice and embarked on a path of fruitless nihilism. Some of them failed, especially in recent years, to distinguish between principled criticism of mistakes and revisionist attacks against socialism.

Western anti-communist centres decided to seize upon the opportunity this offered. In a bid to pit Poland's intellectuals against the state, they tried to disorganise the life of the scientific and artistic community, revived reactionary slogans long dead, created all sorts of 'alternative structures' and, after their plans fell through, called for 'self-imposed internal exile' and 'transferring culture across the frontier'.

These schemes are still being promoted by Western editorial policy, by the granting of undeserved awards and the extensive publicity accorded to allegedly outstanding works that are anti-socialist in content and, in most cases, poor in artistic merit.

Donning the cloak of 'champions of the Polish national spirit'—and actually acting on the plans and upholding the interests of Western anti-communist centres—the advocates of counter-revolution are bending over backward to foment fear and a sense of impending doom among members of the academic and artistic community. Opposition activities are presented as the only alternative to fatalistic apathy.

Given this background, our party is all the more appreciative of the position held by numerous intellectuals who courageously came out in defence of the socialist state and national interests in the darkest hour. We also respect those who, even though plagued by various doubts and suffering from traumatic experience, did not take part in hostile action and tried to honourably discharge their everyday duties.

The current PUWP policy *vis-à-vis* the intelligentsia is a concomitant of the policy of national concord. It means readiness to search for optimum solutions jointly with people who, even though they may waver, accept socialist reality. At the same time, this policy implies that there can and there will be no acceptance of those advocating destruction, anarchy and reckless counter-revolutionary ventures, no concord with the enemies of popular government. The struggle against them will be carried to the very end, to a complete defeat of the anti-socialist forces and slogans.

Recognition of the constitutional principles of our republic, respect for the laws of the Polish People's Republic and performance in good faith by everyone and all in his or her field make up the broadest possible support base of the policy of concord.

After a severe crisis and economic stagnation and despite the imperialist bans and boycotts that inflicted considerable losses on the national economy, the development of Poland gained momentum again. This is borne out by the 12 per cent national income growth rate over the past two years. Nevertheless, the country must mobilise all its resources in order to fully offset the losses, meet the demands of the scientific and technological revolution and embark on a path of intensive development.

Hence the importance the PUWP attaches to vigorous participation by the intelligentsia in the elaboration and consistent follow-up of scientific and economic programmes equal to the tasks of the current period. Poland's working class and all society expect from experts in science and technology broader practical application of innovations to ensure higher labour productivity, and more efficient use of their capabilities, resources and working hours. What the country needs is a creative search for improvement, a critical attitude to any manifestations of malicious intent, to waste, window dressing or indifference. The intellectual's approach to the difficult problems of concern to the people and vigorous involvement in the efforts to solve these questions determine the role of the intelligentsia in the social fabric.

We are entering the decisive period of drawing up the plans for Poland's development up to the end of the 1980s and during the next decade. Work is continuing on the new draft party programme to be submitted for discussion on the eve of the Tenth Congress of the PUWP.

The party counts on involved and effective assistance from those engaged in creative work in preparing a thoroughly substantiated strategy. That is why we put scientists on various authoritative consultative bodies. They now take part in consultations more often and have more opportunities to state their views at forums of the Patriotic Movement of National Revival, in academic societies and other organisations.

Now that our manpower, energy and raw material resources are limited, the needs of our society can be met more fully and the tasks facing us solved more quickly only along the path of intensifying production and using the advances of science. It follows that the research potential as well as efforts to apply scientific findings must be

concentrated on the key problems—optimum use of the manpower resources and production funds of the national economy; a shorter investment cycle; a greater proportion of energy—and material-saving technologies in industry, construction and agriculture; as well as training of personnel and preparation of scientific, technological and industrial conditions for the massive use of informatics and microelectronics, for integrated efforts to automate and introduce robots into production processes and for developing nuclear and biotechnologies.

Changes are to be introduced into the system of research and development programmes; an economic, organisational and legal basis is to be formed for attaining scientific and production objectives through cooperation. Our agenda includes the setting up of scientific/production and production/scientific enterprises, small training/production units and other similar establishments.

The state is the only entity capable of ensuring integrated unity of development programmes. It is no accident that the growth of its role in the planning of scientific and technological progress has become a world-wide trend. As we move in this direction, we are trying to create the best possible conditions for greater initiative to be shown by research establishments.

What happens tomorrow and in the more distant future depends not only on scientific and technological advances throughout the country but also, to a great degree, on the streamlining and improvement of production at every enterprise. Progress at each of these two levels accompanied by concern for the environment are decisive factors indispensable for the success of the economic reform we are conducting. Its economic mechanisms will be effective only if they help in modernisation, if they encourage scientific and technological progress, better product quality and lower production costs.

International scientific and technological contacts, especially the agreements concluded recently within the CMEA framework, open broad vistas before us. This is particularly true of cooperation with the Soviet Union where research in many fields is equal to the highest international standards. We are fully aware of the importance of the steps currently taken by the CPSU and Comrade Mikhail Gorbachyov, General Secretary of its Central Committee, to raise the Soviet Union to a radically higher level of socio-economic development by mobilising, among other things, every latent opportunity offered by technological progress. The fraternal ties that unite us with the Soviet Union enable us to benefit greatly from broader exchange of research results. The major goals to be attained in this sphere are identified in the long-term economic, scientific and technological cooperation programme Poland and the USSR signed in 1984.

Simultaneously—in proportion to our abilities and our partners' readiness—we shall expand, on the basis of mutual benefit, economic, scientific and technological contacts with industrialised capitalist nations and with developing countries.

The second major field in which the PUWP pins its hopes on the Polish intelligentsia is a drastic improvement in all aspects of training and education; here, the foremost objective is to bring the system of education up to date. This is particularly true of higher education where instruction has deteriorated in recent years. It is also very important to gear the academic structure of higher education to the actual demand of the national economy for well-trained experts in certain fields. An alarming development has surfaced in some Polish colleges and universities: anti-socialist forces are trying to turn the existing institution of self-government to their own advantage. This has forced us to change legislation on higher education; the change will make it possible to combine the influence of the socialist state with constructive self-government on the basis of the principle that Polish higher education belongs to the state and to socialism.

Intellectuals have a major role to play in the creation of an integral system for

shaping social consciousness, a system based on the universal ideas of socialism and on patriotic traditions, a system possessing intellectual wealth and ensuring harmonious development for the individual. This sets responsible tasks before the system of education. The most urgent of these is to introduce polytechnic training at all levels of education and in all types of schools and to ensure broad dissemination of scientific knowledge in society. We hold that it is equally important to create favourable conditions for constantly upgrading the equality of vocational training and improving working people's skills. Finally, we should achieve fuller practical realisation of the principle of education through work and do our utmost to promote respect for work.

To add to, preserve and disseminate cultural values has always been—and remains—the foremost duty of the intelligentsia. The PUWP advocates complete freedom of creative endeavour, research and artistic expression, the right to innovation and experiment, and exposure to everything progressive and humanistic that other nations' cultures have produced. But there remains the demand that intellectuals serve the new society and share in the responsibility for their socialist state. Holding this open view of creative endeavour, we strive to have all fields of intellectual work permeated with socialist content and consonant with Marxist-Leninist ideology.

The work of literature and art whose authors have close contact with the people, their lives, needs and aspirations exert effective moral influence on the masses. Artistic unions and party organisations in the artistic community strive to encourage intellectuals to understand that such is their social mission. The communists are for relations of partnership, mutual respect and trust with artistic groups, for relations based on universal recognition of the inalienable right of the socialist state to support the creation of these works, that are particularly valuable to society.

A draft long-term programme for the development of Polish culture is being prepared for the Tenth Congress of the PUWP. This draft outlines ways of solving a number of difficulties connected with broadening the scope of artistic opportunities to a level commensurate with the needs of a country where secondary education has become universal.

Extensive consultations with intellectuals were held before the party plenary meeting adopted its decisions. More than 700 conferences were held, attended by representatives of different professions, Communists, members of allied parties and many people without any party affiliation.

Taking these consultations into account, the Central Committee concluded that a number of problems concerning the development of the material basis of science should be solved and a more adequate system of incentives in intellectual work should be created in order to improve the morale of intellectuals and secure their more vigorous involvement in social and professional affairs.

This implies, first, bigger outlays for scientific and technological progress, for well-equipped research laboratories and for greater access to specialised literature. At the same time, it is very important to use the resources at our disposal more fully and more efficiently.

Second, it is essential to rationally distribute highly skilled personnel among the branches of the national economy, the spheres of the social fabric, territorial areas, as well as within enterprises and offices. Steps will be taken to alter the organisational structures of science that currently give rise to negative phenomena such as duplication, a bloated managerial apparatus and vague definition of duties and powers. As a result, people possessing a considerable creative potential often deal with purely administrative matters and are sometimes used for ordinary clerical work. Scientific and technological progress demands that the first to be encouraged and promoted should be capable and vigorous experts possessing great knowledge, firmly committed to patriotic ideology and loyal to socialism.

Third, we deem it very important to improve remuneration for highly skilled work based on profound knowledge, expertise and initiative. The role of qualitative criteria should be enhanced substantially in the course of regulating remuneration; crudely egalitarian concepts clashing with social justice should be abandoned forthwith.

All this is not intended to downplay the role of moral incentives. Creative work deserves universal respect and esteem. It is only such attitude that can help to overcome the mistrust, prejudice and sometimes even the disillusionment still persisting among intellectuals, especially young people.

The PUWP Central Committee has called on all Polish intellectuals—both those firmly supporting the policy of our state and those wary or wavering—to contribute to the joint creative effort so as to honourably meet the challenge posed by the twenty-first century.

Those intellectuals who are party members bear a special responsibility. The PUWP membership numbers about one million intellectuals of different strata and professional groups, including prominent scientists, shapers of technological and economic progress, economic managers, movers of culture, progressive educators, medical experts, journalists, artists and performers. Party strength in this social layer is considerable, albeit distributed unevenly. The party comprises 24 per cent of the academic and professorial community, 23.1 per cent of journalists, 21.3 per cent of teachers, 14.6 per cent of doctors and 11.7 per cent of those working in the arts. The PUWP considers it their duty to be active and conduct party policy in their professional fields, and work to ensure support for our programme on the part of those who are not party members. By stepping up the ideological and political militancy of the intelligentsia's party organisations—and some of them are still weak—we hope to rally intellectuals more closely to the drive to solve the key tasks facing our society.

Demands are great on the Communists active in the social sciences. The party is orienting them on thoroughly analysing, guided by the theory and methodology of Marxism-Leninism, the mechanics of socialist transformations and the concomitant struggle, the changes in relations of production, and the ways of shaping social needs and consciousness.

Intellectuals man our positions on the ideological front. Thousands of lecturers and instructors in the system of party education, of journalists and editors help to disseminate and promote the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, to publicise the PUWP's programme, policy and scientific philosophy.

Aiming to strengthen the party's influence on intellectuals, we are striving to drastically improve all our work among them. There are still cases when the distinctive identity of different professions, the social behaviour of certain groups in this layer of society and personal idiosyncrasies are ignored, and highly sensitive questions are sometimes approached in a primitive manner. Such blunders have done a great deal of damage. The Central Committee has called on all party organisations to conduct an open and sincere dialogue, adopt a standing operating procedure of exchanging assessments and views and expand direct interpersonal contacts and links with different groups of intellectuals.

A great and responsible role belongs to national party groups operating in different fields of science and culture.³ The practice of conducting ideological/theoretical and theoretical and applied research conferences on various topical issues is proving useful.

As far as work among the intelligentsia is concerned, a great deal depends on how accurate we make our assessments, how convincing our arguments, how militant our ideological and educational efforts and how smooth our organisational activities—especially now that the processes of building socialism are acquiring increasing

complexity.

In our view, it is also a patriotic duty of the Polish intelligentsia to its people to correctly judge what benefits and what contradicts, in today's world, the interests of the country, its prosperity and security. Of assistance in this regard are the history of the war against Nazism and constant reminders about the huge losses suffered by Poland and about our contribution to the historic victory. The party strives to make every intellectual aware of the true goals of the anti-Polish policy pursued by the Reagan administration and the revanchists who are becoming increasingly loud in the FRG, to encourage intellectuals to expose this policy and explain to the masses the danger of nuclear war inherent in the arms race imperialism imposes on the socialist countries. Today, the humanitarian spirit of experts in science and technology, of those working in the fields of culture and education, as well as concern for the future of humanity and its civilisation call for the greatest possible vigour in repulsing the insane schemes to militarise outer space.

Polish intellectuals have always been active in the struggle for peace. Convened in war-ravaged Wroclaw in 1948, the congress of the arts sounded the first warning of intellectuals against the new threat posed to the world by the aggressive policy of imperialism. The profoundly humanistic values that prompted the most prominent scientists and artists to defend peace during the cold war years inspire whole generations of Polish intellectuals to this day.

Upholding the Wroclaw tradition, a group of outstanding figures in the Polish cultural and academic community has proposed the holding of a world congress of intellectuals for a future of peace in Warsaw in January 1986. The congress will be one of the high points of the UN-designated International Year of Peace. We are confident that by taking part in this forum, representatives of arts and sciences from all continents will come out in force for disarmament and peaceful international cooperation.

¹ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 7, p. 45.

² *Tribuna Ludu*, May 16, 1985.

³ Advisory bodies under the PUWP Central Committee comprising Communists who are prominent in arts and sciences—groups of writers, artists, philosophers, etc.—*Ed.*

Latin America: Time for Unity and Struggle

Jesús Montané Oropesa - Alternate member of the Political Bureau and Secretary, CC, Communist Party of Cuba (CPC)

Latin America is going through an extremely difficult period. Contradictions born of a dependent capitalism and US imperialist domination imposed on the peoples of the Western Hemisphere have generated a deep crisis on the continent. The very foundations of the backward and subordinate economies of Latin American countries are antiquated. Nor is this due to external factors alone, for the current phase of the cyclical crisis of the world capitalist economy is unfolding in the context of outdated economic patterns, with dire consequences.

The big problems of our region could not be solved even if the economic climate in industrial countries improved somewhat and the Latin American republics' enormous external debt were fully settled. Such circumstances could only ease tensions to a degree but imbalance would persist, producing still more disastrous results. The contradictions of the Latin American economic system cannot be reduced to the partial consequences of cyclical difficulties.

The processes under way in Latin America are part of the general crisis of capitalism, a reflection of this crisis in our hemisphere. With US imperialist policy assuming an increasingly intransigent and aggressive character, the possibilities of alternative solutions are dwindling. It is a situation in which none but fundamental changes would lead to a definitive, historically viable solution. Experience has shown, however, that they would inevitably meet resistance from the United States because they would directly affect its system of domination.

The crisis pervades the whole of Latin American society. It makes itself felt in the economic as well as the political and ideological spheres, aggravating the antagonism between imperialism and the working people. These are increasingly aware that the US monopolies are not merely an external factor but represent the interests of powerful forces entrenched in Latin American countries long since.

Contradictions between the aspirations of the peoples of Latin America and US policy are an objective prerequisite for setting up a united front against Washington's discriminatory economic policy and interference in the affairs of our continent.

In the 1950s, the economic model of import-replacing industrialisation applied in previous decades began to disappear in the biggest Latin American countries. It exhausted its potentialities in the early stages for lack of technological equipment and money of their own. In these circumstances certain groups of the industrial bourgeoisie, whose assets had begun to take the form of financial capital, resorted to new accumulation patterns dependent on international banks and credit institutions and meeting the interests of transnational companies. The home market stagnated and ceased to be their main sphere of activity, and this resulted in a 'liberalisation' of the economy favourable to export industries only. Domestic demand lost its decisive role in the accumulation process. Thus the objective basis for class alliances and populist governments collapsed.

The world economic crisis which broke out in the early 1970s contributed to the introduction of a new model in Latin America. The resultant growing dependence of Latin American countries and their mounting external debt made for the adoption of a policy intended to attract foreign capital by encouraging export and financial activity.

That policy had serious political repercussions throughout the continent and a strong direct impact on the interests of the working people, the middle strata and even part of the bourgeoisie. Domestic businessmen associated with the foreign market and the more aggressive transnationals turned out to be the only beneficiaries. This state of affairs caused a split among the ruling classes. As a rule, they searched for a way out in imposing military regimes or setting up civilian governments controlled by the armed forces. In spite of terror, however, the new ruling groups failed to cope with the deep economic and social crisis that enveloped Latin America. Their activity merely aggravated the causes of the crisis and had still more dramatic consequences.

A detailed enumeration of the economic problems that cropped up would take up too much space, so I will only list some of them. In 1982 the continent's GDP diminished by one per cent and in 1983, by 3.3 per cent, or by nearly 5.3 per cent per capita if account is taken of the growth of the population. Investment in fixed capital declined considerably, and in some republics they showed a downturn even in absolute figures. The slump led to a higher growth rate of unemployment, which in

some countries exceeded 15 per cent of the workforce, according to relatively trustworthy sources. The total number of fully or partially unemployed people in the region is 110 million. There is runaway inflation; in Argentina, where it is at its worst, it runs at an annual 1.000 per cent.

The external debt today is unquestionably the most acute economic problem in Latin American countries. By mid-1985, it exceeded 360 billion dollars, which means that Latin America today owes as much as, or even more than, the whole Third World did in 1979.

This situation, whose roots the Communist press has repeatedly revealed, is rapidly going from bad to worse. Recent years have witnessed a marked increase in the privatisation of capital invested in Latin America, with US banks playing an important role. A slipping profit rate in industrial countries quickened money export to underdeveloped countries. And private enterprise, true to its predatory nature, hardened the conditions of granting loans. At the same time, fluctuations and a steep rise in interest rates, due above all to the huge budget deficit of the USA, led to a notable and irresistible increase in payments on debts. A one per cent rise in interest exacted from Latin American countries is estimated to amount to 1.5 billion dollars.

Faced with a shortage of foreign exchange, some republics tried to export more. However, lower prices for their main exports and the rigorous protectionism of capitalist powers, primarily the United States, raised an insuperable roadblock. And so, in spite of an increase in Latin American exports in 1983, their value dropped by 200 million dollars against 1982.

It is also paradoxical that a rapid and outwardly favourable change in the balance of trade (from a 2.0 billion deficit in 1981 to a favourable balance of 9.7 billion dollars in 1982 and 31.4 billion in 1983) was chiefly a result of reduced import, which fell off 20 per cent in 1982 and 29 per cent in 1983. This drop, occasioned by a decline in domestic economic activity boomeranged against production. What is more, the International Monetary Fund imposed an austerity policy on many countries of the region in a bid to have the debt to transnational banks repaid at all costs.

Imperialism's policy of easing its economic troubles at the expense of the Third World resulted in stepped-up exploitation and plunder of peoples. This was a major factor for growing anti-imperialist sentiments among the working people as well as the middle strata and a large section of the Latin American bourgeoisie.

The structural deformations of the regional economy, made worse by the world crisis and imperialist pressure, have a most ruinous effect on the standard of living. Due to recession, inflation and unemployment, polarisation in the distribution of incomes goes on intensifying. More and more working people find themselves living below the 'poverty line'. About 130 million Latin Americans are underfed. In countries like Brazil, this had led to the increasingly frequent looting of large shops by mobs of tramps in search of a living.

The situation is equally dramatic in the spheres of public education, the health service and social security and tends to exacerbate the class struggle. Action by workers and peasants is gaining in scope. They are joined by other social groups hit by this policy. They all demand a higher standard of living as they protest against their governments' anti-popular measures. The ongoing movement is assuming an increasingly anti-imperialist character.

The inability of the reactionary regimes of South Cone countries to cope with the exceedingly grave effects of the economic crisis has made political change the order of the day. The fact that military dictatorships have had their day and are unable to hold out against the onslaught of the people and pressure from businessmen denied power confronts the bourgeoisie with the need to update the mechanisms of its rule. US imperialism, too, realises the urgency of ending the division among the ruling classes caused by the activity of the military men in control of state power. However, there is

no doubt that it wants to preserve the strategic role of the army as a guarantee of US global interests.

A search is on for ways of reverting to representative democracy. This is attested for instance by events in Argentina, where the top leadership of the armed forces completely discredited itself and ended up in isolation as a result of repression and corruption. Uruguay, shaken by major popular actions like Brazil, has set out to revive civilian rule; however, imperialism is trying to leave important levers of power in the hands of the military. The Chilean dictatorship is still holding even though it is up against mounting resistance from the people and their organisations, most of which are searching for a path to unity in the anti-fascist struggle.

In Venezuela, Ecuador and some other Latin American Republics, which have retained representative democracy, there is a bad economic crisis. The ruling classes of these countries are all racking their brains to ease the situation through measures becoming less and less effective and to prevent a further upswing in the mass protest movement. In Venezuela, where the external debt has risen to 35 billion dollars and 17 per cent of the workforce are jobless, power is alternately taken over by one of the two major political parties, neither being able to offer a workable plan for an end to the present economic impasse. Even oil exports are ineffective as a means of lessening tensions. The governments of these countries have admitted the ruinous effects of US policy towards our region and declared for collective meetings to work out a common Latin American viewpoint.

The situation is even more explosive in Central America and the Caribbean, where imperialist domination has always been particularly oppressive. Contradictions there go deeper than in other countries of the continent. A most acute crisis has broken out in the system of domination imposed on the subregions by US imperialism and domestic oligarchies long since. It is in this part of the Western Hemisphere that imperialism is weakest.

Central American countries have always been notable for intense social struggles. As for the capitalist accumulation model used there by a handful of exporters of farm produce with support from US monopolies, it has polarised incomes distribution. Notwithstanding the economic growth achieved by these countries in the 1960s and the first half of the 1970s, incomes and living standards there showed no increase at all. Due to capital concentration, these indicators declined even in boom years. The crisis understandably complicated the situation.

Furthermore, the top bourgeois rulers of Central America (barring Costa Rica) have traditionally given state power the form of dictatorship to secure the most favourable conditions for business activity, suppress working people's struggles for their rights and block political action on the part of even the most timid reformist elements.

Progressive forces in Central America have succeeded in uniting all the historically oppressed social groups barred from shaping the destiny of their nation behind a common programme for revolutionary change, with the working people leading. The superexploitation and poverty that are the lot of all working people, and curtailment of the interests of that section of the bourgeoisie unassociated with the oligarchy were objectively conducive to this development.

The struggle reached a high pitch in Nicaragua and El Salvador, where a real people's war broke out. Led by their political vanguards, armed patriots fought pro-imperialist regimes. In July 1979, the Sandinist National Liberation Front achieved victory in Nicaragua.

In Guatemala there were armed actions against a tyranny guilty of killing over 100,000 people since its anti-democratic coup in 1954.

As a result, structural and economic crises in Central America developed into a crisis of oligarchic and imperialist rule in general.

Changes and the revolutionary character of the situation in the subregion today meet resistance from US imperialism, which has been particularly bitter since the Republicans took over. For geopolitical reasons, Washington has a special stake in the Caribbean, where Central American states are playing an important role.

Ever since the middle of the last century and more particularly since the Reagan administration took over, it has been a standing concern of US foreign policy to maintain full control over adjoining territories close to commercially and militarily important sea routes. The present masters of the White House, who have declared themselves champions of the struggle against communism all over the world, see one of their priority tasks in crushing insurgency in El Salvador and doing away with the Sandinist revolution in Nicaragua. They believe that by accomplishing these tasks, they would show that the United States is in a position to bring the planet under its sway and is resolved to do so.

The USA is also trying to get out of its way those who set an example of revolutionary alternative, showing how the problems of the continent can be solved, for the situation in Central America, above all the experience of Nicaragua and the incontestable achievements of socialist Cuba, help foster the anti-imperialist and revolutionary consciousness of the masses throughout Latin America.

Pursuing its aims, Washington renders financial and military aid to the Salvadoran regime, which is waging a real war against the revolutionary forces belonging to the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMNLF) and Revolutionary Democratic Front (RDF). It is permanent and increasing US complicity in this war that so far has prevented the patriots from winning. Nicaragua, too, is under unceasing economic, political and diplomatic attack, with the CIA backing and coordinating counter-revolutionary activities. Imperialism exerts strong pressure on the young republic to thwart the programme for a multisectoral economy, political pluralism and non-aligned announced by the Sandinists and enjoying world-wide sympathy. Enemies of the revolution would like to isolate it and to involve it in a direct conflict with potential allies in the world arena, such as the Social Democrats of Europe, who declare in support of the Nicaraguans' struggle and criticise US policy in the subregion.

Nevertheless, the Nicaraguan government is successfully beating off the attacks of counter-revolutionary forces as it marches on along its chosen path. In November 1984, presidential elections were held in the country and Daniel Ortega, the Sandinist National Liberation Front's candidate, scored a clear victory. It is worthy of note that the opposition parties were enabled to acquaint compatriots with their programme during the election campaign.

Managua invariably expresses willingness to hold talks. This is confirmed by its readiness to sign the Peace and Cooperation Act drafted by the Contadora Group, President Ortega's announcement of the return of 100 Cuban advisers to their country and many other initiatives. These gestures of goodwill backed by Cuba are evidence of the policy of peace which the popular regime of Nicaragua has been steadfastly carrying on.

Meanwhile Washington has been clearing the decks for direct armed intervention in El Salvador and Nicaragua. Though faced with popular resistance, it is implementing its strategy of 'flexible response' step by step and substantially increasing its military presence in Central America. Aided by the USA or its allies, such as Israel, regimes subservient to the imperial interests of the White House have built up their armed forces. Honduras has been converted into a vast base of the Pentagon. Attempts are being made to resuscitate the Central American Defence Council, whose function is to coordinate the activities of all the reactionary armies of the subregion in planning invasions similar to that of Grenada.

The Reagan cabinet has long been brainwashing US public opinion to be able to

justify itself in the event of armed intervention. Its main argument is the allegation that the consolidation of 'pro-Soviet regimes' in Central America, a region which Washington regards as an area of its 'vital interests', would endanger its 'national security'. The very formation of the Kissinger Commission was an attempt to bring about a national bipartisan consensus on this policy of the US administration. The Commission's closing report was an unmistakable expression of the hegemonist ambitions of Washington and its intention to use force in order to realise them.

The danger of an invasion of Nicaragua is daily becoming more real as the growing aggressiveness of the present US administration and its obvious reluctance to help negotiate a solution indicate. Steps to strengthen the Sandinist revolution and other revolutionary movements in the region advocating a peaceful settlement of the conflict, as well as solidarity and support on the part of the progressive forces of the world, including our continent, where anti-imperialist sentiment is on the rise, should become the chief obstacle to new imperialist ventures in Latin America.

The invasion of Grenada made it an urgent task for the revolutionary and progressive forces of the Caribbean to achieve unity in struggle against Washington's interventionist trend.

Numerous facts suggest that a number of democratic governments on our continent take exception to key aspects of US policy; they criticise the economic measures of the White House as they search for an agreed solution to the problem of their external debt, and take a stand against US activities in Central America. Condemnation of the policy of US imperialism was particularly strong during the Malvinas conflict and the invasion of Grenada. US support for Britain's aggression showed up the utter falsity of the arguments on which imperialism has built its domination in the Western Hemisphere. The inspirer of the Inter-American Treaty of Mutual Defence and the most important signatory to it sided with a European power against a country of the continent which demanded the restoration of its legitimate title to a part of its territory turned into a colony. The US position was described as betrayal and condemned even by some sections of Latin America's armed forces.

While political relations between Washington and Latin American countries may seem to have improved, they have not really risen to the level on which they were before the British-Argentine conflict.

Slightly more than one year after the Malvinas war, US troops invaded Grenada. And once more the overwhelming majority of the political forces of the continent expressed condemnation, seeing the move as a crying violation of the right of nations to sovereignty and self-determination. What caused particular revulsion was the striking superiority of the armed force pitted against a small island and the fact that the invaders exploited an internal crisis. Grenada furnished Latin Americans with graphic proof of the brazen bid of the USA to maintain its hegemony in the region through direct military operations.

We now hear fresh threats against Cuba. Washington is at pains to misrepresent and smear the social, economic and political achievements of Cuba, which illustrate the advantages of our social system. But in spite of this slander and a blockade that has lasted a quarter of a century now, the Cuban revolution enjoys high prestige on the continent. The firm, principled position of socialist Cuba, which throughout its history has held its own against permanent imperialist aggressivity, its support for progressive and anti-imperialist forces in Latin America, its outstanding role in the non-aligned movement, and its efforts in favour of a peaceful settlement of the Central American conflict as well as its indisputable social and economic gains have earned Freedom Island respect.

Imperialism realises that the achievements of the Cuban revolution and the early successes of Sandinist Nicaragua have a powerful impact on the working people and

democratic forces of the continent. This is what has made both countries major objects of aggression.

The Reagan administration's plans for armed intervention in Central America do not rule out a direct attack on my country. A real menace has compelled us Cubans led by the Communist Party with Fidel Castro at its head to prepare to strike back by waging a people's war. Should the Washington 'hawks' bring themselves to attack us, they would pay dearly for it; they would be in for a political and military defeat.

Propaganda by the USA and its allies in the region distorts the explicit stand which our country has invariably taken on events in Central America. Cuba does not intervene in the conflict. However, we have repeatedly shown readiness to help reach a proper settlement. Such a settlement could be brought about by talks between those directly involved in the confrontation, including the United States, which makes no secret of its strategic interests in the region and has ample military personnel and equipment there. The blame for an increasingly unstable situation must certainly be put above all on the USA. The Cuban government has supported all the peace initiatives of the Contadora Group, pointing out that any final settlement should encompass the Salvadoran problem and proceed from recognising the FMNLF-RDF as a representative and important political force. This kind of settlement should be based on respect for the right of the Nicaraguan and Salvadoran peoples to self-determination.

The leadership of our republic rejects attempts by imperialists and other reactionaries to draw a parallel between the situation in El Salvador and that in Nicaragua. What is going on in El Salvador is a people's war of the majority of the population of that country as represented by its military political vanguard, the FMNLF-RDF, against a puppet dictatorial regime aided in various ways by the USA. As regards Nicaragua with its Sandinist government, it is being attacked in the course of its democratic process from without, by counter-revolutionary bands in the pay of US imperialism.

Speaking of military advisers, we are against attempts to equate Cuba and the United States. Our specialists are in Nicaragua at the request of its government; they are instructors training the Sandinist army. The USA, however, has virtually occupied Honduras, where its troops and military equipment are always present, and holds diverse manoeuvres there directly involving its armed forces.

Cuba's attitude to the conflict is based on its foreign policy principles. Our people and government, refusing to give in to imperialist pressure in any circumstances, invariably identify themselves with revolutionary movements in Central America; at the same time, they are always willing to engage in a dialogue and to seek a negotiated settlement.

It will be seen that the situation caused by the crisis of dependent capitalism in which Latin America finds itself, as well as Washington's aggressive policy in the economic, political, diplomatic and military spheres aimed at preserving US hegemony, which is becoming an anachronism and is disputed more and more, have led to the growth of social groups that are at odds with imperialism on one issue or another. The people are playing an increasingly active role in the current struggle and this contributes to the maturing of objective and subjective conditions for building an alliance of the democratic and progressive forces of the continent, making it possible to extend and unite the anti-imperialist front in Latin America.

'The economic crisis and the debt,' Fidel Castro stressed, 'are what will unite Latin American countries, doing it more solidly than the war over the Malvinas did.' The political, economic and social situation in Latin American countries is so grave that our continent can neither endure new restrictions, nor make new sacrifices. It is perfectly clear that the republics of Latin America cannot repay their external debt. And if this problem is not solved and the economic crisis persists, a social crisis is

bound to engulf the continent. Our peoples are heavily dependent and exploited, experience hardships and suffer damage, so much so that the struggle for independence and a new world economic order has assumed paramount importance.

The postrevolutionary history of Cuba has shown the significance of the constant and disinterested internationalist assistance rendered by the Soviet Union. It has enabled Cuba not only to hold its own against imperialist blockade but to score impressive gains in the economy and the standard of living. Cuba's social and economic achievements are fruits of something more than social transformations inside the country. Having taken a socialist road, it is now living under the new international economic order sought by Third World countries, with the socialist community accounting for 85 per cent of our trade. This trade is based on the principles of mutual respect, non-interference and fraternal cooperation. We are entirely free of the fatal laws of unequal exchange on which relations between the Third World and developed capitalist countries have historically been based. Our exports sell at fair prices. Relations within the CMEA are understandably exempt from the protectionist measures, dumping and merciless competition typical of the capitalist system. The financial problems of Cuba, which arise from the need to obtain credits for development, are solved without delay or difficulty. To give an example, we have been granted reschedulings of our debt for 10, 15 and even 20 years without interest payments.

All this explains our rapid economic progress and our universally recognised achievements in promoting the health service, education, physical culture and sports, eradicating unemployment, ending backwardness and raising the living and cultural standards of our people.

The Cuban experience has shown how important it is for Latin America and the Third World as a whole to fight for a new international economic order, because it is this fight that can pave the way for real independence and sovereignty, including both the right to effect social changes and the objective possibility of doing it. This fight is now inseparable from humanity's burning problems.

To solve the problems of developing countries, Fidel Castro said recently in a speech on the occasion of National Uprising Day, it is necessary to end the insanity of arms race, the insanity of war, the insanity of Star Wars plans and other insanities of a similar kind in which billions of dollars are invested annually while hundreds of millions on earth lack elementary means of subsistence. If all these resources were invested in peaceful development, the day would soon come when the Third World could draw a sigh of relief and look ahead with hope.

¹ Fidel Castro, *La impagable deuda externa de América Latina y del Tercer Mundo, como puede y debe ser cancelada y la urgente necesidad del Nuevo Orden Económico Internacional*, Havana, 1985, p. 1.

To Find a Way Out of the Crisis

George Hawi - General Secretary,
Lebanese Communist Party
(LCP) Central Committee

LEBANON is in a state of flux. The picture that emerges is surprising, quite contradictory and at first glance extremely confused, reflecting a rise in the intensity of the struggle over key issues which the fate not only of our country but also of our entire region hinges on; this struggle is a major element of the world-wide confrontation between the forces of freedom, peace, progress and socialism, on the one hand, and, on the other, the forces of imperialism, Zionism and aggression.

Advancing Towards Victory

Lebanon's national patriotic forces have recently won several important, truly historic victories. First and foremost, this includes the ouster of US-NATO interventionists who provided the 'accompaniment' to the Israeli capture of part of Lebanese territory, including Beirut. This expulsion is no less important than the blow dealt to the Israeli invaders; it was the second biggest defeat of US imperialism after Vietnam. It was also a body blow to the doctrines of US interventionism abroad, the doctrine that had just begun to recover from the 'Vietnam syndrome'. Besides, it was a fiasco for the policy of piecing together a 'multinational force'—the sinister fruit of the Camp David accords born after the United States, the Israeli elite and Arab reactionaries had failed to use the UN flag to camouflage their forays in the Middle East.

The upsurge of Lebanese patriotic resistance to the Israeli invaders is another historic development. Lebanese soil has given birth to the type of war of liberation in which guerrilla operations are combined with mass popular action in the cities, towns and villages. Reinforcing all this are political efforts aimed at rallying together, in the course of the struggle for the country's freedom, the broadest possible range of forces irrespective of their social or class affiliation or ideology. For the first time in the history of the conflict, vigorous action by Lebanon's patriots made Israel lose the strategic initiative; it is now clear that the Israeli army can no longer play the part of Washington's deputy sheriff as effectively as in the past.

The Communists are in the front ranks of the fighters against the occupation. On September 16, 1982, the day Beirut fell, our party issued an appeal calling for the formation of a Lebanese Patriotic Resistance Front¹ and, two days later, conducted the first armed operation against the invaders. Communists were the heart and the vanguard of the fierce battles fought in the capital, in the Lebanon Mountains, in the western part of the Bekaa Valley and especially in the south. Now, having evacuated most of the captured territory, the Israeli aggressors are holding only an eight to twelve kilometre-wide strip along the frontier. The initiative is still in the hands of our fighters.

The evolution of patriotic resistance into a popular movement uniting a broad variety of socio-political forces, including a religious and communal element, does not mean that the Communists have lost their leading role in it but, on the contrary, that this role has grown stronger. When the slogans and the course of a revolutionary party are supported by the masses, by broad progressive quarters, this is a confirmation that this party pursues the right policy.

Bourgeois propaganda inventions that the resistance is confessional—that it is Moslem or even purely Shiite²—are designed to slander the anti-imperialist movement with its deep popular roots and to create the impression that there are 'two types of terrorism' in Lebanon—Zionist and Shiite. Our enemies are deliberately striving to

propagate such views. Unfortunately, these lines are taken up by certain Lebanese mass media which are thus, sometimes unwittingly, playing into the hands of imperialism.

The defeat inflicted on the internal reactionaries—the henchmen of the Israeli invaders and agents of imperialism—is the third major victory of Lebanon's patriots. Acting as the shock troops of reaction is the confessionalist, fascist-type Phalange Party backed by Zionist arms.

The great upheavals caused by the Israeli aggression and its consequences have aggravated the crisis of the Lebanese political and socio-economic system. This system is based on the sway of a small financial oligarchy formed by the merger of finance, industrial and agricultural capital and of capital operating in the services and in foreign trade. The commanding heights in the economy—and consequently, in politics and administration—are held by the Christian faction of the Lebanese bourgeoisie which has usurped the right to represent the entire Christian community and at the same time exploits its lower echelons—industrial workers, peasants and the middle strata. Part of the Moslem bourgeoisie collaborates with it as a junior partner.

The Lebanese socio-economic system is wholly dependent on US imperialism and transnational corporations; this encourages the 'import' of phenomena caused by the general crisis of capitalism. The top sections of our bourgeoisie are violently hostile to demands of any reform that, while not undermining the foundations of capitalism, would even partially limit the domination of this elite. Any action for economic social or political change is viewed as an attempt to destroy 'Lebanon's identity'. Today however, owing to a number of domestic factors and given no new aggression from the outside, this part of the bourgeoisie cannot fully restore its power and influence—let alone restore unity to Lebanon—although it still holds sway in some spheres. This is what is at the core of the current situation in our country.

In 1982, after the Israeli invaders pushed into Lebanon, our party called on the people to vigorously resist the invaders and advanced several urgent tasks. Some of them could be described as 'defensive'; to remove the threat of a US invasion and make US and other NATO armed forces leave the country, to oust all Israeli invaders from the occupied areas and to prevent the Phalangists from dominating Lebanon. Simultaneously, we called for action to uphold democratic developments on the basis of restoring independence, defending Lebanese integrity and reaffirming Lebanon's Arab identity. The Communists stressed that the popular masses should be free to choose their path of socio-economic and political development.

Today, the swelling of religious and communal trends is clashing with this goal. The religious factor, no doubt an important element in the patriotic upsurge at the previous stage, is gradually losing its national democratic thrust in the struggle against the Israeli occupation and US domination, offering increasing resistance to radical democratic reform. This factor is exerting a growing and pernicious influence on the national patriotic forces and actually operates to exacerbate Lebanon's domestic fragmentation. Notably the advocates of the confessionalist approach were the ones who made abortive attempts to belittle the role of the National patriotic forces, above all of Communists, in the organisation of the drive to repel the invaders.

Fighting against odds, our party had been combining all elements of the struggle—armed and political, mass and individual. Even when the battles in the south, in the Lebanon Mountains and in Beirut were at their fiercest, we took care to participate in the smallest strikes and uphold the socio-economic demands of working people.

At all stages of cooperation with the other patriotic forces the Communists have never lost sight of the ideological struggle to be waged from Marxist-Leninist positions so as to assert the historical mission of the working class and its vanguard party. The LCP has avoided many mistakes because it has always made use of the experience of the world communist movement. In those periods when we launched

broad legal work, we always carefully preserved the party's clandestine structure which was to ensure the LCP's security at any, even the most unpredictable, turn of events. Here is a typical example. Upon liberation of several areas in the south, some comrades, euphoric with success, advocated partial abolishment of the LCP clandestine cells in the Lebanese Patriotic Resistance Front so as to channel the party cadre into legal mass work. However, taking into consideration the possible turns in the difficult and drawn-out struggle, the party leadership deemed it necessary to preserve the entire underground structure of the party. And the leaders were proven right. Subsequently, this move prevented the Americans, the Israelis and Arab reactionaries from attaining one of their principal objectives in the reoccupied areas—that of eliminating Communists. Today, as always, our party is ready to use any form of struggle.

In the course of the resistance effort, we were striving to rally the broadest possible national patriotic forces around our slogans. The historical alliance between the LCP and the Progressive Socialist Party of Walid Joumblatt was reaffirmed. This alliance formed the basis of the Lebanese National Salvation Front comprising, together with the core of the patriotic movement, representatives of broad sections of the bourgeoisie, including prominent figures such as Prime Minister Rachid Karame, who filled this post several times, and former President Sulaiman Franjiya.

The purposeful efforts of the more radical patriotic elements led to the establishment, in August 1985, of the National Union Front. The Front unites the Progressive Socialist Party, the Lebanese Communist Party, the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party (Lebanese section), the Syrian National Social Party of Lebanon, other parties of the National Democratic Front and also the Amal movement, the Saida Political Council, etc.—all in all, a total of 15 patriotic and progressive organisations. Besides, many prominent political and civic figures have joined the Front. Its power base is among those social strata which, irrespective of their religious affiliations, are truly interested in restructuring society on a national democratic basis.

A fundamental political reform is the foremost item on today's agenda. We have never separated the tasks of liberation, reunification and assertion of Lebanon's Arab identity from internal political transformations. The inseparable link between the two have now become even more obvious. Liberation of all our country, restoration of its independence and affirmation of national sovereignty and territorial integrity can be ensured only by asserting Lebanon's Arab identity and meeting the demands this entails, only through a resolute and comprehensive reform of the political structure, a reform that will put an end to all forms of confessional domination and, consequently, to the system of class and confessional privileges.

By insistently urging the creation of the Front, the Communists gave a patriotic answer to the question of the present stage of development. This, as well as the establishment of the Front, has prompted a reaction—an escalation of the inhuman armed terrorism that has recently swept the country. Hundreds of innocent people in densely populated areas have fallen victim to this wave. The terrorist acts are organised by those whose interest and intentions were threatened by the formation of the Front uniting a broad range of national forces around a patriotic non-confessional programme. This programme contains prerequisites for the unification of Lebanon, a restructuring of its political system on a truly democratic basis and assertion of its place in the Arab world.

Overcoming Right-Wing Defeatism

Using a very relative approach, one can now single out two aspects of our revolution—the national and the democratic. The bigger and major part of the national tasks has already been accomplished; we are now on the eve of a new stage

whose objectives complement and develop the tasks of the current period. It is impossible to mechanically draw a dividing line between them: for example, efforts at solving general democratic problems will continue. However, the new stage has salient features of its own. After US and Israeli invaders are driven out of Lebanon and the country's socio-economic and political system is restructured radically, the choice between two development paths will be the order of the day.

It is by no means easy to aim for such a restructuring. While all Lebanese patriots are waging a common struggle against Israel, imperialism and domestic reaction, it is common knowledge that they hold different views of the path our society should take in the future. First and foremost, the problem of political reform is a case in point.

The Communist Party works to ensure that the interests of joint struggle against the principal enemies have priority over the existing contradictions. By building up action to repel the invaders and the Phalangists one can actually ensure a degree of unity of all democrats and patriots that would help attain unity in the movement for internal reform, that is, a revolutionary alternative to the existing regime.

We realise that the differences we encounter today are rooted in the very essence of the new tasks. There is no magic formula for solving them. A great deal of work lies ahead.

The course of events in Lebanon is influenced directly by the overall situation in the region. The Lebanese and Mideast crises are linked indelibly.

The accord of May 17, 1983, signed by the Gemayel-Wazzan government and the rulers of Israel who acted with Washington's blessing, was essentially a second Camp David. Underlying it were two principles—the conclusion of separate deals between each Arab country party to the conflict with Israel and the implementation of the fraudulent slogan 'Land in Exchange for Peace'. That is the reason why the subsequent failure of the accord was a blow to Camp David as a whole. This success would have been impossible without the comprehensive support Lebanon's patriots received from Syria, the country that plays an exceptionally important role in rebuffing Israel, a 'settlement American style' and forays by Arab reactionaries. Syria has denounced both the accord of May 17 and the Amman agreement³ and firmly advocates a comprehensive settlement of the Mideast crisis.

Another factor that contributed to this success was the participation in the struggle, on the side of the Lebanese patriots, by the progressive Palestinian forces. They rejected the right-wing opportunist course adopted by the leaders of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, and took part in the heroic operations mounted by the Lebanese Patriotic Resistance Front against the Israeli occupation. Together with the national patriotic forces of our country, they fought in the Lebanon Mountains and in the insurrection that flared up in the southern suburbs of Beirut. Finally, they played important part in the Beirut mass action of February 6, 1984, which forced the United States to evacuate the Marines and wrecked the May 17 accord. The militant unity of the Lebanese and the Palestinians was preserved even after the PLO withdrew from Beirut and even when the PLO leadership switched to right-wing opportunist positions in a bid to jump on the bandwagon of a 'settlement American style'—that is, when it in fact refused to keep up a resolute struggle against imperialism and Zionism.

The course pursued by the right-wing forces in the PLO pitted its official leaders against the patriots of Lebanon and Palestine to the detriment of the cause of the Palestinian people and also of our joint struggle, sealed in the blood we shed together and lasting for more than 15 years. US imperialism, Zionism and the reactionaries moved immediately to seize this opportunity in an attempt to prevent their defeat in Lebanon and the entire Arab region.

Two conflicting positions were thrown into particularly bold relief after the Israeli capture of Beirut in 1982. Together with the forces of the Palestinian revolution, we came out against the occupation. As early as at that time, the statements made by us

and by the PLO leadership were 'aimed in different directions'. Lebanon's national patriotic quarters viewed conciliation with US imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction as impossible, asserting that the enemy's gains were transitory and that there existed conditions for broadening our joint struggle. Meanwhile, influential figures among the PLO leadership, including Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, were gravitating towards a different approach. They maintained that there would be no solution to the Palestinian problem as long as the settlement did not meet US 'wishes', that it was pointless to fight on and that the Palestinian Liberation Organisation must find a niche for itself within the framework of US plans. Thus, these figures essentially accepted the infamous bourgeois propaganda concept of the world partitioned into spheres of influence and, in actual fact, the claim that the Middle East was a region where the United States had 'special interests'.

Having joined the supporters of a 'settlement American style', the PLO leaders wittingly accepted the consequences of such a course, namely: a split in the ranks of the Palestinian revolution and elimination of its fighting core, erosion of their organisation as a front uniting different groups of Palestinian fighters, and rejection of the alliance with the progressive forces—specifically, with the Lebanese national patriotic movement, the Communists and Syria. By accepting a separate deal based on 'Land in Exchange for Peace', a slogan I have mentioned earlier, Arafat is now operating in cahoots with the Jordanian reactionaries and sponsored by President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt and several reactionary regimes.

Negative aspects in the development of the Mideast crisis overshadowed the victories won by the Lebanese patriots and gave the United States another chance to seize the initiative. Naturally, none of us entertained the illusion that the successes of the Lebanese fighters would immediately make the United States and its West European allies give up their attempts to settle the Mideast crisis on a separate basis or to monopolise this settlement. We had a different objective in mind, expecting that the White House would be forced to stop being high-handed, recognise the new alignment of forces and accept the only course leading to a genuine settlement of the conflict, that is, an international conference under a UN aegis in which the Soviet Union and all interested parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organisation, would participate vigorously. However, right-wing policy within the PLO dealt a blow to these hopes and helped to rekindle harmful illusions in the region. This created what can be described as a material basis underlying the Arab reactionaries' search for 'peacemaking' with Washington's help.

Another factor aggravating the situation in the Arab world is that local reaction is rearing its head and trying to consolidate its positions with US support. This can be judged by the reactionaries' attempt to set up a military and political bloc comprising certain Mideast regimes and the PLO leadership. Simultaneously, the reactionary chieftains are striving to shelve the decision of the Arab summit in Fez⁴ so as to untie the hands of those who sponsored the Amman agreement—above all, King Hussein—and then launch a new separate negotiations with Israel and the United States.

With this end in view, a summit attended by the Arab heads of state and government was convened in Casablanca, Morocco, in August 1985; Washington had a great deal to do with its organisation. Since the summit was boycotted by the progressive forces and condemned by the people of the Arab world, the conference was not representative and yielded meagre results. Still, the danger of this conference is also obvious. The danger lies in the different attempt at cover-up of the Amman agreement and of the US efforts to undermine the heroic struggle of the Palestinian people, 'abolish' the Palestinian cause, block moves taken by the staunch Arab forces, above all Syria and broaden the conspiracy against the progressive elements of

the Arab world, specifically against the Lebanese resistance. The course charted in Casablanca is a course of surrender.

We are confident that the advocates of this course among the Palestinian leadership will fail to win any laurels. Their 'political star' will inevitably go into collapse as soon as the PLO is officially excluded from the settlement formula and the King of Jordan is, in this form or another, granted the power to negotiate on behalf of the Palestinians. He who has in fact given up an uncompromising struggle for the recovery of the occupied territories will be incapable of implementing the 'Land in Exchange for Peace' slogan. The right-wing bloc of those who have fled from the battlefield and abandoned the honourable path of fighting will be unable to make Israel give up annexation in exchange for a PLO promise not the 'threaten peace in the region'. Only he who can effectively prevent consolidation of Israeli domination in the captured areas will be able to restore land to the Palestinian people. We are convinced that the people of Palestine and their revolutionary forces will put the course of their organisation right. United in a broad patriotic front, these forces will frustrate the opportunist efforts of the current leadership of the PLO and will again lead it to the forefront as one of the mainstays of the region's progressive alliance.

Leading the Common Struggle

The developments in Lebanon are impossible to grasp in isolation from the Palestinian problem, just as it is impossible to translate the aspirations of the Lebanese into reality without deciding the future of the Palestinians. At the same time, the shaping and, when necessary, the correction of the course pursued by the national patriotic movement of any people is above all the prerogative of their own revolutionary forces.

It is impossible to restore unity, liberate all Lebanese territory and definitively assert Lebanon's Arab identity in isolation from the overall situation in the Middle East. It is just as impossible for our country to launch truly democratic reforms without a complete elimination of confessionalism or without the implementation of a socio-economic minimum programme to meet the urgent demands of workers, peasants and other broad sections of the people.

We see a new upsurge of the Arab national liberation movement, with Syria's resolute stand as a contributing factor, the PLO's recovery from its crisis and increased activity on the part of the region's communist and workers' parties as conditions auguring well for the attainment of these goals. What has occurred in recent years confirms that the national liberation movement in the Arab world will overcome its crisis only when the working class and its vanguard parties play a leading role in this movement. We hold that this role can be secured by the elaboration of joint programme, a revolutionary alternative and by a vigorous struggle for its realisation.

We often hear wistful comments about 'the destruction that has been plaguing beautiful and once peaceful Lebanon'. They are touching to hear, but we firmly and openly state our conviction that it is yet a long way to go before we arrive at a solution which would enable the country to overcome its severe crisis. Least capable of it is the Lebanese bourgeoisie. We, on the other hand, have succeeded in attaining significant gains in the struggle against the external and internal enemies. However, it has so far proved impossible to arrive at an alignment of forces that would secure the implementation of the democratic solution proposed by the LCP.

The Communists are not against a search for compromise or palliative solutions because this can bring us closer to our goal. Today, it is unrealistic to speak of immediate victory in a decisive battle, and so it would be a mistake to try to push events in this direction. We are fighting stubbornly, capturing position after position from the reactionary regime and building up our own strength. But the Communists

entertain no illusions about compromise moves, although a certain degree of flexibility objectively contributes to the emergence of conditions conducive to future success.

All this makes it clear how important it is to strengthen and consolidate the working class party in the struggle for liberation from Israeli occupation, against US domination and for Lebanon's integrity and Arab identity. In the course of this struggle, we take great care to stress the class essence of our party and its commitment to have the problem of Lebanon solved on a national democratic, not confessional basis.

This basis implies a broad democratic reform that is to effect a radical socio-political restructuring of our society. Its underlying principles can be summed up as follows:

- Complete eradication of confessionalism in all of the country's political institutions;

- drastic change of the system of popular representation including, specifically, parliamentary elections, on a proportionate basis;

- equitable distribution of powers between the legislature and the executive, the latter concentrated mostly in the hands of a government controlled by the people and the parliament;

- modernisation of the administrative system; legislation to increase the accountability of public servants;

- finally, reorganisation of the army, specifically its officer corps.

Extensive transformations are impossible without closer unity of the national patriotic forces and their main elements—the LCP, the Progressive Socialist Party and other national progressive parties. The ranks of these forces can be added to by the recruitment of all those who support the policy pursued by the vanguard of the Lebanese resistance. This will make it possible to allay the confessionalist nature of the Progressive Socialist Party, to help overcome the consequences of the upswing of religious and communal trends and prompt a rise in the national democratic struggle.

Within the National Union Front, we consider it important to strengthen our cooperation with the Amal movement which is supported by the masses and has gained prestige in the struggle against the Israeli occupation, US infiltration and the sway of the Phalange Party. This movement unites workers and peasants who are interested in a fundamental political and socio-economic reform. However, also affiliated in this movement are forces swayed by various negative factors, including anti-communism, and holding sectarian, religious and communal positions on a number of principal issues. The establishment of a broad alliance with Amal is a long-term task that can and must be solved.

At the regional level, promotion of relations between the Lebanese national patriotic forces and Syria assumes special importance. Naturally, as far as this field is concerned, we shall draw above all on the community of views with regard to many key aspects of the situation.

International solidarity—the assistance our people receive from progressive, anti-imperialist forces—has been the basis of the victories won in Lebanon. When we refer to the struggle in our region against US imperialism, to the role various sections of the liberation movement as well as Syria play in this struggle, we never forget that not much could have been accomplished without the resolute and consistent support given by the socialist countries, above all by the Soviet Union. The strengthening of friendly ties with the USSR provided a firm basis for overcoming the consequences of the aggression the Zionists launched in 1982 against Lebanon, the Palestinian revolution and Syria.

Our struggle is an integral part of the struggle waged by the world communist movement. The LCP not only provides the Lebanese people with fighters who

sacrificed their lives to uphold their country's interests, not only works to unite the patriotic forces of Lebanon and enhance Arab solidarity, but also contribute to the strengthening of internationalism. For internationalism is the bridge linking the problem of Lebanon, the problem of the Arab national liberation movement with the policy of the Soviet Union and of the entire socialist community.

Tremendous difficulties lie ahead. But we can also see prospects that inspire us. The time is past when US imperialism and Israel could seriously expect to turn Lebanon into an 'American backyard', a sort of 'Israeli farm' for breeding internal Arab reaction. Today, no one dare impose an alien settlement of the problem of Lebanon on our people against their will. This problem cannot be solved without vigorous participation by the Lebanese working class and its party. The proletariat is ready to take part in any action aimed at a just settlement of the crisis. But if the bourgeoisie dares to block its participation in the efforts to decide the country's future, the working class will have to uphold its rights by force.

Our party welcomes any peaceful positive settlement that would meet the national aspirations of Lebanon. At the same time, we are ever ready for any form of struggle, for joint action with the other Lebanese patriots within a common front. This is indispensable for final victory.

¹ The Front was established on September 26.—*Ed.*

² Shiism is one of the two principal branches of Islam.—*Ed.*

³ Signed by King Hussein and Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, in Amman on February 11, 1985, the agreement essentially ignores the rights of the Palestinians, above all their right to national statehood, and denies the PLO its role as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinians.—*Ed.*

⁴ At the 1982 conference in Fez, Morocco, the Arab states worked out a common approach to the settlement of the Mideast crisis stipulating, specifically, Israel's withdrawal from all occupied territories, recognition of the PLO's right to negotiate on behalf of the Palestinians and of their right to national statehood, etc.

The Experience of the October Revolution and the Choice of Ways to Socialism

Pavel Volobuyev - Corresponding-
member, USSR Academy of Sciences

THE experience of the Great October Socialist Revolution, together with Lenin's analysis of the motive forces, the economic and social premises and the dynamic of the socialist revolution in Russia, shows, the historic law-governed uniformities underlying the formation of the new social system. It is the internationalist asset of the world working class movement. 'The important thing is that the ice has been broken; the road is open, the way has been shown,' said Lenin in assessing the significance of the socialist initiative of Russia's proletariat, which ushered in the epoch of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism.

The diversity of the ways leading to socialism and each nation's choice of the concrete historical forms of transition to it are among the ideas which constitute an important part of Lenin's legacy, and cogent confirmation of them comes from the

historical practice of our day. The choice of way to socialism is the key problem in the fraternal parties' activity. Each, depending on the actual conditions, carries on—in its own way—the fight against capitalist oppression, and for the establishment of a socialist society, in the light of the specifics and law-governed uniformities of the revolutionary process, thereby realising its prerogative of determining the way to socialism independently, in accordance with the specific national conditions of its peoples.

Lenin's theory of revolution shows the diversity of the process and induces a search for effective ways and means of bringing about radical social transformations in the welter of the contradictory trends generated by the advance of the class struggle.

Lenin's Strategy of Revolutionary Struggle

Forward-looking social thinkers in Russia opposed the feudal and serf-holding system and advocated utopian socialism decades before the revolutionary emancipation movement in Russia entered upon its proletarian stage (mid-1890s), which meant that Russian revolutionaries believed almost 150 years ago that the country's social transformation could be brought about along a new, socialist way of development bypassing capitalism. The movement of Russian intellectuals coming from the midst of the people in the latter half of the nineteenth century, among them the Narodniks (Populists), likewise rejected the bourgeois orientation of social progress.

The idea of non-capitalist development was a valuable acquisition of social thought, but it was first formulated in truly scientific terms in the writings of Marx and Engels. However, it was utopian on the part of the Russian revolutionary democrats and the Narodniks to hope to affect a transition to socialism via the commune and a peasant revolution.² Marx said that late-nineteenth century Russia 'has been taking a lot of trouble . . . to become a capitalist nation after the example of the West European countries'.³ In his polemics with Russian Narodnik ideologists, Marx vigorously protested against the attempts to present his conception of the origination of capitalism in Western Europe as a theory of predestined capitalist development for all countries and peoples, regardless of historical conditions. He did not believe that 'every people is fated to tread'⁴ the way of capitalism the West European countries had travelled. Georgi Plekhanov, the first Russian Marxist, was quite right in stressing at the end of the nineteenth century that Marxism 'does not sentence any countries to anything, that it does not indicate any common or "compulsory" way for all the peoples at any given time'.⁵

In the light of those ideas and a summing-up of the experience of world-wide revolutionary processes, Lenin formulated the conception that the ways to socialism could, and inevitably would, be different. The historical necessity of transition to the socialist system is manifested in the national context. The great diversity of concrete historical conditions, the uneven development of the capitalist countries and hence the different stage of maturity of the material—and especially—the subjective political premises of socialism, such is the basis of the multiplicity of ways to socialism, and of its victory in the individual countries at various times. Lenin said that all the peoples would—sooner or later—reach socialism, but each would do so in its own way, making use of the forms and pace of democratic and socialist transformations in accordance with the conditions in each given country, thereby investing socialist development with a national peculiarity which is 'different in each country and which we must be able to discover, study and predict'.⁶

In the final stages of the ideological defeat he inflicted on the Narodniks, Lenin said that it was impossible to make any arbitrary choice of a socialist way of social development as individuals or parties wanted, and stressed that the potentialities for such development were created by the proletariat's class struggle on the soil of

evolving capitalism.

The proletariat cannot, however, be indifferent to the forms and types of capitalist evolution. When examining the ways for Russia's agrarian and—in the broader context—general capitalist development, Lenin showed that various forms or types of capitalism could emerge on the basis of fundamental bourgeois pillars—domination of private property, labour's exploitation by capital, etc.—differing in the speed at which the productive forces are built up, the extent to which social life is democratised, the welfare of the popular masses raised, and so on.

Russia's working class and peasantry made an attempt to push the country into developing along the more progressive bourgeois-peasant type of capitalism during the 1905-1907 revolution, the first bourgeois-democratic revolution in the epoch of capitalism. The Bolsheviks, who led the revolutionary proletariat, wanted it to assume the role of leader of the revolution, thereby exerting the crucial influence not only on the scope but also on the type of bourgeois transformations, because it was of primary importance for the country's historical destinies who carried out these transformations and how. A subsequent transition to direct struggle for socialism, Lenin believed, could be made possible by a revolutionary break-up of the landed estates, the overthrow of tsarism and the establishment of a democratic republic, with curbs on the omnipotence of the bourgeoisie.

The alternative of socialism or capitalism loomed inexorably in Russia in February 1917, when tsarism—the reactionary cover-up for capitalism in Russia—collapsed with the victory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. The country could pull out of that most profound social and nation-wide crisis only through a revolutionary transition to a new type of social development, a fundamentally new, socialist social system.

The Mensheviks, Lenin's adversaries within the ranks of Russia's social democracy, who claimed to be the keepers of Marxist orthodoxy, opposed Lenin's idea of Russia's advance to socialism, accusing the Bolsheviks of 'revolutionary adventurism', pointing to the country's backwardness, the economic dislocation, the numerically small proletariat, and so on. They asserted that Russia had not yet matured for socialism, and that its lot was to wait for the coming of socialism from the West, since it was the West European social development that was allegedly to provide some kind of universal model.

Lenin showed that from the economic and social standpoint, capitalism in Russia was of the 'medium-developed' type; in the industrial and banking sphere it had reached the monopoly stage, while the proletariat's massiveness and concentration in the country were sufficiently high. On the other hand, with Russia's relative backwardness, it could well start a revolution, because its adversary was decaying and its bourgeoisie was not organised.⁷

When arguing the need for the country to take the socialist way, Lenin attached crucial importance to the maturity of the political prerequisites. Russia had a revolutionary proletariat led by the Bolshevik Party, which was very strong in its combat and political qualities. The Bolsheviks regarded the whole atmosphere of democratic revolution, with seething popular initiatives and vigorous action, and with the proletariat playing the leading role, as a mighty motor for socialism.

The international aspect of the socialist revolution, which Lenin most thoroughly analysed, was also a substantial impetus. The First World War, for instance, an 'all-powerful director' and a 'mighty accelerator', sharpened all the social contradictions, unhinged the foundations of capitalism, and, by its calamities, accelerated the maturing of the European-wide revolutionary situation. The catastrophic war confronted the peoples of Russia with 'an immediate choice between destruction and immediate determined strides towards socialism'.⁸

In the context of the conditions in which the objective economic and social

prerequisites of the socialist revolution were taking shape, Lenin stressed the decisive role of the subjective factor, i.e., the readiness of the revolutionary forces for a radical solution of the basic political, social and national problems. He later remarked that Russia was able to modify the conventional historical sequence of development towards socialism: not to wait for a 'full' maturing of its material prerequisites, but to start 'at the other end', with the winning of political power and then, relying on it, to build up the modern productive forces required for social progress.

Russia's choice of the socialist way was formulated as a mature historical imperative in Lenin's famous April Theses. He regarded the revolution, the forthcoming transition to socialism, not as some kind of supernatural 'leap into the unknown', but as a practical way out of the crisis of the capitalist-and-landowner system, out of the impasse in which the country found itself in 1917, i.e., as a concrete answer to the concrete problems of social development.

Socialism, the goal and ideal of the working class movement, was presented by Lenin as a national need. In this way, in accordance with the prerequisites of success for any proletarian revolution discovered by Marx and Engels, socialism was in practice combined with the national conditions and the interests of a concrete country, Russia. Because the strategy of the working class of Russia rested on the objective revolutionary process and a clear understanding of the limits of the possible and the necessary, the Bolshevik Party was able to translate socialism, a theoretical project, into an actual objective, to send the country along the socialist way out of the crisis, which threatened to turn into a national disaster, and to lead the masses through the stage of bourgeois-democratic development in the shortest possible period.

Consequently, the history of the struggle for socialism in Russia shows, on the one hand, that it was phased, that it presented many alternatives, and involved a contest between the conservative-bourgeois and the revolutionary-democratic ways, with the latter developing into a socialist revolution. On the other hand, the experience of the October Revolution demonstrates that the revolutionary solution of the vital social and national problems was a law-governed uniformity.⁹ The positive results of the diverse bourgeois reforms in Russia in the latter half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century simply bear no comparison with what the October Revolution and the subsequent construction of socialism brought to the popular masses and the country as a whole, including the solution of such vital problems as the end of class exploitation, the establishment of social and national equality, the overcoming of economic and cultural backwardness, the creation of the structures of proletarian democracy for the whole people, and so on.

The victory of socialism in Russia showed that the choice of the socialist way was made in accordance with the classical Marxist formula: on the basis of capitalism and by means of its revolutionary overthrow. At the same time, the experience of the Soviet state also showed that it was possible to go on to socialism along a non-capitalist way of development. Roughly one-sixth of our country's population was at the precapitalist (and even the prefeudal) stage of development at the time of the October Revolution, and advanced to socialism bypassing capitalism, a course made possible by the fraternal assistance of the Soviet Union's advanced nations and the Communist Party's internationalist policy. Once a theoretical project, the non-capitalist way has become one of the new law-governed uniformities of world social development borne out by the history of recent decades.

The international significance of the October Revolution consists in the fact that it demonstrated the viability and strength of Lenin's strategy of revolution. Now, as in the past, revolutionaries find much meaning in Lenin's idea that it is the class struggle that decides the 'choice of path'.¹⁰ It is the class struggle that ushered in the epoch of

socialist revolutions and led to the establishment of the Republic of Soviets.

The Role of Revolutionary Tactics

The October Revolution sharply turned Russia to a new, socialist course and marked the start of a radical change in the line of mankind's social development. Its experience shows that successes in the working people's struggle for socialism depend not only on the right choice of general line in social progress. Revolutionary tactics in the class struggle and the search for optimal ways, forms, pace, and means for stepping up the revolutionary processes within that general direction are of great and sometimes crucial importance.

The quest is hard because of the very wide spectrum of alternatives in the movement towards the revolutionary goal, and the changing situations created by national peculiarities and international conditions. Lenin kept stressing the importance of theoretically analysing the possible alternatives for the concrete process of revolution, not all of which were translated into actual practice. But they were all thoroughly analysed by Lenin to give the revolutionaries a choice of the most effective lines and methods of action and to make them prepared for any turn of events and change of form and means of struggle. Hence the internationalist value of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of proletarian revolution and the experience of the October Revolution, which gave a full view of the methodology to be used in choosing the concrete way towards socialism in the exceptionally fluid conditions of revolutionary change.

Let us note in this context some of the aspects of the types of action taken by the revolutionary forces, the peaceful or non-peaceful means used by them to win power, the formulation of priority objectives, and so on.

Take, first, the question of choosing the 'straight' or the 'zigzag' path of development with the choice of which 'history confronts the contending forces'.¹¹ The former is the way of direct revolutionary struggle by the masses, their active revolutionary creativity and 'frontal attack' aimed to overthrow the old power, 'the most advantageous as far as the people are concerned, but then one also requiring the greatest strength'.¹² The latter, the 'roundabout' and the 'forced' way, where there is not enough strength and a temporary compromise is necessary. Considering both options before the October Revolution, Lenin stressed: 'A Marxist is bound to fight for the direct revolutionary path of development when such fight is prescribed by the objective state of affairs'.¹³ He also noted the need to reckon with the possibility of the 'zigzag' way, but emphasised that in such cases the party should be 'able . . . to remain true to its principles, to its class, to its revolutionary purpose'.¹⁴

Such a form-flexible but socially firm and principled policy came to fruition in October 1917. The Bolshevik Party gave country's peoples clear class reference points at that crossroads of their history. Lenin wrote: 'We shall fearlessly march towards socialism, . . . our road shall be through a Soviet Republic, through nationalisation of banks and syndicates, through workers' control, through universal labour conscription, through nationalisation of the land, confiscation of the landowners' livestock and implements, etc.'¹⁵ All that done Russia would at once have one foot in socialism, as he metaphorically put it.

We find that the establishment of the Soviet power was seen as the main instrument for all the democratic and socialist transformations. Lenin was sure that when faced with the choice of a Republic of Soviets or a conventional parliamentary bourgeois republic, signifying a step back in the country's socialist alternative, the people would opt for the Republic of Soviets and socialism. He believed that it was the duty of the Bolshevik Party to help the people build up the Soviets, to help them 'take life *in its entirety* under their control', thereby making it easier for the people 'through the medium of the Constituent Assembly, or independently of it . . . to cast their decision

in favour of a Republic of Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies'.¹⁶

Lenin's approach showed that, while applying extra-parliamentary, revolutionary forms of struggle, the Bolsheviks did not discard others, including parliamentary ones. The great leader examined the possible transitional stages to socialism, and worked out, among others, the idea of 'combined types' of development, such as a combination of the Soviet power and a Constituent Assembly.

The correlation of the peaceful and non-peaceful ways of transition to socialism is yet another important methodological aspect of the problem. Lenin constantly sought to find ways of establishing the new social system that were the most advantageous and the least painful for the popular masses. Like Marx and Engels, he stressed the preference of the peaceful way, although 'peaceful' is a concept that does not at all imply movement without class struggle, i.e., the use of 'purely parliamentary' and in fact reformist ways. The possibility of the revolution developing the peaceful way, which Lenin said was 'extremely valuable',¹⁷ had appeared in the pre-October period on several occasions, as it did in the dual-power period (March-June 1917), when the bourgeoisie lost all effective means of violence, when a maximum of democratic freedoms was achieved, and when there was a potentially ready form of working people's power in the form of the Soviets. Lenin's analysis of the possibilities of a peaceful takeover of political power by the working people and peaceful transition to socialism is an essential part of the theory of revolution.

Lenin's conception of the revolutionary-democratic way to socialism is most pertinent to this question, for it meant the possibility of a phased political and economic movement from the reactionary-bureaucratic, bourgeois-monopolistic regulation of the spheres of life to revolutionary-democratic regulation. The working people's takeover through the popular masses rallying round general democratic, instead of socialist tasks, and their abandonment of illusions about a 'consensus' with the bourgeoisie could be a step towards socialism, towards the possibility of peacefully eliminating the 'struggle between classes and parties *within* the Soviets',¹⁸ so making socialism the unconditional demand of the majority. At that stage, the Bolsheviks envisaged radical measures in the economy to undermine the domination of big capital and to enhance the role of the proletariat in the society.

The experience of the October Revolution in using the other, non-peaceful, armed way of transition to socialism is also of great historical importance. When the peaceful possibilities of establishing power of the Soviets had been politically exhausted, Lenin called on the Bolshevik Party and the working masses to start an armed uprising. By then, the political experience of the masses had driven home to them that bourgeois-democratic reforms and agreements with the bourgeoisie could not provide an 'easier' way out of the dire economic and political crisis. The urgent need to establish socialism in the country was dictated by the objective conditions; the looming national disaster, the dragging out of the war, the economic dislocation, the outstanding agrarian and national problems, and the 'desperate situation'.¹⁹ The counter-revolutionary militarists hatching another plot against the revolution had to be pre-empted. The masses had moved to the struggle for socialism through the struggle for democratic demands and satisfaction of their immediate needs. Such was the mechanism of the political choice of the new way of social development made by the masses themselves. The armed uprising in the capital—Petrograd—was virtually bloodless because of the preponderance of the revolutionary forces; the takeover by the Soviets was, in effect, a peaceful one across the whole country.

The claims by the opponents of Marxism that Lenin had allegedly set up violence and civil war as a universal and mandatory principle of revolution are absolutely groundless. It is an incontrovertible fact that—in defiance of Russia's national interests—such a war was started by the bourgeoisie with the support of foreign intervention. Lenin predicted that other countries would reach socialism 'by a

different, more humane road . . . without the violence, without the bloodshed that was forced upon us by the Kerenskys and the imperialists'.²⁰ Indeed, peaceful ways of the working class takeover have subsequently appeared on several occasions and were realised in various countries of the world, notably after the rout of German fascism and Japanese militarism in the Second World War. The general uniformities of revolution indicated by Lenin were made central to the programmes and the policies of the communist and workers' parties.

International Significance of the Problem

The cardinal propositions of Lenin's theory of revolution have been borne out by world development over the past several decades, and this also relates to the problem of choosing the way to socialism. In the latter half of the 20th century, new factors naturally have an effect on the fraternal parties' determination of the concrete ways of transforming social relations on socialist lines.

The new historical situation as a whole has for its consequence an extension of objective potentialities of transition to socialism and a greater diversity of ways advancing to it as compared with past historical experience. In this diversity of potentialities, the role of the revolutionary Marxist party tends to grow as the masses probe their way to social emancipation. The choice of a fundamentally new way of social development is made in the course of the class struggle and revolution, and this remains the only means of radical social renewal. No one has yet arrived at socialism anywhere by means of reformism.

The political, social and economic conditions of the class battles are becoming ever more complicated, with a consequent growth of demands on independent analytical perception of the shaping situations by the revolutionary forces and the fraternal parties.

In all the socialist countries, without exception, the revolutions were carried out in forms dictated by the National conditions and the external political situation. Lenin's ideas about the possibility of peaceful and phased forms of transition to socialism have been translated into life and further creatively developed in the course of the socialist revolutions in a number of countries in Southeastern and Central Europe. The fraternal parties' choice of concrete ways to socialism in those cases was neither a mechanical borrowing of the experience of others, nor its neglect. The establishment of the new society was merely helped by the study of the available knowledge on the ways, forms and methods of socialist transformations and the exchange of experience between the parties. Practice shows that it is made easier, instead of being hampered, by a class study of the tried and tested methods.

The socialist countries are now carrying on their advance in the uncharted territory of perfecting existing socialism, with a continuous search for effective means of construction, ways of overcoming the hostility of the bourgeois world, and resolving the contradictions which arise in the course of development, a quest for ways to make the fullest use of the historical advantages of the socialist system. Existing socialism is a community with an ever richer content, a growing economic potential, shaping conditions for the masses' broad self-administration and the full flowering of the individual. The perfection of the new system proceeds in a diversity of forms.

The communist and workers' parties of the countries of state-monopoly capitalism also give much attention in their programmes and their political and organisation activity to analysing the actual potentialities of socialist transformations. Let us recall that Lenin foresaw the inevitable complication of revolutionary processes. His theory of revolution contains a thorough study of the disparate maturing of its subjective and objective factors: 'It would be a mistake to think that the revolutionary classes are invariably strong enough to effect a revolution, whenever such a revolution has fully matured by virtue of the conditions of social and economic

development. No, human society is not constituted so rationally or so 'conveniently' for progressive elements. The revolution may be ripe, and yet the forces of its revolutionary creators may prove insufficient to carry it out, in which case society decays, and this process of decay sometimes drags on for decades.²¹

Practice shows that the choice of socialist way is made especially difficult by the fact that in the process of the slowed rotting of capitalism the mechanism of artificially prolonging its existence is perfected. Well developed social systems (and Lenin said that Western capitalism had a powerful and well-knit organisation)²² are capable of bearing a protracted 'load', i.e., serious breakdowns in their functioning, and adapt themselves to the situation without allowing the crisis to develop into a revolutionary explosion.

This context makes obvious the meaning of Lenin's idea that there are never any 'pure' social revolutions, and that they are a fabric of dissimilar social movements, even under a dominant socialist trend. All of this is reflected in the theory and practice of the fraternal parties elaborating the strategy of anti-monopoly struggle in close connection with the struggle for peace.

Lenin's ideas on the impact of the class battle and the general democratic movement of the masses on the social and political orientation of the bourgeois society are highly meaningful in the coexistence of the two systems. The way of militarisation and preparation for war along which its most reactionary circles are now moving is in no sense fatally inevitable, being countered by the idea of a relaxation of international tensions, an idea winning ever broader support in the capitalist countries as well. It is being more widely understood that the present attempts by imperialism to mount a counter-offensive against the socialist world, and the working class and national liberation movements jeopardise not only the social and democratic gains of the working masses, but the tendency of social progress itself. All of this testifies to the growing potentialities for cutting short the dangerous militaristic line. The communist and workers' parties build their strategy of the class struggle in the light of the actual trends of present-day development; they are mounting a struggle for an alternative way out of the crisis—in the interests of the popular masses—and for democratic transformations which they regard as important stages on the way to socialism.

The experience of the October Revolution and Lenin's theory of revolution also provides the key to analysing the new phenomena in the national liberation movement and their role in the world revolutionary process. Now that the problem of national liberation revolutions developing into social revolutions keeps arising in various regions of the world, there is especially much relevance in Lenin's ideas of revolutionary democratic forms of transition to socialism, the interconnections between the struggle for national liberation and social emancipation, and the importance of triumphant socialism rendering assistance to the newly free peoples. These ideas offer a wide field for discovering new concrete possibilities of establishing the advanced social system.

Prospects for overcoming the capitalist type of development are now being opened up before many peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America whose revolutionary democratic vanguard opts for the socialist orientation, looking to Marxist-Leninist theory and to the experience of the international communist movement. The result is that revolutionary democratic forces of the developing world join in the struggle for socialism, which introduced many new elements into the study of the problem of transition to the socialist future. It is a quest impelled by something as inexorable as the urge of the working masses—the true makers of history—for radical changes, for a radical renewal of their life, and for social justice.

The experience of the October Revolution in Russia and Lenin's theoretical legacy give true service to the contemporary world working class movement and all the other

forces of progress in their fight against the attempts by reaction to halt the march of history.

¹ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 57.

² Projects for 'introducing' socialism on the basis of communal social relations were mooted in some African countries in the 1960s, but that turned out to be an unviable social basis for plans to reorganise the society on socialist lines.

³ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1965, p. 313.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ G.V. Plekhanov, *Selected Philosophical Works*, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1956, p. 707.

⁶ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 89.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. 27, p. 291; see also Vol. 28, pp. 80-81, 341; Vol. 31, pp. 63-65.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. 25, p. 278. 'The war in the past three years has pushed us a good thirty years ahead,' Lenin wrote in 1917 (*Ibid.*, p. 279).

⁹ The experience of the October Revolution showed, for instance, that social reformism in the working class movement fails to work. The Russian Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries advocated a 'pure democracy' and some kind of 'third way' running between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and eventually slid down to counter-revolution.

¹⁰ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 9, p. 113.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 13, p. 22.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. 25, p. 305.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. 26, p. 170.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. 24, pp. 69-70.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. 25, p. 307.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 253.

¹⁹ On the eve of the decisive battle, Lenin stressed with blunt frankness: 'There is *no* way out, . . . there is no objective way out and can be none *except* a dictatorship of the Kornilovites or a dictatorship of the proletariat' (*ibid.*, p. 203).

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. 29, p. 271.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 9, p. 368.

²² *Ibid.*, Vol. 28, p. 81.

Commentary

Defence of Nicaragua: Our Common Duty

Ho Chi Bang - Communist Party of
Vietnam representative on the WMR

Randolfo Banegas - Central Committee
member, Communist Party of Honduras,
CPH representative on the WMR

Zinen Zorzovilis - Central Committee
member, Communist Party of Greece,
CPG representative on the WMR

CENTRAL America is like an open wound. The dramatic events occurring there against the background of large-scale exercises of the US Army, Air Force and Navy arouse the indignation of the world's progressive, democratic public and give rise to protests on the part of international organisations and movements and to dissatisfaction with Washington's policy even among US allies.

The fact is that armed interference by US imperialism is on the rise. Its military presence in Panama, El Salvador and Costa Rica is growing. Honduras is virtually under US occupation. The aggression is spearheaded against Nicaragua. Any moment now, imperialism may switch from covert operations, more or less veiled subversive and terrorists acts, the mining of ports, economic blockade and unbridled

psychological pressure to open intervention so as to try and crush the Nicaraguan revolution and liberation movements in El Salvador and other countries.

Washington's imperial ambitions may produce a situation with political, military and socio-economic consequences that would be difficult to anticipate. The aggressor must be stopped. Defence of Nicaragua is a cause to be championed by all nations and governments, by all those who hold peace, democracy, national sovereignty and the right to self-determination dear. It is our common internationalist duty.

International public opinion follows closely the explosive developments in the Central American subregion. Documents adopted by the fraternal parties and statements made by their leaders stress that the current US imperialist course 'substantiated' in the 'Santa Fe Document' means, in essence as well as form, a return to a 'big stick' policy. Its salient features include blatant aggressiveness and heightened intolerance of any changes in the status quo supported by the counter-revolutionary forces. Another distinctive aspect is the unwillingness to at least try and grasp the highly acute nature of the problems facing Latin America, let alone assist in their solution. Instead, this course leads to a further aggravation of the existing problems and implies complete disdain of the national needs, dignity and sovereignty of these peoples.

Having moved into the White House, the current administration, the mouthpiece of the more reactionary imperialist interests, began to hold forth on defence of 'Western values' and US 'national security' against forays by 'Soviet-Cuban-Sandinist Communism'. The objective, openly admitted by President Reagan, is to overthrow the Sandinist government in Nicaragua, impose a 'democratic settlement' on El Salvador and establish 'reformed democracy' in this region, guaranteeing the political leadership to the local bourgeoisie and free access to raw materials and cheap manpower to the transnational corporations.¹

Indeed, it would be ludicrous to believe that the biggest capitalist power really fears the 'threat to its security' allegedly posed by the Nicaraguan revolution or the Salvadoran insurgents. Identification of the popular struggle for a better future with 'communist infiltration' is merely a time-worn argument advanced to justify unseemly purposes. And, as is always the case with such things, attempts are undertaken to hide these intentions behind a smokescreen of inventions.

Truth, however, will out. It is not the Sandinists but the contras and their sponsors who are hatching plots.² Tens of millions of dollars have been spent on subversion. Under pressure from the White House, the US Congress has agreed to allocate additional 'humanitarian assistance' to feed the counter-revolutionaries. Consider the hypocrisy: a 'humanitarian' attitude to thugs who perpetrate heinous crimes in the country of Sandino. Consider the facts: more than 2,500 anti-Sandinist actions have been conducted over the past four years; more than 12,500 Nicaraguan citizens, including old people, women and children, have been killed; the material losses inflicted on the nation are estimated at half a billion dollars. Such is state terrorism in action.

Judging by press reports, the US brass and spy agencies maintain that to deal with Nicaragua 'is a cinch'. They hold that initially, military operations will be conducted mostly in the form of air raids against important targets. Then a freshly formed 'government' will arrive with its own 'army' and eliminate the pockets of possible resistance.

This has a cynical and familiar ring to it. Once there were the massive US Air Force raids that were to lead to a 'swift victory' over Vietnam. The sinister plans of the aggressors were transformed into a nightmare of a decade, a decade of death and destruction for Vietnam. Successive US administrations tried to keep their own 'government' in power in Saigon. And, in the spring of 1975, the Vietnamese people made history. They won their victory and definitively upheld their freedom and

independence, enjoying broad international solidarity.

It would seem that this lesson, together with many earlier ones—those of the intervention against newborn Soviet Russia, of Korea and Cuba—would lead the US ruling quarters to the understanding of a simple truth: political problems cannot always be solved by force of arms, and a superiority in military hardware is no guarantee of victory over people defending their revolution, possessing a great ideological, political, moral and patriotic potential and backed by progressive mankind.

However, imperialists seldom draw on historical experience, although they do change their tactics. The course of the current Washington administration surpasses all precedents in its harshness. The CIA is joining together reactionary forces and forming, arming and training gangs of mercenaries. The Pentagon is conducting military exercises to drill for various types of 'emergencies', turning Honduras into its biggest strongpoint, and creating a vast zone of interconnected bases, a ramified infrastructure and logistical system for military operations against Nicaragua.

The Sandinists have frustrated at least five attempts at a coup d'état and repulsed many attacks, killing over 7,000 contras and capturing a great deal of material. The national army and the militia of Nicaragua are ever ready for action. Workers, peasants, intellectuals, women and even teenagers volunteer to take part in active defence under the slogan 'There will be no second Grenada! No pasaran!'

The aggressive and adventurist behaviour of the current administration in Washington is rooted in the desire to 'mete out exemplary punishment' to the peoples who dare to say 'no' to terrible poverty, gross violations of basic human rights, arbitrary rule by the local oligarchies and trans-national corporations, 'no' to neocolonialism and dependence on the United States. The peoples fighting for their freedom are struggling to throw off the yoke of oppression, install democratic governments and embark on the path of social progress. Haunted by the spectre of new social upheavals, the imperialists are trying to regain lost ground, going as far as armed acts of piracy.

All this is rooted in the exacerbation of the general crisis afflicting the capitalist system and in the monopolies' fear of the inexorable shift of the world alignment of forces in favour of peace, national liberation, social emancipation and progress. References to a 'communist threat' are a clumsy attempt at hiding the obvious fact that it is imperialism which is at the heart of wars and social injustice in our world. This fact spells the historical doom of imperialism. However, it is still strong and dangerous. Its banditry poses a great military danger and leads to an escalation of international tensions. This is why defence of the just cause of the Nicaraguan revolution, of the Salvadoran and other embattled peoples has become part of the universal struggle for peace and for the inalienable human rights of life, freedom and an independent choice of one's future.

The prevailing conditions impart special significance to the international solidarity of working people, the solidarity that is the banner under which progressive mankind marks each anniversary of the October Revolution. The idea of internationalism was expressed in the pithy communist slogan 'Workers of All Lands, Unite' as far back as the nineteenth century and found increasingly full realisation as history marched on.

Referring to the role of international solidarity in the defence of Soviet Russia, Lenin noted 'the sympathy of the workers and peasants, the farm workers, throughout the world, even in the countries most hostile to us, the sympathy that was great enough to be the final and most decisive source, the decisive reason for the complete failure of all the attacks directed against us'.³

Later, internationalists from many countries joined the defenders of the Spanish Republic in the then still uneven first battle against fascism in Spain, the battle that was a prologue to the Great Victory of 1945. Much of the credit for the emergence of

the world socialist system goes to the consistent internationalist stand of the Soviet people and their communist party. The fraternal support rendered by the socialist community, the world communist and working class movement and the forces of national liberation to the peoples fighting against foreign monopolies and local oligarchies has become the force that has often frustrated imperialist attempts at recovering the lost historical initiative. This is borne out by the victorious experience of Vietnam, Cuba, Angola, Ethiopia and many other countries.

Today, the position vis-à-vis Nicaragua can be called a litmus test revealing the true intentions and objectives of political and public figures, parties and organisations. The movement to support the Nicaraguan revolution has assumed a scope that is truly international. And, as has always been the case, the Communists are in the front ranks. The CPSU and FCP state in a joint document that, faced with the threat of aggression, both parties 'consider it necessary to reiterate their fervent solidarity with the people of Nicaragua heroically upholding their freedom and independence'⁴ Solidarity with the Sandinist revolution has been expressed at the regional conference of fraternal parties in Havana and at the recent congresses of the communist parties of Bolivia, Canada, Colombia, Finland, France, Great Britain, Guyana, Hungary, Jamaica, Romania, South Africa and Sweden.

The situation in Latin America highlights the dialectical interconnection of the internationalist stand of the Communists and their support for the Nicaraguan revolution and other liberation movements with the tackling of national issues. Rigoberto Padilla Rush, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Honduras, stresses that defence of Nicaragua is the best form of the struggle to restore the country's sovereignty crushed by the military presence of US imperialism.⁵ This view is echoed by Shafik Jorge Handál, General Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of El Salvador, who has said that discharging their internationalist duty and acting jointly with the democratic forces of their countries and the rest of the world, the Communists are doing their utmost to prevent the imperialist aggressor from invading either Nicaragua or El Salvador, or both at once, that the Communists are working to achieve a political—fair and dignified—settlement of the armed conflict through negotiation, that they are fighting for the right to self-determination and peace for the fraternal peoples.⁶

The increased aggressiveness of imperialism gives rise to problems that call for collective discussion and joint action. These general problems are discussed at regional and sub-regional meetings and conferences held by the fraternal parties of Latin America. Frequently participating in them are representatives of a broad spectrum of anti-imperialist, democratic movements and forces. Many progressive parties and organisations unanimously assess the situation in Central America and the Caribbean as extremely dangerous; in cooperation with the Communists, they are working on the strategy and tactics of the struggle against the escalating interference of imperialism and the arbitrary rule of its puppets. The immediate objective of this struggle include concerted action to support socialist Cuba, comprehensive assistance to Nicaragua and vigorous solidarity with the patriots of El Salvador, Guatemala and other countries. The objectives that have been outlined for the future comprise elimination of military bases and prevention of the deployment of nuclear weapons in the region, a ban on any form of military, economic or political aggression, commitment not to use mercenaries, an end to dependence on imperialist monopolies, and dissolution of the military blocs created by Washington.

All this reflects the growing importance of the communist parties' efforts aimed at enhancing the role of the working class in mass anti-imperialist and democratic movements, at rallying them together on a platform of a search for ways to overcome the deteriorating structural crisis, of abolishing the excessive external debt, establishing a new, equitable international economic order and genuine democracy.

and upholding the sovereign rights of peoples.

Since the 1983 Prague forum of peace forces, last year's Lisbon conference in defence of Nicaragua and the trade union meeting in Managua, actions of solidarity with Nicaragua have gained particular strength. This year they culminated in the women's forum in Nairobi conducted under the UN aegis, the international meetings of journalists, trade unionists and representative of democratic, peace forces in Havana, the World Festival of Youth and Students in Moscow, and the picket lines and demonstrations organised in the United States against the policy of the White House.

Support Nicaragua committees are springing up on all continents. Serving on them are prominent scientists, members of the artistic community, political figures and civic activists. Foundations are established to aid the Nicaraguan people, funds are raised and medical supplies and food collected. Working people in the United States and Canada have raised hundreds of thousands of dollars. The construction workers' unions in Athens have purchased tractors that are already working on farms in Nicaragua. The DKP and workers' and students' organisations in the FRG equipped a printing house in Managua. Young French Communists and Swedish Social Democrats have set up three vocational training centres in Nicaragua. The list of these examples of international solidarity could go on and on. Volunteer workteams are being organised in many countries to build or restore hospitals, schools, houses and factories destroyed by CIA mercenaries or to take part in the harvesting of the coffee crop in Nicaragua. Doctors, teachers, builders and agronomists are arriving in Managua. Participants in a rally held to celebrate the departure of yet another group of young Greek internationalists for Nicaragua said: 'All of us are fighting for a better world together with the Nicaraguan people, and we owe much to them. They are marching from the darkness of the past to the shining light of peace, freedom and brotherhood.'⁷

Direct and indirect involvement on the part of many capitalist governments has become a distinctive feature of international support for Nicaragua. One of the reasons is that US moves in Latin America, specifically those taken since the conflict over the Malvinas, the intervention in Grenada and the growing threat of a broad armed conflict in the Central American subregion could not fail to influence the positions held by many realistic statesmen and public figures.

The establishment of the Contadora Group comprising Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela and set up to peacefully settle the situation in Central America is indicative of the shifts occurring in the political thinking of Latin America leaders.⁸ Despite open sabotage on the part of the US administration and its satellites who are trying to hamper the search for a political way out of the crisis in Central America, the group has managed to make some progress. The Instrument of Peace and Cooperation it has worked out is a document that, essentially, may serve as a basis of a settlement. Nicaragua has expressed its readiness to sign it and proved its commitment to peace by repeated offers to continue negotiations with the United States. However, the White House has done everything to wreck the Instrument and the talks themselves.

However, it proved impossible to paralyse the Contadora process. In late July 1985 President Alan García Pérez of Peru not only called on the region's countries for economic and political integration in the face of imperialist hegemonism but also said it was necessary to strengthen solidarity with the Sandinist revolution and form a front of support for the Contadora process. He was joined by the governments of Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay. This proves that a new political reality is emerging in inter-American relations.

The stand of the 24 Latin American governments that have unanimously condemned the US trade and economic sanctions against Nicaragua appears quite

unequivocal in this connection. In the United States, there are many political figures whom it would be hard to accuse of communist sympathies but who, nevertheless, refuse to share the obsessive attitude of the current administration to the Sandinists and fear that open intervention may produce grave consequences.

Advocating peace in Central America are many political figures and civic activists in Western Europe. Steps taken towards this goal have been welcomed repeatedly at forums of the Socialist International. The leaders of several European capitalist countries have expressed the view that the policy of the White House in the subregion runs counter to Western interests and hampers the activities of the Contadora Group. Expounding the views held by some of Europe's Social Democrats, Fernando Moran, at that time Spanish Foreign Minister, stressed that Washington's hopes for success were slim, that Europeans would hardly accept unquestioningly the tough US policy and would always reject solutions serving to increase the risks of a global confrontation.⁹

The countries of the non-aligned movement sharply condemn aggressive moves by the United States. At a conference held in Luanda this year they declared that the problems of Central America could be solved only by political means, reiterated their support for the Contadora process, urged every effort to ensure its successful conclusion, and expressed complete solidarity with the Nicaraguan and other embattled peoples.

The issue of a peaceful settlement of the situation in Central America has been reflected in many UN documents. Having considered the situation connected with the US trade and economic sanctions against Nicaragua, the Security Council expressed great appreciation of the efforts undertaken by the Contadora Group.

It follows that most members of the international community oppose the aggressive course pursued by the Washington administration. We see this as a sign of the times, an important factor restricting the freedom of open imperialist banditry and contributing to the isolation of the United States on the international scene.

One of us saw an impressive poster on the wall of a hut opposite the US Embassy in Managua—a white bedsheet with red letters reading, 'Yankees, We Shall Not Surrender'. A serious warning to the aggressors and, at the same time, a graphic sign of the Nicaraguan patriots' resolve to defend their revolution. There is much for them to defend, and they are not alone in their struggle. They have the support of the socialist community, the Communists throughout the world, the forces of national liberation and all progressive mankind.

Let international solidarity with the heroic people of Nicaragua expand and become more effective!

¹ See M. Stührenberg, 'Stratégie américaine. Roll back en arrière-cour', *Révolution*, March 29, 1985.

² For more details, see 'The Contras: A Tool of Imperialism' in this issue.

³ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 145.

⁴ 'Joint Statement of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the French Communist Party', *Pravda*, *l'Humanité*, September 4, 1985.

⁵ See *El proceso revolucionario hondureño en el momento actual*, 1983, p. 1.

⁶ See S.J. Handál, 'Offensive: the Substance of Revolution', *WMR*, No. 4, 1985.

⁷ *Odigitis*, December 13, 1984 (in Greek).

⁸ For a more detailed discussion of the Contadora Group, see *WMR*, No. 9, 1984. The fraternal parties at times levelled deserved criticism at the group's members for their indecision and half-hearted moves but, on the whole, assess its peacemaking efforts positively.

⁹ See *Cambio 16*, April 8, 1985.

the party

Renewed Strategy

Pierre Zarka - CC member, French Communist Party (FCP)

BOTH the preparations for the 25th Congress of the French Communist Party and the deliberations of the Congress (February 1985) proceeded in a situation created by the setback to the left alliance which had attained its most developed form on the basis of a definite programme. Thereby our 25-year-old political practice wore out its effectiveness. This prompted French Communists to ponder seriously on their activity. They were faced with completing the analysis begun by the 22nd Congress (1976) but not completed in time due to inner political events and the existence of a joint government programme.

From the 1950s on, our country went through important changes in industry, the social sphere and culture. More than ever, the people craved for progress, well-being and social transformation. Magnates of capital took this craving into account and tried to channel it according to their interests. Reshaping their system of domination, they greatly accelerated capital concentration, with a resultant decrease in the proportion of the traditional middle strata, once their mass mainstay. Changes in the political system and its institutions led to the concentration of power in the highest executive bodies and drastically limited the people's opportunities for intervention.

In these circumstances the question of advancing to socialism became particularly relevant. But we failed to adapt to the situation in the same measure as the big bourgeoisie did. 'We did not see', Georges Marchais said in his report to the Congress, 'that this was the point at issue.'

For more than half a century, the socialist ideal was understandably identified with Soviet society, a product of the October Revolution. To be sure, the FCP tried since 1936 to 'reckon' with national realities. But it was implied that Soviet society was a kind of model that should be merely enriched by adjusting it in a measure to our more marked national peculiarities. It was in line with this concept of socialism for France that the proposed road to it was charted.

We must look back at 1956 to gauge all our difficulties from the standpoint of our interpretation of the decisions of the 20th CPSU Congress. Fearing that we might unwittingly support the bourgeoisie, we virtually minimised the significance of the CPSU's condemnation of Stalin's mistakes and violations of legality, confining them to the personality cult. This went on till 1975. It was only at the 22nd Congress that, describing the nature of the government desirable for France, we went beyond the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat by opting a project of socialism the French way and working out a distinctive line of advance to our goal. It took us a

considerable amount of time to define the essence of new relations between communist parties without assigning the role of leader party to any one of them.

In the complicated political context of the colonial war in Algeria, the failure of the SFIO¹ and the cold war, the coup staged by Charles de Gaulle was interpreted as threatening a dangerous step back, even towards fascism. Yet it was only a question of new methods adopted by the big bourgeoisie.

Being isolated, the FCP drew on its experience to face the threat. It searched in the lessons of the Popular Front for a solution to the problem that arose in 1958. From 1962 on, our policy was pivoted on the left alliance formed around a joint government programme. But while in 1936 the Popular Front ensured the elimination of the fascist menace in France, from the 1960s on, when the problem of transforming society presented itself, that solution could yield no positive results.

The signing of a common programme with the Socialists in 1972 created the illusion that the main obstacle had been overcome and the Left had only to win to bring about far-reaching changes. It was wrong to renounce the political and ideological struggle and stop spelling out the nature of the crisis and the solutions needed to end it. The decisive factor for advance was, then as now, constant and wide-ranging intervention by the people in the affairs of society. Yet the agreement signed at top level diverted them from this primary objective. Hence the failure to appreciate our position when, in 1977, the Socialists proposed a revision of the joint programme. Many regarded us as political intriguers. The essence of the necessary changes seemed to be of secondary importance compared with maintenance of the alliance as it stood.

François Mitterrand posed as a providential man symbolising the left alliance and as the key figure that would hold together the majority to come. He benefited in this respect from the absence of a Communist presidential candidate. The Socialist Party's signing of the joint programme and its acceptance of some measures directed against capitalist domination kept up the illusion that the SP was resolved to break with capitalism. The distinctions between the Socialists and Communists no longer stood out as clearly as before. They began to show in something else, namely, the fact that the SP began to capitalise on anti-communist campaigns over such issues as a 'useful' vote, the people's aspiration to transform society or the defence of human rights.

In what way are current difficulties due to the historical lag which we began to overcome from the mid-seventies? 'It will take time', the Congress resolution answers, 'for fundamental decisions calling for a deep-going change in earlier methods to work their way through, above all without losing sight of the context of the class struggle.' Yet the evolution in thinking, including that of many Communists, went on as if we had made no change of strategy.

The 1981 presidential elections and the agreement with the SP signed in June of that year reawakened deep-rooted reflexes. What was impressed on people's memory was neither the content of the necessary reforms effected at the time, nor the political context of their implementation but the fact that the Communists had united with the Socialists to lead the country and should therefore share with them the responsibility for a policy at variance with earlier promises. The burden of the past, which had so strong a moral impact, prevented the full implementation of the new line worked out by us.

The crisis is the main French reality today. What is more, it is going from bad to worse. This is due above all to the social system, to the capitalist structures of society. In twenty-odd years, the capitalists have substantially increased their capital, production capacities and fortunes by using profits and credits. The faster they enriched themselves, the greater profits they demanded to compensate for investments. They saved as much as possible on vocational training and the remuneration of skilled labour, by employing a cheaper and less experienced

workforce. This resulted, first, in a greater waste of material and labour and a slower growth of labour productivity, and secondly, in an inadequate expansion of the market. The creation of material values fell short of the superaccumulation of assets, something which lowered their profitability.

The capitalist response to the crisis has increased difficulties, since inflation, the superexploitation of wage workers, and pressure on purchasing power have aggravated the problems arising from the low capacity of the market. French companies try to export more. But their foreign counterparts do the same and the result is an economic war on the world market, whose growth is being held back more and more. Lastly, basic industries are reducing output, many plants are closing down and production capital is being converted into financial capital.

The crisis hits all social structures, for the laws governing capitalism not only affect the economic sphere but determine the life of society as a whole. The effort to subordinate the trend of change in the country to these laws has given rise to contradictions and difficulties and created new impasses. A bitter class struggle is going on day after day in the economic, political, ideological and cultural spheres between those who are guilty of the country's crisis and those who seek an end to it. A very great deal—France and its future—is at stake.

The forces of capital have made their choice. To further their class interests, they have decided to embark the country on a course leading to weakness and decline by announcing through the Right a project which the Socialist Party is carrying into practice. The essence of the project is a 'dual society', with development going on at different speeds. This means that on one side there are those who have 'come out on top' and enjoy an adequate income, and on the other side, those who have been rejected and so are doomed to a precarious existence.

Our analysis does not obscure the international aspect of the crisis involving the whole capitalist world. Its universal impact is strong enough and it tells on the totality of international relations by intensifying economic wars between capitalist countries, the arms race, the plunder and subjugation of Third World countries, and affecting the development of the countries building socialism.

A realistic and dependable way out of the crisis for France is to bring about a new, socialist society embodying the distinctive characteristics of our country.

Inasmuch as the crisis is shaking the capitalist system, to combat it means rejecting—consciously or otherwise—the very foundations of the system and opposing the interests of capital. To end the crisis is to meet the aspirations of the French people, of the whole country. The four main, interconnected goals advanced by us constitute a specific plan mobilising the masses. They are as follows:

First, promoting the economy by creating new jobs. It is necessary to extend the home market and, first of all, defend the interests of the country instead of encouraging the strategy of this or that transnational company. Economic growth must, of course, be financed. Yet what is happening today is only a growth of capital leading to fewer jobs. It is important to reverse this trend by giving greater support to what strengthens the national economy and less support to what weakens it. Let money serve to extend employment and not to accumulate new money.

Second, justice and solidarity. It is now possible to provide greater social security and a higher level of vocational training and wages by cutting capitalist profit. The problem of education must be given full attention; it is necessary to renew elementary education and extend facilities for raising professional skills.

Third, democratisation of the whole life of society. This also applies to enterprises, of course: working people must be given access to management—now denied—beginning with the public and nationalised sectors. We therefore put forward specific proposals to democratise the institutions concerned.

Fourth, a foreign policy serving the establishment of international relations based

on justice, national independence and mutual benefit. The task is to act in the interests of peace, disarmament, development, respect for all human rights and their extension.

These, then, are the four objectives of the policy of combating the crisis proposed by the Communist Party. Ours is not an elaborate programme but a line of struggle aimed at repulsing the offensive of the crisis by joint efforts.

The FCP is concerned at the race in superarmaments being provoked by imperialism, the Star Wars plans advanced by Reagan and backed by Mitterrand under cover of clever statements, and the entire aggressive activity of imperialist forces in the economic, political, ideological and military spheres. These forces are stepping up their intrigues and counter-offensive as the peoples' struggle gains in militancy. What is important in this connection is the leverage and role of the countries building a socialist society, the non-aligned movement, and the revolutionary, democratic and progressive movements in all countries, as well as the scope of the fight for peace.

In spite of its tremendous efforts and the fabulous resources it commands, imperialism has not really scored any considerable gains. While tensions have increased, it is unable to achieve its aims: the balance of world forces is still in favour of progress, all difficulties notwithstanding.

At the 24th Congress we pointed out that to make further headway, the socialist countries must, in our opinion, accomplish a threefold task: raise economic efficiency, ensure social progress, and encourage the people's increasing democratic participation in public affairs. The evolution which has taken place since then shows that these are by no means societies in which development has slowed down. The measures adopted by them are directed towards using all economic reserves.

The set of reforms being carried out in many socialist countries bears, as we see it, on the key problem of intensifying democratic life. The working people's participation in management is growing. A debate is under way on the relationship between the role of the party and that of the state. Social multiformity and the existence of contradictions are apparently taken into account more than before. Development rate and level as well as the means used may be debatable. There remain serious difficulties and new demands are still far from being fully met. Nevertheless, the ongoing evolution shows that progressive changes have been effected of late. What solving the problems of socialist society implies is not the abolition of the system but the utilisation of all its potentialities. Our awareness of this allowed us to fully confirm in the resolution that we passed what was said by the 23rd Congress: socialist expresses a universal aspiration for democracy; problems remain where 'this aspiration is still underestimated'. Our disagreement in such cases is well known. We express it in defending human rights and freedoms wherever they are affected.

The full independence of the FCP in respect of socialist countries (or anybody) does not need to be established, for it has existed long since. We consider that there is no 'model', 'centre' or 'leader party' for the forces fighting for socialism. Our decisions are adopted in France by the French Communists themselves.

The fruitful relations which the FCP maintains with numerous parties, movements and organisations are based on mutual respect, independence, non-interference, strict equality, and recognition of distinctions or even differences over this or that issue. These principles make it possible to extend international solidarity.

It was on this basis that we developed cooperation with the CPSU from 1980 onwards and re-established relations and cooperation with the Communist Party of China after our 24th Congress.

In mid-June 1985, nearly all the communist parties of capitalist Europe met in Paris to discuss the problem of combating the effects of the crisis in their countries. The meeting carried out an extensive, lively and deep-going exchange of views and

experience.

The FCP also maintains fruitful ties with diverse political forces and revolutionary movements, socialist and social democratic parties, trade unions, religious, pacifist and other public organisations. We intend to stay on this path.

Peace is our paramount goal. The arms race has assumed appalling proportions. Its escalation has been made worse by the deployment of new US missiles in Europe. Furthermore, new dangers have arisen: Reagan is now talking of Star Wars and plans for the militarisation of outer space. But the worsening of the situation must not be seen as irreversible. The numerous and diverse peace forces that have begun to act in recent years are a most important factor; their effort has not been in vain.

The FCP, for its part, has done everything possible to ensure the success of steps towards preserving peace taken in our country. Naturally, it will go on striving for an immediate freeze on missile deployment in West and East alike, a constructive dialogue in the interest of reducing armaments to the utmost and a ban on all militarisation of space, for success in the current talks and in all initiatives in favour of detente, for a peaceful, negotiated settlement of existing conflicts. We have reached agreement with other parties to do our best to provide conditions for a major joint action by all the many movements fighting in Europe for peace and disarmament.

The Communist Party considers that France should contribute its share to the attainment of these objectives by joining in talks at the right moment. Our country has a better choice than joining in Reagan's Star Wars projects.

To resist the ruinous arms race is all the more necessary because hunger is spreading to new areas of the planet; it kills 50 million men, women and children a year. 'Victims of economic backwardness need immediate aid. Imperialism is responsible for the most numerous deaths ever. This makes it necessary to fight against its hegemony in international financial organisations and to replace relations based on domination by a new international order based on justice, democracy, cooperation and independence. The FCP plans, among other things, a meeting with African parties and movements to decide on a common platform for joint action. We see it as a duty of France to advance in this direction. It should render effective aid to the peoples of developing countries, using all the achievements of science and technology.

Our ideal is inseparable from the defence of human rights. Characteristically, it is this concept that imperialist forces tried to appropriate and use for their own ends by launching in the early 1970s a vast campaign to manipulate public opinion. Since then the arsenal of means used has been steadily growing. We would seriously weaken our struggle unless we offered vigorous resistance to this campaign.

With due regard to past lessons, the FCP Congress decided to take a new road by bringing about a new popular majority alignment. This concept is in keeping with our political strategy and our determination to advance to a socialism that will be democratic and self-governing.

France's Communists have ample experience of struggle for various demands of the working people, for the formation of an alliance at the grassroots to achieve success. However, for years the role of such an alliance came down on many occasions to operating as an 'instrument of pressure on the upper strata'. This tendency told on everyday work among people, with the attention of activists of the social movement, including Communists, focused on the 'top'. From now on we will have to assign the popular movement the role of a direct transformer of reality in its entirety.

In a country where 85 per cent of the economically active population are wage workers, action against unemployment, the biggest social and national problem, is a powerful basis for unity. The very nature of the crisis and the plans for France made by capital set the limits of the new popular majority alignment proposed by us. We are thinking

primarily of the population directly affected by the crisis. However, the crisis hits not only the workers and office employees, who are exploited most of all, but also technicians, engineers and other specialists.

Progress in science and technology makes for new links between science and production. Many activities held to be unproductive until recently have become part of production. Against this background there is no reason to speak of the 'disappearance' of the working class in the scientific sense of the term. In late years the proportion of skilled workers has increased somewhat and that of technicians has shown a massive growth. The latter category is now mainly part of the 'collective labourer', the producer of wealth mentioned by Marx.² This also applies to definitive categories of office employees and engineers.

The working conditions and social position of increasingly large numbers of wage workers (e.g., in the service sector) have been changing in ways making their labour similar to that of direct producers of material benefits. The possibilities of their unification have been growing accordingly. Some population groups are at the centre, so to speak of all the difficulties caused by a policy leading to the morass of crisis. This is primarily the case with the working class, youth, women and immigrants.

We want to go beyond the traditional attitude to alliance. Formerly the idea was, more often than not, to call on other social strata to join the working class, renouncing their own demands. Surely one of the reasons for this was the notion that the working class is the only social group which can be won for socialism while all other groups are destined to remain under the influence of other parties. This implied that the alliance would be based on limited compromises. The situation has changed by now. The crisis, social battles and the political and ideological struggle bear on the innermost problems of the life and future of society reflected in people's minds. The gap between the objective situation and the realisation of the political conditions and the means needed to end the crisis can only be bridged in the course of the day-to-day action. And this means that the unification of the masses must go hand in hand with political initiative, a comparison of views and a spelling out of our proposals.

Very important in this context is the issue of the state in France. The FCP is and intends to remain a government party; it will strive to manage the affairs of the country within the framework of people's representative power, such as will enable the people to intervene at all levels and make the highest degree of responsibility and a leading role accessible to the working class. We are still ready to conclude political agreements (in particular with the Socialist Party) when they become possible. The Communist Party, drawing lessons from its experience, takes account of new social developments and seeks a mutually complementary combination of the popular movement and cooperation between parties, it being understood that the popular movement comes first.

We have satisfied ourselves that people need to be told they must fight for deep-going transformations if they want to bring about real changes. This means uniting day after day, seeking solutions to problems, conducting election campaigns with conviction and dynamism, calling on the electorate to vote Communist, since elections in our conditions are a decisive stage in the social transformation process. It means solving the problems posed by political agreements (including electoral ones) with due regard to the situation and the actual level of the popular movement.

We are compelled to cooperate with parties which, unlike ours, seeks no social changes. We reserve the right to estimate the advisability and significance of such agreements in each particular case. The FCP does not at all want to revive disastrous illusions; it advocates agreements not replacing or fettering the popular movement but assisting it and flowing from it as a necessary political result.

The party aims to achieve a broad unification of the masses going beyond all the

earlier variants of left political majority. Surely we must stop to think why they, like left-wing governments, ended in defeat or disappointment in France and many other countries. Answering this question, the FCP proposes a new popular majority alignment. In thinking of its composition, we certainly rule out right-wing parties. However, we also appeal to those who, though not classing themselves as left-wing, are willing for sound reasons, to take their place in a multi-form movement for economic, social and national progress.

Lastly, advocating a new role for the popular movement, the party considers that this movement will enable the masses to participate more widely in important decision-making at all levels. What we mean is not the traditional means of pressure on political headquarters and governments but far more, namely, an alignment of the people equal by virtue of its solidity and creative dynamism to effecting changes in every sphere of public life.

Henceforward we see political agreements as solely the result of a popular movement; they are impossible outside it and the time limits of reaching them are not set beforehand. It is necessary, therefore, that the FCP daily play an influential role inside such a movement. We want to carry on decentralised and varied work at the grassroots and to considerably enhance the importance of the activity of party branches. These must not merely acquaint the general public with ideas coming from the party leadership but bring life into our strategy, helping those concerned see political slogans in action.

Proceeding from this new role of the FCP, the Central Committee proposed to the Congress accentuating the democratic principles of party life. There is also another demand. Experience has shown to the working people that the influence of the Communist Party does not depend on us Communists alone. This big political problem directly concerns everybody. It is obvious that when the Socialist Party gets 37 per cent of the vote in elections and the FCP is weakened the result is an impasse. To get out of a 'left-right' bipolarity and avoid a perpetual alternation of the two wings at the helm of state as in Britain, it is necessary to help people grasp the essence of the capitalist crisis and make a choice by accepting or rejecting it. It is important for them to have a clear idea of the line of political parties and realise that the efficiency of the popular movement depends directly on Communist influence.

We are certain that the new strategy proclaimed by the 25th FCP Congress is opening a new stage in French history.

¹ French Section of the Workers' International, the name of the Socialist Party till 1971. — *Ed.*

² See Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1956, p. 419.

new experience

Our Interviews Taking Part in a Pilot Scheme

Aleksandr Maksimenko - party
committee secretary, Brest Hosiery Combine

In their preparations for the 27th Congress of the CPSU, the Soviet Communists are taking stock of what has been done and bringing out reserves for speeding the country's advance. Your combine, which is named to mark the 50th anniversary of the USSR, has now been taking part in a large-scale economic experiment for nearly two years. What is the purpose of such a pilot scheme and how has it influenced the activity of your party organisation?

First a few words about the pilot scheme, the experiment, which for us, and Byelorussia's light industry as a whole, began on January 1, 1984.¹ Its purpose is to improve the socialist economy in every way. It gives our enterprises and associations more rights in planning and economic activity, with greater initiative in deciding various matters of organisation, remuneration of labour, expenditure of funds for expanding and modernising production, satisfying the working people's social requirements, and providing material incentives. The collectives also have a greater responsibility for the end results of their activity. In short, the purpose is to increase output and improve quality with a smaller number of workers, and to enhance the well-being of one and all depending on how effectively that has been done.

The experiment has induced us to deliver our products to the merchandising outlets and other contractors and sub-contractors not just in the agreed volume but also in the strictly stipulated mix, keeping the flow smooth over the yearly, monthly or ten-day planning periods. On the other hand, it enables us to hold out material incentives to the whole work collective and to each of its members to induce them to adopt the biggest possible plan targets. The overall effect is that the combine finds itself in a set of conditions in which it must and can use all its reserves to intensify production.

It stands to reason that the first thing the party leadership and the economic management had to do was to clarify the gist of the experiment for themselves. Matters relating to the introduction of new forms of work were discussed at a general party meeting in September 1983. The Communists put their heads together to straighten out some of the bottlenecks and improve operations. We then got down to instructing our activists. Who are these activists at our enterprise, which has a total workforce of 3,400? They are members of the party committee and the management,

the party bureau of the eight shop organisations, 26 party group organisers, elected heads of the trade union and the Young Communist League organisations, and dozens of propagandists, agitators and political information activists. In short, instruction had to be given to 320 men and women, all of them members of the Communist Party guiding the activity of our work collective.

The party committee invited the leading specialists of our enterprise—the chief economist, the senior accountant, the heads of the financial and other departments—to lecture in these classes of party and economic education, because they were the most competent in helping those who were to explain the new approach in the shops, the shifts and the teams in sorting out the fairly intricate technical and economic aspects of the experiment.

Then came the second stage in the course of which it had to be made clear to everyone what he or she personally had to do in the workplace to make the whole scheme a success. Consider the following example: an operator in the knitting shop running a set of machines and turning a standard quantity of raw materials into hose with simpler or more intricate design, of smaller or larger size, entirely of synthetic material or with an addition of cotton. The main thing in the past was for her to turn out the required quantity. Just now, the main thing is to fulfil the assignment in terms of the required mix, and that is harder to do. Our job is to make every one realise the benefits to be had here for the combine, the team and the individual worker. It is a matter of raising the level of conscious discipline and making labour more efficient.

Here, material incentives have been and are very important. When the first few workers were given a rise for their professional proficiency (and that is something the director is allowed to do within the scope of his new rights), news of it fast spread everywhere. We have kept stressing that everyone—assistant foremen, knitter, shop superintendent, and engineer—can start earning more, and the extra wage is an effective incentive. What is highly valuable in educational terms is that the rise is not given once and for all: to go on receiving it one has to keep working smoothly and up to a high standard of quality.

The extensive introduction of the team form of organisation and remuneration of labour, first started in 1982, has done much to help our party work with our comrades. The whole point of setting up teams is that they enable a small group of men and women in a given section of production to decide for themselves how best to fulfil their team assignment, how to arrange their efforts, since the earnings of the team as a whole depend directly on the end result, with each member receiving in accordance with his labour input. The team form of labour organisation, which now involves two-thirds of those working at the combine, has generated creative initiative and induced teams to turn out more, faster and up to a higher standard of quality; 13 output norms have been revised upwards in the first quarter of this year alone at the request of team members themselves.

The activity of the party organisers helped to establish a climate of comradely mutual assistance and discipline in the teams. They are appointed on the recommendations of the shop party bureaus to work in labour groups where they are no party members. They take care not to substitute for the elected team leader, but to give him help in ideological and educational work. The task facing us today in this segment could be formulated as follows: get every team to include communist party members, a realistic goal, we think, considering that something like 20 men and women at our enterprise on average become members of the CPSU every year.

The party also exercises its influence on the life of the collective through the Communists' participation in the activity of the trade union, which brings together virtually everyone working at the factory, successfully develops the initiatives of our men and women in socialist emulation, makes a clear summing-up, publicises the results of the emulation, and sees to it that the material and moral incentives are

handed out to the winners fairly. We have 1,400 members of the Young Communist League, and the YCL factory committee is headed by a young Communist. The party committee and the shop organisations regularly consider various matters in the ideological and political education of young people. Experienced party members, most of them duly certified specialists, take charge of studies within the system of YCL education.

When the rights of enterprises are extended in accordance with the terms of the experiment, the managerial personnel at every level have to shoulder greater responsibility, and display more business acumen and human qualities. How does the combine's party organisation direct the selection, advancement, appointment and ideological training of personnel? How does the system of social control over the management's activity function?

Our collective joined the experiment with a solid cadre of experienced managerial, technical and political personnel. But life does not stand still, and in order to keep abreast of it, some have to widen their knowledge and others to master new skills in working with the collective. The party committee seeks to help them, while being mindful of the long-term prospects, which means training and advancing young personnel. We now have 30 of our men and women taking higher-school courses while remaining on their jobs.

We feel that individual reports at meetings of shop organisation bureaus and the party committee by Communists in charge of groups or sections are very useful. They are not held very often but are thoroughly prepared, so that the discussion is always very much to the point. Just recently, for instance, we heard a report by a woman who is a Communist and who had shortly before that been appointed to head a shop. A poll of the workers in the shop showed that she was coping very well with production matters, but displayed less than enough interest in her comrades' moods, state of health, and personal concerns. The discussion was frank and in a spirit of goodwill—as we always try to make it. She drew the right conclusions, and her authority as shop superintendent has not suffered in the least.

Commissions set up under the shop bureau and the party committee monitor the management's activity. They are usually headed by qualified specialists. Their control functions pertain to economising on raw and other materials, improving product quality and other matters. Their attention is now naturally concentrated on how the new forms of economic management are being introduced.

What has the collective achieved in the period of the experiment?

Here are some figures: in the first half-year, output was 11.8 per cent above the same period of 1983, while labour productivity went up by 11.9 per cent, which shows that it was the source of the higher output. The number of persons employed has even been reduced. Let me say at this point that we take an interest in what happens to anyone leaving our factory. The intensification of production does not create any problem of 'unwanted people': new shops are being set up near our factory and in other districts of the city and they need tens and hundreds of specialists in various fields, which means that no one suffers either materially or psychologically.

In the course of the experiment more concern is being displayed for the range and quality of goods. We have established close contacts with the merchandising network, for they have induced us to contract for the supply of the latest-style goods at higher prices which are marked with the index 'N' ('new model'), which means that consumers now have not just the choice of a wider range of our goods, but precisely of those they prefer.

Our production achievements are linked directly with the level of the working

people's wages and social security: under the present system, the size of the material-incentives fund depends directly on the combine's successes, so that the management can award bonuses to the best workers by agreement with our social organisations.

Our people's working and living conditions are improving from day to day. They have at their disposal their own health-improvement centre where the cost of taking a health-cure comes to 160 roubles for 24 days, with 90 per cent of the amount being paid by the enterprise. Our collective also has its own recreation area outside the city limits, a swimming pool, and several nursery schools. Our growing social-development fund enables us to build flats and to extend and ameliorate every form of public service.

Anyone who comes to work at our combine feels this caring atmosphere, and it is not surprising that our personnel turnover rate is very low, most of those who leave being young girls who move to other places after marriage. The improvement of living, working and recreation conditions has reduced the incidence of disease, while the number of maternity and child-care leaves has been on the increase.

Modern production and the process of technical re-equipment demand that workers should keep raising their skill standards: a machine operator becomes the operator of an automatic knitter, while a fitter has to handle the start-up and adjustment of the most sophisticated equipment. At our combine, from 500 to 700 persons a year are taking retraining courses. As modern machines are installed, the operators are transferred to other less arduous work and as a rule without any loss in earnings. Those who have no secondary education—and they are very few—are enabled to attend night school.

In a speech in July 1985 in Minsk, the capital of Byelorussia, Mikhail Gorbachov spoke of the need to work out, with an eye to the ongoing large-scale experiments, an integral system of a more flexible and modern economic mechanism for stimulating the initiative and enhancing the responsibility of enterprises, removing all kinds of barriers and obstacles to faster scientific and technical progress, intensification and maximum labour efficiency. How do the Communists at your combine see the prospects of their own activity in the light of that task?

The whole of Soviet light industry and many other industries are to switch to the new conditions of economic management on January 1, 1986. That is most welcome, because success in our work also depends on the work of those engaged in the chemical industry, transit, and engineering.

When joining the experiment we were helped by the territorial party organs to hold meetings with our suppliers, subcontractors and consumers to give thorough consideration to all the possibilities of improving our mutual ties, making sure of due deliveries under contract, improving quality of raw materials, and so on. Communists with managerial functions in the sphere of the experiment and allied fields faced heightened demands: there had to be no references to objective difficulties, no indulgences or downward corrections of plan commitments. We were all given instruction, checked and corrected when the need arose, so that the combine's achievements cannot be credited to its work collective alone.

At the close of our second year in the experiment, we no longer consider ourselves to be 'new boys' in this endeavour, but we have no intention of resting on our laurels. The party has concentrated our attention on speeding scientific and technical progress. In the current five-year plan period, 16 new technological processes were installed, and almost 2,000 equipment units replaced or modernised, a process which is continuing.

I should also like to note the importance of international cooperation. Our

combine uses considerable quantities of imported equipment. Czechoslovak knitting machines, for instance, have functioned very well; we have permanent scientific and technical ties with the Bulgarian enterprise Fazan, and the well-known GDR firm Ezda. Exchanges of experience and information in the field of new technologies and labour organisation help us, together with our colleagues from the fraternal countries, to tackle the common task of boosting consumer goods output.

Our collective has entered upon the responsible period of preparation for the forthcoming party congress in a good mood: all the targets of the Eleventh Five-Year Plan period (1981-1985) were met by mid-year, and we are now turning out, over and above the plan, millions of pairs of the knitted goods which are in great demand. For us, giving a fitting reception to the 27th Congress of our Leninist party, the Communists and all the other working people at our enterprise think, means working to keep high the prestige of our factory trade mark and to work without stint.

¹ The city of Brest lies at the western most point of the USSR, and is the centre of a region of the same name which is part of the Byelorussia Soviet Socialist Republic.—ED.

Documents

FRG

THE WAY OF STRENGTHENING UNITY

A plenary meeting of the Board of the German Communist Party (DKP) has adopted the draft Theses for the party's Eighth Congress, which is slated for May 1986, and the document is now being discussed in the party organisations.

The Theses reflect the new phenomena in the development of the FRG since the adoption of the DKP Programme in 1978 and on that basis provide answers to the questions which now arise on ensuring security in Europe and throughout the world, on alternative economic and social policies and on environmental protection.

Proletarian internationalism is a prominent topic in the draft. The DKP, the Theses say, is an integral part of the world revolutionary movement, having close ties with the community of socialist states, the communist and workers' parties of all the continents, and the national liberation movement. The cooperation of all these forces is now more necessary than ever before in the past, in view of the threat of a world war, the aggressive schemes of imperialism against the socialist countries, its neocolonialist moves and the tighter coordination of actions by international monopoly capital.

Proletarian internationalism springs from the fundamentally common condition of workers in all the countries, and the fact that they have a common enemy—international capital—and common interests. That is why proletarian internationalism has not lost its significance and cannot be replaced by some 'new internationalism'; it has been and continues to be the most powerful weapon of the world revolutionary movement. It is emphasised in the draft Theses that, in accordance with its programmatic tenet, the DKP believes that the crucial criterion of every Communist's loyalty to the movement is his attitude to the Soviet Union.

With the ever faster internationalisation of economic and political life and the sharpening class battles, ever greater importance attaches to the solidarity of the

working class of the industrialised capitalist countries and cooperation between its political and trade union organisations, an imperative driven home, for instance, by the lessons of the strikes staged by the West German printers and metalworkers and the British miners.

The document also sets forth the DKP's view of the state of the world communist movement, emphasising that if the factors hampering the Communist's stronger unity are to be removed, the parties must make greater efforts in the ideological training of cadres, the education of the Marxist principled stand and loyalty to proletarian internationalism. Regular bilateral and multilateral contacts, international conferences and joint scientific studies by fraternal parties are of much importance in preventing and overcoming differences. It is the primary task of each party to work to consolidate the world communist movement, and on how this task is fulfilled largely depend the successes in the struggle for peace, national liberation, social emancipation and socialism.

In the Mirror of the Press

Cuadernos de Cultura

MARXIST THOUGHT AND CULTURE

The publication of the theoretical and political journal of the CP Argentina (PCA) *Cuadernos de Cultura* was resumed in the first half of 1985 to meet the growing demand for a publication helping to seek ways to unite the democratic-minded intelligentsia and further develop and deepen studies by Marxist scholars in the field of culture.

The journal first appeared thirty years ago, and has since then been banned twice. There is good reason why a new stage in the life of this publication has opened now that the restoration of the democratic order has got under way in Argentina.

The journal enters upon this stage with diverse experience. A rich creative legacy was left by those who used to publish it in the past, notably Héctor P. Agosti, its founder and editor-in-chief for years, until he died while actively preparing to resume publication.

The journal resolutely exposes anti-communism and 'neo-Marxism', and rejects every brand of sectarianism. As in the past, it continues to hold up a mirror to the Communists' intellectual activity, to provide an instrument of ideological struggle and to spread the ideas of scientific socialism. That is perfectly evident from the content of its first issue, which, among other things, sets forth the Communists' ideas on the renewal of Argentinian culture and analyses the elements contending within it. It reports on capitalism's 'culture industry', which conducts the ideas of the ruling classes; examines the dialectics of interaction between the various spheres of cultures; and presents items on literature, music and the screen, works by leading democratic writers Julio Cortázar and Nicolás Guillén and a report on Tomás Borge, member of the Sandinist leadership in Nicaragua.

The journal is to be a quarterly under the editorship of Alfredo L. Dratman, a

member of the CPA CC Political Commission. It faces some responsible tasks, such as answering the acute questions of our epoch, promoting the defence of peace, strengthening and deepening democracy, and national liberation and social emancipation.

Haqiqatt Enqelabi Saur

Despite the Difficulties

The organ of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the newspaper *Haqiqati Enqelabi Saur* (The Truth of the April Revolution), has published data on progress in consolidating the party ranks.

In the seven postrevolutionary years, the paper says, despite all the trials and losses suffered in the fight against the counter-revolution, the numerical strength of the party has multiplied nearly eight fold: from 18,000 to 134,000; in 1984 alone, it was joined by 34,000 new members, with 45 per cent of the new contingent being workers, peasants and hand craftsmen. Considering that the representatives of these social categories add up to no more than one-third of the party membership, this is an obvious tendency showing the increase in the share of the working class and the peasantry within the party. Another indicative point is that party members now include representatives of virtually all the nationalities inhabiting the territory of Afghanistan.

The steady growth of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the paper says, is visual evidence of the working people's ever greater trust in it and its ever stronger ties with the masses.

Your Questions Answered The People's Power in Action

John Bishop, a reader from Guyana, writes: 'We are keeping a close watch on the events in El Salvador and the successes of the revolutionary forces, which now control a sizeable part of the country's territory. Can you tell us about their activity in the liberated areas?'

We addressed the question to Jaime Barrios, the CP El Salvador representative on *WMR*.

The Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN), which also includes the Salvadoran Communists and their combat organisation, the Armed Forces of Liberation (FAL), now controls over a third of the country's territory. In these areas the people's power is taking shape and being consolidated to meet the aspirations of the labouring masses and also of the middle strata of town and country. When arranging work in the controlled areas, the FMLN regards them as the hinterland of the revolutionary war which has to be defended and strengthened, since, as everyone knows, victory largely depends on the strength of the rear.

The people's power is a system of local organs elected by the population. Each includes a general secretary (exercising general direction), supply chief (coordinating food supplies and production of goods for the population) and militia chief (responsible for area security). More and more women are filling elective posts and doing a good job in performing their difficult duties.

The organs of power map out the basic tasks of their activity in the areas they control. Let me stress that it is extremely difficult to fulfil these tasks in view of the constant attacks by the government army against the guerrilla bases. Under pressure from the superior enemy forces, the insurgents frequently have to retreat deep into the area, taking with them out of the encirclement thousands of women, children and old people, together with their modest possessions and farm animals. Only when the enemy pulls out, without being able to leave even temporary garrisons everywhere, the fighters and the inhabitants return.

Government planes keep bombing civilians in the villages, while punitive detachments ruthlessly wipe out those who support the guerrillas and use 'scorched earth' tactics. Nevertheless, the people's power is alive, a present challenge to the ruling classes and their regime in the social and economic sphere.

Among the basic functions of the local organs of power is to keep the guerrillas and the whole population provided with foodstuffs, so that very much effort goes into developing agricultural production. In all the areas we control, the peasants collectively cultivate large tracts of land and grow mainly rice, beans and millet. Whenever possible, the fighters of the revolutionary army join the local inhabitants in farming. Besides, the people's power helps to stimulate individual production so as to enable the families living in the areas to have their own stock of grain.

Cattle is confiscated from the reactionary big landowners so as to solve the problem of keeping the children supplied with milk and making cheese for the population.

It goes without saying that with the war on and the sharp shortage of fertilizers and farming implements, to say nothing of modern farming machinery, we are frequently unable to obtain the necessary quantities of food. In addition, the enemy, trying hard to cut the guerrillas off from the sources of food, has recently begun to kill off the cattle. But the FMLN has on the whole succeeded in arranging the production of foodstuffs. It is operating bakeries and confectionaries, and has been studying the possibilities of canning food locally so as to build up food stocks against the eventuality of enemy attacks when the population has been evacuated.

Protection of the health of local inhabitants and fighters is another primary task of the organs of the people's power. There again, the difficulties that have to be faced are many, such as lack of medical equipment and a shortage of the necessary preparations. In the field hospitals set up at small farms, surgery has to be carried out in the light of oil lamps. Where electricity is available, it has to be used under stringent blackout regulations. Whenever government troops start an offensive, the hospital personnel has to retire into specially built shelters and to work underground in the light of hand torches.

Things are kept going in spite of all the difficulties through the dedicated efforts of our doctors, medical orderlies and medical students, who are totally committed to the cause of our people's revolution. At one of the hospitals, they have even managed to fabricate some of the surgical instruments which are now being successfully used by the surgeons. The doctors are helped by teams of hospital attendants, who take care of the sick and wounded, produce drugs from medicinal herbs and carry out medical-information campaigns among the population. Special teams make door-to-door visits of the houses once in eight days to check on the state of sanitation and to instruct the inhabitants in hygiene and health care. Ever greater attention is being given to the prevention of infectious diseases. Maternity wards were recently opened at hospitals in several districts.

The people's power is doing a great deal in education as well. Drives to wipe out illiteracy among children and adults, whether fighters or civilians, are carried on everywhere in the liberated areas. The conditions are, naturally, not very favourable: there is a shortage of textbooks and other study aids, while attacks by the government troops force the authorities to keep moving the schools about. Classes are held in the open air whenever schools are destroyed in raids by the punitive detachments. Still, we have succeeded in keeping the tuition process going and successfully overcoming illiteracy, so helping to put our people in touch with traditional cultural values and promoting the tasks of the liberation struggle.

The measures taken by the people's power result in stronger ties between the FMLN and the people. Without these ties the insurgents would have been unable to stand up to the regime's professional army, which has been trained and equipped by US imperialism.

Although the building of a new society is not on the agenda, a new type of relations between people is already developing in the guerrilla areas. Collective labour is being arranged in various work shops set up on the initiative of the people's power. Nursery schools have been opened in some places to enable the women to join in production and to perform other important functions. FMLN fighters are joined by the population in building bomb shelters, digging trenches and mounting round-the-clock guard over the guerrilla areas.

The elements of new relations of production and of a fairer and more humane society sprouting in the liberated areas give a clear prospect of the future for which the Salvadoran Communists and all the other patriots are fighting.

In Brief

PARTY CONGRESSES SCHEDULED

THE Central Committee of the *Communist Party of Bolivia* has decided at a plenary meeting to convene an extraordinary congress of the CPB in mid-January 1986; the agenda includes adoption of the party's new policy guidelines.

The 13th regular Congress of the *Communist Party of India* will be held from February 15 to 20, 1986. It will be preceded by party meetings and conferences at different levels: India's Communists will be discussing documents to be submitted to the congress.

A plenary meeting of the *United Socialist Party of Mexico* has scheduled the Third Congress of the party for July 16 to 20, 1986.

The Central Committee of the *People's Party of Panama* has held a plenary meeting to discuss preparations for the forthcoming Eighth Congress of Panama's Communists, to be convened in late January 1986.

The Ninth Congress of the *Peruvian Communist Party* is to take place in early May 1986. This was decided at the September 1985 plenary meeting of the PCP Central Committee which discussed the situation in the country and the first steps of the new Peruvian government.

COMMUNIST NEWSPAPER FESTIVALS

Tens of thousands of Viennese took part in the festival of *Volksstimme*, the

Communist Party of Austria newspaper, held to mark the 40th anniversary of its first issue. The visitors enjoyed a large-scale cultural and athletic programme featuring performers and athletes from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, the USSR.

The national festival of *l'Unità*, the Italian Communists' newspaper, lasted for about three weeks in Ferrara, attracting more than two million people to *l'Unità's* camp. Roundtable and other discussions dealt with the more pressing issues of today's world. The festival ended in a rally at which Alessandro Natta, General Secretary of the PCI, spoke.

A traditional festival of the *Canadian Tribune*, the newspaper of the Communist Party of Canada, was held near the town of Oakville, Ontario. Participants in the festival expressed broad support of its main slogan—'For Peace and Jobs'.

The seventh festival of the *Voz*, the newspaper of Colombia's Communists, lasted two days in the Colombian capital of Bogota. The event was attended by over 50,000 people. The programme included various meetings and discussions, as well as a concert in which performers from Cuba, El Salvador, Uruguay and the USSR took part.

The tenth annual festival of *Avante!*, the Portugese Communist newspaper, was organised in a suburb of Lisbon. Over one million people attended the event that culminated in a mass rally at which a major speech was delivered by Alvaro Cunhal, PCP General Secretary.

The 50th anniversary festival (since 1930) of *l'Humanité*, the French Communist newspaper, held in the Courneuve suburb of Paris, became a festive occasion for France's working people and the year's biggest political event. The 'Communists in the Resistance' display was the central feature of the numerous exhibits.

The fourth festival of *El Pueblo* weekly published by the Communist Party of Ecuador was held in Guayaquil, the country's biggest industrial centre. René Mauge Mosquera, General Secretary of the CPE Central Committee, spoke at the opening of the festival and stressed *El Pueblo's* role in the party's struggle for the interests of working people and in the political education of the masses.

exchange of views, discussion

The Communists' Internationalism and the Defence of Peace

An international symposium to mark the 50th anniversary of the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern was held in Prague by *WMR*. It was attended by **Randolfo Banegas**, CC member, CP Honduras; **Jaime Barrios**, CC Political Commission member, CP Salvador; **Roland Bauer**, CC member, Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED); **Ton Bogeskov**, research associate, CP Denmark; **Raúl Valdés Vivó**, CC member, CP Cuba; **Luis Emilio Veintimilla**, CC member, CP Ecuador; **Orel Viciani**, CP Chile representative on *WMR*; **Frantisek Havlicek**, corresponding-member of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences; **Gancho Ganev**, CC member, Bulgarian CP; **Rogelio Gonzales**, CC member, Paraguayan CP; **Xavier Garaycoa**, CC executive Committee member, CP Ecuador; **Erol Cantekin**, CC member, CP Turkey; **Félix Dixon**, CC member, People's Party of Panama; **Ali Ileri**, CC member, CP Turkey; **Edgar Caicedo**, CC member, Colombian CP; **Georg Kwiataowski**, German CP representative on *WMR*; **Raja Collure**, CC Political Bureau alternate member, CP Sri Lanka; **Luis Orlando Corrales**, CC Political Commission member, People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica; **Unni Krishnan**, National Council member, CP India; **José Lava**, CC Political Bureau member, CP Philippines; **José María Lanao**, CC member, CP Argentina; **Domingos Lopes**, CC alternate member, Portuguese CP; **Badamyn Lhamsuren**, CC member, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party; **Ibraheem Malik**, CC member, CP Israel; **Ali Malki**, CC member, Algerian Socialist Vanguard Party; **Sam Moeti**, CP Lesotho representative on *WMR*; **David Moraes**, CC Political Commission member, CP Bolivia; **Farid Mougahed**, CC member, Egyptian CP; **Ib Nørlund**, CC Executive Committee and Secretariat member, CP Denmark; **Jerzy Pawlowicz**, senior lecturer, Academy of Social Sciences, Polish United Workers' Party; **Yevgheni Panfilov**, Cand.Sc. (Philos.), *WMR* staff member; **John Pittman**, CC Political Bureau member, CPUSA; **Donald Ramotar**, Executive Committee member, People's Progressive Party of Guyana; **José Riva**, CC member, Dominican CP; **V. Rybakov**, Cand.Sc. (Econ.), USSR; **Rafic Samhoun**, CC Political Bureau member, Lebanese CP; **Janusz Seczys**, staff member, CC International Department, PUWP; **Professor D. Sirkov**, Deputy Director, Institute of History of the Bulgarian CP under the BCP CC; **Yuri Sklyarov**, *WMR* Editor-in-Chief; **Professor Katalin Szokolay**, Higher Political School of the HSWP; **Sándor Szorcsik**, HSWP representative on *WMR*; **Agamemnon Stavrou**, CC member, Progressive Working People's Party of

Cyprus; William Stewart, CEC member, CP Canada; Satiajaja Sudiman, CC member, CP Indonesia; Elean Thomas, CC member, Workers' Party of Jamaica; Hans Vossen, research into work at enterprises under the German CP Board; Bruno Furch, CP Austria representative on *WMR*; Kadhim Habib, CC member, Iraqi CP; Ali Khavari, CC First Secretary, People's Party of Iran; Salam Khalid, CC member, Jordanian CP; Khalid Hammami, CC Political Bureau member, Syrian CP; Ho Chi Bang, CP Vietnam representative on *WMR*; Professor Horst Schumacher, Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the SED CC; and Rodny Öhman, Left Party — Communists of Sweden representative on *WMR*. The symposium heard papers from Khalid Bagdash, CC General Secretary, Syrian CP, a participant in the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern, and Stavros Zorbalas, head of the Marxist Studies Centre, CP Greece.

WMR No. 8 for this year carried the speeches and papers of some of the participants in the symposium showing the historical significance of the ideas of the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern. Below is a survey of the discussion which dealt with the back-up of the Communists' internationalist stand in the present-day struggle for peace.

Resistance to the War Danger: Formulating the Question

The substance of the approach to the struggle against the threat of a world war today, it was said at the symposium, is epitomised in the Communists' clear call: "Stop the war before it breaks out!" What is so specific about this approach?

Karl Marx's Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association (1864), which laid the ideological foundations of the international activity of the communist movement, considered, among other questions, the struggle against wars, which he methodologically divided into two relatively independent problems: first, the need to muster and use the resources available to the international working class to prevent war, and the policy of the exploiter ruling classes which led to war; and second, the tactics of the working class in the event such criminal activity could not be halted. Throughout the history of the communist movement, Marxists have worked on these two problems in the context of the actual situations.

The working class, its revolutionary wing, at any rate, has always been resolved to combat the threat of imperialist wars before they broke out, said Horst Schumacher. Thus, the decisions of the Stuttgart Congress of the Second International (1907) called on the working class to do its utmost to resist the looming First World War, while stressing that, in the event of war, it was the duty of the working class parties to use the war-precipitated crisis to speed up the collapse of capitalism. But in that period these guidelines were embodied in the practical activity of only a few working class parties.

Both these problems were also considered at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern (1935), whose decisions, urging the working class to resist the fascist aggression and prevent war, said: "If another imperialist world war should break out despite all the efforts of the working class to prevent it, the Communists will strive to lead the opponents of war, organised in the struggle for peace, into a struggle to turn the imperialist war into a civil war against the fascist warmongers and against the bourgeoisie, and for the overthrow of capitalism."

One question which arose in the discussion was: "Would such an approach be valid to the threat of nuclear war?" Donald Ramotar said that when deciding on the attitude to take to the danger of war, one should bear in mind that there is now no reasonable alternative to peaceful coexistence. Other speakers said that if imperialism resorted to nuclear war, there would be a global catastrophe. All social programmes are meaningless without peace: there would simply be no one around to implement them after a nuclear war. "In the present conditions, it makes no sense to speak of turning an annihilating nuclear war into a civil or national liberation war," said Elean Thomas,

"The problem is a different one: how to exclude world war in general as a 'continuation of policy' by imperialism even while that system remains on a part of the globe."

The question of averting war has now undergone a radical change as compared with the past, Agamemnon Stavrou stressed. The prevention of war does not mean simply assuring human civilisation of a way of development that best meets the peoples' interests: for mankind, it is a matter of life or death, Ali Khavari emphasised. Accordingly, the Communists insist that nuclear war is unthinkable, and tell the masses as much. The communist parties' strategy is based on the premise that preservation of world peace on the principles of peaceful coexistence is the imperative condition for social progress in our day.

Another essential distinction in the present approach to the fight against war bears on the real possibilities of preventing it. The balance of state, class and social forces has now tilted in favour of peace, and this is embodied in a fact of historical significance: throughout the forty years since the victory over fascism, it has been possible to prevent the imperialist circles from starting another war, said José Lava. The immensely greater potentialities of the peace forces in our day were stressed by José María Lanao: "That is our assumption when we think about the future of mankind, and that is the basis for our confidence that the peoples will succeed in erecting an insuperable barrier in the way of the aggressive policy of imperialism. The translation of the existing potentialities into practice does, of course, largely depend on joint action by all those who oppose war, and on the creation of a powerful peoples-and-governments movement capable of directing the development of the society along the course of peace."

The achievement and maintenance by socialism of military parity with imperialism is a fundamentally new factor on international relations on which the present strategy of preventing war rests, said Domingos Lopes, Kadhim Habib and Ali Khavari. To allow the imperialist powers to upset the strategic parity, they said, would be tantamount to encouraging the forces of aggression and war. If peace is to be strengthened, parity must be maintained while the levels of military confrontation are lowered on the basis of equality and mutual security, down to the liquidation of nuclear weapons and general and complete disarmament, something the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries have advocated all along. Genuine international security, said Horst Schumacher, can be based only on the principles of the partnership of all states; it is a key element of the policy of creating a coalition of reason and realism.

Participants in the symposium emphasised the growing role of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America within the non-aligned movement in resisting the danger of war. Within the movement, said Luis Orlando Corralez and V. Rybakov, there is growing recognition of the organic connection between the struggle against backwardness, for a new international economic order and better relations among nations, and resistance to the arms race and the nuclear threat. There is ever wider and growing recognition that the newly liberated countries can expect the socialist states and the international working class movement to be their friends and allies.

Considering the possibilities of halting the developments leading to a nuclear apocalypse, José Riva drew attention to the doubts expressed in some circles about whether the "stockpiling of weapons of mass destruction by imperialism and its development of first-strike offensive systems have not made the world-war issue irrelevant to the will to peace voiced by broad public opinion in the capitalist countries?" Such doubts, Elean Thoms and Bruno Furch said, are also expressed in the view that nuclear war is a matter depending entirely on the United States and the USSR, one which it is not in our capacity to resolve, and that is why one should live while the living is good. Such fatalistic notions doom people to a passive attitude and induce them to stay away from world politics out of a failure to understand the

importance of the contribution that each nation can make to the efforts to prevent a world war.

Speakers pointed to several countries to show that the struggle in the national arena decides whether a country's foreign policy is to be shaped by the will of the popular masses for peace, or by the "war party" in coalescence with the aggressive line of US imperialism. But it was also stressed that it is impossible to ward off the nuclear threat by acting solely within the borders of one's country. The problem of peace is essentially an international one, and this means that success is determined both by what is achieved in all the countries (hence the imperative need to intensify in every way the activity in defence of peace on each national soil) and international cooperation and the solidarity of the peace forces.

What then is the unifying principle in such acts of solidarity by different class forces? Before the Second World War and in the course of it, speakers said, it was the defence of civilisation against fascist barbarism: fascism was the common enemy of the Communists, the Socialists, and the bourgeois democrats, and it was awareness of the fascist threat to the future of world civilisation and of the need to prevent Nazism from winning the war it had started that produced the anti-Hitlerite coalition. "While fascism poses a real threat in some countries, it is a problem that is no longer the 'common denominator' in rallying the peace and democratic forces," said José Riva.

Today, awareness that human civilisation is threatened with nuclear destruction is the principle uniting against war men and women of different and even opposite social and political convictions, said Luis Emilio Veintimilla and Rogelio Gonzales. It remains the Communists' vital task to help the peoples of the globe become aware of how they are most directly affected by the threat of war. Edgar Caicedo explained: "Some people still wrongly think that they would remain unscathed in a nuclear catastrophe, because their countries are not the immediate arena of confrontation. As if one could hope to save oneself from nuclear death in some remote corner of the globe!"

For many people in the capitalist countries the social-class face of the nuclear threat is not as obvious as that of the fascist danger in the past. They often believe that the nuclear threat is rooted in the nature of modern weapons and their stockpiling. What is more, some active peace fighters now and again incorrectly indentify the political source of that danger. People captive to anti-communist bias, including those who do not doubt the imperialist propaganda assertions about some "Soviet threat to the West", also come out against nuclear weapons, said José Lava, Donald Ramotar and William Stewart. Formulas of an "equal" or "shared" guilt on the part of the opposed military alliances for the sharpening of the international situation and the arms race are fairly widespread among protestors against the threat of nuclear death. However, the peculiarity of the ideologies of the peace movement lies in the fact that such mistaken views of the sources of the nuclear-war threat exist alongside and are compatible with a comprehension of mankind's common concern to remove it and with a recognition that peaceful coexistence of states is the imperative and only possible norm of international life.

That does not mean, of course, that such misconceptions are not dangerous. On the contrary, they tend to feed negative tendencies in the peace movement and to sidetrack it, so that some peace fighters begin to insist on the socialist community's uni-lateral disarmament or some kind of "liberalisation" of the social and political order in the socialist countries, as a preliminary condition of peace, instead of taking urgent and vigorous action against the actual preparations for war. William Stewart said: "On issues like 'equal responsibility' and an undifferentiated approach to the nuclear powers, the Communists have continued the polemic to show that such groundless views harm the cause of peace. We have conducted it in forms helping to strengthen the unity of the peace forces and to prevent any divisions."

The Communists have a special responsibility, Ali Khavari stressed, in making large masses of people realise what nuclear war holds in store and where the danger comes from. It was said in this context that the Communists' work in defence of peace, wherever it is carried on, and regardless of its specifics and forms, cannot but have the same centre of gravity, which is organising the masses to resist the hegemonistic line of the aggressive circles of US imperialism and the reactionary forces of other countries in league with them. That is the source of the threat of mankind's nuclear annihilation.

Orel Viciani analysed the sources of the war danger and said that it was not enough to confine oneself to general references to international imperialism or even to US imperialism as its generator: "The US military-industrial complex, functioning on the level of the transnational corporations, the top leadership of the armed forces and the most reactionary political groups, provides the social support for the policy of international tension and confrontation, and is the chief instigator of aggression and dangerous gambles in the world arena. But even within it there is a need to indentify the wild and aggressive circles now wielding the main instruments of political power in the United States. They are the ones who orchestrate the spiralling arms race, the starting of local wars, support for blatantly terroristic dictatorships, and mad plans for nuclear aggression."

Dialectics of International Solidarity

The effectiveness of the Communists' action in the struggle against the nuclear threat largely depends on how consistently they pursue their internationalist policy, an idea which was substantiated at many levels by speakers who considered the content of proletarian solidarity in the light of the demands for the defence of peace today.

"In proletarian internationalism," said Badamyn Lhamsuren, "the socialist objective has always been organically blended with general democratic problems. Those who turn away from their solution are at best likened to the voice of one crying out in the wilderness." Any view of proletarian solidarity excluding from its content the task of defending peace is one-sided, extremely narrow and incorrect, and that not only in the light of the international situation in our day. It cuts across the Marxist tenets, traditions, experience and political principles of the communist movement generally.

The characteristic and distinctive feature of proletarian solidarity is recognition that peace and socialism — meaning existing socialism — are indivisible. The Communists have always regarded the struggle of peace as a "part of the general struggle for the emancipation of the working classes".² It is, however, a "part" without which the "general" is itself modified into a distortion of the Marxist-Leninist view of the principles and tasks of the revolutionary movement. Luis Orlando Corrales and Kadhim Habib recalled leftist adventurism to show the penalty of neglecting that "part": an absurd and monstrous "theory" calling for the "sacrifice of peace for the sake of the final victory over imperialism".

Awareness of the primary importance of peace for implementing the Communists' programmatic goals now and again goes hand in hand with a disparagement and even denial of the role of proletarian internationalism, and the symposium examined the claim that proletarian solidarity has become something less than meaningful and inadequate, in contrast to some other kind of internationalism which meets the need of rallying — to remove the nuclear threat — not only of the Communists, but also of the wide spectrum of participants in the actions for peace and peaceful coexistence which is diverse in social-class, political and ideological terms.

It was noted in this context that no one in the communist movement doubted that general democratic solidarity was fruitful and practically appropriate, for it now

expresses the general human concern of all the peoples: the preservation of life on the globe. Indeed, the Communists accept such solidarity and encourage it in every way, because it is a reflection of the need to set up the broadest possible front of peace, for cohesion and joint action by all the opponents of war.

But the growing internationalist consciousness of the peace forces which stems from an understanding of the need to prevent a nuclear catastrophe does not make the Communists' internationalism any the less meaningful. Badamyn Lhamsuren said: "Comunist cohesion has been and continues to be the core of the solidarity of all the fighters for general democratic objectives, and for peace, giving it consistency, purpose and perspective."

Making the anti-war struggle more effective, said Sam Moeti, José Riva and Ho Chi Bang, increasingly depends on the international cooperation of the communist movement and on its greater unity on the principled basis of the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Edgar Caicedo emphasised: "While an alliance of all the peace forces going well beyond the class framework is necessary to avert war, the prospect of attaining the goal depends above all on the cohesion of the revolutionary forces, the communist parties themselves, since their historical mission puts on them the prime responsibility in the defence of peace. If we want the anti-war forces to be in concert on a world scale, we must strengthen our own ranks."

In the course of the discussion, Jerzy Pawlowicz asked whether the Communists' united ideological and political stand in defence of peace was not a criterion of their internationalism in present-day conditions. The discussion showed that the substance and goals of the communist movement are not, of course, confined to such a framework. D. Sirkov said: "The Communists' historical mission now consists in tackling this two-fold task: struggle for social progress and elimination of the threat of nuclear war." Nowadays, the fight against militarism and war has a growing role and importance, and general democratic tasks, a greater significance in the Communists' policy, without in any way minimising the class, anti-capitalist content of internationalism.

Now that international conditions are of crucial importance for attaining the Communists' programmatic goals, wherever they may be acting, such an approach to the criteria of internationalism is not entirely groundless, it was said. "The problem of averting a nuclear war and safeguarding world peace," said Khalid Hamami, "has become the main one for the international communist movement." The Communists' unity in defence of peace and peaceful coexistence is not, of course, identical with general democratic solidarity, because it is based on the class principle, the latter, in particular, being expressed in a comprehension of the class character of the sources and origins of the nuclear threat rooted in the policy of the most reactionary circles headed by US imperialism and, on the other hand, in an understanding of the role of socialism as the solid bulwark of international peace, and also of the importance of the class and national liberation struggle for resisting the policy of preparing and starting war.

Thus, the Communists' cooperation cannot but be based on consistent internationalism even when it bears only on the problems of peace, for even then they retain their independence on the movement for peace. According to Stavras Zorbalas: "It is especially useful for communist and workers' parties to take further joint actions in present-day conditions for the solution of the major problems facing mankind: disarmament, peace, a new international economic order, and solidarity with the peoples fighting for democracy and national liberation."

The stand of proletarian internationalism on peace issues rules out any omission to speak out for fear of recognising the objective and indispensable role of socialism and the Soviet Union in preventing a world nuclear war, said Satiadjaja Sudiman, José Riva and Khalid Hamami. Efforts in defence of peace involving attempts to combine them with action against this crucial peace force of our day are even more futile. In this

context, Raúl Valdés Vivó stressed the significance of the support of the socialist community's peace initiatives by Communists from various countries.

Participants in the symposium considered the theoretical assumption underlying doubts about the meaningfulness of proletarian internationalism, and said that they sprang from an incomplete understanding of the contemporary dialectics of peace, and the class and national liberation struggle. In one way or another, such doubts carry a suggestion that defence of peace now makes it necessary to forgo other tasks of the working class and national liberation movements. That is a mistaken line of reasoning. Elean Thomas said: "We have here an abstract approach to the problem of priority of the struggle for peace, its separation from the popular masses' daily struggle for their economic interests and political rights and for a solution of national problems." Edgar Caicedo added: "Those who formulate the dilemma of peace or revolution, peace or national independence of the peoples, take the wrong approach." Peace cannot be safeguarded by neglecting the working people's class and national interests and the interests of socialism.

Other speakers said that the class adversaries of the Communists talk and dream of a peace at the expense of socialism, the international working class movement and the national liberation movement. The aggressive circles of imperialism have proclaimed with frank cynicism that they would like to see world socialism, the communist movement and the Marxist-Leninist ideology on the "ash heap of history". Nor have they confined themselves to saying so: their strategy is aimed at forcibly changing the peoples' social and political life to suit the grasping ambitions of US and international capital. Here, Washington's imperial aims are closely bound up with class aims: the imperialist circles hope to exact social revenge in the struggle against socialism and the liberation movements by switching the international class struggle into a military confrontation. Satiadjaja Sudiman added: "The sovereignty, security and peaceful life of the peoples of all the countries are jeopardised by the aggressive militaristic activity of US imperialism."

However, the imperialist line of sharpening the confrontation, speakers said, does nothing to guarantee the preservation or strengthening of its positions in the class struggle, for it cannot change the content of the present epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism, or close, however transiently, the prospect of the further development of the world revolutionary process. Even as imperialism keeps amplifying the threat of nuclear war, the class and national liberation struggle is continued, with the popular masses putting ever greater pressure on imperialism, and the socialist society developing and gaining in strength. The gains of socialism, the working class and the national liberation movement constitute the material basis for ensuring the peaceful coexistence of states.

Imperialist propaganda keeps smearing the progressive forces' struggle aimed to change the social status quo in favour of the working people, and resorting to speculation on the mass urge for peace, said Luis Emilio Veintimilla, Horst Schumacher and others. It seeks to depict the liberation movements, the struggle of the working class for its rights, the defence of the interests of socialism, the anti-imperialist forces' mutual support and the Communists' internationalism as factors destabilising international relations, and preaches the idea that for the sake of peace there must be a lull in the working people's class action, a fold-up, a "freeze" of the national liberation movement, and a break in its close alliance with socialism. All of that is designed to impede the bringing out of the mighty potential for preserving peace which is latent in the merging of the class and national liberation struggle and the struggle against war.

It was emphasised that there was nothing facile or theoretically or practically self-evident in such a link-up. The peculiar aspect of the present moment which needs to be reckoned with is that efforts to avert a nuclear catastrophe and acts of aggression now tend to be crucial in the class context. D. Sirkov said: "In general terms, the problem is

to find the optimal balance between class interests and the general democratic struggle to avert a nuclear war, and to do this at every given moment in every region, country and the world at large. The task is complicated because the need to prevent a nuclear war is a categorical necessity, while the contradictions between the two social systems, between labour and capital, between the national liberation movement and imperialism are in a high state of tension."

The discussion of the forms in which the struggle for peace may be connected with the struggle for social progress centred on the methodological aspects of the problem, on the relation of the subjective and the objective factors, of the national and the international. It was stressed that the possibilities of resisting the imperialist policy of aggression and preparation of war have been expanded by the development of the socialist society and its greater defence capability, and by the strengthening of the positions of the international working class and the forces of national liberation. The connection between the class contest and the struggle against war is also evident in its orientation. Thus the material and political preparation for war is being carried on in the capitalist countries by essentially the same class forces that are robbing the working people of their economic and social gains and trampling on their rights.

Several speakers accentuated this aspect of the question in the context of the national liberation movement. Luis Orlando Corrales said: "In our theoretical studies of the ongoing revolutionary process and in our practical activity, we often erroneously separate the struggle for peace from the national liberation movement. The fact is that it is aimed to weaken the basic source of aggression and war — imperialism — and is in the frontline of the struggle of peace." Jaime Barrios expressed the view that "Latin America, once a backyard of imperialism, has become a gigantic battlefield for national liberation and social emancipation, for democracy and social progress, thereby increasing its contribution to the defence of world peace". Participants in the discussion accepted the view that every success in the struggle for the interests of the working class, democracy and liberation objectively promotes the struggle for peace. "However", said José María Lanao, "those who assume that that is all the potentialities we have in the anti-war struggle take a mistaken and narrow approach," and he referred to two circumstances to prove his point. The Communists help to involve in the anti-war movement sizeable social forces with no other demands than the defence of peace. On the other hand, there is a need for purposeful activity by the working class and the national liberation movement on a broad range of problems stemming from the need to prevent a world war. Xavier Garaycoa said: "The connection between the struggle for peace and the anti-imperialist struggle is a close and indissoluble one. But it would be wrong to identify the two."

When analysing the objective basis for joining the working class and the national liberation movements with the movement for peace, it was said in the discussion, key importance attaches to clarifying the fact that preparations for war tend to worsen the condition of the working masses, deepen the crisis phenomena in the capitalist economy, intensify the neocolonialist exploitation of the developing countries, and prevent them from tackling a wide range of problems which often bear on the most elementary conditions of human survival. The danger of a world war goes to create a general political atmosphere hampering the solution of the problems of social emancipation and national liberation. War generally threatens to scrap not only everything that has been gained in long and sustained struggle against imperialism and monopoly capital, but the very possibility of continued life on the Earth. Hence, José Lava emphasised, the urgent need for the working class and national liberation movements to fight for peace. This fight is inseparable from their other political objectives, but it is a task in its own right. The national liberation struggle assumes acute forms, including armed resistance to imperialist aggression, but even then the need to preserve world peace cannot but be paramount.

"We believe it to be necessary to determine the priorities in the activity of the Communists and place the struggle against the nuclear war threat as the most pressing and primary task," said William Stewart. "But we do not separate it from the other tasks relating to the preservation and extension of democracy, and a way out of the economic crisis with the working people's interests in mind." Participants in the symposium supported this view and stressed that the question of peace is not only the most important one in world politics today, but with the growth of anti-war action by the masses it is becoming the central one in the internal political life of more and more countries. Under certain circumstances, the problem of averting war could well become the crucial one in the issue of power.

The subjective factor, the Communists' conscious activity, is having the crucial influence on mobilising the whole anti-war potential of the working class and national liberation movements and enhancing their role in the efforts to avert a world war. That is the line along which these efforts are being concentrated, speakers said. "In the FRG," said Hans Vossen, "there is evidence of a wider and more active participation by the working class in the struggle for peace than in the past, but it is still inadequate. Much remains to be done in involving the country's working class more tangibly in the defence of peace. Great possibilities for doing so lie ahead." Domingos Lopes said: "In Portugal, there is greater awareness within the working class and trade union movement than among other social forces of the dangers of the militaristic line of imperialism, but even it has yet to be matched by a corresponding level of organisation and concrete action. Here much remains to be done." Félix Dixon drew attention to the lagging effort in some Latin American countries in driving home the nuclear threat to the masses. There is a need "to find the right mechanism to tie in the defence of peace with the struggle which the Latin American peoples feel to be a cause that more immediately affects their interests," said Edgar Caicedo. This kind of connection, he said, does not mean that anti-war action is confined to class, anti-imperialist demands. On the contrary, it means more active involvement of the forces of national liberation and of their vast anti-imperialist potential in the efforts to solve the problem of peace.

An important methodological requirement in seeking concrete forms of connection between the working class and the national liberation movements and the efforts to resist the danger of war, Xavier Garaycoa went on, consists in the need "to put forward tasks helping not only to enhance the role and activity of these movements in defence of peace, but also enabling them to cooperate with other peace forces on the basis of a recognition of the priority nature of the problem of averting war. That determines, among other things, the present specifics of the strategy of the struggle for peace and national independence.

Among these tasks, speakers said, are above all a halt to the arms race through which the material preparation of war is being carried on. The arms race has become the chief instrument in stepping up the exploitation of the working class and the peoples of the developing countries and the main impediment to social progress and an easing of the condition of the working masses.

Concrete action against imperialist aggression, the criminal policy of state terrorism, local wars and conflicts started by imperialism and its henchmen, be it in Lebanon or Afghanistan, Nicaragua or Southern Africa, is an important manifestation of the link between the class and national liberation struggle and resistance to the world-wide threat of war. There is a great danger of local wars developing into a global conflict, and the Communists seek to have this understood by broad masses of people.

The demand for a cancellation of the Latin American countries' external debt, it was said in the discussion, could be a concrete form of such a link-up. The demand has an anti-war edge, said Raúl Valdés Vivó, for it envisages the repayment of the debt to the banks by the creditor countries through cutbacks in their military expenditures. He

showed the mobilising significance of the demand for a write-off of the external debt, and added: "The British aggression against Argentina, supported by the US administration, revived the spirit of Latin Americanism, which has always had a national liberation content in the history of the continent. Resistance to the US intervention against the peoples of Nicaragua and El Salvador raises this sense of solidarity to a new level. Why then cannot one expect general resistance by the Latin American nations on the external debt issue?"

Strengthening Cooperation of the Peace Forces

The struggle to avert a world war, it was said at the symposium, substantially extends the field of the Communists' social and political activity. Greater participation and influence of the working class in the defence of peace is naturally of overriding concern to its Marxist-Leninist vanguard. At the same time, the Communists seek to enlarge the ranks of the fighters for peace and to set in motion all the forces wishing to preserve peace, and to cooperate with them nationally and internationally.

When analysing the problem of cooperation with the peace movements, participants in the symposium started from the assumption that it is a part of the wider issue of linking up the struggle for peace and the struggle for social progress, some aspects of which were considered above. It is, however, a specific problem as well, because it involves alliance and joint action of the working class with those who may take anti-war stands without accepting the goals of the working people's class struggle and may even reject them. That is why defence of peace, speakers said, requires of the Communists great flexibility on the ways and means of working among the most diverse strata of the population and the ability to find a specific approach to them.

A characteristic feature of anti-war movements today is that their objective, character and make-up are general democratic, so that there cannot be any class basis for cooperation that is common to them all. Such a basis is provided by their common concern to prevent nuclear war, and, when consolidating, it, speakers said, one must take into account — and resolve in due time — the contradictions which appear within the peace movement itself, and also between the anti-war actions, on the one hand, and the actual stand of the working class and the forces of national liberation, on the other.

Speakers said that such contradictions tell, for instance, in the insufficiently active role of the working class in the struggle for peace and in the electoral support by a sizeable section of the workers of political parties conducting a policy of exacerbating international tensions and stepping up the arms race. To what extent these contradictions can be overcome largely depends on the Communists' ideological and political work among the working people. The working class movement has made insufficient use of its potentialities not only in the social struggle but also in the struggle against war, because of the influence of the bourgeois ideology on it.

Another group of contradictions is determined by the fact that in view of the threat of nuclear war, there is an important demarcation line between the opponents, who may not always be entirely consistent, and the proponents of the policy of international confrontation with the socialist countries, a line which runs not only between the masses and the "higher strata" but within the "higher strata" themselves, on the parliamentary level, within the ruling monopoly class. Such a demarcation is being promoted by the anti-war protest of the masses. However, the monopoly bourgeoisie has been acting in cohesion against the working class. There is also evidence of facts such as this or that government taking a stand for peaceful coexistence, while stepping up the drive against the working people's vital interests in its internal policies. To this should be added that action by the working class for its rights does not always meet with understanding within the anti-war movement precisely because many of the participants have different and often opposite class aspirations.

In the opinion of José María Lanao, who deal with the ways of resolving such contradictions, "the forces contending with each other in the approach to the solution of problems caused by the economic crisis could still find common ground in the struggle for peace. The Communists of Argentina support the President's positive steps in defence of peace and against the militarisation of space, the imperialist intervention in the affairs of Central America, and for a development of ties with the Soviet Union, Cuba and other socialist states. It would be a mistake on our part to ignore the forces represented by the President in his acts aimed to preserve peace. That would be taking a sectarian attitude. However, we are resolutely opposed to the vacillation and concessions to pressure from imperialism and the local oligarchy which are in evidence in the government's economic and social line."

Stavros Zorbalas noted: "The strength of the peace movement lies in its breadth and unity. That is why it is necessary to overcome the tendency to turn it into a purely party cause and to prevent actions disrupting unity and hampering joint anti-war actions." He showed how the Greek Communists worked to enlarge the peace movement by involving more and more working people in town and country, former military men, workers in science and the arts, young people and women. Success is promoted by the bringing to the fore of issues that are of concern to many Greek citizens: the peaceful settlement of controversial issues in the Eastern Mediterranean, the removal of US military bases and prevention of the siting of nuclear weapons on Greek territory, the country's withdrawal from the aggressive NATO bloc, and reduction of military spending. The fact that peace fighters in the country belonging to three different movements have mounted joint action is a result of the search for new possibilities for broader unity. They supported initiatives envisaging the establishment of nuclear-free zones, freezing nuclear weapons, and preventing the militarisation of space.

"At the same time," S. Zorbalas continued, "the Greek Communists, linking the struggle for peace with the defence of the working people's vital interests, demand the annulment of the PASOK government's anti-democratic decrees curbing the right to strike, and resist attempts to conduct 'austerity' policies which make the working people bear the burdens of the economic crisis. Such an approach helps to involve broad strata of the population in joint action for the solution of problems of peace and democracy."

The discussion also dealt with the great potentialities for uniting the peace forces with the working class movement on a patriotic basis. It was shown that the activation of internal reaction coalescing with Washington's aggressive policy in some countries is connected with their growing military, political and economic dependence, which is why the struggle for the country's policy of peace cannot have any prospects unless such dependence is overcome.

The contradictions and any possible differences in the peace movement over the differing assessments of the various international issues and approaches to their solution, should never hamper the main effort: the urge to make the struggle for peace even more vigorous and more purposeful. The Communists support all the sincere actions against the preparation of war and do not require any acceptance of their tenets, but they explain their positions to promote an understanding by the peace fighters of the role of socialism, the working class and the national liberation movement in the struggle for peace, Sam Moeti emphasised. Other speakers said in this context that sectarian attitudes to the anti-war movement and substitution of empty revolutionary talk for the urge to concrete action were unacceptable.

The peace movements are highly specific, with uneven development, concentration on different anti-war problems and a different place in the overall context of social, economic, and political life in each country. D. Sirkov remarked that the various movements may carry on an independent and parallel struggle against those who step up international tensions, and added: cooperation with them should not be made

contingent on the acceptance either of a common programme or of organisational structures directing and coordinating actions against the nuclear threat. "One must reckon with the fact that action for peace has many faces," William Stewart said. "It is absurd to try to fit them into a procrustean bed of some kind of uniformity. But then one also has to reckon with the fact that they are marked by a process of convergence and approximation. There are signs, for instance, of a common attitude to protest against the US administration's plans for preparing Star Wars. In some countries, national coalitions of opponents of war are taking shape. In Canada, the Communists, the New Democratic Party and the main trade union centres have rallied round demands such as an end to the testing of cruise missiles in Canada, and the conversion of the country into a zone free from nuclear weapons, abandonment of the militarisation of space, adoption of measures on nuclear and general disarmament, recognition of the demands for military-strategic parity and a return to detente. Experience shows, therefore, the possibility and advisability of working out definite minimum programmes in the anti-war struggle."

The strengthening of cooperation of all the peace forces, it was stressed at the symposium, markedly helps to increase the role of the working class in anti-war actions and to ensure the unity of its ranks, above all on the issue of peace. Experience shows that it can here become the crucial social force.

Peace fighters, it was further said, rally on the solution of political, economic and ideological problems in preventing war. Ib Nørlund gave a systematic list of the forms in which war was being prepared, and accordingly, brought out the main lines of resisting these: the struggle against the arms race, prevention of any further destabilisation of the dangerously exacerbated international situation, and resistance to the imperialist propaganda so as effectively to isolate the warmongers. "The simultaneous development of action for peace along every line," he said, "cannot proceed spontaneously. It can do so under the influence of conscious forces with a knowledge of the laws of the class contest. From this springs the responsibility of the Communists. It is important and necessary to set up a peace front in good time, a front that is broader and more powerful than ever before in the past, and one capable of preventing the preparation and starting of wars."

He added that in the ideological activity for mobilising in defence of peace, it is important to drive home the gravity of the threat of nuclear war, to spread knowledge about the socialist community's political initiatives for improving the international situation, to expose anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, and to work for mutual understanding among the peace forces.

The ideological struggle over the peace issue is being sharpened, Ali Khavari said. The false notions about the role of socialism and the communist movement, and of the national liberation struggle of the peoples hamper effective anti-war actions. If the influence of such ideas is to be overcome, there must be greater resistance to the imperialist propaganda and greater efforts by the Communists in explaining their ideological and political positions.

Our movement is an equal partner in the struggle against war. But the Communists, said Erol Cantekin and Sam Moeti, have the leading role to play in consolidating the positions of the anti-war movement. It has nothing to do with an urge to issue orders or give instruction to the fighters for peace. Because the Communists express the interests of the vanguard class of the epoch, the working class, and are guided by the scientific Marxist-Leninist theory, which helps to understand the conditions, the means and the lines of struggle and its prospects, they are acting in the peace movement as the most vigorous, seminal, purposeful and consistent political force.

Rounding off the work of the symposium, Gancho Ganev, Chairman of the *WMR* Commission of General Theoretical Problems, noted that the ideological legacy of the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern has helped to stimulate the discussion of the

issues arising from the need to clarify the peculiarity and experience of the struggle for peace and social progress in our day. Speakers dealt with matters of interest to Marxist scholars, such as the Communists' elaboration of the Marxist view of the dialectics of peace and the class struggle in the postwar period, factors enhancing the role of the working class in anti-war action, the link-up of the struggle for peace and the working class and national liberation movements, the principles of the policy of alliance with the peace forces, general democratic solidarity in the struggle for peace, and the Communists' internationalism.

Other issues were also raised in connection with the ideas handed down by the Seventh Congress. Papers were presented on the historical experience of a number of parties in conducting the line worked out by the Congress in the fightback against fascism and the looming Second World War, on the Communists' struggle for the unity of the working class, and their experience in organising national patriotic resistance to imperialist aggression.

The discussion warrants a general conclusion for the *WMR's* work ahead. The ideological substantiation of the anti-war struggle and the role of the Communists in it is a highly important topic which is not only a pressing line of Marxist studies today, but also a factor promoting the ever greater cohesion of the communist movement, and the hammering out of unity of views on concrete aspects of international cooperation for more vigorous struggle.

¹ *Seventh Congress of the Communist International and the Struggle Against Fascism and War*, Moscow, 1975, p. 389 (in Russian).

² Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 2, p. 18.

In the Main Area of Confrontation

(Features and Trends of Anti-Communism in Asia and Africa Today)

The *WMR* Commission on Problems of the National Liberation Movement in Asia and Africa conducted an exchange of views on the social mainsprings, orientations, and forms of anti-communism in Africa and Asia. The discussion was based on a paper from an international study group consisting of **Raja Collure** (Communist Party of Sri Lanka), **José Lava** (Communist Party of the Philippines), and **Ibraheem Malik** (Communist Party of Israel). The following is a summation of the discussion.

A distinctive feature of anti-communism is the great multiformity and even heterogeneity of its forms, orientations, concepts, doctrines, modes, and methods. In every case it acquires a new aspect, depending on circumstances — the specifics of the prevailing historical moment, national and local conditions, and even inclinations and predilections of its exponents.

Manifestations of anti-communism have their own specific in the Afro-Asian world as well. This is due, in particular, to the way these manifestations come about and develop. Anti-communism appeared, as everybody knows, as a response of the ruling bourgeois class to the challenge from the rising communist movement. But in colonies and dependent countries in Asia and Africa anti-communist views and sentiments began to spread mainly long before the formation there of the bourgeoisie and the

proletariat, to say nothing of an organised working class movement. They were sown by the colonialist rulers as a sort of preventive against the "revolutionary infection" — the ideas of national and social liberation.

However, there was nothing the imperialists could do to slow down social development and prevent the countries of the East from being drawn "into the general maelstrom of the world revolutionary movement".¹ To a colossal extent the awakening of enslaved peoples to historical activity was fostered by the Great October Revolution. It cleared the way for an alliance of the working class movement with the fighters for national liberation on a global scale and was, at the same time, the decisive factor behind the maturing in the oppressed countries themselves of forces capable of introducing organisation and purpose into the mass struggle. During the first decade after the October Revolution 22 communist parties sprang up in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

At the new historical stage anti-communism acquired new features. First, it gave priority to anti-Sovietism, to attacks on the state of the organised working class — the Soviet Union. Following the socialist revolution in Russia all problems of world development of any importance began to be tackled with an eye to the all-embracing and class-perceived struggle between the two socio-economic systems. Without taking this into account it was no longer possible, as Lenin noted, "to pose a single national or colonial problem correctly, even if it concerns a most outlying part of the world".²

Second, the attacks against the national liberation movement seeking to break the chain of colonialist oppression grew more violent and virulent. Essentially speaking, not a single patriotic leader, not a single prominent champion of freedom and independence escaped the charge of communism. Despite the intentions of imperialist reaction, this only does credit to communism, reaffirming that it embodies the loftiest human ideals and, at the same time, shows the awareness of the imperialists of the role played by the national liberation movement as a significant component stream of the world revolutionary process. Lenin's thesis about a close militant alliance between the international proletariat and the forces of national liberation needed to crush the common enemy found concise expression in the slogan "Workers of all lands and oppressed peoples, unite!" Since then the attempts to demolish this alliance, undercut the position of the revolutionaries by isolating them from one another have been one of the main orientations of anti-communist activity.

With the downfall of imperialism's colonial system the principal aim of anti-communism in the national liberation zone has become to obstruct the further deepening of the revolutionary process, keep the newly free nations in the status of a dependent and exploited fringe of the capitalist world, and prevent their transition to social progress, to the building of socialism. Anti-communism has assumed the role of a cardinal means of providing imperialist neocolonialist strategy with ideological backing. Its orientations and methods are taking shape under the impact of the changes in the balance of strength on the international scene and in individual countries, of the twists and turns in the march of events, and of the modifications in imperialism's strategic and tactical guidelines.

Latter-Day "Crusaders" and Their Followers

In the late 1970s and early 1980s there were significant changes in anti-communism's ideological and political structures. These changes were the response of the most bellicose imperialist circles, notably of the USA, to the increasingly evident hopelessness of the calculations on winning the historical dispute with socialism by peaceful means, under conditions of detente. These circles have tried to organise a counter-offensive, counting on a strategy of political and social revanche. They have gone into the attack with open visors, proclaiming a "crusade" against communism and their intention to go to all lengths to consign it to the "ash heap of history". This

mirrors imperialist reaction's agonising anxiety over the fact that developments in the world are not at all fitting into its scenario, that all the efforts to arrest the radical changes paring down imperialism's sphere of domination and shattering its foundations are proving to be ultimately futile.

This is borne out by the situation in the Third World. Although the national liberation movement began its march long before the concept "detente" entered the political vocabulary, the easing of the international climate and the shrinking of the possibilities for direct imperialist interference unquestionably created more favourable external conditions for the struggle of the freedom fighters. Suffice it to note that in the 1970s South Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, and Afghanistan dropped out of the orbit of imperialist control.

In an effort to halt changes it does not desire, Washington has not merely elevated anti-communism to the level of state policy but also used it as the guide for all its actions on the international scene. In the ungarnished context of anti-communist guidelines the Third World began to be regarded exclusively as a "theatre of battle" between the opposing social systems. In the perception of the US ruling circles the national liberation movement, the struggle of the peoples of the new states to consolidate their independence, and their right to decide their own destinies are not a phenomenon springing from objective causes and from the laws of social development but a result of the "intrigues of Moscow and international communism" to which the response can and should be that of force, military force.

The Washington administration has in fact proclaimed war against the national liberation movement and endeavoured to give it the mask of a "struggle against international terrorism". This theme is not new in the American foreign policy arsenal, but with the ascension to the White House of its present incumbent it was made unprecedentedly vocal and given an unparalleled pitch. US official quarters now tag the label "terrorist" on not even some individual organisations of freedom fighters but on the national liberation movement as a whole. It is tagged on the foreign policy of sovereign nations — Vietnam, Angola, Libya, Syria. Obviously overrating its own capabilities for suppressing the freedom aspirations of peoples, the government of the USA has proclaimed that it is its "moral duty" to depose what it regards as undesirable governments of independent countries when and where it pleases. In an attempt to make this a somehow credible "duty" they are resorting to slander against national liberation forces. It is charged that these forces are acting "at the instigation" and with the support of the Soviet Union, Cuba, Vietnam, or other socialist community countries, that they are seeking the spread of "communist dictatorships" throughout the world.

The battered "communist threat" myth has thus been adapted for the national liberation zone. This bogey began to be waved with renewed vigour in the mid-1970s precisely in connection with developments in new states of Asia and Africa. Internationalist assistance to the peoples of Angola, Ethiopia, Kampuchea, and Afghanistan in repulsing aggression from without and resisting interference by imperialist and hegemonistic forces has been and still is portrayed as an attempt to bring strategically important areas of Southern Africa, the Horn of Africa, and Indochina under "communist control" and as "Red expansion" in the direction of the southern seas. Futile efforts are being made to use the tales about a "communist threat" and a "Soviet military menace" to provide a "theoretical justification" for international brigandage, state terrorism, and subversion against other countries and peoples.

However, it is not at all hard to note that there is no conceptual basis — not even according to the yardstick of bourgeois thinking — to support these tales. What is given out as a "concept" actually boils down exclusively to the infamous "export of revolution" thesis, which is intrinsically alien to Marxism-Leninism. This thesis has

always been rejected in the most categorical terms by the first country of triumphant socialism and by the political vanguard of Soviet society, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. "The Communists," it was stated at a plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee in June 1983, "are convinced that the future belongs to socialism. Such is the course of history. But this by no means signifies that we intend to engage in the 'export of revolution', in interference in the affairs of other nations. Generally speaking, it is not possible to 'export revolution'. Socialism can only grow out of the objective needs of social development in each given country."³

While charging socialist states with interfering in the affairs of other nations, the imperialists do not abandon their attempts to unite, on an anti-communist basis, their hirelings operating in the Third World. In a tropical African jungle this summer there was a get-together of the ring-leaders of gangs fighting undeclared wars against Angola, Nicaragua, Afghanistan, Laos, and Kampuchea. Its sponsor was the ultra-right Citizens for America organisation formed two years ago in the USA. A message from Ronald Reagan, which stated clearly that "their goals are our goals"⁴ was read to the gathering. The meeting ended with the signing of a "programme" document by the organisation that assumed the name of Democratic International. It is reported that as the follow-up to this it is planned to convene the "first world congress of anti-communist insurgents".

With this cynical word-juggling they are camouflaging their efforts to form an alliance, under the aegis of Washington, of assassins bank-rolled by the CIA, chart the tactics for all of them, and give them the semblance of a lawful facade. Terrorism, which has become a norm of foreign policy for the White House, is getting a new instrument for the attainment of sinister designs against freedom-loving nations.

A special role in the "crusade" against the forces of freedom, peace, and socialism in the Afro-Asian region is assigned to Israel and South Africa, each a bastion of imperialism in respectively the Middle East and the south of the African continent. It is not for nothing that the Reagan administration has raised its relations with them in the first case to the level of a "strategic alliance" and, in the second — to the level of "constructive engagement".

Anti-communism and hatred of progress, of national and social liberation underlie the domestic and foreign policies of Israel's Zionist leaders. This is seen in the occupation of Arab lands, in the unceasing aggression against neighbouring Middle Eastern states, in an attempt to turn back the Arab national liberation movement, to nullify its revolutionary achievements, and restore imperialism's positions in the region. A role of no little significance is assigned to Israel in imperialism's neocolonialist plans for other regions, notably for Africa and Latin America.

It is indicative that the Israeli Zionists and the Pretoria racists are using the same pretexts offered by their transoceanic patrons to justify their growing aggressiveness. Take, for instance, the White Book made public last April by the South African Defence Minister General Magnus Malan. It declares in part: "Forceful military action by the South African Security Forces during the last decade or more has provided sufficient time to allow Africa to experience the dangers of Russian involvement in their countries, as well as the suffering and retrogression that follows upon the revolutionary formula."⁵ This "forceful action" (read — acts of aggression and subversion) is, according to the authors of this White Book, what made many of South Africa's neighbours "come to their senses and" got "their eyes opened to the dangers of Russian imperialism".⁶

Unabashed, these same quarters blame the Soviet Union also for all the "social unrest and labour conflicts" in South Africa, which it allegedly provokes through its "proxies" — the South African Communist Party, the ANC, and SWAPO. Anti-communist, anti-Soviet hysteria is used as a cover for ruthless repressions against the oppressed masses and the patriotic forces. General Malan and his ilk do not take the

trouble even to offer any proof. Any, even the most absurd, anti-communist, anti-Soviet inventions are looked upon with favour by their American patrons, who do not stint funds to support those who say to all and sundry that their creed is "better dead than Red".

Such people are to be found also in the developing nations themselves, where anti-communism is mustering under its banners all that is retrograde and obscurantist. Its social base consists mainly of the classes and strata hostile to social progress and closely linked to and dependent upon imperialism — feudal landowners, compradores, the bureaucratic and parasitical bourgeoisie, and the most reactionary sections of the local, chiefly big, capitalists. Where they hold power, especially if it acquires the form of military dictatorships, of repressive anti-democratic regimes, anti-communism more often than not becomes state policy and official ideology disseminated through various channels, chiefly through the education system and the mass media. In many Asian and African countries the parties of the working class have to function deep underground and they are brutally harassed.

The principal charge made against the Communists is based on the above-mentioned "export of revolution" doctrine (and its kindred "communist conspiracy theory") tailored to meet local conditions, and it is that they allegedly act in the interests of a "foreign power" and are "Soviet agents". In many cases the Communists are generally depicted as "alien", "foreign" elements. A specimen of this sort of invention is the allegation of the newspaper *Mayo*, mouthpiece of the ruling National Democratic party of Egypt, that the Egyptian and Sudanese Communists are no more than instruments of Moscow's ambition to depose the regimes in Sudan (meaning the Nimeiri regime. — *Authors*) and Egypt, and that the communist movement itself in these countries has been built up and is financed by Jews.⁷ This is a clear manifestation of a distinctive feature of primitive, murderous anti-communism, an appeal to prejudices, to base mob instincts.

This line is seen very distinctly in the attempts to inflame anti-communist sentiments by exploiting religious feelings. The special danger of actions of this kind is that the vast majority of the inhabitants of African and Asian countries are religious people strongly influenced by the clergy. Taking advantage of their illiteracy, of their lack of information, obscurantist extremists keep telling them that the Communists are hostile to religion. The Marxist-Leninist propositions about there being fundamental differences between communist and religious ideologies are deliberately accentuated by the anti-communists with the interpretation that they are an indication of a striving to abolish and uproot religion by force. The attacks on scientific communism are concentrated on its philosophical aspects. The Communists are charged with being immoral and anti-humane, with attacking the foundations of the family and civilisation, with lacking any spiritual values and being unable to answer the basic questions posed by life.

This is a matter not of counterposing two world views but of slandering socialism "from religious positions". A particularly large effort is made to sell the idea that for religious people it is impossible and even unnatural to be proponents of socialism. This is sometimes declared to be an axiom requiring no proof, and in other cases it boils down to misleading, demagogic propaganda.

Using every conceivable means to keep people under their influence, to block the road to revolutionary changes, and to vilify and discredit the theory that shows the way to these changes, the right-wing clergy acts in a united front with imperialist reaction. Counter-revolutionaries, supported by the forces of imperialism and hegemonism, are fighting the Afghan people's government under the flag of religion. Scriptures give a cover for the aggression of Israel's Zionist rulers against Arab Countries. On occupied Arab lands the ultra-reactionary Moslem Brothers organisation is directing its main thrust not against the invaders and enslavers of its people but against the Communists,

seeing them as the chief threat, for they are "without God" while, however you look at it, the Zionists are people "with religion in their hearts".

Clericalism and confessionalism have lately evolved into one of the principal instruments for disuniting and debilitating the front of anti-imperialist forces. The Iranian-Iraqi conflict and the stirring up of internecine clashes motivated by religious-communal and national differences in Lebanon, Sudan, India, Sri Lanka, and other countries create fertile soil for imperialism's subversive activities. Our journal has already written of the plans being nurtured by Israel's Zionist rulers for the religious-confessional fragmentation of Arab states.⁸

More often than not our ideologico-political adversaries try to impute to the Communists the blame for the destructive consequences of the internecine conflicts provoked by reaction — this is further evidence of how unprincipled and unscrupulous they are in their choice of methods. For instance, when the intercommunal bloodletting broke out in Sri Lanka it was declared that this was the outcome of a conspiracy by three left-wing parties, including the Communist Party, with the objective of clearing the way to power with the support of a "strong foreign nation". The semi-official press demanded the breaking off of diplomatic relations with the USSR and other socialist states. Subsequent developments demonstrated the total speciousness of the accusations against the Communist Party of Sri Lanka and other left-wing forces. Nevertheless, the government goes on alleging that what took place on the island was the result of actions by terrorists "inspired by Marxist-Leninist ideas".

Essentially, the inflaming of anti-communist hysteria and the myths about a "Soviet military threat", the "export of revolution", and a "communist conspiracy" go beyond the framework of a purely ideological struggle. They are classical weapons of psychological warfare, which has now assumed the image of a "crusade" against the theory and practice of scientific socialism. The latter-day "crusaders" are motivated by a desire for social and political revenge, to change the balance of strength in the world in favour of imperialism. This is what underlies the inseparable link between the anti-communist campaigns and aggression, the escalation of the threat of war. Uncompromising, militant counteraction to such campaigns, determined resistance to anti-Soviet, anti-socialist inventions of every kind, and active disruption of the adversary's ideological subversion should, in the view of the participants in the discussion, get priority in the struggle against the most flagrant and bellicose variant of anti-communism. Today this struggle is in need of a constant close link to the actions against imperialism's aggressive policies, against its course towards escalating international tension and increasing the threat of a nuclear catastrophe.

In Quest of Non-Existent Alternatives

The total ideological counter-assault mounted by imperialism involves rather than excludes the use of subtle methods of disorienting and confusing opinion that does not accept crude attacks on communism. The most clear-thinking bourgeois ideologues have to reckon with the fact that for the new states capitalism is a morally discredited system, and that most of these states neither desire to follow the road it has traversed nor borrow the whole range of its "values". Further, there is no questioning the huge force of attraction of socialism's principles and ideals among the people of the Afro-Asian world, although mostly they do not have a clear, much less scientific, notion of socialism.

Taking advantage of this situation, capitalism's apologists are doing all they can to foster a distorted, falsified understanding of the essence of socialist principles and ideals, and misrepresent the practice of the countries of existing socialism, notably of the USSR. It is asserted that the "Soviet model" of socio-economic development has not passed the test of time and can no longer serve as an inspiring example for developing nations. Extremes such as the Maoist "cultural revolution" or the Pol Pot

tyranny are often depicted as inalienable hallmarks of the socialist system.⁹

As has frequently been the case in the past, not counting on the persuasiveness of their arguments in a direct polemic, the enemies of the Marxist-Leninist theory on both the right and "left" are trying to undermine it with the claim of "cleansing" it of distortions that they themselves invent. Research aimed at "returning" to Marxism its "true, authentic" image is vigorously encouraged, for example, by the Socialist Party of Senegal, which is a leading exponent of social-democratic ideas in Africa. Small groups of persons who usurp the name of Communists are being supported as a counterbalance to genuine Marxists-Leninists, who are charged with "dogmatic orthodoxy", with blindly following the "line laid down by Moscow". Distancing from the stand adopted by the Soviet Union and the CPSU is advanced as a criterion of the "independence" of communist parties, of a "creative attitude" to realities.

At the same time, efforts are being made to offer something that at least remotely resembles an alternative to scientific socialism. In most cases this is a "third way" of development, which represents the cornerstone of social-reformism. This "third way" is being peddled most assiduously in the Afro-Asian world by the Socialist International and by the African Socialist International, formed in 1981 and headed by one of the vice-presidents of the Socialist International, Léopold Senghor, a former president of Senegal.

As soon as it was set up the African Socialist International sought to appear before world opinion as the champion of the African peoples' aspiration for freedom and progress. The Charter adopted by its constituent congress asserts that Africa can become "free, welded in solidarity, and united" only if it is guided by the ideas of "democratic socialism". The content that is put into this thesis may be gauged, in particular, from Senghor's report to the ASI's Second Congress (Dakar, December 1983), in which he noted that in the combination of the words "democratic socialism", the most important was not the noun but the adjective,¹⁰ bluntly stressing the inimicability of the doctrine of the African social-reformists to the Marxist-Leninist, scientific understanding of socialism.

In foreign policy the "third way" concept is expressed in the calls for an "equidistance" from both the imperialist camp and the socialist community, in the thesis that the two "superpowers" bear an "equal responsibility" for the deterioration of the international climate, for the mounting threat of a nuclear war.

The attempts to equate the two opposing world systems are clearly seen also in the interpretation of international developments exclusively in the context of "North-South" relations. In postulating that the world's division into "developed" and "underdeveloped" nations is permanent and inescapable, this is obviously a design to refute the "universal constructions" of Marxism-Leninism, its doctrine of the successiveness of historical systems. The "North-South" doctrine is being actively used by bourgeois and reformist circles to erode the national liberation movement, to strip it of its anti-imperialist content. It is aimed at undermining the relations of the new nations with the socialist world, at playing them off against each other on the basis of formal indicators of development levels. The distinctive character of the historical destinies of nations that have recently won liberation is here given out as a "civilisation specific" that allegedly nullifies the possibility of their transition to higher stages of social development including an evolution bypassing the capitalist stage.

Particularly savage attacks are levelled at the socialist orientation. Although it has in fact proved its viability, deep-going social roots, and historical prospect, the overt and covert adversaries of the socialist option continue to depict it as a sort of "anomaly" and "aberration", as being no more than a tribute to the "socialism vogue".

The attacks on the practice of socialist-oriented states are conducted from different directions. From their slanted analysis of the situation in these countries, capitalism's apologists draw the conclusion that in economic terms this orientation is ineffective or

at least less effective than the capitalist way. Instead of presenting arguments they try to profit by the actual difficulties confronting these countries, by errors on the part of their leaders, by miscalculations in getting the economic mechanism, the system of economic management and planning going. Even in cases where it is acknowledged that in socialist-oriented countries the economy can develop quite rapidly, it is alleged that this can be done only at the price of considerable sacrifice by the people. The bourgeois pattern of multiparty democracy is drawn upon to attribute immanent anti-democratism to the socialist orientation.

By means of an absolutisation of the history and of the social, cultural, and other specifics of developing nations, some quarters are vainly trying to prove that the socialist option is unacceptable to these nations, that they cannot apply the Marxist-Leninist theory, which is described as a "purely European" phenomenon. Attempts are often made to idealise traditional social structures, to depict them as being entirely harmonious, as based exclusively on the principles of brotherhood and justice, on a "moral and spiritual affinity" of the exponents of common cultural values — and this, it is contended, makes superfluous the struggle to build socialism, a struggle that inevitably involves class conflicts. It is declared that the spirit of dialogue and the accent on personal contacts are implicit in African societies generally and that this is entirely incompatible with the Marxist postulate that the class struggle is the motive force of history.¹¹

The thesis that an "ideological vacuum" has formed in the developing world, particularly in Africa, has lately become quite widespread. Its exponents maintain that Africans have in effect not yet found their ideology. They have rejected capitalism, but neither has socialism (by which they mean various kinds of national "socialism") asserted itself on the continent. What are they offering as a filler for this "vacuum"?

The role of a "third force", which accepts neither the "extremes" of capitalism nor the "vices" of communism, is at present increasingly claimed by various religious systems. A "third way" of development for the new nations is propagated in an encyclical of Pope John Paul II under the heading *Redemptor hominis* ("Redeemer of Men"), which urges tackling the social problems of these countries by religious-moral means. The Pope toured African states three times, making speeches in defence of religion, against "idolatry, materialism, and atheism".

Attempts are sometimes made to promote a sort of close union of Marxist, religious, and liberal-bourgeois views. This is, in particular, a highlight of Al-Tanwir (Enlightenment) group formed in Egypt by persons who had earlier been affiliated to the communist movement. Today they categorically reject the legitimacy of the existence and independent activity of communist parties in the Arab world and accentuate "enlightenment" and "missionary" work in the spirit of the Renaissance.

There is a visible effort to encourage interest in African and Asian countries in "traditionalist alternatives" — models of socio-economic development based on traditional religious values and dogmas, chiefly of Islam and, to a lesser extent, of Buddhism and some other cults. These models (mainly Islamic) are sometimes regarded not only as recipes for purely legal or economic problems but also a mechanism for the overall transformation of social structures in accordance with the canons of Islam, with the laws of the shariat.¹² Central here is the idea that the prescriptions of Islam must underlie the social system, which is not reduced to the principles either of capitalism or socialism but is said to be rising above both these socio-economic systems.

Postulates of this sort differ from each other in social essence and political orientation. Two currents are coming through most distinctly: radical petty-bourgeois and conservative bourgeois-landowner. The radicals proclaim as lawful only that property that is based on personal labour, while proponents of the second current accentuate the inviolability of property and look for a possibility, by means of the

relevant interpretation of the Koran and early Islamic practice, to codify modern forms of capitalist enterprise. In some countries that have started the "Islamisation" of society, for example Pakistan and Sudan (under Nimeiri), the purpose of the references to Islamic tradition and of the establishment of Moslem social institutions is to make the power of bourgeois pro-imperialist circles "sacrosanct". In Iran the slogan "Neither East nor West", which supplanted the call of the revolutionary masses — "Death to American Imperialism!" — only camouflages the reinforcement of the positions held by capitalism, which is embroiling itself ever more deeply with imperialist circles and anti-communist hysteria.

A lesson of history is that individual orientations of anti-communism do not exist in isolation from each other. The distinction between its "primitive" and "sophisticated" varieties is relative: they are mutually complementing and exchange ideas and ways of influencing people, to say nothing of their common social and ideologico-political basis. To reveal this relationship and bring to light the situation twists and turns in the practice of anti-communism, and show the new subterfuges and methods used by it means to help rendering it substantively harmless. A consensus at the discussion was that a direct duty of the Communists to the people is to lay bare the essence and aims of the ideologico-political adversary, make public his sinister designs, and expose the attempts to manipulate public opinion with the aid of pseudo-scientific methods and falsifications of Marxism-Leninism. In addition to comprehensively criticising anti-communist concepts it is vital to offer a positive elaboration of the problems worrying large sections of the working people.

Need for a Differentiated Approach

In addition to operating in ideology and politics, anti-communism functions in the sphere of the mass consciousness, acquiring the form of retrograde stereotypes, notions, and prejudices hampering an intelligent perception of the underlying ideas and principles of scientific socialism. To consider that prejudices of this sort are propounded by diehard anti-communists is to cede to the ideological adversary quite large sections of the people, sections that are themselves victims of anti-communist propaganda and have the potential to join the ranks of the fighters for society's revolutionary restructuring.

It must be remembered that in Africa and Asia the collision between two irreconcilably opposing ideologies — bourgeois and proletarian — is unfolding on a social base that is in many ways inadequate to either. In many countries the bourgeoisie and the working class are weak, numerically small, and passing through the early stages of their formation. The peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie, and some intermediate strata predominate in the social structure. These, as well as a large proportion of the working class, encounter colossal difficulties in mastering and assimilating the theory of Marxism-Leninism, particularly its philosophy. Marxism-Leninism is paving the way for itself to the minds of people in a hard struggle with other ideologies and backward social thinking linked to tribalism, communalism, casteism, and so on.

Anti-communist guidelines are basically at variance with the true interests of these strata, with their objective socio-economic status. For all that there are a number of reasons why prejudices against the theory and practice of scientific socialism penetrate their milieu. Among these are the low level of literacy and information, indifference to politics, adherence to the traditional, notably religious, world-view, and the influence of private-proprietor thinking. Nor should one discount the purposeful impact of imperialist propaganda and the local media siding with imperialism. Another contributing factor in many Asian and African countries is the organisational and political weakness of the progressive parties and forces, which are inadequately linked to the masses.

In some cases the venom of anti-communism has penetrated a section of the working

class as well. As has been noted, in most African and Asian countries the working class is still young and numerically small. Its structure has some distinctions that are due to the predominance of small enterprises and a hypertrophied non-productive sector. To a large extent it has still not broken away from its artisan and peasant past and lacks developed proletarian traditions and a clear-cut class world-view.

This is what provides the soil for anti-communism. But anti-communist prejudices do not appear of themselves. They are actively, vigorously planted. The aim is basically to foster among the population an emotional antipathy for communist views and ideas, a sort of psychological immunity to them. Hence the reliance on irrationalism, on the appeal to feelings rather than to the mind, the accent on methods of psychological indoctrination.

A colossal apparatus has been created and functions to this end. Monopoly transnational information corporations and governmental propaganda agencies of the leading capitalist powers pursue a policy of "information imperialism" relative to developing nations, deluging them with torrents of anti-communist inventions and obstructing the dissemination of truthful, objective information.

Regrettably, seeds of anti-communism germinate. By and large, it is quite correct to say that "local" anti-communism unfolds chiefly on the soil of bourgeois nationalism.¹³ But, as any other social phenomenon, nationalism requires a concrete-historical analysis and a dialectical approach.

In Asia and Africa the main sources feeding nationalism include: imperialism's unceasing encroachments on the sovereignty and independence of the new states, the latter's subordinate status in the system of the international capitalist division of labour, the persisting and frequently intensifying exploitation of the peoples by imperialist monopolies, and the unfinished process of national consolidation. This is a nationalism of nations that are in many respects in fact oppressed. Much of it has a general democratic content, which to use Lenin's words, is its "historical justification".¹⁴ Here the principle of nation is not confined to nation-to-nation relations but takes shape on the basis of the relations with imperialism as a whole and asserts itself in struggle with it. This gives an anti-imperialist orientation to the views of many nationalists.

Further, in Asia and Africa nationalism bears the imprint of the fact that its exponents are mainly the middle and petty-bourgeois strata because there the bourgeoisie, as has been mentioned, is numerically small or, in some cases, totally non-existent. In the given case one can speak of petty-bourgeois nationalism that is in some respects distinct from bourgeois nationalism, although the world-views of both are analogous.

Like the petty bourgeoisie itself, the nationalism preached by it is dual and contradictory. Even where it has pronounced general democratic, anti-imperialist features, it is not free of national antagonism and chauvinism. Progressive and reactionary elements coexist in it, sometimes in fairly complex, odd combinations. This is further compounded by terminology. The word "nationalism" is sometimes, particularly in some languages, used as a synonym of "patriotism", which is interpreted as dedication to national values and ideals.

In many cases the forces on the right wing of nationalistic movements criticise capitalism and proclaim their fidelity to socialism (how far their actions match their words is a different matter). On the other hand, anti-imperialist nationalists often use the slogan of "national unity" to reconcile the exploited with the exploiters and prevent the class consciousness of the working people from growing. Developments produce many instances (take, say, the Arab world) where persons and movements operating under the banner of nationalism have drawn close to or even adopted the positions of scientific socialism. But there also are examples illustrative of the opposite — under the impact of certain factors anti-imperialist nationalism acquires an anti-

communist and anti-Soviet slant, becoming reactionary.

Taking advantage of the fact that in African and Asian societies the concept of nationalism is widely seen as profoundly positive, as bordering on patriotic commitment and even as patriotism, attempts to use the cover of nationalists are made also by persons expounding pro-imperialist, clearly anti-communist views. In the Philippines such persons are called "licensed nationalists". The many varieties of nationalism can be assessed in socio-political terms only if account is taken of the dynamics of the evolution of each. In the context of the relations between adherents of the communist theory and the protagonists of nationalistic views it is vital to follow Lenin's advice that it is necessary to make "concessions to elements that are turning toward the proletariat — whenever and in the measure that they turn towards the proletariat — in addition to fighting those who turn towards the bourgeoisie".¹⁵

An analogous attitude is justified also relative to movements developing under the banner of religion. Such movements, especially if they acquire a political hue, cannot be approached as though they were a single whole. Experience shows that one and the same religion, its dogmas and slogans, may inspire diverse and even opposing forces. We have mentioned attempts to launch anti-communist campaigns in a religious setting. But while quite a few of the clergy of all religions still anathematise communism, many attempts are made to give socialist ideas a religious cloak, to depict them as the materialisation of the aims of Christianity, Islam, and Buddhism.

The influence of the religious factor is particularly strong in Asia and Africa. For the population of the countries of these continents religion has been and still is virtually the predominant mass form of social consciousness. There people are still unable not only to articulate but also to understand their national and social needs and aims in other ideological forms. The awakening of militant political activity of the many millions of people, primarily peasants, still living in a world of traditional religious notions is one of the main reasons for the perceptible reinforcement of religion's influence on the political processes in Africa and Asia.

Among other reasons, mention may be made of the incurable vices of dependent capitalist development leading to instability and a deterioration of the population's material condition, to the loss by large sections of the people of their affinity to their respective classes, and their ousting from the sphere of productive labour. In their minds people link this directly to "Westernisation", which erodes the customary and seemingly immutable foundations of their way of life. The growth of disaffection and protests is accompanied by the people's address to the norms and traditions of religion, which they use to oppose an alien way of life.

Simultaneously, there is an increasingly clear-cut tendency to use the factor of religion as a barrier to the spread of the ideas of scientific socialism. This is seen as effective also by imperialist circles and by conservative leaders in the developing countries themselves.

There are thus two lines in religious movements — one is anti-imperialist, the other is reactionary, anti-communist. One or the other comes into the forefront depending upon circumstances. Shifts from one end of the spectrum to the other are also to be observed. An eloquent example is provided by Iran, where the acute struggle within the Shiite clergy, that for a number of reasons headed the people's revolution, brought to power right-wing clerical elements linked to the feudal landowning strata and the bazaar merchants (the commercial bourgeoisie). The anti-feudal, anti-imperialist revolution was virtually throttled, brutal repressions were unleashed against Communists and all other democrats, and a tide of anti-Sovietism swelled up.

In evaluating a religious movement the Communists in all cases proceed from a concrete-historical analysis of its social content. For them unity and close class cooperation among the working people regardless of their philosophical, religious, or other views, in the struggle for a fundamental restructuring of society's life on a just

basis are far more important than "unity of proletarian opinion on paradise in heaven".¹⁶ In the practice of the international communist and working class movement there have been many instances of believers and even clergy working actively in revolutionary organisations. At the same time, the class approach spells out non-acceptance of attempts to turn religion into a screen for the anti-people designs of imperialist and reactionary circles. This stand was clearly formulated in a statement adopted in 1981 at a conference of communist and workers' parties of Arab countries. Noting that in their relations with religious movements the communist and workers' parties have steadfastly "striven, as they are doing today, to forge close contact and coordinated actions with them for the sake of our common aims", the statement declared: "The forces of imperialism, Zionism, and reaction are using reactionary strata and movements, resorting to religious activity as a cover for eroding patriotic unity, inflaming hostility for communism and all social progress, and kindling religious-communal conflicts."¹⁷

The facts bear out that for the peoples of Asia and Africa it is not communism, as imperialist propaganda asserts, but anti-communism, that is in fact alien. Being an exceptionally negative, destructive force, it is unable to chart realistic ways of resolving the problems confronting the newly free nations. The need for a determined struggle against anti-communism not only stems from the requirements of the revolutionary working class movement but also conforms to the vital interest of the broad masses who want the abolition of all forms of national and social oppression. This is a battle in the main area of the global confrontation between the forces of progress and reaction. It was stressed at the discussion that as the most conscious and consistent participants in this struggle the Communists have the mission to develop in each case the most expedient forms of the struggle and map out the most effective ways of transcending anti-communist prejudices and of reinforcing the broad anti-imperialist front.

¹ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 499.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. 31, p. 241.

³ *Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee*, June 14-15, 1983.

⁴ *International Herald Tribune*, June 7, 1985.

⁵ *The African Communist*, No. 98, 1984, p. 17.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Mayo*, March 23, 1984 (in Arabic).

⁸ See Rafic Samhoun, "What the US-NATO Intervention in Lebanon Has Shown", *WMR*, No. 1, 1984.

⁹ It must be noted, however, that anti-Sovietism and attacks on the socialist community are hesitant or almost absent in the policy of certain forces in the region under discussion (some of them in control of their own countries) despite the fact that they pursue an anti-communist course on the domestic scene. The reason for this is that developing states remain, as everybody knows, an exploited, dependent fringe of the world capitalist system. For them the socialist world is objectively the paramount and most dependable ally in their struggle for liberation from neocolonialist dependence. Hence, the fairly widespread phenomenon in the developing world of a sort of discrepancy between internal and external policy. Even when the former is reactionary and anti-communist, the latter may retain elements of a more or less consistent anti-imperialism. This ambivalence constantly harbours the danger of a departure from anti-imperialist positions, of capitulation to imperialism, of involvement in the orbit of its strategic plans.

¹⁰ See *Le Soleil*, December 21, 1983.

¹¹ It must be noted that in themselves the ethico-solidarity principles — collectivist frame of mind, mutual understanding, respect, tolerance, readiness for reciprocal assistance, and so forth — contain no anti-communist thrust. They have invoked many outstanding personalities of the national liberation movement to stress their significance, as a key element for organising society at the stage of its independent development. These principles underlie the social systems being used in a number of countries that have proclaimed their adoption of the socialist orientation, for example, Tanzania (ujamaa), Madagascar (fokonolona), and others. The main thing is the social thrust of the solidarity postulates — whether they are used to draw away from or close to socialism.

¹² The judicial and religious code — Moslem law — founded on the Koran.

¹³ "Anti-Communism: An Obstacle to Social Progress", *WMR*, No. 12, 1984.

¹⁴ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 162.

¹⁵ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 75.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. 10, p. 87.

¹⁷ *Statement of Communist and Workers' Parties of Arab Countries*, May 1981, p. 20 (in Arabic).

viewpoints

For a Peaceful, Nuclear-Free Balkan Peninsula

Enyo Savov - International Relations
Department head, Karl Marx Higher
Economics Institute,
Doctor of Law (Bulgaria)

THE history of international relations in the Balkans,¹ once an unquiet peninsula in Europe, is one of many critical situations, unexpected steep turns, and armed conflicts. Long Osman rule² inhibited the region's social and economic development. Independent nation-states with complex and often explosive relations between them emerged relatively late. The Balkans became known as a "gunpowder keg" in Europe's "backyard". The imperialists had long been attracted by the peninsula's rich natural resources and advantageous geostrategic location. In order to gain possession of this important advance post they interfered flagrantly in the internal affairs of the Balkan peoples, taking advantage of the disunity of the numerous ethnic groups, the hostility between the various peoples, the region's economic backwardness and political instability, and the local bourgeoisie's dependence on foreign capital.

Led by the USA, international imperialism is to this day making no secret of its ambition to fuel and sustain tension in the region. The USA and its allies are trying to turn a section of the Balkan peninsula and the Eastern Mediterranean into a springboard for the attainment of their aggressive designs against the USSR and the other socialist countries and for interference in the internal affairs of countries of the Middle East, the Persian Gulf, and Africa. This is a grave threat to peace and security and obstructs the progress of the Balkan peoples, who want friendship and goodneighbourly relations among themselves.

Further, the distinctive state of affairs in the peninsula is due to the specific situation that took shape in this region after World War II. Its distinctiveness is the variety of social systems and foreign policies. In the peninsula there are capitalist and socialist states. The People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Socialist Republic of Romania are members of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, while Greece and Turkey belong to NATO. The Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia participates in the non-aligned movement, and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania pursues a policy of limited external relations.

The consistent policy of peace of the socialist states is an effective stabilising factor in the Balkans. Socialism's establishment in most of the countries of the peninsula has brought about fundamental positive changes. Some outstanding issues have been

settled, cooperation has expanded dramatically in many areas, the political climate has improved, and this has been accompanied by increasing confidence and mutual understanding between nations. The socialist countries are making a large effort to maintain normal relations in the region and implement the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. A major role is played in this by the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Throughout its history of over 90 years the Bulgarian Communist Party has been acting to remove all vestiges of hostility among the Balkan peoples, settle misunderstandings peacefully, and establish mutual understanding and cooperation. The firm foundations of socialist Bulgaria's new Balkans policy have been laid in the works of the BCP's outstanding leaders Dimitr Blagoyev and Georgi Dimitrov and also in a number of party documents of prerevolutionary and postrevolutionary times. In its first programme declaration the Fatherland Front government, formed in September 1944, proclaimed that one of its cardinal aims was to promote close relations with the Balkans peoples with the purpose of conclusively settling all outstanding issues.

The BCP's attention is focussed on the interests of peace, security, and cooperation, which are common to the Bulgarian and the other peoples of the Balkans. Its policy is based on what unites rather than divides countries, its guideline being that complex problems must be resolved in an atmosphere of mutual respect and goodwill, by means of talks between the interested sides. Experience has demonstrated that this is the only reasonable approach for strengthening relations of trust and friendship between all the Balkan states.

Bulgaria's constructive foreign policy of peace was further developed at the BCP's Twelfth Congress (1981), at which Todor Zhivkov, General Secretary of the BCP Central Committee and Chairman of Bulgaria's State Council, set out a wide-ranging and realistic programme for drawing up a code of goodneighbourly relations on the basis of bilateral agreements between Balkan states. This called for, among other things, the renunciation of territorial claims, the barring of the use of the territory of the contracting sides for hostile aims and actions against each other, and the expansion and deepening of economic, scientific, and cultural cooperation. It was stated that Bulgaria was prepared to continue multilateral, mutually beneficial cooperation with Balkan states in specific areas.³

A further major foreign policy step was Bulgaria's proposal for turning the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone. This proposal was made in the speech "A Word About Bulgaria", delivered by Todor Zhivkov in 1981 on the occasion of Bulgaria's 1,300th anniversary.⁴

This was not the first time that the question was raised of turning the peninsula, as some other parts of the world, into a nuclear-free zone. The idea of proclaiming nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world was mooted as soon as the threat of a nuclear war became real. It was first advanced by the Soviet Union and other socialist states. In recent years it has been addressed by statesmen of different countries in their quest for ways and means of reducing the increased threat of war. Many projects have been put forward for creating such zones in Central and Northern Europe, the Balkans, the Adriatic, the Mediterranean, the Pyrenees, the Baltic, the Indian and Pacific oceans, the Middle East, South Asia, and other regions. The materialisation of these projects would be a major step towards delivering the world from nuclear weapons and, ultimately, towards general and complete disarmament. This would clear the way for detente and confidence-building between states not only of the given regions but also of the whole world.

Socialist Bulgaria has always been in favour of the idea and of individual specific proposals for creating regions free of nuclear weapons. From the very outset it has welcomed and emphatically supported the Soviet and Romanian proposals, made in

1957, 1959, and 1963, for turning the Balkan peninsula and parts of the Adriatic and Mediterranean into nuclear-free zones. In addition, it has come forward with a series of proposals for achieving a further improvement of the situation in the Balkans.

The 1970s strikingly showed how great the possibilities are of reinforcing goodneighbourly relations in the region. Those years saw a significant growth of the striving to consolidate peace and security, a growth of mutual confidence and understanding, and the establishment of durable forms of cooperation in many spheres. Vital importance was acquired by regular bilateral meetings of leaders of Balkan states, by visits on the part of Foreign Ministers and parliamentary delegations, and by contacts between state agencies and between public organisations. Many documents were signed to extend the law of treaties underlying economic, scientific, technological, and cultural cooperation.

A turn towards a resumption of the military-political East-West confrontation began in the foreign policy of the USA and its allies at the close of the 1970s. The deployment of new US missiles in some West European countries drastically aggravated international tension and increased the threat of war. But the new political and psychological climate established in the relations between Balkan states was, on the whole, preserved even in this complicated situation. This left intact some possibilities for an expansion of constructive state-to-state relations in the peninsula, for turning the Balkans into a zone of peaceful and goodneighbourly coexistence of countries with different social systems.

In order to give effect to these possibilities and help to limit the proliferation of nuclear weapons and halt the arms race, the BCP Central Committee proposed turning the region into a nuclear-free zone. It believed that in the obtaining situation effective steps to prevent the proliferation of nuclear armaments even within a limited geographical region would not only enhance the security of the states in that region but also influence the situation in the whole of Europe for the better. This assumption is entirely consonant with the projects for zones of peace, security, and cooperation in the Mediterranean and other parts of the world. This can well be appreciated, for one of the key elements for establishing peace zones is to remove nuclear armaments from these zones.

The most effective way to create a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans is for the interested sides to conclude a treaty drawn up with their active participation and in keeping with the principles of sovereignty, equality, and equal security. This needs time, persevering and unwavering effort by all the countries of the region, and the creation of conducive political conditions based on mutual confidence and respect. This is precisely the direction in which Bulgaria and other Balkan socialist countries are concentrating their efforts.

Political and treaty prerequisites have now taken shape for proclaiming the peninsula a zone free of nuclear weapons. One of these is that all the Balkan states have adopted the rules and guarantees for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy laid down by the International Atomic Energy Agency. Cooperation with this agency will substantially facilitate the solution of a difficult problem such as verification of compliance with nuclear-free zone treaty commitments. All the countries of the region, with the exclusion of Albania, have signed the 1968 nuclear non-proliferation treaty, Article II of which declares that every non-nuclear signatory state pledges not to accept from any quarter any nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices, or control of such weapons or explosive devices directly or indirectly; not to manufacture or acquire in any other way nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices, or to solicit or receive any assistance in the manufacture of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices.⁵

The Balkan countries do not have their own nuclear weapons, nor do they give any grounds for believing that they intend to manufacture them or obtain them from

nuclear powers. Consequently, the commitments under a treaty on a nuclear-free zone would boil down to securing the removal of such weapons belong to non-Balkan states, the prevention of their deployment on and transportation across Balkan territory, and obtaining guarantees that there would be no use or threat of the use of nuclear weapons against Balkan states, and that the nuclear-free zone status would be respected by the nuclear powers. This facilitates the process of turning the region into a zone free of nuclear weapons.

However, the difficulties on this road should not be under-rated. Despite the progress that has been made towards improving the political climate and promoting cooperation, especially on a bilateral basis, outstanding problems still exist between some Balkan countries. Further, the Balkan situation is influenced by the tense atmosphere in Europe and the world. Although our peninsula is no longer regarded as a "gunpowder keg", it has not become a region of peace in the full sense of the word.

This is obstructed by the policies and actions of the USA and other NATO countries, which are opposed to lasting security and mutual understanding in the Balkans and use diverse means to achieve their ends. In particular, they assert that the removal of nuclear armaments from the Balkan peninsula will upset the military balance in favour of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and create a threat to Greece and Turkey; they offer the view that the establishment of nuclear-free zones in Europe will affect the security of the entire North Atlantic bloc and for that reason countries belonging to that bloc cannot independently participate in the creation of such zones; they claim that nuclear-free zones are senseless from the standpoint of really reinforcing security on account of the enormous stockpiles of nuclear weapons that have been built up in the world; they contend that a beginning has to be made with a global settlement of the problem of nuclear armaments, and that only then will it be possible to move to the creation of nuclear-free zones.

But developments have shown the hollowness of these arguments, which are advanced exclusively in world imperialism's selfish military-strategic interests. The Warsaw Treaty countries have long been pressing for a cardinal settlement of the problem of disarmament on a world scale. But, as practice has shown, this problem is so intricate that it has to be approached gradually, with modest advances. Any other approach dooms people to inaction and passive expectation. One of the first practical and effective steps could be the establishment of nuclear-free zones, whose significance, chiefly for the countries in them, does not depend on the stockpiles of nuclear weapons in other regions of the world.

There is absolutely nothing to the claim that the military equilibrium between the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO would be upset and a threat would be created to Greece and Turkey with the removal of nuclear weapons from the Balkans. This claim is demolished by the fact that one of the principal provisions of the relevant treaty would be the equal security of the signatory countries. Besides, these countries are not threatened by anybody, nor is there any intention of threatening them.

The fact that in our peninsula there are Warsaw Treaty and NATO states should not be regarded as an impediment to the creation of a nuclear-free zone. A treaty establishing such a zone would under no circumstance bind the signatories to withdraw from one or the other military-political alliance or annul bilateral or multilateral treaties signed earlier. Thus, no Balkan state would lose the guarantees it has as a member of a security system. Confirmation of this is that the signing of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty by Balkan states has not influenced their participation in military-political alliances or violated their treaty relations with other countries.

Only one thing is needed for proclaiming the Balkans a zone free of nuclear weapons, and it is political will, a constructive and realistic attitude to this problem on the part of NATO such as is displayed by the Warsaw Treaty Organisation. No obstacles, such as are being erected by the North Atlantic alliance, should be raised to

the striving of countries to reach agreement among themselves independently. On the contrary, this striving should be welcomed and encouraged. This is the only approach that can lead to success. That success can be achieved is proved strikingly by the positive attitude of four countries — Bulgaria, Romania, Yugoslavia, and Greece — to the question of creating a nuclear-free zone.

Nevertheless, favourable factors predominate over unfavourable ones in the overall balance. The situation in the Balkans is much calmer than in many other parts of the world. On the whole, it is a positive, stabilising factor influencing the international situation and instils a certain measure of confidence that the future will be one of peace and security.

In order to make this future a reality we feel that the Balkan states should concentrate on the following areas:

- preservation and promotion of the positive results that have been achieved in the relations between Balkan states, and resistance to the negative influences brought to bear on them by the aggressive and adventurist foreign policy of the USA and its allies;

- fidelity of the Balkan countries to the spirit of Helsinki, and the final normalisation and further improvement of relations between them on the basis of the democratic principles of modern international law spelled out in the Final Act of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation;

- expansion and deepening of bilateral and multilateral mutually beneficial cooperation in various areas on the basis of the relevant agreements.

A major step in this direction could be a meeting of leaders of the Balkan states on the question of proclaiming the peninsula a nuclear-free zone. There has been a wide response in the Balkans to the Bulgarian proposal for such a meeting. It has been approved by a wide spectrum of political and social forces, including the communist and workers' parties of Balkan countries. "In our view, it would be opportune to organise a multilateral meeting devoted to the creation of nuclear-free zones. It is common knowledge that the different political forces and, most importantly, millions of people of the countries concerned want such a meeting to take place. If this proposal is accepted, we would move on to inviting some representatives of political and public circles to participate in the preparations,"⁶ declared Milko Balev, CC Political Bureau member and CC Secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party, in December 1984 at the conference of fraternal parties on the work of the journal *World Marxist Review*.

The Communists are extending every support to the proposals for turning the Balkans and some other parts of the world into nuclear-free zones. For instance, the declaration "Consolidating Joint Actions", adopted by the Second Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of the Region of the Eastern Mediterranean, the Near and Middle East and the Red Sea, held in Nicosia, states that "they support the creation of denuclearised zones in the Balkans, the Mediterranean, the Middle East and elsewhere"⁷

The consistent backing that this idea gets from all the Warsaw Treaty Organisation states is of particular significance. For example, in a joint declaration adopted by party and government leaders of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and the USSR in Moscow on June 28, 1983, it is noted: "The states represented at this meeting reiterate their support for the proposals for creating nuclear-free zones in Northern Europe, the Balkans, and other parts of the European continent, for the relevant negotiations on these matters."⁸

A key positive role is played by the Soviet Union in the efforts to resolve these problems. The USSR is still the only nuclear power advancing concrete proposals for the creation of nuclear-free zones in different parts of the world and declaring its readiness to respect their status and undertake the relevant commitments without any prior conditions. Further, the Soviet Union has renounced the first-use of nuclear weapons and declared it would not employ such armaments against countries that

have refused to manufacture or acquire these weapons and that have no nuclear weapons on their territory. This is further eloquent testimony of the determination of the USSR and other socialist countries to use every opportunity to bring about the conditions enabling all peoples to live in security, peace, and cooperation.

The Balkan socialist states (with the exception of Albania, which has not stated its view on this question officially) have time and again demonstrated their striving to promote the practical implementation of the proposal for establishing a nuclear-free zone in the peninsula. For instance, the Bulgarian-Romanian communique of December 20, 1984 notes that having come forward in support of creating nuclear-free zones in Europe, the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Socialist Republic of Romania have reiterated that they would bend every effort to turn the region into a zone free of nuclear weapons, strengthen security, and promote confidence, goodneighbourly relations, and cooperation among the Balkan states. The Romanian-Yugoslav declaration of October 27, 1982 advocates the creation of nuclear-free zones in the Balkans, the Mediterranean and other parts of Europe.

What makes the proposal for a nuclear-free zone realistic is that it takes into account the changes that have occurred since the close of the 1950s in the stand of the Balkan capitalist states on this question. Today these countries do not in principle reject the advanced proposal. The bilateral meetings and talks that have taken place in recent years between Balkan socialist and capitalist countries indicate that regardless of the differences on wording all are wholeheartedly in favour of nuclear-free and peaceful Balkans.

Despite some reservations the Turkish government, for instance, acknowledges the need for steps in that direction. In the joint communique of June 9, 1983 on an official visit to Turkey by Todor Zhivkov it is stated: "The two statesmen noted the significance of mutual confidence and goodneighbourly relations among the Balkan states and reiterated that efforts to reinforce peace and stability in the region would likewise contribute to improving the political climate in Europe."⁹ However, Turkey has not made any definitive declaration in favour of the proposal for turning the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone.

An active and constructive stand has been adopted by the government of Greece, which is intent upon getting the USA to remove its nuclear weapons from Greek territory and dismantle its military bases there. In May 1983 the Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou sent the leader of Balkan countries a letter proposing a meeting of experts in Athens to consider the question of creating nuclear-free zones.

Two such meetings were held in 1984 with the participation of representatives of Bulgaria, Romania, Yugoslavia, Greece, and Turkey. Although these meetings brought to light some difficulties in resolving the problem, the countries concerned reiterated its significance and topicality at a time when there was a marked deterioration of the international climate. In itself the fact that experts from five Balkan countries have met was an event of considerable political importance. Further meetings of this kind will help to strengthen peace and security in the region.

The idea of proclaiming the Balkans a nuclear-free zone attracts close attention of the public, which, as has been repeatedly noted by the BCP Central Committee, can and must play a visible role in translating it into reality. Public circles are making massive efforts in that direction. For instance, a two-day dialogue on the subject "The Balkans — a Nuclear-Free Zone" involving Greek, Romanian, and Bulgarian academics was sponsored in Sofia in the spring of 1983 by the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. More than anybody, scientists are informed of what catastrophic consequences may stem from a nuclear war. For that reason they are particularly eager to pool their efforts to search for ways of averting such a war. One of the most effective ways, they feel, is to create nuclear-free zones. The academics who spoke at the above-mentioned dialogue as experts in their respective fields presented compelling

arguments and facts to show how vital peace and goodneighbourly relations are in the Balkans, and how important it is to turn the region into a nuclear-free zone. This same subject was discussed by young intellectuals from Balkan countries and Cyprus in Sofia in November 1984.

Neither governments, nor parties, nor public opinion can hold aloof when humankind stands before the alternative of peace and life or war and death. One of the cardinal tasks of our time is to institute realistic steps to limit and end the arms race, the nuclear arms race in the first place. The implementation of this task is in the hands of all the peoples and states, of all political and public forces.

In the present critical moment it is the duty of all Communists, of all decent people regardless of race, sex, and political, religious, or other convictions to unite and increase their efforts to end the growing threat of a nuclear war, abolish nuclear weapons, and in the long run free the entire planet of nuclear weapons. The materialisation of the proposals for peaceful and nuclear-free Balkans would be a large contribution to the attainment of this great goal.

¹ This territory consists of Bulgaria, Albania, most of Yugoslavia and Greece, and part of Romania and Turkey. — *Ed.*

² The Osman or Ottoman empire came into being in the 15th-16th centuries as a result of Turkish conquests in Asia, Europe, and Africa. It disintegrated with Turkey's defeat in the First World War. — *Ed.*

³ See Todor Zhivkov, *Selected Works*, Vol. 31, Sofia, 1984, pp. 464-465 (in Bulgarian).

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. 32, p. 244.

⁵ See *The Soviet Union in the Struggle for Disarmament. A Collection of Documents*, Moscow, 1977, p. 45 (in Russian).

⁶ *Rabotnichesko delo*, December 6, 1985.

⁷ *Information Bulletin*, No. 7 1985, p. 15.

⁸ *Rabotnichesko delo*, June 29, 1983.

⁹ *Rabotnichesko delo*, June 10, 1983.

The Many Facets of Socialist Integration

Gabriella Izikné-Hedri - Dr. Sc. (Econ.)
(Hungary)

APART from its purely economic aspect, the socialist countries' economic cooperation also has political, cultural, ideological and other aspects, a fact made evident by the Moscow 1984 Economic Summit of the member-states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), whose documents considered economic, scientific and technical matters in the context of foreign-policy problems and the international security of the partners.

Preservation of peace and prevention of a nuclear catastrophe are the paramount extra-economic factor having an impact on cooperation between the states of our community. That is why there is a deep connection between the two Economic Summit documents: "Statement on the Guidelines of the Further Development and Deepening of Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation of the CMEA Member-countries" and "Declaration on the Preservation of Peace and International Economic Cooperation". The deep connection is there because the arms race and the growing threat of war have a negative effect on national economic-plan fulfilment, divert

resources which could otherwise be used for peaceful purposes, and so impede normal economic development and fulfilment of social programmes. Conversely, relaxation of international tensions and improvement of the situation on the globe create favourable external conditions for socialist construction.

Other non-economic realities also bear on the economic cooperation of the socialist states, so that when developing it they have to look beyond the idea of immediate material benefits — rationality in the strict sense of the word — to a broadly perceived social rationality including a set of social, political and cultural results.

The forms in which the various spheres of social life move are not always identical, so that what may appear to be a reasonable solution for one sector may not be optimal for social organism as a whole. Some economists in the socialist countries in the 1960s, for instance, assumed that our community would stand to gain from an inter-sectoral division of labour under which some states specialised in the extraction of raw materials, others, in agriculture, and still others — those with the widest experience in this field — in the high-tech sectors of industrial production, an approach that turned partial rationality into an absolute, and cut across the countries' national interests. It was at variance, specifically, with one of the CMEA's fundamental objectives, namely, the evening out of levels of their individual economic development.

A broad system of values, objectives and instruments is socially rational on the scale of the community, for it helps to make the fullest use of the potentialities of socialist relations of production, and while this rationality is ultimately based on economic rationality (there can be no stable or long-term social, political, ideological or cultural advance without economic progress) the former is not in any sense identical with the latter. It is a concept of a higher order encompassing social life as a whole — from the national economy to national defence. Such broad rationality is designed to harmonise the activity of individuals, social groups and classes, nations and, eventually, the community as a whole.

The basic interests of the CMEA countries expressed in their cooperation are identical. However, specific interests also make themselves felt as a reflection of the specific features of the fraternal states, which differ from each other in many ways, as they do, above all, in their political and economic weight in the world. They also differ in the extent to which their economic, political and social institutions are developed, for the old economic and social gaps between them continue to tell despite the rapid pace at which they are being evened out. Besides, they are differently endowed with natural resources, which means that they have far from similarly favourable potentialities for economic progress, and that their national economies are variously sensitive to external economic fluctuations.¹ There is, finally, the fairly important role of peculiar cultural traditions, well-established forms of human behaviour, and so on. All of these are variously reflected on economic interests which may not only differ but often even conflict with each other. The CMEA countries' economic ties are becoming increasingly ramified and diversified with the deepening of their cooperation, as some contradictions are fully or partially resolved, so that they either disappear or recede into the background, while others spring from the process of integration and life itself. In the constant coordination of their interests, the CMEA countries and their agencies responsible for organising international economic cooperation gradually gain experience in resolving the emergent contradictions and evolve the necessary procedures.

Diverse dialectical relations, within whose framework the national² and the international are synthesised, take shape within the socialist community under the impact of an intricate system of interests.

Marxist scientists are agreed that the fraternal countries' internationalist interests have a common basis, namely, the socialist social system. The most homogeneous group of internationalist interests consists of the essential, common and long term

interests on whose realisation the further stable and effective development of socialism as a social system and as a world system depends, including an interest in the international socialist division of labour and integration, whose deepening, on the one hand, enlarges the group of common interests, and on the other, compels ever greater coordination.

Any decision relating to the fraternal countries' cooperation can be adopted only as a result of discussion within the community, but here there are some problems: the principle of non-interference in each other's internal affairs and the representation of the community's common interests may now and again be in contradiction with each other, something that was evident whenever political crises came to a head in the individual countries. Furthermore, since the international political weight, potentialities and duties of the CMEA member-countries are not the same, this has an effect on the methods and mechanism of cooperation, and now and again produces some difficulties.

Cooperation cannot be entirely conflict-free, but the fraternal countries' basic goals are identical, and politically they are deeply concerned about each other's favourable development. The successes of each community member go to enhance the attractive power of socialism, so that we always seek to help our partners in overcoming any internal difficulties to the best of our abilities. That is also promoted by mutual consultations and exchanges of information, including matters relating to the development of social life and the use of new techniques in economic management and intensification of the economy.

One of the most important but also highly intractable problems in integration is how to arrive at the optimal proportions in specialising a national economy, while allowing it to develop as a complex. Such an approach can now be taken only on the level of the CMEA's highest organs: its sessions and executive committee. When considering the latter's recommendations, the sessions alone can reckon with the whole spectrum of ties and mutual influences. Hence — from the standpoint of further progress — the vast importance of the Economic Summit decision of regular meetings of party and state leaders to concert economic-development strategies over the long term, and also to determine the fundamental lines in deepening the international socialist division of labour.

At the lower levels, the concrete interests are now and again coordinated in isolation from each other. There are 22 standing commissions and 6 standing conferences under the three CMEA committees on cooperation. They are responsible for cooperation between the various sectors and units of the national economy, whose development, however, is interconnected in actual practice, and this must be taken into account in passing any decisions. Ensuring the complex approach and taking account of the diverse intra-sectoral and inter-sectoral ties and the influence of other spheres of social life is a daunting task.

It is being ever more widely accepted in our society, however, that economic processes call for the broad approach. Planning in the CMEA countries, for instance, is no longer confined to the production sphere, but also takes account of other interconnections, such as social ones. The national economy interacts more vigorously with science, and not only with the natural sciences, but also with the social sciences (political economy, sociology, politology, psychology, managerial organisation, etc.), which have a growing role to play in the elaboration of economic development strategy.

The electronic devices being ever more actively introduced into planning can be expected to yield techniques far more rapidly and reliably monitoring the operation of extra economic factors, which means moving closer to social rationality. Integrating the computing centres of state planning committees, statistical administrations and other competent agencies of the CMEA countries into a single whole may well prove to

be a technically feasible prospect even by the end of this century, so making it possible to have daily conferencing on cooperation matters. Over the long term, it may well have an effect on the way plans are coordinated within the integrating community and provide a more objective basis for mutual consultations. Apart from everything else, such exchanges will have a favourable effect on economic cooperation also in exerting an influence on the mind-sets of those directly engaged in the field of external economic ties and broadening their mutual understanding and readiness to reckon with each other's interests.

The introduction of electronic devices into the national economy and the use of the latest-generation computers could do an invaluable service to cooperation in yet another way. The goals of long-term economic strategy on the scale of the community are now generally formulated verbally, and they are inevitably several variants when these are translated into figures, something that is quite understandable because integrative cooperation is under the impact of so many factors that the internal interconnections of its development are expressed as a probability and are not easily projected over time. The invaluable advantage of modern computer hardware is that it helps to store both the numerical and the verbal information and to analyse the impact of various factors, so providing a more objective basis for political decision-making.

It is hardly, if at all, possible to organise sophisticated modern production on the basis of international specialisation and cooperation with the use of administrative instruments alone, because that is at odds with the economic law-governed uniformities underlying the "science — production — realisation" sequence. Directives, however, perfect, and subjective commitment of scientific institutions and enterprises, their collectives and individual workers to fulfil assignments, however ready, do not in themselves guarantee the smooth running of production. The discipline of meeting deadlines and quality standards in mutually contracted deliveries is known to be one of the most acute problems of socialist economic integration. The lapses do not occur because someone has taken an irresponsible attitude to the fulfilment of his duties: there is usually some objective cause in every individual case. A cooperating enterprise within the country has delivered its products with some delay or up to a different standard of quality than that required; import materials and components have arrived at the wrong time; there are manpower shortages, snags in transportation, and so on. In other words, organisational weaknesses have an effect on the efficiency of cooperation.

The way to overcome them lies through an improvement of the mechanism of economic cooperation, said the Moscow Economic Summit, emphasising that much could be done by giving the enterprises a freer hand, including the right to establish direct production ties with their partners in other community countries, a problem which has variously come to the fore in all the fraternal countries. The Economic Summit declared: "The participants in the Summit believe that broad development of producer cooperation and the establishment of direct ties between associations, enterprises and organisations are an important line in improving the economic mechanism of cooperation and making it more efficient. For these purposes, the CMEA countries will take steps to give them the necessary powers and to create due conditions for cooperation. Favourable conditions will also be created for the establishment of joint firms, enterprises and other international economic organisations on the basis of *khozraschot* (economic calculus)."³

All of this should widen the competence of economic units with the passage of time. They will be able to assume long-term obligations, and international socialist cooperation will spread ever more widely into the field of scientific research, development and engineering, the elaboration of new technologies and the organisation of marketing.

Some specialists doubt whether it will be possible, in the present conditions, to give a

tangible impetus to the effective development of integration by moving the centre of gravity in cooperation to the enterprise level, suggesting that the economic instruments, notably the involved mutual settlements, are still too inadequately developed. But let us look at the problem from another angle: it is, in fact, the international ties of enterprises, whose independence within the framework of the national economies keeps growing, that could yield more flexible methods of cooperation. Once the new forms and instruments have emerged, they will act as stimulators of self-induction processes. The broader the external economic competence of enterprises, the greater their involvement in the process of integration decision-making, the more probable it is that they will treat these decisions as "their own" and display a greater interest in realising what has been mapped out.

Such ties clearly reveal the close dialectical interconnection between the dynamic of the productive forces and the relations of production under socialism. As the fraternal countries seek to accelerate their economic development, they work to improve the national economic mechanisms, and make purposeful use of instruments like price, profit, credit, and so on. Direct contacts are established and extended in integrative cooperation on the level of associations and enterprises, for that is one of the ways of further boosting the productive forces of each of the partners individually and of the socialist community as a whole. But if their cooperation is to be most effective, they have to modernise the existing system of management of international economic cooperation, to improve its instruments (extending, we believe, the financial function of the transferable rouble), and give the economic units a freer hand. In other words, this affects the relations-of-production sphere and suggests the need for further developing social structures.

Add to this the fact that the improvement of the economic mechanism of cooperation cannot in itself do away with all the organisational flaws. This is a multifaceted problem whose solution lies beyond the confines of the economic sphere and involves the development of a system of general educational and occupational training of personnel, extension of democracy, perfection of social and cultural policy, and so on.

It is no simple task to harmonise personal, group and social interests and resolve the contradictions between them even within the framework of one state. The ties between the interests of the individual and of the whole community are much more intricate. CMEA decisions affect a majority of the population in this or that country no more than indirectly, through the state, the enterprise or the institution, while only those who are intimately involved in the process are aware of the difference and coordination of national-state interests. Meanwhile, comprehension of the common interests of the CMEA countries and nations is a highly important element of the socialist social consciousness.

The wider the circle of those who are immediately involved in economic cooperation, and the more stable the scientific and cultural contacts between countries, the more clearly are individuals aware of the connection between their own interests and those of the socialist community as a whole. The socialist internationalisation of production which we are witnessing has led to the development of diverse forms of international intercourse. The practice of training and raising proficiency standards in fraternal countries, for instance, has yielded good results. It has enabled young people not only to learn another language almost as well as their mother-tongue, but also to come to feel the atmosphere of the socialist ways life in the country and the national mentality, and to make friends.

Citizens from various community countries are ever more frequently brought together by direct production ties between their enterprises. Citizens from one country are sent to work abroad under interstate agreements, something that is still being done on a modest scale, but that could acquire greater scope as the restructuring of the

national economy makes such exchanges economically most advantageous. Work together helps people to get to know each other better and to shape an internationalist consciousness.

New forms of international cooperation among scientists have been forming in the recent period, so helping to deepen the political and economic cooperation within the CMEA framework, as when researchers jointly work out proposals on various pressing matters and submit them to the party and state leadership of their respective countries. These documents are not official and often contain different standpoints, but they do enlarge the scope of information available to the authorities and outline the possible range of solutions. In this way, close cooperation between science and policy helps to improve the formation of long-term goals, because the system of social and economic conditions of development tends to change and does not lend itself to any straightforward extrapolation into the future.

Tourist travel likewise helps to bring the nations of the socialist community closer together, and there again some problems, including economic ones, naturally tend to arise. After all, population size and holiday amenities are far from being the same in the various countries, but it would hardly be right, we think, to try scrupulously to balance out the mutual earnings and outlays, the numerical tourist flows and length of stay. In this case, social and political interests appear to outweigh the economic considerations. We in Hungary believe that it is most important to develop tourist travel by young people.

Cooperation in literature and the arts has an indirect but highly beneficial influence on the fraternal countries' economic cooperation. It is diverse and helps to develop hearts and minds, so helping the people to get to know each other better, and to be sensitive to national peculiarities in every sphere, including the economy. Besides, the exchange of ideas helps to create in men's minds a kind of international background against which the notions of one's own society and national economy appear much more realistically. The mass media, especially television (and video-television very soon), have much to contribute in this area. Programmes seen by masses of viewers are an effective means of carrying to the other fraternal nations cultural values, the achievements of the socialist way of life and the ideas of internationalism.

What has been said suggests the following obvious conclusion: extra-economic factors are a major reserve for the further all-round development of economic cooperation in the socialist world.

¹ Let us note that the national cooperation within the CMEA framework helps to produce mechanisms toning down the manifestations of the partners' specific features and enabling them to adapt to each other by means of common standards solid cooperation ties between individual enterprises, a knowledge of mutual needs and requirements, etc. But since most of the states which have taken the way of socialist construction were once economically retarded, they did not develop such mechanisms in the past, and these processes are now intensively under way.

² By national interests the author means the country's interests. — *Ed.*

³ *Pravda*, June 16, 1984.

Reality Belies a Bourgeois Myth

Carl-Henrik Hermansson - Board
member, Left Party—Communists of Sweden

THE composition, numbers, and socio-economic conditions of the working class have been changing under the impact of the general crisis of capitalism as well as scientific and technical progress. A Marxist analysis of the problem¹ refutes the bourgeois propaganda claim that the working class is "disappearing", a claim which generally comes down to two points.

The first is that the working class in developed capitalist countries is becoming less numerous due to the development of new technology, with the alleged result that the working class movement is losing its mass social base.

The second point — an even more radical one — is that the class society under capitalism is about to "disappear". According to it, there may have been some ground, to speak of classes in the past, but since then their social condition has become so equalised that it is no longer possible to identify social classes with clear-cut social boundaries or characteristics. Consequently, the argument runs, there is no working class in capitalist society any longer, and that being so, neither is there any vehicle of social revolution, whatever Marxists say.

We feel that it is an important part of the Communists' ideological work to refute such scientifically unsubstantiated assertions which the bourgeois mass media are persistently implanting in social consciousness.

Let us examine in the light of concrete statistical data and from the standpoint of Marxist methodology the relevant aspects of the social realities in Sweden, a country admittedly regarded as one of those where capitalism has attained the greatest progress and where the social "equalisation" trend is said to have been most pronounced over the decades of social democratic government.

Is the Working Class Disappearing?

Changes in Sweden's production sphere naturally tend to alter such social and economic parameters as the numerical strength and make-up of the economically active population, and the trades and sectoral composition of wage-labour and the working class. Some of these changes are important but a careful and unbiased analysis of them shows that our ideological opponents have only one fact to go by.

It is the fact that, from what official wage-labour statistics say, the number of workers in the non-agricultural sectors of Sweden has decreased over the past five decades, with the share of workers in the population dropping accordingly.

That is the kind of oversimplified data to which bourgeois experts usually refer in speaking of the "disappearance" of the working class, but such generalisations are not confirmed by a number of methodological considerations and more circumstantial statistical computations.

Let us note, first of all, that the bourgeois interpretation of the social boundaries of the working class is untenable. The verbal comouflage aside, it boils down to the ultimate inclusion in the working class of only manual workers engaged in the production sectors. In contrast to that primitive interpretation, the Marxist concept says, first, that the working class in the *narrow sense of the term* consists of workers by hand and by brain engaged in material production (industry, building, water works, energy, agriculture, forestry), i.e., all those who work at enterprises, directly creating surplus value. Second, Marxists also speak of the working class in the broad sense of the term, including in it not only workers in the production sectors, but also numerous groups of workers in the non-production spheres as well as government employees not vested with authority, private employees with a similar status in the sphere of

circulation and the services, etc. These groups of wage-workers, together with production workers, constitute the working class as a whole.

Using this methodological approach, we can examine the causes effects of fluctuations in the numerical strength of the Swedish working class in both the narrow and the broad sense. We have borrowed statistics for this analysis from a study by Göran Therborn, a Swedish bourgeois scholar.² While they do not cover the past five years, they reveal, nevertheless, trends of change in the working class over a period of fifty years under monopoly capitalism.

As regards the working class in the narrow sense, it is important to note that in that period (1930-1980) the most substantial changes took place the numbers of workers in the "agrarian sectors", i.e., those engaged in agriculture, horticulture and fisheries. There was a marked reduction in Sweden's agricultural population (down to four per cent of its economically active population), and also a sharp drop in the number of agricultural workers. Half a century ago they made up one-fifth of the country's proletariat, but by now their proportion has fallen off to one-thirtieth. Such are the effects of the major sectoral shift which has affected all the industrialised countries of the world in consequence of scientific and technical progress in agriculture.

Employment in Sweden's industrial sectors followed a different trend. The number of workers (meaning only those in enterprises employing not less than five persons) grew until 1965 inclusive. In 1930 industrial workers numbered 435,000 (or 10.7 per cent of the economically active population), and by 1965 the figure had gone up to 685,000 (or 13.3 per cent of the economically active population). From then on the proportion of industrial workers declined. In 1980, that category comprised 595,000 persons (or 11.2 per cent of the economically active population).³ In the 1980s, the trend was erratic, since in some years, as in 1984, there was an increase of employment in industry.

The politic-economic substance of the situation, therefore, has not changed in principle: between 38 and 27 per cent of wage-workers have been and continue to be producers of surplus value and the bulk of national income, while industrial workers remain the traditional core of the working class.

We must also take into account the fact that in the long and exceptionally dynamic period between the 1930s and 1980s, highly powerful factors, such as the scientific and technical revolution, the internationalisation of production, changes in Sweden's position within the international division of labour, etc., had an effect on the sectoral structure of the national economy. Scientific and technical progress, which yields tremendous economies in living labour, as will be seen, for instance, in the reduction of living labour in Sweden's completely mechanised agriculture, ultimately limited the expansion of production employment in the country more than any other factor. The slowdown in the pace of economic growth since the 1970s under the impact of the world economic crisis and the sharpening competition on external markets, where more than a third of the country's industrial product is realised, operated in the same direction.

The trend towards the internationalisation of production had a similar effect on employment, with the result that the number of workers increased mainly at enterprises abroad and not at home. Considering that a number of transnational corporations are based in Sweden, employment at many of our largest industrial enterprises abroad is now growing faster than it is at their subsidiaries at home. In 1979, a mere ten transnational type industrial enterprises employed 214,000 persons abroad.⁴

While the negative impact of all these conditions on the general level of employment in Sweden and on the development of a harmonious sectoral structure is evident, the core of the working class is still there within the existing socio-economic boundaries. Consequently, it is not at all a fact that Swedish capital is being de-industrialised or

that the population is no longer becoming proletarianised as a result of the development of industrial capital. The accumulation of capital is assuming an international character and encounters growing difficulties, which is reflected in the pattern of production employment at home.

Nor are the highly intensive intersectoral changes in employment indicative of the "elimination" of the working class. In 1980, for instance, the number of workers in the textile and garments industries was down by two-thirds from 1965, whereas in the food and automobile industries employment went up. Employment in machine-tool making, Sweden's leading industry in number of workers, increased in the 1965-1975 period but five years later it dropped to its former level. Today it is increasing once again.

Statistical data indicate that the working class in the narrow interpretation of its boundaries remains, as far as its numbers and concentration in the key industries are concerned a stable social category from the standpoint of the labour-capital confrontation. There is no sign of its tending to "disappear".

Let us now consider the effect of changes in the character of labour and employment in the non-production spheres on the development of the working class. Here it is important to note that with the capitalist relations of production increasingly involving not only production itself, but also the spheres of circulation and services for the population, there has been a greater shift of the self-employed — peasants, artisans and merchandisers — to contemporary wage-work.

The change in the sphere of so-called reproduction of labour, i.e., the rehabilitation of the worker's capacity for work through the expenditure of efforts and time within his family, has also had a substantial effect on the pattern of wage-labour. The reproduction of labour power under capitalism, i.e., the restoration by means of a given mass of vital necessities of the worker's capacity for work and the maintenance of his family's life, proceeds on the basis of the necessary working time, expended by the worker in the process of capitalist production. But the unpaid, "household" labour of members of his family, which is socially unaccounted for, likewise goes some way to "reproducing" the breadwinner's capacity for work. This household labour, which involves care for children, the old and the sick, the cooking of food, the washing of linen, the sewing and mending of clothes, etc., within the family household, has been gradually disappearing and giving way to wage-labour used at private capitalist, municipal and state enterprises to provide services.

All this tends to increase the number of persons directly involved in the mechanism of capitalist exploitation, with the working class being appreciably reinforced by wage-workers employed in non-material production and the services.

As a result of the expansion of such spheres, the number of workers employed in, say, trade went up from 65,000 in 1930 to 140,000-150,000 in 1979, and continued growing, if not considerably, in the next two or three years. The contingent of clerical employees, increased markedly. Meanwhile, the number of wage-workers employed in the household economy went down from 195,000 in 1930 to 5,000 in 1979. At the same time, the number of persons employed in food catering, laundering, garment-making, etc., in the public sector rose from 20,000 to 380,000-420,000 and in the private capitalist sector, from 5,000 to 20,000.⁵

All these groups of working people, together with production workers, make up the working class. Their blanket exclusion from the working class, in particular the exclusion of the broad social category of clerical employees, is certainly as arguable as their inclusion in the middle strata. This inevitably raises the question of who are the "middle strata". We could include in them those whom, apart from the petty bourgeoisie, Therborn himself regards as special categories of persons who may be "working for a wage but are connected with the ruling class, i.e., the bourgeoisie".⁶ These are groups of people who defend and help maintain the power of the ruling class. We believe it is they plus the petty bourgeoisie that constitute the "middle strata". The

vague interpretation of the concept of "middle strata" in such cases produces confusion in regard to the composition of the working class.

In this context there appears to be good reason for the interpretation of the question presented in the programme of the Left Party — Communists of Sweden, which says: "The working class, whose roots and core consist of industrial, building and transport workers, should now be considered to include the majority of the other wage-workers: large groups of junior officials, clerical and merchandising employees . . . As for other groups, such as engineers and technicians, teachers, workers in culture, persons engaged in providing assistance to the needy, disabled, etc., it should be said that changes in their condition and way of life bring them closer to the working class."⁷

The working class, interpreted broadly as a social and economic category, continues to make up the bulk of the country's population, as the following data show:

**Aggregate Number of All Sectoral Groups of the Working Class of Sweden,
1930-1979⁸**

	1,000	% of economically active population	% of population.
1930	1,530	56	38
1950	1,645	56	35
1965	1,780	54	35
1979	1,855-1,950	51.5-52	35-37

The table shows that in fifty years the number of those whom the conditions of capitalist exploitation of labour assigned to the status of workers fluctuated between 35 and 38 per cent of the population. In absolute terms, the working class in that long period increased by roughly 400,000. In the latter half of the period, its numerical growth was almost the same as in the former. From 1979 to 1982, employment in the key economic fields went up by roughly 40,000 persons, with unemployment increasing by nearly 50,000.⁹ In other words, the numerical strength of workers in the early 1980s tended to grow rather than diminish. It follows that over the long term there was a striking picture of stability.

As a result, the assertion of anti-Marxists that the numerical strength of the working class had been diminishing from yeartoyear, and that the class is on the point of disappearing altogether turns out to be totally groundless when compared with the realities. It is obvious that while major changes have taken place in the composition of the working class, Sweden has not become deproletarianised over the past decades.

Deepening Class Inequalities

The main objective condition of membership of the working class under capitalism is, of course, the fact that the means of production are owned by capital, which is why the worker is forced to sell his labour-power to the individual capitalist, associations of capitalists (usually in the form of joint-stock companies), the municipality or the state.

But not all those who receive wages are workers. Wage-workers may also perform some capitalist functions assigned to them by entrepreneurs, such as the organisation of planning, control, administrative or other activity, which is the responsibility of various intermediate strata working for a wage, including company executives. That is why membership of the working class is determined not only by the fact that a given person works for a wage, but also by his not belonging to the social groups which wield *social power* under capitalism, i.e., power in the economy, politics, education, everyday life, and so on.

Under capitalism, the economic and other distinctions between the basic social classes can neither disappear, nor be radically obliterated. The bourgeois society

remains a class society with all its pronounced social distinctions. A "group of the 1990s" set up by the LPCS to study the matter says in a pamphlet entitled *Equality and Justice* that "in the 1980s there was a redistribution (of goods. *Ed.*) . . . in a direction inverse to that which we regard as desirable. The trend towards equalisation which was in evidence until the late 1970s has ceased. The economic gulfs are widening once again."¹⁰

Indeed, this trend, which goes to preserve class relations, will be seen in almost every sphere of social life. For workers and rank-and-file employees, even the elementary right to work, i.e., existence itself, is under constant threat. Class inequality also reigns in the distribution of housing, opportunities for education and participation in cultural activity and public health care, and liability to industrial accidents, use of disposable time, and so on.

Studies of living standards in Sweden have been made since 1968. They have been carried out by experts without any "left" political sympathies who have recently issued their final report.¹¹ The report shows the dynamic of average living standards in the country. It presents the changes in the various components of what is called "welfare" — health, employment, working conditions, material goods, housing, opportunities for education, etc., — for the various social groups. It shows that up until 1981 average welfare for the country as a whole tended to even out the condition of population groups for some indicators, but in the past few years there have been signs that the income differentials have begun to grow. As a result, "conflicts in the policy of distribution have sharpened", which "could mean that in the 1980s there was no longer that rise in living standards and equalisation"¹² which the experts believe to have been characteristic of the 1970s.

The widening gap in the material condition of the classes also results in the personal property of the workers being much smaller than that of the privileged strata of the society.

The resultant picture is indicative of the dominance of class inequality in every sphere and the preservation of sharp differences between the social and professional groups of diverse classes as regards the various components of their social condition. For instance, the opportunities of realising personal capabilities offered by the capitalist labour market to workers' children, even when they have received a higher education, differ from those at the disposal of members of the middle strata and the bourgeoisie.

The threat of losing one's job is now greater than ever before in the postwar period. Its non-conjunctural character is confirmed by studies made by the Swedish economist Jan Odhnoff.¹³ According to data cited by him, the number of persons employed in the country's manufacturing industry fell from 1976 to 1983 by an average of 1.8 per cent (by roughly 20,000 persons) a year, which in percentage terms almost coincided with the decline in employment in the corresponding sectors in West Germany (-1.7), Japan (-1.5), Great Britain (-1.9), and France (-1.3). This means that Sweden no longer has the advantages over other capitalist countries in terms of "socio-economic stability" of which so much has been written in the past. True, unemployment in our country is still at a relatively low level because of an increase in the number of persons employed in the public sector, where growth from 1976 to 1980 was virtually uninterrupted, with at least 50,000 persons obtaining new jobs every year. But the important thing is that since then the increase in the number of employed has never exceeded 20,000 a year, and many economists expect to stop.

"New types of auxiliary labour emerge too, of course, but they are marginal. The system of production as a whole makes it possible for the latter to rely on various secondary labour markets, but these auxiliary types of operations are nearing the end of their relatively short span."¹⁴ The "fragmentation" of the labour market caused by new technology carries to an extreme a number of generally negative trends within the

capitalist system of exploitation pointed out by Lenin.

Working conditions are also highly different for social groups. It is more common for workers than for office employees to perform arduous manual work with limited independence at the work place. The atmosphere in which they have to work is frequently unhealthy because of noise, heavy pollution, contact with poisonous substances and vibration. Working hours are inconvenient and opportunities for raising skills limited. Besides, operations are monotonous.

Thus what is taking place is not the preservation of the status quo but a deepening of class inequalities for which the workers have to pay a high price. The fact is that the working class is worse off than the privileged strata and classes not only in terms of housing and recreation, but also in terms of physical health. It is the workers who suffer most from diseases hampering mobility, heavy pains, circulation complaints, poor teeth, fatigue and depression. The study says: "The difference in the state of health are due to corresponding inequalities in the provision of medical services, and this expresses itself in differing mortality rates. We have failed to discover any equalisation in the state of health of people belonging to different classes."¹⁵

Summing up such facts, it is safe to say that the class society in Sweden is nowhere near the point of disappearing. Even if positive shifts have taken place in various spheres in the course of the working people's struggles for their interests, the salient feature of the system is still the fact that in regard to all the essential indicators of economic and social conditions of life, the position of the working class and the opportunities for its use of cultural achievements are worse than those of other classes. That is why it is wrong to claim, as bourgeois ideologists do, that the class society has changed beyond recognition, with the working class dissolving in an amorphous mass of equal citizens.

Realising the Potential of the Working Class Movement: Prospects

Both the quantitative and qualitative characteristics of Sweden's working class will, of course, continue to change in the latter half of the 1980s under the impact of the structural shifts, more vigorous social and political struggles, the international economic and political situation, and so on.

In the course of preparations for and the work of the 27th Party Congress (January 1985), a discussion document was published under the title "Socialism in Our Times: The Left Shows the Way".¹⁶ Inasmuch as the technological revolution which has begun is the most profound in the history of Sweden, it says that the "forthcoming leap" forward is bound to produce considerable changes in the condition of the working class over the long term. With capitalist relations of production still in place, there will be a trend towards a widening of the knowledge gap between the various social groups and hence towards greater class distinctions. This is why the party's discussion document points to the need for the democratic forces to work out approaches to the emerging problems that are organisationally and technically more systemic and socially and politically more radical. In analysing them, the working class movement must confront the monopolies with its own counter-strategy to provide for the establishment of democratic systems of control over new technology and its principles. With that end in view the programme puts forward as a national task intensified development of education, upbringing, culture and science so as to help shape conditions over the long term in which the quality of human labour will be a crucial factor in production irreplaceable by technical facilities. Radical successes along this way are, of course, possible only under socialism, but even under capitalism the working class can do much to bring about a change for the better.

Struggle against the extremely dangerous trend towards a split in the working class on the basis of the latest advances in the technology of production and a sharpening of a number of other problems arising from its worsening condition is an equally

important and radical task. In this context, measures to resist the monopolies' economic and political line in an effort to unite all the wage-workers would be fruitful. Our duty is, we believe, to convincingly demonstrate the need to fight for the vital interests of the working masses with due regard to the priorities of national development.

Thus a Marxist analysis of changes in the composition and condition of Sweden's working class not only exposes the indefensibility of the bourgeois concepts of "deproletarianisation" and the "disappearance" of class antagonisms under contemporary state-monopoly capitalism but provides a practical basis for mobilising all the democratic forces in the country to fight for social progress.

¹ See the following articles on the contemporary working class: Ron Bellamey, "Changes in the British Working Class Movement", *WMR*, No. 7, 1984; Michael Graber, "The Working Class Movement. New Perspectives" *WMR*, No. 1, 1985; José María Lanao, "Strength of Class Solidarity", *WMR*, No. 2, 1985; Harald Werner, "The Workers' Class Consciousness: Trends and Evolution", *WMR*, No. 3, 1985; Gunnar Asplund, "Where the White-Collar Workers Belong", *WMR*, No. 8, 1985; Robert Steigerwald, "Changes in the Wage-Labour System", *WMR*, No. 9, 1985.

² See Göran Therborn, *Klasstrukturen i Sverige 1930-1980*, Lund, 1981.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 30-33.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁷ See *Partiprogram för Vänsterpartiet kommunisterna. Antaget av 23:e partikongressen 1972*, paragraph 13.

⁸ Computed from Göran Therborn's data and statistics on the Swedish population and economically active population in the 15-64 age group.

⁹ Computed according to *Yearbook of Labour Statistics*, ILO, Geneva, 1983, pp. 280 and 454.

¹⁰ *Jämlikhet och rättvisa. Rapport 3 från VPK:s 90-talsgrupp*, Stockholm, 1984, p. 5.

¹¹ Robert Erikson, Rune Åberg, *Välfärd i förändring. Lönsvillkor i Sverige 1968-1981*, Stockholm 1983, pp. 13-26.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 26.

¹³ Jan Odhnoff, "Arbetsmarknadspolitik i kris?" (I Leif Holgersson/Paul Lindblom, *Framtidens arbetsmarknads- och sysselsättningspolitik*, Stockholm, 1984), pp. 9-27.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.

¹⁵ Robert Erikson, Rune Åberg, *op.cit.*, pp. 75-96.

¹⁶ *Socialism i vår tid. Vänstern visar vägen. Diskussions-plattform inför VPK: 27:e kongress*, Stockholm, 1984.

A Political Report Formation of a Class

Georg Kwiatowski - Representative
of the German Communist Party on WMR.

Yuli Oganisyan - WMR staff member

MUCH in Mongolia is astounding: the vast expanses of virgin land, the uniqueness of the folk customs, and the distinctive memorials of national culture. But the most impressive things here are unquestionably the revolutionary changes that within only a few decades have transformed a country fettered by feudal medievalism into a sovereign socialist state achieving significant economic and cultural advances.

One of the major prerequisites and, at the same time, cardinal outcomes of these changes has been the appearance of a working class in Mongolia and its conversion into society's leading force. How did that process proceed? How was it at all possible in a country where precapitalist social practices prevailed? How does the vanguard role of

the working class manifest itself today? In short, there were many things we wanted to learn when we went to the Mongolian People's Republic. The questions we had were answered by what we saw, by our meetings in the committees of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, and by our talks with workers.

* * *

Occasionally the impression is that nothing has changed over the centuries: the felt-covered yurt (the ancient dwelling of herders), the skin for holding fermented mare's milk served us by a herder in traditional pastoral clothes, the green hills stretching to the horizons with droves of horses grazing on them, the incredibly pure air, the primeval stillness . . . But at Erdenet, one of the world's largest copper-molybdenum plants we were surrounded by the bustle of a modern industrial facility: crushers and other machinery processing 16 million tons of ore annually; control computers; chemical laboratories. High-capacity excavators were scooping ore from the mine's giant crater on the top of a mountain. Small wonder that the score of kilometres separating the plant from the herdsman's camp seemed like a journey to a different epoch.

However, first impressions are deceptive. This became obvious when we learned more of the yurt's master, who turned out to be fully in step with the times. He has been a party member for many years, has an incomplete secondary education, and rides a car as well as he rides a horse. One of his sons is a university student and the other, a worker.

Of course, and the Mongolian comrades were quite frank about it, there are still visible distinctions between agriculture and industry in terms of the development level of the productive forces and the working conditions. However, in *social relations* the gap between them has been closed. While in many developing countries the contrasts we have mentioned mirror the coexistence of various socio-economic systems relating to different epochs, in socialist Mongolia they indicate above all the economy's branch specific. The plurality of economic systems has receded into the past. Mongolian society has a uniform economic base: public property in the means of production in two forms — state and cooperative. This base underlies, as we satisfied ourselves, the single social structure with two basic classes — workers and cooperated arats (peasants), the alliance between whom forms the foundation of Mongolia's political system.

There was no working class in prerevolutionary Mongolia. Several score of workers (many of whom were foreigners) were employed at small semi-artisan enterprises. The material pre-requisites for the formation of a working class took shape in the course of the anti-feudal reforms enforced by the people's government in the 1920s. But these could not yield immediate results, and for that reason there were not more than 300 workers in Mongolia in 1928. Their rapid numerical growth and the conversion of the new social stratum into a class were processes that took place in the next decade. In what way did these differ from analogous processes under conditions of capitalist development?

At one of the oldest industrial complexes in the nation's capital, Ulan Bator, we spoke to veteran workers who came here from the herders' camps back in the 1930s. They were not skilled in political economy. To give them material for comparison we spoke of the "initial accumulation of capital" that laid the beginning for the formation of the proletariat in Europe: the separation of the producer in feudal society from the means of production and of its consequences — the expropriation of the working people, which, to use Marx's words, "has been written into the chronicles of mankind in the flaming language of blood and fire", the ruthless exploitation of the first workers, their poverty, the lack of rights. How did Mongolian herders become

workers? Did the veterans remember?

Yes, and very vividly. They, too, were "separated" from the traditional means of production that were at the disposal of the arats. But this was not done forcibly. It was a voluntary process and it led to a change of the nature of this class. Some, and even if their numbers grew, left their native nomad pastures. As for those who remained, they retained all their social rights.

Naturally, each of the veterans we spoke to had his own road to the working class. Some went from the steppeland to the town to earn money, others wanted to see the world, and still others went to the factories upon demobilisation from the army and having a certain level of technological competence and an understanding of the country's needs. But given all these circumstances, as was stressed by L. Khurlee, secretary of the plant's party committee, the formation of the working class proceeded by plan rather than spontaneously, under the guiding influence of the party's policy.

L. Lantuu, secretary of the Ulan Bator City Committee of the MPRP, told us of the party's role in this process. At the first, democratic stage of the revolution, he noted, its activity was aimed at reshaping the centuries-old feudal system and the mentality linked to it, above all, at overcoming the apprehensions of the herders-turned-workers in the face of new forms of labour activity that did not fit into the pattern of the nomad way of life, at giving them a socialist attitude to work. Here the party relied on the assistance of the trade unions that sprang up at the close of the 1920s to organise and unite the emerging ranks of workers, protect their rights, promote their labour and social activity, and foster their class consciousness.

The fact that the working class did not take shape spontaneously, as under capitalism, but as a result of a purposeful process determined the relative speed of its formation. By 1940 its numerical strength had risen to almost 15,000 and it was playing an increasingly more important part in all areas of society's life. Industry became an independent branch of the economy. The birth and development of the working class were decisive factors for the country's transition to the second, socialist, stage of the revolution.

At the museum in Darkhan we saw a painting, "Darkhan-39", by the Mongolian painter T. Zhamsran: several yurts in a steppe, a tiny ramshackle wooden hut, and tethered horses. Today it is a large industrial and cultural centre of over 60,000 people. The town's enterprises produce roughly one-fifth of the nation's industrial output. We visited some of them. Most of the workers are young people and have received a specialised education. Many continue their studies — by correspondence, at evening institutions of higher learning or in vocational schools. Talking to these educated, young people, who speak knowledgeably not only on technical but also on political subjects, one would hardly believe that their grandfathers were nomad serf herders. The various generations in Mongolia differ significantly from each other.

"A whole epoch in which Mongolian society was transformed lies between the present working class and the first generation of the Mongolian proletariat," said P. Bold, First Secretary of the Darkhan Town Committee of the MPRP. "Towards the beginning of the 1960s the country entered the culminating stage of socialist construction. Profound changes took place in all areas of life. And the most important of them is that the working class has become society's leading force."

What is the modern Mongolian worker like? In what is his growing role in society's development expressed? We shall try to answer these questions with the aid of statistics given us by functionaries at Mongolia's Central Statistical Board.

These statistics indicate that the formation and development of the working class was accelerated by industrialisation, by the introduction of planning into the republic's economy. The fulfilment of one-year and then five-year plans turned Mongolia from a livestock-breeding into an agrarian-industrial country. In the period from 1925 to 1983 the economy's basic assets increased 45-fold. In 1983 the national income was up 11-

fold over 1940, and the GNP had grown 43-fold. In 1980 there were over 11 times more workers than in 1940. Workers now comprise more than 40 per cent of the country's population.

The working class has become society's main productive force, ensuring Mongolia's conversion into an industrial-agrarian state. More than 60 per cent of the social product now comes from industry, construction, transport, and communications. The workers are making a growing contribution to the rise of labour productivity, which has increased 6-fold since 1940.

The Mongolian working class continues to develop. The main feature of this process today, said L. Basankhuu, Vice-Chairman of the State Committee for Labour and Social Security, is the deepening of qualitative changes: the growth of a conscious attitude to work and of initiative, the increasing sense of being the master of production, and the rise of the level of general education and professional training. Although the arats are still the main source reinforcing the working class numerically, the number of persons of arat origin among the workers is gradually diminishing. The proportion of hereditary workers is growing, reaching roughly 50 per cent at a number of large industrial facilities such as the Erdenet copper-molybdenum plant. This is one of the visible factors fostering significant social changes within the working class.

An important function is performed by the institution of instructors: young working people generally begin their professional life under the guidance of skilled workers.

"What induces people to undertake the laborious duty of training young workers, devoting time and energy to this without any additional pay?" we asked M. Namsarai, an instructor at a weaving mill in Ulan Bator.

"It's all very simple," he replied. "At the mill we are not only workers but also masters. Each of us wants the mill to produce more, for on that depend our wages and living standard. To help young people learn a trade means working for oneself and for the benefit of the entire collective."

At the present stage the most pressing problem of the development of the working class, we were told, is the certain lag in the professional training of workers behind the requirements of scientific and technological progress, behind the requirements of modern production. This problem is being tackled in different ways. In the first place through the system of vocational training. The 30 schools of that system annually train skilled workers in 90 trades for various branches of industry.

More than two-thirds of the persons now taking jobs in industry have a full or incomplete secondary education. A result of the rising level of general and professional education among workers is that the production rationalisation and innovation movement is acquiring an ever broader scale. It is developing under the motto of "support from engineers for workers' initiatives". Specialised comprehensive teams of workers and engineers have been formed at industrial facilities. These teams have produced many innovations. On the railway and at the factories in Darkhan and some other industrial towns there are over 500 teams of innovators and public design bureaus. *The labour of workers has thus become one of the key factors of scientific and technological progress in Mongolia.*

We were able to corroborate our overall impression of Mongolian workers in meetings with them. One of them, D. Sundui, is a young excavator operator at the Erdenet copper-molybdenum mine. Coming from an arat family, he graduated from a secondary school, enrolled in the Erdenet study centre, and became an assistant excavator operator. Today he is a skilled worker. He constantly overfulfils his work quota, studies at an evening vocational school and aims to become an engineer. His life story is typical of young workers and of the whole Mongolian working class, which is young not only in terms of time but also in age: the average age of the workers is 30.

The drive of the workers for knowledge and public activity is a factor behind *the leading role played by the working class in cultural progress, in the formation of the*

national intelligentsia. Let's glance at some of the Mongolian people's achievements in this area. Mongolia wiped out illiteracy long ago; 84 per cent of the population over the age of 12 has an education of one level or another. For the number of students and doctors per 10,000 of the population the republic is ahead of many industrial capitalist countries.

Holding key positions in socialist social relations, *Mongolia's working class implements its leading role chiefly through the multiform activity of the ruling party.* The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party now had 85,000 members united in party organisations functioning throughout the country. One-third of the members are industrial workers. As socialism develops the party plays a steadily growing role in Mongolian society.

Today, party functionaries stressed, one of the most important tasks is to increase Communist influence in production, in work collectives.

"The successful implementation of the party's policy", said D. Myanganbayar, First Secretary of Ulan Bator's Workers' District Committee of the MPRP, "would be inconceivable without enhancing the consciousness and social activity of the working people, without the broad promotion of the people's initiative, without drawing them into the settlement of key problems confronting society. Hence the growing accent on ideological, on educational work. This means merging it more closely, ensuring its unity with economic and organisational practice and thereby giving the fullest scope for the creative initiatives of the people. That is why we attach paramount significance to vitalising the party groups at enterprises. In our district we have about 300 party groups. They are the foci of ideological education and the initiators of many patriotic undertakings such as the movement of instructors, the drive to boost efficiency in production, and so on."

In their work the Communists rely on the largest public organisation — the trade unions, which now embrace all working people. They play a big role by helping to draw up annual and long-term development plans and in decision-making relating to the distribution of material and financial resources. For instance, 244,000 factory and office workers took part in discussing the state plan for 1984. They made over 10,000 suggestions, most of which were included in the plan. In characterising the work of the trade unions, B. Luvsantseren, Chairman of the Central Council of Mongolian Trade Unions, noted that they have ample opportunities to participate directly in production management, reinforce its democratic principles, and foster the working people's creative initiative. The trade unions, he said, have the twin task of fostering the utmost development of the economy, boosting efficiency and, at the same time, showing unflagging concern for the legitimate rights and interests of the working people.

The workers are playing a steadily bigger role in the direct administration of affairs of state. Their representatives comprise nearly one-third of the deputies in the Great People's Khural, which is Mongolia's highest legislative body.

Our study of various aspects of society's life in Mongolia showed us that in each of them the working class is the most enlightened and active force.

At all the industrial centres and large industrial facilities that we visited we saw the inscription "Nairamdal — Friendship" on placards, display stands, tip-up trucks, and hoisting cranes. One and the same concept, expressed in Mongolian and Russian, gave the name to a mass internationalist movement involving thousands of workers and specialists from Mongolia, the Soviet Union, and other socialist countries working jointly on common tasks in one team, shift, crew, or department, helping each other fraternally to increase production efficiency and labour productivity.

"Early in 1973," related Z. Byamba, Secretary of the Erdenet Party Committee, "the governments of Mongolia and the Soviet Union decided to build our joint project. The first builders came here a year later. They began building the plant and the town. The equipment for the project was manufactured at 400 factories in 240 Soviet towns.

Skilled Mongolian workers, who got their training at Darkhan and other projects, joined the Soviet specialists and workers to build the ore-concentrating plant. Still more came on assignment of the revolutionary youth league from rural localities. They had only recently been arats. They were motivated by their desire to contribute to building the project. But most had first to be trained. In joint work with skilled workers, the newcomers learned various trades. In this way the international "Nairamdal — Friendship" teams were formed at Erdenet. Nobody specially thought up the name. It was born spontaneously among the people and has since then become nation-wide."

The roots of socialist solidarity date back to the first years of the existence of the Mongolian People's Republic. Several industrial facilities were built jointly with the USSR as early as the 1920s and 1930s. Since then approximately 30,000 specialists with a higher or secondary education were trained with Soviet assistance for all branches of the republic's economy, science, and culture. Thousands of Mongolian workers are currently receiving training in the Soviet Union. Large contingents of Mongolian workers have emerged in the industries set up with Soviet assistance.

New potentialities for the development of the Mongolian working class have been opened up by Mongolia's participation in the work of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. The example of Darkhan, built with the assistance of a number of CMEA member-states, illustrates the significance of these potentialities.

M. Tumurkhoyag, Darkhan's mayor, said: "Darkhan is indeed a product of socialist solidarity. With Soviet technological and economic assistance we have built here a large thermal power station, a house-building facility, a food plant, apartment houses, and many other projects. Bulgaria took part in building a sheepskin-coat factory and suburban agricultural enterprises, Hungary helped us to build a meat-packing plant, Poland assisted in the building of a silicate brick factory, and Czechoslovakia helped to build a cement factory. Some of the town's industrial facilities use equipment manufactured in the GDR. One in every five workers at Darkhan had the opportunity to acquire or improve his skills in a fraternal country, while every second worker was trained by specialists from a socialist community country."

Such is socialist internationalism in action. It has been and remains an effective factor for the development of the Mongolian working class.

Of course, we do not claim to have given exhaustive answers to the questions raised at the beginning of these notes. The formation and development of Mongolia's working class and the enhancement of its role in Mongolian society are a complex and many-faceted process. But we feel that we saw the main thing, namely that under conditions of non-capitalist development headed by the Communists fundamentally new changes took place in the condition of the working person whose social status altered in the course of this development. Breaking away from the land, he did not become a "wage slave of capital" compelled by the "discipline of hunger" to toil for a miserable wage for an employer as was the case in the period of early capitalism in Europe or is still the case today in the new states following the capitalist road of development. The new worker, a person working for himself and for the good of society, became the master of the new — socialised — means of production, the master of his socialist country.

Believers and Politics

François Houtart - canon, professor,
Louvain Catholic University, Belgium

NUNS chanting psalms and Communists marching together among thousands of demonstrators for peace surprise no one in Belgium today. But we still remember the time when anything like this was inconceivable. During the cold war years, the word "peace" was unacceptable in the Christian political vocabulary; it could only be used in the strictly religious sense. Views equating "peace" with "anti-patriotism" were imposed on public opinion. People were told that they must "defend themselves against the East", and the drive to sign the Stockholm Appeal and other initiatives of the World Peace Council were interpreted in such a way as to prompt as many people as possible to identify champions of peace with Communists. Given the anti-communist hysteria of those years, with many Christians believing that Marxist was close to devilry, these attitudes were aimed at discrediting the peace movement and made involvement of non-Communists in it extremely difficult if not impossible. Action for peace was seen as treachery and any pacifist, as an "agent of Moscow".

After World War II, powerful quarters of the Christian community adopted the Atlantic cause, playing on the sentiments produced by Western Europe's liberation by the Allies, notably by the Americans, and fomenting fears of communism.

It took many years, the impact of objective reality and unswerving efforts by the more progressive and sober Catholics (including those who worked in the Pax Christi movement¹ and on the Peace and Justice Commission), to gradually begin to overcome anti-communist stereotypes. Naturally, that was a very painful process. When I organised youth marches against nuclear weapons together with the Communists in the 1950s, a large part of the Christian community regarded my behaviour as scandalous. Today I am gratified to say that the attitude to cooperation with the Communists has changed substantially.

New types of Christian participation in socio-political affairs have emerged. Christians have begun to turn more often to the burning problems of social justice, peace and development, and their action has grown bigger and more vigorous, specifically, within feminist and environmentalist movements, urban improvement groups, cooperatives and other organisations.

The arms race, the stockpiling of nuclear weapons, the crippling increase of unproductive expenditures, the alignment of Belgian foreign policy with that of the United States and, finally, the deployment of US medium-range missiles on Belgian soil — all this has alarmed Christians and prompted them to take specific initiatives for peace.

Obviously, the political control exercised by the ruling Christian parties (the CVP and the PSC),² as well as the ideological conditioning concerning the "imbalance of forces between the two military blocs" and the "aggressive intentions of the enemy" have not contributed to the evolution of Christian opinion towards a more pronounced anti-militarist position. The Christian world is heterogeneous and contradictory. Opinion polls indicate a certain connection — for example, between involvement in ecclesiastical affairs and a more favourable view of weapons deployment in the West, a connection that evidently reflects the social status of those surveyed.

Nevertheless, the peace movement has expanded in recent years, especially in the

This is another feature on the dialogue and cooperation between Christians and Marxists (see *WMR*, No. 3, 1985), contributed by a well-known expert in the sociology of religion, author of over 20 monographs on believers' participation in civic affairs. The Rev. Houtart, adviser to the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965), is a prominent Belgian peace activist and director of the Tricontinental Centre which studies liberation movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Flemish part of the country. It has drawn together people of different philosophical, political and religious views. Youth participation in it is massive. Its basis for the analysis of international issues and for the choice of common political options has remained rather vague, although one must admit that given the current ideological situation, this was what helped the movement to acquire its mass character. Otherwise it would have been impossible to find believers, Socialists, Communists, environmentalists — people representing widely different components of the political spectrum — marching together in anti-missile demonstrations (50,000 participants in 1979, 200,000 in 1983 and 400,000 in 1984).

Indignation over the decision of the Wilfried Martens government to begin the deployment of US missiles in Florennes has united currents whose positions on other domestic and foreign policy issues (including some aspects of the problem of war and peace) are diametrically opposed. This, of course, is no effective basis for the establishment of a new united political organisation. Christians participate in the Belgian Union for the Defence of Peace, the Vrede ("Peace") movement in Flanders, the Concord, Peace and Development group that strives to highlight the connection linking the arms race, economic underdevelopment and the crisis, the VAKA (Flemish Action Committee Against Atomic Weapons) and the CNAPD (National Action Committee for Peace and Development) pacifist associations as well as in other organisations such as Rencontre (Encounter).

The role Christians play in the VAKA and CNAPD pluralist movements is particularly significant because it demonstrates such salient features as mass involvement, orientation on specific goals and the impact of motives that are more ethical than strictly political. There is no doubt that such movements contribute to the erosion of the established Catholic socio-political philosophy with its idea of class collaboration, although they are too heterogeneous to pose a new and tangible alternative to it. Still, these movements help to create a climate free from the strict rigidity of traditional Catholic organisations and open the way to new ideas and new types of practical action.

Naturally, the concern felt by Christians over the problems of today's world features different levels of awareness and of political opinion and, consequently, different forms of social activity on the part of believers. First, many Catholics respond with revulsion to the system of nuclear weapons per se, a reaction rooted in the view of the value of life inherent in the Christian faith. I think that this approach makes it possible to mobilise broad masses of Christians to the struggle for peace — even those whose political consciousness is low. Their response to the nuclear threat is rather of an emotional nature. It stems from the Christian postulate that life is a sacred gift of Jesus Christ and that its preservation is the central imperative of humanity, especially in relation to the poor and the oppressed.

Second, there are those whose approach to peace, security and progress is more analytical, but this analysis, too, is above all ethical. These Catholics believe it simply *immoral* to spend astronomical sums on armaments while so many countries are afflicted with economic underdevelopment and thousands of people die of hunger and diseases. Guided by this social ethic, they often condemn both those who instigate the arms race and those on whom it is forced. This is where one frequently encounters regrettable oversimplifications such as the opposition of the West to the East, the notions of "equal responsibility of the two superpowers" and the like.

Finally, there are also Christians who are already turning to a class analysis, a social analysis of the contradictions of our age. They understand the connection between the deteriorating international situation and the course pursued by the imperialist powers who, by the very logic of capitalist development, are interested in the arms race and force the socialist countries to bear this burden too.

In other words, the philosophy of the Christians who become involved in the

struggle for peace is based on different precepts. Still, these differences did not prevent the masses of believers from joining other sections of the public in opposition to the Euromissiles, from voicing their refusal to accept the fatalistic idea of an inevitable nuclear conflict. This is a new development: earlier, individual Christians did take part in anti-war movements, but such massive involvement of Catholics when hundreds of thousands are marching in demonstrations has never been witnessed before.

Many believers who have joined the peace movement admit that the daily contacts they have established in pacifist, anti-imperialist and other pluralist organisations are gradually dissipating their erstwhile anti-communist prejudice.

Influential Christian and secular quarters do try — and sometimes it pays off — to present Marxism as an essentially aggressive doctrine. This is what underlies the talk of the “menace from the East” and the “Soviet threat”, as well as “crusades” against the “evil empire”. To me, all these concepts are thoroughly fallacious. They distort both the meaning of Marxism and historical reality.

Marxism has not only influenced the development of social and economic thought but also emerged as a very important element of human accomplishment that can no longer be ignored. Believers and non-believers use Marxist analysis as the key to the discovery and understanding of social realities — not only in the realm of pure theory. The Marxist approach also implies a person’s individual attitude to the contradictions of capitalist society and the struggle of the oppressed classes.

Some Christians see the ideas of Marx and Engels as a means of freeing their own thinking from the burden of social structures that run counter to the ideas of equality, love and brotherhood. This enables them to contribute to the revolutionary struggle and to take part in the building of a new society.

Of course, the political concepts of some churches are in open conflict with Marxism. For example, this is reflected in the rejection of the class struggle as something that is opposed in principle to Christian views. According to the advocates of this position, only class collaboration can lead to what is called a “common weal”. This is what is behind the “supraclass” slogans of Christian Democratic and similar parties.

Condemning the “class struggle” and invoking Christian principles, these people commit a profound error. First, we are dealing not with relations that are not interpersonal but concern large social groups as they are involved in production and with all the political and social concomitants of these relations — in other words, with objective reality and not some individual human intentions. Second, if anything deserves to be condemned, it is the practices of the ruling classes and not the struggle of the exploited for emancipation. Viewed from this angle, the concept of the class struggle is by no means incompatible with the principle of “love thy neighbour”; on the contrary, it implies suppression of those social relations that result in inequality.

It took the Catholic Church centuries to acquit Galileo. Even in the 1960s, in the age of space flight, some participants in the Second Vatican Council opposed this. Still, one of the main city squares of Louvain-la-Nueve, the site of the famous Catholic University, is now named after the great astronomer. I expect that it will take a long time for another square in a Belgian city to be named after Karl Marx. Nevertheless, some Christians are already seriously contemplating the legitimacy of Marxist social analysis and its compatibility with the Christian faith. It would be wrong to explain this merely as a tactic of certain religious groups designed to ensure their survival in the new conditions.

Marxism is by no means a contemplative philosophy but a social force striving to transform society in the interests of the oppressed, of the working class. The classes that rule bourgeois society feel threatened by Marxism. And, brandishing the “Red peril” bugbear, they want to safeguard their privileges, their position, the capitalist regime as such — not to “protect the Christian faith from the Communists”. They lie

when they try to pass off their own ideology as the embodiment of "Christian values".

One must admit that throughout human history, religious organisations and institutions have identified mostly with the ruling classes and been used by the latter as an ideological and even material means of consolidating their domination. Today, concepts still exist whose adherents zealously advocate a more or less reformed, so-called liberal (that is, capitalist) society. Some members of the church hierarchy may criticise capitalism sometimes, and even quite harshly — but only its consequences, not its structure. The political ideal they propose is an "improved" capitalist society. The criticism they engage in is not a fundamental critique of the system, of the kind expounded by Marxists. Still, sizeable numbers of Christians are adopting a class analyses and criticise capitalism radically.

And despite certain negative experiences in the application of Marxism, despite the fact that the leaders of the now defunct Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea fraudulently assumed its name, many believers no longer think that Marxism is necessarily unacceptable. I personally am convinced that Marxism is incompatible with military expansionism. After all, any unbiased, realistic observer can see that the socialist world needs peace to build, to develop its productive forces and its social system. The peoples of these countries do not want war to be imposed on them.

The unprecedented acerbity of the social problems stemming from economic dislocation, unemployment, underdevelopment and from hunger that persists in whole countries and regions leads many clergymen and simply honest Catholics to join the search for ways to transform society on a more just and humane basis. In Belgium, the Christians for Socialism movement is one example bearing this out. Christians on all continents are increasingly concerned over the issues of the liberation struggle in Asia, Africa and Latin America. There, the struggle has already entered a new stage: the objective is not only political but also economic independence, as well as self-determination of the people, "the people" defined primarily as the lower, oppressed classes: in other words, the objective is social. This is what we see in Nicaragua, in El Salvador and in the Philippines.

Revolutionary movements cannot be explained by the influence of some external factors. Their roots should be traced to the objectively existing class system of economic and political oppression, as well as to an obvious rise in the level of social and, eventually, class consciousness. A liberation movement is unthinkable without this basis. The world's progressive quarters should be gratified that there are countries which display international solidarity with the newly free peoples and extend economic and other assistance to them in the struggle against counter-revolution and reaction.

The position and the moral choice of Christians have always been made more difficult by the fact that the political regimes which suppress these popular movements for social emancipation and national liberation officially designate themselves as Christian (the way it was in Portugal under Salazar and Caetano) and by the pressures coming from the Catholic elite allied with the authorities (the way it is in several Central American countries). Besides, swayed by reactionary propaganda that exaggerates isolated historical facts and hampers a correct analysis of the existing contradictions, some believers fear that "if power passes to the revolutionaries, this would mean the victory of communism and the end of religion". These views are very hard to overcome.

Despite all these difficulties, however, Christians are active in liberation movements in Latin America, Southern Africa and the Philippines. Please note that I refer to the massive alignment of Christians with forces that are guided by Marxist ideas and advocate political transformations of a socialist type, not to any contribution of official Christian movements or organisations. Christians join these movements of their own personal accord, without sacrificing their religious feelings or convictions. This is why some of them see themselves as both Christians and Marxists.

These processes manifest themselves on two planes. On the practical plane, we are dealing with a tangible contribution to the struggle for liberation and for building a new life, with the willing assumption of certain political obligations; Nicaragua is one example. On the theoretical, ideological plane, we are witnessing the emergence of what is called the "theology of liberation". This is no longer a purely speculative theology seeking to explain reality by the great precepts of the Gospel but, conversely, an approach to reality interpreting the Christian faith and the Gospel from the viewpoint of the experience jointly accumulated by the oppressed. As a result, proponents of the "theology of liberation" are not only reappraising the Catholic social ethics. People involved in the social struggle interpret the life and death of Jesus Christ in a distinctive way: they hold that salvation and the Millennium will be brought about by the work of man and not by divine will at the end of time. Consequently, participation of Christians in liberation movements is essential and does not contradict the precepts of their faith.

The conservative quarters that have always regarded the clergy as their supporters are gravely alarmed by these developments and see them as a great threat to their social hegemony. Hence the criticism of "priests who meddle in politics", their exile, arrests, torture and assassinations. Suffice it to recall the fate of Monsignor Romero, the archbishop of San Salvador who defended the oppressed and was assassinated by right-wingers.

I personally know priests who serve on the revolutionary government of Nicaragua or cooperate with it. My conclusion is that they are anything but power-hungry. It is simply that after 45 years of the dictatorship and given the scarcity of intellectuals and experts, the popular government cherishes every person who can be relied on in the efforts to rehabilitate and rebuild the country. That is why, accepting the Sandinist Front's offer of important posts, Miguel d'Escoto and the Cardenal brothers³ had every reason to expect understanding from the Holy See and the Pope who uses every opportunity to urge assistance to peoples afflicted by poverty, illiteracy and economic underdevelopment. However, when, during his visit to Nicaragua, he faced Father Ernesto Cardenal in front of television cameras the Pope refused to proffer his hand, in a gesture of discouragement and disapproval of the respected national poet and clergyman.

This threw into bold relief the contradiction that runs deep in the Catholic Church. According to statements made by the Pope, the church identifies with the cause of the poor; in actual fact, it condemns priests who are serving the people and helping them to overcome poverty. But the Pope said nothing to rebuke those high-ranking monsignors at the Vatican who were implicated in the Banco Ambrosiano scandal and in other unsavoury affairs symbolising the evils of capitalism — just as earlier, the Holy See could not bring itself to publicly condemn "President" Tiso of Slovakia, a man of the cloth who was an ally of Hitler. Essentially, members of the propertied classes denounce the priests and nuns in Nicaragua not for their involvement in politics but for allying themselves with the oppressed and because their activities threaten the capitalist system and its regime of exploitation.

The issue of cooperation between Christians and Marxists in European developed capitalist countries does have its distinctive features. In the Third World, social contradictions are more visible and it is obviously much easier to develop political consciousness among Christians there. This promotes interest in Marxist ideas. Meanwhile, in the industrialised "consumer societies" the antagonisms inherent in the capitalist system are hidden from sight by the patterns of this consumption. This is why here, fewer Christians really grasp the existing contradictions. There are also the difficulties connected with the fact that to move in the direction of a Marxist, class-based analysis of reality means to "swim against the current" and reject the illusory logic of reformist "common weal". The view that it is better to promote this "common

weal" by accepting "class collaboration" and ignoring the actual class contradictions is still widespread.

The struggle against the economic crisis and unemployment, for a shorter workweek is justly seen as representing those burning social issues that can and do unite Christians and Marxists. The demands formulated in this regard by the working class movement and by certain Christian organisations are virtually the same. Many people are alarmed at the state of the environment and concerned over pollution — factors that are also linked with a definite economic system. Efforts are needed to go beyond the purely "environmental" approach, to explain the connection between the state of the environment and not only the development level of the productive forces but also the criteria, purposes and social forms of production. The slogans and ideas advanced by Christians and Marxists regarding the issues of migrant workers and the struggle against racial prejudice and xenophobia also have much in common.

As I said, issues of peace and disarmament offer great scope for cooperation. Christians increasingly welcome the ideas of a freeze of nuclear arsenals, no first use of nuclear weapons, and nuclear-free zones. A drive to declare entire regions and communities nuclear-free has been launched in Belgium. The community council of Florennes where cruise missiles are to be deployed has also made such a declaration.

Nevertheless, one must not succumb to illusions. Many Christians are still swayed by anti-Soviet propaganda. They believe that the Soviet Union wants war and that the Eastern bloc has attained nuclear superiority. All this is compounded by the stand of high-ranking Belgian clergymen who, like their other West European counterparts, are much less aware of the war danger than, say, the US bishops. The fathers of the Catholic Church in our country condemn the *use* of nuclear weapons but accept *possession* of such weapons for the sake of deterrence. At the very least, this is an unrealistic position: history proves that accumulation of arms increases the risks of their use. Can one really say that another Hiroshima or Nagasaki are now completely ruled out?

The arguments marshalled against Christian-Marxist cooperation by all those who believe in the Soviet "hostility" or "aggressiveness" are rooted more in political than in religious considerations. The Christian faith poses no obstacles to cooperation among peace movements.

Unfortunately, Belgian public opinion is not yet fully aware of the dangers of Star Wars, of the "strategic defence initiative" advanced by the President of the United States. Some people believe that this problem has no direct or immediate bearing on Belgian society. Meanwhile, the ruling quarters are considering favourably the prospect of joining the US research effort in this sphere. It is important to help people understand that the United States promotes the "strategic defence initiative" to secure military superiority and enable American capitalism to develop new technologies at the expense of the taxpayers and US allies in Europe. This policy is designed to bolster the capitalist system, enhance its technological capabilities and force a new and burdensome round in the development of increasingly sophisticated types of weapons on the socialist countries. No one should accept the fallacious argument that the latest military space technology will block the danger of war. On the contrary, this escalation will increase the threat to peace many times over, for such is the logic of the arms race.

Unity of all champions of peace and social progress is a vitally important task full of contradictions and difficulties. But the need is now more pressing than ever before, and the effects of joint action justify the efforts taken by each individual to overcome prejudice and biased notions and to create a climate of mutual respect conducive to a patient search for acceptable solutions.

¹ Sponsored by French and German Catholics after the war and officially recognised by the Catholic Church, the Pax Christi movement holds independent views on a number of issues.

² The Flemish and Walloon Christian Social Parties. — *Ed.*

³ The Rev. Miguel d'Escoto accepted the post of foreign minister, the Rev. Ernesto Cardenal became Minister of Culture and the Rev. Fernando Cardenal, the Minister of Education. — *Ed.*

surveys, information and mail

A Peace Initiative A Step Towards Abolishing Chemical Weapons

The September 1985 proposals the GDR and Czechoslovakia made to the FRG that they enter into negotiations on the creation of a chemical weapon-free zone in Central Europe have generated widespread international interest. *WMR* has asked *Manfred Uschner*, a deputy department chief in the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, to explain what is behind this peace initiative of the two socialist countries, what prompted it and how feasible it is.

A comprehensive and universal ban on the development, manufacture, stockpiling and use of chemical weapons is now more imperative than ever before. The Geneva Disarmament Conference has been discussing this issue for many years; so far the many documents available indicate that the participating countries belonging to the two different social systems hold opposite views on the problem. This is all the more regrettable because the chemical weapons already stockpiled pose a grave threat to humanity and besides, the United States is preparing to acquire radically new types of these weapons.

It is therefore not surprising that, aside from the government delegates meeting in Geneva's Palais des Nations, governmental and non-governmental organisations have in recent years been searching for partial measures of a regional character that would make it possible to break the deadlock.

In 1983 and 1984 the Warsaw Treaty countries put forward a proposal aimed at removing chemical weapons from all of Europe. Similar projects have been prepared by several social democratic parties, trade unions and scientists' organisations.

Last year the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the Social Democratic Party of Germany set up a group of experts. The work performed by the group enabled the two parties to present to the world public a joint political initiative on the establishment of a European zone free from chemical weapons. The papers that have been prepared do not question the affiliation of this or that country with this or that alliance and take into account the security interests of all parties. The ultimate goal is to free Europe from chemical weapons. The draft agreement is addressed to all signatories of the Helsinki Final Act.

Initially however, a zone free from chemical weapons could encompass the countries in that part of Central Europe which is generally regarded as the subject of the Vienna talks. Naturally, other countries are not barred either from adding their territory to this zone. The first and minimal step would be to establish a zone covering the GDR and Czechoslovakia on one side and the FRG on the other — the countries adjacent to the dividing line between Europe's two alliances.

These countries are to undertake to remove chemical weapons from and prevent their future deployment on their territory, to refrain from the manufacture or acquisition of such weapons, and to prohibit the use of their territory by other countries for the stationing, manufacture or transit transportation of chemical weapons. The countries maintaining armed forces in this region and possessing chemical weapons would evacuate these weapons from this territory within a period to be defined and refrain from deploying, storing, manufacturing and introducing these weapons there as well as from transferring them to the countries of the zone. All chemical weapon states are to respect the status of the zone and never use or threaten to use these weapons against its constituent countries.

Finally, it is also important that the proposal of the two countries outlines a mutually acceptable range of national and international verification principles, objectives and means. This charts the possible course of future intergovernmental negotiations but does not predetermine the shape of this or that accord.

The SED and SPD initiative is welcomed by diverse political forces both in the East and in the West, for it is specific in form, logically substantiated and marks a real albeit partial step towards arms limitation and disarmament. The fact that the ruling communist party of a socialist country and an influential opposition social democratic party of a NATO country have been able, despite the differences in their ideological and political positions, to jointly advance this peace initiative proves that preservation of peace is the paramount issue in today's world. Commitment to peace and a humanitarian sense of duty to one's people and of responsibility for international security have prevailed.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was among the many parties that responded promptly and positively to the initiative. The CPCs suggested that, with due regard for what had been accomplished by the SED and the SPD in political terms, the GDR and Czechoslovakia approach the FRG via governmental channels with a joint proposal of negotiations on the establishment of a chemical weapon-free zone.

On September 13, 1985 this idea was acted upon: identical proposals of the governments of the GDR and Czechoslovakia were presented to the Chancellor of the Federal Republic. The underlying premise is that a partial regional solution would contribute to the success of the talks on the universal prohibition of all types of chemical weapons and that it would provide a good stimulus to tangible progress towards disarmament. Besides, given an attitude of goodwill to the negotiation process, three countries can reach agreement more easily than would a greater number of participants.

A Central European chemical weapon-free zone can be created by evacuating these weapons from and ruling out any future deployment of such weapons within its boundaries. Unlike a universal ban, the arrangement in question does not envisage a complex and drawn-out process of their destruction: judging from past experience, one cannot expect all countries to immediately sign and ratify an instrument imposing such a ban. In other words, for several more years mankind will have to live with extremely dangerous chemical toxic agents. In fact, man will reach the turn of the century without having removed the threat chemical weapons pose to him.

Meanwhile, a zone free from chemical weapons would enable Europe to minimise the danger inherent in the storage of these weapons in peacetime and in their use in case of conflict or war. Incidentally, other continents and regions could well join such a zone. Just as physicians cannot let slip a good chance of partial cures for some types of cancer merely because we still lack a universal method of preventing and treating this terrible disease, so is it incumbent on governments to try and use every chance of translating the idea of a chemical weapon-free zone into a political reality. Today, the idea of Confucius that it is always better to light a small candle than to keep cursing darkness still holds.

An agreement between the GDR Czechoslovakia and the FRG on the establishment of a chemical weapon-free zone open to other countries for accession would no doubt promote confidence in Central Europe along the line dividing the two opposite social systems and strongest military alliances of today's world. Another fact of considerable importance is that Central Europe is a densely populated region in which a powerful chemical industry is concentrated and a great amount of military toxic agents stored. The disasters in Utah (United States), Seveso (Italy) and Bhopal (India) have shocked public opinion and demonstrated the extreme danger of accumulating toxic chemical agents.

The difference between the two courses of world politics was born out by the different ways in which the USSR and the United States reacted to the proposal of the GDR and Czechoslovakia.

The Soviet Union immediately declared its readiness to respect the status of a chemical weapon-free zone in Central Europe if the United States expressed readiness to follow suit. In this way the USSR yet again reaffirmed its commitment to peace.

But Washington so far rejects the proposal. The reason is that it runs counter to Pentagon planning: according to its official concept of a war fought in Europe by NATO forces, the US brass stipulates combined use of conventional, nuclear and electronic means of warfare as well as of radically new chemical weapons.

Data supplied by international organisations indicate that the United States is already in possession of more than 55,000 tons of highly toxic nerve gas types. Various chemical agents totalling 150,000 tons are on hand primed and ready for military action. These stockpiles alone are enough to destroy the human race several times over and with unprecedented brutality. A great proportion of these chemical weapons is stored at US military bases in the FRG, Great Britain and Italy and on aircraft carriers in the Mediterranean and the Atlantic.

The Pentagon's laboratories have long been working to develop new binary chemical weapons and psychotropic toxic agents. Ten billion dollars is the officially quoted sum to be spent, within the next five years, on a programme to "modernise" the US chemical arsenal, a project that is part of Washington's policy of military superiority. Public protest has forced the US Congress to allocate "only" 155 million dollars for large-scale production of binary chemical weapons at Pine Bluff, Arkansas in fiscal 1986. The House of Representatives has made this conditional on the acceptance by NATO's West European countries of the deployment of these weapons on their territory. It is as clear as day that the politicians in Washington do not want to keep these infernal weapons on their own soil because they are perfectly aware of the risk this would entail. It is not at home that they are planning to use toxic agents. Under the Pentagon's doctrine, chemical weapons are militarily "justified" only when sited close to the main front of prospective hostilities. For several years now, General Bernard Rogers, NATO's Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, has been making no secret of the fact that this line runs along the FRG's border with the GDR and Czechoslovakia.

Reports from Washington indicate that a new NATO decision on rearmament, this time with binary chemical weapons, is being prepared there (so far in secret). With this end in view, the US administration is trying to mobilise, above all in the FRG, the political forces closest to it. As usual, attempts are under way to deceive public opinion with lies about the "threat from the East" and an alleged US "lag" in chemical weapons, "a gap to be closed as soon as possible in the interest of Western security".

This is an old and familiar trick, used repeatedly when the United States was deploying its new weapon systems, including medium-range nuclear missiles, in Western Europe. However, each step to build up armaments weakened, not strengthened European security. The continent has turned into a smoking powder keg, and nations are becoming increasingly aware of the need to stop the arms race. They do

not want to be pushed to the brink of war and annihilation. More firmly than ever before, millions of people are demanding tangible steps to safeguard peace and avert the threat of nuclear catastrophe and a "chemical inferno".

The message of the governments of the GDR and Czechoslovakia to the Chancellor of the FRG raises a key issue of relations between Europe's socialist and capitalist countries. The historical record and current developments prove that here, efforts to preserve peace and specific contributions by governments to this end are the most important thing. More durable peace and a return to detente could free all people from the nightmare of the war threat; they could then sigh with relief.

"War must never again emanate from German soil; German soil must be a source of peace," says the joint statement on the meeting between Comrade Erich Honecker and Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Moscow on March 12, 1985. People will judge how earnest this statement is by concrete moves made in the field of arms limitation and disarmament. Medium-size and small states, too, can and must work vigorously to safeguard peace. The establishment of a zone free from chemical weapons would be a real step towards a "world of fewer weapons", a step in the interests of all European peoples and countries, in the interests of international security.

The Reader Wants to Know Reaching People's Hearts with Song and Spoken Word

"Many popular singers, performers and film actors in different countries are peace activists fighting against the threat of nuclear war. Do they have an organisation of their own, similar to that of, say, physicians and pooling their efforts internationally?"

André Thirion, Luxembourg

The answer is yes. Members of the artistic community have established such an international anti-war organisation — Performing Artists for Nuclear Disarmament. Following is an interview with *Margit Niederhuber*, civic activist from Austria and secretary of this organisation, about its efforts and forms of struggle.

When was your organisation founded and why?

It happened in the early 1980s. Three popular American performers — Harry and Julie Belafonte and Florence Falk — were the "godfather and godmothers". They were drawn together by their concern for the future of the world and the threat to it from the nuclear war plans drawn up on the banks of the Potomac. During their joint concert tour of Western Europe in the autumn of 1982 they discussed the matter with representatives of several national groups that rallied artists and performers to action against the escalating arms race and agreed to establish an organisation called Performing Artists for Nuclear Disarmament — PAND for short.

Preparatory work was conducted in Sweden, Great Britain, the FRG and Austria. And then the Austrian organisation "Workers in the Arts for Peace" sponsored an eight-hour rally in Vienna on November 6, 1982. Singers and musicians from Austria,

the United States, the USSR, Chile, South Africa and several other countries performed before an audience of 10,000 people.

We live in an age when popular songs are valued not only for a pleasant tune but also for the social thrust of the lyrics, for the fact that such songs allow any listener to join in the singing, to express what the masses feel. Hence the popularity of political songs. That time in Vienna, the entire audience — industrial and office workers, craftsmen, students and housewives — sang together with the professional soloists.

The following day a founding meeting was held at which PAND was established and which was attended by performers from only four countries — the United States, the FRG, Switzerland and Austria. But the organisation grew rapidly. You didn't have to launch a recruitment drive. It did not take us long to learn that associations of workers in the arts upholding the cause of peace operated in many countries. Soon after its establishment, PAND was joined by the Swedish association "Actors for Peace" and then by groups from the artistic communities of Denmark, Great Britain and Canada.

After many months of work we realised that PAND would become truly international with members from not only capitalist and developing but also socialist nations. That was why we invited a delegation from the Soviet Union to attend our Hamburg meeting in September 1983. That was when we drew up our plans for future action, mostly a programme of what could be described as anti-war concert rallies. We also agreed that our members should take part in the mass demonstrations, rallies and other actions held jointly by the anti-nuclear movements.

A new PAND leadership was elected in Hamburg. Harry Belafonte kept his post of president to which he was elected back in Vienna. Members of the Soviet, US, West German and Swedish artistic communities became vice-presidents. And so, national organisations and individual performers from scores of countries in the Americas, Europe, Africa and Asia are now involved in our work. The list of our activists features the names of outstanding theatre and film actors and performers such as Paul Newman and Stevie Wonder (United States), Raffaella Carrà (Italy), Marcel Marceau (France) and Zhanna Bichevskaya (USSR).

Meeting in Moscow in March 1984, the leaders decided to rename the organisation PAND International so as to stress its international character in contrast to similar national movements.

While on the subject of our name, I might recall that some people, especially in the first months after PAND was established, claimed the phrase "performing artists" should mean only performers and film, theatre and television actors. Belafonte was categorically against this narrow interpretation on the term. As he understood it — and as it is now understood universally — the organisation should be open to all workers in the arts whose creative drive influences millions of people, that is, that it should also include artists, poets and writers. This broad interpretation makes it possible to involve representatives of various sections of the artistic community in the struggle against war.

PAND International continues its work. Aside from "peace concerts", we also hold conferences and seminars, coordinate the activities of our national committees with the mass action taken by the peace movements and help stage concerts and shows and publish collections of poems and songs devoted to the struggle of peace. Cooperation with national non-governmental organisations and with UNESCO, the World Peace Council, the International Theatre Institute, the International Music Centre and other agencies has emerged as a major task.

What is the credo of your organisation? Has it been formulated in any document?

Workers in the arts who perform on the professional stage or before demonstrators on makeshift stages, in the theatre, on the film screen or on television do not always have

time for writing things. They see their task above all in establishing live contact with the mass audience. We have not drawn up any policy documents in the broad sense of the term because PAND International is not a political party. Moreover, our movement comprises workers in the arts who belong to widely different parties, including Communists; many do not belong to any party.

But, of course, we do have a credo we all share. I think Belafonte has put it very aptly. Recalling his friendship with Paul Robeson,¹ our president said, "This great artist taught me to understand that only the art linked with and engaged in the struggle for humanity's true values is real art."

Workers in the arts possess special qualities that enable them to "rule human minds" and make people follow them. Using their talent to promote dialogue instead of armament, negotiation and peace instead of nuclear war is the order of the day. This is what is stated in our *Appeal to the Workers in the Arts*, PAND's basic document: "We see our mission in jointly and individually using our art to make the audience acutely aware of the nuclear madness. We must demonstrate that humanity can have a future full of hope if all act rationally, consciously and uncompromisingly. We want to fight for it with our songs and music, our poems and paintings, our shows and films."²

It is also an appeal to the common sense of responsible members of governments. We urge them to abandon all military threats, armed interference or economic sanctions against peoples upholding their self-determination and national identity. Workers in the arts propose that everything be done to mobilise as many people as possible to the struggle to prevent the impending nuclear war.

Could you tell us more about Harry Belafonte, President of PAND International?

He is an interesting and gifted man — not only a famous popular singer but also an excellent actor, director and civic activist.

I think I should begin by recalling that Belafonte served in the US Navy during World War II. After the war, he joined the American Negro Theatre as an actor. Then he graduated from the Manhattan New School for Social Research Dramatic Workshop and joined the professional Vanguard Theatre in Greenwich Village.³ In the 1950s he performed on Broadway. He starred in many films, worked as a film director and producer, appeared on television and cut records.

Belafonte is a winner of many national and international awards, including an Emmy, the US Television Academy Award. His concert appearances are numerous: he has toured Australia, the Far and the Middle East, performed many times in Canada and Europe and, in 1984, visited the USSR. You can see that Belafonte is a performer who is popular not only with the Americans but with all those who follow today's international art.

The President of PAND International is an energetic man who constantly suggests new ideas about ways to expand our movement and involve all artists and performers in the struggle against the nuclear threat. His progressive anti-war efforts have long won recognition. "Sometimes I Recall My Life", a Cuban documentary, shows Belafonte as a peace activist. Incidentally, this excellent film won the Gold Dove award at the Leipzig Festival of Documentary and Short Films.

The president not only organises PAND International activities but also — naturally — appears in its concert rallies at which political songs dominate. Each is a hymn to peace, an appeal to people's vigilance.

Belafonte has recently finished shooting a film in Cuba, entitled "Drums Across the Sea". This documentary is designed to highlight the influence of Cuban culture — especially music and dancing as the particularly prominent features of national carnivals — on the development of these arts in the United States. In Santiago de Cuba and Havana he made several statements supporting peace and the struggle of the

Cuban people for their freedom and independence. Here is one of these statements: "I wish Americans could see all I have seen here. Because if they saw it they'd realise that Reagan is trying to drag them into an adventure which would put them into a terrible position. Because I am sure that the Cuban people will never surrender, never give up, just as the Nicaraguan people will not give up. Nor, clearly, the Salvadorans.

Finally, in 1985 Belafonte was among those who picketed the White House protesting against Washington's support of the apartheid regime in South Africa. He also launched a major fund-raising campaign among performers to help the victims of the famine in Africa. Singers, musicians and actors responded to his appeal, cut new records, and the money from their sales was used to buy food. The PAND President himself accompanied the first delivery to the famine-struck areas.

Belafonte is not a Communist. But he is a man who takes a sober view of what is happening in the world and devotes all his energy, experience and talent to the struggle to prevent nuclear war.

What are the concert rallies sponsored by PAND International like?

Their salient feature is that prior to his number, every performer — usually a singer — offers a brief comment on his personal position vis-à-vis urgent problems of world politics, exposes imperialist moves to speed up the arms race and shares his views of how the world can be saved from nuclear catastrophe. Such forms of contact with the audience are a great success in every country.

Take the way Belafonte appears on the stage. Before singing his songs he says: "The American missiles that are sent to Europe are not sent by those millions of people I represent. The missiles that would destroy Europeans would also destroy us Americans. I bring you greetings from people in my country who want to stop military activities against Nicaragua; who want the US Army to get out of Honduras and Grenada."

These were the words with which Belafonte also addressed people at a PAND concert rally in the DGR. Performing together with Belafonte before an enthusiastic and emotional audience in Berlin's biggest concert hall were well-known singers such as Perry Friedman (Canada), Udo Lindenberg (Sweden), singers from Czechoslovakia, Chile and the USSR, and groups from Italy, Ireland and, of course, the GDR. *Neues Deutschland*, the newspaper of the SED Central Committee, covered this event — the first major PAND rally in a socialist country — very extensively. And Belafonte was made corresponding member of the GDR Fine Arts Academy in recognition of his activities.

Is there ground to say that art as a whole and the activities of PAND International have a impact on development of the mass peace movement?

The beneficial influence of art on the peace movement is borne out by numerous facts. Participants in mass action use painting and theatre techniques in their struggle. Suffice it to recall the Pershing II mock-ups built by the demonstrators or the pictures of the nuclear holocaust, sometimes painted clumsily but with great feeling. Or the moments of "nuclear death" when scores and even hundreds of people lie down in the streets and squares to imitate the effects of weapons of mass destruction. Or the fact that the latest anti-war songs are sung during demonstrations.

I'll cite only two examples of how actors are working to defend peace. "Bread and Puppet", an American theatre company, came from the United States to Great Britain to take part in a mass demonstration for nuclear disarmament. They staged their show, entitled "Rebel Oratory", right in the street. They displayed great skill in arranging excerpts from speeches made by Reagan, Weinberger and other US officials promoting

the insane idea that the United States could win a nuclear war. Besides, PAND International has sponsored the production of two films in Sweden — "We Want to Live" about the peace marches and "The World Is Waiting" about the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures, Security and Disarmament in Europe. Documentary footage showing the anti-war struggle in different countries has been used in both films.

Still, all this is what I would call the outward aspect. The thing that is much more important is the inner conviction of every peace champion that he is doing what is right. You can arrive at this conviction by different ways, and art is one of them. If people unite in one great anti-war coalition, the imperialists will have to take their finger off the "nuclear button" and withdraw the missiles from Europe; they'll be too scared to start militarising outer space.

PAND International sees its mission in directing the magic of art towards upholding the lofty and noble cause of peace. Workers in the arts will not accomplish anything if each of them acts on his own. What we need is joint action taken together with the masses. We never lose sight of this need.

¹ Paul Robeson (1898-1976), prominent US singer, actor and public figure. — *Ed.*

² See *PAND Newsletter*, Autumn 1983.

³ A neighbourhood in New York City, centre of the US artistic community. — *Ed.*

THE CONTRAS: A TOOL OF IMPERIALISM

The Washington administration has spent over 100 million dollars on Nicaragua's contras. In mid-1985 the US Congress granted them another 27 million. From what President Reagan says, this money is used for defending "freedom and democracy" in Nicaragua. But what is the truth about these "freedom fighters" whom the United States government subsidises?

The Sandinist people's revolution, which ended almost half a century of rule by one of the worst dictatorial regimes in Latin America, and the subsequent process of national renaissance and democratisation in Nicaragua met fierce resistance from reaction both at home and abroad, primarily on the part of the United States. In a bid to keep its economic, political and military positions on the Latin American continent by hook or by crook, US imperialism started an undeclared war against the Nicaraguan people. Besides military pressure, economic blockade and other measures aimed at destabilising the situation in Nicaragua, the USA resorted to state terrorism against that country, greatly expanding secret operations by the CIA. It assigned a big role in these operations to bands of Nicaraguan counter-revolutionaries, or contras, as they are called all over the world.

Somocist "Democrats"

Nicaraguans date the beginning of the war from 1981, when the present US administration assumed power. That was when the CIA set about organising the Nicaraguan counter-revolution and took Somocist cutthroats under its wing. In training camps on US territory and in Honduras, which borders on Nicaragua and was transformed into the Pentagon's largest base in Central America, specialists from Langley and instructors boasting a "Vietnamese background" set up short-term

advanced courses for Somocist terrorists and saboteurs. In December 1981, Washington appropriated 19 million dollars for the purpose; afterwards it became more and more lavish.

As early as February 1982, the CIA formed the so-called Nicaraguan Democratic Force (NDF) from a motley of disunited bands of contras that were, however, at one in hating the revolution and the people's rule. The backbone of the NDF, based in Honduras, was made up of Somoza ex-guardsmen guilty of innumerable crimes against the Nicaraguan people. The "democracy" of the NDF is expressed in its programme, which provides for the restoration of confiscated large-scale property to its one-time owners, an end to progressive changes, including the agrarian reform, and the release of Somoza's underlings convicted by the people's revolutionary courts for acts of genocide and other crimes.

The composition of the NDF leadership is highly indicative. It comprises men who held high civilian and military posts under the Somoza dictatorship and men closely associated with the CIA. They include has-beens such as Alfonso Callejas, Vice-President of the Republic under Somoza; Adolfo Calero Portocarrero, former head of the Nicaraguan subsidiary of the US Coca Cola company, a CIA agent, who in the past was groomed to succeed Somoza; Enrique Bermúdez, a colonel of Somoza's national Guard who was trained at the US military base in the Panama Canal Zone, took part in the occupation of the Dominican Republic by "inter-American forces" in 1965 and was military adviser at the Nicaraguan Embassy in Washington when the dictatorship fell; Emilio Echeverri, a Somoza aide; Colonel Ricardo Lau, who was closely linked with the Salvadoran "death squads", the Guatemalan fascist organisation known as Mano Blanca (White Hand) and other terroristic, ultra-rightist organisations of Central America, and played a direct part in the assassination of Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo -Romero of San Salvador (March 1980), which earned him 120,000 dollars from El Salvador's rightists.

Somocists also lead military formations of contras created under the direction of the CIA. According to a research group which included Senators Christopher Dodd and Charles McMathias, Congressmen Mathew McHugh and Thomas E. Petri, and others, four of the five members of the NDF central military command and six of the seven commanders of "regional commandos" plus virtually all 30 heads of the so-called operational forces are Somoza ex-guardsmen.

Bands led by these gorillas make their way into Nicaragua from Honduras, kill local government officials and civilians, destroy schools and hospitals, loot and burn peasants's homes and sown fields and forcibly evacuate peasants to Honduras. Here are two of the many examples of their activity in 1982. One band killed 14 peasants in the village of San Francisco del Norte, wounded many more and forced the rest to cross into Honduras. Another band attacked the village of San Fernando, killed several people and burned the municipal council building, the post-office and dwelling houses.

In 1983 the NDF expanded its military operations. Its bands invaded highland areas of the northern departments of Jinotega and Nueva Segovia bordering on Honduras in an attempt to capture the town of Jalapa and set up a bridgehead on Nicaraguan soil. This was accompanied by CIA-led terror and sabotage in inland areas. In May the revolutionary state security service foiled a CIA operation code-named "Managua '83", whose purpose was to kill members of the Sandinist government. The contras were also to have blown up the oil refinery in the Nicaraguan capital, wrecked key television installations and disrupted the military communications system. Following the arrest of those directly in charge of the operation, large quantities of explosives and weapons of US make were uncovered in caches.

To create the impression of "popular support" for the counter-revolutionaries' crimes, the CIA planned an operation involving the withdrawal of Miskito Indians from Nicaragua. Steadman Fagoth, a one-time informer of the Somoza secret police,

was enlisted to join in the operation and contrived to deceive part of the Miskito tribe into going to Honduras. Afterwards the Miskitos, realising that they were to be used for anti-popular ends, were among the first to leave contras' camps and return to Nicaragua.

Propped Up by the CIA

Another seat of imperialist aggression against the Sandinist revolution sprang up in August and September 1982 on Costa Rican territory near the southern frontier of Nicaragua. It is the Democratic Revolutionary Alliance (DRA) and is led by, among others, Edén Pastora, a traitor to the Nicaraguan people. The story of his fall is quite banal and typical of pseudo-revolutionaries, who regard the people's struggle as merely a means of satisfying their own excessive ambitions. Political narrow-mindedness, ideological immaturity and hence constant vacillation coupled with petty-bourgeois adventurism made him a menial of the CIA.

Pastora first proclaimed himself leader of a "critical opposition" inside the revolution and then took an open stand in support of the Reagan administration's policy of aggression. His "programme" is based on groundless and battered imperialist propaganda accusations against the leadership of the Sandinist National Liberation Front (SNLF), alleged to be drifting away from the original goals of the revolution; it is full of demagogical calls for democracy and freedom, political pluralism, and so on. According to *Soldier of Fortune*, the "freedom fighters'" southern army includes many Somocists, Cuban counter-revolutionaries and Costa Ricans who fought in US imperialism's Vietnam war. Pastora gets the greater part of funds through CIA channels. His right-hand man is Harold Martínez Sáenz, former official of the Somoza secret police.

Besides the Pastora group, the DRA includes the Nicaraguan Democratic Movement, a party of Nicaraguan big employers founded and led by Alfonso Roveló, an industrialist who is kin to a NDF leader, the Somocist millionaire Alfonso Callejas, as well as some other small organisations. Like the NDF bands, those of the DRA recruit new members by abducting civilians, who escape from camps as soon as they get a chance.

Pastora and other DRA leaders publicly distance themselves from the NDF bands operating in the northern border area. In reality, however, there is increasingly close cooperation between the two counter-revolutionary organisations, which coordinate their activities against the Nicaraguan people. The DRA launched armed operations on Nicaraguan territory simultaneously with NDF invaders from the north. This came shortly after Reagan's speech to Congress in April 1983, interpreted by the contra leadership as the signal for mounting a new stage in the war against the Sandinist revolution.

After attempts to set up bridgeheads on Nicaraguan soil had fallen through, the contras expanded their terroristic activity and sabotage. They killed not only SNLF activists and members of trade unions and other mass organisations especially Sandinist Committees for the Defence of the Revolution, but members of agricultural cooperatives, doctors and teachers. In October 1983 a band led by Mike Lima, a Somocist common criminal who braggingly told journalists that his men went berserk in battle and took nobody prisoner, broke into Pantasma, a village in Jinotega Department, and murdered 47 defenceless members of the local agricultural cooperative. The bandits destroyed the school and other public buildings as well as homes, and smashed all farm implements and machines, including eight new tractors which the revolutionary government had supplied and which had never been seen in those parts before the revolution.

Ever since early 1984, along with committing acts of terrorism, laying ambushes on highways and killing activists, the contras have been carrying out attacks on economic

entities of strategic importance in Nicaragua. To help them in this, the United States has supplied them with new batches of arms, including phosphorus mines, chemical weapons, anti-tank rifles, mortars and bazookas. The CIA has compiled instructions on the techniques of demolishing factories and other economic facilities. In the same period, it joined directly in the mining of the approaches to Nicaraguan ports, an operation sharply condemned by world opinion.

The election campaign in Nicaragua, which ushered in a new stage of democratic change, gave rise to an upsurge in contra activity. They laid ambushes on roads and attacked passenger transport and communities in an attempt to intimidate the population and prevent it from voting in the first truly free and democratic general election in Nicaraguan history. These operations resulted in many deaths among civilians; the bandits spared neither women, old men, nor children. In La Sorpresa they killed four women, two infants in arms and eight aged people, burned all buildings and took away five young men.

Revealingly, the contras step up their operations during the Pentagon's frequent war games on Honduran territory, when their masters supply them with further quantities of arms and provide them with powerful cover in the rear as well as military instructors.

To raise the efficiency of counter-revolutionary bands, Washington has lately augmented arms and ammunition deliveries to a noticeable degree. It makes ample use of military bases set up by the Pentagon in Honduras (at Palmerola, El Aguacate, Jamastran and elsewhere), El Salvador's Ilopango airfield and estates on Costa Rican territory near the Nicaraguan frontier which are owned by John Hull and Climaco Salazar, CIA agents both.

Internal Squabbles

However, no amount of support can safeguard the bandits against telling blows from Nicaragua's armed forces. Desertion from the counter-revolutionaries' bands has been on the rise of late. In December 1983, when the Sandinist government issued a decree on amnesty, those who had been frightened into submission, deceived or taken away by force began to surrender of their own free will. This process intensified after the National Assembly had passed a new law on amnesty (January 1985). Those who have returned give facts about Somocist atrocities. The contras threaten to kill anybody who wants to go back to Nicaragua and to wipe out their families. Efrén Mondragón, a former leader of the "operational forces" of the NDF who has broken with the contras, said that near their Honduran camps (at Las Judas, Choluteca Department, San Marcos de Colon, El Paraiso Department, and elsewhere) there are graveyards where people refusing to join in crimes against their own people and killed for this are secretly buried.

It is harder and harder for the contras to bring Nicaraguans into their ranks. An indirect sign of this is the growing number of mercenaries from the USA and certain capitalist countries of Western Europe, who have joined in the war against Nicaragua. They are recruited for the NDF and DRA by *Soldier of Fortune* and several ultra-rightist organisations. US ultras enlisted the mercenaries of a group detained in Costa Rica in April 1985. The group included US, British and French citizens. They related that they had taken part in operations by Nicaraguan contras, including the attack on the Sandinists' La Esperanza base.

Decay also affects contra leaders. They are squabbling continually over access to the dollars supplied by Washington.

The DRA is going through a deep, protracted crisis. The Robelo group which broke away from it in 1984, was followed suit by another minifaction, the Movement for a Third Way, which lays claim, from what its leadership declares, to "filling in the political vacuum persisting between the forces of the north (an allusion to the NDF —

The Authors) and the DRA". Subsequently this faction merged with several equally small groups under the slogan "Unity is victory, death to communism, long live a free Nicaragua". To reanimate the alliance, the CIA last summer added to it some bands of contras based in Costa Rica, and formed the Opposition Bloc of the South.

Washington has been making fruitless efforts to unite all the Nicaraguan contra groups operating on the northern and southern frontiers of the country. The latest experiment of this kind was the United Nicaraguan Opposition, formed last year and including, besides the NDF, two minor groups operating in the south, the "Nicaraguan Revolutionary Armed Forces" and "Nicaraguan Democratic Movement". The new organisation is led, in addition to Alfonso Callejas and Adolfo Calero Portocarrero of the NDF, by A. Cruz, whom the CIA sees as a central figure of an eventual Nicaraguan "government in exile". The position of this politically unscrupulous bourgeois leader, who makes no secret of his ties with the US intelligence service, fully coincides with the anti-Nicaraguan policy of the Reagan administration.

The new escalation of imperialist aggression against Nicaragua was given the green light early in June 1985, when the US Congress voted after prolonged pressure from the White House for a further shot in the contras' arm worth 27 million dollars. The name of this subsidy, "humanitarian aid", will mislead nobody. Nicaraguan counter-revolutionary leaders make it clear that they are going to buy with these new millions helicopters, parachutes, means of communication and other military supplies. Needless to say, Washington has no intention of stopping them.

The contras are mercenaries of US imperialism, which wants to bring down the lawful government of the Republic of Nicaragua and prevent progressive changes there at all costs. However, armed aggression, blackmail, threats and terror against the civilian population cannot, any more than other crimes by CIA agents, suppress the heroic Nicaraguan people's desire for freedom, democracy and independence. The Nicaraguan people are not alone. The whole of progressive humanity is on their side. They will defend their revolution.

Working group of the "WMR" Commission
on Scientific Information and Documentation

Diary

WMR delegations have attended festivals of *Trybuna Ludu*, newspaper of the CC PUWP (Warsaw), and *Avante!*, newspaper of the CC, Portuguese Communist Party (Lisbon).

* * *

The exhibits on display at the Moscow International Book Fair last September included collections of WMR articles on definite themes brought out by Peace and Socialism Publishers.

the book scene

Looking Back With Pride

Joaquim Pires Jorge, *Com uma imensa alegria. Notas autobiograficas* (With Immense Joy, Autobiographical Notes), Avante!, Lisbon, 1984, 109 pp.

It must have struck readers that recollections written by Communists generally convey an important ideological and political message and deal with noteworthy aspects of the working people's life. They are free of the conceit, egocentrism, self-admiration, and tendency to overrate the authors' role in history which certain books of the latter category betray. Many autobiographical works by Communists, going far beyond the framework of the events depicted in them which the authors participated in or witnessed, offer a panorama of social and political actions by the masses. They are objective accounts of the experience of the communist movement of the country concerned and portray fellow-revolutionaries. These qualities make them sources of both political and considerable scientific value.

The book under review, whose author is a noted figure in the Portuguese working class and anti-fascist movement, one of the leaders of the Portuguese Communist party, is a case in point.

Joaquim Pires Jorge has gone through many hardships, severe trials and uncompromising showdowns with the class enemy. He arrived at Marxism-Leninism, at a conscious struggle against fascism, after discarding views of petty-bourgeois revolutionaries held by many members of his generation, being naive enough to imagine that a handful of armed daredevils could overthrow the reactionary dictatorship established by António Salazar in 1926. In those years (late twenties and early thirties), he believed in a palace revolution or military coup (see p. 22). However, it was not long before he realised that this would get the country nowhere. And when, in 1934, he had a chance to join the PCP and contribute his share to underground work, he unhesitatingly made this choice, destined to shape his life throughout the subsequent period.

The author's political biography comprises exile to colonial Angola for participating in an anti-fascist uprising, long terms (including one that lasted without a break from 1961 to 1971) in Angra do Heroísmo, Aljube, Caxias and Peniche, the Salazar regime's worst prisons, interrogations in cells of PIDE, the Portuguese gestapo, and lastly, decades of underground work full of dangers and adversities. However, every new test tempered his revolutionary will and made him more confident than ever that he had made the right choice. "Ours was a very hard life but we accepted

it consciously and readily" (p. 45).

Turning page after page, the reader comes to notice that the author speaks about his personal experiences very simply, indeed casually, dissolving his fate, so to speak, in the collective fate of his fellow-Communists, of leaders and activists of the party, many of whom went through harsh tests like himself.

This tenor of the recollections is not accidental. Like other veterans of the PCP who have published their recollections in "*Resistance*", a popular serial brought out by the *Avante!* publishers, Pires Jorge has dedicated his book primarily to the party, which has become his home and given his life meaning. Hence it is only right to describe the PCP as the chief protagonist of the book, since the party has a 48-year record of anti-fascist struggle in conditions of illegality and played a prominent role in Portugal's changeover from dictatorship to democracy after the April Revolution (1974).

Pires Jorge became a Communist at a time crucial for the country and the party. For objective and subjective reasons the PCP, founded in March 1921, was unable to transform itself by the time the fascist coup was carried out into an efficient and influential political force leading the working class. Although it turned out to be the only organisation calling on the people to resist a military coup, it was unable at the time to mobilise the masses against reaction's offensive.

With socio-political life in the country dominated by fascism, truly titanic efforts were needed to save the party, protect its cadres, branches and publications, and reorganise its work according to the exigencies of secrecy. The author mentions the difficulties which Communists encountered when they set out to reorganise the party in the strictest secrecy. The lack of habits of underground work, a shortage of experienced people and funds, virtually complete international isolation, organisational weakness, and many other things hampered the transformation of the PCP into a leading force of the anti-fascist movement.

Underestimation of the need for secrecy among members in the thirties did great damage to the party. "*Avante!* and *O Proletario* were passed on from hand to hand or mailed. The workers who printed them were members of the party's Lisbon organisation. They did their usual work at the printing plant by day and carried on party work by night. This was a truly criminal practice in terms of the exigencies of secrecy, since the slightest blunder could have dire consequences for both the Lisbon organisation and the printing plant" (pp. 37-38). Disregard of the requirements of underground work led to major losses; in the mid-thirties, the police uncovered several places where *Avante!* was printed and arrested all the members of the PCP Secretariat (1935).

However, selfless work enabled the Communists to overcome difficulties. In spite of unrelenting repression, they accomplished a revolutionary feat by turning in a very short time a weak party with little influence into a solid and efficient organisation that played a tremendous role in the anti-fascist resistance.

The book contains numerous details about that important period in PCP history, about the vast experience gained by the Communists over decades of underground work, that is, details unknown to the majority of the international readership.

The party was thoroughly reorganised under the leadership of Alvaro Cunhal, Militão Ribeiro, Sérgio Vilarigues, Pedro Soares, Pires Jorge and other professional revolutionaries set free in 1940. The reorganisation was characterised above all by the restoration of Leninist standards and style in party work, a tightening of discipline and the promotion of democratic centralism (see p. 46). Justly considering that success in the effort to revive the party depended largely on the ideological purity of its ranks, the Communists launched an offensive against the opportunist views that had gained some currency in the PCP. Besides, they adopted the most rigid rules of secrecy, formed a permanent core of leaders and assured their relative safety.

The reorganisation produced results at once: the party became stronger

organisationally, held a congress (1943) for the first time since it went underground, and sponsored the formation of a number of democratic fronts grouping diverse sections of the anti-fascist opposition. Communists stepped up their activity in the official trade unions and organised the uninterrupted printing and circulation of *Avante!* It is worthy of note that from August 1941 to the April Revolution of 1974, or for 33 years, the dictatorship was unable to silence the newspaper, to uncover and destroy the underground presses which printed it. The devising of a well-regulated and strictly secret mechanism for the publication and circulation of an illegal Communist press was a major accomplishment of the party. The party's successes entitled its members afterwards to describe the years between 1942 and 1949 as an outstanding period in its history.¹

The author gives considerable space to the struggle of fellow-Communists in fascist prisons. "Even in prisons we formed party organisations capable of functioning, having leaders and tasks of their own, maintaining links with higher bodies and participating in the activity of the PCP as best they could" (p. 90). Before and during the Sixth Congress (1965), Communist inmates of Caxias and Peniche were regularly and fully informed of the Congress and supplied with texts of delegates' speeches.

The techniques of communication by tapping admittedly plays a notable part in the life of political prisoners. Portuguese Communists got to know it after Bento Gonçalves,² a PCP leader, had mastered one of them during a visit to a Leningrad museum, the one-time Peter and Paul Fortress where Russian revolutionaries were imprisoned under tsarism. His experience proved useful to thousands of Communists. Many of them became so skilful at using the prison "Morse code" as to even play chess in that way (see p. 35).

The reader will be interested to learn that in 1960 ten Portuguese revolutionaries led by Alvaro Cunhal escaped from Peniche, a medieval prison fort. The author gives dramatic details of the months-long preparations for the daring operation which some of the finest cadre members of the party helped carry out and which had a world-wide echo. The event was a telling blow to the positions of the fascist regime and added to the appeal of the PCP, which benefited politically and organisationally by freeing a group of experienced revolutionaries from Salazar's prison.

A particularly noteworthy merit of the book is that, being a valuable historical record, it furnishes instructive information about the development of the PCP as a Leninist party of the new type operating underground. From this point of view, too, the recollections are of unquestionable political relevance for fraternal parties still compelled to work and fight underground.

However, there is something else that makes the book valuable. The recollections are intended for the present and future generations of young revolutionaries who may benefit greatly from the veteran Communist's experience. For it is typical of young Communists that they primarily search for romance in the struggle for a just cause. And revolutionary romance is a feature of the past and present activity of the Portuguese Communist Party.

Sérgio Tатаis

¹ See *Avante!*, No. 298, March 1961.

² General Secretary of the PCP from 1929 to 1942; he lost his life in the Tarrafal concentration camp. — *Ed.*

A Fitting Rebuttal of Revisionist Attacks

Marian Orzechowski, *Spór o marksistowską teorię rewolucji* (The Controversy over the Marxist Theory of the Revolution), Książka i Wiedza, Warsaw, 1984, 374pp.

The escalation of anti-communist propaganda and of the struggle against the Marxist-Leninist party and its ideology during the socio-political crisis in Poland was accompanied by growing revisionist trends. One expression of these trends was that revisionists, quoting Marx out of context and often distorting him, used the relevant passages as a cover for attacks on the revolutionary and class essence of Marxism-Leninism and for a total critique of existing socialism. Besides, many of the arguments adduced by them were borrowed direct from the armoury of anti-communism.

The book under review, written by an alternate member of the CC Political Bureau of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP), a noted Polish scholar, counters these revisionist attacks. The very title of the book is indicative of its polemical nature. The author joins issue with our ideological adversaries over important problems, such as the prerequisites for and stages of the socialist revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat, democratic centralism in the party, the forms of public support for state power, the general aspects and national characteristics of socialist construction, and a critical approach to mistakes and failures. These problems are fundamental in terms of the theory and practice of the communist and working-class movement in both socialist and capitalist countries, nor is it accidental that they are a standing object of controversy.

Professor Marian Orzechowski is concerned, first and foremost, with defending the ideological legacy of the founders of Marxism from distortions intended to discredit existing socialism and the communist parties' line. He criticises the revisionist contention that the socialist revolution in Poland and other fraternal countries was accomplished contrary to Marx's and Engels' teachings and that therefore the whole practice of existing socialism bears the stamp of the "original sin of premature revolution" which breeds more mistakes.

This proposition is not novel. As far back as the beginning of this century, Trotsky and his followers affirmed that a socialist revolution could not triumph in one country, and afterwards they alleged that there was no way socialism could be built in the Soviet Union due to the low level of the productive forces. Lenin exposed the groundlessness of these assertions and history refuted them definitively by demonstrating that the "impossible" had become a reality.

Nevertheless, years later Adam Schaff, a Polish philosopher of the older generation, assumed the role of a further advocate of the thesis that it is wrong to accomplish revolutions in non-industrial countries. He set out his views in the most complete form in *The Communist Movement at the Crossroads*,¹ which a section of the Polish press publicised in the early eighties by quoting excerpts from it and commenting favourably on them.

Marian Orzechowski criticises Schaff's claim that all the victorious socialist revolutions were carried out in a voluntarist manner, in the absence of the objective conditions formulated by Marx. Drawing on classical Marxist writings and facts of Polish history he reveals the fallacy of Schaff's speculations based on arbitrary and distorted quotations and prompted by a biased concept of the course of development in the countries of existing socialism. Worthy of note in this respect is the section illustrating the experience of socialist construction in Poland since the victory of the people's democratic revolution (pp. 244-326).

The revolutionary process as seen by Marxism, Marian Orzechowski writes, is not determined by arbitrary decisions born of this or that interpretation of quotations but is a result of objective social contradictions, an expression of the class struggle of the proletariat. "Marx and Engels held that what is and must be of decisive significance is not theoretical constructions . . . but an investigation of the real process of life" (p. 41).

An indisputable asset of the book is its exposure of revisionist methods of criticising existing socialism. Revisionists allege that breakdowns, crises and departures from Marx's ideas are typical of socialism at all times and that the new society is a monstrous pyramid of hypertrophied defects. They regard all the difficulties, shortcomings and political mistakes known from the history of fraternal states as something inherent in socialism and not a consequence of departure from its principles. At the same time, they ignore the circumstances of building the new society: the resistance of reaction, the poverty and illiteracy inherited from the past, the shortage of trained personnel, the imposition of civil wars by the internal enemy, the need to fight against counter-revolutionary terror, sabotage and imperialist armed intervention. Revisionists paint socialism in the darkest colours. They refuse to see the communist parties' sustained effort aimed at ending negative phenomena in their countries, to realise that the socialist countries are wrestling with serious economic and social problems in the atmosphere of imperialist threats and subversion and an arms race imposed by the West.

Lacking in Schaff's description of existing socialism, the author notes, are facts evident to all, such as economic achievements, the elimination of the causes of chronic unemployment, poverty and want, the upsurge in the political and economic activity of the workers, peasants and other working people, the rising educational and cultural standards of the population, wide access to the treasury of national culture, scientific progress, the moulding of new relations between social classes and between nations. All this is typical of the new society and is obvious to and considered natural by people living in socialist countries and participating in the construction of the new society, but some of it is little known to the Western reader for whom Schaff's book is intended.

Revisionists, misrepresenting the nature of the system brought into being by the revolution, use primarily stereotypes devised by bourgeois propaganda in the cold war years against the socialist world. They try to back up and refurbish these stereotypes by referring to the allegedly "authoritative" evidence of Soviet history of the prewar period and the late forties as well as the history of people's democracies in the first half of the fifties. And they top it all by listing the mistakes which resulted in actions by Polish workers in August 1980. But, of course, they say nothing about the fact that the PUWP itself is combating these mistakes in the interest of socialism.

The book shows that revisionists view the experience of socialist countries as something static and not dynamic, and hence from a metaphysical rather than dialectical standpoint. The result is a rigid picture, a "caricature of the moment", made out to be a comprehensive panorama of social phenomena and processes.

Another method of revisionist criticism is based on the false assertion that all socialist states look alike. Revisionists deliberately unify the eventful history of these states by squeezing it into a common pattern. This is not a chance approach, since what necessarily leads to rejecting all slander against the new society is a knowledge of the truth about socialism and the diverse ways of building it, a knowledge of the different development levels reached by different socialist countries.

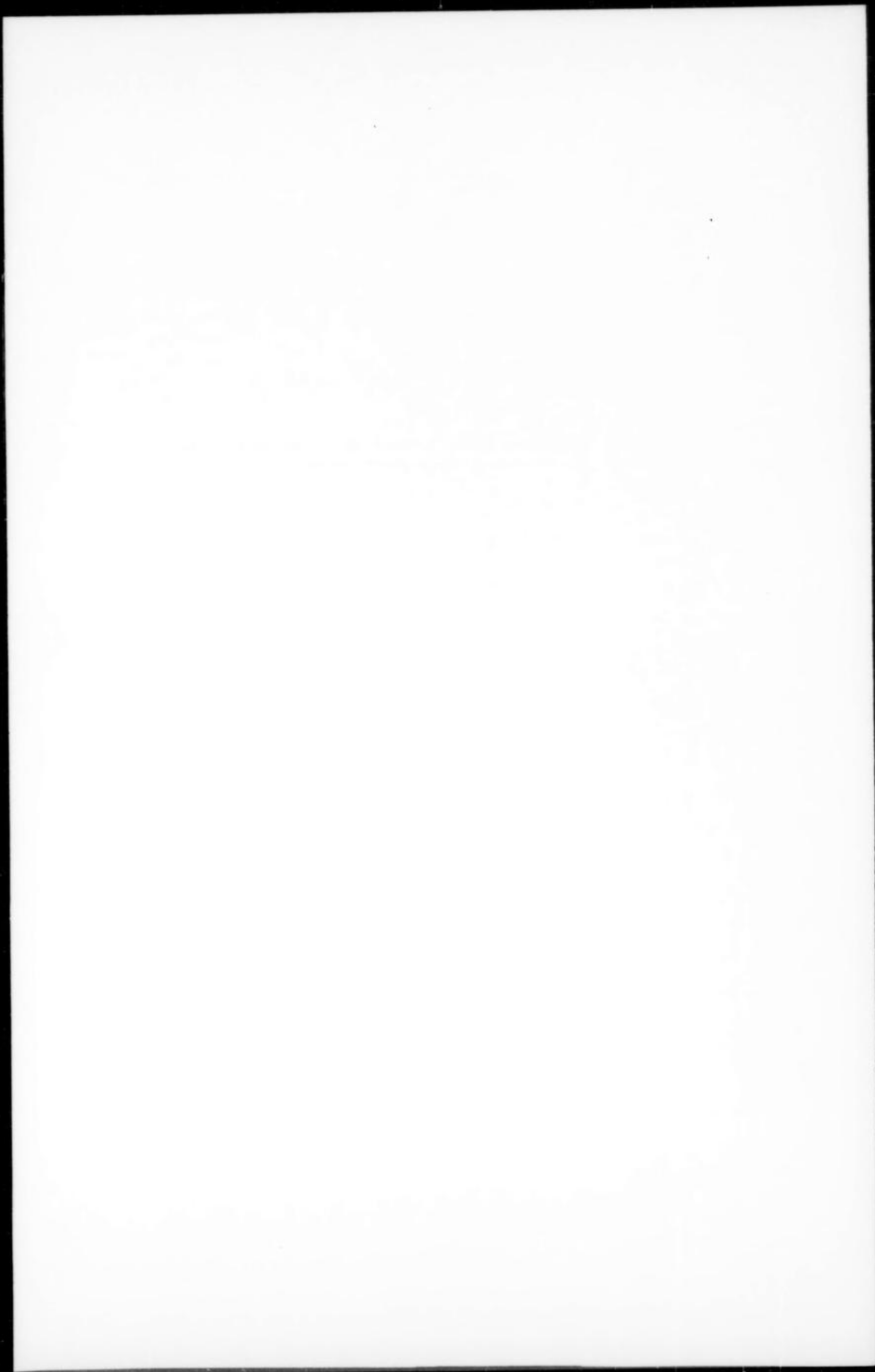
The book is noteworthy for its historical retrospect of continuous efforts by Marxist-Leninist parties to apply the principles of socialism and achieve its goals. It states that Communists do not look on reality in fraternal countries as a paradise on earth. Their programme documents chart paths to further achievements, sharply criticise negative phenomena, propose reforms and set new tasks before society. With due regard to the experience of Poland's Communists and the records of the Ninth Extraordinary

Congress of the PUWP, Marian Orzechowski points out that an uncritical stand on the situation that is shaping up could lead to departure from the principles of socialism. Communists consider that constructive effort is unthinkable without criticism and self-criticism. Overestimating one's achievements tends to upset the unity of theory and practice, of words and deeds, in party work and to hinder the detection of dangers in the making and scientific forecasts of further progress. However, objective criticism has nothing in common with revisionist hole-picking which uses false, anti-communist arguments against people's power.

Marian Orzechowski's book is at once an example of defending Marxist theory and existing socialism from revisionist attacks and a contribution to creative assessment of the ideological legacy of the classics of Marxism-Leninism in close connection with the situation in Poland.

Stefan Opara, Dr Ph.,
Director, Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, PUWP Academy of Social
Sciences

¹ Adam Schaff, *Die kommunistische Bewegung am Scheideweg*, Europa Verlag, Vienna, 1982, 220 pp.



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