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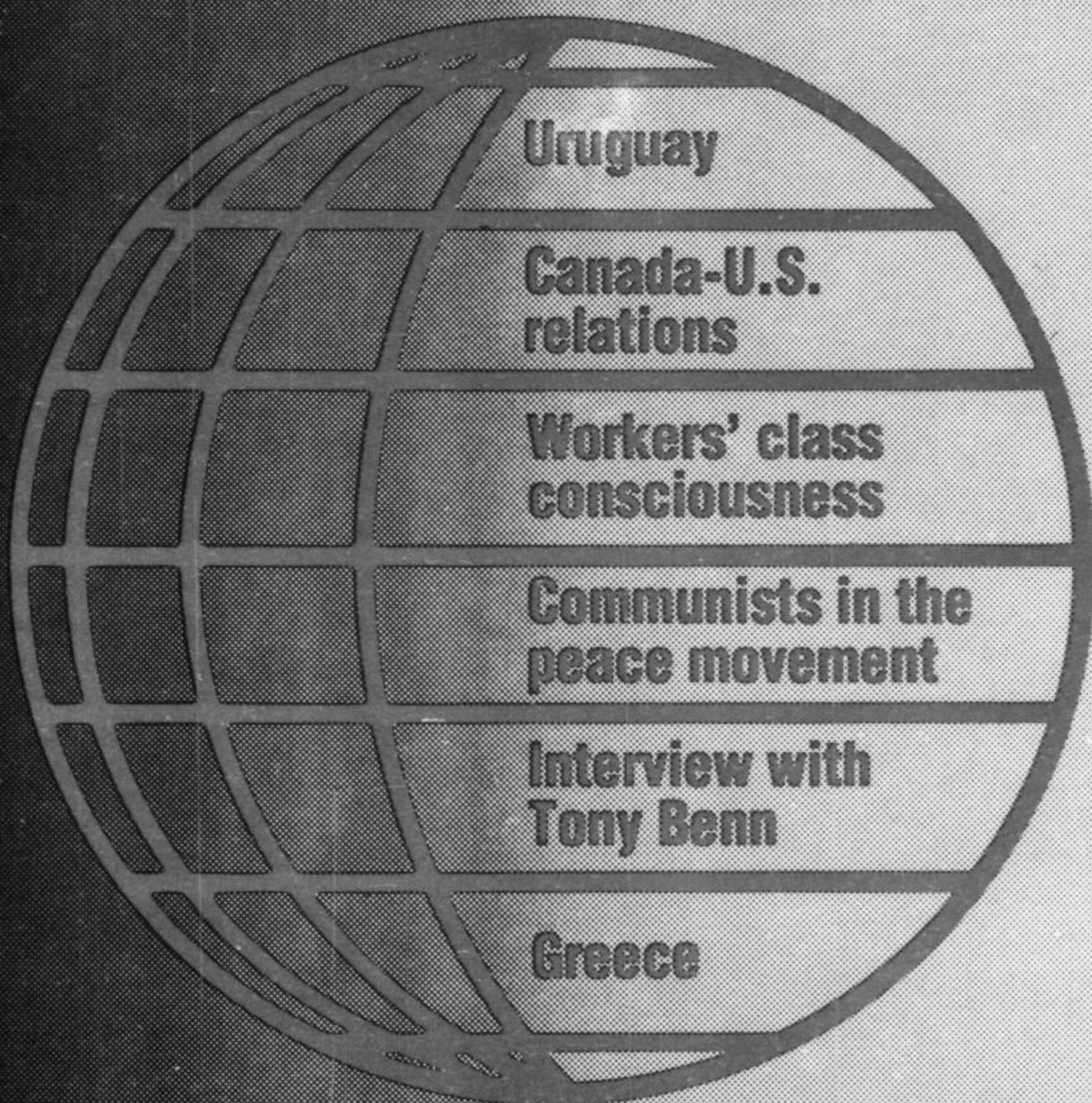
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features

Main Line of Economic Cooperation

Jaromír Obzina – CC member, CP
Czechoslovakia, Deputy Chairman,
Government of Czechoslovakia, Chairman,
State Commission for Scientific and Technical
Development and Capital Investment

MARXIST-LENINIST theory has always held that the transformation of the exploitive society into a socialist, and then into a communist society involves the solution of truly formidable economic, social and political problems, which, because of their very scale, can be expected to take a long historical term, indeed, an entire epoch. These ideas and objectives were formulated by Marx, Engels and Lenin, and they provided the reference points for generations of Communists and other revolutionaries throughout the world in formulating their programmes and in their everyday work, so enabling them to find their bearings and to prevent urgent concerns of the day from obscuring the future. The advance towards developed socialism and its improvement increasingly carries us ever nearer to the solution of these global problems, clarifying their contours and relevant instruments, and showing more clearly the connection between them and practical activity today. Here are three such problems which are becoming ever more important for the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries.

There is, first, the gradual change in the content of labour. In the process of production, man can act as a mere adjunct of the machine, of the hardware and technology, while his activity remains routine and monotonous. In that case, he is motivated exclusively or mainly by material considerations: the need to earn a living and to ensure his subsistence. But in definite conditions, the same man—and man is known to be the chief element of the productive forces—begins to fulfil the crucial and decisive functions, while his attitude to the machine, to the hardware and technology becomes creative. This kind of labour is, of course, likewise a source of livelihood for the worker, but it also tends to become a kind of cultural creativity. This forthcoming change in the character of human activity was anticipated by Marx back in the 1850s, when he wrote: 'Really free working, e.g. composing, is at the same time a damned serious business, the most intense exertion. The work of material production can achieve this character only (1) when its social character is posited, (2) when it is of a scientific and at the same time general character, not merely human exertion as a specifically harnessed natural force, but exertion as subject, which

appears in the production process not in a merely natural, spontaneous form, but as an activity regulating all the forces of nature.'¹

When prognosticating our society's development over the next 15-20 years, we make a point of never losing sight of this central and profoundly humanistic objective of revolutionary Marxism.

The second is an international political problem. It concerns the generally well-known and incontrovertible proposition formulated by Lenin, when he said that the main thing for the new society is to attain a higher productivity of labour and to have it better organised than it is under capitalism. What have we achieved in this respect? One could say that, in a sense, we have fulfilled Lenin's requirement even if we have not done so entirely, and that we are still working to realise that precept of his.

Indeed, a comparison of the corresponding indicators of all the CMEA countries, on the one hand, and of all the capitalist states, on the other, will make the success of socialism obvious: over a period of more than three decades, the countries of our community have attained a level of social labour productivity that is roughly three times as high as the capitalist world average.

However, there is also the other side of the coin, and it now has our increasing attention. Of the 170 non-socialist states on the globe, international statistics classifies 22 countries as highly developed, including seven as the economically most developed countries, and it is this group, this handful of countries which determines the general character and level of world capitalist production today. We have not reached their level of social labour productivity. Thus, Czechoslovakia's comes to only between 45 and 75 per cent of the indicators of the Seven, depending on which countries are taken for comparison. We would be in something of a fool's paradise if we kept talking about our successes as compared with the 'average' capitalist country, i.e., if we kept saying that on average 22 highly developed countries have roughly the same or somewhat higher indicators than we do, and that 'only' seven countries are ahead of us. Our party's leadership takes a realistic approach to the problem and calls for orientation towards the highest standards of world science and technology: 'If we want to retain our position as an industrially developed country,' says Gustáv Husák, General Secretary of the CPCz CC and President of Czechoslovakia, 'we must reach the world level in production or approach it as near as possible. . . . Everyone bears his share of the responsibility, everyone has the duty to compare his results with the world level, to use the best experience . . . and to adapt production more flexibly to the requirements of domestic and foreign trade'.²

In other words, Lenin's requirement now tends to assume a new historical and concrete form: the point is to use techniques adequate to the modern state of world production in surpassing not only the average labour productivity of the 22 highly industrialised capitalist states, but also that of the leading Seven. That is, clearly, a strategic task, and so it is one that will have to be dealt with over a period of decades—we have no illusions about the deadlines at all, but we still believe that step by step everything done from day to day is bound to advance us to the set goal.

The third problem involves the division of the world into so-called rich and poor countries: the Seven in the capitalist world are confronted with roughly 160 developed, medium-developed, under-developed and poor countries. From year to year, the rich have been getting richer, and the poor—poorer. What is more, the number of rich countries has been dwindling: at one time there was a 'club' of 20, then of 10, and now only of seven. A projection of world development until the year 2000 produced in the United States is based on the hypothesis that only three or four states will be able to stand the fast pace, so that all the rest will find themselves in the outer darkness.

The socialist community has also inherited from the past different levels of economic development among its member-countries, but as their economic summit

declared in Moscow in June 1984, the socialist world sets itself this programmatic task: gradually to align development levels through internationalist assistance by the European states to Vietnam, Mongolia and Cuba.

There has never before been any project, either past or present, which set the task of overcoming the existing gaps on such a principle. We believe that under socialism the current scientific and technical revolution objectively leads to an alignment of the economic development levels of the individual countries, and that our common policy in this matter is correct, humanistic, promising and, simply speaking, communist, whatever the petty-bourgeois objections there may be to it. Our line shows the whole world—the whole of mankind—the way to tackle one of the most difficult global problems.

The fraternal socialist countries' class policy has thereby demonstrated its general humanistic aspects and its urge to reach a positive, progressive and definitive solution both of the fundamental contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat—since 'communism stands, in principle, above the breach between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat . . . for it wishes, indeed, to bridge over this chasm, to do away with all class antagonisms . . . because communism is a question of humanity and not of the workers alone'³—and of the problems of aligning the development levels of the various countries of the community.

The socio-economic strategy of the CPCz assumes that the approach to realising the fundamental objectives of socialism involves a switch of the national economy to the intensive way of development, further scientific and technical progress, and rapid application of their achievements to the practice of social production.

What has our country achieved in the field of scientific and technical progress over the past decade? The Czechoslovak economy has been consolidated, and its technical and technological dependence on the most industrialised capitalist countries has been reduced. Social production has been developing mainly as a result of growing labour productivity, while its dynamic has been dictated above all by the technical development of production and large-scale capital construction. Life shows that Czechoslovakia's actual potentialities in the field of scientific and scientific-and-technical policy are great.

The victory of the socialist revolution in February 1948 was followed by the solution of a number of important problems involving the further development of Czechoslovak science and the buildup of modern science and technical facilities for our economy, but the conscious formulation of a coherent scientific and scientific-and-technical policy began only in the early 1970s, after the 14th Congress of the CPCz; the 16th Congress of the CPCz (1981) first clearly formulated its content, while the Eighth Plenary Meeting of the CPCz CC (1983) approved the party's long-term conception in this matter until the end of the century.

It is now safe to say that scientific and scientific-and-technical policy has become an organic and simultaneously a relatively independent part of the CPCz's overall economic policy and strategy in building a developed socialist society. We seek to adapt our scientific-and-technical policy to Czechoslovakia's concrete situation and to the situation now taking shape in the world. Let me add that a number of important elements tend to influence our line.

First, we are clearly aware that socialism can ultimately win in the competition with capitalism only if our country and the rest of the world socialist system develop on the basis of the latest science and technology, as Lenin wrote back in the early 1920s with reference to Soviet Russia, and that is an indefeasible fact in the light of which we formulate our party's policy.

What do we mean when we say: we are building socialism on its own basis? It is a basis which consists not only of our society's relations of production, but also of its productive forces, a point which was now and again lost sight of in the past.

Second, strengthening our country's defence capability, solidifying the security of socialism and creating guarantees for the maintenance of world peace are now exceptionally serious matters. It is the sacred duty of every fraternal party and every Communist to display concern for the security of his own country and of our community as a whole. If the working people are to have a correct assessment of the existing international situation, it is not enough to explain the need to preserve peace throughout the world and the importance of maintaining the strategic equilibrium of forces. We must say with perfect frankness that it implies the overriding need to strengthen the defence capability of our country and the whole socialist community.

Third, there is a need to restore, within the shortest possible period, Czechoslovakia's external economic equilibrium and to end its external indebtedness, however small it may be, both in absolute and relative terms. A rapid clearance of our debt calls for an annual allocation of a part of the national income for servicing the debt—not a simple task at all—but it is being successfully fulfilled, so that by the middle of the next five-year period, we expect to have coped with it for good.

Finally, our scientific-and-technical policy is also directly influenced by an important point, such as the need to go on strengthening our people's social certitude, to maintain the working people's fairly high living standards which we have attained, and to raise them depending on the concrete results of our work.

These are the four factors which, we believe, determine the socio-political aspects of our scientific and scientific-and-technical policy in the building of a developed socialist society.

The content and main lines of this policy are closely inter-related and constitute a single whole with the basic objectives and tasks of the socio-economic policy of the CPCz and our state. That this connection is a direct one will be seen, in particular, from the fact that in the autumn of last year two programmatic documents were adopted in our country: 'Guidelines for Czechoslovakia's Economic and Social Development up to 1995' and 'Main Lines of Scientific-and-Technical Development up to 1995'. For the purpose of most rapidly boosting our national income, these long-term conception-plans concentrate on reducing the national economy's requirements in fuel, energy and raw materials, on the rational use of capital investments, and on enhancing the quality and technical standards of goods, including consumer manufactures. Much attention is also being given to food supply. When working to satisfy the population's rational requirements in foodstuffs, we seek to do so on the basis of Czechoslovakia's virtual self-sufficiency, not only by expanding national agricultural production for that purpose, but also by reducing losses and making more efficient use of our plant and animal produce. We intend to go on improving the working people's housing conditions and the services. More attention is to be given to environmental protection and rational use of natural resources.

The attainment of these major goals has made and will continue to make growing demands on every aspect of reproduction: science, research, development, and production. In order to fulfil these tasks in a complex and effective manner, a series of goal-oriented programmes has been worked out in Czechoslovakia: fuel, energy, introduction of electronics into the national economy, development of industries ensuring the people's nutrition, and of biotechnologies. In addition, we have worked out a housing policy conception and a conception for environmental protection and rational use of natural resources. A number of particular programmes have been adopted, both on a state-wide and republican scale, i.e., for the Czech lands and for Slovakia, which are derivative of the above-mentioned basic ones.

The formulation of the 'Main Lines of Scientific-and-Technical Development up to 1995' as a coherent and integral document creates the prerequisites for establishing direct connections between individual branches of knowledge, the surmounting of

the barriers between basic and applied research, and elimination of departmental disarray. Four equally important tasks face research projects in every sphere covered by the programmes: active efforts to raise social labour productivity, dynamise national-income growth, increase the contribution by science to solving economic and social problems, and consolidate Czechoslovakia's technical and technological independence from the most industrialised capitalist states.

Work on these programmatic documents is designed to make the Czechoslovak national economy more efficient, and only when it is, will it be safe to say that the use of the method of goal-oriented programming as an element of the process of improving plan administration and management in our country has yielded the desired results.

Conscious, purposeful and long-term policy designed for all-round and close cooperation with the USSR and other CMEA countries is a prerequisite of success both in science and technology, and in socio-economic matters. This line accords with the overall character of Czechoslovakia's foreign policy, and is of fundamental importance both for our country's present and future development. The fact that our country's research potential is fairly limited does, of course, have a part to play, which means that the way lies in the most active and broadest possible participation in the international socialist division of labour, which helps to concentrate efforts on the crucial lines, thereby expanding each country's potentialities. But there is more to it than that. We regard the statement of intent to develop scientific and technical cooperation with the USSR as being a realisation of the policy of consolidating the alliance between our two states, i.e., as an indefeasible principle stemming from Czechoslovakia's membership of the socialist community and its active participation in realising the new society's historical mission.

Czechoslovakia now has almost 180,000 researchers and technical specialists, who have at their disposal fairly solid facilities and modern installations and equipment. Almost four per cent of our national income annually goes into scientific and technical development, and this is up to the proportion of outlays among the top ten countries in the world. The following data indicate the extent to which Czechoslovak science and technology are meshed with the international socialist division of labour, both multilateral and bilateral: our state is involved in 90 per cent of the problems and topics included in the CMEA countries' plan of multilateral and bilateral scientific and technical cooperation; we have signed nearly 200 international agreements in this field, and annually take part in fulfilling roughly 2,000 research, design and development projects envisaged by these documents; every year, nearly 10,000 of our specialists go to other CMEA countries, which send about the same number of specialists to our country; every year, Czechoslovakia hands over to its partners about 3,500 sets of scientific and technical documents, and receives roughly as many from them.

That helps not only to economise on outlays on scientific and technical development, but also to achieve tangible successes: to cut production costs, make production more profitable, save funds earmarked as capital investment, and cut back on imports from capitalist countries. All the countries involved benefit from such ties. In the recent period, direct economies and other benefits of scientific and technical cooperation were estimated in Czechoslovakia at roughly five billion crowns a year.

The results of our cooperation with the USSR in the nuclear-power industry, for instance, are of exceptional importance, for it has helped rapidly train specialists capable of coping with sophisticated technical problems and join in specialisation and cooperation of production alongside the most developed countries of the world turning out and supplying basic technological equipment for nuclear-power plants. It

is an industry which has rapidly developed into a high-profile line of Czechoslovakia's industrial development.

Scientific and technical cooperation with the CMEA countries in agriculture has also yielded good results, and this pertains especially to the breeding of new species of grain crops, above all wheat and barley. Cooperation in plant selection makes it possible to use modern computers, to extend information on farm-crop genetics, the physiological basis of the yields of some species, their resistance to frost, disease, and so on. The result is a marked increase in crop yields and grain quality.

Over the past several years, there have also been considerable achievements in the course of joint research, development and organisation of specialised and cooperated production of a common computer system and a system of mini-computers. The number of such telling examples could well be multiplied.

Let us note that the CMEA has been steadily improving the mechanism underlying the organisation of scientific and technical cooperation for the purpose of making it more effective and more in accord with the requirements of economic intensification. Thus systematic joint planning has been arranged, and ever wider use is being made of progressive forms for the CMEA countries' cooperation, notably contractual cooperation. Their scientific and technical cooperation is being steadily developed, deepened and perfected, much like the development of the system of administration, management, planning and funding of the national economies of the individual states. We believe that it is highly important for these systems to be gradually moved closer to each other, together with the forms and methods of international cooperation which take shape under their influence.

The CMEA's Committee for Scientific and Technical Cooperation has been doing much to deepen the socialist community countries' cooperation in science and technology and to specify its objectives, both current and long-term. It has initiated the writing and conclusion of a number of important inter-state agreements on complex cooperation, such as robotisation and flexible automated production systems, automated designing systems, powder metallurgy, laser techniques, and so on. Thus, one could regard as an important step in improving cooperation in terms of organisation and methods the writing of a standard head-organisation contract on cooperation among all the research, development, and engineering institutions and enterprises ensuring the full 'research—development—production' cycle, with the widest possible use of direct ties between the partners in the process.

Under the impact of these progressive measures, higher forms of scientific, technical and economic cooperation have evolved, such as the Czechoslovak-Soviet joint research, development and engineering establishment known as Robot, which is located in Prešov in Czechoslovakia, to cite one example. Its successful operation has created the conditions for working out a long-term programme for research, design, development, technological and experimental projects, and also for the production of a prototype and experimental batch of technical robot complexes and flexible production systems which a new, specially established complex is to turn out. A relevant international agreement has been drawn up.

While the fraternal socialist countries' cooperation in science and technology has yielded good results, it does not yet entirely meet the great demands being made on it by the strategic proposition of all-round intensification of the socialist economy. That is why the economic summit laid down further guidelines for cooperation. Measures have been agreed to create the prerequisites and potentialities for deepening socialist economic integration as a basis for further dynamic development of the national economies of all the CMEA countries.

It is indicative that a proposal for jointly elaborating a Complex Programme for Scientific and Technical Progress over a Period of 10-15 Years was put before the economic summit and approved. It has been decided to concentrate efforts on five

priority lines, which all the participants believe to be the most important: massive introduction of electronics into the national economy, automation of production (including flexible production systems), development of the nuclear-power industry, development of new materials and technologies and biotechnologies; 28 main complex programmes and 133 assignments are already being prepared.

Czechoslovakia has taken an active part in these preparatory works. We are now completing the drafting of a project of selected thematical programmes within whose framework we intend to take part in the international division of research projects within the CMEA framework over the next several years. That does not mean, of course, that research and development on other lines or themes will not be carried on in our country, or in other socialist states. They will be, but from the standpoint of our strategic objectives, the above-mentioned lines are regarded as being crucial.

For the first time in the CMEA's history, these measures create the prerequisites for formulating and conducting a coordinated, concerted and in some cases also a common scientific and scientific-and-technical policy. That is a new development which deserves the utmost attention. Such a policy will make it possible broadly to develop goal-oriented programming on an international scale, and purposefully to concentrate the efforts of large collectives of scientists, designers and workers for obtaining results that are up to the highest world standards or even above them. We in Czechoslovakia pin great hopes on the elaboration of the Complex Programme for Scientific and Technical Progress and will, for our part, do our utmost to help shape and implement it.

The socialist community countries' socialist economic integration and scientific-and-technical cooperation are making a big contribution to the efforts to blend the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of socialism, indicating the ways and creating real economic and social prerequisites for a practical solution of that great problem in our own day. The acceleration of scientific and technical progress carries the international communist movement forward to the great and humanistic goals which it has set itself.

¹ Karl Marx. *Grundrisse. Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy* (Rough Draft). Penguin Books, 1973, pp. 611-612.

² 7. zasedání Ústředního výboru Komunistické strany Československa ve dnech 24. a 25. listopadu 1982. Prague, 1982, pp. 45-46.

³ Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1975, pp. 581-582.

Mass Struggle: an Earnest of Success

Eduardo Viera – CC Executive
Committee member, Communist Party of
Uruguay (CPU)

THE parliamentary elections held on November 25, 1984, resulted above all in the defeat of the dictatorship established after the 1973 coup while the anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist Broad Front made gains offering the prospect of favourable socio-political developments.

This method of breaking the power of a despotic regime is a historical rarity. In elections which the tyranny was compelled to allow, the people voted for reverting to democracy, restoring civil freedoms and forming a constitutional government.

We regard this as a logical outcome of eleven years of active popular resistance. The Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, in which the forces opposed to the former regime are in the majority, convened on February 15 and the President-elect took office on March 1. The military have withdrawn to barracks.

A major strategic goal has been attained; the dark and difficult period of terror and attempts to legalise fascist rule is over. A new stage is setting in, one of social and democratic struggles aimed primarily at sweeping away lingering elements of the structures imposed by the tyranny. This will come about in conditions of constitutional legality, the existence of trade unions, popular and professional organisations and open activity by political forces and their organisations. We stress that we are by no means indifferent to the forms of statehood. The Uruguayan people have gained bitter experience which must not and will not be forgotten.

The dictatorship did not relinquish power of its own accord. Indeed, it manoeuvred to the last, threatening and striking at the opposition in an effort to split it. It would have liked to enforce its own solution to the crisis implying 'democracy' under the tutelage of the armed forces. Press censorship and the ban on political activity were maintained until a few months before the elections. In the past eleven years the main blows were delivered to the Communists, the working class movement and the Broad Front, to democrats generally.

On election day 500 people were still in jail for their political or trade union activity; 1,200 political exiles were still prohibited from repatriating and 5,000 people, mostly CPU members, were still denied civil rights. None of these Uruguayans could vote, let alone seek election.

With plainly provocative intent, the regime held Wilson Ferreira Aldunate, leader of the National Party, in prison until five days after the elections; it allowed neither him, nor General Liber Seregni, Chairman of the Broad Front, to seek election. This was also the case with leaders of the CPU and other left-wing parties, which remained outlawed.

Fascist elements among the top military made an attempt to dictate their terms for the elections and the functioning of the government to come. They wanted the future government to accept the sad social, economic and, above all, political legacy of the repressive system with its laws on trade unions and political parties and on the dismissal of workers and other employees, as well as other provisions, including the right to declare a state of emergency in order to be able to courtmartial civilians. Yet it was this legacy that our society had to get rid of, a task demanding that the vast popular and democratic movement which had been gaining strength for years should stay active and vigilant and that the consensus achieved by the winner should become a means of translating democracy into reality.

As usual, the election campaign was not exempt from abuses of the media, from ideological and propaganda attacks on the Communists and the Broad Front, with spokesmen of the authorities doing their bit. Besides, at the eleventh hour, the Uruguayan Episcopal Conference called on all believers to refrain from voting Marxist. All this had its affect of election returns. In spite of difficulties, however, our people used cracks in the fascist regime's structures and avoided most of the traps. They showed themselves to be mature enough to resist the ideological campaign of the more reactionary forces and transform the elections into a means and instrument of putting an end to tyrannical rule.

Thus the conclusion which the CPU drew two years ago, saying that a new political situation had arisen in Uruguay and 'the objective and subjective prerequisites for the final defeat of the dictatorship'¹ were there, was proved correct. We had no way of

knowing at the time how this goal would be attained. But the opposition took a distrustful view of the purpose of the military command's 'schedule', which was nothing but an attempt by the top military to prolong indefinitely their stay in power and reassure the people with promises. As for the 'dialogue' with the authorised parties, their purpose was to force these parties into accepting substantial amendments to the Constitution and legalise fascist-type measures decreed over the past decade. In view of these plans of reaction there could be no question of hesitating or sitting back.

The resounding defeat of the dictatorship in the constitutional plebiscite conducted by it in 1980 was a turning point on the road to the complete miscarriage of the 'schedule'. From then on, political activity in the country showed a steep upturn and open actions by social forces gained in frequency, especially in 1983. This began with the historic May Day demonstration during which the working class joined in the political struggle with deeds. The year 1983 culminated in a mammoth rally of the opposition on November 27.²

In 1984 the people captured a new and wider bridgehead for action. In January the working class called the first general strike in years. As for the May Day demonstration, it involved twice as many participants as the one held in 1983. On June 27 there was a nation-wide civic strike. Throughout the year actions were launched for the satisfaction of pressing economic demands, the restoration of the purchasing capacity of wages and other incomes of the population and for the right to associate in trade unions. Threats or attempts by leaders of the regime and their menials to impose their will gave rise to spontaneous protests some of which assumed a large scale.

Deep cracks in the edifice of the dictatorship, the internal isolation of the regime and widespread international solidarity gradually changed the situation. In March 1984 José Luis Massera and Liber Seregni, two prisoners become symbols of the people's struggle, were set free. In the same days the Broad Front held a mass meeting in one of the main squares of Montevideo, with the two leaders participating. Thus the Front regained legality, virtually without preliminary authorisation.

The emergence of the Broad Front on the political scene, its attitude, its effort for unity and the prestige of its activists, who played a decisive role in mobilising the people, helped transform the consensus achieved by the opposition earlier into Multipartidaria.³ Subsequently concerted efforts were joined by organisations representing the most important social sectors: the workers' trade union centre known as the Inter-Trade Union Plenum of Workers/National Convention of Workers—IPW/NCW plus associations of students, cooperative members and employers. The end result was the formation of Intersectorial, which formulated general demands put to the authorities and both directed and coordinated large-scale protest actions.

This meant that the line adopted by the Communist Party immediately after the tyranny had taken over—a line fully coinciding with General Seregni's position—was put into practice and proved correct. The idea was to ensure that achieving the broadest possible unity, which was imperative for overthrowing the regime, went hand in hand with growing influence among the masses. In other words, it was a question of coordinating the activity of the opposition and making it more purposive, at the same time, of promoting social movements by bringing in new contingents and of unifying the Left within the Front itself. This could only be done by maintaining the continuity of the system of mass organisations both at home and abroad as historically important levers of the Uruguayan revolutionary process: the workers' unitary trade union centre, Social and Cultural Association of Public School Students/Federation of University Students of Uruguay, the Broad Front and the CPU.

In July 1984 the top military resumed contact with Multipartidaria, this time in a

different situation. The aim was no longer a limited 'dialogue' but negotiations between two real forces: political organisations actively supported by the overwhelming majority of the population, and military men in control of the army and the repressive apparatus. Failure of the negotiations would have prolonged the agony of the dictatorship and created a situation fraught with still greater sacrifices and suffering than the country had experienced in the previous decade.

Fundamental agreements were reached. Proposed by Multipartidaria with due regard to recommendations of the Broad Front, they offered a political way out of the crisis. The armed forces command did not accept all the conditions of Multipartidaria but retreated step by step under the impact of increasingly strong united action by the opposition.

In August 1984 the regime lifted the ban on the activity of most Broad Front parties and amnestied some of their leaders. However, it refused to legalise the CPU and some other organisations; thousands of their leaders and activists, including Liber Seregni, were denied civil rights as before.

Over 200 people regained freedom between August and October 1984; they included staunch patriots who had endured all tortures, such as Jaime Pérez, Jorge Mazarovich, Rosario Pietrarroia, General Víctor Licandro, Colonel Carlos Zufriategui and Colonel Hugo Frigerio. Hundreds of exiles, including Hugo Villar, one of the Broad Front leaders, Rodney Arismendi and Enrique Rodríguez, CC Secretaries of the CPU, and many persons prominent in culture and art, were allowed to repatriate. In the end the authorities lifted the ban on political activity and abolished media censorship.

This was neither a gift from the regime, nor a gesture of goodwill. Every concession had to be wrested through struggle in which the people joined. Numerous difficult problems had to be tackled, such as choosing the right tactics, achieving coordinated action by the opposition while fully preserving the independence of the working class movement, specifying the range of negotiation topics, accepting agreement within definite bounds, deciding on how far concessions could be made and seeking reasonable compromises by making realistic demands while refusing to go back on principles. The line that was followed and led to victory was talks coupled with mobilisation of the masses and benefiting from their successes.

In these circumstances we resolved to join in the elections; while not entirely democratic, they made it possible, none the less, to secure an acceptable degree of participation by ordinary people. It was no longer a question of elections allowed by the military command under its 'schedule' but of an achievement of the people and an instrument of fully bringing down the sinister dictatorial regime in order to open a new period in national politics.

Hundreds of thousands of Uruguayans hailed the news of the elections and set out to prepare for them as joyfully as they welcomed the release of every prisoner and the return of every exile.

The Colorado Party won 40.2 per cent of the vote; the National Party was the runner-up with 34.2 per cent and the Broad Front polled 21.2 per cent.

The ultras represented by the two traditional parties suffered a crushing defeat all over the country. In the 1971 elections, that wing of the Colorado Party which backed Bordaberry and joined afterwards in the coup collected 22.8 per cent of the vote and its candidate was elected President of the Republic. In the National Party, supporters of General Aguerrondo, a man close to those behind the coup, secured 13.7 per cent of the vote. These alignments were backed by 36.5 per cent of the electorate and won a total of 600,000 votes. In 1984, however, the reactionaries in both parties on whom the military command counted only won 11 per cent of the vote. Furthermore, their attempt to found a new organisation, to be called the Process Party, was defeated.

In the Colorado Party itself, over 75 per cent of the vote was polled by those who

looked to Julio María Sanguinetti. It was this leader opposed to the dictatorship that became the new President of the Republic.

Sanguinetti is taking office after making definite commitments. A few days before the vote, he signed together with the presidential candidates of the four main political alignments a programmatic document of National Concord. The document said that 'coordinated action by political parties and social forces was the pivot of our people's struggle against the military dictatorship' and that 'the central objective of this struggle was to reinstitutionalise the country and build a democratic society, with freedom, justice, solidarity, tolerance and mutual respect as its bedrock'.⁴ The President-elect reaffirmed his promise to form a government of national unity in order to lead the country out of its deep crisis. His political backers declare for an amnesty, if a limited one.

Whereas formerly the Colorado Party criticised the economic model adopted by the dictatorship, today it favours a policy that would give financial capital the green light. In the past, though in opposition to the regime, it did not always approve of popular action. As for the trade union movement, Colorado would like it to accept the idea of so-called social contract, which would, in fact, unarm the working class.

The new administration has inherited a bad crisis made worse by financial speculation and increasing exploitation on the part of US imperialism. The economy is declining, unemployment has assumed proportions that were extremely rare in the past and the incomes of large sections of the population have dropped to an all-time low. There are other problems whose solution brooks no delay, such as a budget deficit due in particular to growing expenditures on the repressive machinery, the debts of national enterprises and an excessive foreign debt. These are very difficult problems and it is obvious that unless the government sets out to solve them (not at the price of new sacrifices from the working people, to be sure), the resultant social confrontation might well generate sharp conflicts.

The government must lose no time in taking a stand on the demands of foreign banks and the IMF, which insist that the foreign debt and the enormous interest imposed by them be paid under a policy of austerity which would hit a large section of the population and would be entirely at variance with the promise to revive production and reorganise the country on democratic principles.

The document of National Concord only provides a minimum basis for further action. No agreement has been reached on important issues, such as the extent and pace of restoring working people's incomes, relations with the IMF, legislation on education or the limits of an amnesty. However, it is perfectly clear that none but the putschists want to create still greater difficulties than those already plaguing our country. And it is equally clear that further developments will largely depend on the activity of the administration in an atmosphere of blackmail and intrigue on the part of the oligarchy and imperialism, the nature of steps taken to solve pressing economic and social problems and the attitude of the government to the trade union and popular movement.

The prospects of the ongoing process will depend on achieving mutual understanding in regard to stabilising democracy and establishing peace in the country as well as, and first of all, on the extent to which autonomous action by the masses and Broad Front initiatives in favour of meeting the urgent demands of the working people and ending the crisis under a programme for fundamental changes encourage the activity of the nation.

The past years have shown how very important and necessary it is for the popular and working class movement to win independence of action instead of passively awaiting benefits from somebody. The people's activity based on resistance to the dictatorship and a growing working class and trade union movement was the main factor that made it possible to defeat the dictatorship by political means. In today's

conditions, their participation in developments will play a positive part in establishing control over the adoption of measures needed to solve economic, social and political problems with due regard to the interests of the majority of the population.

The results of the elections are beyond question. The democratic stage ushered in by them should deprive reaction and the repressive apparatus, which still put their stamp on national politics, of all hope of restoring the former regime.

The success registered by the Broad Front is noteworthy, especially in comparison with the results of the Front's first election campaign (1971). The Front is now backed by 36 per cent more votes than previously and is the only major political force to have polled more votes than previously.⁵

In Montevideo, which accounts for nearly half the population of the country and where the bulk of the industrial proletariat is concentrated, the Broad Front secured one-third of the vote and won roughly 40 per cent more supporters than before. The elections showed again that the Front has deep roots in working class communities (in some of them it won about 50 per cent of the vote) and among students and intellectuals.

Had not servicemen been ordered to register in Montevideo and vote for candidates of the Right, the Broad Front could also have carried the day in the Montevideo municipality though thousands of disfranchised Uruguayans had to stay away from the polls.

The Broad Front, formed in February 1971, was outlawed in 1973. But despite eleven years of persecution, harassment and exile and a foul ideological campaign of lies and slanders, it re-emerged on the national scene as a strong and dynamic organisation. It owes this to its programme, which proclaims anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist goals meeting the people's aspirations. Thus experience has shown that the Front is not a temporary alliance formed for electoral purposes but a serious force equal to contesting power and ending the bi-partisan system that traditional political trends had imposed for years. In a matter of months, the Front reconstituted hundreds of its branch committees.

We Communists were right in insisting on the vital need for the Broad Front as a real unitary and unifying force membership in which at this stage of the struggle for national and social liberation (a stage that will take time) we see as our programmatic, strategic option.

Without renouncing any one of its principles or its programme for far-reaching structural changes, the Broad Front advanced the same tactical slogan as in 1973: 'Peace for change and change for peace.' It openly aligned itself with Multipartidaria, Intersectoral and National Concord. And when negotiations began, the military had to admit to the negotiating table the organisation which they had tried to divide and eliminate from the nation's life.

Four months before the elections, the regime did not go beyond legalising some of the parties and groups affiliated to the Broad Front and restoring the political rights of some of their leaders and activists. Nevertheless, this alliance—its legal and illegal organisations and its rehabilitated and unrehabilitated members alike—joined in open political activity and in the election campaign as one entity.

The Broad Front emerged from the struggle enjoying greater strength and prestige than before. It scored gains in membership, votes and seats in parliament and in municipalities. Its programme, tactics and organisation, which have passed the hard test of time and benefited from the experience gained by hundreds of thousands through struggle, are the property of the whole people.

The political, economic and social model of the dictatorship has failed. It is becoming more and more evident that the Broad Front is a democratic alternative to this model. The Front is equal to effecting deep-going changes, following an

independent, anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist line and finding a way out of the nation's protracted crisis.

At every stage of the struggle against the tyranny, the Communists were in the forefront. We paid a high price for this. Many of our comrades lost their lives, disappeared, were tortured or had to emigrate. The CPU could not participate in the elections legally, by putting forward our candidates—persons well known to the people—or operating on our own premises. Even so, the regime was unable to exclude us from national politics, nor did our party stop resistance for a single day.

There will be Communists for as long as there is a working class, said CPU Secretary Jaime Pérez when, in 1972, the regime went to war against the people. Under the dictatorship the CPU was inseparable from the working class. Its members took part in every action, helping maintain the continuity of and revive the independent, unitary and militant class trade union movement in legal, semi-legal and illegal forms. Today this expresses itself in the existence of the IPW/NCW, which symbolises the renewal as well as the historical continuity and experience of the struggle of the working class. The Uruguayan working class movement is in the forefront of the people's social battles, now as in the past.

Young Communists contributed their share to the reorganisation of the student movement under the battle-tested slogan 'Workers and students, advance together'.

We joined at all levels in the Broad Front's organising work preparatory to the elections by publicising its programme and common presidential and gubernatorial candidates. At the same time we backed within the Front the lists of candidates for election to parliament and municipalities put forward by a coalition of trade union, student and political activists and cultural figures. In line with the Front's minimum programme, the coalition made proposals paving the way for advanced democracy (hence its name, For Advanced Democracy).

This organisation, founded slightly more than one month before the elections, won 28 per cent of the votes polled by the Broad Front, two of the Front's six seats in the 30-member Senate and four of its 21 seats in the 99-member Chamber of Deputies. The anti-communist campaign mounted by the media was spearheaded against the coalition For Advanced Democracy; it was supported by rightists in the traditional parties and directly involved the top military, who accused coalition members of complicity in terrorism. Rightist propaganda did its utmost to prove that the country needed less radical and more 'realistic' solutions and to split the Broad Front. However, the rightists' attempts to isolate the coalition failed; the coalition is a real force today, an inseparable component of the alliance which has achieved a remarkable victory. Nor was reaction able to isolate the Communists, who have been prominent in the difficult process of forming and building up the Broad Front ever since it began.

The leaders of the fascist regime had boastfully promised the Uruguayan people 50 years of life without Communists. Yet the CPU is there; the party of the working class is alive and fighting for the good of society; it has sustained many wounds but has won new members and more important still, is closely united in pursuing its Marxist-Leninist line. How very solid our unity is was shown in the months when Communists who had fought underground for years and gone through the hardships of imprisonment and Communists who were back in Uruguay after a long period of exile joined efforts. What was done by heroes of the underground and political prisoners and the persevering effort of exiles who rallied international solidarity with the Uruguayan people inspire them with mutual respect. Always in keeping with the given situation, they evolved tactics and led the party in common; this found an expression in common documents published underground or in the legal press both at home and abroad.

With José Luis Massera and Jaime Pérez out of prison and Enrique Rodríguez and

Rodney Arismendi back from exile, our party, like other Broad Front organisations, began to operate openly, without official authorisation, even before the elections. The banners of the CPU and Communist Youth League were carried high at every large festival by which the people marked their signal victory over the dictatorship. Today they fly still more freely, as a sign that in the new situation we are going to fight on for the final national and social liberation of our country.

The elections marked the end of a stage and opened a new chapter in Uruguayan history. The task now is to build up the people's potential, to work for the increasing mobilisation and organisation of the working people and for the participation of their political and other organisations in the effort to bring about a change in the balance of forces making it possible to seek advanced democracy. It is necessary to provide conditions for the solution of urgent problems of the nation, pursue a patriotic economic and social policy in the interest of the whole nation—a policy rejecting the terms imposed by the IMF—carry out radical structural reforms, transfer banking and foreign trade to the state, establish control over foreign currency transactions, effect an agrarian reform, commit the country to an independent foreign policy and support Sandinist Nicaragua and the struggle of peoples for self-determination. Advanced democracy must be a step towards far-reaching anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist changes on the road to socialism.

The existence and steady growth of the CPU, a mass party whose roots go back to the working class, the intellectuals and the middle strata of town and countryside, are factors furthering this process. This also applies to the party's youth organisation. Building a strong party, the 16th CPU Congress stressed, is still a key task of the Uruguayan revolution.

With the dictatorship down, Uruguay is rejoining the community of democratic states. Events in our country fit into the overall context of the democratic changes effected in Bolivia and Argentina, similar changes in Brazil and the achievements of the Left in Peru. The persevering, heroic struggle of the Chilean people against the brutal Pinochet regime holds the promise of the early overthrow of fascist rule in that country as well. In Paraguay, opposition to the tyranny is on the rise.

The situation in the region has undergone a qualitative change in a short time. Imperialism's plan to impose fascist dictatorships on the continent (as part of its global aspirations) has fallen through. Our peoples have brought about democratic changes in ways varying from country to country, changes which open up the prospect of cooperation and mutual assistance among Latin American republics and of their winning greater international prestige. Nor is it accidental that, like some other heads of state of the region, the new President of Uruguay, Julio María Sanguinetti, has taken a stand for extending economic relations with socialist countries and even spoken of the likelihood of resuming relations with Cuba.

Now that the dictatorship's repressive practices are over and done with, the Uruguayan people have better opportunities of inducing their government to show solidarity with Nicaragua, which is in danger, and with the patriots of El Salvador and Guatemala. The situation is also more favourable to contributing our share to the common fight against the bellicose, adventurist policy of the Reagan Administration, in defence of peace and for the deliverance of humanity from the threat of a nuclear holocaust.

We have accomplished our tasks at this stage and are confident of doing as much in the future, well remembering our internationalist duty to all peoples.

¹ *Estudios*, No. 86, 1983, p. 14.

² See Samuel Behak, 'Uruguayans Reject the Dictatorship', *WMR*, No. 3, 1984.

³ Alignment comprising the Colorado Party, National Party, Broad Front and Civil Union.—*Ed.*

⁴ *Aqui*, November 20, 1984, p. 7.

⁵ See *La Semana de El Día* (Montevideo), December 7, 1984, p. 2.

What it Means to be in the Front Ranks Reflections on the Place of the Communists in the Peace Movement

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THE Communists' position concerning issues of war and peace has always been clear and unambiguous. As a principled attitude, their condemnation of wars of conquest has been tried, tested and borne out by life. Meanwhile, today defence of peace has assumed a still greater significance for the strategy and political activities of communist parties; it has become their central task.

In accordance with the Marxist-Leninist theory, the revolutionary working class movement has never considered war as an indispensable means of attaining its foremost historical goal of eliminating capitalism and building socialism. Moreover, the communist ideals themselves dictate the need to banish international armed conflicts as an instrument of policy from the life of society. The attempts to ascribe to Lenin and to Communists the concept of war as the highest form of the class struggle for the proletariat and revolution as the highest form of war¹ are a vile falsification.

Lenin has proved the class nature of imperialist wars, thus leading us to the conclusion that the working class must reject them categorically. As to socialist revolution, Frederick Engels pointed out still earlier that the working class strives to ensure the victory of socialism without armed violence and consequently, without wars. Answering the question about the possibility of eliminating private property by peaceful means, he wrote in *Principles of Communism*: 'It is to be desired that this could happen.'² At the Ninth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) in 1920 Lenin stressed that 'any peace . . . will open channels for our influence a hundred times wider'.³

The above is true both for the countries of existing socialism and for the working class movement which is fighting for socialism in conditions of capitalism. It will never be forgotten that, having emerged on the scene of world politics, Soviet Russia began with proclaiming its Decree on Peace. In those days long gone Lenin formulated and applied in practice the principles of peaceful coexistence of socialism and capitalism, principles that form the basis of normal international relations.

History knows no cases of the revolutionary working class movement or socialism resorting to war for the sake of attaining their political or social objectives. The Marxist-Leninist theory of revolution firmly rejects war as a means of propagation for socialism; in other words, it rejects the export of revolution. In 1918 Lenin came out against those who believed that international revolution should be furthered by war.⁴

Naturally, Communists had to take up arms many times. At the same time, they have always been in the forefront of the struggle against wars of conquest and their instigators, for peace and peaceful international relations. Communists are always ready to fight selflessly for the interests of peoples who yearn for peace. Speaking of the importance of a peaceful foreign policy, Karl Marx wrote: 'The fight for such a foreign policy forms part of the general struggle for the emancipation of the working classes.'⁵

When we say that today defence of peace plays an even more important role in the Communist strategy and policy, the reason for this statement lies in the historical changes which have occurred since the end of World War II.

First, modern weapons of mass destruction and their delivery means have produced, for the first time in history, a tangible possibility of complete annihilation

of civilisation and destruction of the environment. It follows that the realisation of the social objectives the people set for themselves is inseparable from the imperative demand that nuclear war be prevented. That is why the Communists are saying that today none of man's tasks are more meaningful than that of defending universal peace.

Second, we are convinced that the trend towards a greater war threat is not irreversible. The catastrophe can be averted if we succeed in rallying to the defence of peace all those who hold life on earth dear, and they make up an overwhelming majority of humanity. As early as the mid-1950s the Communists arrived at the conclusion that world wars could be prevented even before the abolition of imperialism, their source. They maintain that wars are launched by people, that they cannot be considered a natural law and that they can be banished from the life of human society.

Unlike the period which preceded World War II, the gains of the peace forces and, above all, the growth of the defence capacity of the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community—nations dedicated to peace—have now produced a global balance of capabilities which deprives imperialism of any chance of success. Any would-be aggressors are forced to reckon with the resistance of most of humanity to their reckless schemes, to realise that they themselves will also perish inevitably in a global nuclear holocaust.

This is a new situation. It is new for the working class movement too. For when it was still unable to prevent wars and when wars themselves did not yet threaten to extinguish life on earth, the working class movement saw its task in *ending the already raging* armed conflicts as soon as possible; it advocated democratic peace. Simultaneously, making use of the situation arising as a consequence of war, it sought to realise its class objectives. At the same time banishment of war from the life of human society was linked, with perfectly good reason, to the imperative condition of eliminating imperialism, their source. This meant that the wars launched by aggressors were to be turned against the social system which produced them. Indeed, historical experience confirmed that both world wars accelerated revolutionary processes and considerably weakened world capitalism.

Now that a real threat to human survival has emerged, the strategic thrust of the Communists' efforts is taking on a new aspect too. We hold that the struggle for peace should now be comprehensively oriented on *preventing* war. The fraternal parties maintain that even prior to the complete victory of socialism throughout the world, militarist quarters must and can be prevented from launching a nuclear conflict.

In their unswerving efforts to step up resistance to the war threat, the Communists do not see themselves as the only champions of peace nor lay exclusive claims to the peace movement. On the contrary, taking into account the threatening scope of the danger and the headstrong adventurism of the more aggressive imperialist quarters, they hold that war can be prevented only by joint action on the part of all peace forces. In the words of Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the SED CC, what is needed is a broad coalition of reason, realism and peace, and the Communists are among its elements.⁶

This determines the Communists' distinctly positive, constructive stand and an attitude free from any restrictive conditions with regard to the movements which have emerged in recent years in the course of the struggle against NATO's policy of arms buildup—movements which unite members of all strata, of different political currents and philosophies.

These are incontrovertible facts. Nevertheless—and perhaps precisely for this reason—the ideologists of the imperialist 'war parties' spare no effort to sow doubt concerning the Communists' commitment to the cause of peace.

From the outset, militarist propaganda attempted to distort the goals pursued by

the peace forces. For example, Defence Minister Manfred Wörner of the FRG claimed, not so long ago, that they were the source of the war threat.⁷ However, since that position failed to produce tangible results, attempts began to fragment the movement, and above all to isolate or oust the Communists.

Specifically, much is being done to picture the Communists of capitalist countries as 'agents' of the socialist states, like say, Jospeh Luns, NATO Secretary General up to mid-1984, claimed repeatedly and groundlessly.⁸ Here, one of the tricks of distorting the role of Communists in the peace movement is to allege that they want to use the peace struggle 'for revolutionary purposes'.

What is the actual situation? Communists are active in the peace movement alongside other forces. The movement is quite heterogeneous in terms of its social and political composition and its members' philosophies. The common denominator is the desire to prevent nuclear catastrophe. This also covers the struggle for disarmament, against the use of war as an instrument of politics, for detente. The Communists are profoundly convinced that no participant in the movement should make his or her cooperation with other forces conditional on their renunciation of their views and objectives.

This approach fully applies to the working class movement too. It represents the organised social strength of a definite class and pursues distinct class objectives, although, in terms of practical politics, different currents in this movement perceive, identify and solve these tasks differently. Trade unions in capitalist countries fight to defend working people, to improve their working and living conditions. Communist parties there work for the elimination of capitalism and the establishment of socialist society by revolutionary means. Social Democrats in most cases advocate reforms designed to improve the life of the popular masses within the capitalist system.

It is natural that in its action for peace, no organisation of the working class movement abandons the programme and purposes which shape its political character. But the struggle of these organisations for the interests of the working class and for social progress in no way contradicts peace activities. The reverse is true; it becomes intertwined with them even closer.

It has already been mentioned that a nuclear conflict would threaten human survival and that, consequently, universal peace is absolutely indispensable for social progress. This means that those who fight for social progress. This means that those who fight for social change should spare no effort in working to defuse the nuclear war threat.

The imperialist policy of arms buildup and war preparations adversely affects the living conditions of working people. It follows that under capitalism, defence of the vital interests of working people is impossible without resistance to militarist preparations. Incidentally, this is also the conclusion of Gert Bastian, a retired general of the Bundeswehr and a man with no connections to the working class movement. In his book *Make Peace! Reflections on the Policy of Security* he writes: 'In our country, too, the long-proven interconnection between arms spending and cutbacks in social expenditures, between the manufacture of arms and unemployment is becoming increasingly obvious. And so in our country, too, any struggle against armament and for disarmament is not only a struggle against the growing danger of war, for durable peace; invariably, it is also a struggle against poverty, for greater social justice.'⁹

As to the working class movement itself, separation of the struggle for peace from the drive to uphold the socio-economic interests of working people adversely affects both the former and the latter aspects of its activities. Nevertheless, there existed in the working class movement organisations which, for a long time, refused to share this view and hesitated a great deal before joining the struggle for peace. That is why the Communists consider it their important duty to enhance the contribution of the

working class to the prevention of nuclear war, and this calls for organisational and political efforts.

Significantly shifts have been recently occurring in this road, rooted in the growing understanding by working people of the interdependence between these tasks. The direct objective of the powerful strikes in the FRG, Great Britain and other capitalist countries was to combat mass unemployment and other adverse consequences of the economic slump affecting working people. Meanwhile, the point that the runaway arms buildup aggravated the crisis and accelerated cuts in social spending was voiced with increasing vigour. It was made more obvious than ever before that action to defend socio-economic gains and the struggle for peace were inseparable.

Organisations and groups whose policy guidelines, unlike those of the working class movement, are not aimed at social progress also take part in the action against nuclear war preparations. They hold distinctive positions which are shaped by their philosophies and by religious, ethnical, moral and other motives. However, this is no reason to denigrate the importance of the contribution these forces make to the joint peace-making efforts.

The Communists define their attitude to this issue in no uncertain terms. They say that while, on the one hand, today it is impossible to effectively promote social progress without fighting against imperialist war preparations, on the other hand, one can make a tangible and significant contribution to the drive to safeguard peace even if one is not a consistent champion of social changes. That is why Communists never impose their socio-political, let alone revolutionary views on anyone in any form; nor do they make cooperation in the struggle against the war threat conditional on acceptance of such views.

Expanding their involvement in the peace movement, the Communists attach priority attention to all that unites and mobilises the opponents of war and relegate to the background that which can fragment and hamper joint efforts. This approach can be put into practice only when relations among the various peace forces are shaped in the spirit of cooperation, equality and goodwill.

The Communists do not claim to lead the movement; they do not seek submission from their partners or the adoption of a common ideological platform. They even declare their readiness to act jointly in defence of peace with those whose positions in other spheres—for example, in what concerns social relations under capitalism and the need to transform them—are anti-communist.

Given the extraordinarily broad socio-political spectrum of today's peace movement, one cannot evade a dialogue between its constituent forces, a dialogue based on a striving for cooperation. This imperative is also rooted in the fact that issues of war and peace are inseparable from social inter-relations, from the alignment of forces and processes on the international scene. "The problems of war and peace as, incidentally, all global problems," Comrade Konstantin Chernenko, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, said, "do not exist all by themselves. They are inseparable from the world social contradictions and from the development of the class struggle."¹⁰

The struggle for peace can be successful only by making a correct analysis of the international situation. Here the progressive public attaches particular attention to the identification of the true sources of the war threat.

One must, however, admit that opinions with regard to this matter differ widely. The Communists tackle it from the viewpoint of Marxist-Leninist theory. They proceed from objective realities and class positions. In accordance with this approach, issues of war and peace are inseparable from the competition between socialism and imperialism on the global scale. The Communist viewpoint is that one should look for the motives behind the aggravation of international tensions, the

exacerbation of the confrontation, the intensification of the arms race and the growth of the war threat solely in the nature and policy of imperialism, in the way those who devise and apply its ideology react to the weakening of imperialist positions on the international scene.

Aggressive imperialist forces strive for military superiority over the socialist countries, for a superiority which, they hope, will enable them to win a nuclear war. US President Ronald Reagan has declared that socialism is the 'focus of evil' which must be destroyed. This purpose is served by the military doctrine of the United States and of NATO as a whole. The deployment of new US medium-range missiles in several West European countries is nothing other than preparations for the implementation of the Pentagon-devised strategy of a first, 'decapitating' strike.

The Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community pursue a fundamentally different course. They are doing their utmost to banish war as an instrument of international politics from all spheres, including the competition between socialism and imperialism; they work to firmly establish the principles of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems. They are profoundly convinced that all international conflicts and disputes can and must be solved by political means.

The first-strike concept is alien to the socialist military doctrine. The Warsaw Treaty countries do not seek strategic superiority over the North Atlantic bloc. They pursue a defensive policy. They view strategic military parity as the best possible basis for ensuring peace and enhancing detente. It is precisely for this reason that, in response to the moves by the United States and NATO to alter the alignment of military forces in their favour, the socialist countries adopted counter-measures aimed at maintaining parity.

There is another fundamental difference between socialist and imperialist foreign policy line concerning the issue of peace. The self-seeking class interests of imperialism inevitably lead it to try and impose its will on all mankind. As for socialism, its class interests coincide with the general democratic aspirations of peace-loving peoples. That is why it does not necessarily take a Communist, an advocate of the socialist system of society, to support the peace programme of the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries. Here is where the ideals of existing socialism coincide with the imperatives of peace.

The following three aspects are of prime importance in discussing the inseparable concepts of 'socialism' and 'peace':

first, there are no class forces in socialist society which would profit from the arms race and war. By contrast, under imperialism monopoly capital is bent on expansion and accepts war as one of its political tools. The dominant role in the shaping of this policy is played by the powerful military-industrial monopolies which reap superprofits from the buildup of armaments;

second, the desire of socialism to prevent war coincides with the striving of peoples for peace, with the interests of all social forces who want peace. Socialism does not seek to subjugate and exploit other peoples and firmly opposes all forms of neocolonialism;

third, programme and policy, word and deed coincide in the course the socialist countries actually pursue. When they speak of disarmament, detente and cooperation, these are the goals they really want to attain. But President Reagan presents quite a different image to peace-loving public opinion. For example, proposing 'elimination' of chemical weapons, he simultaneously authorised a new stage in their buildup. While resounding by condemning international terrorism, the US Administration elevated it to the level of national policy, committed aggression against Grenada, ordered the mining of Nicaraguan ports, is preparing to attack that independent country and supports Israel's policy of genocide. Swearing friendship

with developing countries, the United States is undermining the non-aligned movement.

In order to uphold peace it is important for more and more members of the peace movement, including those in Asian, African and Latin American countries, to see the cause of the war threat in imperialism and to direct their struggle against its more aggressive quarters. Of course we know that there are still people in the movement who, while opposing the imperialist policy of confrontation and arms buildup, maintain that the war threat emanates to an equal degree from the socialist countries too. We are convinced that Communists cannot keep silent when such views are aired. They consider it their duty to reveal the true state of affairs and direct the struggle against those who give rise to the threat of war.

One must not ignore the occasionally expressed opinion that the socialist countries should not insist on the maintenance of strategic military parity, that they should take unilateral steps toward disarmament. Here, everything must be made crystal clear. Moves to upset this parity are detrimental not only to the security of the socialist countries but also to the cause of universal peace. History tells us that potential aggressors unleashed war only when they believed they had a chance to succeed. Such are the facts on which preservation of world peace depends. They exert an objective influence on the course of developments.

In discussing strategic military parity, another question arises: is there no other way of ensuring durable peace? Some ask whether the socialist countries consider reliance on military means the only way of preventing a nuclear holocaust. This question calls for a clear answer since it concerns the prospects of strengthening international security and the basis of cooperation among all peace forces—from Communists to pacifists.

Given the imperialist quarters' intention of attaining military superiority and thus ensuring victory in a nuclear war, the socialist community is forced to attach priority attention to efforts to strengthen their defence capacity as a prime condition for the maintenance of peace. That is a logical conclusion based on a sober evaluation of imperialist policy vis-a-vis the Soviet Union since the October Revolution. Today the situation is such that underestimation of strategic military aspects could be fatal for all mankind because it would encourage imperialism in its aggressive ventures.

At the same time it must be emphasised that central to the proposals of the socialist countries and the policy they actually pursue are political ways of ensuring durable peace. The peace programme of the Soviet Union and its allies envisages, as moves of major importance, disarmament, renunciation of armed force in the settlement of international problems, no first use of nuclear weapons, a non-aggression treaty between the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO, nuclear-free zones, a freeze on the manufacture and deployment of nuclear weapons followed by the elimination of all types of these weapons, a ban on other means of mass destruction, armed forces reductions and confidence-building measures.

All this means that, in the final analysis, the socialist countries accord greater importance to the introduction of the principles of peaceful coexistence into international practices, to the promotion of detente and the expansion of inter-governmental cooperation than to the military aspects of the strengthening of security. Such are the spirit and the specific content of the Political Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty countries adopted in January 1983.

The socialist countries' proposals are welcomed by broad sections of the public, including those outside the communist movement, because these proposals echo their aspirations too. The military aspects of efforts to ensure peace would be even less important compared to the political aspects if the level of strategic military parity could be lowered on the basis of equality and equal security, if agreement could be reached on mutual reductions in the military capabilities, if peace could be

maintained not through mutual deterrence (the way it is stipulated in the NATO military doctrine) but through partnership in the field of security.

Paraphrasing the point Marx and Engels made in the *manifesto of the Communist Party*, one can say that the Communists have no interests separate and apart from those of the entire peace movement. In their struggle against the war threat they single out and defend, on the one hand, those working people's interests which are common to all and have no relation to any particular national affiliation and, on the other hand, invariably represent the interests of the peace movement as a whole. The Communists are in the front ranks of the movement, without claiming hegemony in it. Their place in the movement and their relations with other champions of peace are shaped by their tangible and specific contribution to the struggle for everyone's right to life, against the nuclear war threat.

¹ See, for example, Boris Meissner, *Die sowjetische Stellung zum Krieg und zur Revolution*, Zurich, 1978, pp. 3-4.

² Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 349.

³ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 453.

⁴ See *ibid.*, Vol. 27, pp. 71-72.

⁵ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 2, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1969, p. 18.

⁶ See *Neues Deutschland*, October 10, 1983.

⁷ See *Welt am Sonntag*, June 5 and October 16, 1983.

⁸ See, for example, *Newsweek*, January 25, 1982.

⁹ Gert Bastian, *Frieden schaffen! Gedanken zur Sicherheitspolitik*, Munich, 1983, p. 153.

¹⁰ *Information Bulletin*, No. 12, 1984, Peace and Socialism, Prague, p. 7.

the party

On the Way to the Strategic Goal

Luis Emilio Veintimilla – CC member,
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THE political forces representing the interests of the bourgeoisie are being forced to revamp their strategic programmes, if no more than outwardly, by the effects of the capitalist modernisation in Ecuador that tends to produce new and acute problems and marked shifts in the society's social structure.

A concept of neoliberalism has been put forward by the traditional right-wing parties, which have set up their own front in order to provide a theoretical foundation for their activity under the tutelage of international finance capital and the top hierarchy of the Catholic Church.

Social-democracy has tried to work out an action programme to guarantee the preservation of the economic basis of the capitalist system by adapting it to the current requirements of social development, and the Social Democrats expect to do so by concluding a 'social pact' and 'harmonising' the interests of labour and capital.

For their part, the revolutionary forces, including the Communist Party of Ecuador (PCE)¹, have been consistently conducting a strategic line aimed to attain the unity of the anti-imperialist, democratic and patriotic circles, as a necessary condition for carrying out a national liberation revolution. Such an alliance should lead to the formation of a democratic people's government to break the shackles keeping the country bound to imperialism, to ensure its independent and sovereign development, and create the conditions for advancing towards socialism.

It is imperative, in the sharp confrontation of opposite social forces, that the working class and its party should demonstrate their capacity for conducting a policy of alliances and compromise, without losing their class independence and without being diverted from their strategic objectives.

If the balance of forces within the society is to be altered in favour of the working class and the other working people, it is necessary to develop and hone the instrument of revolution: the Communist Party. It is faced with the task of joining battle on every front as the organiser, agitator and orientator of the masses, and of being in the van of all the working people's actions for the satisfaction of their vital demands, while amply explaining its political line and constantly attacking the positions of the proletariat's class enemies in the fight for winning political power which is to serve the whole people.

In order to realise this perspective, the Ecuadorian Communists have worked hard to fulfil the aims set by the 10th Congress of the PCE in 1981, namely, to build a

mass-action party based on the solid organisational and ideological principles of Marxism-Leninism, capable of fulfilling its historical mission, and fully alive to the new conditions for developing the popular and working class struggle.

The working class undoubtedly remains the Communists' mainstay; in the past several years, it has grown numerically, its organisation has been fortified, and it has carried out a number of major campaigns in defence of its interests.² Our party has the crucial role to play in the Confederation of Working People of Ecuador (CTE), the country's principal trade-union centre, which has been consistently working for the unity of the trade-union movement. We draw our inspiration from the following idea of Lenin's: 'Our principal and fundamental task is to facilitate the political development and the political organisations of the working class. Those who push this task into the background, who refuse to subordinate to it all the special tasks and particular methods of struggle, are following a false path and causing serious harm to the movement'.³ In their conscious efforts to carry political instruction and education to the working class, the Communists make a point of emphasising the world-wide historical significance of its liberation struggle, while the complexity of the Ecuadorian society's social structure and the growing proportion of the rural proletarians and salaried employees makes it incumbent on us boldly to go into every stratum of the working population and to strive to carry on multifarious work within it.

Guiding the Rural Toilers' Action

The Federation of Agricultural Workers of the Coast (FTAL) is one of the mainstays of the Communists within the peasant movement. It brings together those who live and work in the coastal area, where there is an especially high concentration of rural cooperatives existing side by side with small, medium and large farms.

The FTAL is fighting for the extension to its members of technical and other material aid from the authorities, development of an infrastructure helping to boost labour productivity and improve trade, establishment of fair prices for farm produce and its guaranteed sale, the allocation of credits to cooperatives, and small and medium farms, and the abolition of the collateral now required for receiving such credits. In broader terms, the peasants want a democratic agrarian reform to liquidate the latifundia and cap the size of landed estates in possession of any private or juridical person. They want the land to cease being an object of speculation and to become solely an object of labour, they want more incentives for establishing cooperatives, and access for rural working people to modern scientific and technical achievements.

PCE activists have been carrying on important organisational work among the peasants, acquainting them with the main lines of the party's agrarian policy and providing constant political orientation. FTAL Chairman Fredy Romero says that the Communist Party's activity has given the Federation wide opportunities for organisation, and that the peasant masses regard the Communists as champions of their interests. But there is also this paradox: farm workers accept the Communists' proposals and voice their readiness to join them in fighting for concrete common demands, but fail to give massive support to our party's candidates in elections.

Romero believes that the peasants recognise the Communists as their class leaders, but do not yet believe in their capacity to take part in running the country. Let us note that, apart from the influence of typical prejudices, which are widespread in the bourgeois society, that is an expression of a lack of faith among the peasantry in its own strength as a class capable of joining the proletariat in an alliance in the struggle for the actual winning of political power. That is why the party has been working, patiently and perseveringly, to strengthen the class consciousness and unity of the rural working people and to promote in every way the FTAL's involvement in the

activity of the United Working People's Front (FUT)⁴ in order to solidify the workers' and peasants' alliance as the necessary basis for a future democratic people's government.

The Pavel Korchagin Cell

In their work among the urban population, the Communists have given much attention to salaried employees, notably those in the banking sector.

The fact is that in Ecuador finance capital has managed to set up a ramified and dynamically developing banking system, whose efficiency depends on a numerous staff of operators differing in social origin and official status. Nevertheless, because banking employees are wage-workers, their interests tend to conflict with those of the financial oligarchy, and that makes it possible for the Communists to work in their midst.

This is exemplified by the achievements of a party cell which bears the name of Pavel Korchagin, the hero of the well-known Soviet novel *How Steel was Tempered*. It operates at the La Previsora Bank, an old financial institution of the bourgeoisie in Guayaquil, which was put to a severe test a few years ago.

In 1977, the bank was robbed by its own managers, who misappropriated 5 billion sucre⁵ and invested them in their own enterprises. The military triumvirate then ruling the country had intimate family and economic ties with banking capital and was itself steeped in corruption, and so it made good the shortage out of the funds of the State Central Bank, in an effort to safeguard the 'prestige of private initiative', and to prevent the population from being disappointed in the 'merits' of the system. *El Pueblo* the Communists' weekly, then carried an exposé presenting hard evidence of that punishable act.

When it became widely known, the owners of savings and current accounts hastened to withdraw their deposits, and that posed a threat to La Previsora's very existence. In that situation, the Pavel Korchagin cell announced that its main aim was to safeguard jobs. Francisco Manjarrés, secretary of the local trade-union committee and the head of the party cell, told the author of this article: 'The bank's managers would have liked to close it down so as to cover up the crime. We countered their motives by starting a struggle to keep La Previsora going, though no longer as a private enterprise, but above all as a source of jobs for its employees. We did manage to campaign for its handover to the state. We proposed that it should be kept going on the basis of Central Bank assets. The bourgeoisie naturally put up stiff resistance to such a transfer, fearing that it could serve as a precedent for nationalising the whole banking system. But, strictly speaking, the bank only has the trappings of a private institution: its debt to the Central Bank does not allow its shareholders to exercise their rights, which is why La Previsora is effectively a state bank.'

The bank employees trade union acted on the party cell's proposal and started court proceedings against its managers. Manjarrés says: 'The struggle we started was of tremendous significance. The banking bourgeoisie was aware that it was fighting not only against the trade union of the La Previsora employees, but also against the Communist Party of Ecuador. We won in the courts of all three instances after a protracted and extremely complicated trial. We got the swindlers sentenced to eight years of imprisonment, although they are still at large. It was a purely political struggle, because it involved not just a clash with the owners of an individual bank, but with banking capital as a whole. We won the trial with our party's support and guidance. We are also greatly helped, of course, by our class comrades at the country's trade-union organisations and federations.'

As a result of the judicial victory, the cell made a leap in its activity. Under its impact, the bank's trade-union committee ceased to confine itself to putting forward purely economic demands. La Previsora employees are closely linked with the

Ecuadoran working class movement and take an active part in the United Working People's Front, and as a result of the cell's growing influence, its members were given responsible posts in the neighbourhood committees,⁶ while the authority of the Communist Party among banking employees and in the working class movement was enhanced.

The Communists' successful political work led to the establishment of a trade-union school under the local trade-union committee. It has an ever wider circle of students, as they were first joined by employees from other banks, and then also by members of diverse trade-union organisations. The Communists are the school's moving spirit. They seek to explain to the working people that they have to fight not only for their economic rights, but also to put forward higher, i.e., political, demands, and to learn to wield all the instruments of social management and administration.

Juan Pío Narváez, one of the trade-union school's leaders, told me: 'When we decided to set up these courses, we expected to have some resistance. We are still labouring under the old erroneous practice of concealing our identity as Communists, an attitude stemming from the underestimation of the masses' readiness to accept communist ideas and proposals. In that way war tended unwittingly to limit our potentialities for carrying on propaganda work. Thus, in the old days, when seeking to establish contacts with some trade union, we said that we were consultants of the Confederation of Working People of Ecuador, but never said in so many words that we were Communists and intended to explain our party's stand. The PCE is now acting to strengthen direct ties with the working population. Experience shows that people expect us to provide information and to answer many of their questions. We must say that they are highly satisfied with the studies at the school and with their contacts with members of the Communist Party in general, largely, we think, because we have made an effort to conceal the difficulties the Communists have to face in conducting their policy and party construction, and because we have explained to our students the PCE's positions and the true meaning of world developments. In sum, we have succeeded in winning the working people's interest and gaining their trust.'

Women's Movement Spreading

The Communists have been doing important work with women, who make up a majority of the population in our country, a fact imperialism and the Ecuadoran bourgeoisie have also noted, which is why women have now been made one of the main targets of their propaganda.

Unemployment, partial employment, and household chores force women to spend most of their time at home, where they are under intensified influence of the bourgeois mass media, notably radio and television. That is also true of the rural localities, where the transistor radio has become part and parcel of the peasants' everyday life, a channel along which ideological opiates are piped into the home. The ruling class has also made use of a very wide spectrum of techniques for influencing women in the middle strata, ranging from the encouragement of feminism to blatant advertisements of sex and pornography.

Nevertheless, women are taking an ever more active part in the country's life. Their number among students of secondary and higher schools, specialists in the technical fields and the humanities, and in the management of state and private establishments has been growing. Women are playing a more prominent role in the activity of trade-union and peasant organisations and in the ranks of the numerous contingents of workers in the education system.

The result has been a sharp step-up of work among women by various political forces. Ana Abad, a member of the PCE CC Executive Committee, told me: 'The latest electoral campaign showed that each of the 17 Ecuadoran parties has a women's

front of its own, but various women's organisations are active in the country even in between elections. Most of them take a democratic orientation, voicing their solidarity with the fighting peoples, and coming out against the imperialist intervention in the affairs of other states. Here is a concrete example: several women's organisations staged a militant march in Guayaquil on March 8, 1984, to put forward anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist slogans and demand respects for women's rights. The marchers came out for the establishment of a democratic people's government on Ecuador'.

The Communists are working within the United Women's Front (FUM), which is especially active in the trade unions and in the working class neighbourhoods. It maintains close contacts with the CTE's National Committee of Working Women, and joins it in various measures, helping women to understand the need for their personal participation side by side with men in the struggle for a new society. The FUM has its own newspaper, *Mujer* (Woman), which pays its own way.

In the neighbourhood committees, FUM activists make efforts to help the population solve such concrete and important problems as maintenance of dwelling houses in good repair, supply of drinking water, building of sanitation facilities and so on.

During the latest electoral campaign (January-May, 1984), the women's committee of the FADI did much to carry on agitation and mobilise the masses, so showing itself to be a potent political and social force.

The FUM now sets itself the task of strengthening direct ties with the people. Last year, for instance, it sponsored an exhibition on the premises of the Guayaquil municipal council with the participation of more than 20 artists on the subject of 'Woman and Peace'. It was held under the slogans of the struggle for equality, national independence and the security of the nations. Such measures not only help to collect funds but also to carry on revolutionary propaganda helping women to overcome their ideological limitations and paving the way for the genuine emancipation in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

School of Party Cadres

The tasks facing the working class in the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle for social and national revolution demand a constant raising of the political level of the popular tribune, as Lenin called the Communists, the organisers, agitators, propagandists and leaders of the working people, who are prepared tirelessly to work to implement the party's line, and who have the requisite knowledge for coming out with their initiatives in the light of the new social phenomena.

Within the PCE, this work is handled by the National School of Party Cadres, which is guided by the PCE National Commission for Political Education. Weekly courses for 12 persons are held at the school twice a month. Invitations for these courses are sent out to provincial party committees throughout the country. They select the best comrades with a definite party record and some knowledge of the Marxist-Leninist theory.

On the whole, the programme is up to the level of secondary education and is drawn up according to the specifics of each contingent of students, the place of their work, and the extent of their training. They study the history of the working class movement and the communist party, its present strategy and tactics, the decisions of the 10th Congress of the PCE, and ways of involving various strata of the population in the revolutionary process. They also study Lenin's norms of party organisation, the fundamentals of political economy, the methodology of scientific research and propaganda. Special classes are held on the problems of existing socialism and international relations, with information about socialist countries and their policies

in the international arena, and an analysis of the struggle against the arms race and the threat of war.

The course ends with a serious examination, and the final exam, in the form of a colloquium, is usually attended by the General Secretary of the PCE CC. Students have an opportunity to evaluate the work of their teachers. This helps to improve the methods of instruction, the programme and study aids, while inducing those who teach at the school to improve their skills. The problem now is to set up a permanent staff of teachers and instructors to take over from the members of the party leadership.

Despite the fact that the studies have to proceed in straitened circumstances and there is a constant shortage of funds, the PCE CC has successfully carried on its line of cadre training. With a goal of graduating 100 persons a year, the National School in 1983 succeeded in turning out 163 graduates, apart from organising special courses for members of the Indian communities living in the East and in the mountainous part of the country.

Perspectives of Our Struggle

The present political situation in Ecuador is marked by a sharp class confrontation, which has been mounting as a result of executive power being taken over by the right-wing Front of National Reconstruction (FRN),⁷ following the presidential elections in the country.

The elections were marked by bitter political struggle. In the first round in January 1984, 9 candidates from 17 parties vied for the top state office. The Communists took part in the elections within the FADI, which had PCE CC General Secretary René Mauge Mosquera as its presidential candidate.

When none of the contenders won an absolute majority in the first round, a second round was held in May, as the electoral law requires. Before it, the main political forces rallied round two centres, the FRN and the Democratic left (ID).⁸ Together with other progressive forces, it was supported by the FADI, which explained that it had called on its supporters to vote for the ID in view of the existing situation, in order to block the ultra-right forces.

Two factors helped the FRN to win the elections: the wild anti-communist campaign, and the inconsistency of social democracy, which ultimately failed to take a clear-cut and unambiguous stand because of its inherent ideological limitations. One should also note that despite the great financial resources and support from international reaction, León Febres Cordero, the FRN leader and candidate, won with a margin of only 3 per cent of the poll.

The pattern of forces in the new National Congress (a one-chamber parliament) also testified to the fragility of the victory of the right-wing alliances, which has only 16 seats. Meanwhile, the reformist parties, together with the left-wing forces, including the FADI,⁹ set up a progressive bloc with an absolute majority: 37 of the 71 seats. Its address to the country says that its parties are united in an independent attitude to the government and an urge to find alternative solutions for the sharp problems facing the majority of Ecuadorans, to protect the constitutional systems and safeguard the people's gains in the juridical, labour and social spheres. Assessment of the role of Ecuador's international policy in the struggle for human rights and the people's self-determination is yet another common view of the coalition parties, which also emphasised their urge to intensify the process of Latin American integration to fortify the capacity of the countries in the region to offer resistance in the face of the crisis, notably the grave problem of external indebtedness.

The FRN's first few months in power were marked by a joint offensive by big capital and the government against the popular masses with the aim of undermining

and liquidating their economic and social gains. Accordingly, the left-wing forces are faced with the imperative need to mobilise the working people for broad action to draw the authorities' attention to their urgent needs, and simultaneously for the fight against the FRN's dictatorial aspirations. The acute need for such a struggle is being ever more clearly realised by the most diverse circles of the Ecuadoran society, as will be seen from the vigorous and militant response by the trade unions, the students, intellectuals and members of other social groups to the FUT's call for the nation-wide strikes staged last October and in January of this year. The progressive popular front headed by the parties within the opposition parliamentary bloc, including the Communists, is also growing. Consequently, the establishment of a powerful movement in the struggle for democracy, for the rights of working and other people, and Ecuador's social emancipation and national liberation is now a realistic possibility.

¹ The PCE is now working within the Broad Front of the Left (FADI), an alliance of progressive democratic parties.—*Ed.*

² For details see L. Veintimilla's article in *WMR* No. 2, 1984.—*Ed.*

³ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, p. 369.

⁴ Constituted on a common platform of struggle by three trade-union centres; the Confederation of Working People of Ecuador, the Ecuadoran Trade Union Centre of Class Organisations, and the Ecuadoran Confederation of Free Trade Unions. The Communists are now working to set up a Unified Working People's Centre on its basis.—*Ed.*

⁵ Sucre—the Ecuadoran currency unit. In 1984, the US dollar was equal to roughly 120 sucre.—*Ed.*

⁶ Neighbourhood or people's committees are set up by the population to defend their rights and interests and improve their living conditions.

⁷ The FRN consists of six parties representing the interests of that section of Ecuadoran capital which is closely allied with foreign, above all US, corporation.

⁸ ID, a political party with a social-democratic orientation.

⁹ In the parliament, the FADI has two deputies, one of them a Communist.—*Ed.*

new experience

Topical Dialogue

Motive Force

During the meeting of the fraternal parties' representatives at which the work of the *WMR* was discussed a meeting was organised in the *WMR* editorial office between Hans Kleven, Chairman of the Communist Party of Norway (CPN), and Erwin Scharf, Political Bureau and Secretariat member of the Communist Party of Austria (CPA) Central Committee. They discussed the role of Communists in their countries' public affairs. Following is an abridged transcript of their talk.

Both began with past and present ways in which numerically small parties can, relying on their skill rather than numbers, play a noticeable role in their nations' public affairs.

Erwin Scharf: To begin with, let us note that history itself refutes the bourgeois and reformist propaganda claims that a revolutionary vanguard of the working class is, politically, of 'no consequence'. Suffice it to recall the part Austria's Communists played in the anti-fascist Resistance movement. The Communist Party, the only Austrian party which, in 1938, opposed the annexation of the country by Nazi Germany, was in the forefront of the national anti-fascist struggle and suffered the greatest losses in it.

It was the Communist Party—specifically, its theoretician Alfred Klar¹—that, shortly before the annexation, scientifically substantiated and proved as natural and logical the existence of the independent Austrian nation.² This was tremendously important in both theoretical and practical terms. It helped to unite people of different philosophies in the anti-fascist struggle under the slogan 'For an Independent Austria, for an Austrian Nation'.

Subsequent historical development, including the restoration of Austrian statehood, which became possible thanks, above all, to the victory of the Soviet Army over Nazi Germany, confirmed these views of the CPA. Today, a sizable majority of our people recognise the existence of the Austrian nation as a self-evident fact. This is how the Communists helped, by their vigorous action, to shape our national self-awareness.

Hans Kleven: But historical precedents are not the only examples.

Erwin Scharf: Of course. Today, too, the Communists are our nation's only force upholding the class struggle and refusing to take part in the much-vaunted policy of 'social partnership'. The existence and activities of a Marxist-Leninist party, albeit small, prevent the ruling quarters from dragging all of the working class into the

quarters from dragging all of the working class into the quagmire of opportunism. The more advanced workers listen to us and, wherever possible, fight resolutely for their interests.

I would like to specially emphasize the great and systematic work the Communists conduct in the peace movement where, working side by side with them is a wide variety of allies, including those influenced by reactionary propaganda. CPA members do much to rally peace champions together; they work to prevent people from following fraudulent concepts disguised by peaceful rhetoric but essentially aimed at disorienting and fragmenting the peace movement. Today we must be even more convincing in our efforts to expose the source of the growing nuclear threat; we must draw on incontrovertible facts in explaining the interconnection between imperialism and war, between socialism and peace.

Nor should one underrate the role the Communists play in promoting left-wing groups of Social Democrats, groups that are represented on the shop floor and are very active in the peace movement. We realise that left Social Democrats—first and foremost the youth organisations of the Socialist Party of Austria (SPA)—lack ideological firmness and are often swayed by the right-wing opportunist leaders of their party. It follows that a major task of the Communist Party is to provide our young Socialist comrades with truthful information, effective political arguments and accurate facts they can draw on in their struggle against the right wing. I am pleased to note that in recent years, the CPA has been cooperating with left Socialists—despite the fact that the official doctrine of the SPA leadership still rules out any joint action with the Communists.

Hans Kleven: In Our country, just like in Austria, there is a vital need for the Communists Party to help in the promotion of the bigger and more powerful movements—the peace and the working class movements. Naturally, Norway's Communists have much in common (in terms of their views, positions and demands) with other democratic forces; however, we have a special role to play in these movements. The struggle for peace offers a typical example.

Here, the CPN faces two main tasks. On the one hand, we cooperate with various groups and currents whose political and ideological views sometimes differ radically from ours; we work to make the peace movement as broad and as open as possible. And these efforts of ours do yield results: peace champions are becoming increasingly convinced that Communists are indispensable—above all, in tackling all sorts of organisational issues.

On the other hand, an anti-imperialist thrust should be important to show who is to blame for the new escalation of the arms race and who launched the two world wars, to firmly refute all attempts to equate socialism and imperialism. People will not develop a correct understanding of the international situation by themselves. Here, the Communists must marshal their valid arguments.

Similar developments are also evident in the trade union movement where the CPN strives to act jointly with Social Democrats and Socialists, for we have many tasks and demands in common with them. But when we raise the question of drawing up an alternative to the economic policy of the government in this or that specific field, it turns out that both Social Democrats and Left Socialists can only propose old reformist prescriptions. It is becoming obvious that the Communists are indispensable in the tackling of this issue because they are the only force within the working class to have developed a clear-cut anti-monopoly strategy and constructive ideas concerning many national problems.

This, incidentally, largely explains the hatred of the revolutionary party of the working class on the part of the monopoly bourgeoisie.

Another question was raised in the course of the talk: how should

Communists in countries with a strong influence of social-reformism respond to the claims advanced by the latter during election campaigns to the effect that voting Communist is 'useless' because it can only 'weaken' the Left as a whole and clear the way to power for the Right.

Hans Kleven: We encounter this sort of 'arguments' all the time during local and especially parliamentary elections. I'm sure that the CPN will again face this problem at the 1985 elections to the Storting. The important thing will be to defeat the Conservatives who lead the current Norwegian government. But, given the actual situation in the country, only the Norwegian Labour Party offers a real alternative to Conservative rule. This leads many people, including CPN supporters, to reason along the following lines: 'In order not to fragment the vote and ensure victory for the democratic forces, we must support the Social Democrats, although our sympathies lie more with the Communists.'

Such erroneous views must be refuted, but that task is far from simple: after all, our party is small, it is not represented in the Storting and has virtually no access to the mass media. Still, advancing their election programmes and delivering their speeches, Communists try to convince voters that there is a need for them to support the Communist Party. 'A CPN vote,' we say, 'is not lost. It is a ballot cast for a policy of peace and detente, of fighting against unemployment, the crisis and inflation. Election of Communists to parliament will mean greater opportunities for the CPN in upholding working people's interests.'

Erwin Scharf: One would be justified to stress that in a bourgeois system which raises numerous political, legal and administrative obstacles to Communist activities and which launched virulent anti-communist campaigns, one cannot judge the party's influence merely by the number of votes or seats in parliament it has won.

Hans Klevean: Exactly. That would be a mistake. I recall Lenin's words that 'the party is the politically conscious, advanced section of the class, it is its vanguard. The strength of that vanguard is ten times, a hundred times, more than a hundred times, greater than its numbers'.³ Not should we lose sight of the fact that socio-political work is much broader than any parliamentary activity and that Communists sympathies are much stronger than is shown by election results. Take a factor we have already mentioned—the role of Communist parties in the trade union and anti-war movements. It confirms that even a numerically small party can be a highly dynamic and effective social force.

Erwin Scharf: In Austria, our opponents' assertion that 'it does not pay to vote Communist' does not hold water at the local level because the CPA has repeatedly won seats in local bodies. In Linz and Graz, major industrial cities, as well as in other industrial centres, the CPA is represented in communal councils where it vigorously defends the interests of working people. The situation is somewhat more complicated as concerns parliamentary elections: at present, we are unable to win seats there. But we do not evade the issue at this level either.

Today, the two main rival parties—the Socialist Party of Austria and the Austrian People's Party (APP)—have moved so close to each other in their ideology and politics that the supposition about the right wing gaining ground in case the Communists run their own candidates appears unconvincing. From the CPA viewpoint, it would be generally preferable for the Socialists to be the stronger parliamentary party and to be in charge of the government. But this is no reason for the Communist Party to give up independent participation in the parliamentary struggle.

Election campaigns make people more responsive to politics, and the Communists must use these periods to explain and publicise their views of Austrian realities, to mobilise an opposition to the traditional parties. In fact, whether the CPA does or

does not win seats, the APP and SPA display a nervous reaction to any advance we achieve. Should the Communists score even a partial success, these parties raise a hue and cry in parliament because they realise that Communist-organised pressure from the left forces them to make concessions to working people.

The partners in the dialogue also deemed it necessary to comment on our ideological opponents' claims that a numerically small communist party is incapable of advancing constructive alternatives for the solution of major national problems.

Erwin Scharf: I hold that only politically dishonest and ill-intentioned people can accuse Communists of social impotence. After all, any open-minded person will see that the Communists Party of Austria—if we take it as an example—has an active position on virtually all political issues currently facing the nation and that it puts forward constructive proposals. On the issue of jobs (which has both domestic and foreign policy aspects) we advocate promotion of optimum economic relations with the socialist countries whose contracts keep 150,000 Austrians on their jobs—and this is by no means the limit. Or take the environmental problem: here, too, we have developed a scientific position of our own which differs not only from government policy but also from the views held by various Greens and alternative action groups. Our position is clear: first and foremost, we are against a hostile attitude to technology as such and against solutions which are a heavy financial burden on working people.

In the struggle to preserve peace the CPA does not merely state that the US policy of the arms race and confrontation is fraught with danger but also steadily upholds the policy of Austria's neutrality. We not only criticise the inconsistent and passive course the government pursues with regard to, say, issues of disarmament and the deployment of new US missiles in Europe but also demonstrate how a vigorous foreign policy oriented on peace and detente could enhance our nation's international prestige. In short, whatever political and economic issue are raised and debated in Austria, the Communists have realistic proposals on every one of them—proposals which are designed to meet the interests of working people and our nation.

Hans Klevan: For my part, let me stress that we do not withdraw into some sort of 'shell'; it is the bourgeois mass media which do all they can to isolate Communists and bar them from everyday socio-political life. A communist party is fully oriented on what is happening outside itself—you Comrade Scharf, have produced specific evidence of that. I don't want to repeat what you have outlined, but the same developments could be traced in Norway too.

How can one dismiss as 'recluses' people who are active in many civic organisations, especially when their work covers a very broad spectrum—not only trade unions and the peace movement but also cooperative, athletic, women's, youth, and other movements. When I visit grass-roots party organisations and meet with workers, salary earners and pensioners. I see the great respect shown to the Communists, who selflessly devote their strength, knowledge and experience to the struggle for the interests of working people. And so there is no reason for charging that we live in the 'small world of our party'.

The real problem is different: the prestige and influence of an individual Communist in a mass organisation is often out of proportion to the prestige of the party as a whole. Another difficulty is that so far, we are too few. So a major problem for the CPN is to properly deploy and organise its forces, energy cadre and time. Whether one should focus on one's party functions or on one's work in civic organisations is a dilemma each Communist encounters. For us, it is especially difficult because our party is small.

Solution to the problem of increasing the CPN's membership and prestige depends

on many factors—including the overall international situation, progress in the struggle for peace, advances of the socialist countries and the effectiveness of their efforts to overcome the difficulties arising in the building of the new society. Obviously, however, it is Norway's Communists themselves who should carry the main weight of the task. We must step up and improve all our work precisely because today, the Communist Party is indispensable and essential as never before.

¹ Alfred Klar, member of the CPA Central Committee and Resistance fighter, was killed by the Nazis.—Ed.

² At that time Austria's ruling quarters regarded the Austrian question as an 'internal affair of the German nation' and Austria itself as 'the second German state'.

³ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 406.

In the Mirror of the Press

Adelante

DESPITE THE DICTATORSHIP'S REPRISALS

The Paraguayan communist newspaper *Adelante* has reported that the Political Commission of the PCP Central Committee held a meeting to discuss the situation in the country and the work of the party. Despite the reprisals unleashed by General Stroessner's fascist dictatorship, the report says, the democratic and revolutionary movement continues to grow. The Political Commission specifically notes the significance of the demonstrations in the streets at which the participants, irrespective of their political affiliation, advanced radical slogans such as 'Down with Stroessner's Dictatorship', 'We Want Food, Jobs and Freedom', and 'Bring Political Exiles Back Home'. In the opinion of the PCP, these demonstrations are a sign that subjective conditions for democratic change are emerging.

In its analysis of the party's work, the Political Commission has hailed the progress achieved, identified the existing flaws and weak points and formulated priority tasks: to strengthen the ranks of the PCP, consolidate its ties with the masses and work unswervingly to rally together all anti-dictatorship forces without exceptions, which will make it possible to topple the regime and open the way to national liberation and social emancipation.

Adelante stresses that despite the fact that it operates deep underground, the party is stepping up its efforts. Many new party cells, regional commissions and branches have been organised, and work is progressing in other fields too. The Communists' growing influence makes it imperative to overcome certain organisational weaknesses, strengthen PCP ties with the masses and allies and its contacts with revolutionary youth, and increase admission to the PCP at big industrial enterprises and in densely populated peasant areas.

The Political Commission of the PCP Central Committee has called on Communists to tirelessly expand the circulation of *Adelante* and keep up the struggle to trace the fate of the 'missing persons' and secure the release of all political prisoners and the return of political exiles. The report emphasises that in order to overthrow the dictatorship and replace it with a democratic government, the party must be prepared for new and even greater battles.

Ettehad

• THE VOICE OF IRAN'S PATRIOTS

It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of every word of truth about the

situation in Iran where the reactionaries have let loose a bloodbath of terror against democratic and patriotic forces and are fomenting anti-communist hysteria. *Ettehad* (Union), the bulletin published by the Liaison Commission of the Workers' Trade Unions of Iran, is one of the few publications offering a broad and objective coverage of the situation in that country. The unions represent oil, steel, construction and textile workers—all those who belong to the now outlawed trade unions connected with the People's Party of Iran (PPI). In a situation when even elementary freedoms have been suppressed, *Ettehad*, which was launched in Paris in 1982 and which appears several times a year, helps to consolidate the democratic and patriotic forces inside Iran and those living and fighting in exile.

The bulletin notes a rise in the trend towards a rapprochement between Iran's ruling quarters and capitalist countries, the infiltration of the country by transnational corporations and the strengthening of Teheran's ties with pro-imperialist regimes in the region. Many features are devoted to an analysis of the causes underlying the nation's economic slump, the erosion of its fundamental cultural values and the deterioration of the education system and family relations. Virtually every issue touches on the pernicious social effects of the Iran-Iraq war.

The bulletin focuses its attention on violations of human rights in Iran, on the torture and executions of patriots. Now that thousands of fighters for democracy are in deadly peril and the authorities continue to flaunt alleged confessions wrested out of people by sadistic torture and narcotic drugs which suppress one's will and consciousness, exposure of the crimes the butchers commit every hour in Iranian prisons acquires special importance. A recent issue carries a report about the terrible Block 280 where PPI members were confined: 'Block 280 is soaked in blood. Groans can be heard everywhere. The prisoners are no longer able to walk.' *Ettehad* cites examples of fortitude displayed by patriots whom the jailers failed to break by inhuman torture.

Ettehad not only provides its readers with information received directly from Iran but also reprints articles and documents from other publications of the Iranian opposition and from the progressive international press. Also published are messages of protest against the reign of terror from various democratic organisations in many countries. In this way *Ettehad* reassures Iran's patriots that they are not alone in their struggle.

At Readers' Request

COMMUNISTS IN LIMA'S POORER DISTRICTS

We know that the so-called marginal strata feature prominently in the social structure of Latin American countries. Their social position is apparently similar to those of the inhabitants of shantytowns in big African cities. I would be grateful to your journal if it could highlight the distinct approach of communist parties to work among these strata.

Abasse Samb (Dakar, Senegal)

In response to this request we offer an article by Cesar Alva, member of the Political Commission of the Peruvian Communist Party (PCP) Central

Committee, about the work of the Communists in the poverty-stricken neighbourhoods of the Peruvian capital.

The population of the marginal districts located in Lima's northern part alone is about 1,500,000.¹ That is a large community which began to take shape back in the 1950s, as a result of the migration of peasants who came, and are still coming, to the capital in the hope of finding better living and working conditions.

These settlements, which come into being without any plan or purpose and which cover whole city blocks, are located in Lima's poorer areas. Foremost among the host of problems plaguing their inhabitants is the problem of jobs. Equally acute are questions of housing, medical care, education, transport and recreation. The reason is that the government has no programme of housing, medical or cultural development for the marginal areas, nor does it anything to build schools, gyms or daycare centres. What little is being done is in response to the insistent demands from the people living there.

Working in the marginal areas is no easy task. The foremost obstacle is the extreme heterogeneity of political and cultural consciousness among the inhabitants. They are mostly former peasants. When they come to Lima—with their own highlanders' customs, traditions, dialects and habits—they feel like creatures from another planet. Contact with the city which is strange and alien to them is often a very painful experience, and the adaption is very difficult.

At the same time, they want to solve all their problems here and now. For this reason, at first they are ready to talk only about their own concerns and avoid any discussion of politics or anything that happens in the nation. But, as they find jobs—at factories or in the sphere of commerce, usually as hawkers—their mood begins to change. Rapid proletarianisation sets in, although, of course, the psychological burden of the past weighs heavily on the consciousness of former villagers and highlanders for a long time. This past is one of the reasons why PCP membership in the marginal districts does not grow fast enough. Another factor is that, naturally, our activists can engage in party work only in their spare time, after working hours or when they are not busy taking part in public affairs.

However, in recent years more favourable conditions have developed for communist activities both in organisational and in political terms. The emergent turn for the better was brought about by the 1983 victory of the United Left coalition at the local elections; this gave it control over seven of Lima's eight northern districts.²

United Left participation in local administration helps to promote the degree of organisation among the inhabitants of the marginal districts and the understanding of how their needs can be met. For example, in 1984 we prepared and organised a giant procession which began in the northern area and marched through the entire city to demand solution to the problems of water supply and sewerage. Or take another example. In the San Juan de Lurigancho district we succeeded in having the district council compile a cadastre and advocate recognition of the people's legal rights to the territory they live on.

And now about the main aspects and methods of the party's work among the inhabitants of the marginal districts. First and foremost, we strive to organise the slum dwellers, irrespective of their politics, into tenants' or neighbourhood associations which would be able to work effectively for the solution of the pressing problems facing the more disadvantaged strata of Peru's society. A major item on the agenda is to merge all the associations that have been set up into a single structure similar to the National Confederation of New Communities which is already in existence.

The orientation on promoting the unity and upholding the interests of the marginal strata through unitarian associations has enabled Communists to play a prominent part in the bodies these people elect and strengthened PCP influence in the northern

districts of the capital, above all among workers and young people. For example, while in January 1984 there were seven Communist Party cells in the San Martin de Porres district, in April the figure was 15.

The main forms of PCP members' work in the associations we control are lectures, film shows and talks in which we explain the meaning of socio-political events and the opportunities open to the settlers in solving the problems they encounter. For example, the Communists work to secure from the municipal authorities recognition of the settlers' legal rights to the land they live on. When the inhabitants of a marginal area organise an association, they receive title to 120 to 160 square metres per family. But that is only the beginning. Then comes the need to build housing, install water supply and sewerage systems, bring electric power to the area. And so, to help them get the right bearings, Communists invite engineers, sociologists, medical and other experts to talk to the people.

We attach special attention to work among women. We explain their social and family rights to them and discuss questions of child care. All this helps women in the slum areas to better grasp their social position; it also promotes their participation in the associations' social activities.

The Eighth Extraordinary Congress of the PCP held in 1982, which laid down a clear-cut party course in the mass popular movement, did much to promote Communist activity among the marginal strata. Before the congress, some Communists treated work in non-proletarian areas somewhat disdainfully. Now the situation has changed. Today, each Communist is a vigorous activist of mass organisations, a firm champion of the settlers' interests in the front ranks of the struggle to meet the needs and demands of those living in Lima's poorer areas.

¹ Lima's total population is five million people, half of them living in marginal districts.

² In 1983 the United Left coalition assumed control of the Greater Lima council and of most of the metropolitan districts.

In Brief

ARGENTINA

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina has called on all patriotic and anti-imperialist forces of the nation and proposed that they unite in a Front of National Liberation and Social Emancipation in order to defend and promote democracy.

CANADA

A plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Canada has ruled that the 24th regular congress of the CPC will be convened from April 5 to 8, 1985.

CUBA

A plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba has decided that the Third Congress of the CPC will be convened in December 1985.

FRANCE

Thousands of people took part in a rally to honour the heroes of the Resistance held in the Père-Lachaise cemetery. Attending were FCP leaders, members of parliament, representatives of veterans' and 'Resistance fighters' associations and former prisoners of Nazi death camps. Participants in the rally protested resolutely against the unprecedented right-wing campaign of slander to desecrate the Resistance and its fighters.

HUNGARY

The Kossuth political publishing house is celebrating its fortieth anniversary. Its record features the publication of 205 million copies of 8,800 titles, including the 55-volume edition of Lenin's *Complete Works*. To commemorate the 40th anniversary of Hungary's liberation from fascism, Kossuth is preparing a series of monographs highlighting the building of socialism in Hungary.

ITALY

L'Unità held its winter festival in Bormio and Ostia. Prominent political, public, academic and cultural figures took part. At the meetings and discussions held to pay tribute to the ICP newspaper particular attention was focused on the struggle for peace and disarmament and efforts to solve Italy's acute socio-economic problems.

USSR

An all-Union conference on theoretical and practical aspects of 'Perfecting Developed Socialism and the Party's Ideological Work in the Light of the Decisions of the June 1983 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee' was held in Moscow to discuss ways of improving the efficiency of the various forms of communist education of working people.

URUGUAY

Uruguay's President-Elect Julio María Sanguinetti received Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Uruguay Central Committee. During the discussion, the prospects of the nation's political development and legalisation of the CPSU were discussed.

YUGOSLAVIA

The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia has decided to convene the 13th Congress of the LCY in mid-1986.

JAPAN

Tetsuzo Fuwa, Chairman of the Presidium of the JCP Central Committee, has announced the Japanese Communist Party decision to conduct, in the summer of 1985, an international conference of communist parties on issues involved in the prohibition of nuclear weapons. Invitations to attend the conference will be issued to the communist parties of several capitalist and socialist European countries. Tetsuzo Fuwa has also reported that the 17th regular congress of the JCP will be convened in the autumn of 1985.

exchange of views, discussion

Safeguard Peace in Asia and the Pacific

Peace is indivisible and this is now more evident than ever. Universal security depends on the state of regional security, and gains of the world-wide movement against nuclear death hinge on the intensity of anti-war actions in this or that area of the globe. This applies above all to Asia, the largest and most populous continent, and the Pacific. The destiny of peace and security in this region was the theme of a round-table discussion by fraternal party representatives and scholars of 15 Asian and Pacific countries sponsored by *WMR*.

The following account is a first instalment of abridged records of the discussion.

Needed: Sustained Effort and Goodwill

Tserenpiliyn Balhajav – CC Secretary,
Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party

THE situation in Asia, which takes up one-third of the land area of the globe and whose two-odd score of countries are the home of more than half the population of the world, is becoming more and more disquieting. The first continent to experience the horrors of a nuclear attack, Asia is being turned next to Europe into an area of military-political confrontation. A new nuclear missile bridgehead is being set up here against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and peace-loving states. The situation in virtually all Asian sub-regions is unstable, with tensions and conflicts spreading wider and new ones arising. Militarist and revanchist trends make themselves felt again. Efforts to form military political alignments, such as the Washington-Tokyo-Seoul triangle, are being stepped up.

Everyone knows that those behind the dangerous growth of tensions in Asia and the world are the most aggressive imperialist forces, primarily in the USA, and their accomplices in the region. Current US policy—the unprecedented buildup of the US military presence, the escalation of the arms race, the concentration of interventionist forces in various parts of Asia or close to it, the establishment of new

military bases there and the modernisation of existing ones, increasingly aggressive intrigues against countries ruled by progressive governments and outright provocation of armed conflicts between states—poses a most serious threat to international peace and security.

What gives special cause for concern is the steps taken by the USA to deploy first-strike nuclear weapons in Asia and the Pacific. The US forces stationed in the western Pacific and South Korea already have a more than impressive nuclear potential. Last year the USA began to equip its warships based in Japanese ports with Tomahawk cruise missiles capable of carrying nuclear warheads. Besides, it is preparing to site up-to-date medium-range missiles in Japan, South Korea and some Southeast Asian countries.

In these circumstances it is more imperative than ever for every state and all who treasure international peace to approach the destiny of peace with a proper sense of responsibility and search perseveringly for ways to promote stability and security in various parts of the planet.

The fraternal socialist countries come out for measures to stop the disturbing trend of development in Asia, promote peace on the continent, contribute to good-neighbourly relations and cooperation and settle disputes by peaceful means. This is the purpose of the Soviet proposals for the adoption of confidence-building measures in the Far East and the demilitarisation of the Pacific and Indian oceans. Concern for peace and stability has prompted the DPRK to take initiatives aimed at safeguarding security and achieving a peaceful settlement on the Korean Peninsula conditional on the withdrawal of US troops. This is also true of the constructive programme for normalising relations between Southeast Asian states put forward by the socialist countries of Indochina.

The initiatives and activities of fraternal countries include a proposal by the Mongolian People's Republic for Asian and Pacific countries to sign a convention on mutual non-aggression and non-use of force. The proposal was welcomed by peace-loving countries and democratic world opinion. They saw it as an important step taking account of present-day Asian realities and suggested by the experience of collective action for peace. The Declaration on the Right of Nations to Peace approved by the 39th Session of the UN General Assembly on Mongolian initiative was a further indication of the desire of our country to contribute to the struggle for the security, national independence and social progress of nations.

The position of Mongolia and the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party on current international problems, including those of Asia, has been stated explicitly by Jambyn Batmunkh, General Secretary, MPRP CC, Chairman, Council of Ministers of the MPR. During his working visit to the Soviet Union and Mongolian-Soviet talks, the two sides confirmed the complete unity of their parties and countries on these issues.

To be sure, it will take time, sustained effort and goodwill to realise the constructive proposals advanced with a view to promoting peace in Asia. It is not enough to show concern about the dangerous situation that is shaping up; there is a need for vigorous action, for steps to unite large groups of peace supporters and channel their efforts in the right direction.

The peace forces in Asia and the rest of the globe would certainly gain stronger positions were the People's Republic of China to join in the struggle to stave off war. Regrettably, the leaders of that country refuse to take a common stand with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries; instead, they continue seeking closer ties with Washington, which would like to harness China to the implementation of its anti-Soviet militarist strategy.

We attach exceptional importance to the need to intensify the anti-war movement in Asia, where it has yet to attain proper dimensions, organisations and effectiveness,

and have been making considerable efforts to this end by coordinating our activity with that of fraternal socialist countries. In recent years Mongolia has played host to a series of meetings at which spokesmen of the Foreign Ministries of socialist countries and the CC International Departments of communist and workers' parties of these countries exchanged views on current problems of promoting peace, stability, good-neighbourliness and cooperation on our continent. Last August Ulan Bator was the venue of a conference of youth organisations of Asian countries under the slogan 'For peace, security and cooperation in Asia'; the conference was also attended by representatives of the World Federation of Democratic Youth. The Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace, with headquarters in Ulan Bator, is engaged in diverse anti-war activities among Buddhists.

This year the Mongolian people, like all progressive and peace-loving forces, will mark the 40th anniversary of the defeat of Hitler fascism and Japanese militarism. In preparing for and celebrating the event, a special effort will be made to publicise the historic significance and lessons of the great victory and to step up coordinated action against the imperialist policy of aggression. The coming anniversary will be both an important stage in the consolidation of world socialism and the forces of peace, freedom and social progress and a stern warning to warmongers and aggressors.

Our party and people will go on doing all in their power to help extend and reinforce the front for peace and against the intensifying militarist plots of imperialism and reaction in Asia.

Growing Anti-War Action

Peter Symon – CC General Secretary,
Socialist Party of Australia

A mass peace movement has developed in Australia in the last two years. This is indicated by the demonstrations by over a quarter of a million people in April 1984, by frequent smaller demonstrations against US bases and the visits of US warships. Women demonstrated against the Pine Gap Communication Centre in the heart of Australia. There is the formation of new peace organisations in addition to the main and longer-established bodies. There are doctors against nuclear war, artists, nurses, teachers, building workers and other trade unionists for peace, many locality peace forums and committees. The formation of the Nuclear Disarmament Party just before the recent elections, which put foreign policy issues before the public in an election as never before, is also an indication of this development.

We must add to the peace activities, the solidarity activities by various organisations. There was a good response in Australia against the imperialist invasion of Grenada, there are frequent meetings and actions in solidarity with Nicaragua, El Salvador, Lebanon, South Africa, Vietnam and the other Indochina states.

The main issues taken up by the peace forces are opposition to nuclear war, the demand for peace, which are reflected in the various specific slogans: 'Remove US bases from our territory', 'Ban the visits of US naval vessels and B-52 bombers', 'For an independent foreign policy and against the American alliance'. These issues link the peace struggles with the question of the national independence and sovereignty of our country.

There is a linking of the struggle for peace and the economic issues, with the slogans 'Peace and jobs', 'Work not bombs' being widely displayed. There is a need for more to be done in this respect. Broad social forces are involved in these actions; there are many young people taking part, although it must be said that the organised working class is not yet involved to its full extent.

Our party considers that the ideological struggle has to be waged constantly in the peace movement as elsewhere. We have to combat the 'two superpowers' theory, the anti-Sovietism indicated by some. There is an attempt to separate the struggle for peace and social change and to exclude the party from the peace movement. This attempt must be defeated.

The ruling class wages a constant campaign in the name of 'peace and security' and against the alleged 'aggressiveness' of the Soviet Union to justify the United States alliance, the presence of US bases and the various foreign policy actions of imperialism. We must resist this campaign.

The position of the Australian government swings on the need for an acceptance of the United States alliance, the presence of the US bases, and visits of US warships. In effect, the two major parties in our country adopt a bipartisan foreign policy. It was the Labour Party leader, Bob Hawke, who coined the phrase 'together for ever' with the USA and who makes no secret of his support for Reaganism.

The ruling class lends its support for the RIMPAC concepts, that is, a greater Pacific alliance of the United States, Japan, South Korea, the ASEAN countries,¹ Australia and New Zealand. However, we should not in this overlook the conflict of interests between imperialist Japan and imperialist USA as a stumbling block to the fulfilment of this concept, to some extent at least. Japan is Australia's main trading partner, but the United States is Australia's principal political ally.

Australia is actively involved in the China games and has put pressure on the New Zealand government over its decision to ban the visits of US warships using nuclear power or carrying nuclear weapons. New Zealand's action has called into question the ANZUS alliance,² but we should not reach any hasty conclusion that it will collapse; it would need many more additional blows for that to happen.

Looking in another direction, we see Australians participating in the military force in the Sinai Desert, having responded to the pressure of the United States to take part in this attempt to bolster up the Camp David accord in that area. Although the Labour Party in opposition was against the participation of Australian military forces in the Sinai contingent, it reversed its position on coming to power and supported that contingent remaining there, at least for the time being.

Within the context of firm support for the US alliance, the government nonetheless displays a certain amount of flexibility on some questions. For example, it restored the exchange relations between Australia and the Soviet Union. It is in favour of developing relations with Vietnam. As a result, there was an exchange of visits by the Australian and Vietnamese Foreign Ministers. This initiative, which helped to ease the situation in Southeast Asia between the three Indochina states and ASEAN, was strongly criticised by the US Secretary of State, George Shultz. The government has also adopted a quite strong anti-apartheid position and facilitated the opening of information offices in Australia by the African National Congress and by SWAPO. However, these indications of flexibility have not saved the Labour Party from considerable criticism within its own ranks by those who see that the Labour government has not carried out its own adopted policies on many foreign policy questions.

If we are to look at the region as a whole, we have to agree that imperialism holds some strong positions at present. They include the omnipresence of US military, economic and political power, the strength and influence of Japanese imperialism in the area, the negative influence of China, whose policies objectively help imperialism

to pursue its expansionist aims, the pro-imperialist position of Australia and some other countries, with Australia acting as an anchorage of imperialism in the southern part of this region. The rapid and considerable capitalist economic growth of some Asian nations is also a plus for imperialism.

Opposed to the imperialist threat are the political, economic, diplomatic and military strength of the Soviet Union; the three socialist states of Indochina whose strength, influence and prestige will certainly grow; the contributions which the Mongolian People's Republic, Democratic People's Republic of Korea and Democratic Republic of Afghanistan make to the anti-war effort; the position of non-aligned India, and finally, the progressive social and anti-imperialist movements in many countries, the high spots of which at the moment appear to be the struggle in the Philippines and in New Caledonia. We should be aware of the anti-imperialist struggles stirring in Oceania, struggles which have already returned a progressive anti-imperialist government in Vanuatu. The main issues raised by these struggles are to throw off imperialist exploitation and oppose the use of the region for military bases, nuclear weapon testing there and the dumping of nuclear waste in the vicinity of these territories.

In summing up the common aims of our parties, I think we can list, firstly, the development of the mass peace movement everywhere; secondly, support for the anti-imperialist movements in all those countries where the national liberation movements are to be found; and thirdly, support for the class struggles by all the people fighting for social change and against exploitation.

The calendar of 1985 is rich in events with which we might all be concerned. An Asian trade union conference to discuss problems of promoting peace and economic cooperation on the continent is to be held in Delhi in collaboration with the WFTU. The 40th anniversary of the defeat of Nazism and Japanese militarism is a matter for celebration and commemoration by the whole world. The 12th World Festival of Youth and Students in Moscow is an important opportunity to rally the young people of the world for peace and against imperialism. There are no doubt many other specific events. I believe that the more we can plan and coordinate our work in this field, the better for our common cause.

¹ Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Philippines and Brunei.

² It comprises the USA, Australia and New Zealand.

Off with the Burden of the Arms Race

Raj Bahadur Gour – Central Executive
Committee member, Communist Party of India

THE countries of Asia and the Pacific—socialist, socialist-oriented or frankly capitalist—all face a serious threat to their stability, unity and sovereignty, not to speak of serious obstructions to their economic progress. Of course, this is due to the overt and covert conspiracies of US imperialism and its allies. Washington is pursuing a policy of state terrorism directed towards destabilising the independent countries of the region following a policy of non-alignment and peace. It has pressed into service all the three arms in its armoury—political (meaning subversive), military (intended

to blackmail countries into submission to its diktat) and economic (pressure to drain out our resources to feed its economy geared to war and destruction).

US arms aid and military presence are invariably coupled with the existence of oppressive regimes in the countries concerned, denial of democracy and stagnation, if not deterioration, of their economy. This underlines the fact that the three battles—against US military presence, for the restoration, extension and deepening of democracy and a socialist-oriented path of crisis-free, uninterrupted economic development—are inseparably linked. This makes the policy of maintaining friendly relations with neighbours and with the USSR, Vietnam and other countries of existing socialism a basic slogan.

The arms race imposed by imperialism is a heavy burden on developing countries, whose share of world military expenditure amounted to 4.5 per cent in 1960. And in 1981, according to UNCTAD data, it was already 19 per cent.

The bulk of military deliveries to new states comes from NATO countries, particularly the USA. During 1977-1980, the United States accounted for 43.3 per cent of the world export of arms, France for 10.8 per cent, Italy 4 per cent and Britain 3.7 per cent. In 1982 the USA signed arms supply contracts amounting to 19.5 billion dollars. It is well known that these arms go to regimes which are oppressive at home and aggressive abroad. South Africa, Israel, Somalia and Pakistan are all outstanding examples.

As much as 70 per cent of US arms in the past few years has gone to the Middle East. Along with Israel, the main purchasers include Saudi Arabia, which spends 2,000 to 2,500 dollars per capita for military purposes, or more than any other country (world per capita spending on arms in 1980 averaged 110 dollars).

Arm expenditure by Third World countries is terrible when looked at against the background of their poverty, illiteracy and poor health services. In 1980 it exceeded 2.7 times the official aid received from the 24 capitalist countries which constitute the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).

Out of 96 developing countries, 53 allocate from 10 to 74 per cent of their national budget for military spending. One estimate shows that the military expenditure of developing countries was about 100 billion dollars in 1982, growing at a rate twice as high as their collective gross domestic product (GDP). Arms purchase by developing countries aggravates their balance of payments deficits. In 1978 half their deficit was due to arms purchase. Recent estimates by the World Bank show that the balance of payments deficit of developing countries will exceed 276 billion dollars in 1995. A deadly debt-trap created by US imperialism has enmeshed developing countries. Non-oil producing countries have run into an external debt averaging 34.7 per cent of GDP. The World Bank has warned that the foreign debt of developing countries may reach two trillion dollars by 1995. Due to this burden, the average growth rate of developing countries has fallen from 5.3 per cent in 1976-78 to two per cent in 1982 and less than one per cent in 1983.

Along with this we see the USA and its allies carrying on subversion against our countries in other spheres. The CIA is working overtime to multiply links with anti-national and anti-social elements in our countries, to organise political subversion and bring into being pliable governments subservient to the imperialists and fitting into their global strategy of war and world domination. On the South Asian subcontinent we see such conspiracies both around and within our country. The ghastly murder of our Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, was a result of collaboration between separatist extremists of one community in the State of Punjab and undoubtedly the CIA. That they could penetrate into the very personal guard of the Prime Minister speaks volumes about the degree of their efficiency and the weaknesses of our system.

In the economic field the transnationals are draining out our resources by refusing

to purchase our goods, particularly manufactured articles, or by paying less for what they purchase. To cite one example, Japan, which purchased our iron ore at Rs. 83 per ton in 1983, bought it at Rs. 48 per ton last year. The imperialists couple 'import liberalisation' with what they euphemistically call 'export promotion'. They also use the unseen mechanism of raising interest rate and manipulating dollar value. Only a 0.5 per cent increase in interest rate adds several billion dollars to the developing countries' aggregate debt.

As a result, the peace and security of our countries are in danger and our economies are virtually stagnating. There are hope and confidence only where, as in India, there are growing economic relations with socialist countries, in particular the USSR, and treaties on concerted action to preserve peace in the region.

Our party has in these conditions been championing a policy on the following lines: steadfast friendship with the Soviet Union, Vietnam and other countries of the socialist community; vigorous action for peace and against war, against the arming of the Zia regime in Pakistan, for declaring the Indian Ocean an area of peace, for vacating Diego Garcia and returning it to its rightful owner, Mauritius, for strengthening the non-aligned movement and its unity of action with the socialist countries in preserving peace and striving for a new international economic, monetary and information order; friendship and mutually beneficial relations with neighbours; rapid economic development based on a total takeover of transnational concerns and of essential consumer industries owned by national monopoly houses; speedy relief to our vast population suffering from unemployment and high prices. Our party is striving to skilfully combine the struggle for world peace, against the policy of the USA and its allies and for a new international and monetary order with urgently needed structural changes in the Indian economy that would afford relief to the people and launch our country on a path leading ultimately to socialism.

India's trade unions and the All-India Trade Union Congress (a proud founding affiliate of the World Federation of Trade Unions) have done much along with friendly organisations in other Asian countries and the WFTU for convening an Asian trade union conference to promote peace and economic cooperation among the countries of this continent. This will certainly be a major step in the desired direction. It will mark the beginning of internationalist united action of the working class of Asian countries for peace and security in the region and for social progress.

Prerequisites for Stronger Popular Action

Jose Lava – CC Political Bureau member,
Communist Party of the Philippines

ASIA is looming large in US strategic calculations. It is the focus of many contemporary contradictions which are becoming more acute. Already, the US trans-Pacific trade has exceeded its trans-Atlantic trade by 30 billion dollars. The persisting poverty and backwardness in most countries of the continent, and the legacy of religious, ethnic and border conflicts which imperialism has aggravated, continue to provide explosive material which Washington seeks to exploit in the service of its aggressive aims.

Next to Europe, the biggest US armed force outside the territory of the USA is now deployed in Asia and the Pacific and Indian Oceans around it. US military bases have been set up and are being expanded and modernised in Japan, the Philippines, Micronesia, the Indian Ocean, and extend to the eastern coast of Africa.

The USA is very active in reviving old military alliances and creating new ones in the region, trying to link them to the aggressive NATO bloc and to form a stretched area of military confrontation going through the Mediterranean Sea, the Middle East, stretching through eastern Africa, the Diego Garcia island, Southeast Asia and Micronesia, to the strategic US-Japan-South Korea military triangle, which is now being hatched. Through promises of help in the realisation of ambitious 'modernisation' programmes, the US is drawing China into military collaboration with this military axis, directed against the Soviet Union from the East, just as the NATO military bloc is directed from the West against the Warsaw Treaty countries. The US is attempting to involve the member countries of the ASEAN in the existing military political blocs, ANZUS and ANZUK.¹ Attempts are also being made to isolate the socialist outpost in Southeast Asia—the states of Indochina—to destabilise them and, if possible, even to liquidate socialism in these countries.

Even while persistently impeding the creation of nuclear-free zones in various regions of Asia, as well as the declaration of the Indian Ocean a zone of peace, the USA has deployed nuclear weapons in some of the Asian countries allied to it and continues to equip bases located in these countries with up-to-date nuclear missile systems. It could, therefore, be concluded that, in addition to Europe, Asia is becoming a generator for the spark which can trigger a nuclear world war.

From the foregoing presentation, it is obvious that the militarist policy and strategy of the USA are fraught with grave dangers to Asian countries. This provides the objective basis for the cooperation of all Asian countries and their peoples in the struggle against all forms of military threat (nuclear and conventional) coming from imperialism.

However, a realistic assessment of the situation compels the recognition that in most Asian countries there are yet no mass anti-war movements which could offer a barrier to the US military activities in the area. The reasons for the weakness of the peace forces differ from country to country. Among them are, first, the repressive character of most of the ruling regimes and their fear of the masses, which drives them to nip in the bud any independent mass movement; second, the preoccupation with the daily struggle for survival of the majority of the people, who exist on the poverty line and feel they have nothing to lose but may gain something by a disturbance of the status quo arising from war; third, the feeling of helplessness and futility among the people and even the leadership in some countries, arising from the view that they cannot influence the decisions of mighty 'superpowers'; fourth, the idea persisting in some quarters that if a nuclear war breaks out, it will involve only the Soviet Union and the USA while Asia, particularly its outlying areas, will not be affected; fifth, the existence of many religious, communal, ethnic, territorial and other conflicts, which are a priority public concern in many Asian countries; sixth, the ignorance and lack of information among the people, particularly on international problems, due to imperialist domination of the mass media; and lastly, the confusion created by the Peking leadership's policy.

As a consequence, in many Asian countries, incorrect opinions prevail, arising from the concept of 'equidistance' and from the idea of the 'equal responsibility' of socialism and imperialism for the military tension, the arms race and the danger of war. Very often, the ruling circles and the mass media place all, or at least the main responsibility, for this state of affairs on the Soviet Union.

It is unrealistic to hope that such causes of the weakness of the anti-war movement can be overcome in a short time. However, it is necessary for us Communists to work

in this direction more actively, in a creative way, taking into account the urgency of the problem, the difficulties and possibilities, as well as the experience accumulated in other countries and regions. The important thing is to persevere in awakening diverse social sectors and the people generally to the truth about the danger of a planned or accidental war, the disastrous consequences which it is bound to have in this epoch of weapons of mass destruction, the colossal funds spent on the arms race being escalated by the USA and its ruinous impact on Asian economics. In doing this, more emphasis should be given to the responsibility of imperialism and its leading power, the United States, and its military-industrial complex for stepping up international tensions and starting wars of aggression. We must voice more strongly the demand to stop the siting of new US missiles in Western Europe and withdraw those already deployed, to provide the climate for constructive negotiations on the freezing, limitation and reduction of strategic and tactical nuclear weapons and to prevent the militarisation of outer space. The concrete initiatives and proposals for peace from the socialist countries and from the non-aligned movement should be publicised more vigorously. The history of the arms race since the end of the Second World War should also be recalled to show that it is the USA which has consistently sought to achieve military superiority, including superiority in nuclear weapons, and to maintain it. It will also be important to recall the suffering and losses of Asian countries and peoples resulting from Japanese aggression and occupation during the Second World War. Nor should we allow the US inhuman aggression against heroic Vietnam to be forgotten.

This brings us to a brief exposition of the state of the anti-war, anti-bases peace movement in the Philippines in which our party is very active. The movement has assumed a significant scope in our country, where there are two major US bases (air and naval) used by US aircraft and warships carrying nuclear weapons. Our party, since its early beginnings in the 1930s, has been consistently struggling against US bases in the Philippines, as part of our struggle for national liberation from US imperialism. It was in conditions of growing international tension and the increasing arms race that our party began to link the struggle against the bases to the struggle for peace and development. And after the USA, under Reagan, adopted its extremely dangerous global foreign policy of nuclear brinkmanship and blackmail, which alarms even anti-communist and pro-imperialist elements, our party advanced the anti-war, anti-bases struggle to the highest priority.

In the autumn of 1982, leading elements of progressive trade unions, the agricultural workers' association and mass movements of women, youth and students together with prominent Catholic priests organised the Anti-Bases Coalition (ABC), the principal aims of which are the dismantlement of US bases and the prohibition of entry or storage in, and the trans-shipment of nuclear weapons through, such bases. In July, 1983, the Philippine Peace and Solidarity Council (PPSC) was formed, with the participation of our party, as a result of collaboration among a number of mass movements with anti-war aims. The PPSC has already held a national conference to make Asia a nuclear-free zone (it was attended by delegates from the World Peace Council, Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation, UN Information Centre of the Philippines and delegations from several foreign countries) and an international conference on peace and security in East Asia and the Pacific. In the autumn of 1983, a conference of scholars of a number of Asian countries was held in the Philippines, which set up a Committee of Asian Scholars for Peace.

Mass movements working with the PPSC and the ABC are learning to link more effectively the interests of their constituencies with the struggle for peace and progress, the dismantlement of US bases, the prohibition of nuclear weapons there, an end to the nuclear arms race, etc. By adopting this approach, we find that we are succeeding in broadening and strengthening the anti-imperialist, patriotic front for

national liberation, as well as the anti-war movement.

The Communists' responsibility for the further strengthening of the anti-war movement is growing. The prevailing situation underscores the need to take into consideration the following:

The anti-war movement in general and in Asia in particular can offer adequate barriers to US aggressive activities in our region only if it is a mass movement. Not a single political party, social class or ideological current is able to achieve success in safeguarding peace and averting nuclear war single-handed. Only a peace movement of the overwhelming majority of the people is equal to the task. Hence, the chief reserve of the further expansion and qualitative consolidation of the peace movement is the involvement of the working class and other working people in anti-war activities. The road to the successful development of the struggle for peace is coordinating, if not combining anti-war, working class and national liberation movements.

The strength of the broad and diversified peace movement depends on its ability to act in cohesion. The present-day anti-war movement is marked by great diversity. Therefore, it is imperative, despite existing differences, to find common viewpoints and strengthen cooperation and unity of action of all currents of the anti-war movement.

The effectiveness of the anti-war movement is maximised when problems of war and peace are posed in specific rather than general terms, when the source and cause of the nuclear war threat—US imperialism and its aggressive foreign policy—are pointed out and the main blow directed against them. The anti-war movement is called upon to advance timely and meaningful slogans which are clearly understood by the broad masses and capable of mobilising them to the utmost in the struggle for peace, and hence against imperialism and its aggressive policy as a whole.

¹ Bloc composed of Australia, New Zealand, United Kingdom, Malaysia and Singapore.

Promoting Christian-Marxist Dialogue

Michael Kelly – Communist Party of Ireland

THE time is now long past when it made sense to ask whether or not Marxists and Christians could or should work together. The fact is that they do work together and have been doing so for many years, certainly in most European countries, and quite dramatically in Latin America.

This cooperation has grown up in Ireland, not because the Christian Churches have a special affection for us, or we for them, but because it was a social and political necessity, determined by the concrete conditions in which we have to work. We are stuck with them, and they with us, like it or not. As Marxists we have to be able to understand what present-day Christianity in Ireland is, why we are compelled to work with Christians, and what the limits are to our relationship with them.

A Marxist understanding of Christianity demands a dialectical approach, to uncover, as Lenin said, contradictions in the essence of all things,¹ for Christianity is a

profoundly contradictory phenomenon. Approaching it on the level of practical social reality, Christianity is a set of institutions, organisations and practices which are part of the social formation they exist in. They reflect the contradictions and conflicts in that society.

Problems of Christianity are posed to Irish Marxists in a particularly acute form because of the predominant influence of the Christian Churches in our country. In the South, the Irish Republic, Catholics make up some 97 per cent of the population. In the North, still a British colony, the identity of each side of the divided community is expressed primarily through membership of either the Catholic Church or one of the Protestant Churches.

The reasons for this can be traced to British colonial policy. In the eighteenth century it tried to suppress the Catholicism of the Irish peasantry with the notorious Penal Laws, while bolstering the Protestantism of the landlords and small settlers. Subsequently British imperialism has used religious differences to frustrate the movement towards national unity and independence: the old tactic of divide and rule. The partition arrangement imposed over sixty years ago established a Catholic regime in the South and a Protestant regime in the North, each feeding off the other's religious sectarianism and discrimination.

Today in both parts of the country, the churches are full to bursting on Sundays. The clergy play a leading role in forming moral and social attitudes, and wield vast political influence.

Because of their enormous power, the Churches have traditionally shown no desire for dialogue, either between themselves or with non-Christians. Not surprisingly, their leaders have always treated Marxism, communism, or indeed any form of socialism, with virulent hostility. The inauguration of dialogue between Marxists and Christians has therefore never been with the Churches as institutions, but with individual Christians, religious or lay.

In one sense, dialogue of this kind is not new. Any socialist or progressive movement in Ireland has been obliged to find some kind of accommodation with Christianity, if only because the bulk of its members, and often its leaders, were themselves believers. The great founders of the Irish communist movement, Jim Larkin and James Connolly, carefully avoided attacking Christian belief as such, as distinct from its organisational institutions or reactionary spokesmen in the pulpits. They shared Lenin's view that 'unity . . . of the oppressed class for the creation of a paradise on earth is more important to us than unity of proletarian opinion on paradise in heaven'.²

But in another sense, there is something new in the dialogue. The phenomenon of progressive Christians seeking to work and discuss with Communists, and even to adopt some of the categories and analyses of Marxism themselves, that is new. Unlike most European countries, Ireland did not experience the upsurge of Christian-Marxist dialogue which was part of the Third International's Popular Front strategy from the mid-1930s. The 'carnival of reaction North and South', which Connolly had predicted would follow from partition of the country, was all too real during those years.

Hence the dialogue had no base to build on in the brief interlude between the end of the Second World War and the onset of the cold war. It was not until the mid-1960s, when the communist movement in Ireland began once again to gather strength, that the first gestures began to be made. The short-lived magazine *Grille* offered a temporary forum for Christian-Marxist dialogue, and other sporadic publications reflected the same tendency. Even so, the Irish Churches remained characteristically resistant to the movements of ecumenism and opening out to be felt in most of the Christian Churches in other countries to which they were linked.

The last ten years have seen far reaching changes in Irish Christianity. Although

Church leaders for the most part remain staunchly conservative, they have not been able to stem the tide of new ideas and attitudes among their flock. Four important factors may be identified in these changes.

First, the experience of struggle. The major industrial struggles to protect employment and living standards; the hard and unremitting struggles for national independence; the struggle for democracy, civil liberties, women's rights and the rights of minorities; and the vital struggle for peace and disarmament; these have mobilised the working people of Ireland on a wide range of fronts, leading them to challenge the established order and traditional values to an unprecedented degree.

Second, the ending of emigration on a large scale. One result was that dynamic and progressively-minded young people stayed in Ireland, where once they would have sought opportunities and employment abroad. And since they stayed they were not prepared to tolerate passively the constructive order of their parents' generation.

Third, exposure to the wind of social and intellectual change which was blowing internationally. The gains made by the organised working class, the student movement, the socialist and national independence movements world-wide, these were clearly seen and taken to heart by Irish workers and intellectuals.

Fourth, the first-hand experience of many Irish people, including priests and missionaries, in the Third World. Attempting to make their Christian message relevant to the oppressed peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, they were compelled to take sides in the great world struggle against imperialism in its many forms. More and more they have taken a progressive commitment, which by its logic cannot automatically cease on their return home.

The practical expression of these changes has been correspondingly varied. It may be seen in the existence of specific organisations within the Christian Churches, such as the Catholic Bishops' Commission for Justice and Peace, the Quaker Peace Committee and many other similar bodies in other denominations. Typically such consultative committees are significantly more progressive than the bodies which have final decision-making power.

In one notable development, the Catholic Bishop of Galway, Dr. Eamon Casey, Chairman of the Irish Catholic Third World relief agency, Trocaire, called for the recall of the Irish Ambassador in the United States as a gesture of protest against the situation in El Salvador and American support for its present murderous regime. A dramatic change indeed, even if his call was not followed by the necessary government action. This tendency was reaffirmed during the June 1984 visit of US President Ronald Reagan, when Christian groups were prominent in the powerful movement of protest against the visit and against American foreign policy under Reagan. Significantly, no member of the Catholic Hierarchy of Bishops attended any of the official events which took place during the visit, despite government invitations.

Outside the institutional structures there are small but significant groups, such as 'Christians for Socialism', who have made some attempt to marry Christian doctrine with the social and political lessons of Marxism. This group is associated with the international 'Christians for Socialism' movement founded by Catholic priests in Chile in 1971 under the Popular Unity government. Set up in February 1977, the Irish group is composed mainly of intellectuals: academics, journalists, priests etc. It has organised meetings and study groups to which Communist Party speakers have been invited, and has also provided speakers at public meetings and seminars organised by the Party. In early 1980 it launched a journal, *The Christian Left Review*, though this has not been sustained. The group has no clear programme and no coherent political perspective. At its height it had only a small and intermittent presence, although individual members are prominent in progressive organisations. And in recent months it has apparently ceased to function as an organised group.

More durable, although much less focussed, is the literary and cultural journal *The Crane Bag*, first published in the spring of 1977 and appearing twice-yearly. Based on the liberal Catholic intelligentsia, it has no explicit political programme or party affiliation, but seeks to promote a cultural pluralism as against the doctrinal orthodoxy of traditional Irish Catholicism. The journal is well-produced and has always given space to Marxist contributors. A recent issue was devoted to the topic of Socialism and Culture, and was preceded by a two-week study visit to the Soviet Union by a delegation from the editorial board. It contained articles from two CPI members, including our General Secretary, as well as two members of the Soviet Writers' Union. The Party welcomes these initiatives as evidence of real cooperation and mutual recognition between Marxists and Christians. They do not constitute an explicit dialogue, however, since viewpoints are juxtaposed eclectically with very little exchange of views or debate.

There are other seminars and forums in which Christians and Marxists debate together on issues of politics and belief. The Communist Party has been active in promoting such occasions, for example, in its regular James Connolly Discussion Forum meetings, and in the Party press. And we are often asked by student groups to provide speakers for debates on religious questions in colleges and universities.

Generally speaking, even Christians sympathetic to it have as yet only a limited understanding of Marxist theory. John Maguire, Professor of Social Studies in Cork, a founder of 'Christians for Socialism' is a Marx scholar of some standing in English-speaking academic circles. But his interpretation of Marxist ideas disregards the importance of philosophical materialism.

For the most part, Irish Christian socialists have given verbal recognition to Marxism but have not integrated it into their thinking. Many agree that 'Christianity has much to gain from the social, economic, and political analysis Socialism provides' (L. McDermott), or that 'Marxism provides the analytical tool of liberation, but not the inspiration' (S. Hilliard) (both in *Christian Left Review*, No. 1, 1981). However, most left-wing Christians still have a very underdeveloped grasp of the workings of capitalism and rarely rise above well-intentioned homilies about the rich and the poor, and the duties of Christian stewardship. In this respect an enormous task of education lies ahead for the CPI in attempting to spread Marxist ideas.

Needless to say, the work of promoting Christian-Marxist relations is fraught with problems for us in Ireland. But the stakes are correspondingly high. Religion is one of the foremost factors in maintaining the deep-seated anti-communism of most of the Irish people. By our work with Christians, especially in broad organisations, we have achieved some recognition and made some progress in eroding long-established hostilities. Success is slow, and the recognition is very often given to individual comrades rather than to the Party as such. But some headway is being made.

For a long time, Party comrades have held important positions in the trade union movement, and achieved great respect from working people as a result of their commitment. Since the overwhelming majority of workers are believing Christians, this respect has helped to overcome some of the resistance of workers to communism. But in some cases, the respect is for a particular individual, 'regardless of what his ideas might be'. It is part of the Party's programme to attempt to politicise the trade union movement, so that workers may see the relation between a Communist's work and his communist ideas. In present conditions, this is a long slow task.

Another relevant example is the broad-based campaign to oppose the introduction of a measure to amend the Republic's Constitution so as to forbid abortion in all circumstances (existing laws already forbade it). Communists played a leading role in organising a campaign which brought together many groups in the country, including many progressive Catholics, as well as the Protestant Churches and the Jewish community, all of whom condemned the proposed measure. By their clarity of

purpose, their ability to unite a very mixed grouping, and their energy, several comrades won wide recognition from people who had previously felt only a traditional hatred of communism. Even though the campaign did not succeed in thwarting the measure, the degree to which it raised consciousness holds out hope of further advances in eroding anti-communist prejudices among progressive-minded Christians. The role of the Catholic Hierarchy and of reactionary Catholic organisations in pushing through this sectarian measure emphasises, however, that the influence of religion is contradictory in nature.

Progressive Christians have made great strides in gaining support, initially among intellectuals and the liberal petty bourgeoisie, but increasingly among sections of the working class. But the reality of the Churches is still predominantly conservative. And even those believers who hold progressive positions on one issue cannot be depended upon not to hold quite reactionary views on others. A priest engaged in poverty relief in deprived areas, for example, is quite likely to be hostile to the introduction of contraception, divorce and abortion. Or the Catholic director of a Third World relief organisation may very well be a banker with a Thatcher-Reagan view of economic issues.

The same basic contradiction runs through all Christian communities in capitalist countries. In our cooperation with Christians, we must be aware of this two-sidedness and work to promote the progressive tendency among them wherever possible. In the Irish context, this means in practice acknowledging and supporting the good work being done by Irish Christians in international solidarity with the oppressed people of Latin America, the Philippines, Southern Africa and the like; or in social work at home among deprived people and in deprived areas; or in the movement to promote peace and disarmament; or in the contributions of a few progressively-minded Christian clergy and lay people to the study of social and political problems in Ireland.

But the contradictions within Christianity are not limited to its current practical expression. There are fundamental contradictions in the very nature of religion. They have long been known by Marxists, and were suggested by Marx himself in his *Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law*.

The famous statement that religion is 'the opium of the people',³ which is at the heart of the Marxist view of religion, has too often been misinterpreted to suggest that religion is simply a device to subdue and bamboozle the people. Not so.

In the same passage, Marx calls religion 'the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, the soul of soulless conditions'. He was clearly aware that religion was an 'expression of real distress and also the protest against real distress'.

Marxists in Ireland have not always given recognition to this dimension. In specific historical circumstances, religion strives to meet important human needs, particularly in catering for the emotions and the imagination, even if it cannot get to the root of those needs. If we take this point seriously, we have to admit that religion is likely to be with us for a long time to come. And certainly, looking at present-day Ireland, no one could be optimistic that it was likely to wither away in the foreseeable future. In the nineteenth century it was a common place for atheists to take the wish for the reality and predict that religion would die out within a century or so. They were obviously wrong, and in our own time we are witnessing revivals in most of the major world religions, not to mention the spawning of innumerable new ones.

Marx went as far as to say, in a famous passage from *Capital*, that 'the religious reflex of the real world can . . . only then finally vanish when the practical relations of everyday life offer to man none but perfectly intelligible and reasonable relations with regard to his fellowmen and to Nature'.⁴ In other words, as long as oppression exists, as long as ignorance, confusion and mystery exist, and as long as mankind has not mastered the secrets of the natural and social worlds, religion may still have a niche in human life in which it can lodge.

Whether this means that religion will vanish with the ending of the oppressive and antagonistic capitalist mode of production, is an important question. The abolition of its main objective base, class oppression, is certainly a necessary condition for the withering away of religion. But it is not of itself a sufficient condition. The tendency of subjective factors to outlive their objective base, often by long periods, is well known.

Experience in countries where capitalism has now been overthrown indicates a very wide variety of historical patterns. The tenacity of religious beliefs and practices in some socialist countries contrasts with their rapid decline in others. The question of how long religion will survive is therefore best regarded as a practical question, in the sense that it will be answered differently in the concrete conditions of different countries. It may be that some residual religious consciousness will always lurk in the shadows of human society. Certainly there is no existing society in which it is not present. Or it may be that the contradictions and opacities remaining in society at the stage of advanced socialism or communism will be adequately mediated by social, cultural, philosophical and aesthetic activity, leaving no remaining social function for religion in the central experiences of human life.

However that may be, the continued strength of religion and its lively survival for a long time, certainly in Ireland, hold important lessons. We recognise, of course, that much of the virulence of religious feeling can be traced to the frustrated struggles for national unity and independence. But we need also to recognise that there are important areas of human experience to which we have given insufficient thought and work. We have neglected the personal, the intimate and the subjective dimensions. We rarely formulate our approach to love, death, fear, or imagination.

There is much that we can learn in this regard from the work of comrades in the socialist countries. It is one of the regrettable aspects of contemporary international relations that we in Ireland have relatively limited access to their researches. Moreover, the reality of everyday life in socialist countries is little known to Irish people, except in the distortions and caricatures of the capitalist media. It is an important part of our ideological work to publicise the wealth and variety of personal and cultural life under socialism, and it is an area in which our women's movement has played a significant role.

It is therefore a major task, sadly often pushed aside by more urgent work, to take seriously those subjective areas of life with which Christianity attempts to deal, albeit in ways we would not wish to copy. For their part, many Christians have begun to learn, and continue to learn, from Marxism, how to approach the crucial problems of history, society and politics. In the process of expressing the distress of oppressed people, many Christians have gradually come to realise that they also have to set about alleviating the distress. That means first understanding how society works and how change can be brought about. More and more Christians are adopting Marxist categories in their approach to these issues, and some would almost see Marx as the last of the great Hebrew prophets.

This tendency has been visible in European Christianity since the 1930s, but it has become apparent in Ireland in the last two decades for reasons already outlined. It therefore seemed quite natural for 'Christians for Socialism' to devote their first study sessions to the thought of Marx, and to follow this with a series of public meetings on the works of the great Irish Marxist, James Connolly. Mike Garde, an Irish Mennonite Christian, speaks for many Christians in saying that "the ideas of Marx in the social arena are closer to the Gospel's vision of community" than the values of capitalism. Although we welcome such expressions of sympathy for our ideas, we recognise the danger of Christians seeking to combine elements of Marxist theory with spiritualist ideas of their own. Marxism is indivisible, and any attempt to marry this or that part of it with alien philosophical notions can only undermine its power and integrity.

In so far as they share our socialist ideals, Christians may express very few differences with the communist conception of history. Many Christians throughout the world are active members of communist parties, and the CPI readily accepts Christians into membership provided they accept the aims and programme of the party. Their religious beliefs are considered as a private contradiction, which may ultimately be overcome in the course of their Marxist education.

On more general philosophical questions there are important disagreements between Christians and Marxists. We have a vision of man's future on earth where they have a vision of heavenly paradise. We have a materialist conception of the world where they have a spiritualist view with God the creator and supernatural powers playing a decisive role. Christians will often wryly express their conception in terms similar to the French left-wing Catholic Emmanuel Mounier, that the world is, alas, exactly as Marx describes it because the spiritual forces have failed to make any headway in improving it. For most purposes, these differences of perspective need not impede the development of Christian-Marxist cooperation on practical issues. But they do mean that our final objectives are not the same, and this has some effect on how we approach our action.

Christianity tends to see social life primarily in moral categories: good and evil, generosity and greed, love and hate, and rich and poor. Marxism does not reject moral values, but regards them as of unsound framework for scientific analysis and an unreliable guide to effective action for changing the world. For these purposes it is necessary to see society in class terms: the workers and the employers, the peasants and the landowners, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. While Christians may be at one with us in struggling against oppression, we may well have a quite different understanding of the nature of that oppression. And we may also in some cases wish to adopt different methods of struggle. It is our responsibility to draw together in practice the struggles of people who may be motivated by divergent principles.

Christians are rapidly coming to see that the only way they can continue to hold the hearts and minds of the people is by joining their struggle against oppression. Paradoxically, they are thereby helping to abolish the conditions from which religion has historically grown and prospered. This is one reason why Christianity is still torn in allegiance between the oppressors and the oppressed. To survive it must change, perhaps even out of all recognition, and find a new role in the changing circumstances. Obviously, the hated system of capitalist oppression is doomed. Christians have to choose between helping to preserve it or joining the fight against that system and playing a respected part in the new order which replaces it. It is the task of Ireland's Communists to encourage Christians to take the side of the oppressed in the struggle against the oppressors, and we undertake to give a genuine respect to their beliefs, which includes recognising their legitimate role in the social and cultural life of the socialist society we envisage.

In present-day Ireland, the Churches as a whole have prospered well from the conflicts and sufferings of our country. It is hard for us to imagine a socialist future in which there will be a role for the same Churches which have been nourished by our failures. Yet unless we can win over a significant number of their members, it is unlikely that we shall make decisive progress towards our goal. For the present then, we foster our relations with sympathetic Christians, aware that at some stage it will be necessary to reach some improved relationship with the institutions to which they still look for guidance.

There is undoubtedly vast scope for common action between Communists and Christians in Ireland. Apart from the Third World solidarity movements already mentioned, perhaps the most fertile ground is the peace movement. The large and active Irish Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament brings together people of many different outlooks. Both Communists and Christians are among the leading activists,

and it is one of the few progressive civic organisations which has a significant number of members from the Protestant Churches. It is noteworthy that two years ago a Communist was elected to the post of National Secretary, taking over from a Quaker.

There is no disagreement on the pressing need to work for disarmament and world peace, though there are differing views on the roots of war and the kind of actions needed to further peace. Some Christians adopt a radically pacifist position, most vocally the Quakers, based on the Biblical notion of 'turning the other cheek' to the aggressor. But even the conservative Catholic hierarchy has strongly condemned the folly of the nuclear arms race and the immorality of nuclear war. everything points to a continuing growth of the Irish peace movement. Apart from the crucial political importance of this trend, it could provide a key opportunity to strengthen links between Communists and Christians. And certainly the warm address of Monsignor Bruce Kent, Secretary of the British CND, to the Congress of our fraternal party in Britain gives added hope that this will be appreciated by both sides.

The Communist Party of Ireland therefore welcomes the signs that Christians are beginning to accept the prospect of working together with us. In our historical situation it is a necessary component of the broad anti-imperialist alliance which we are attempting to build. Continued and extended dialogue, based on practical cooperation, is an integral part of the strategy for socialism in Ireland.

¹ See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 38, p. 253.

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 10, p. 87.

³ Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 175.

⁴ Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1, p. 79.

viewpoints

Socialism: Unity of Theory and Practice Socialist Construction in Our Conditions

Nguyen Duc Binh – CC member, Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV), Rector of the Nguyen Ai Quoc Higher Party School under the CPV CC

TEN years ago, in the spring of 1975, the people of Vietnam won the great Resistance War against the US aggressors, upheld their freedom and independence, liberated the South of their home land and entered a new period of development. The restoration of national unity made possible a transition to the building of socialism throughout the country. The general uniformities of the creation of a new system which were discovered by Marxist-Leninist science were fully manifested during the revolutionary process in the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (SRV)—the first workers' and peasants' state in Southeast Asia.

These uniformities are not a code of abstract 'rules' but the essential connections of the phenomena of social life or stages of the historical process which exist objectively and are repeated. The specific manner in which these connections are manifested depends on the concrete social, economic, and political circumstances—the level of development of the productive forces and the production relations corresponding to them, the degree of organisation and maturity of the working class, the acuteness of class contradictions, etc. Lenin wrote that the Communists' task 'consists in learning to apply the general principles of communism to the *specific features* of relations between classes and parties, to the *specific features* in the objective development towards communism, which are difference in each country and which we must be able to discover, study and predict'.¹

The Communist Party of Vietnam has always paid special attention to the general uniformities and their creative application in socialist construction. CPV CC General Secretary Comrade Le Duan has said: 'Our party has mastered the uniformities of the national democratic revolution and the laws of people's war, but we have only taken the first steps in mastering the uniformities of socialist revolution and the building of socialism. It is necessary to exert enormous efforts and to develop extremely rapidly in this area; only then will our party be best able to fulfil its role of leader of the society.'²

The Vietnamese Communists always regarded the national liberation movement in the country as part and parcel of the world revolutionary process, took the international factor into account in determining domestic policy, and used the favourable situation in the world to attain victory. 'It can be said that without the Great October Revolution the Vietnamese people would not have carried out their

August Revolution,"³ Ho Chi Minh, our party's founder, noted. 'The Soviet Army's defeat of the Hitlerite fascists and the Japanese militarists was the factor which most assisted out victory. . .'⁴

Prior to the August Revolution Vietnam was a semi-feudal colonial country. The working masses lived in poverty and starvation. More than 90 per cent of the population was illiterate.

In agriculture, the main sector of the economic, petty peasant production and primitive equipment predominated. The national Vietnamese bourgeoisie formed extremely slowly because the leading positions in industry and trade were held by foreign capital. It should be noted, however, that it cannot be said that there were no capitalist relations in the country. Industrial enterprises—mining, textile, repair and others—were already in operation in the period of the domination of the French colonisers, and the proletariat was taking shape. And although the proletariat numbered about 200,000, or slightly more than one per cent of the country's population at that time, it played the leading role from the very outset of the revolutionary upsurge. Unity, a high level of class consciousness and rich experience of struggle against the colonisers and occupations enabled the proletariat to exert a string impact on the entire working population and to become the leading force in the national democratic revolution. The establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the working peasantry as a result of the August Revolution determined the development of the struggle for national liberation into a struggle for social emancipation.

Notwithstanding the fact that after the revolution the period of peace lasted just over two years, important political and socio-economic reforms were carried out in this brief period: a National Assembly, the supreme body of people's power, was formed, the first Constitution was adopted, land belonging to the colonisers and betrayers of the homeland was confiscated and distributed among the landless peasants, land rental was reduced, an eight-hour workday was introduced, and a literacy campaign started. All these measures further strengthened the alliance of the working class and peasantry.

The imperialists and international reaction were unwilling to accept that Vietnam had gained national independence. First the French colonisers unleashed a war against it. Then, treacherously violating the Geneva agreements,⁵ which recognised Vietnam's independence, sovereignty, unity and integrity, the USA decided to make the South of the country a colony of a new type, a US military base. As a result of its interference, our homeland was temporarily divided in two, causing the unequal development of the revolution and the disparity that exists even now between the North and South in economic base, class structure of the society etc.

Between 1954 and 1975 the working masses fulfilled the two strategic tasks set by the party: the construction of socialism in the DRV and the completion of the people's democratic revolution in the South. In guiding this process, the CPV abided strictly by fundamental principles—gradual stage-by-stage development of the revolution and steady strengthening of the united front of all anti-imperialist forces, in which the determinant rôle belonged to the militant alliance of the workers with the working peasantry.

The formation in 1976 of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam created the necessary conditions for the people's democratic revolution to develop into a countryside socialist revolution.

Vietnam's most recent history has therefore twice confirmed in practice the Marxist-Leninist thesis that the revolutionary process is continuous: the end of the democratic stage marked the beginning of the socialist revolution. At the same time, these stages were not separated by some kind of impenetrable wall—the democratic transformations were very closely interlinked with the socialist ones. It is important to

stress that the DRV's successes in socialist construction and in the strengthening and defence of the homeland made it possible to gain the wealth of experience which underlay the elaboration of the course towards the building of socialism in the SRV.

The specific form in which the general uniformities of the new society's development were manifested in Vietnam is also determined by the fact that the democratic and socialist transformations are proceeding in conditions where precapitalist production relations predominate. This process has confirmed Lenin's idea that 'with the aid of the proletariat of the advanced countries, backward countries can go over to the Soviet system and, through certain stages of development, to communism, without having to pass through the capitalist stage'.⁶

The course towards construction of socialism in the SRV, bypassing the capitalist phase, was adopted by the party in 1954. In two decades, in the North (the former territory of the DRV) the exploiter classes have been liquidated, socialist production relations have been established, the initial base of large-scale production has been created, there has been a revolution in ideology and culture, and the people's material life has been bettered, and their intellectual life enriched. By 1975, the socialist sector accounted for more than 80 per cent of the national income and about 90 per cent of the gross national product.

Of course, the US aggression held up the chief task of the transition period in the DRV—the setting up of large-scale production through socialist industrialisation. The structure of the economy was necessarily an agrarian-industrial one.

Nevertheless, it must be admitted that '... in a situation in which North Vietnam had to be withstanding the millions of tons of bombs and shells brought down on it by the US imperialists and continuously sending people and materials for the joint fight with the South Vietnamese compatriots against the enemy to save the homeland, and simultaneously fulfil its internationalist duty, the progress made was a remarkable achievement only possible under socialism'.⁷

Important democratic transformations were also carried out on the territory liberated during the Resistance War, where almost a third of the South's population was living at the beginning of 1975. The people's revolutionary power implemented land reform on that territory and the land-owning class and kulaks were almost completely wiped out. The middle peasant became the main figure in the countryside. The movement to set up mutual work assistance brigades went ahead successfully. It is a feature that at one time in the DRV as well (before the agrarian reform and especially during it in 1953-1956), it was this very simple form of cooperation—the first sprout of socialism in the country-side—that was widely practised. By participating in these brigades, the peasant was convinced in practice of the advantages of collective farming.

Quite a different situation obtained in the regions controlled by the Saigon puppet regime. Subordinated to the goals of the US military industrial complex and to the needs of the aggressors and the puppet government, the economy acquired abnormal forms. Although the size of the working class in the South increased to almost one and a half million, with Saigon alone having more than 12,000 enterprises, over 700 of them large or medium, sectors not directly linked with production, trade and the service above all, grew at an excessive rate. Large-scale commodity production based on division of labour had only just emerged, and there was no concentration and centralisation of capital.

By the end of the war the economy of the Saigon-controlled regions was in crisis: shortage of raw material and fuel had closed the bulk of enterprises and agriculture was on the decline. Inflation had risen steeply. The unemployed numbered almost three million.

Immediately after the South was liberated, the Communist Party of Vietnam and the bodies of people's power began to tackle the pressing political, social and

economic problems so as to liquidate the effects of the many years of colonial domination and the ravages of the war. The enterprises belonging to the comprador bourgeoisie, the traitors and the capitalists who had fled across the border were nationalised and the organisation of a state sector in the economy was begun.

The new bodies of power, the people's revolutionary committees, were the form of the dictatorship of workers and peasants at the democratic stage of the revolution. They were an expression of the class alliance 'between the proletariat, the vanguard of the working people, and the numerous non-proletarian strata of the working people (petty bourgeoisie, small proprietors, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, etc.), or the majority of these strata, an alliance against capital, an alliance whose aim is the complete overthrow of capital, complete suppression of the resistance offered by the bourgeoisie as well as of attempts at restoration on its part, an alliance for the final establishment and consolidation of socialism'.⁸

This form of the dictatorship of the proletariat was evident in the activity of the national Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam (NFL)⁹, which was based on a broad alliance of the working class and the non-proletarian strata of the population. The Front played an important role in involving the masses in running the state and forming a socialist democracy. Its social base grew steadily since the NFL drew representatives of the trade unions, the national bourgeoisie, the youth, women, etc., into the constructive work. Religious circles also participated in the life of the new society. The people's power conducted relations with them on the basis of the principles of national accord and respect for religious freedom.

The human line of the party and government, one imbued with an understanding of the people's real interests, gradually won more and more supporters even among those Vietnamese citizens who had been influenced by anti-communist propaganda. The correlation of class forces was therefore obviously tipped in favour of the revolution. This was because of the relatively weak positions of the representatives of national capital and because many of them accepted the working class's leading role and displayed a willingness to cooperate with the working people's state. But these changes did not signify the onset of a 'class peace'. Lenin pointed out that with energy increased ten-fold and frenzied fervour the overthrown exploiters join battle to regain their lost 'paradise'.¹⁰ Vietnam has also fully shown his assessment to be warranted.

A part of the former soldiers and officers of the Saigon army, members of the reactionary parties and currents, and the comprador bourgeoisie (the bulk of which was of Chinese nationality), which had up until recently been closely connected with the system set up by the US imperialists, all stubbornly resisted the revolutionary transformations. In league with the Peking expansionists, the US CIA tried to knock together out of the counter-revolutionary elements all kinds of 'committees for national salvation', 'liberation fronts', and so on, hoping to overthrow the people's power with these 'spectres of the past'. But all the enemies' attempts to implement their so-called 'postwar plan' to fan internecine dissension in the country were unsuccessful. With the support of the broad masses, the revolutionary power resolutely suppressed the opposition of reaction.

The ideologists of capitalism seek to represent the dictatorship of the proletariat merely as a form of applying revolutionary force. Of course, force is used to the extent that this is necessitated by the class enemy that fighters against the working people. But it is common knowledge that the most important mission of the dictatorship of the proletariat is to create a new type of social relations and socialist economy and to educate the working people in the spirit of socialism. Proceeding from precisely this understanding, the Fourth Congress of the CPV fixed our revolution's general course towards the following principal goals: carry out three revolutions—in the sphere of production relations, a scientific and technical

revolution, and in the area of ideology and culture, relying on the dictatorship of the proletariat and developing the people's right to collective management. The central task of the transitional period on the road to socialism, bypassing the capitalist phase, is to effect industrialisation.¹¹

Very important specific conditions must be taken into account in order to realise the course adopted. They are linked with the country's general technical and economic backwardness, with the forementioned differences in the social structure of the North and South, and with the predominance of the agriculture population in the republic.

The technical and economic backwardness is manifested in the weak development and irrational structure of the economy, in the large share of manual labour and in the dominant role of petty and domestic production. Vietnam still considerably lags behind the majority of the fraternal socialist states in per capita output.

The difficulties of the first stage of the transition to socialism are linked with the many and varied sectors in the economy of the southern regions¹² and with the fact that the state does not have the necessary accumulation to set up large-scale production.

Taking all this into consideration, the CPV's concept of building socialism within the framework of a united country, bypassing the capitalist phase, is based on a comprehensive stage-by-stage method to tackling the economic problems that emerge during the transition from petty to large-scale socialist production. The tasks of the first stage are to form a single economic and social structure of the society for all Vietnam, overcome the negative influence of bourgeois ideology in the southern regions and unite the masses on the basis of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. In this period it is planned to create the conditions for tackling the tasks of the second stage: a substantial rise in the population's living standard, the country's transition to the road of socialist industrialisation, and the formation of a modern industrial and agrarian structure.

The first stage in the economic sphere envisages the creation of conditions facilitating the formation of the internal accumulation and expansion of the export possibilities necessary for the future industrialisation. This includes the further development primarily of agriculture and also of forestry and fishery, light domestic industry, and the traditional handicrafts that do not call for large capital investment. The division of the industrialisation process into two stages does not mean setting the agrarian and industrial sectors off against each other. They must take shape in connection, one with the other, special attention being paid to the development of agriculture as a condition for successful industrialisation.

Yet another important specific feature of the economic strategy is correct combination of the possibilities offered as the centrally- and locally-managed economic structures are formed. The former includes the most important enterprises of the leading sectors of national significance and the latter—the medium and small enterprises that produce articles for farmers, some industrial and consumer goods, etc.

'By creating a rational structure and simultaneously developing the centrally- and locally-managed economic structures, we will be able to unite all three stages of development of the economy: simple cooperation, manufacture and large-scale machine industry.'¹³ it was noted at the Sixth Plenary meeting of the CPV CC (July 1984), which focussed on the creative use of the uniformities of socialist construction.

The documents of the plenary meeting also set the task of overcoming voluntarism in the resolution of economic problems. The party placed in the forefront questions such as improvement of the planning system, the necessary combination of the working people's social and personal interests, raising the standard of management of the enterprises at every level using the economic levers, and the development of

economic accounting relations. Measures were taken to expand further the enterprises' production and financial independence.

An integral part of the strategy of the transitional period is the use of the economic possibilities of each class and each economic sector to increase production and strengthen the positions of socialism at the economic level. In all industries, especially in those producing goods for the people's consumption, the state, while preserving its leading role, allows some representatives of the national bourgeoisie to engage in entrepreneurial activity under the observation and control of relevant bodies. Indeed, the reorganisation of the enterprises belonging to the national bourgeoisie of the South has been proceeding somewhat differently from reorganisation that was done in the North, since the specific features distinguishing the entrepreneurs of South and North are being taken into account.

One of the most difficult problems to resolve in the party's class policy in the transitional period is the mastering of market relations. The market is an arena of struggle between the socialist and capitalist ways of development. We proceed from the fact that the five economic sectors will still be maintained for a number of years of the first stage of the transitional period in the South of the country. However, even now the socialist state must rapidly organise a single management and establish an economic monopoly on goods of great importance for the state and the life of the people,¹⁴ it was said at the Sixth Plenary Meeting of the CPV CC.

Given the present economic conditions, a 'free' market can exist within a certain framework in town and country as a place for procedures and consumers to exchange goods of secondary importance, excluding from this speculators—middlemen and secondhand dealers.

A very important integral part of the transformations of the SRV's multi-sector economy is the formation of new production relations in agriculture. This process includes improvement of the socialist sector in the North and production cooperation in the South, which is based on the principles of voluntariness, mutual advantage, and consistent transition from lower to higher forms of cooperation.

As these transformations take place in the North of the country, the districts are becoming administrative-economic and agrarian-industrial units. In the South, redistribution of allotment has been virtually completed, thus realising the goal set by the party: to provide farmers with a 'starting fund' which will enable them more actively to participate in various forms of collective labour—from the mutual work assistance brigades to the cooperatives. Over 50 per cent of peasant families in the South currently work collectively.

The cooperation in the countryside, the completion, to a great extent, of the transformation of private capitalist industry and trade, and the restructuring of domestic handicrafts have all helped to strengthen the economic base of the people's power, have liquidated the conditions in which the laws of capitalism operated, and have created favourable soil for the development of socialism's uniformities. New production relations based on two forms of property—public and cooperative—now predominate in the country. These successes are an important fundamental victory for the party and the people that opens the way for transition from small-scale commodity production to large-scale socialist production.

Socialist management presupposes educating the masses in a spirit of diligence and thrift, collectivism, patriotism and proletarian internationalism. We regard all this as the further development of the finest qualities of the Vietnamese peoples, whose national character was formed throughout 4000 years of history. The new man must be educated step by step, without waiting for large-scale socialist production to reach a high level.

The make-up of the new man and his way of life is largely determined by the working class, the leading force of a socialist society. The working class's level of

education, culture and vocational training is growing. Thanks to the broad system of evening and correspondence courses, thousands of workers continue to study in institutes and technical schools without leaving their jobs. Many enterprises offer various courses at which the workers raise their qualifications. Today, two-thirds of workers have a secondary or incomplete secondary education. The rise in the educational level and professional skill, and the party's hard work to foster conscious discipline, initiative and a conscientious attitude to work are a guarantee of successful realisation of the plans to build a new society.

The Vietnamese peasantry has also been changing gradually. And although there are still many problems in the agrarian sector the socialist transformations have been exerting a determinant impact on the whole tenor of life in the country-side.

It remains an urgent task to educate, or rather to reeducate, the hundreds of thousands of artisans, yesterday's traders (it should be recalled that almost a million families were engaged in petty trading in the South before liberation), and people who are only just joining the ranks of the working class. Historical experience shows that the transition of the non-proletarian strata to the road of socialism must be accompanied by a resolute fight against the petty-bourgeois works outlook, especially since the source of this outlook—the stratum of petty producers—still exists in the country.

The society's all-round progress on the basis of the consistent strengthening of the alliance of the working class, the cooperative peasantry and the working intelligentsia is the result of the operation of both the objective uniformities of socialism and the consistent and selfless work of the CPV. The stronger moral and political unity of the working people of the SRV in the construction of socialism's material and technical base is an expression of the fact that the Marxist-Leninist ideology has been fully established. This is an important factor in uniting the people, who are ready to give a fitting rebuff to aggressors that disturb their creative labour, harm our economy and threaten the country's independence.

The Communist Party of Vietnam has always seen to it that the working people are educated in a spirit of true patriotism and proletarian internationalism, of close solidarity with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, which have been rendering all-round assistance to our homeland. Vietnam's cooperation with the fraternal states is a relationship of a new type that has formed between independent, sovereign and equal partners which have a common goal and ideal—the construction of socialism. Clear evidence of this is the June 1984 Moscow CMEA Economic Summit, which adopted a decision to step up the assistance of the USSR and other socialist states to our country, Mongolia and Cuba so as to speed up the process of developing and raising effectiveness of their economies and gradually levelling their economic development. This decision is further confirmation of the strength and effectiveness of proletarian internationalism. The 39th CMEA Session, held in Havana in October 1984, concretised the ways to implement the decisions of the Economic Summit. The broadening of all-round cooperation with the countries of socialism is an importance factor aiding our republic to heal the wounds of the fierce 30-year war and advance in the construction of a new life.

Today, in its turn, the SRV, too, has considerable economic possibilities enabling it to contribute to the cooperation with the fraternal states. Both parasitical sentiments and the belief in 'self-reliance only' are alien to our people, who are carrying out socialist transformations. The process of building a new society in the SRV necessarily includes the creation of a modern national economy based on rational use of our own resources and of the advantages offered by the country's participation in the international socialist division of labour.

Creatively taking into account the general uniformities of the formation of a new system during its construction and relying on the experience and assistance of the

socialist community, our people, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam, are confidently building socialism—the most just society on Earth.

We continue to publish material in the series 'Socialism Unity of Theory and Practice'. See *WMR*, No. 12, 1983, Nos. 3, 6, 8, 11, 1984.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 89.

² Le Duan, *The Socialist Revolution in Vietnam*, Vol. 2, Hanoi, 1976, p. 86 (in Vietnamese).

³ The August 1945 Revolution marked the beginning of Vietnam's liberation from French colonialism and the creation of a worker-peasant state—the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV).—*Ed.*

⁴ Ho Chi Minh, *Lenin, Leninism and the Unbreakable Soviet-Vietnamese Friendship, Selected Articles and Speeches*, Moscow, 1970, pp. 114-115.

⁵ The Geneva meeting (1954) discussed the establishment of peace in Indochina. In July agreements were signed on an end to military operations by France in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, and a final declaration was adopted.—*Ed.*

⁶ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 244.

⁷ VWP CC Political Report to the Party's Fourth Congress. *Tap Chi Hoc Tap*, No. 12, 1976, p. 48 (in Vietnamese).

⁸ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 381.

⁹ The NFL later merged with the Vietnam Fatherland Front after it had fulfilled its tasks.—*Ed.*

¹⁰ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 28, p. 254.

¹¹ See Hoany Tung 'Strategy of Building Socialism and Defending Its Gains', *WMR*, No. 9, 1983.—*Ed.*

¹² Five sectors exist in Vietnam's southern regions: the state, the collective, the mixed private state, the individual, and the private capitalist, while in the North there are only three: the state, the collective and the individual.—*Ed.*

¹³ Le Duan, 'Address at the Sixth Plenary Meeting of the CPV CC', *Tap Chi Cong San*, Hanoi, No. 9, 1984, p. 15 (in Vietnamese).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

Crucial Stage in the Women's Movement

Aleka Pappariga — CC member, Communist Party of Greece

SHAPING the anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly awareness of the female population at large is a complex and contradictory process. It would be a dangerous oversimplification and illusion to believe that it is now easier to popularise the Communists' views and proposals because there is a crisis in our country, because Greek women have experienced the effects of the policies of the Right and because the present social reformist government confines itself to 'managing the crisis', making more and more concessions to big capital.

Our female compatriots today are under strong ideological pressure from the imperialists, reformists and right-wing revisionists, who want to influence them and to prevent them from accepting the proposals of the Communist Party of Greece for a different policy, one capable of leading the country out of the crisis and paving the way for real change.

It is typical of the present stage of ideological debates on problems of equality and emancipation that all the various feminist theories ultimately came down to stressing 'the need for a joint struggle against men and the Establishment based on their dominant position'. We counter this convergence with still more flexible explanatory work closely linked with reality and drawing on the experience gained in everyday public activity.

The range of ideological problems of the women's movement has widened extraordinarily. Diverse parties present to women slogans concerning the domestic political situation, for this year there will be a general election and a new government will be formed as a result.

The 'remedies' offered to the Greek people are known already. One of them comes from the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) and is based on the concept of self-sufficiency. All Greeks, including all left activists, are urged to vote for Andreas Papandreou's party in order to give it a new four-year mandate and avert a comeback of the Right. This so-called remedy would in no way benefit the people and might even throw the country back. But PASOK directs its call primarily to women, expecting that because they have little social and political experience compared with men, they will give in the more readily to massive intimidation with reference to the threat from the Right. It would like to create the impression that it has already granted all Greeks equal rights. As for relics of inequality, it argues, they are due to human nature, national customs and traditions and the Greek way of life. On these grounds PASOK invites women to shift their struggle to the sphere of remoulding people's thinking.

As for the other alternative—surrendering the reins of power to New Democracy, the party of the oligarchy and foreign capital—this solution is nothing new to the working people, who know the worth of rightist adventures by bitter experience. This party, pretending to be against the high cost of living and inflation, demagogically advocates freedom for women 'to choose between a job and the household'. It demands a reduction of the public sector and encouragement of private enterprise. New Democracy has even borrowed some of our working methods, such as 'talks at the doorsteps', meetings with people, visits to the localities, and so on, which it never used when in power.

The CPG is the only party to offer the people real solutions to the nation's problems. It has put forward an alternative providing for the formation of a democratic government committed to real change, a government that would alter the course of development and rid the country of the undivided domination of the financial oligarchy with support from all progressive forces and under a specific action programme. The main problem today, one directly concerning all Greek working women, is to find a way out of the crisis. This requires something more than 'protective' measures; what is needed first of all is to lay the groundwork for an entirely different, independence and judicious economic policy directed against monopoly. Of course, this concept of ending the crisis is inseparable from a programme for the consolidation of national independence and a radical democratisation. It includes special measures encompassing various aspects of women's lives.

We are conducting a major political campaign on women's rights and role. It is part of the election campaign but also has farther-reaching objectives: helping raise women's political awareness and neutralising rightist demagogy as well as the misleading propaganda of reformists and revisionists. We must always remember women's peculiar economic position, which explains to a degree the rise and vitality of groundless hopes and wrong notions. After all, the political orientation of fairly many working women does not yet fully reflect their social status or the injustice they suffer from.

The final phase of the transformation of Greece from an agricultural-industrial country into an industrial-agricultural one, which began in the sixties, was accompanied by changes of a state monopoly nature and an extraordinary transformation of women's lives. Factors such as women's entry into new professions once considered male, a higher standard of education, shorter working hours, the use of electrical appliances and other labour-saving devices in the home had a positive

impact on women's position under the given social and political system. This self-deception was due particularly to the fact that the changes in question came about in a relatively short period of time and in a country whose part, with its backwardness, conservatism and rampant reaction, is still fresh in women's minds. Illusions created and reproduced by the very policy of the PASOK government persist along with traditional conservative concepts still influencing women to a certain extent although it would be wrong to attribute them solely to social reformist influence.

It is a grim reality of nearly three and a half years of PASOK government that the lives of women and their families, far from changing fundamentally for the better, have deteriorated somewhat. Unemployment has taken on epidemic proportions among women of all ages. In conformity with EEC guidelines, the monopolies are using a new social strategy, which makes women a 'mobile labour force' through part-time work, work at home, flexible schedules and hourly wages. Exploitation is being intensified to the utmost. The gap between acquired knowledge and the opportunities of using it is widening. The desire for a peaceful life clashes with the danger of nuclear destruction coming from the imperialists.

How is the women's movement to show its militancy? This will depend primarily on the level of our ideological and political work among working women. What is needed is not abstract discussion but a systematic popularisation of the party's ideology and policies in the course of the struggle for anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly, democratic changes. A key task is to expose and bring about the abolition of all inequality and oppression in the case of women and resist every attempt to increase the double exploitation of women. It is essential to competently criticise antiquated or pseudo-modernist concepts of the role of the sexes and relations between them.

In Greece, the following somewhat peculiar phenomenon exists: some women holding democratic views on political problems are in bondage to conservative notions about their role and their ability to occupy positions of responsibility. There are some women Communists who used to take a militant stand on major social problems but retreated afterwards into the narrow sphere of personal problems, gradually yielding to pressures from husband and family and failing to reject outdated, reactionary traditions. Active participants in the women's movement occasionally restrict themselves to the social problems of motherhood and the issue of economic equality with men, of which they take a narrow view. Some comrades claim that the main task is merely to bring women into the struggle. It follows that they regard it as a secondary matter to help women know their democratic rights in every sphere of life. This attitude, though not widespread, is due in a measure to the very activity of the mass movement.

Many working women are prompted by social, political and economic difficulties to join variously in the popular movement irrespective of the degree to which they realise their social position. However, many of them are inactive in periods of stagnation or decline of the movement, which means that their role in it varies with the degree of its political intensity. Spelling out the specific problems facing women and ways of solving them is not merely a manner of drawing women into anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly actions. Women only come to understand these problems as a result of a real and complete awakening of the social and political consciousness while fighting for radical anti-monopoly, anti-imperialist transformations. This is not a means but a product of their democratic education in the course of the class struggle.

In turn, women activists who gain a better insight into the essence of women's problems become more progressive, increase their contribution to the popular movement and discard survivals of conservative views. This helps extend the struggle against imperialism and monopoly, against the capitalist system. The conclusion we have drawn is that we can achieve notable results in ideological and political work among women only if in solving current political problems we acquaint the working

people with our conception of the nature of women's problems and combine actions for equality with more general tasks.

Some comrades are complaining that it is hard to popularise our theory among women. In reply to assertions of this kind, Lenin quoted in *What Is To Be Done?* Engel's following words: 'Without a sense of theory among the workers . . . scientific socialism would never have entered their flesh and blood as much as is the case.'¹

For us, the ten years that have passed since the CPG was legalised have been a useful period of gaining experience of ideological work. Through speeches, lectures, articles and a vigorous ideological campaign in women's organisations, we have succeeded in acquainting the people with our point of view and dealt telling blows to opportunist neofeminism, which in the mid-seventies tended to grow fast. While this current enjoys little influence today. We must not underestimate it, for there is some fertile ground for a revival of this kind of feminism and for its use against the Communists by the right revisionist party, the main exponent of such ideas in Greece.

In spite of ideological pressure, the women's democratic movement has retained a correct orientation. We have advanced and supported, especially in the years of rightist rule, common slogans for all democratic organisations of women, and have taken an uncompromising stand on bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and opportunist feminism. However, our achievements do not make us feel complacent. We must not forget that even now there are opportunities of disseminating reformist views on women still more widely.

It is from this standpoint that we examine diverse aspects of the party's ideological work. We give pride of place to explaining the meaning of 'equality'. As we see it, equality should not imply the 'right' to be exploited and to experience difficulties and hardships on an equal footing with men. Genuine equality implies equal opportunities for men and women, equal duties and responsibility in conditions of progress, democracy and social prosperity at a new level differing qualitatively from today's. In presenting a comprehensive picture of women's standing in socialist countries, we should not restrict ourselves (as we have often done in the past) to women's professional activity and economic position but should show that they have real opportunities to participate in the affairs of state and society.

Continuing our counter-attack against bourgeois ideology and neofeminism, we show the class nature of women's problems and the prospects of solving them through socialist changes. We explain from Marxist-Leninist positions the role of the production relations prevailing in Greece, which are property relations, in preserving inequality on account of sex. We attached primary importance to the economic aspects of this problem in the past as well. But it is particularly important to reveal the many different effects of exploitation on every aspect of women's lives, including their private lives, and to show that bourgeois ideology has always helped maintain and increase exploitation. We must refute obsolete and reactionary concepts minimising women's role in the production sphere, the family and society. These concepts not only humiliate women but prejudice our cause. We are trying to educate women activists of a modern type more meaningful as persons fully engaged in the production sphere, completely free from economic and other forms of compulsion in private and family relations and seeing their happiness in the general struggle for democracy national independence, peace and victorious socialism.

In our ideological work, we make a point of explaining how greatly our struggle is prejudiced by notions which are insulting to women because they would restrict women's activity to the family circle. Naturally, we have always revealed the roots of these backward views. Our task now is to show the possibilities of spreading the views of the working class on women's role in society, the production sphere and the family.

A further dangerous misconception is the belief that reformism is the only or chief obstacle to spreading our ideology among women. It is precisely bourgeois ideology

ranging from the most conservative to the neoliberal variety that provides fertile ground for reformist views; moreover, conservative views which had lost their influence reappear in one form or another in the climate of economic crisis.

Maintaining close links with the female population is a requisite for success in our ideological and political work. We consider that we must go to work-places and speak to the thousands of those engaged in cottage industries, for by far most women workers are among them. Our party also needs to be vocal in rural communities.

After the downfall of the dictatorship (1974), numerous women's organisations sprang up all over the country. Contacts were established and cooperation began with the Women's International Democratic Federation and women's organisations in socialist as well as capitalist countries of various continents. This gave our movement access to international experience. The horizons of the movement broadened through participation in international conferences and congresses and through exchanges of delegations.

Women's organisations are an active ally of the trade unions and the working class and peasant movement of the country. The struggle which these organisations are carrying on has an anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly trend. Constituted on locality, they come out against all discrimination and for the equality of all citizens, men and women alike, in a democratic, independent and peace-loving Greece. Dozens of local associations whose activities are coordinated at the national level call public attention to women's problems. They play an important part in the militant coalition of popular forces.

As we have long had an organised women's movement, some get the wrong impression that solving women's problems and meeting their demands is the exclusive responsibility of this movement.

This has created further problems. To begin with, our trade unions must increase their contribution to actions for women's rights, cooperating with women's organisations. Besides, working women must be encouraged to play a bigger role in the promotion of these actions and in the work of trade union branches. Even now many female activists are a match for men. Women's resistance to employers' offensive and attempts at discrimination often assumes a marked class character. The time is past when both individual capitalists and whole monopolies could look on women as members of the 'weaker' sex.

However, our women's movement does have a weak point: while involvement in struggle soars at turning points in political development, it goes visibly down when patient everyday effort is needed. The reason why it is hard to bring women into sustained activity is not that they underrate it, for they do not, but that this kind of activity requires time which they lack. This is why the proportion of women in elected bodies is entirely out of keeping with their role in public life. Ensuring women's daily participation in political activity is a matter of decisive importance to us Communists.

We do not have to invent ways of solving the problem. This must be done primarily by diversifying the forms and content of trade union activity in work-places. Trade unions have been formed in most factories. The effort to improve their links with the working women would benefit from setting up women's councils in all levels along with industrial trade union committees. These councils not only help enlighten and unite working women and register the problems agitating them but prepare them for the fulfilment of various tasks. In this way working women come to appreciate the unions' problems and struggles more and more.

It is not only women's organisations but neighbourhood committees led by municipal councils that can foster everyday participation by women, especially those holding no job, in public life. To be sure, the committees are an institution functioning under the existing social system but it is important that this institution is rather far removed from the central authority and the sphere of its intervention. More

important still, committee members are elected directly by the population. This is why there are more women on them than in any other echelon or agency.

We now regard our effort to draw women into organised forms of public activity as a counterbalance to persistent attempts to confine them within the 'family circle', an idealised 'private life', an 'individual choice', and so on.

The CPG takes an uncompromising stand against any concept assigning members of mass organisations the role of mere executors of decisions made by the leadership who are only allowed a superficial verification of its performance once a year, during elections. With popular initiative and responsibility growing, the greatest efficiency can be expected from Communists whose daily work is inspired by the well-known principle 'History is made by the people'. This is all the truer now that the working people must take the realisation of fundamental changes in Greek life into their hands.

Years of experience have shown that the CPG owes its influence on millions of Greek women to improvements in its work among women within its own ranks and in the general political, ideological and organisational schooling of women Communists. It is only a strong and well-trained vanguard that can guarantee women's organisations and the popular movement as a whole a correct orientation. There are many more women in the CPG now and the party has numerous experienced activists among them.

The big problems of party life described below require particular attention today. First among them is the need to end a certain isolation of work among women from work among the population as a whole. This shortcoming, which arose in the years when the CPG regained legality, was inevitable at the time. But unless we remove it there may be negative consequences. In the past, problems of the women's movement were often the exclusive responsibility of comrades expressly entrusted with them while leading bodies stayed out, so to speak. Now is the time for them and for all leading as well as rank and file Communists, whatever the party work assigned to them, to perceive the whole set of problems of the women's movement as their own vital cause. Party branches must discuss women's ideological and other problems and decide on the prospects of women's activity with due regard to local conditions.

Secondly, it is important to build up the cadre of female members of the party promoted in recent years and to raise their ideological and political level. Since the CPG came out of illegality, girls have joined it mostly at the age at which they decide on their private, family and professional lives. However, the effects of the crisis afflicting Greek society are such that it is more and more difficult for women to spare time for party work, especially on a permanent basis. This calls for redoubled efforts to train young women Communists in a way enabling them to hold their own against difficulties created by life.

Ideological education within the CPG helps combat wrong notions about women's rights and role which we occasionally come across. We realise that there is a danger of even our own ranks (especially in the countryside) being contaminated by traditional conservative views, of some women Communists, mostly students and intellectuals, submitting to the influence of neofeminist ideas. Sometimes a 'feminist' approach makes itself felt even in families in which both husband and wife are doing party work; some of the resulting conflicts have to be settled by the party committees concerned.

It is important to remember that until recently even many Communists were influenced by backward views on women. Hence the difficulty of moulding and remoulding relations between individuals and the danger of going too far. The main task is not to get everyone to form overnight an irreproachable view on women's role and rights in every walk of life but to help everyone realise that the effort to end women's inequality is inseparable from the general struggle which the working people

of Greece are carrying on. To be able to approach this matter with a sense of responsibility, it is necessary, first of all, to have a proper knowledge of the fundamental political problems facing the country. Such an approach is unthinkable without harmoniously combining a full private life with public activity. Their effective combination serves social progress.

Steering clear of oversimplification and separation of educational from political activity, we can carry on party education judiciously and efficiently and raise our entire work among women to a new plane.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 371.

The Workers' Class Consciousness: Trends and Evolution

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COMMUNISTS have been closely watching development trends in the political consciousness of the working masses in the capitalist countries, for, as Lenin indicated, on their correct assessment largely depends the successful introduction of the revolutionary ideology into the working class.¹

That has led Marxists to examine a wide range of problems, and among these shaping the socio-political consciousness and so also the behaviour of the working masses are the historical and national traditions and cultural customs of various social groups, their mentality and value systems, and the resultant ways of life, their ideological and political-party orientations, the impact on these groups of the fluctuating economic outlook in the country and the world as a whole, and their perception of the crisis in the capitalist society, and of the historical role of the working class movement.

All of these problems cannot, of course, be dealt with in one article, and so it is confined to examining the influence which the effects of the economic crisis of the 1970s and the developments of early 1980s have had on the social consciousness of the FRG working class, and how the impact of the crisis processes of the recent period has been altering the individual and group socialisation² of the working people, which takes shape, on the one hand, through the masses 'adapting' to the capitalist social system, and on the other, through the working class resisting the economic and political domination of capital.

Two Forms of Socio-Political Consciousness³

The imperialist circles of the United States and other NATO countries regard the FRG as a bastion of capitalism in their fight against socialism and have tried hard to create conditions in that country which encouraged the expansion of West German capital, something that also had material benefits for the working class. That has produced at least three essential features of the socio-economic condition and

For earlier articles on the working class today see Ron Bellamy, 'Changes in the British Working Class Movement', *WMR*, No. 7, 1984; Michael Graber, 'The Working Class Movement: New Perspectives', *WMR*, No. 1, 1985; and José María Lanao, 'Strength of Class Solidarity', *WMR*, 1985, No. 2).

political consciousness of the West German working people.

First, up until the beginning of the current decade, the growth of workers' real incomes was not impeded even by the crisis phenomena of the 1960s and 1970s.⁴ The overwhelming part of the contemporary working class took shape under a favourable economic outlook, and first began to feel that the conditions of its reproduction were actually worsening only in the early 1980s, which means that for a long time there had been an *objective* basis for the formation of a wide 'social partnership' system and its attendant mentality.

Second, for a fairly long time the class consciousness of the FRG working people was largely determined by the crucial influence of social-democratic ideology and policy, so that the workers regarded 'social partnership' not just as collaboration with capital, but also as a gradual transformation of the society along the lines of social-democratic policy.

Third, the ideological climate in the country was a constant impediment to the working class's adoption of new political orientations. The anti-communism which had for long years been implanted by means of various techniques not only meant the outlawing of the Communists, but also the defamation of the socialist alternative or its distortion to a point at which even the policy of the Schmidt-Genscher government could be called socialist. The almost pathological striving of the leadership of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) and a large section of the trade unions to eradicate the genuinely socialist traditions resulted in a timorous distancing among the workers from the left-wing forces, so that any strategy to the left of the Social Democrats' strategy was seen by many if not always as unconstitutional, then as sectarian, at any rate.

This led to the emergence of the fairly stable conformist elements in the social consciousness, which now ever more frequently clash with the altered economic condition of the working class and the need for socio-political change. But the new political orientations will be asserted among the workers only when the ideological super-impositions of the past thirty years have been eliminated, and when new conditions help to change some of the traditional stereotype views.

It is hard to predict how this process will run throughout the rest of the 1980s. If the crisis of capitalism were the only force propelling the development of the proletarian class consciousness, it would have grown markedly from the mid-1970s to the early 1980s, especially in the FRG. But even with an eye to the class battles of the recent period, one has to see that the political consciousness of the working people in the FRG is being strengthened much more slowly than the development of the crisis phenomena.

Both the crisis, and the present government's conservative social policy do objectively weaken the economic pillars of 'social partnership', but that does not automatically lead to an erosion of the paternalistic and compromise forms of consciousness. The activation of the trade-union masses evident over the past several years and the consequent rise in the level of class consciousness keep running up against the well-entrenched ideological barriers, so that political consciousness as a whole has been limited mainly to ideas of social alternatives which do not go beyond the framework of the capitalist system.

The causes of that could be clarified through an analysis of the contradictions which arise in the social self-expression (socialisation) of the individual wage-worker under capitalism. Such a worker is, on the one hand, an individual whose consciousness and behaviour are determined by purely personal interest and responses to the surrounding situation. On the other hand, every wage-worker is to some extent a 'class individual'. Accordingly, a distinction can be drawn between a predominantly 'individualised' and a 'social' type of consciousness.

Under the capitalist system, and especially in the atmosphere of a protracted

economic crisis, there is a deepening of the contradictions between the 'individualised' and 'social' consciousness, with the 'isolated' worker type of consciousness becoming more clearcut, as he tries to solve his problems individually in the light of the predominant, i.e., purely bourgeois social orientations. His consciousness is shaped mainly under the influence of the simplest regulations of the labour-process to which it is easy to adapt in a favourable situation.

The 'isolated' worker relies on his personal experience, and it follows from his experience that clearcut observance of the established norms is rewarded, while any social policy cutting across his individual strategy tends to threaten his self-expression. He has yet to realise that, far from providing any protection, complete subjection to the capitalist labour system actually increases his dependence as the crisis proceeds, because in that case his social self-expression has to run through the capitalist relations of production and is bent to the laws which are dictated by capital and not by the working people. That is why such a worker lives in a world of illusions, assuming that his true life, the unfolding of his individuality and his social self-realisation occur in his non-working time, outside the relations of production which are the basic social relations.

The role of politics and the substance of the crisis defy understanding through the subjective approach to life. The 'isolated' worker regards social policy (of the state, parties, trade unions) as something alien, extraneous and not directly relevant to his personal vital problems, because the latter are solved through individual adaptation, so that he is usually quite willing to support ideological views and programmes declaring that overcoming the consequences of the crisis is a matter of individual effort.

That kind of readiness to adapt makes one receptive to the bourgeois view of crisis, together with a rejection of all political theories which say that the attained living standards may be lost for social reasons, since accepting that kind of explanation would amount to the 'isolated' worker's recognition that individual efforts are futile.

In contrast to the 'isolated' worker is the working person who is conscious primarily of being a member of the society and a representative of a social class. Even when living standards are on the rise, he strives to influence social relations, and within them mainly seeks a social orientation for himself, trying to overcome the incomprehension of the connections in the individual's self-expression both in his working and non-working time. His active participation in trade-union activity leads him to the conviction that living conditions are regulated mainly by social factors and collective action. He also sees the crisis as an individual threat to himself, while realising that it is no longer possible blindly to rely on the existing social security, and that is not only an expression of his individual reaction, but also an incentive for him to turn to social alternatives, although he, too, tends to vacillate between 'social' and 'individual' strategies. Still, in contrast to the individualistically oriented working person, he is already prepared for the assimilation of new elements of consciousness.

While that is so, many wage-workers in the FRG who seek a solution of pressing problems by means of social conceptions still tend to express their political consciousness in social practice mainly as an apologetic and pro-bourgeois consciousness characterised, for instance, by the 'social partnership' mentality. It is only by passing through the crucible of 'collective consciousness' in its various forms that the working person can rise to an objective understanding of the whole range of the common and divergent interests of the individual, the class, and the society. But Maxists are also aware that even social consciousness determined by 'partnership' illusions is a stride forward from the individualistic self-consciousness since it is a quest for some kind of social strategy.

There is known to be an intricate connection between man's consciousness and actual behaviour. The capitalist society confronts the members of the various classes

or groups with absolutely concrete demands. The worker's acceptance of the predominant patterns of thinking and behaviour is rewarded with a relative guarantee of employment, an average share of income, and a definite measure of social certitude. The *individual capability* so attained by the working person involves a militation of his other capability, namely, his *group* (e.g., trade union) *capability*, but most frequently his *class capability*. However, the 'individual capability' turns out to be total dependence on the employer and the economic situation, and does very little to satisfy 'group' interests. The worker, as a representative of a social class actually gets nothing out of his 'individual capability', which is why he obtains greater control over the shaping of his living conditions only by overcoming the spontaneous individual adaptation to the capitalist system, as he passes to group action, at least, and to independent class action, at best.

But the individual worker will not abandon the individual efforts to ensure his conditions of existence, and will not take the way of active trade-union action, to say nothing of conscious class action, unless forced to do so by dire necessity, and unless he has assimilated the main elements of the collectivist consciousness.

In no other class under capitalism is there such an uncompromising clash between these alternative possibilities of ensuring one's vital existence, and the greater the danger threatening the workers' living standards, the more acute these distinctions in their socio-political consciousness. The result is a polarisation of the 'social-partnership' and the conscious-class lines in the behaviour of individual working people, their groups and social strata.

In actual reality, of course, the opposite types of subtypes of consciousness (individualised and social, socially conformist and class-proletarian) will be found only in the 'fringe' strata of the working class between which there remains the most massive 'mixed' type of group. Changes in this group seem to be predetermined by the overall vector in the development of the class consciousness which is, of course, not established spontaneously, but as a result of the struggle between the progressive and the reactionary ideological and political forces, and under the influence of growing democratic attitudes and the activity of the German Communist Party. It is not easy now to determine the exact direction of this vector. An analysis of election returns and involvement in the strike movement, for instance, produces a contradictory picture.

However, the following fact is perfectly obvious. In any deep economic crisis, there is a struggle for a progressive or a reactionary swing in policy, and so also a general polarisation of ideological trends. Just now, these opposites are reflected in every sphere of social life in the FRG. Whichever of them we consider, be it economic and social policy, international relations or the education system, everywhere public statement of purpose involves a simultaneous sharpening of the struggle between progressive and reactionary ideological views.⁵

The polarisation of positions in the sphere of the ideological superstructure does have its effects on the working people's social thinking. The crisis threatening a loss of jobs, i.e., the very basis of existence, confronts both the 'isolated' individuals and those who are inclined to collective, social forms of self-expression, with a shift taking place in the 'individualised' consciousness in favour of a consideration of the social character of the crisis, while the class perception of the situation is even more actively expressed in the 'social' consciousness. Whether this will go to politicise the consciousness of the in-between groups, which constitute the majority of the working class in the FRG, and help to overcome reformist views and actions, largely depends on the results of the on-going change of generation of functionaries in the working class and trade-union movements.

Generation Change and New Elements of Class Consciousness⁶

Most of these functionaries in industry and the trade unions are now between 30 and 40 years old, and they are the ones who are eventually recruited for the top trade-union leadership. There is good ground to assume that members of the new generation on this level will differ radically from those of the post-war period.

The present generation of working people, as a mass, regard the rising material security as being normal, and this tends somewhat to modify their notion of the worker's priority interests and methods of their protection which were characteristic of the generations directly faced with privation. Alongside the basic need to maintain the attained living standards, the new generation of working people have also made claims with respect to the content of their activity, development of human capabilities and democratic expression of will, a turnaway from material to 'post-material' values⁷ which is evidenced by the discussions in scientific and political circles over the past several years.

However, it would be premature to assert, as some bourgeois analysts have done, that there is no longer any problem in ensuring priority vital requirements. That is not true. There is evidence not of a departure from material interests, but of their expansion. Changes in the FRG worker's value preferences today should be derived from the new elements now prevailing in his work and in his attitude to education. He is now required not only to expend his physical powers, but also to apply his analytical capacities. Two West German sociologists have noted that among the qualities displayed by this kind of worker are 'circumspection, a sober and critical restraint; a readiness for surprises, confidence of action, and independence'.⁸ Wherever the working people are active, the inner urge for new forms of social self-expression corresponds to the new circumstances and tends to appear in broader and clearer political thinking.

Does this trend find an outlet into social life, politics, and the class struggle? It does, even if slowly. The present-day trade-union activists gained their initial political experience not in labour conflicts, but in the movements against extraordinary laws and the war in Vietnam, and, finally, for better occupational training. It is not so much economic, as political struggle that gave a fresh impetus to the development of the social consciousness of unionised young people in the late 1960s, a struggle in the course of which anti-communist attitudes receded into the background.

The workers' attitude to education, never in evidence in the past, is undoubtedly also of especial importance in shaping the political, class consciousness. Joint action by working people and students create ties in this sphere which had never before existed in the West German working class movement. Over the past decade and a half the value of general education has grown exceptionally in the eyes of young trade-union members. That was promoted by the laws on study leaves passed by the Länder and the corresponding new provisions in the law on the rights and duties of the employer and the work collective. The change in the attitude to education was also induced by the fact that the overwhelming part of the trade-union researchers came from the student movement, and they insisted on the writing into the curricula of conceptions which, in contrast to the official tenets of the Federation of German Trade Unions, were based on Marxism.

There has been an equally marked change in the character of the working people's requirements. In the post-war period, there was mainly the satisfaction of no more than vital necessities. Once these had been ensured, the young generation inevitably developed broader requirements. There was a development of the urge to self-realisation, which could no longer be satisfied merely through a quantitative expansion of consumption. However, to speak in this connection about some 'post-material' requirements would be missing the mark. The problem consists in the

satisfaction of material and spiritual requirements, and of individual and social interests ranging over every aspect of life.

The problem of protection of workers' rights is now being differently formulated not only with respect to consumption, but also to working conditions. There arises an urge for participation in management wherever the assurance of living standards does not directly depend on piece-work earnings, additional payment for overtime or performance of especially arduous work, and where the job is guaranteed both by the worker's skills and the possibility of his multi-purpose use and participation in technical innovations. The traditional need to preserve what has been gained in the sphere of incomes and working conditions induces the workers to increase their influence in the taking of decisions in production and in the society.

Finally, there is also a substantial difference in the generations' approach to political life proper. Young trade-union activists of the late 1960s and early 1970s worked out their basic political orientations under the influence of the forms of social self-expression which were inherent in the extra-parliamentary left-wing movement. While the 'fathers' gradually abandoned the militant proletarian traditions—the working class song, the red flag and the clenched fist—and assimilated the idiom of 'social partnership' which tends to suppress the class consciousness, the 'children' were once again involved in demonstrations under red banners, pasted walls with placard portraits of Marx, Lenin and other revolutionaries, and rediscovered for themselves the history of their class.

That is the characteristic way traversed by young people joining the ranks of the DKP, while the way is even shorter for those young people who are engaged in especially active struggle at their workplaces in defence of the interests of their collective.⁹

The from-30-to-40-age group do not, of course, make up a majority of the trade-union mass, although more of them are active trade-unionists than before. They bear a great burden of responsibility, first, because in the forthcoming class battles it is such trade-union activists that will have the key role to play in shaping the political consciousness of the in-between majority group of workers mentioned above. Second, and this is of paramount importance: despite all the efforts of the anti-communists, the new generation of trade-union cadres have developed requirements and political sympathies which not only clash with the propositions of the ruling circles' present conservative line, but also contain subjective prerequisites for adoption of the socialist orientation.

Struggle Between Two Trends¹⁰

These opposite orientation tendencies in social consciousness are now most pronounced within the working class and trade-union movement of the FRG. Alongside the regional centres or definite groups of working people taking an active stand against the effects of the crisis and for the interests of the working class, there is evidence of a decline in trade-union and political struggle in some regions, work collectives and groups, and in virtually every case that is the result of the differences in militant experience, the strength of the Communists and the left-wing Social Democrats, and the extent of their political influence on the masses. Wherever the effects of the crisis begin to tell among the population of a region or within a collective in which active consciousness had earlier prevailed and corresponding work had been carried on, this type of consciousness tends to be further strengthened. By contrast, whenever the crisis affects passive groups of the working class, the opposite tendency makes itself known.

Evidence of the clash between these two processes may be seen in the constant and ever more frequent contradiction between the basic-wage demands formulated at the grassroots, and the corresponding decisions taken in the central trade-union

agencies. There is evidence of a sharp contradiction between the new radicalism, which is expressed in some workers taking over enterprises, and the moderate, 'partnership' stand of some trade-union leaders.

It is impossible to predict which line gain the upper hand if one confines oneself to an analysis of superficial phenomena. Even the strike statistics do not provide an adequate basis for bringing out the main tendency. The various forms of struggle of our working class do not lend themselves to any simplistic evaluation on the strength of strike duration or number of strikers. It is important to take account of factors like the quality of strike organisation, the extent of the working people's activity, the extent of their participation in the actions, the extent to which the social situation has been politicised, and the reaction of the class adversary. With such an approach, one will note a rise in the temperature of the class battles in the FRG.

One indicator is the growing number of enterprises taken over by strikers. Such actions are highly significant because they cut across the accepted trade-union orientation towards 'social partnership' and the widespread inclination of the representative organs of work collectives and trade unions to deal with capital within the framework of 'legal' relations. The takeover of enterprises is a form of workers' struggle which seems to have been all but forgotten in our country, and most trade-union leaders still continue to reject it. In 1981, there were six such 'takeovers' of enterprises, involving 3,670 persons; in 1982 there were 10 and 4,820, and in 1983—16 and 12,800, respectively, with the longest of these actions lasting more than four months.

In all the cases in which strikers have taken over enterprises there has been evidence that the population of the surrounding district was markedly politicised: initiative support groups took shape, large amounts of money were collected in favour of the strikers, and 'solidarity manifestations' were staged at some enterprises. Finally, in the course of these developments the positions of anti-communism were weakened. Indeed, there was growing sympathy for DKP members, who were active at enterprises and elsewhere.

Two years ago, at the very height of the crisis, the readiness for resolute action appeared to weaken. But in 1984, the strike movement acquired especially broad scope and had the greatest reverberations throughout the history of the FRG. Despite the mass unemployment and the victory in the 1983 elections by the right-wing coalition (which was also promoted by many workers), the strike movement proceeded with a force that evidenced a new stage in the history of our class struggle.

The metal-workers', printers' and paper workers' unions came out for a 35-hour workweek, and this clashed with the employers' 'iron rule' that all collective bargaining was to be based on the maintenance of the 40-hour workweek. The Federal Government quite openly sided with the employers, and the bourgeois mass media mounted an unprecedented campaign against the 35-hour week.

In these hard economic and political conditions, the battles over the basic-wage issues developed into a trial of strength: it was no longer a matter of cutting working time, but of the trade unions' general capability. The rightists' government and capital strove to inflict a decisive defeat on the trade unions and to suppress any serious resistance by the working people to the reactionary line of overcoming the crisis at their expense.

At first sight, a reduction of the workweek to 38.5 hours does not appear to be such an outstanding achievement, and the fact that at some enterprises less than the required 75 per cent of the workers voted for the strikes, whereas at some of the major enterprises they were induced to go on strike only with great effort, could be seen as an expression of weakness. But that would be a one-sided and incomplete assessment failing to reflect the especial complexity of the struggle in the course of

which the working people are subjected to the brutal effects of the crisis and massive attacks by employers and the government.

The strikes resulted not only in an unprecedented loss of man-days throughout the whole history of the FRG, but also gave a tremendous impetus for politicising the whole social life of the country. One cannot, of course, ignore the scepticism of many work collectives over the objective of the strikes, but what is more important is that the working people now have a better understanding that it is not just a matter of cutting back some work time, but of a principled clash between labour and capital, a clash over the trade unions' capacity to defend the interests of their members in the altered conditions. That is why in the months of strikes various areas of social life were shot through with the struggle for the 35-hour week. Despite the weaknesses of the strike movement, it has still taken a stride forward, and this will be of tremendous importance in the forthcoming class battles.

The large-scale 250,000-strong demonstration staged by the trade unions in Bonn showed that the West German workers are prepared to join in the political struggle as well. There was applause and the chanting of anti-government slogans whenever speakers attacked the government's policy.

These events also laid bare the weakness of the Federation of German Trade Unions, some of whose organisations have totally withdrawn from many such actions, having negotiated collective contracts with clauses on the preservation of the 40-hour workweek for a long period. The country-wide solidarity strike announced in Bonn did not take place. It became clear that revenge was inflicted on the trade-union movement for its past sins. The 'social partnership' policy conducted by some trade-union leaders and members of production councils paralysed local initiatives in some cases, and in others led to a loss of the sense of solidarity with workers deprived of benefits since they had allegedly been laid off because of erratic supplies in production. That is where the lack of militant experience, the weakness of political class consciousness and inadequate influence of forward-looking trade-union circles made themselves known. One of the important tasks of the progressive forces of the FRG is to study these phenomena and to draw the necessary conclusions.

It will take some time before the elements of the 'social partnership' consciousness are overcome within the working class of the FRG, and the class world-view prevails, a view which is now being positively shaped by two factors. First, regardless of the assessment of the final results of the basic-wage battles, the subjective factor of class consciousness was more strongly manifested in the 1984 strike battles than it had been before the strikes. The working class has come to realise that under the crisis it is possible not only to fight, but also to win. Second, the consequences of the growing poverty of the working people and the general understanding that its causes are rooted in the enormous growth of military spending are increasingly beginning to tell. The Communists' demand—'Jobs instead of Missiles'—will be found ever more frequently in one form or another in the slogans of trade-union congresses and the latest congresses of the SPD.

For all that, there is a need everywhere to take into account that anti-communism, rooted in the thinking of successive generations, continues to impede any painless adoption of socialist orientations. In the elections to the city and communal municipal councils, and also to some of the Landtags, the collapse of the 'social partnership' policy was perhaps more reflected by the political consciousness in the fact that it lost all orientation, instead of acquiring a socialist character. Many workers did not go to the polls, while young workers frequently supported the Green Party, which, while gradually overcoming the narrowness of its ecological conception and adopting anti-capitalist concepts alongside the policy of peace, does not offer any socialist perspective at all.

Much will depend on the DKP's further development in the subsequent battles, on

how it extends its ideological influence, and on the further growth of the party ranks in the midst of the working class.

¹ See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 422.

² Socialisation is the process in which the individual assimilates the system of knowledge, norms and values enabling him to function as a member of the society. The Marxist view is that socialisation is not only an 'imposition' on the individual of the 'social forms' existing in the given conditions, but also the individual's participation in overcoming obsolete social norms, primarily by means of social activity.—Ed.

³ See also the articles by J. H. von Heiseler, F. Deppe, J. Schleifstein in: *Marxistische Studien. Jahrbuch des IMSF*, 1, 1978 und 2, 1979, Frankfurt/Main. (These are contributions to a colloquium on 'Crisis Development and Workers' Consciousness').

⁴ A direct drop in the index of real wages in non-agricultural sectors was recorded in 1982-1983.

⁵ The West German workers' attitude to their foreign fellow-workers is one example. Attempts by the ruling circles to blame the latter for the mass unemployment tend to increase hostility for them among the less conscious groups of the working class. At the same time, there is a growth in the number of impressive acts of solidarity with foreign workers on the part of active trade-unionists.

⁶ On the basis, trends and forms of new social movements and their relations with the working class and the working class movement, see the articles by Kaspar Maase, Wittich Rossmann, J. H. von Heiseler, Harold Werner, Moris Markard, and Lothar Bading on 'New Social Movements and the Working Class Movement' in: *Marxistische Studien. Jahrbuch des IMSF*, 5, 1982; F. Karl, *Die Bürgerinitiativen. Soziale und politische Aspekte einer neuen sozialen Bewegung, Soziale Bewegungen*, H. 10, Frankfurt/Main, 1981.

⁷ See W. Kudera, W. Mangold, K. Ruff, R. Schmidt, *Gesellschaftliches und politisches Bewusstsein von Arbeitern. Eine empirische Untersuchung*, Frankfurt/Main, 1979; R. Inglehart, *The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political Styles Among Western Publics*, Princeton, New York, 1977.

⁸ H. Kern, M. Schumann, *Industriearbeit und Arbeiter Bewusstsein*, Teil I, Frankfurt/Main, 1973, p. 273.

⁹ See D. Hänisch u.a., 'Jugendliche in der DKP. Eine empirische Studie über ihre Politikzugänge', *IMSF- Informations-bericht*, Nr. 34, 1982, Frankfurt/Main; see also a summary of the study in: *Marxistische Studien. Jahrbuch des IMSF*, 3, 1980.

¹⁰ For current documents and analysis of social struggles in the FRG see the series of publications entitled *Soziale Bewegungen. Analyse und Dokumentation des IMSF*, Frankfurt/Main, 1976. Concerning the state of trade-union organisation and trade-union value orientations, see No. 9 of the series, Frankfurt/Main, 1981, p. 57.

Under the Heel of the Southern Neighbour

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THE 1980s constitute a crossroads for Canada because Canada is confronted more sharply than ever before with an historic choice: either eventual absorption by US imperialism on all fronts or a path leading to genuine independence. These two paths of development have been sharply delineated by US imperialism's aggressive drive to achieve economic and military superiority not only over the Soviet Union and the socialist world but also over its imperialist rivals including Canada. The two paths are centred on a choice of either supporting the US drive towards nuclear war and turning Canada into a backwater of US industry, or, pursuing independent foreign and economic policies favouring world peace and Canada's independent economic interests.

The parliamentary elections held in September 1984 handed power over to the Progressive Conservative Party which represents big capital interests and advocates concessions to the United States. Brian Mulroney, leader of Canada's Tories,

presides over the new government. The Liberal Party which had been in office for the past two decades suffered a painful defeat, mostly because it was blamed for the severe economic crisis of the early 1980s.

In a post-election statement our party offered this assessment of the results:

'With the election of a Tory majority government the preferred party of monopoly and of the Reagan Administration has won a majority. According to *The Financial Post* 88 per cent of the Executives of Canadian corporations gave support to their preferred party. They not only supported but financed and worked for the realisation of such a majority to implement the "tough decisions" they have in mind in the post election period. The monopoly-owned media went all out to sell Mulroney and the Tories to the Canadian people. This combined with the calculated use of Polls (public opinion) were all directed to manipulate public opinion in favour of a Tory victory.'¹

The Progressive Conservative Party, under the leadership of Mulroney, former president of the US-owned Iron Ore Company of Canada, fully supports Washington's foreign policy and advocates sharp increases in Canada's military expenditures and closer integration of the Canadian economy into the US military-industrial complex through so-called continentalism.

In the Grip of Economic Dependence

In recent years, Canada has undergone its worst economic crisis in the postwar years. By 1983, her gross domestic product fell five per cent after several years of painfully slow growth, and industrial production fell 11.2 per cent. That same year, official figures put the rate of unemployment at over 12 per cent while it is widely accepted to be over 16 per cent. Today, it is officially 11, and in practice 15 per cent. Real personal disposable incomes have fallen in every year since 1976. The cumulative effect of mass unemployment and declining purchasing power was to abort the signs of a certain economic recovery which surfaced tentatively by 1984. In this context, the Tory programme for close military and industrial cooperation with the United States as a means of ensuring the profitability of the pro-US sections of Canadian monopoly capital is a formula for disaster.

As a country subject to the laws of capitalist development Canada cannot avoid the crises and problems that come with it. In this sense, Canada is not unique from other capitalist countries. What does make Canada unique is that it has the dubious distinction of being more integrated into and more dependent on the US economy than any other developed capitalist country. This situation came about during the cold war when Canadian monopoly made a conscious decision to subordinate Canada's interests to those of US imperialism in order to share in the profits of US economic and military hegemony over the capitalist world. In exchange for turning Canada into a natural resources base for her southern neighbour, Canadian monopoly was given wider access to the US market and obtained orders from the US war machine.

The government-appointed Royal Commission on Corporate Concentration offered this assessment of the situation: 'Canadian industry features a higher proportion of foreign ownership than does any other developed country.'² Foreign long-term investment in Canada grew rapidly through the 1970s: in 1968, it amounted to \$38 billion Canadian, in 1978, it amounted to \$102 billion Canadian of which \$73 billion came from the USA. A substantial shift took place in the type of this investment. In 1968, 54.3 per cent of this investment was directed towards direct investment in manufacturing, petroleum and gas and mining and smelting. Ten years later, direct investment in these industries fell to 44.5 per cent; the main beneficiary of this shift was portfolio investment in government securities which went up from 17.9 per cent to 26.7 per cent.³ This reflected foreign investors' preference for the security of a guaranteed return to the risk involved in investing in industries subject to the

ebbs and flows of the capitalist economy. It is in fact a form of international coupon-clipping carried out at the expense of Canada and its people.

At the same time, this growth of foreign investment was accompanied by the 'Canadianisation' of a number of industries previously dominated by foreign, mostly US monopolies. The share of Canadian ownership of capital employed in non-financial industries grew from 65 to 67 per cent in the 1968-1978 period. This process has accelerated in recent years: by 1981 Canadian control increased to 74 per cent. In the mining and petroleum industries where foreign ownership had long been dominant, Canadian ownership now constitutes a majority.

There are two other highly important factors which have contributed to the 'Canadianisation' of some sectors of the economy. Firstly, a rash of mergers and takeovers took place during the 1970s, which created a larger pool of Canadian owned capital and placed some Canadian monopolies in a better position to take over foreign assets in Canada and even to compete with US firms for their assets in the USA.

Secondly, Pierre-Elliott Trudeau's Liberal government actively assisted the 'Canadianisation' process. The establishment of state-owned Petro-Canada and the inauguration of the National Energy Programme (NEP) in 1980 created more favourable conditions for Canadian firms compared to foreign capital. Although not receiving as much government attention as the petroleum industry, a similarly rapid process of establishing Canadian control was taking place in the mining industry.

While nationalistic political considerations had a role in the government's promotion of this policy, the main motive was to give Canadian monopoly capital a much larger share of the profits in what throughout the 1970s were highly profitable industries. According to a government-sponsored study, the four US owned oil majors made excess profits of \$89.2 billion from 1958 to 1981, or about \$15,000 per Canadian family.⁴

'Canadianisation' is a positive step because it has strengthened Canadian economic sovereignty, repatriating billions of dollars to Canada. This is why the Communist Party of Canada has given critical support to the measures to bring parts of the Canadian economy under Canadian control. At the same time, it is obvious that the present form of 'Canadianisation' is far too limited in its scope and relies heavily on big business to carry it through. The benefits go mainly to Canadian monopolies but not to Canadian working people. For example, one of the by-products of the NEP was higher oil and gas prices which translated into bigger profits for the monopolies and inflation for Canadian consumers.

'Canadianisation' of natural resource industries has not resulted in any fundamental change in the structure of the Canadian economy. Canadian manufacturing remains relatively underdeveloped. Much of Canada's raw and semi-processed materials are processed and manufactured in other countries, mostly in the United States, and this creates jobs in the United States at Canada's expense. This is why unemployment is consistently higher in Canada than in the USA. What Canada needs to achieve Canadian economic independence is nationalisation under democratic control of all the key sectors of the economy.

Canada pays a heavy price for foreign economic domination. A survey of the manufacturing industries has led the Royal Commission on Corporate Concentration to admit that Canada's 'industrial sector is the weakest area of the economy'.⁵ Although Canadian ownership of manufacturing industries increased during the 1970s, it did not alter its underdeveloped state or the distortions inherent in it. US transnationals maintain majority ownership of key industries such as machinery, transport equipment, electrical products, chemicals and chemical products. In contrast, Canadian ownership is high in consumer industries with poor competitive positions on the international capitalist market.

The operation of US transnational corporations aggravates Canada's dependence on trade with her southern neighbour; about 75 per cent of Canada's trade is with the USA. Generally, Canada is a net exporter of grains and semi-processed materials and a net importer of manufactured goods.

US imperialist domination of the Canadian economy affects decisions about research and development of new technologies. Here, too, transnationals make their decisions in accordance with the best potential for profit and not in accordance with the interests of Canada, and this makes her lag behind in new technologies.

One of the great myths propagated in Canada is that transnationals encourage investment and development of the Canadian economy. The truth is that in the final analysis, foreign investment acts as a serious drain on capital in Canada and is aggravating Canada's long-term balance of payments problems. In fact, Canada is a net exporter of capital and has been since 1975. From 1975 to 1981, \$17.48 billion Canadian left the country, leading to the loss of a huge store of capital which could have been used to create thousands of new jobs.

An even greater drain on the Canadian economy is the payment of investment income (dividends, interest and service charges) to non-residents. In every year since 1953, Canada has paid out more than it received. The 1970s saw a dramatic acceleration of this trend: these payments increased from less than \$2 billion in 1970 to \$13 billion in 1981.

Canadian economic developments confirm the conclusions of the programme of the Communist Party of Canada that: 'In their drive for maximum profits the Canadian monopoly capitalists have betrayed Canada's real national interests and have become the accomplices of US imperialism.' There is conflict between Canadian and US capital but it 'is directed to achieve maximum independence'. Even then, US imperialism is not satisfied with being the dominant partner because it 'looks upon Canadian sovereignty as an obstacle to the complete control and domination of our country'.⁶

Blackmail by Washington

US imperialism objects to even timid manifestations of Canadian sovereignty. It is unhappy with the Foreign Investment Review Agency (FIRA). Established in 1974 to screen foreign investment, allowing into Canada only that which appeared to have 'significant benefit' for Canada, FIRA is seen by US transnationals as a barrier to the takeover of the Canadian economy. During the 1980 federal election, Prime Minister Trudeau promised to strengthen FIRA. Accusing Ottawa of violating GATT agreements and threatening and then partly carrying out economic retaliation, Washington forced the Canadian government not only to back down on its intentions but also to make concessions.

In the case of the NEP, Washington's opposition was again very vigorous. US oil monopolies regarded it as an encroachment on their right to make unfettered profit at the expense of Canada and its people. They did not worry about scruples when they pulled out of several energy megaprojects and organised the flight of drilling rigs from Canada to the USA. It was nothing less than blackmail. To its credit, the Canadian government refused to gut the NEP although it did make certain concessions: the NEP's Canadian ownership provisions were diluted. As a result, not a single major US oil company operating in Canada has been taken over by Canadian interests. All major Canadian takeovers in the petroleum industry have been of European, not US firms.

Imperialist economic pressure takes on other forms as well. The Reagan Administration refused to consider revisions to the Auto Pact, a trade and production agreement which proved to be grossly disadvantageous to Canada. Washington adopted regulations which discriminated against Canadian truckers

transporting goods across US territory and obstructed any meaningful mutually satisfactory offshore fisheries agreement between the two countries.

The Reagan Administration has made it clear that it plans to do nothing about a number of long-standing Canadian grievances. The United States refuses to do anything about acid rain which has killed hundreds of lakes in eastern Canada and threatens to kill Canada's eastern forests. There was no response to an official diplomatic protest to the USA.

Washington has plans to use Canada as a site for dumping its toxic wastes and to divert western Canadian rivers to the USA. In short, it is asking Canada to give it clean water in exchange for dirty water.

Important concessions were made to Washington in other fields too. Postwar developments have proved conclusively that Canada's participation in the US-led NATO and NORAD aggressive military alliances undermines its sovereignty and independence. These blocs bind Canada securely to Washington's efforts to establish military superiority over the Soviet Union; they also draw the nation into the arms race.

Under US pressure, Canada increased her military expenditures. In 1983, it signed an umbrella agreement with Washington to test US weapons on Canadian soil, including the testing of the Cruise missile in northern Canada, a region whose terrain is similar to that of the Soviet Union. This signalled Canada's commitment to help US imperialism build up its first strike capacity. Canadians, who, in many municipal referenda, voted overwhelmingly in favour of world peace and nuclear disarmament, justly saw this as an explicitly unfriendly act against our northern neighbour, the Soviet Union, and as a step towards nuclear annihilation. The testing agreement was widely regarded in Canada as a betrayal of its national interest and security and as an action which substantially undermined Canada's prestige and credibility as a peace-loving country.

The growth of the peace movement in Canada, and the realisation among the more realistic sections of the Canadian ruling quarters that blindly following US imperialism is fraught with grave danger has obliged the previous Canadian government to begin to distance itself somewhat from the bellicose warmongering policies of the Reagan Administration. The Canadian government sharply criticised the US invasion of Grenada and expressed strong doubts about US policy in Central America. It made some moves to improve relations with the Soviet Union and took some initiatives to ease world tensions. In late 1983 and early 1984, the then Prime Minister Trudeau toured several countries with a peace mission, advocating a return to detente and peaceful settlement of disputes. During his tour, he questioned the NATO claim that it was 'necessary' to deploy the Cruise and Pershing II missiles in Western Europe. To a certain extent, his peace mission was motivated by considerations of domestic policy, but it also reflected genuine concern in ruling circles in both Canada and other NATO countries that US nuclear policy was a direct threat to their very existence. Needless to say, Washington was extremely unhappy with what they regarded as a breach in NATO ranks.

The Drift to the Right

The Canadian bourgeoisie has recently become more sharply divided on key questions affecting Canadian-US relations. One section favours such measures as those taken by the government of Prime Minister Trudeau to ease world tensions and strengthen Canadian independence. The other section, however, is closely allied to US imperialism and has become, politically and ideologically, a virtual mouthpiece of US interests. These pro-US forces include the majority of the Conservative Party and a minority of the Liberal Party.

The neo-conservatives have assailed any manifestation of independence in

economic and foreign policy and attempted to persuade Canadians that the way out of the present crisis is closer integration into the USA. They also played on the Canadian people's discontent with the failed economic policies of the Trudeau Government.

The recent elections which brought the Tories to power offer no hope that the major problems facing the nation will be solved with any degree of efficiency. These problems include high unemployment, a rise in inflation, a growing budget deficit, the likelihood of another downward turn in the economy and federal-provincial relations. The questions of our relations with the United States concerning high interest rates, protectionism and Washington's obsession with confrontation in world affairs remain acute. While a limited economic recovery is disappearing both in the USA and in Canada, high interest rates inhibit capital investments in Canada. Real incomes are at a standstill. None of the programmes enunciated by the Tories, including its giveaway programmes for the corporations, can have any significant effect on the level of unemployment which will be made worse by technological changes in industry.

Within the short time it has been in office, the Tory government has gone back on its election campaign promises of fighting against unemployment and inflation and improving social services. Now the Tories claim that high interest rates and economic instability stand in the way of more jobs. The high-sounding election promises of 'jobs, jobs, jobs' are turning into a mirage. Moreover, the Tories have launched a drive to dismiss tens of thousands of public employees. Monopoly wants workers to reduce their wages demands and double their productivity; this will merely accelerate the market economy processes leading to a new down turn. Similarly, the promise to improve the social welfare programme is also becoming a mirage as, under pressure from the monopolies, a drastic curtailment of the social welfare programme is being planned.

Mr. Mulroney promises to improve federal-provincial relations, but the basic element of western alienation is left untouched, the structural imbalance which makes the West a source of natural resources and the East the centre of manufacturing. Placing some Tories from Western Canada in the Cabinet will do nothing to change this situation which can only be overcome by effecting basic structural changes in the economy and by creating a new representation from each province, irrespective of population, including recognition of the equality of Canada's two nations and guaranteed representation to the Native peoples in the parliament.

The hopes in some quarters that electing Mulroney and the Tories will eliminate the feeling of national oppression and inequality of French Canada are indeed an illusion. The refusal of Mulroney and the Premiers of the English speaking provinces to recognise the French Canadian people as a nation with complete equality with the English speaking will only deepen the antagonisms between English and French Canada. The government's approach of conciliation is meaningless unless it is backed by recognition of Quebec's right to self-determination and its inclusion in the Canadian Constitution as an amendment, including the right of veto, measures which the government refuses to undertake.

Follow-up on the proposal to eliminate NEP and FIRA marks an end to the process of 'Canadianisation' begun by the Trudeau Government. In its place the Tories want to establish an open door to foreign investments which means more US takeovers, and are preparing to conclude a free trade agreement with the United States which will lead to eventual political subjugation of Canada to Washington. Another factor is the Tory course of increased military expenditures including increases in the armed forces, and of active support to the Reagan nuclear first strike strategy—a course of action which imperils Canada's sovereignty, its independence as well as its security.

This supine support to President Reagan's economic and foreign policies, however, comes up against a number of contradictions with Canada's interests. Protectionism, rejection of Canadian concerns regarding acid rain, high interest rates with their impact on the 'fragile' recovery, dissatisfaction with US economic sanctions against the USSR and with increased US military intervention in Central America—all these and other factors tend to accentuate latent antagonisms and contradictions. These in turn will lead to a strengthening of the forces calling for 'Canadianisation' of the key sectors of the economy under public ownership.

The line of cold war which the right-wing Tories pursue and with it, subordination of Canada to US imperialist aims in Central America, the Middle East or elsewhere, comes up against the reality that Canada's security lies in pursuing policies which ease tensions in the world and which lead to disarmament; it lies in developing and extending economic, scientific and cultural relations with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, as it lies in extending relations of equality with the developing countries and in support of the peoples striving for national and social liberation. This policy is essential both for the wellbeing of the Canadian people, but also as a counter-weight to the pressures of US imperialism against Canadian sovereignty and independence. The struggle for a made-in-Canada foreign policy of peace and disarmament will therefore grow in intensity.

The inevitable and growing gulf between the Tories who are pushing Canada to the right and the working class and all working people who reject this course creates favourable conditions in which the struggle for real change can be stepped up. Its success will depend overwhelmingly on the earliest possible attainment of unity of all progressive and democratic forces. In its statement concerning the election results, the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Canada stated: 'While the effort of our Party to deny majority government to Tory or Liberal party was not achieved, what was achieved was the election of a large progressive group to Parliament. Our call for the formation of a progressive coalition and of critical support to the NDP where we did not run candidates was soundly based and will have its impact in the days ahead. This position has and will continue to strengthen our influence in the broad labour movement as we continue our all-sided effort to build up and unite the forces of such a progressive coalition.'⁷

The working class and people face a two-fold task: on the one hand compel the Mulroney Government to implement the promises it made to the people, and on the other, work to stop the implementation of its hidden agenda—the promises made to the corporations and the US Administration. People's action is decisive here. For example, the peace movements throughout the country played a significant role in compelling Canada's main political parties to declare themselves on the vital issue of peace and war. The women's movement played an equally significant role in compelling the political parties to declare themselves on the issue of equality for women. The working class placed its imprint on the struggle for peace and jobs. Its struggle will be continued and widened, cementing the growing movement of the people to create a progressive coalition capable of challenging the policies of monopoly and the multinationals and their docile tool, the Tory government.

¹ *Election Results*. Statement by the Communist Party of Canada Central Executive Committee, Toronto, 1984.

² *Report of the Royal Commission on Corporate Concentration*, Ottawa, 1978, p. 4.

³ *Canada's International Investment Position*, Ottawa, 1982, pp. 76-79.

⁴ R. J. Bertrand, *The State of Competition in the Canadian Petroleum Industry*, Vol. 1, Hull, 1981, pp. 13-14.

⁵ *Report of the Royal Commission on Corporate Concentration*, pp. 191-192.

⁶ *The Road to Socialism in Canada*, Toronto, 1972, p. 9.

⁷ See *Election Results*, Op. cit.

Bitter Fruits of a Capitalist Orientation

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THIS year Indonesia will mark the 40th anniversary of its independence. Throughout these past decades a struggle has been going on between diverse socio-political forces over the course of social development. Up to the mid-sixties, a broad democratic front encompassing the working class led by the Communist Party followed a socio-economic line meeting the interests of the country. The anti-imperialist policy of Indonesia earned it notable international prestige at the time. Symbolically, it was in our country that the idea and slogan of Afro-Asian solidarity were first put forward; this was done at the Bandung Conference (1955), forerunner of the non-aligned movement.

Regrettably, the progressive and democratic forces were unable to hold their positions. Home reaction took advantage of their organisational weakness and ideological differences to stage a series of provocations and to carry out a coup in 1965 that resulted in imposing the military regime in power to this day. This regime embarked Indonesia on a capitalist course dependent on imperialism.

Policy of Concessions

Owing to the 'open door' policy of the regime, 75 per cent of investments in our economy today comes from foreign sources. In the oil industry, which provides 70 per cent of state revenues, the assets of foreign capital add up to 94 per cent while the share of PERTAMINA, a state enterprise, equals a mere 6 per cent. Foreign capital controls banking and sales of automobiles as well as electronic and construction equipment. It has made inroads into the food industry, until recently a traditional sphere of domestic business. The imperialists would now like to turn Indonesia into a neocolonial country by preventing it from choosing its development path.

Transnationals contrive to make huge profits in Indonesia. Meanwhile its foreign debt has been going up and stood at 30,074 million dollars in 1982, according to data released by the World Bank.¹ Budget appropriations for 1984/85 fiscal year include a further 4,040 million dollars in foreign 'aid', which will mean as great an increase in the external debt. As for servicing, it is expected to entail about 2,700 million dollars in 1984/85.

Economic dependence involves political dependence. It would seem at first sight that Indonesia, a major ASEAN country and a member of the non-aligned movement, can and should pursue an independent foreign policy. Actually official policy does considerable damage to national sovereignty. There is a visible inclination to compromise with and make concessions to imperialism. Indonesia has taken a negative stand on revolutionary Afghanistan and People's Kampuchea. Its trade and economic relations with the socialist community are still limited.

The Jakarta regime poses as a peace supporter. Yet between 1980 and 1983 its military budget rose from 1.5 to 2.8 billion dollars. US 'aid' to Indonesia, generally in the form of credits for the purchase of arms, has been increasing. Eighty per cent of these credits is spent on material and spare parts for the Air Force, which is equipped mainly with planes of US make and has already purchased a squadron of 16 F-5E fighters. The United States has offered Indonesia F-20 planes at 17 million dollars each. Besides, the regime expects to purchase F-16 planes, which can carry nuclear weapons (at 25-30 million dollars each).

The USA also 'helps' train Indonesia's armed forces. Needless to say, its 'aid' is coupled with the dispatch of numerous Pentagon instructors and advisers to our

country, a fact which tells on the domestic situation. After all, it is an open secret that any country which accepts US military 'aid' virtually robs itself of internal stability and security.

An indication of closer military-political ties between the two countries was the talks which Vice-President George Bush of the USA and Jeane Kirkpatrick US Representative to the UN, both notorious advocates of an aggressive military policy, held during their visits to Jakarta. There was also the provocative statement which Admiral William Crow, US Commander in the Pacific and Indian Ocean areas, made during his stay in Singapore about the Pentagon's militarist plan to deploy US arms, including cruise missiles, in certain ASEAN countries (Jakarta prefers to withhold comment on the statement).

As certain economic and political interests of Washington and Jakarta do not coincide, this occasionally gives rise to contradictions, such as over the prices and quantities of exported textiles and raw materials, primarily oil. Differences in the foreign policy's sphere concern regional policy, the militarisation of Japan, the attitude to China, and other issues. However, most of these contradictions and differences are settled in favour of Washington, which blocks in various ways efforts to bring about stability and peaceful coexistence in Southeast Asia. This trend is emphatically condemned by all patriots and other fair-minded Indonesians.

Contrary to the People's Interests

The home policy of the government is a source of widespread discontent. The regime, as well as persecuting Communists, suppresses the slightest dissent.

The political system has been 'simplified' by forming two groups of parties; one of them, called the Development Unity Party (DUP), proceeds from Islam and the other, the Indonesian Democratic Party (IDP), is a non-Islamic alignment. The Organisation of Functional Groups (Golkar) now active in the country has to all intents and purposes become a party of the regime.

The DUP and IDP, nominally independent, are actually under vigilant control. The regime meddles constantly in the affairs of these 'independent' parties, forcing them to assign leading posts to its men, checking up on their parliamentary candidates and deciding on their ideology and policy. Much the same lot has befallen mass organisations of workers, peasants, youth, students and women.

The trade unions have been denied independence and forcibly affiliated to the All-Indonesia Labour Federation. The regime has put its puppets in key positions in the Federation and imposed on it an organisational structure and statutes corresponding to official concepts. However, it attacks and persecutes the trade union movement even in its curtailed form. This is due to the growing strike movement and actions for better social, economic and work conditions and an end to dismissals.

The workers' standard of living is very low. Per capita income averages less than 100 dollars a year. Capitalist 'rationalisation' is steadily reducing the demand for labour power. Tens of thousands of employees of shipping lines, plantations, cigarette factories, PERTAMINA and other enterprises were laid off in 1983 alone. The Ministry of Manpower, who sets the number of jobless at eight million, expects it to rise to 17 million in the next five years. All these people virtually lack a livelihood.

Nevertheless, the regime will not think of improving the workers' conditions. What is more, it steps up repression against workers defending their rights. Terror became worse than ever with the appointment of Admiral Sudomo, ex-chief of Kopkamtib, or the secret police, to the post of Minister of Manpower; the admiral helped enact laws banning strikes. He even went as far as to call for the replacement of the word 'worker' by another word devoid of what he described as a 'communist connotation'. Sudomo is certain that there is 'no class struggle' in Indonesia and that the workers

and employers are 'production partners'. He alleges that strikes and workers' demands 'injure national interests'.

But even the former chief of the secret police proved unable to 'abolish strikes. In the second quarter of 1983, that is, after Sudomo had been made cabinet minister, the workers called 56 strikes which forced their domestic and foreign employers, primarily transnationals, to respect trade union rights and honour their commitments under labour contracts and agreements.

The working class movement is gaining momentum. Large demonstrations in Jakarta late in 1984 ended in serious clashes with police. Socio-political unrest spread to other urban areas.

The peasants' condition is as sad the workers'. The military regime has banned all political activity in the countryside. The only authorised peasant organisation is operating under official control. Landowners and the rural bourgeoisie mercilessly exploit the population in the countryside. In many areas they dispose over the peasants' agricultural output as they see fit. The penetration of bureaucratic capital into the countryside, with the rural rich retaining their solid positions, is leading to the ruin of numerous middle peasants and the proletarianisation and pauperisation of poor peasants. The head of the regime, General Suharto, is compelled to admit that in 1983 eight million of the country's 25.6 million peasant families (the rural population accounts for 125 million of a total of 150 million inhabitants) had no land at all, 11 million had patches of about 0.5 ha and 6.5 million, patches of 0.25 ha at the most.

The officially advertised 'modernisation' of agriculture, said to be aimed at increasing export output, only benefits foreign business, bureaucratic capital and the domestic Chinese bourgeoisie. Besides, it has increased unemployment in the countryside, which rose from 40 per cent in 1971 to 44 per cent in 1980. Peasants go to the town in search of a livelihood, only to find themselves reduced to a poverty-ridden existence.

These are hard times for Indonesia's intellectuals as well. The rundown of numerous medium enterprises leads to the abolition of workers' and even specialists' jobs. The situation is compounded by the fact that most foreign and mixed companies employ foreign specialists, who are paid much better than their Indonesian counterparts.

Meagre budget appropriations for education have put teachers in an unenviable situation. Graduates have great difficulty in finding a job and those who do find one come up against low pay, inadequate social security and other problems.

Official policy has an overall negative impact on the education system and directly affects children and youth. In Jakarta, only 90,000 to 190,000 school leavers were enabled to continue their studies. This was due to the shortage of schools and school supplies. In the 1984/85 fiscal year the price of paper rose by 40 per cent and books, too, become more expensive, which put a heavy burden on schoolchildren's parents. And yet the regime will not desist from its demagogical talk about 'compulsory education'.

Not surprisingly, pupils and students demand more and more often lower tuition fees, better conditions for study and freedom to discuss problems agitating the younger generation. The official response to these legitimate demands is bans on all social and political activity by students, arrests and other repressive measures.

Discrimination is also practised against women, in violation of the principle of respecting their rights written into the Constitution. This is true in particular of women workers. In February 1983, a group of Jakarta women representing employees of the Warga-Batik textile mill tried repeatedly to lodge with judicial bodies a complaint against the management of the mill over the arbitrary dismissal of several workers. Earlier they had applied to the Council of People's Representatives and the Ministry of Manpower. However, their efforts got them nowhere—their

complaint was ignored. This is only one of numerous facts of a similar nature.

The military regime likes to brag about 'freedom of the press', alleged to exist in our country. Yet it restricts this very 'freedom', invoking 'security interests'. Adam Malik, the late Vice-President of the Republic and founder of the Antara national information agency, brought himself to deny this. 'The reluctance to grant freedom of the press,' he told journalists in Jakarta in 1983, "is prompted by an unwillingness to tell the truth about the real state of affairs and not by security considerations."

Revealing in this respect is the case of the journal *Topik*, which in February 1984 wrote frankly that there were too many paupers in Indonesia, nor were their numbers diminishing. Seeing social injustice as the main cause of poverty, the journal drew the following conclusion: it is impossible to improve the conditions of the poor without changing the regime. Power does not come from nowhere but is seized, it commented, and the oppressed can create their own levers of management only if they show a firm will and perseverance. But all this would undoubtedly take time.

Topik was banned for its article on the plea of 'communist infiltration' of the journal. However, the very fact that an article of this nature appeared in the bourgeois press suggests that public opinion refuses to keep silent any longer. No bans can muzzle those who want to tell the truth.

The reactionary military regime is losing ground even among those who took part in imposing it. To prevent a further decline in popularity, the rulers are compelled to manoeuvre, in particular by pretending to be followers of Sukarno although their policy has nothing to do with the anti-imperialist policy of that outstanding son of the Indonesian people. But neither the use of force, nor deceit can make the regime solid. No wonder that, with its social base shrinking, it is seeking support from imperialist powers.

In the Forefront of the Struggle

The Communist Party of Indonesia defined the class substance of the regime from the outset. A document published by it as far back as 1969 stressed that the regime is backed by big and bureaucratic bourgeoisie, military and civilian bureaucrats, landed proprietors, rich peasants and compradores, or those who have a stake in the preservation of the exploiting system and the penetration of foreign capital into the country. Collaborating with the regime are political parties corrupted by it. Thus the rulers have nothing in common with the people.

As matters stand, the most pressing task of our party is to bring about cooperation among all patriotic and anti-imperialist forces and the formation of a national unity front. The current steady growth of actions against the regime and of aspirations for democratic change offer ample opportunities to attain these objectives. Cooperation among national democratic forces is still greatly hampered by the unwillingness of some of our potential allies to cooperate with us. We see this as a consequence of vicious anti-communist propaganda on the part of both domestic agencies and international imperialism headed by the USA, which has diverse propaganda centres on our soil. The United States is admittedly carrying on its anti-communist and other subversive activities against the national interests of Indonesia through CIA agents. In 1965 one of these agents, US Ambassador to Indonesia Marshall Green, turned the Embassy into a headquarters coordinating the activity of forces that were busy strangling the Communist Party and overthrew the progressive national government under President Sukarno.

Exposing lies and overcoming preconceptions against the CPI, its leadership is working hard to strengthen the party. It is carrying high the banner of the party's Marxist-Leninist ideology, rallying together Communists, including those who have extricated themselves from the meshes of Maoist policy and those whom official persecution has so far prevented from joining the ranks of fighters.

Our strength lies in unity. The CPI is stepping up its propaganda effort among the people as it strives for closer links and dialogue with all national patriotic elements. We are paving the way for cooperation on the basis of joint defence of freedom and national sovereignty from imperialism and its underlings and struggle for democratic changes. The CPI declares for a revision of Indonesia's foreign policy and the transformation of our country into a consistently anti-imperialist and peace-loving state firmly upholding the principles of non-alignment and peaceful coexistence. Such a policy by Indonesia, a country holding a strategic position in the region, should come a reality contributing to peace and the struggle against the aggressive policy of imperialism.

"Unity and joint action by Communists and all other patriots, irrespective of party affiliation and religion, are in the interests of a democratic revival of our society," say the Theses on the 60th anniversary of the CPI. "Any dissociation of patriotic forces benefits none but the reactionaries. This is why the CPI calls for the undelayed establishment of a national unity front representing the interests of the entire people. Only a government formed on the basis of such a front can carry our urgent social transformations, provide the people with food, clothing, land and work, give them back their civil and political rights, bring the country out of the crisis, and regain for Indonesia its good name and respect on the world scene."²

In celebrating the 65th anniversary of their party this year, Indonesia's Communists are resolved to pursue their objectives and to seek closer unity among themselves and among patriotic and anti-imperialist forces as they mobilise them in defence of national sovereignty.

The Communist Party of Indonesia steadfastly builds up its ties with fraternal parties and upholds the ideals of proletarian internationalism. We actively support the just aims of popular movements defending national independence against encroachments from imperialism and its accomplices, for we consider that the struggle of the Indonesian people is inseparable from the universal struggle for peace and social progress.

¹ International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.—*Ed.*

² *Tekad Rakyat*, No. 5, 1980, p. 24.

In Search of an Alternative for Britain

Tony Benn, M.P.—National Executive
Committee member, Labour Party of
Great Britain

In London Bert Ramelson, member of the *WMR* Editorial Board and representative of the Communist Party of Great Britain on the *WMR*, interviewed Tony Benn, well-known British public and political figure and member of parliament elected by the miners of Chesterfield. In publishing this interview we continue our coverage of the dialogue between Communists and Social Democrats, Labour Party members and Socialists on topical issues of the

day and on ways to ease international tensions and strengthen peace and international security.¹

—What is the attitude of the Labour Party, Britain's principal opposition party, to the economic and social policy pursued by the Thatcher Cabinet and what alternatives does the Labour Party propose to overcome the crisis, curb inflation and reduce unemployment?

THE question touches on the central issues that now dominate British politics, all of which are summed up in the historic strike of the miners for jobs and justice.

The Thatcher Cabinet is following a policy much further to the right than anything seen since the First World War, and this has released within the Labour Party a current of genuine socialist policies which have been quiescent for some years when British capitalism appeared to be able to afford welfare systems that softened its impact.

It is now clear that what we are witnessing is a fairly rapid decay of the British economy under the influence of the international business forces closely linked to an international militarist position adopted by NATO under the overall control of President Reagan.

In these circumstances the pressure from the rank-and-file of the Labour Party to come forward with strong socialist policies is very great, but there is still a difficulty in that a number of the parliamentary party are still working as if consensus politics² were still in existence and there would be a swing of the pendulum that would take Labour back to power.

Today, trade union activists and many Labour Party members are pressing for strong policies to control capital, to create jobs in the public services and in industry by guided investment, to stop the export of capital, withdraw from the Common Market and introduce a different type of economic structure. This, I believe, is going to become the dominant thread of policy within the Labour Party because of the intensity of the crisis and the way in which it is being used to justify a serious attack on civil rights and liberties.

Besides, the realignment of British politics that began when ten per cent of the parliamentary Labour Party left and formed the Social Democratic Party may not yet be complete, and on the left there is a combination of anxious debate, some disintegration of old structures, and simultaneously a realisation that unity must be reforged around clear objectives in home and foreign policy.

—You said at the outset that the coal miner's strike emerged as an important factor in Britain's domestic politics. How do you assess the importance of this class conflict for overall struggle of industrial and other workers against the anti-popular policies of the Tories?

The coal miners' strike which has now lasted for a year has brought into the forefront of public understanding the true nature of Conservative policies.

Despite the protestations of the government, the issue of uneconomic pits is not a valid argument in that nuclear power is much more expensive than coal, and the oil that we burn is sold to the Generating Board at world prices, which make it 40 per cent more expensive than coal.

The real objective of the government is to break the National Union of Mineworkers which is by far the strongest union in Britain and in doing so to open the way for a general attack on trade unionism which is necessary if the type of jungle capitalism in which they believe is to be able to be restored.

For this purpose the government have tried to bribe the miners with high redundancy offers, starve them by cutting social benefits to the strikers, harass them

through the use of the police, steal their funds with the help of the judges and release upon them the full rigour of an anti-working class mass media.

In response, the miners have been able to mobilise not only three-quarters of their own members but have brought into being a whole range of supportive activities. Amongst these the women's support groups have been the most outstanding, and women have been on picket lines, organising food supplies, providing advice and help and speaking at public meetings on the political issues raised by the strike.

In addition, the peace movement has felt itself drawn to the miners' cause because nuclear weapons and nuclear power are so closely connected.³ Besides, the black community, which has long experienced police harassment, is also very supportive, as are a number of other groups and social strata, including the old, who need fuel to keep warm in the winter, the young unemployed, who see the miners' strike as their own, and those in Northern Ireland who have been criminalised for their campaign for an Ireland united and independent and who are now looking to the miners as natural allies in their campaign for justice.

In this sense popular opinion has been mobilised on a massive scale, and financial and practical support that is coming in has been growing and is not confined to Britain but is coming from Eastern Europe, Western Europe, the USA and indeed, all over the world. In addition, other trade unions have given practical support by industrial action. It is especially important that the railwaymen will not move coal and that the seamen have taken similar action.

By establishing miners' support groups and women's action groups in every part of the country, the miners have laid the foundation, organisationally, for the next stage of development of the British labour movement itself.

—And now to international affairs. The direct connection of economic difficulties and the deterioration in the quality of working people's life with the militarist course of the Thatcher government is becoming increasingly pronounced, as was emphasised at the 83rd Labour Conference. In this connection, what is your view of the Tories' foreign and defence policy?

The policy being pursued by the Tory government is that of bitter hostility to the socialist countries, and it is becoming increasingly subservient to the militarist policies of the United States. It has been exposed in the course of the action against nuclear weapons in which the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) has played an important part.

But it is not just a question of opposing the siting of cruise missiles or Pershing missiles. What is important is that the foreign policy assumptions that lie behind the government's policy should be exposed, considered, discussed and replaced by more active policies in pursuit of peace, detente and international understanding.

The Labour Party has now finally adopted a non-nuclear defence policy, but this, though an improvement on past policies, does not go to the root of the matter which would involve an analysis of the true factors playing a part in shaping American and British policies.

It is becoming increasingly clear that the cold war is being used by the authorities both as a diversion of the masses from domestic difficulties and as a way of making it appear that all critics of the government are enemies of the nation and hence treacherous in intent.

The growing strength of the military elites in the Western world is a direct threat to domestic democracy in that these elites are not accountable to the public or to parliament and are building up their strength, probably with a greater anxiety about the likelihood of socialist opposition in Britain than any serious consideration of the possibility of a Soviet invasion, which is the official reason for their buildup.

The Western governments are more afraid of the growth of socialist ideas than they are of the likelihood of an attack from outside, and this fact is beginning to penetrate through to the public which finds its basic needs are denied because of the amount of money that has to be spent to maintain this huge military arsenal.

—What is the overall stand taken by the Labour Party and you personally on cardinal issues such as preservation of peace, limitation of the arms race and disarmament, above all, nuclear disarmament? Could you please briefly summarise the decisions of the 1984 Labour Party Conference on these questions?

The Labour Party, after many years of debate, has agreed that an incoming Labour government would cancel the Trident,⁴ remove the cruise missiles and adopt a wholly non-nuclear policy. This in itself is a considerable gain, and the reception that Mr Kinnock had in Moscow when he met Mr. Chernenko indicated that such a policy would meet with a positive Soviet response.⁵

However, the real question relates to all foreign policy. An important task for the Labour movement now is to see how the influence of Britain, which is a middle-ranking power, could best be used to develop the prospects for peace and diminish the likelihood of war.

It is clear that nuclear weapons alone are not the only issue we should be discussing, and we should be discussing as well the threats to peace arising from the suppression of personal and political liberty and exploitation of the people in the Third World by those who have an economic interest in doing so. In this context the role of NATO has to be seen afresh.

There is a growing body of opinion in Britain which does not wish this country to have American nuclear bases or American troops permanently situated here, which necessarily ties Britain in to the policies of the American Administration.

If Britain were to be able to follow its own nuclear disarmament by pressure for a nuclear-free Europe and link itself with the Third World non-aligned movement, the prospects for a reduction of world tension would certainly be present.

—The peace movement is now an important factor of British politics. Do you see any latent opportunities which could be tapped to expand the peace struggle and make it more effective? And, in this connection, what is your attitude to dialogue and cooperation of various democratic forces, including Labour and Communists, in the interests of peace and disarmament?

It is of the greatest importance that we should understand the true nature of the peace movement as it has developed in Britain in recent years.

It is sometimes presented as if it was a new movement and related principally to nuclear weapons. Yet, at successive peace conferences all over the world, it has become clear that the peace movement is in fact a very old movement and its interests spread far beyond any particular form of weapons technology.

In Britain, the people who are most active in the peace movement are the same people who were engaged in the anti-colonial movements and in the anti-fascist movement in the past and now take part in the movement for trade union rights, women's rights and against racism in Britain.

Moreover, at all these peace conferences the number of items that get on the agenda cover women's rights, black rights, civil rights, trade unionism and Third World developments, as well as those most directly connected with what are called peace questions.

It is sometimes difficult to appreciate what is happening unless this is looked at with

fresh eyes for the pattern of thinking about a narrow peace movement tends to persist long after it is clear that that is not the appropriate description for it.

The new thing about the peace movement is that it is an international movement which has grown up out of the necessity of the situation. It brings together people in the United States, in Western Europe and in the Third World who are concerned with peace, with East-West detente, with civil liberties and other issues relating to the future of all mankind.

In Britain, Labour, Communists, peace campaigners, women's movements and black movements have been working very closely together around the issue of peace, just as the same cooperation between the Labour Party and the Communist Party has long existed in trade unions where Labour and Communist activists have been side by side in some of the most important industrial struggles.

If we see the future of the peace movement in this way, then its international dimension becomes of supreme importance and it could well form the basis of links that go far beyond discussions about disarmament and the threat of nuclear war, to include cultural links, trade union links and links between the women's movement, the youth movements, and indeed the whole range of interests of working people everywhere.

Since the Second World War, and to some extent before it, capital has internationalised itself through the multinational companies, the International Monetary Fund, the EEC, and, of course, the NATO military alliance. And it is time that labour internationalised itself on a similar scale.

We do not need to devise completely new organisations for this purpose because it would appear that the peace movement has such a role to play. This would be a major contribution to the easing of international tensions and the re-direction of the world's resources towards the interests of the people of the world who have such pressing needs that must be met.

¹ See Olof Palme, 'Step by Step Towards Disarmament', *WMR*, No. 5, 1981; Carlos Andres Perez, 'One World, Common Responsibility', *WMR*, No. 3, 1982; Kalevi Sorsa, 'Do Everything Possible for Disarmament and Peaceful Development', *WMR*, No. 12, 1983; Luis Prieto Figueroa, 'Our Common Cause', *WMR*, No. 5, 1984; Egon Bahr, 'Partnership Instead of Confrontation', *WMR*, No. 7, 1984.

² 'Consensus politics' refers to an earlier period when Labour and Conservative views with regard to many key questions of British domestic and foreign policies were similar in essence.—*Ed.*

³ Peace champions in Great Britain are concerned over the possible use of the plutonium produced as fuel for nuclear power stations in the manufacture of nuclear weapons.—*Ed.*

⁴ Reference to the Tory government's intention to replace the Polaris with the newer American Trident II nuclear missile system.—*Ed.*

⁵ At the November 1984 meeting between Comrade Konstantin Chernenko, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Neil Kinnock, leader of the British Labour Party, the Soviet side expressed its readiness to reduce and scrap a share of its medium-range missiles deployed in the European part of the USSR which would be commensurate with the number of nuclear missiles scrapped by Great Britain. Complete nuclear disarmament and removal of relevant foreign bases by Britain would create conditions in which the Soviet Union would guarantee that its nuclear weapons would not be targeted on British territory.—*Ed.*

the book scene

On the Lie-Path

Michel Tatu, *La Bataille des Euromissiles* (The Battle of the Euromissiles), Editions du Seuil, Paris, 1983, 124 pp.

Charles Verpoorten, *Ces Missiles Qui Nous Font Peur!* (These Scary Missiles!), Editions Havaux, Nivelles, 1984, 212 pp.

THE blurb on the dust-jacket of Tatu's book stresses that it deals with a problem that is of 'capital significance for our future'.

Indeed, million of men and women think with alarm and fear of what these new nuclear missile which the United States is deploying in Western Europe hold in store for them. The protest movement involving the broadest social strata has affected the very foundations of the NATO countries' foreign policy, and NATO propagandists have to put in a tremendous effort to make the population in the West European countries accept Washingtons hazardous venture.

Among the many publications issued for that purpose in the recent period the two books under review deserve special attention, because they are a collection of the main arguments by means of which the votaries of the US missiles still manage to deceive many people. Indeed, the two books are in a sense specimens of the political inventiveness in the service of NATO's aggressive strategy.

Verpoorten, a Belgian journalist who makes no secret of his hostile attitude to the Soviet Union and detente, warns: 'I am aware that I will become the object of sharp criticism and that most of my detractors will accuse me of bias' (p. 7). That is a well-justified apprehension, for Verpoorten shuns no trick in depicting a 'Soviet threat' to the West. He says even that the reminiscences about the Second World War and the victory over fascism published in Soviet books are evidence of the Soviet society's 'militarism' and education of young people in a bellicose spirit. Such inventions culminate in a picture of the coming 'invasion' of Western Europe by the Soviet armies (p. 104).

Tatu, a former *Le Monde* correspondent in Moscow and Washington, and now one of its leading commentators, does restrain himself from launching anti-Soviet attacks that are too blatant, but also holds forth about a 'threat from the East' and attributes to the Soviet Union 'the ambitions of regional hegemony' (p. 66).

Both authors seek above all to scare readers with 'Soviet military might', while depicting the NATO bloc countries as being weak and defenceless. Thus, Verpoorten asserts that in Europe 2.6 million NATO soldiers are confronted with the Warsaw Treaty's 4.0 million soldiers, and that the latter has a 'crushing superiority' in

all types of conventional weapons (p. 90), a point he tries to drive home by generously spicing his book with diverse tables, diagrams, drawings and other handouts from NATO propaganda services.

However, his picture has nothing to do with the reality. There is the evidence of many international sources, notably *The Military Balance 1982-1983* yearbook issued by the London Institute of Strategic Studies, which says that NATO has a larger contingent of conventional armed forces in Europe than does the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, NATO ground forces in Europe number 2,125,000 men and those of the Warsaw Treaty—1,664,000. According to the official data exchanged by the participants in the Vienna negotiations, NATO has 991,000 men and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation—979,000 men in Central Europe (where 'Soviet. aggression', the author claims, is in the offing). Altogether, the regular armies of the NATO countries number 4,998,000 men, as against the Warsaw Treaty's 4,821,000 men.

Many competent observers in West European countries have repeatedly admitted that the assertions about some kind of 'preponderance' of the USSR and its allies over the NATO countries in terms of conventional armed forces is an invention designed to justify NATO's military preparations. Here is the view, for instance, of the West German Brigadier—General Christian Krause, who was but recently in charge of military planning in Central Europe at the FRG Ministry of Defence. In an article entitled 'Are the Russians Threatening Us?', he says that "there can be no question of any superiority (of the Warsaw treaty countries). . . . According to the latest data, the numerical strength of personnel (on both sides) is roughly the same. Indeed, in terms of ground troops in Europe . . . the NATO alliance is even slightly ahead."¹ The claims that the Soviet Union intends to 'attack' Western Europe, says Krause, is 'a piece of speculation, pure and simple',² which is dictated by the NATO leaders' political objectives.

The two authors' arithmetical manipulations are concentrated on medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe, and if we are to believe them, the Soviet Union has a tremendous preponderance and even a 'monopoly' in this area. In order to prove that, both use the NATO propagandists' old trick: *out of the whole range of these weapons*, they take account only of one type, namely, missiles, and besides do not count in the French and British missiles.

But the fact is that medium-range weapons include both *missiles and aircraft* with a radius of over 1,000 kilometres (but below that of intercontinental weapons). Consequently, that should include the US aircraft stationed on the territory of the West European states and on aircraft-carriers off the coast of Europe capable of delivering nuclear warheads deep into the territory of the USSR, and also similar aircraft belonging to Britain and France. With that kind of approach, which is the only fair one, it turns out that over the past several years there has been a rough parity between the USSR, on the one hand, and the United States and its allies, on the other, namely, 1,000 nuclear-warhead vehicles on each side, with the NATO missiles and aircraft capable of delivering 50 per cent more warheads in one launch than the corresponding vehicles of the USSR.

That is why in the course of the negotiations, the Soviet Union has naturally demanded that all the types of medium-range nuclear weapons should be taken into account. However, Washington has invariably rejected such an approach. Tatu admits that 'the Soviets have insisted that any discussion on regional weapons should cover 'forward-based systems' of the United States in Europe, while the United States, in agreement with its allies, has refused to touch the problem which is fraught with all kinds of complications' (p. 28).

The unwillingness was due to only one consideration, which is generally at the back of the NATO powers' approach to negotiations with the Soviet Union, and it was to ensure military superiority for the United States and NATO, by leaving outside the

framework of the various agreements the types of weapons in which they expect to retain a preponderance, and by viewing the balance of forces selectively, that is, only the elements which suit NATO.

Both authors' biased assessment of the nuclear-weapons balance in Europe is most glaring when it comes to the French and British nuclear forces.

The Soviet Union is known to have offered to cut the number of its medium-range missiles and even warheads on them to the number at the disposal of France and Great Britain (together with an eye to the balance of forces in aircraft), an offer which put the advocates of US missile deployment in a quandry. Any objective observer was bound to see the Soviet approach as being eminently fair, and Tatu has to admit as much. He says: 'At first sight, the Soviets appear to have an argument: the 162 French and British missiles are obviously aimed against them, and they can do them as much damage as the US missiles, and it makes little difference to them whether they belong to the US, British or French command, who are, besides, allies' (p. 61).

But, Tatu asserts, that was yet another 'ruse' on the part of the Russians: he claims that it is inadmissible to count in the French missiles, and his efforts to justify such an approach again and again put him at odds with himself. He does, of course, call for Atlantic 'solidarity' and 'Western unity', which the Soviet Union allegedly seeks to erode, but whenever it comes to the need to weigh the nuclear arsenals of such close allies on the same scale, Tatu executes a U-turn and starts holding forth about the 'national' designation of the French 'force de frappe', flatly objecting to its being counted in the overall balance, a tight-rope act ridiculed by many military specialists.

Here is the view, for instance, of the authors of the 1983 Yearbook issued by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI): 'In any case, the arguments for excluding the French and British forces (from the medium-range weapons balance) do not appear to be solid ones. It is a verbal pirouette to insist that they are national and strategic. It would pay to imagine what the United States would do if it were threatened not only by Soviet missiles, but also, for instance, by missiles deployed in South America. It would undoubtedly demand a precise count of such missiles. . . . It ultimately appears to be quite logical for the negotiations on Soviet missiles targeted on (Western) Europe to include the missiles of Western Europe which, in the other camp, are targeted on the Soviet Union'.³

In his conversation with a group of political commentators, Andrei Gromyko, USSR Foreign Minister, First Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and a member of the CPSU CC Political Bureau, clarified the Soviet attitude to counting in the nuclear weapons of Britain and France, when he said: "Britain and France are members of the North Atlantic Alliance. It would be highly unfair for the North Atlantic Alliance to receive something of an addition, or a bonus, if one could put it that way, in the form of the British and French nuclear weapons."⁴ He added that the Soviet Union was not suggesting that Britain and France should dismantle their nuclear weapons. The point is that they must be counted in.

We find Verpoorten and Tatu failing to pass the test of objectivity on every aspect of the subject. Page after page, line after line, both authors insist that black is white, war plans are peace plans, aggressive preparations are defence, the drive for military superiority—the way to re-establish 'equilibrium'. They assert, in particular, that the decision to manufacture and deploy new US nuclear weapons in Western Europe was a *response* to a 'threat' posed by Soviet SS-20 missiles. In actual fact, the United States took that decision *before* the Soviet missiles appeared on the scene. Verpoorten, for instance, lets the cat out of the bag when he says that back in 1970 (before the SS-20s had ever been heard of!) the NATO military command demanded the development of a 'theatre nuclear missile', and that was the origin of Pershing-2 (p. 157). Add to this that as early as 1975 (that is, even before the appearance of the SS-20) the US defence budget contained a special item for funding the new Pershings,

although Tatu bends the truth, by claiming that that was no more than an short-range prototype (p. 94). Consequently, NATO's 1979 'twin-track' decision merely put a back-dated seal on the Pentagon's actions which it had taken long before, with the references to the Soviet SS-20 missiles being used as no more than a pretext.

Both Verpoorten and Tatu declare that the deployment of the new US missiles goes to strengthen security in Europe. In actual fact, the situation on the European continent has been sharply complicated. The Soviet Union, together with other socialist countries, has been forced to take counter-measures. Implementation of NATO's 'twin-track' decision has given a new twist to the arms race spiral. The number of nuclear weapons in Europe has been growing, they are being ever more densely deployed, leaving even less time to correct any fatal step resulting whether from accident or mistake.

The two authors try to refute the arguments of the peace fighters, who say that the US plans for first-use of nuclear weapons are adventurist and extremely hazardous, so as to vindicate the Pentagon leaders. The Belgian author even assures his readers that no such plans exist at all, and that it is no more than a 'canard' launched by the Soviet Union in order to 'provoke fear among the NATO partners over the prospects of a limited nuclear war in Europe' and to 'provoke dissension among the members of the Alliance' (pp. 14. 17).

But the public statements by US political and military leaders on this score are well-known, and in contrast to Verpoorten, Tatu feels that he has to recall them, although he tries to minimise their importance by remarking that they were 'muddled' (p. 79). Both authors pretend that they have no knowledge of the numerous documents in which the US stand on the issue is recorded, despite the fact that the US President's Directive 59 and Defence Guidance, 1985-1989 directly provide for the US conduct both of a limited and a protracted nuclear war and for first-use of nuclear weapons. No wonder the US and NATO leaders have so stubbornly refused to follow the USSR's example by undertaking not to be the first to use nuclear weapons.

The new US missiles being deployed in Western Europe in effect back up these aggressive conceptions by providing additional hardware. From the Pentagon's standpoint, these missiles are an effective means for a first, surprise strike and victory both in a 'local' and in a global war. Eugene Rostow, former director of the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, who can hardly be suspected of being a 'mouthpiece of Soviet propaganda', was quite explicit in saying that the Pershings, 'these intermediate-range missiles with their enormous speed and destructive capacity are first-strike weapons or can be certainly'.⁵

The Pentagon's current plans for building a 'space-based anti-missile shield' are a logical development and a natural component of the US first-strike strategy. The United States expects to start a nuclear war while being able to protect its territory against retaliation with a 'space shield', so that Europe would alone become the 'theatre of military operations', with the West European countries being assigned the role of forward bridgehead, a salient launching ramp for nuclear weapons and a lightning-rod in the event of counter-measures on the part of the socialist states.

In the new conditions being created by NATO's additional armament, the USSR, together with its allies, has not only been taking counter-measures to maintain the equilibrium, but has also continued efforts aimed to limit and reduce nuclear weapons and lower the level of military confrontation. That was its motivation in inviting the United States to start negotiations to reach agreements on the whole package of questions relating to nuclear and space weapons. The idea is to prevent the militarisation of outer space and to reduce nuclear weapons, both strategic and medium-range.

The US side accepted the negotiations proposals, but the outcome will depend on

the US leaders' readiness to engage in an honest dialogue and to give up their attempts to obtain unilateral military advantage over the Soviet Union. The prospects for peace will largely depend on the strength and sweep of the anti-war movement and its capacity to exert an influence on the ruling circles' policy and rein in the most aggressive imperialist forces.

Exposure of the advocates of these forces who, like Tatu and Verpoorten, seek to whitewash those who are to blame for the arms race and growing international tensions is an important condition for the success of the anti-war movement. Effective action to ward off the threat and to secure a peaceful future for the peoples can be taken only with a knowledge of the truth about where the danger of war comes from, who generates it, and where the roots of the threat impending over mankind lie.

Anatoly Voronov

¹ *Der Spiegel*, April 23, 1984, p. 111.

² *Ibid.*, p. 110.

³ Quoted in *Gyroscope*, No. 4-5, 1983, Bruxelles, p. 17.

⁴ *Pravda*, January 14, 1985.

⁵ *National Defence*, April 1982, Vol. LXVI, p. 67.

Cuba: Building and Advancing

Gil Green, *Cuba at 25: The Continuing Revolution*, International Publishers, New York, 1984, 132 pp.

GIL Green, veteran US Communist and member of the Central Committee, CPUSA, has been to Cuba a number of times. His first visits were in 1969 and 1970. At that time he recorded his impressions in the book *Revolution—Cuba Style*.

Recently he revisited the Island of Freedom. The result is the book under review.

If Cuba, under the leadership of Fidel Castro's Communist Party, had done no more than survive its first quarter century in the shadow of the constantly overhanging menace of US imperialist hostility, this in itself would be an epic of world historic significance. In the opinion of the White House, Cubans had no right to overthrow the brutal Batista dictatorship which had ruled with US aid and in US corporate interests. The Cuban people, however, thought otherwise. They were determined to be independent, equal and sovereign. 'This was treason in the eyes of the US ruling class and called for aggressive counter-measures. Hence the venomous hostility, the Bay of Pigs invasion, the economic blockade, the plots to murder Castro and other Cuban leaders, the refusal to establish diplomatic relations with Cuba, and the ridiculous charge that Cuba is the cause of the seething unrest in Central America when hunger, exploitation and oppression are the real causes' (p. 112).

This background makes what Cuba has accomplished all the more remarkable.

The US Communist has written his book to tell about the heroism of the first socialist state in the Western Hemisphere, provide a truthful picture of life in Cuba and expose the anti-Cuban lies of imperialist propaganda. In his introduction written

for American readers, the author says that 'we need to know all we can about Cuba—for our sake, her sake and the sake of peace'.

The book covers every vital facet of Cuban life. These include the progress and problems in industry, agriculture, health, education, housing, party, government, unions, wage policy, position of women and the like.

Take, for example, the question of the people's health. Medical care is completely free. Even a report of the Joint Economic Committee of the US Congress, the author notes, had to acknowledge that 'Cuba has established a national health care programme superior to any in the Third World and rivaling that in developed countries'. 'Cuba's progress in the field of health is in sharp contrast to our own government's slashing of health funds without regard for its human consequences' (p. 66).

US figures cited in the book indicate that by the end of 1982 every state had reduced health services for poor people; almost 700,000 children lost protection under Medicaid; infant mortality rates were rising in a number of states; 44 states reduced prenatal and delivery services to pregnant women.

Meanwhile, government efforts in Cuba have reduced the infant mortality rate: from 43 deaths per 1,000 live births in 1962 to 14.2 for the first six months of 1983. Compare this with the respective figures for other Latin American countries: 60 in El Salvador, 74 in Mexico, 77 in Bolivia and 96 in the Dominican Republic.

By 1981, life expectancy in Cuba had risen to 73.5 years, while it was 49 years in Bolivia, 58 years in the Dominican Republic and El Salvador and 65 years in Mexico (p. 68).

'We need to know more about Cuba for still another reason,' Green says. 'Cuba is a poor, small, developing island, while the USA is a mighty industrial and world power. US resources are incomparably greater than Cuba's. Yet, in important human respects, Cuba is far more developed than we are. No one there is rich and few own autos, but missing also is the appalling degrading poverty so widespread in the United States' (p. 13).

Cuba has put an end to racial discrimination, the book adds, and any attempts to revive it would be sternly punished by law. There is no unemployment, education is free, and no child goes hungry, homeless or barefoot. And every working person in Cuba is entitled to a full month's vacation with pay each year. The author's comment is, "Not bad for an 'underdeveloped country!'"

The Island of Freedom has achieved tremendous gains. 'Castro has reiterated that Cuba does not expect to be a great economic or military power, but it does intend to be a great medical and cultural power' (p. 68). The facts in the book show that these words are a statement of a serious programmatic goal—a goal which is being accomplished.

The party and the people have to work for these plans in conditions of economic warfare waged by the United States against Cuba. Already in the 1960s the White House made aggressive moves; it annulled Cuba's sugar quota, banned all US exports to it under the 'Trading with the Enemy' Act, imposed a complete commercial embargo against Cuba, refused any assistance to any country that befriended Cuba or permitted its ships to carry cargo to or from Cuba, and so on and so forth. Tightening the blockade, Washington ordered, in July 1966, that all commercial contracts of US companies contain a clause prohibiting the use of any ship, no matter what flag it flew, that had entered a Cuban port after January 1, 1963 (see pp. 21-22).

Unfortunately, all this is not past history. All these sanctions remain in effect to this day. US imperialism, the book says, tried to strangle the Cuban infant in its crib. In this, however, it has not succeeded: the infant has grown into a strong and virile 25-year-old. Despite all US efforts, Cuba's economic growth was 7.4 per cent in 1984,

against the 4.5 per cent envisaged in the national plan. What other Latin American country can boast such rates?

Green concludes by saying that Cuba's advances are the result of the heroic efforts of its people led by the Communist Party, of the fraternal assistance of the socialist community of nations, above all of the Soviet Union, and of the support, solidarity and sympathy of all progressive mankind.

Steven Mark
US journalist

The Dialectics of Cooperation

Yu. Krasin et al. *Ne sopernichestvo, a sotrudnichestvo! Kommunisty i novoye v sotsialnykh dvizheniyakh* (Cooperation, Not Rivalry. Communists and New Developments in Social Movements), Politizdat, Moscow, 1984, 270 pp.

TO keep mankind from meeting its doom in the 1980s is the concern which unites million of people throughout the world in today's peace movement. The social composition of this movement is diverse as never before—it includes the working class and its trade unions, peasants and farmers, as well as intellectuals working in academic, technological and artistic fields. The middle strata are becoming increasingly active. The mounting military threat also prompts some representatives of the monopoly bourgeoisie and statesmen in capitalist countries to join the ranks of the peace champions.

The communist movement has a distinct position in the broad spectrum of the political forces opposing the war threat in that it offers a comprehensive programme of steps to preserve and consolidate universal peace. Playing an important role in the implementation of this programme are factors such as involvement of the masses, the all-embracing nature of the struggle against militarism and the war threat, and the closest possible unity of all those who hold the cause of peace dear, this unity achieved by advancing slogans that appeal to all or many.

Such is one of the main criteria the Communists are now guided by in their policy of alliances with other parties, currents and civic groups. More recently, the non-traditional parties and civic movements which are relative newcomers to the political scene of many developed capitalist countries have been playing a noticeable part in the anti-war struggle. The collection of articles prepared by the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee on the basis of the material and evaluations supplied by the fraternal parties is devoted to a Marxist analysis of these new movements, of the problems and prospects involved in the Communists' cooperation with them.

A salient feature of these movements, the authors note, is that their members reject various capitalist realities, the anti-popular and inhuman nature of the system of state-monopoly domination. They come out against the different manifestations of injustice and inequality, against developments that threaten both human civilisation and the environment. 'Protest against the existing order of things is a sort of common denominator with these movement' (p. 4).

Different in the scope and nature of the tasks they propound and heterogeneous in their composition, these movements usually spring from a base that includes different classes. The authors of the book are perfectly justified in viewing their rise as a result and expression of increased political activity displayed by the masses, by the different social forces who want to have a direct say in the solution of issues on which their lives and their future depend.

The very name of these non-traditional movements reflect the broad scope of the tasks their members have set for themselves. The environmentalists and the Greens accord priority to the preservation of the environment. The 'civic action movement' unites a diverse range of groups—from tenants and consumers alarmed by the sale of shoddy or dangerous products to unemployed and pensioners, usually at community or neighbourhood level. The 'anti-authoritarians' represent chiefly young people and intellectuals who distrust the political parties, the state apparatus and all traditional political institutions of bourgeois society.

The book notes that many long-established social movements have also acquired a whole range of new features and distinctive qualities under the influence of the rapidly changing situation and have, as it were, received a new impetus. This is true of the Social Democrats, the women's and youth movements, various religious organisations and groups of believers. There is no doubt that today's anti-war movement in which representatives of all of the forces listed above are involved in one way or another is a radically new phenomenon which no one can afford to ignore.

At first, many people regarded some of these newly emerged social movements as something transient. There were those who simply refused to take them seriously. However, actual developments have demonstrated that the reverse is true. The authors confirm this by citing specific facts which show how the Greens and other alternative policy groups consolidate their positions in industrialised capitalist countries and how they are increasingly becoming a tangible social and, as in the case of the FRG, a parliamentary force.

In shaping their position vis-a-vis these forces, the Communists are aware of the potential for social protest inherent in them and of their considerable influence with the masses. Besides, the slogans and demands advanced by, say, the Greens, are sometimes very close to the relevant guidelines of communist parties. This leads one to ask why non-traditional movements in several countries succeed—especially in the course of election campaign—in rallying to their banners many more people from a wide variety of social strata than the Communists manage to mobilise.

The reasons are many. One might note that joining the struggle under the slogans of the Greens does not mean that one has to make a definitive ideological and political choice in favour of socialism, while the Communists and most of their sympathisers and of those voting Communist have already made that choice. Another reason is anti-communism, something the ruling class has been promoting and fomenting for decades. Besides, by their high-sounding promises to the voters coupled with their inability or refusal to keep their word, the bourgeois parties, including the social-reformist ones, have produced in many people a disillusionment with the capacity for action of all traditional political entities in general, and this has had an indirect effect on their attitude to communist parties too. As a result, in most cases new civic movements either refuse or are extremely reluctant to agree to any concerted action with other parties, including communist parties, even though the slogans and demands on both sides may objectively coincide. For example, after a lively debate, the West German Greens reiterated, at their regular congress held in December 1984, their refusal to cooperate on the national level with any traditional political forces.

The dialectics of any cooperation is that it requires all sides participating in it to display goodwill. Guided by their principles, the Communists have always aimed at

expanding alliances and contacts with the most diverse social forces capable of contributing to the attainment of the tasks the working class is fighting to achieve. Now that imperialism is escalating the war threat, this applies fully to the unity and cooperation of all champions of peace and disarmament.

The Communists are ready to establish relations not only with those who are for them but also with those who are not against them. Moreover, the tackling of tasks such as the struggle for peace increases the need for contacts with forces which disagree with or even oppose them on other matters. The communist party viewpoint is that when the issue in question is the very preservation of life on Earth, differences of opinion must not be an obstacle to joint action. And, the authors stress, if the existing obstacles are mostly beyond the communist parties' control, a narrow approach adopted by the Communists themselves in establishing contacts with the new movements is sometimes one of the reasons (see p. 251).

The book cites party documents and statements by the leaders of several fraternal parties rejecting this approach. For example, at the 25th National Convention of the Communist Party of Canada (1982) it was stated that 'sectarian alienation' was inadmissible in relations with new movements (*ibid.*). The Sixth Congress of the German Communist Party (1981) noted: 'We would not be Communists if we evaded dialogue or cooperation with these forces or if we 'thought ourselves up an alibi' for not taking part in such movements' (*ibid.*).

In the view of the fraternal parties, conviction that their cause will eventually prevail must not prevent Communists from treating with respect the opinions of others, especially of their actual or potential partners and allies. The 22nd National Convention of the Communist Party USA (1979) noted that 'we must always meet people more than halfway in order to win them, to convince people that it is possible, necessary and even enjoyable to work with us, even if we do not agree on everything' (p. 259). At the 11th Congress of the Communist Party of Greece it was also emphasised that the 'work among the masses calls for broadmindedness and action, for readiness to accept an opposite opinion if it is right' (*ibid.*).

Applied to the relations between communist parties and new social movements, this principled approach means that the Communists lay no claim to the role of leaders, nor do they make joint action conditional on the acceptance of their class position. At the same time, they refuse to agree to terms that would tie their hands and restrict their freedom to express and uphold their views, a freedom available to others too. 'Communist parties see their task in playing a vigorous role in all progressive mass movements, in making them organised and conscious, and in introducing a clearness of purpose into them' (p. 257).

Many fraternal parties are conducting this work with increasing resolution, especially to rally the peace forces as closely together as possible. The effectiveness of this work can be furthered greatly by maintaining a continuous exchange of ideas and by scientifically analysing one's experience, successes and mistakes. We believe that the book compiled by Soviet scholars makes its contribution to this important effort.

Jiří Vrba

Washington's Stakes in Poland

Polityka Stanów Zjednoczonych Ameryki wobec Polski w swietle faktów i dokumentów. 1980-1983 (The Policy of the United States of America Towards Poland in the Light of Facts and Documents. 1980-1983), Polska Agencja 'Interpress', Warsaw, 1984, 281 pp.

PUBLISHED by the Polish news agency 'Interpress', this thoroughly documented book was prepared by the researchers of the Polish Institute of International Relations and the Institute of Contemporary Capitalist Studies.

One must state at the outset that the US approach to People's Poland has never been isolated from other factors. It is an element of Washington's overall strategy vis-a-vis the socialist countries. Since the end of World War II, US Presidents have repeatedly and openly proclaimed doctrines underlying official US policy and approach to the socialist countries, including Poland. The book notes that all these doctrines (from 'containment' of and 'liberation' from socialism during the cold war to the strategy of 'softening up' and 'bridge-building' and to Reagan's 'crusade against communism') have one element in common—anti-communism, interference in the internal affairs of sovereign socialist countries, and the striving to alter the global alignment of forces in favour of imperialism.

This policy assumed a particularly aggressive and cynical form with the advent of the current US Administration. That was when the United States abruptly abandoned the basic principles of international relations which shaped detente. The salient features of the course Washington pursued today, the book emphasises, are efforts to step up anti-communist hysteria and transfer the ideological struggle to the sphere of inter-governmental relations.

The US Administration works to undermine postwar European realities, nullify the positive changes which occurred during the years of detente, weaken the Soviet Union and all socialist countries in general and upset the equilibrium existing between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation.

It is in the light of the United States' global political goals that the position of the White House vis-a-vis Poland should be viewed to. Any other, more narrow approach would only hamper one's understanding of the essence of the problem.

The socio-economic crisis which began in Poland in the summer of 1980 was a consequence of the mistakes in the policy pursued by the former PUWP leaders, of their neglect of the universal laws shaping the building of socialism. Workers' action was aimed not against socialism but against its distortions. However, in the course of the developments occurring in 1980 and 1981, another trend surfaced rapidly: riding the wave of justified protest of working people, it aimed to undermine the foundations of socialism and was essentially counter-revolutionary.

The book spotlights the events in the summer of 1980, when the Western radio stations broadcasting in Polish offered direct instructions on how to provoke and exacerbate conflicts. From the very beginning, the 'Polish question' was made part of the global struggle against communism launched by the then US Administration under President Carter.

The House Foreign Relations Committee maintained in its 1980 report that despondency, instability and tensions in Eastern Europe were in the US national security interests and advised American radio stations to be more aggressive so as to compete with East European governments in influencing public opinion, encourage unrest and promote the weakening of East European governments (see p. 24).

Guided by these interests, the US Administration began—at first covertly and

then, after mid-1981, openly—to extend political, material and organisational assistance to the counter-revolutionary forces in Poland, hoping that their victory would open the way to the disintegration of the socialist community from within.

The imposition, in accordance with our nation's constitutional and legal norms, of martial law on December 13, 1981 put an end to social anarchy and economic disintegration and prevented civil war. The Marxist-Leninist Party, the working class and the socialist state proved to possess sufficient inner strength to stop the counter-revolutionary wave. This meant that the US schemes to undermine socialism in Poland collapsed. However, instead of recognising this reality, the White House merely changed its tactics.

On December 23, 1981, a few days after the imposition of martial law, President Reagan delivered a speech setting forth a demand of the US Administration which was little less than an ultimatum: either Poland's return to the situation obtaining before December 13, that is, a free hand to the counter-revolutionary forces, or a freeze of relations with the United States and all sorts of restrictions and sanctions imposed by capitalist powers according to Washington's plans and under its supervision. Automatically, these White House demands became the basis of the programme adopted by the anti-socialist underground in Poland.

In his radio address of October 9, 1982 the US President announced a further tightening of the sanctions against Poland. The book points out that the discriminatory economic and financial moves which contradicted international legal norms, as well as the unilateral abrogation by the United States of many earlier accords and agreements inflicted heavy losses on the Polish economy. The total damage is estimated at about 12.5 billion dollars. The operation of many industries was severely disrupted, the production of several groups of goods and foodstuffs was thrown out of kilter, Polish exports to the United States were cut down drastically, and scientific and technological cooperation between the two countries was reduced to the barest minimum.

The factor which did much to alleviate the adverse effects of this policy of discrimination and economic blackmail pursued against Poland by the government of the United States and most of the other NATO countries was the internationalist, fraternal assistance of the Soviet Union and the solidarity of the other countries of the socialist community. Many Asian, African and Latin American countries, primarily those who were themselves working to uphold their independence, took the position of full understanding of and support for Poland. This was an instructive lesson for Polish society. On the one hand, it saw for itself the true image of imperialism which pursued its anti-socialist policy rooted in class interests and stopped at nothing to achieve its aims. On the other hand, the assistance rendered by the USSR and other fraternal countries again demonstrated the unshakable and effective nature of the internationalist principles underlying friendship and cooperation between People's Poland and her allies.

The book offers a wealth of documentary material exposing US efforts to internationalise the 'Polish Question'. On January 11, 1982, in response to a White House proposal, an emergency session of the NATO Foreign Ministers' Council was convened in Brussels. It adopted a 16-paragraph Declaration Concerning the Events in Poland which reiterated the objectives of the economic sanctions and discriminatory moves and dictated the NATO countries' terms for normalising relations with our country.

Propaganda efforts which, in terms of their unprecedented scope, can be described as psychological warfare, held a special place in the US policy of confrontation with Poland and other socialist countries. This extremely aggressive slanderous campaign is being waged against Poland and her sovereign interests at international forums, in

third countries and by attempting to directly influence the thinking of various strata of Polish society.

The role of leader in this campaign was assumed by President Reagan himself who twice announced a 'Day of Solidarity with the Polish People' (January 30, 1982 and December 12, 1983) and was the principal architect of the libelous and instigative television show 'Let Poland Be Poland', Broadcast in the United States on January 31, 1982. The White House supplied this piece of hate-mongering free to many capitalist countries.

The propaganda operations Project Truth (1981) and Project Democracy (1983), sponsored and orchestrated by the US authorities, were also cases of gross interference in the internal affairs of the PPR. US radio stations—the official, government-owned Voice of America and CIA-controlled Radio Free Europe—were used to directly influence Polish public opinion. Since December 13, 1981, when their efforts to provoke a general strike failed, the main objective of their broadcasts has been to advise the now clandestine Solidarity on forms and methods of struggle against the Polish socialist state. Also publicised is psychological and economic sabotage disguised by the slogan of passive resistance. The book quotes a typical excerpt from a Voice of America broadcast of September 10, 1983:

'First and foremost however, the task is to build a new and independent clandestine organisation spanning all of society; when the time comes, it will demolish the ramshackle facade and emerge as an independent and democratic Poland. . . . Everything should be controlled, through a many-tiered clandestine system of communication, by an underground Solidarity centre transformed into a cadre organisation of the struggle for independence. Naturally, this strategy of war on communism or creeping counter-revolution, devised for a term longer than a decade, rules out any agreement or compromise' (p. 177).

Such is the other side of the coin of Washington's economic sanctions against Poland.

Coordinating their activities closely with the Reagan Administration's course of eliminating socialism in Poland are reactionary organisations of Polish Americans, with Congress Polonia at the centre. Right-wing labour unions, especially the AFL-CIO, have done much to further organisational and propaganda goals and to finance clandestine counter-revolutionary forces in Poland. In a speech delivered on August 31, 1982 AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland promised that the US trade union movement would continue to support the efforts of the former Solidarity leadership to change Poland's socio-political system; he called on the US government to tighten the sanctions against Poland and the USSR.

The thoroughly documented cases of illegal interference by the United States in the affairs of sovereign Poland speak for themselves. Still, there is the question of how effective Washington's aggressive moves proved to be. In his speech of December 3, 1982 Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, First Secretary of the PUWP Central Committee, stated firmly: 'I have said it many times and I will repeat it as many times as necessary: Poland shall not back down in the face of foreign diktat. A government that would do so would simply not deserve to be called a Polish government' (p. 44).

The book shows that, while maintaining its dignity and indomitable stand, our government also displayed a principled and patient approach with regard to the policy of the US administration. In its note to the US government of November 3, 1983 it expressed its 'resolute disagreement with the discriminatory and other unfriendly moves carried out by the Government of the United States in relation to Poland, and with interference in her internal affairs. The US government has no formal legal nor political, let alone moral, right to take such action' (pp. 148-149).

In his interview to the *Christian Science Monitor* Wojciech Jaruzelski said: 'It was not Poland who has caused our relations to deteriorate to such an alarming level. It

was not our intentions or action which pushed them so low. There was a time when we responded with interest to US protestations of commitment to stabilisation, to long-term cooperation. Today we are paying a stiff price for our gullibility. . . . Still, we are not blind to obvious—not illusory—positive facts. We have a traditionally friendly attitude to the great American people. We advocate normalisation of relations. But the concept of normalisation must be backed by appropriate action, otherwise it would be an empty phrase.¹

The book under review, popularly called a 'White Paper' in Poland, is not anti-American. It merely reveals the essence, the class aims and the true image of US imperialism and its policy, aimed against the vital interests of the Polish nation and highlighting the thrust of Washington's overall policy towards all forces and all countries that have chosen the path of freedom, progress, peace and democracy.

Jerzy Waszczuk

¹*Trybuna Ludu*, May 12, 1984.

Without Pulling Any Punches

Friedemann Schuster, *Fragen an den realen Sozialismus* (Questions about Existing Socialism), Verlag Marxistische Blätter, Frankfurt am Main, 1984, 244 pp.

EVER since the early days of the October Revolution, the capitalist world has been carrying on a bitter struggle against the Land of Soviets, assigning an important place to anti-communist propaganda. It has changed forms and methods to adapt to the course of history but its goal has always been one and the same: to undermine the new social system and lessen its appeal to the people.

Therefore books exposing its calumnies about the socialist system are valuable contributions to the current struggle for a better future for humankind. The book under review, written by a West German communist analyst, is one of them. It aroused widespread interest in the FRG and has had two editions in a short time. Schuster formulates his aim as follows: "People attempting to form unprejudiced views ask questions. Questions about existing socialism vary greatly. Some people ask them out of ignorance. Others do so under the influence of cold war clichés, which have misled them into distrusting socialism and fearing that it might bring war, poverty and a lack of freedom. In other words, many questions are based on distorted notions about existing socialism or on anti-communism absorbed since childhood" (p. 8).

The book examines six subjects currently foremost in the minds of people in the Federal Republic of Germany. Its first section offers basic knowledge necessary for understanding the nature of socialism. The other five deal with problems of the peace movement, the economy, the socialist way of life, democracy and the advance to communism. There is ample information about Marxist theory, the history of socialism and its application in various countries. Each section comprises several brief chapters about the "tough" questions asked most often in the FRG. Schuster answers them without pulling any punches.

The most urgent task of humankind today, he stresses, is to maintain peace. It is therefore highly important for the unity and effectiveness of the peace movement to realize the inherently peaceable nature of socialism. Schuster concerns himself with questions commonly raised by those in the movement who doubt socialism's need for peace to speed its development.

It is often asked whether the Soviet Union is a superpower. The author is forthright. He objects to the widespread opinion that there is something sinister about this classification. "Yes," he writes, "the Soviet Union is a superpower. Its territory takes up a sixth of the surface of the globe. It has a population of 265.5 million.¹ Its economy produces 20 per cent of the world industrial output" (p. 25). And he goes on to detail the Soviet Union's tremendous achievements in education, science, space exploration and other fields. He adds, "Its military potential, too, is unquestionably that of a superpower" (ibid.).

Schuster then explains the fundamental difference between the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and USA: "Soviet foreign and defence policy ... is based on the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. It is decisively conditioned by the character of socialist society, in which

there are no dangerous forces prompted by *predatory and aggressive egotism growing out of the private ownership of the means of production and material riches*" (my emphasis — *M.P.*, p. 26). He concludes: "The socialist superpower differs qualitatively from its capitalist counterpart. Everything that sets socialism apart from capitalism also sets apart the two superpowers" (p. 33).

The reader is reminded of the fact that the Soviets' peace policy dates back to the October Revolution, which demanded an end to World War I. "Already in 1927, the Soviet Union submitted to the League of Nations in Geneva a *comprehensive proposal for general and complete disarmament* calling for the dissolution of the land, naval and air forces of all countries, the destruction of all arms and ammunition, the enactment of laws ending military service, the closure of all munition plants and an end to military appropriations" (p. 49). When the capitalist states rejected this proposal the Soviet Union put forward another directed toward stage-by-stage disarmament. But it got no support. Today the imperialist powers, primarily the United States, react to socialism's peace proposals in a similar way. "The most aggressive imperialists want to destroy socialism and communism, just as the fascists did in the past . . ." (p. 53). The author quotes President Reagan's statement of May 17, 1981 in which Reagan threw overboard the contest of ideas. "We will not be content to denounce it (communism. — *M.P.*), we will destroy it" (*ibid.*).

In the light of outspoken statements like this, Schuster comments, it is hard to understand why some on the left equate the socialist and imperialist powers and are not willing to "turn all their efforts against those who, again and again, are the first to 'turn the spiral' (escalate the arms race. — *M.P.*) instead of fighting alongside the great power that is peace-loving. Only the unity of all forces can stop imperialists who have lost their common sense from destroying life on earth" (p. 52).

Focusing attention on the problem of war and peace, the author refutes the bourgeois lie about the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the activity of peace movements. He traces the development of new weapons and cites documentary evidence showing it was initiated by U.S. imperialism and that the Soviet Union developed new weapons systems to prevent the USA from gaining military superiority.

The book disproves arguments faulting the socialist economy for not offering the same variety and quality of consumer goods as are available in the highly industrialized capitalist countries. It gives the historical and other reasons for a certain lag, as, for example, in agricultural production in some countries. It stresses that socialism is not only successfully overcoming growing pains but assures complete security to all, which is unheard of in the societies of "free enterprise."

Many people in capitalist countries who fight side by side with communists against the war menace and for social justice view democracy and socialism as incompatible. Dwelling on the set of questions related to this problem, Schuster deals with some of the more common attacks on socialist democracy. He points out that the democratic structures of existing socialism vary due to historical, ethnic, cultural and other distinctions between the countries where the new system has become established. However, all these countries have a common basis for the development of socialist democracy and a common basic prerequisite for people's rule: the political power of the working class and its allies, which means the power of the overwhelming majority of the population and in the case of the most developed socialist countries, the rule of the entire people.

For those who have fallen for bourgeois propaganda's falsehoods about existing socialism and support its anti-communist "recommendations," Schuster writes: "... The communists in socialist countries today have a better idea of the long process needed to reach a level of political culture which fulfils the ideals of socialism and communism ... One has only to read the records of party congresses, especially those of the latest CPSU congresses, to see how very frankly and uncompromisingly various problems are put on the agenda and efforts made to bring about coincidence of the communist ideal with day-to-day actions and attitudes" (p. 179).

I hope the book, written with due regard to the specific situation in the Federal Republic of Germany and giving many impulses for thought about major problems of today, will draw the attention of progressives in other capitalist countries as well.

Margrit Pittman
U.S. journalist

¹ Now 276.3 million. — Ed.

Never Again!

Carlos M. Zamorano, *Prisionero politico. Testimonio sobre las cárceles políticas argentinas*, Ediciones Estudios, Buenos Aires, 1983, 235 pp.

CARLOS Zamorano was arrested in San Miguel de Tucuman (Argentina), capital of his native province, on November 28, 1974, as he was leaving the Federal Court building where he, a lawyer, was discharging his professional duties.¹ This was the beginning of a long and agonising ordeal. He was constantly transferred, mostly in airplanes which doubled as torture chambers, from one place of detention to another where the established routine was designed to break the prisoner's will and cripple him physically and mentally.

Having obtained, on August 24, 1979, after 57 months of imprisonment, his release, his freedom restricted by police surveillance, Carlos Zamorano wrote a book entitled *Political Prisoner. A Testimony About Argentine Political Prisons*.

The book is a chronicle of horror, although the author is strictly factual in his descriptions and uses no special techniques to shock the reader. The facts cited in the book speak for themselves. Here is one episode describing how prisoners were transported by plane. They were chained to their chairs with their heads between their knees. A heavyset guard sat on Zamorano's back with his feet in the air, to bring his entire weight to bear on the prisoner's chest, not letting him breathe. The torture lasted for about ten minutes. Then vicious blows rained on Zamorano and, 'one of my ribs was broken. A sharp pain lanced through my body' (p. 111).

What he saw in the prisons, his own and his fellow-prisoners' sufferings and the

psychology of the jailers did not come as a surprise to Zamorano. As a lawyer and a member of the Tucuman Communist Party organisation he had been constantly involved in the struggle on behalf of political prisoners. He frequently visited police headquarters, courts and prisons—wherever victims of reprisals needed legal or other assistance. The torturers and their leaders whom he exposed tirelessly tried continuously to silence him. He was imprisoned several times, his home was fired upon twice, and local newspapers reported that the Triple A terrorist organisation (Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance) sentenced him to death.

But while the class enemies hated Zamorano bitterly, the workers who appealed to him for help in the struggle against the arbitrary rule of the sugar oligarchy,² the students and teachers of the provincial university whom he helped in their fight for schools open to the people, his fellow members of the CPA Tucuman Provincial Committee referred to him affectionately as 'our beloved and indefatigable' Carlos.

Perhaps the most vivid reflection of this Communist lawyer's popularity was his appointment (while he was still in prison) as vice-president of the Argentine Human Rights League (AHRL), the most authoritative body to champion the cause of political prisoners, an organisation increasingly joined by prominent democratic figures.

This background and Zamorano's great store of party and professional experience were no doubt instrumental in his work on the book, truly an indictment of the repressive regime which existed in Argentina from the mid-1970s to the end of the decade. Both the book itself and the foreword written by the lawyer Eduardo S. Barcesat and Victor Bruschi, AHRL Secretary, stress that the violence and crimes committed in Argentina were an integral part of the schemes hatched by the ruling classes, the monopolies and the landowners' oligarchy. They were bent on using state terrorism to carry out a 'capitalist modernisation' of Argentine society, in effect leading to a slump in production, greater dependence and erosion of the social gains won by working people (see pp. 15-23).

In terms of their scale and brutality, the repression of that period was unprecedented in Argentine history—although, as the book is correct in pointing out, violations of democratic freedoms assumed a systematic and persistent character as far back as the early 1930s, when a deteriorating crisis began to increasingly affect the country's social and economic fabric and when bourgeois-democratic forms of government became unacceptable to Argentina's ruling quarters.

The author notes that political terrorism assumed a definite shape in the 1930s, in the course of the first coup aimed against a constitutional government. Subsequently, the repressive apparatus gained expertise from the war criminals who fled to Argentina from Nazi Germany and later, from French advisers who were members of the OAS. However, the past record pales compared to the monstrous crimes perpetrated against thousands of people in the 1970s. The torturers became experts: they were trained in special US military centres. Argentina was one of the countries where the CIA-devised methods of 'disappearing' people by force were used extensively.

The book emphasised that the sinister machine of murder was put into high gear in accordance with the Pentagon-sponsored 'national security doctrine'. The reactionary army brass used it as a guideline, first to prepare the coup and then, after seizing power, to create the most tragic situation in the nation's history.

Like other valuable evidence, especially the 50,000 pages compiled by the National Commission on Missing Persons (led by the author Ernesto Sabato)³, Carlos Zamorano's book is a constant reminder of these crimes. It helps people to grasp the in-depth causes of the long nightmare of terror our country has gone through.

The people of Argentina, the author says, are well aware that 'the five-year period from 1974 to 1979 produced tensions that were immeasurably greater than those

present in any other period of this century; for this reason it was also the most significant in terms of the experience people gained' (p. 25).

The book concludes that daily efforts are needed to develop the consciousness of the popular masses and to educate them, for the battle for democracy they are fighting today is neither the first nor, by far, the last. This is the point arrogantly made by General Ramon J. Camps, a high-level functionary of the now defunct military dictatorship who was chief of police of the Buenos Aires province: 'The missing persons are no longer alive. . . . I assume full responsibility for it and I take pride in it. . . . The only thing I might be guilty of is that I have not secured a political victory too, but the struggle is not yet over, and neither is my role'.

Carlos Zamorano's book is a new contribution to the struggle for civil liberties and democracy, a struggle to which he devoted many years of his life. His book is a call for resolute and immediate action to translate into reality the demand which rises from the heart of the people and which can be expressed in two words: 'Never again!'

José María Lanao

¹ Zamorano's arrest was ordered by the authorities under a decree issued by María Estela Martínez de Perón, President of Argentina. Despite the fact that she was subsequently deposed and put on trial, Zamorano remained in prison during the military dictatorship established by the coup of 1976.

² Sugar production is the principal industry of the Tucuman Province.

³ On September 20, 1984 this paper was presented to President Raul Alfonsín. The rally held to mark this occasion was attended by more than 70,000 people; in this way they expressed their wish that the guilty be punished and the repressive apparatus dismantled.

New Books

M. V. Zimyanin, *Pod Znamenem Leninisma. Izbrannye statyi i rechi* (Under the Banner of Leninism. Selected Articles and Speeches). Politizdat Publishers, Moscow, 1984, 383 pp.

THE author is a secretary of the CPSU CC, and deals with the party's ideological and mass political activity, problems in the Marxist-Leninist education of the masses and stimulation of their labour and social activity. He shows that the party is the chief organising force of the Soviet society, and considers the theoretical and practical questions in perfecting socialist social relations, emphasising that the elaboration of the conception of developed socialism is the CPSU's most important creative contribution to the theoretical arsenal of Marxism-Leninism and showing the role and importance of the party's ideological work at the present stage of the USSR's development. He devotes much space in the collection to the CPSU's foreign-policy activity, which is aimed to ward off the threat of war and to preserve peace for this and future generations.

Joachim Petzold, *Faschismus. Regime des Verbrechens* (Fascism, a Criminal Regime). Staatsverlag der DDR, Berlin, 1984, 167 pp.

This is a history of Nazism in Germany written by a prominent GDR scientist who sheds light on the problems in combating the growing neo-fascist threat in the FRG.

He shows the social roots and political mechanism of Hitler's dictatorship, which started the Second World War. He refutes the biased unscientific versions of West German bourgeois historiography designed to whitewash fascism, a bloody anti-people's regime which sprang from the same aggressive and reactionary circles of imperialism, which are now trying, even if partially, to rehabilitate it for use in their fight against world socialism and other forces of democracy and social progress. The rout of fascism in the Second World War, says the author, was above all the result of the Soviet people's titanic efforts and the unfading feat of arms by its heroic Armed Forces.

Ethiopia. A Decade of Revolutionary Transformation. 1974-1984. The Propaganda and Culture Committee of the Founding Congress of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia and 10th Anniversary of the Revolution, Addis Ababa, 1984, 80 pp.

Mengistu Haile Mariam, General Secretary of the Central committee of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia and Chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council, is quoted in the opening pages of the book as saying that the objective of the Ethiopian revolution is to build a new, prosperous and equitable society in which the working people are completely free from exploitation. Published to mark the 10th anniversary of the February Revolution, the book tells of the development of the revolutionary process in Ethiopia, shows the struggle for the formation of the working people's party and the involvement of the masses in radical social transformations, and reflects the successes and difficulties of the young republic as it advances to a new life.

Undeclared War, Armed Intervention and Other Forms of Interference in the Internal Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Information and Press Department, DRA Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kabul, 1984, 120 pp.

The Saur (April) Revolution of 1978, a logical outcome of the people's long struggle against the despotic monarchy, opened Afghanistan's way to social progress. However, the United States and its allies, with the complicity of China and reactionary Moslem regimes, primarily Pakistan and Iran, started an undeclared war against the revolutionary transformations in the country and against the entire Afghan people. This Foreign Ministry booklet is based on documents and eyewitness testimony exposing the forms and methods of armed intervention by imperialism in Afghanistan's affairs. It shows that the Soviet Union's assistance to Afghanistan in its fight against the intervention is a striking manifestation of internationalism and fraternal solidarity. It also describes the DRA's initiatives for a peaceful settlement of the problem through negotiations.

Labor Confronts the Transnationals, International Publishers, New York, 1984, 113 pp.

This is a collection of opening speeches by trade union leaders from the United States, Canada, Great Britain, France, Japan and Mexico at the Second International Conference on the unity of the international trade union movement in the face of the transnational corporations, which was held in Toronto in October 1983 on the initiative of the Trade Union Research Office (Vancouver, Canada), and the Trade Union Research Association (New York, USA). They deal with the pressing

problems in resisting the transnationals' harmful influence on the capitalist countries' social, economic, and political development, and the international monopolies' drive against the working people's rights. They also deal with the strategy and tactics of the trade unions in the fightback against the corporations, and emphasise the need to strengthen the working people's solidarity in the various countries in fighting the transnationals and combating unemployment and other manifestations of the sharpening crisis of capitalism.

New International Information and Communication Order. A Source Book, International Organisation of Journalists, Prague, 1984, 205pp.

This volume of documents and other materials deals with the problem of establishing a new international information order. The publication of this book is a contribution to the discussion on this important problem that was started in 1976 by the non-aligned states. There is a pressing need for the earliest possible weeding out of the iniquities in the world-wide exchange of information and its circulation brought about by the imperialist powers. Further, it is shown that information should be used as a means of reinforcing peace, confidence, and friendship among peoples. This problem is linked to the establishment of a new international economic order and, ultimately, to the further development of international relations on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, mutual benefit, and equitable cooperation.

Max Schmidt (Hrsg.), *US-Militärpolitik auf Kriegskurs* (US Military Policy on the War Path), Verlag Marxistische Blätter, Frankfurt on the Main, 1984, 205pp.

This collection, prepared by scholars of the GDR at the request of Marxistische Blätter, a West German publishing house, analyse the Pentagon's current military strategy and its connection with US imperialism's adventurist policy. The authors write that the emphasis in US military preparations is on developing and manufacturing new weapons of mass destruction, space weapons included. The deployment of US Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles in Western Europe, they note, has greatly complicated the international situation. The book spells out the meaning of the peace policy of the socialist community countries.

Jean Suret-Canale, Marie-Françoise Durand, *La faim dans le monde* (Hunger in the World), Editions sociales, Paris, 1984, 199pp.

Paradoxically, hundreds of millions are starving in this age of atomic energy, space exploration and computers. Why? Because the majority of humanity is still oppressed by capitalism, the authors reply. Instead of putting the accumulated resources in the services of man, this system puts man in the service of capitalist accumulation. The book invites the conclusion that hunger cannot be defeated by technology or charity. What is needed is a radical solution, namely, the abolition of the exploiting system through the working people's class struggle, linking immediate objectives with the future goal: deep-going social and economic changes.

surveys, information and mail

How the CMEA Countries Tackle Their Energy Problem

THE problem of meeting the energy requirements of countries without adequate fuel resources of their own has been an important one in international economic relations over the past decade. Some of these countries are members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA). Our readers, among them Claude Boucher (France) and Kerim Abderrahim (Jordan) have written to ask how the problem is being tackled within the framework of the socialist community. Below is a survey prepared at the request of the WMR Commission on Scientific Information and Documentation by Professor Anatoli Zubkov, Dr. Sc (Econ.) of the USSR.

THERE are various factors which make the energy problem important and complicated for the CMEA countries at the present state, among them the increased consumption of fuel and energy; insufficient availability of proved and developed energy resources in some countries; the ever higher costs of fuel production; the much higher level of foreign-trade prices for energy resource, and so on.

Despite the more complicated conditions, the *CMEA countries make up the world's only economic region in which the energy-supply problem is being solved mainly on the basis of their aggregate intra-regional resources*. The CMEA economic summit in June 1984 decided on the strategy for further economic development and cooperation of the fraternal countries involving intensification of social production. It said that in order to solve the fuel and energy problem, the partners would make national efforts and cooperate with each other in above all ensuring economical and rational use of energy resources, and would also take the relevant measures in the production and mutual delivery of fuel and energy.

Production and Consumption of Energy Resources

The fuel and energy economy of CMEA countries as a whole is characterised by a trend towards stable absolute and relative growth of energy resources production (see Table 1). In 1982, output was 5.7 times up on the 1950 level. In 1983, coal output (1,383 mln tons) came to roughly one-third, oil (630 mln tons) to about a quarter, and natural and casing-head gas (almost 560 bln cub.m) to over 37 per cent of world output. Gas extraction developed most rapidly, going up by 22 per cent from 1981 to 1983.

However, the territorial location and so also the production of energy resources within the CMEA framework is patchy. In 1983, the USSR accounted for more than

95 per cent of the oil (including gas condensate), 94 per cent of the natural and casing-head gas, and almost 52 per cent of the coal extracted in the CMEA countries. The USSR is the chief exporter of oil, oil products and gas to these states. Coal and hard-coal coke are supplied by the USSR, Poland and Czechoslovakia.

Table 1
Production of Primary Energy Resources (mln tons of comparison fuel)

	1950	1960	1970	1980	1982
Bulgaria	3.1	8.8	16.1	17.1	18.4
Hungary	7.7	15.1	20.7	22.0	22.9
Vietnam	...	...	...	5.3	6.3
GDR	43.4	70.3	81.0	83.6	89.8
Cuba	...	0.02	0.2	0.4	0.8
Mongolia	0.09	0.2	0.7	1.7	1.7
Poland	65.2	88.5	130.6	175.0	171.1
Romania	14.3	35.9	64.8	85.7	92.7
USSR	312.8	699.1	1,237.1	1,918.2	2,011.7
Czechoslovakia	28.8	51.9	63.7	66.4	66.3
CMEA countries' percentage of world total	17.0	22.5	22.7	25.9	27.8

Computed from: Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR. Statistical Yearbooks for 1970, 1972, 1982; Energy Statistics Yearbook, UN, 1984; 1980. Yearbook of World Energy Statistics; UN, 1981; World Energy Supplies. 1950-1974, UN, 1976.

Meanwhile, the consumption of primary energy resources was marked by a high rate of growth as a basic trend in the development of the CMEA countries' fuel and energy economy over a long period (see Table 2): from 1951 to 1982 it multiplied 5.3-fold.

Table 2
Consumption of Primary Energy Resources (mln tons of comparison fuel)

	1950	1960	1970	1980	1982
Bulgaria	3.4	10.2	32.0	47.3	50.9
Hungary	7.8	18.7	29.1	40.6	41.3
Vietnam	...	...	...	6.6	7.1
GDR	47.9	79.0	104.5	121.8	123.3
Cuba	...	6.1	8.5	13.9	14.1
Mongolia	0.1	0.5	1.1	2.6	2.8
Poland	41.9	74.7	116.3	177.9	163.1
Romania	10.9	27.0	61.0	100.0	104.6
USSR	331.2	678.0	1,117.3	1,665.8	1,731.9
Czechoslovakia	30.5	53.1	77.4	97.8	96.5
CMEA countries' percentage of world total	17.2	22.1	22.4	24.4	25.7

Computed from: Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR. Statistical Yearbooks for 1970, 1972, 1982; Energy Statistics Yearbook, 1984; 1980. Yearbook of World Energy Statistics; World Energy Supplies. 1950-1974.

The rapidly growing scale of energy-resources consumption in that period was due to the high rate of national-income growth (8.3-fold), the accelerated rise of industry, the industrialisation of agriculture, the growth of the assets and energy facilities available to labour, and other peculiarities in the development of the socialist economy. The European countries of the CMEA, including the USSR, now surpass—or equal—many industrialised capitalist countries in the consumption of energy resources per head of the population. In Vietnam, Cuba and Mongolia the per-head consumption of energy resources is still as a fairly low level, but has a tendency to grow.

At the same time, by modern standards, some socialist countries have shaped an excessively energy-intensive structure of the economy. At the end of the 1970s, the per-unit energy-intensiveness of the aggregate national income of the CMEA countries was roughly 50 per cent higher than the corresponding indicator for the Common Market countries.

Up until the late 1970s, most CMEA countries had a much faster growth of consumption of primary energy resources than their national output, which kept lagging behind the needs of the national economy, both in volume and structure. In the early 1980s, the average consumption of energy resources in the European countries of the CMEA (without the USSR), was met to 70-75 per cent from their home production (see Table 3). One has to note, however, that there is now evidence in the European countries of the CMEA of a tendency to some increase in the extent to which they meet their energy resources demand from their own supply.

Among the CMEA countries, the Soviet Union's production of energy resources is alone substantially higher than consumption, which enables it to export some types of fuel and energy.

Table 3
Percentage of Home Output of Primary Energy Resources in Consumption

	1950	1960	1970	1980	1982
Bulgaria	91	86	50	36	36
Hungary	98	81	71	54	55
GDR	90	89	77	69	73
Poland	156	118	112	98	105
Romania	130	133	106	86	89
Czechoslovakia	95	98	82	68	69
European CMEA countries, without the USSR	114	103	90	77	80

Computed from: World Energy Supplies. 1950-1974; 1980. Yearbook of World Energy Statistics; 1982. Energy Statistics Yearbook, UN, 1984.

USSR's Role in CMEA Energy Supply

Soviet deliveries make up the bulk of the oil, oil products, natural gas, electric power and a sizable part of the hard coal, metallurgical coke and other energy resources imported by the CMEA countries. In the early 1980, these countries' import requirements in oil and oil products were met by deliveries from the USSR to almost 80 per cent, natural gas—almost entirely (99 per cent), and hard coal—more than 60 per cent.

Table 4
Soviet Deliveries of Fuel and Energy to CMEA Countries

Types of fuel and energy	Five-year periods						From 1981 to 1983
	1951-1955	1956-1960	1961-1965	1966-1970	1971-1975	1976-1980	
Oil and oil products, mln t.	8.9	33.3	99.8	193.4	310.6	430	263
Natural gas, bln cub.m.	0.6	1.0	1.6	7.7	30.5	94	91
Hard coal and anthracite, mln t.	8.1	29.1	61.8	61.6	73.6	...	...
Electric power, mln kWh	10.5	...	2,300	13,900	39,900	64,000	54,000

Computed from: Vneshnyaya Torgovlya SSSR. Statistical Manual 1918-1966, Moscow, 1967; Vneshnyaya Torgovlya SSSR (for 1967 1969, 1971, 1973, 1975). Statistical Yearbooks; Kommunist, No. 12, 1984, pp. 85-86.

There has been a very rapid growth in the volume of Soviet exports to the CMEA countries (see Table 4). In the second half of the 1970s, it was higher than it was in the first half of the 1950s by 46.7-fold for oil and oil products, 156.7-fold for natural gas, and 6,095-fold for electric power. In the current five-year period (1981-1985) there is an especially large growth of deliveries of natural gas (63 per cent), and electric power (52 per cent).

These deliveries enabled the CMEA countries to order their energy balance structure and start a number of modern industries (oil refining, petrochemicals and mineral fertilizers). In view of the differential between the world prices for oil and oil products and the prices at which these energy resources were purchased from the Soviet Union from 1976 to 1980, the importing countries had a gain within the five-year period of more than 5 billion roubles (apart from the benefits of turning out products from Soviet oil, and its internal consumption and export).

The mammoth deliveries of oil and energy are the result of the Soviet Union's use of its natural resources, and its scientific, technical and production potential both for its own purposes, and for the economic growth of the whole socialist community. That too, is the result of the socialist states' cooperation (notably in investments).

Thus, the growth of Soviet electric-power deliveries is promoted by the United Power Grids of the European countries of the CMEA. The potentialities here were expanded following the starting up in 1978 of the 750,000 volt electric-transmission line from Vinnitsa (USSR) to Albertirsza (Hungary) built jointly by the countries concerned. These will further increase once the equally powerful transmission lines between the Khmel'nitsky nuclear-power plant (USSR) and Rzeszow (Poland), and the South Ukrainian nuclear-power plant (USSR) and Isaccea (Romania) and Dobrudja (Bulgaria) are put on stream through joint efforts. In the long run, other power lines will be added to the United Power Grids. Once the joint construction of the Khmel'nitsky and South Ukrainian nuclear-power plants on the territory of the USSR is completed, the volume of their deliveries to the European countries of the CMEA by 1990 could be increased to 20-22 billion kWh of electricity.

Soviet oil is exported to these countries along the Druzhba oil pipeline, and natural gas along the jointly built system of main gas pipelines, among them the powerful

Soyuz gas pipeline which originates in the region of Orenburg. Gas is also piped to the socialist countries along the new Urengoi-Pomary-Uzhgorod pipeline (with an outlet to Western Europe).

The need to make good the energy deficit in the CMEA countries and to supply fuel and energy to other states has made for the much faster growth of their exports by the Soviet Union, as compared with the growth of output. In 1950, only 1 per cent of the fuel and energy produced in the USSR was exported, and in 1983—more than 17 per cent. However, the Soviet Union's much greater and growing energy-resources consumption makes it hard to maintain the old dynamic of their exports to the CMEA countries.¹ In 1976-1980 this export grew by 47 per cent compared to the previous five-year period, and will increase by 20 per cent in the next five-year period.

The CMEA economic summit noted the need to perfect the structure of production and export so that the countries concerned would be able to supply, in exchange for Soviet fuel and raw materials, foodstuffs and consumer goods, some types of structural materials, and machinery and equipment, all of a high quality and up to world technical standards.

The Soviet Union is also taking part in tackling the energy problem by promoting the development of fuel and energy production in the CMEA countries. By the beginning of 1984, technical assistance had been extended by the USSR to socialist countries in Europe in building or projecting electric-power stations with a capacity of 64 million kWh, enterprises for the extraction of 58.6 million tons of coal, 16.9 million tons of coke, and the refining of 55.5 million tons of oil a year. The volume of Soviet assistance in developing fuel and energy industries in Vietnam, Cuba and Mongolia has also been growing.

Energy-Saving Policy

Economic intensification has gone hand in hand with a reduction in the rate at which the consumption of energy resources has grown. In the 1970s, roughly 40 per cent of the increase in the national income of the European CMEA countries (without the USSR) came from energy savings and 60 per cent from continued growth in energy consumption. From 1981 to 1983, economic growth in the GDR, Hungary and Czechoslovakia was attained with a virtually unchanged or even reduced consumption of primary energy resources. In other CMEA countries, the volume continued to increase, but at a slower pace than it did in the 1970s. Programmes for the rational use of fuel and energy over the current five-year period (1981-1985) and for the longer term have been worked out and are being realised, providing for economic-organisation, technological and structural measures.

The socialist countries' energy-saving policy rests on a planned basis. The sectors and economic organisations are given concrete assignments. New and more progressive normatives of fuel and energy expenditures for various technological processes, types and sub-types of machinery and equipment have been worked out or are being elaborated. Improvement of price-formation is used to orient consumers towards the use of less scarce types of energy resources. Sanctions have been increased for the expenditure of energy resources over and above the new normatives and limits. At the same time, material incentives have been enhanced to induce economies. Thus, in the USSR, up to 90 per cent of the value of the economised energy resources is left at the disposal of enterprises (the costs incidental to the economy of resources are usually two or three times lower than those for the extraction of equivalent quantities of fuel).

In 1980, the sum-total economies of fuel and energy resources in Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, the USSR and Czechoslovakia came to 144 million tons of comparison fuel, and in 1985, the figure is expected to come to more than 250 million tons. Major potentialities for energy savings remain in the future as well.

The CMEA agencies have got down to preparing a programme for cooperation in the economical and rational use of material resources until the year 2000. The programme will include a set of measures for cooperation in research, design and development projects, the manufacture of the necessary equipment and along other lines ensuring greater efficiency in the use of fuel and energy.

With that end in view, efforts are being made to reduce the share of oil in the structure of energy consumption so as to release its resources for use as raw materials in the production of motor oil and chemical products. In 1980, liquid fuel in the CMEA countries (without the USSR) averaged 21 per cent of consumption of primary energy resources (as compared with 17 per cent in 1970). The development of nuclear-energy production, the greater extraction of natural gas and the preparation of other necessary conditions made it possible to reduce—already in 1982—the share of liquid fuel in the energy balance of the European CMEA countries to 19 per cent, a task which continues to be meaningful in the future as well.

The rational use of fuel and energy through the introduction of energy-saving hardware and technology, the technical re-equipment of the national economy, and perfection of the structure of social production is the main line in tackling the energy problem. The national-economic complexes in most CMEA countries are multi-sectoral and include some highly energy-intensive lines of production (chemical, metallurgical, etc.) something that was justified in most cases when fuel and energy were cheap. In the new conditions, with the much higher costs of energy resources, there is an objective need for more circumspect development in some CMEA countries of energy-intensive lines of production, and balanced and mutually-concerted remodelling of economic structures.

The socialist states have gained considerable experience in mutually-agreed development of production structures. For instance, since the 1960s, the extraction of bauxites and alumina has been concentrated in Hungary, and the electro-intensive production of aluminium in the USSR; since the 1970s, the production of ferro-alloys has been expanded in the USSR in cooperation with the CMEA countries and for deliveries to them; in the 1980s, the production of high energy-intensive (in the USSR) and low energy-intensive (in other CMEA countries) types of chemical products is being developed.

Technical progress needs to be used to the full for greater energy savings. Thus, the share of blast-furnace steel production is still large in the CMEA countries, while the more progressive oxygen-converter process has not yet been duly applied, despite the fact that it helps to reduce energy inputs by 4-6 times for the production of one ton of metal. Many industries, agriculture, transport and other spheres need to be switched to the energy saving way of development, and so the CMEA countries have been intensifying their cooperation with each other, and turning out the latest equipment, installations, machinery, instruments and means of mechanisation and automation of processes.

What Are the Prospects?

Energy consumption is to increase in the course of the CMEA countries' economic development, but the economic intensification will introduce essential correctives into its dynamic and, accordingly, into the production of energy resources as well.

From 1961 to 1980, every percentage point in the increase of the aggregate national income led to an increase in the expenditure of energy resources by roughly 0.07-0.75 per cent, with an annual average rate of 4.0-4.5 per cent. Realisation of the line of rational use of energy and fuel will make it possible to reduce the former indicator down to roughly 0.5-0.6 per cent over the long term. In order to ensure average annual economic growth of 3-4 per cent, the latter indicator will have to be kept within the limits of 1.5-2.4 per cent, so that the consumption of energy resources,

according to the UN classification, will go up in the CMEA countries from 2.1 billion tons of comparison fuel in 1980 to roughly 2.9–3.4 billion tons in 2000.

The construction of nuclear-power plants and nuclear heat-supply plants is now the priority line of development in the energy industry. At the end of 1983, the installed capacity of nuclear power plants in the CMEA countries was 25 million kilowatts. They are in operation in Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, the USSR and Czechoslovakia. Construction of nuclear-power plants has been started in Cuba, Poland and Romania. The reactors for these plants are being made in the USSR and Czechoslovakia, and other types of equipment in various CMEA countries under a multilateral agreement ensuring a common technical policy and specialisation in the given field. The cooperation in atomic energy machine-building is being promoted by the activity of the international economic association known as Interatomenergo.

By 1990, the installed capacity of nuclear-power plants in the CMEA countries is to go up to 100 million kWh, i.e., a four-fold increase over the end of 1983. In accordance with the decisions of the CMEA economic summit, a programme is being elaborated for the construction of nuclear-power plants and nuclear heat-supply plants until the year 2000. The conception for the development of nuclear-power energy adopted by the socialist states envisages the use of reactors with a growing unit capacity on heat neutrons with a subsequent switch to reactors on fast neutrons. They subsequently intend to use other modes of obtaining energy, including controlled thermonuclear synthesis.

In virtually all the CMEA countries, there will be a further growth of electric-power generation, with the use of local resources of hard and soft coal, lignites and shales.

The joint use of hard-coal deposits and the modernisation of the by-product coke industry in Poland will be of much practical importance. The efficient operation of the Polish-Hungarian Haldex society has provided experience for the establishment in Czechoslovakia of a Joint Hungarian-Czechoslovak enterprise known as Haldex-Ostrava. Both these enterprises are designed to process slag-heap waste to extract coal and other useful components. It would also pay to set up joint firms in other fuel and energy industries.

One promising line is the use of renewable sources of energy—hydro-resources and non-traditional types (solar, wind, geothermal energy, and waste from agriculture, forestry and public utilities). CMEA agencies have worked out a multi-lateral programme for cooperation in non-traditional sources of energy.

The all-round and efficient use of nuclear-power plants, hydro-energy, coal and other energy resources, and also the fuller processing of liquid fuel should help further to rationalise the use of oil over the long term. Just now, up to 2.0–2.5 tons of crude oil is used to obtain one ton of motor oil in the CMEA countries, while modern technology allows the figure to be reduced down to 1.3 tons. The use of condensed and liquefied natural gas as motor fuel will also help to save oil.

There is a need substantially to rationalise not only the processing but also the extraction of oil. Oil beds in the CMEA countries, including the USSR, yield no more than 40 per cent, whereas the figure could be increased to 55–60 per cent with modern methods of extraction, including secondary and especially tertiary methods.

Oil resources in the CMEA countries are being increased with the spread of geological exploration and cooperation in this field. Thus Petrobaltik, a joint enterprise of the GDR, Poland and the USSR, has struck oil in Poland's offshore areas. A Soviet-Romanian organisation has started geological exploration of oil and gas on Vietnam's continental shelf. There is a need for detailed study and exploration of the shelf in Cuba, Bulgaria, Romania and especially the USSR.

Natural gas has a growing importance in the socialist states' energy balance. Alongside increasing local extraction in some countries, there are favourable

prospects for increasing Soviet deliveries of natural gas. An agreement has been signed to build a gas pipeline from Kobrin-Brest (USSR) to Warsaw (Poland). Construction of installations at the Yamburg gas field (north of Western Siberia), a main gas pipeline from Yamburg to the Western border of the USSR and development of oil and gas deposits in the Caspian Lowlands are being envisaged in the Soviet Union. A pooling of the efforts by the countries concerned to realise these projects will markedly replenish their energy resources and help further to rationalise the structure of the energy balance and to intensify social production.

* * *

The CMEA's 39th session in October 1984 determined the set of concrete measures in fuel, energy and raw materials for the period until 1990 and the longer term to ensure realisation of the decisions of the CMEA economic summit on solving the fuel and energy problem. Thanks to the advantages of the planned economy and coordination of efforts by the socialist community countries, they have in the main succeeded in averting the negative impact on their economy of the effects of the energy crisis which has hit the capitalist world. The CMEA countries are involved in the world-wide division of labour and constantly display a readiness to expand their ties with non-socialist states both in energy and other fields. However, a deepening of their mutual economic integration is the main line along which their fuel and energy problem is to be solved.

¹ The ever more complicated natural and economic conditions in which energy resources are being produced in the USSR has made it necessary to allocate more than 40 per cent of industrial capital investments to the extraction of fuel and the generation of energy.

For the Benefit of the Working People

Social Policy in the Socialism-Oriented African Countries

A progressive social policy, as a concrete expression of the orientation taken by a number of African (and other) countries towards socialism entails a gradual liquidation of exploitive relations and substantial changes in the society's class structure. The most reactionary exploiter strata, including the feudal lords, and the big bourgeoisie, were eliminated in such countries at the initial stage in their development along the non-capitalist way. Legislation has also been enacted to abolish the institution of tribal chiefs. The national democratic forces have to combat the still remaining influence of the reactionary-minded top layer of that stratum, while simultaneously seeking to retain elements of the traditional institutions which can be used for socio-economic transformations.

It is quite natural that policy with respect to the middle bourgeoisie, wherever it does exist, cannot always be simple or straightforward, for it depends on the economic situation, changes in the arrangement of class forces, and on the bourgeoisie's own attitude. Still, one could say that in most instances more or less ample opportunities have been provided to local entrepreneurs in the economic sphere, but with fairly stringent controls over their activity by the state. Wherever

such controls have been either inadequate or relaxed, and where for that reason restrictions on the political activity of the local bourgeoisie have been lifted, the progressive line has been seriously jeopardised and even abandoned, as it was, for instance, in Egypt.

The question of top and intermediate administrative economic personnel and officers has a place apart. They incline to have a world view based on capitalist 'values' and use their positions for personal enrichment, so developing into what is known as the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, which can well pose a real danger to the socialist option. That is why active resistance to the tendency of their bourgeoisification is a necessary condition for conducting a progressive line.

Social practices, in the broad sense of the term, are far from being the same in all the countries taking the socialist orientation in Africa, and that is due to their different duration of advance along the path of progress, their different starting points and levels achieved in the development of the productive forces, to how close the governing circles' ideological and political views are to the theory of scientific socialism, and a number of other factors connected with the specific national conditions in this or that country. Such unevenness also tends to have an effect on social policy proper, on how progressive it is, and on the extent to which it meets the goals of improving the popular masses' material and spiritual conditions of life.

It could, on the whole, be said, that, other things being equal, the closer the governing forces' political and ideological platform to Marxism-Leninism, the more progressive and consistent such a social policy is.

But for all the differences, there is a similarity of objectives and concrete actions between these countries in the social sphere, a similarity which separates them from states taking the capitalist way. In the most general terms one could sketch out the watershed as follows.

In countries taking the progressive way, social transformations for the benefit of the popular masses (and encroaching on the privileges of the exploiter groups) spring from the very orientation of social development. In order to carry out transformations in these countries there is, in principle, no need for constant pressure on the revolutionary democratic leadership from below, because it expresses the interests of the masses and itself operates in that direction (a country's political and social realities can, of course, and do make some difference). By contrast, social transformations in countries with a bourgeois or pro-bourgeois leadership do not usually go beyond the general democratic framework and do not contain any substantial anti-exploiter elements. What is especially important here is intensive pressure on the ruling circles from the organised working class and peasant movement in the course of the class struggle.

The programmatic documents of the ruling parties in all the countries of Africa which have opted for socialism include the task of realising every citizen's right to work, rest, education, social security, and medical care. Provisions to this effect are written into their constitutions and labour legislation.

Much more attention is given to the regulation of labour relations in these than in other African countries, implying above all the elaboration and implementation of a set of fundamental principles, which is especially important in view of the still strong survivals among many African peoples of the negative attitude to work which originated under colonialism, when the foreign masters made wide use of forced labour. The education of a new and conscious attitude to work, production discipline, effective procedures for the settlement of labour grievances, and a clear-cut definition of the working people's collective rights and duties—all of these need to have a solid foundation in law. New labour codes have been adopted or are being worked out in virtually all the countries taking the non-capitalist way.

It goes without saying that only when unemployment is ended can the right to work

and pay for it be fully exercised, which means that the solution of the problem is a long and drawn-out process. The situation is most difficult in the towns, and it is being worsened by a steady influx of rural inhabitants, most of whom have no occupational training at all.

That is why one of the ways in which unemployment is being combated is an effort to reduce migration to the towns and to return the 'rural urban dwellers' to their native places. Development of an occupational-training system is another way. The problem of unemployment is also being tackled through the organisation of collective works in building schools, hospitals and other facilities. On the whole, unflagging attention is being given to the extension of employment in the socialism-oriented countries. Thus, in the People's Republic of the Congo, the five-year development plan (1982-1986) provides for the creation of 55,000 jobs.¹ Similar efforts are also being made in the other countries.

As much cannot be said about the countries taking the capitalist way, where the priority of 'market' mechanisms of economic regulation in practice signifies the absence or insignificance of special government measures aimed to extend employment. Something of a 'record' in the size of unemployment appears to belong to Zaire, where more than one-half of the able-bodied population is jobless; unemployment in Kenya is close to 30 per cent, and so on.

Much importance is being attached to the regulation of wages. In all the socialism-oriented countries a guaranteed wage minimum has been fixed, and it has a tendency to grow. The wages of various categories of industrial and office workers, above all those employed in the state sector, are being gradually raised.

However, inflation, caused by a number of internal and external factors, and other negative economic phenomena, especially the decline in food output because of the long years of drought over vast areas of the continent, have markedly slowed down real wage increases, or have even made them impossible. In order to safeguard the living standards of the popular masses in these conditions against the harmful effects of inflation, the governments of socialism-oriented countries have been forced to appropriate large funds to subsidise the prices of the staple food products and prime necessities. The same purpose is served by the development of a network of state and cooperative shops. In 1982, Tanzania, for example, had more than 12,000 cooperative shops; in Mozambique, about 20 per cent of the retail trade was handled by consumer cooperatives.

In the countries taking the capitalist way, subsidies for prices of the prime necessities are either not budgeted for at all or only on a small scale. It is characteristic, incidentally, that the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the avowed advocate of 'market' economics and neocolonialism, keeps demanding an end to, or, at any rate, a reduction in such subsidies as one of the conditions on which it is prepared to grant loans to developing countries.

Fiscal policy in the socialism-oriented countries is geared to the principles of social justice. In Algeria, for instance, the poorest strata of the population are exempt from the payment of taxes (in 1975, the untaxed monthly income minimum was 500 dinars, in 1978—800, and in 1980—1,000 dinars), while the incomes of private entrepreneurs are taxed on a progressive basis. One could say, on the whole, that tax policy in the other countries which have opted for socialism is roughly similar.

Much attention in these countries is being given to the development of a social security system. Family aids, pensions, sickness, pregnancy, and disability benefits are being paid in most of these countries, and the total amounts are being gradually increased. In 1981, Congo, for instance, increased pensions to state employees by 12 per cent, financial privileges were introduced for teachers (including a seniority increment); in the Republic of the Seychelles, the minimum pension, which is paid to all industrial and office workers after the age of 64, was increased from 300 rupees in

1981 to 550 rupees in 1983. The social security structure is being improved with the aim of a fairer distribution of state assistance to various strata of the population.

Solution of the housing problem is an important line of social policy in the progressive African states. They have nationalised urban lands and excess private housing, reviewed rents for the benefit of the poorer tenants of dwelling space, and increased the volume of housing construction. Cooperation of the peasantry and the state's financial and technical assistance helps to improve housing conditions in the rural localities.

Radical changes have been taking place in the organisation of public-health care. Free medical services have been introduced in Angola, Algeria, and the Republic of the Seychelles, while other countries oriented towards socialism are moving in that direction. Wherever private medical practice still remains, it is under stringent financial control by the state.

The network of medical institutions, especially in the rural localities has been markedly enlarged, and the training of medical personnel increased. The goal is to have a medical station in every village or cooperative, and it is being gradually met. Thus, 30 per cent of Tanzanian villages have their own dispensaries or health centres. From 1976 to 1982 alone, almost 7,500 medical personnel of various grades were trained in the country.² In accordance with the five-year development plan of the People's Republic of the Congo (1982-1986), 25.8 billion francs is being allocated for the needs of public health, and one-half of these funds is to go into the development of grassroots health services.³ Since the revolution, the number of citizens able to use medical services in Ethiopia has gone up from 15 per cent to 45 per cent.

Mother-and-child care is being gradually arranged. Wide vaccination campaigns, primarily involving small children, are being staged to combat the most widespread diseases. As a result of such measures, infant mortality in Mozambique, for instance, has been nearly halved since the winning of independence.

The public health situation in many capitalism-oriented countries stands out in sharp contrast to those tendencies. Here are only a few facts. Since 1960, infant mortality in Zaire has multiplied several times over; more than 40 per cent of the children suffer from malnutrition, which results in the spread of the most dangerous diseases like pellagra, TB, typhus fever and malaria. Meanwhile, the number of doctors is disastrously inadequate: one per 30,000 persons. In Senegal, only 30 per cent of the children have access to medical services. In Liberia, as the newspaper *New Liberian* said in August 1981, close to two-thirds of the rural population know virtually nothing of medical services; 14 in 100 children die within their first year. In Nigeria, the figure is even higher. Because of the mainly private-enterprise character of medical services in the capitalism-oriented countries, they are ever more expensive and, so, inaccessible to the masses of poor people.

The socialism-oriented countries have had some undoubted successes in education. Each has set up a single state system of free general education (although, it is true, private and religious schools will still be found here and there, but these are under stringent state control). Primary education (and in Algeria, Tanzania, Congo and the Seychelles incomplete secondary education) has been declared obligatory and, as a rule, involves virtually all the children of the corresponding ages. In the ten years since the revolution in Ethiopia, the number of students enrolled at schools of every level has trebled. Much is being done to wipe out illiteracy among adults. Only from 1979 to 1983, illiteracy in Ethiopia has been reduced from 93 per cent to 37 per cent.

There have also been important changes in quality alongside the changes in quantity. In primary school (in some countries also in the subsequent grades) instruction is provided in the national languages. The replacement of foreign by national teachers is far advanced. In all the socialism-oriented countries, the network

of teacher-training colleges has been considerably extended. Decentralised education makes it possible to locate schools and other academic centres in a more balanced way across the whole territory. Much importance is being attached to students' labour training and political education in view of the needs both of economic and social development and the shaping of the new man in a society without exploitation.

One cannot, of course, say that the socialism-oriented countries do not face any grave difficulties in education. The chief of these is a shortage of skilled teachers, school premises and study aids; a part of the population takes a negative attitude to labour training; the percentage of drop-outs and second-year pupils is high. But these problems are being tackled.

The capitalist orientation in development as a rule has a negative effect on the state of education. School fees are charged in some countries (like Cameroon and Kenya), and the cost of education has a tendency to grow. That, together with the inadequacy of the corresponding infrastructure and teaching personnel, does much to reduce the children's access to knowledge. Thus, in Senegal, only 28 per cent of children under 12 years can attend school. In the early 1980s, 60 per cent of the teachers in Liberia had no pedagogical training; two-thirds of the children did not attend school; primary education was completed by 250 children, and secondary education by only 90 children out of every 1,000 starting to attend school. Illiteracy remains very widespread, and in some countries (Nigeria, Senegal, and the Sudan, among others) as much as 80 per cent of the adult population cannot read or write.

We find, therefore, that social programmes benefiting broad masses of people are being steadily implemented in the countries that have opted for the socialist orientation. In assessing what has been achieved one should, of course, bear in mind the limited actual potentialities in these countries, especially those of them (Benin, Mozambique, Tanzania and Ethiopia) which are among the economically least developed. Nor should one forget that their socio-economic progress is being slowed down by the resistance of imperialism and its allies on the African continent. The infamous 'crusade' against socialism is also being spread to the national liberation movement, the socialism-oriented countries in the first place, as will be seen not only from the economic pressure by the Western monopolies and the financial institutions controlled by the imperialist powers: the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank. There are also direct acts of aggression, and one need merely point to the southern region of Africa, where Pretoria's racist regime is trying, with the blessings of the United States, to intimidate Angola, Mozambique and other countries with its military might.

The bourgeois mass media have paralleled the economic and military pressure with a campaign to smear the policy of progressive African states, while imperialist propaganda has been singing the praises of the 'market' mechanisms of economic growth generally, and the experience of some show-window development (capitalist development, of course) like that of the Ivory Coast or Kenya. Nothing is being said, of course, about things like the domination by foreign capital of vital spheres of their economy, the growing number of landless and land-poor peasants, the spread of unemployment and pauperism, and the deepening of social contrasts.⁴ The socialist orientation does not imply a tightening but a relaxation of economic dependence and a social policy for the benefit of the majority, instead of the minority of the population.

In many cases, imperialist pressure does much harm to the progressive states, and it would have been even worse, but for the assistance these countries have been getting from the Soviet Union and the rest of the socialist community, whose wide and diverse support also has a direct influence on the social sphere, notably education and public health. Thus, many centres for training skilled personnel have been, are being

or will be set up with the USSR's assistance in Algeria, Angola, Congo, Madagascar, Mozambique, Tanzania, and Ethiopia. The assistance comes not only in the form of building and technical equipment of the necessary academic institutions, but also of the work of large groups of teachers. Doctors from the socialist community countries working at hospitals in Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Algeria, and other African countries, have also won much credit for themselves.

The existence of the world socialist system, which maintains strong ties with the national liberation movement, and its vanguard—the socialism-oriented countries—denies to imperialism important instruments of economic, political and spiritual influence. That is a factor of invaluable significance which makes it much easier for the socialism-oriented countries to rebuff the attempts at imperialist diktat and further to deepen their progressive social policies.

Review prepared by the Institute of Africa of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and a working group of the *WMR* Commission on Scientific Information and Documentation.

¹ See *Marchés tropicaux* 1982, No. 1912, p. 1857.

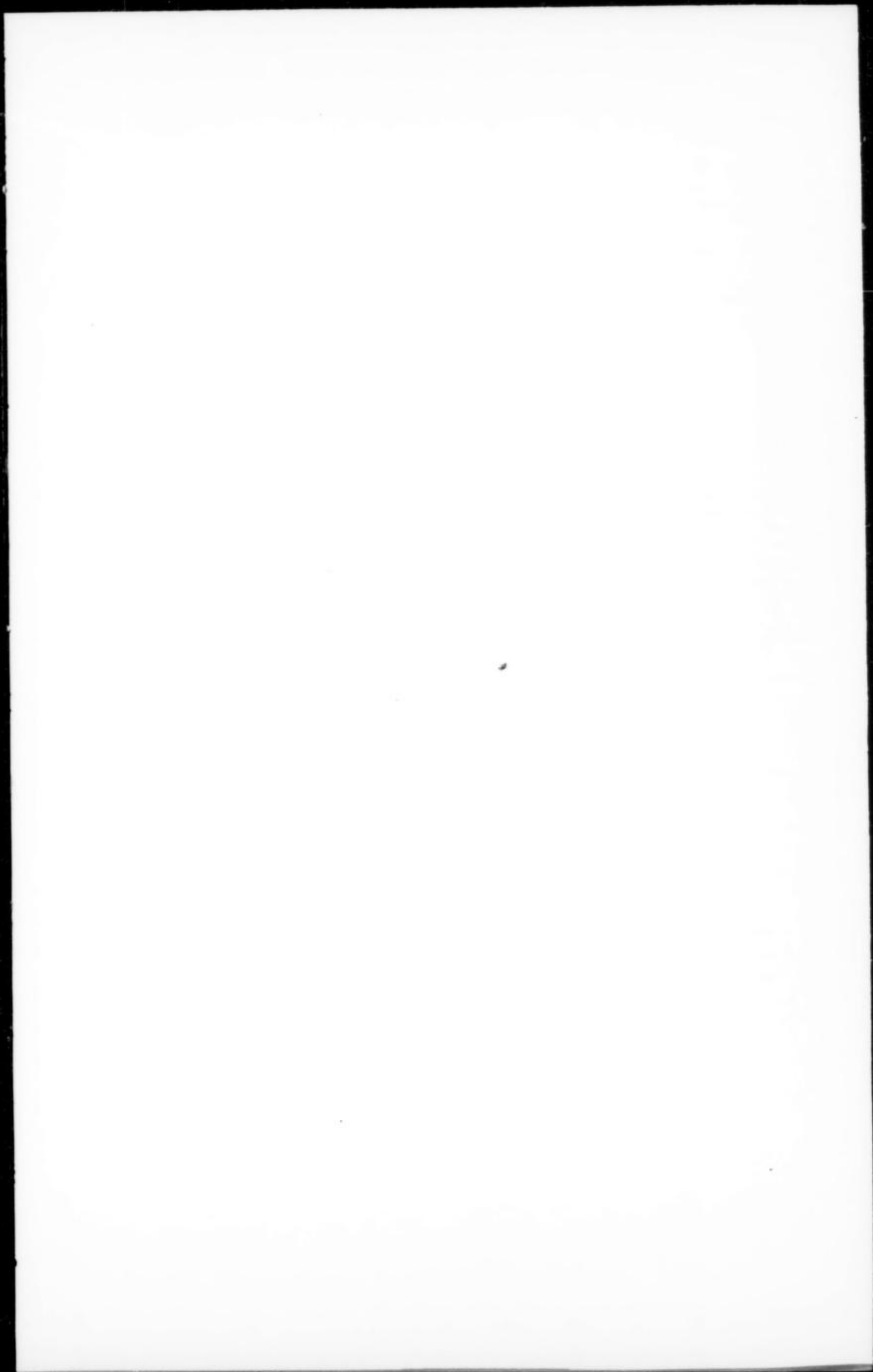
² See *Daily News*, October 22, 1982.

³ See *Marchés tropicaux* 1982, No. 1912, p. 1858.

⁴ *Jeune Afrique* says, for instance, that 40 per cent of the industrial capital in the Ivory Coast is foreign; five years ago, only 46.3 per cent of the able-bodied population in that country had jobs; since then the figure has fallen; only 6 per cent of the 8.6 million inhabitants have a 'Western standard' of living, while the majority live in poverty. There are a great many other facts showing the real state of things in the capitalism-oriented countries. Let us recall only one synthetic indicator: the local bourgeoisie and bureaucratic elite, which come to no more than 5 per cent of the population, receive 60 per cent of the income, including income from complicity in neocolonialist exploitation.

Diary

COMRADE Narciso Isa Conde, General Secretary, Dominican Communist Party, visited *WMR*. Addressing the journal's Editorial Council he spoke of the situation in the country and the struggle waged by the Communists for the interests of the working people, democracy and social progress.



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