

WORLD

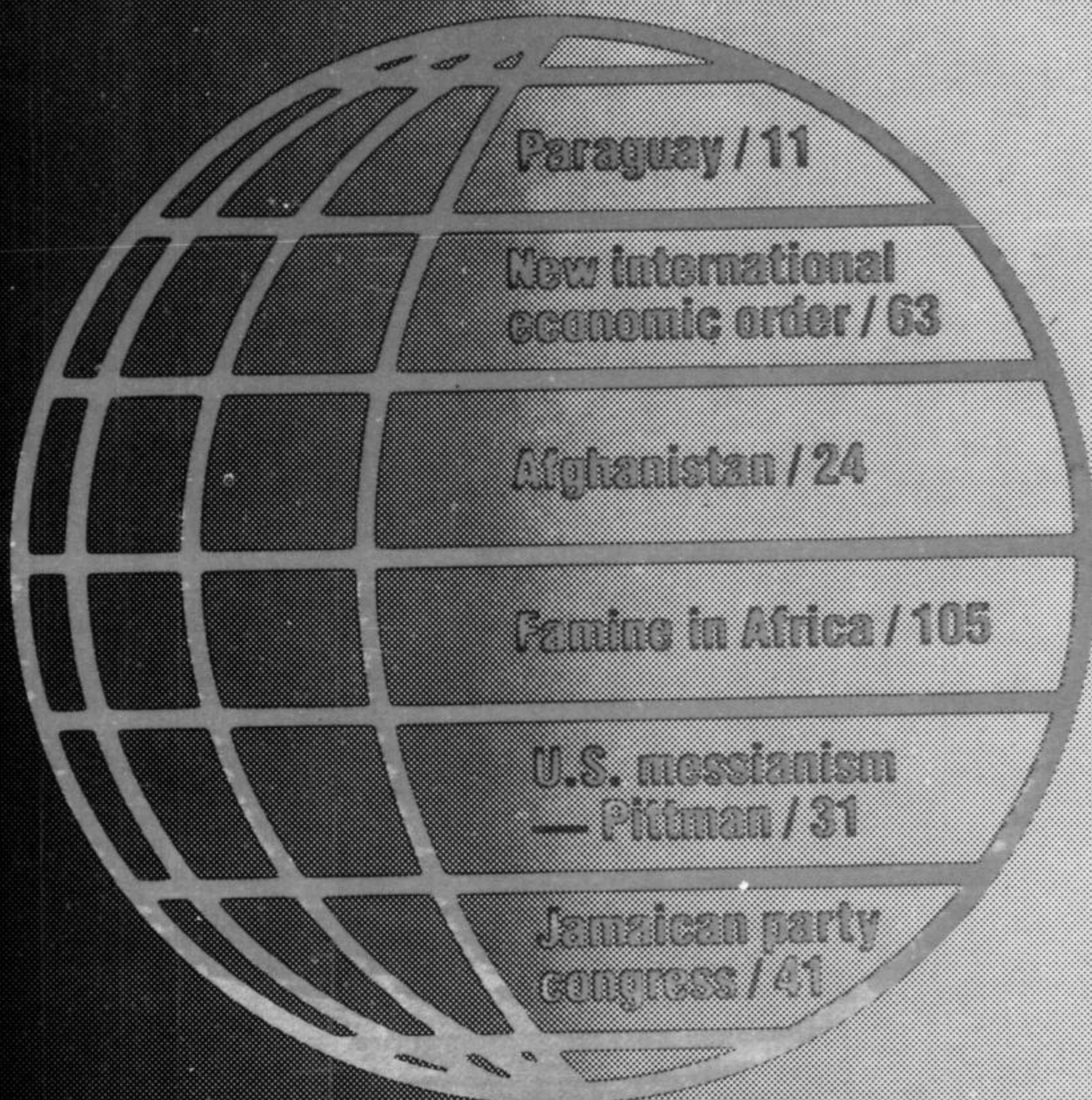
Problems of

MARXIST

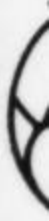
Peace and Socialism

REVIEW

June 1985, Vol. 28, No. 6
\$2.00 ISSN 0043-8642



2





world marxist review

VOLUME 28 NUMBER 6 JUNE 1985

PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM

*Theoretical and Information Journal of Communist
& Workers Parties Throughout the World*

WORKERS OF ALL LANDS UNITE

PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM

is also published in Arabic, Bengali, Bulgarian, Czech, Danish, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Gujarati, Hebrew, Hindi, Hungarian, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, Malayalam, Mongolian, Norwegian, Oriya, Persian, Polish, Portuguese, Punjabi, Romanian, Russian, Singhalese, Spanish, Swedish, Tagalog, Tamil, Telugu, Turkish and Vietnamese.

On the Editorial Board and Editorial Councils of *Problems of Peace and Socialism* are the representatives of Communist and Workers' parties of the following countries:

Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Finland, France, German Democratic Republic, Federal Republic of Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Guatemala, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Lebanon, Lesotho, Luxembourg, Mexico, Mongolia, Palestine, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Senegal, South African Republic, Spain, Soviet Union, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syria, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, Vietnam.

contents

features

Against the Ideology and Policy of Anti-Communism Spearhead of the Contemporary Strategy of Imperialism <i>Dimitris Sarlis</i> (Greece)	5
A Policy of Terror and Repression <i>Julio Rojas</i> (Paraguay)	11
'Undo Yalta?' Who Has a Stake in This? <i>Mirosław Dackiewicz</i> (Poland)	17
Indispensable for Victory over Counter-Revolution <i>Mahmud Barialy</i> (Afghanistan)	24
What Lies Behind U.S. Messianism <i>John Pittman</i> (USA)	31
Behind a Mask of Decency. An exposé <i>Alexander Krivitsky</i> (USSR)	36
Building Up the Vanguard Force <i>Trevor Munroe</i> (Jamaica)	41

the party

Annals of Courage. It Was Not the Last Test <i>K. Yalcin</i> (Turkey)	48
---	----

new experience

Clear-Cut Ideas, Concrete Proposals <i>Oscar Arévalo</i> (Argentina)	51
Envoys of Internationalist Solidarity <i>Hermann Mädler</i> (FRG)	54
Documents	57
Assuming Responsibility <i>Sergei Tsukasov</i>	58
In Brief	62

exchange of views, discussion

New International Economic Order: The Communists' Attitude	63
--	----

viewpoints

Where Youth Have a Big Goal <i>Eberhard Aurich</i> (GDR)	81
A Great Democratic Achievement <i>Gerry Pocock</i> (Great Britain)	87
Nationalisation: A Problem of Class Struggle <i>Rosmarie Atzenhofer, Walter</i> <i>Silbermayr</i> (Austria)	92
The Socialist International: Focus on Brazil <i>Givaldo Pereira de Siqueira</i> (Brazil)	100
Background of an Anti-African Campaign <i>Ahmed Salem, Abdoulaye Diagne,</i> <i>Essop Pahad</i>	105
Great Expectations <i>Josina Black</i>	109

the book scene

Fundamental Issues Tackled with Imagination <i>Luben Nikolov</i>	112
Quietly, Like a Thief in the Night <i>Stephen Mark</i>	115
New Books	119

surveys, information and mail

The True Image of the Imperial 'Champions of Liberty'. A Survey	121
Communist Youth Leagues. Brief Information	125

Subscriptions to the National Editions of *Problems of Peace and Socialism* should be sent to:

Editions in English:
(World Marxist Review)
Central Books Ltd.,
14 The Leathermarket,
London SE1 3ER, England.

Progress Subscription Service,
71 Bathurst Street,
3rd Floor,
Toronto, Ont., M5V 2P6,
Canada.

Rani Jhansi Road,
New Delhi 110055, India.

New Horizon Publications,
P.O.B. 2165,
Mushin, Lagos, Nigeria.

Amharic Edition:
The Press Department,
Ministry of Information and
National Guidance,
P.O.B. 30232,
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

Arabic Editions:
Al-Wakt,
P.O.B. 6247,
Beyrouth, Liban.

32, rue Ledru Rollin B. P. 152,
Casablanca, Maroc.

Dar Al-Hilal,
16 Mohamed Ezz-Arab Street,
Cairo, Egypt.

Bulgarian Edition:
Hemus,
Russki 6, Sofia,
Bulgaria.

Czech Edition:
Artia,
Praha 1, Ve smeckách 30,
CSSR.

Danish Edition:
Förlaget Tiden,
Bredgade 37,
1260 København K,
Denmark.

Finnish Edition:
Aikakauslehti Kommunisti,
Kotkankatu 11,
00510 Helsinki 51,
Finland.

French Editions:
Coopérative Ouvrière
de Presse et d'Editions,
16 rue Christophe Plantin,
Luxembourg/Gasperich.

Gestu B. P. 2678,
Dakar, Senegal.

Société Populaire d'Editions,
rue de la Caserne,
33-35 1000 Bruxelles,
Belgique.

German Edition:
Buckexport

Volkseigener
Aussenhandelsbetrieb
der Deutschen
Demokratischen Republik,
701 Leipzig,
Leninstrasse 16, DDR.

Brücken-Verlag GmbH
Literatur-Vertrieb,
Export-Import,
4000 Düsseldorf,
Ackerstrasse 3, BRD.

Greek Editions:
Papayannis Stephanos,
Menandru 66,
Athens, Greece.

People's Agency,
Tricouppis 53c,
Nicosia, Cyprus.

Hebrew Edition:
Problems of Peace
and Socialism,
P.O.B. 9525,
Haifa, Israel.

Hungarian Edition:
Kultura,
Könyv-és Hírlap,
Külkereskedelmi Vállalat,
Budapest I, Fő u 32,
Hungary.

Indian Editions:
Rani Jhansi Road,
New Delhi 110055, India
in

Bengali
Gujarati
Hindi
Malayalam
Oriya
Punjabi
Tamil
Manipuri

Italian Edition:
Libreria Rinascita,
Via Delle Botteghe,
Oscure 4,
00186 Roma, Italia.

Mongolian Edition:
Ulaanbaatar MONGOL,
Ulsyn Nomin,
Khudaldaany Gazar,
V. I. Lenin gudamzh 41,
Mongolia.

Norwegian Edition:
Verden og vi
Boks 3715, GB Oslo 1,
Norway.

Polish Edition:
RSW "Prasa-Książka-Ruch"
BKWZ Warszawa,
ul Towarowa 28,
Poland.

Portuguese Edition:
Revista Internacional,
Av. Santos Dumont, 57, 30,
Lisboa-1, Portugal.

Romanian Edition:
Ilexim,
Calea Grivitei 64-66,
P.O.B. 2001,
Bucuresti, Romania.

Russian Edition:
Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga,
Moskva 121200,
USSR.

Sinhalese Edition:
91 Cotta Road,
Colombo 8,
Sri Lanka.

Spanish Editions:
Ediciones Paz y Socialismo
Apt. Aéreo 1253,
Bogotá, Colombia.

Revista Internacional
Apartado 6613,
San José, Costa Rica.

Agencia de Distribucion
de Prensa,
16 616 Praha 6,
Thakurova 3, CSSR.

Ediciones Cubanas
Ministerio de la Cultura
La Habana, Cuba.

Empresa Editora
e Importadora C.A.
Villami 211 y Calderon
Casilla 6217,
Guayaquil, Ecuador.

Ediciones de Cultura
Popular S.A.
Filosofia y Letras 34,
Col. Copilco Universidad
Mexico 20, D.F., Mexico.

Revista Internacional,
Calle 46, Este No 16,
Panama, Rep. de Panama.

Ideologia y Politica
Jr. Rufino Torrico,
No 671—Of. 401,
Lima, Peru.

San Pedro a San
Francisquito, Edif. Cantacaro,
Caracas, Venezuela.

Swedish Edition:
Internationell Revy,
Fack 12206 Enskede 6,
Stockholm, Sweden.

Turkish Edition:
Box 16367,
S 10327,
Stockholm, Sweden.

Vietnamese Edition:
S'ô xuất nhập,
khẩu sách báo 32,
Hai Bà Trưng, Hà-Nội,
Vietnam.

features

Against the Ideology and Policy of Anti-Communism

Spearhead of the Contemporary Strategy of Imperialism

Dimitris Sarlis – CC Political Bureau
member, Communist Party of Greece

IMPERIALISM is threatening the world with a nuclear conflagration that would cause calamities infinitely more terrible than ever before. It encroaches on the freedom and independence of peoples and has launched a world-wide "crusade" against the forces of peace and progress. It is working to turn NATO into something of an anti-Comintern Pact, as anti-communist statements made by high-ranking US officials of late indicate.

What is behind reaction's attempts to whip up anti-communist hysteria? Are they prompted by passing considerations or strategic plans? What is the place of anti-communism in the current global policy of imperialism? How does this policy interlock with the policy of home reaction in capitalist countries?

Bid for Revanche

In view of the military-strategic parity existing in the world today, all attempts of imperialism to restore its world domination are hopeless. But they are extremely dangerous, for they spell a nuclear disaster that could destroy all life on earth. And while they condition the political behaviour of US reaction, there can be no doubt that they are suicidal.

Those who have no direct experience of dealing with anti-communism often find it hard to understand why its adherents are playing with nuclear fire, why they are wedded to adventurism and the use of force. But we Greek Communists are not really surprised. Decades of life and death battles with fascism, with military dictatorships, with reaction, have shown us what our enemy stands for and what we can expect from him. We remember how both foreign and domestic anti-communists motivated by selfish interests imposed on our country a brutal police regime that savagely persecuted the people, killed National Resistance fighters and hounded anyone who held progressive views. They were prepared to go to any lengths in order to keep reaction in

power. There is a logic to this and it is ultimately dictated by the class egoism of the monopoly bourgeoisie, anti-communism being, in fact, an extreme manifestation of it.

However insensate some of Washington's activities may seem, they are always prompted by the class interests of the reactionary forces in power in the USA. These forces would like to use nuclear missiles as a means of recapturing lost world positions, weakening socialism, preventing any further revolutionary changes and paving the way for the restoration of imperialist world domination, or, in other words, of taking social revenge for the setbacks suffered by the capitalist system in the twentieth century. Anti-communism is the ideological basis for this policy intended to justify reaction's bid for global hegemony as well as the ways and means of achieving it.

The question arises: what anti-communism? For it admittedly takes diverse ideological forms even though all its varieties assail the theory and practice of socialism and oppose the revolutionary movement. Active in Greece as in many other capitalist countries are anti-communists ranging from outspoken fascists to self-styled "leftists". There is the anti-communism of rightists, monarchists, adherents of the junta and supporters of August 4.¹ It is a vulgar, fierce anti-communism, with "Death of Communists" as its main slogan. The anti-communism of New Democracy² is less explicit. It calls socialism an enemy of freedom, an aggressive, militarist system, and makes every effort to frighten the people into meekly accepting exploitation on the part of domestic and foreign capital. Certain social reformist leaders show a degree of refined anti-communism. Besides, there is the anti-communism of various groups of "left" and right-wing opportunists. They accuse our party of being a "tool of Moscow", an "undemocratic", "unfree" organisation. They slander the Soviet Union and other countries of existing socialism.

Needless to say, the Communist Party of Greece is taking part in the ideological struggle with due regard to the peculiarities of the various anti-communisms. This approach is particularly important in the case of the anti-communism active on the world scene, where even distinctions in shading can have a noticeable impact on the global and regional alignment of ideological and political forces, as is indicated by the divergent positions of the USA and its NATO allies on a number of international problems, including East-West relations and the middle East crisis.

We wish to specify, therefore, that we are concerned with the anti-communism of the more reactionary imperialist forces seeking a social revanche by no matter what means, one of them being the threat of recourse to nuclear arms.

Lenin pointed to the existence in imperialist countries of a "war party" adhering to the principle that "force must be used immediately, irrespective of possible consequences".³ The fact that power in the USA is in the hands of such a "party" plays a decisive role in making anti-communism the pivot of imperialism's global strategy. It is "great-power anti-communism" with its ideas of the "exclusiveness" and messianic predestination of the USA, its chauvinist arrogance towards other nations and its refusal to recognise the social and political realities that have become established in the world since October 1917, primarily the reality of socialism. A reactionary, hegemonist ideology coupled with a frankly expansionist policy is the substance of the anti-communist "crusade" carried out under the US leadership against all that is revolutionary and progressive in today's world.

Blinded by illusions about the potentialities of the US war machine, anti-communist strategists are planning "pre-emptive", "limited", "protracted" and other nuclear wars against socialism in an insane bid to win. Being out to gain military superiority over the Soviet Union, the USA is implementing a gigantic programme for the "modernisation" of strategic forces and wants to militarise outer space so as to blackmail the rest of the world from behind an "anti-missile shield". It uses anti-communism to justify this strategy of aggression under which it declares vast areas of the globe zones of US "interests" brazenly flouting standards of international law and elevating terrorism to state policy. The United States is reproducing on a nuclear

missile basis the policy of arbitrariness and violence which Marx described as belonging "to the most modern period of the imperialist bourgeoisie". And he added that "the general leaning towards barbarity acquires a certain method, immorality becomes a system, lawlessness gets its lawgivers and club-law its lawbooks."⁴

Imperialism's strategy aimed at gaining military superiority through the arms race is adding to international tension and distrust.

Anti-communism is also poisoning the ideological and political atmosphere in capitalist countries. With the economic crisis going deeper and the hardships and privations of large sections of the population increasing, anti-communists substitute a fictitious "external enemy" for monopoly capital, the force that is really to blame for today's social evils. In this way they expect to partly divert popular discontent and protest into a channel suiting monopolies. In capitalist countries, ultra-rightist, neofascist movements are reviving and becoming active in an atmosphere of war hysteria. Operating openly in Greece, for one, are overt and covert fascist organisations. They include a party of the extreme right advocating the most naked anti-communism; it joined in the elections for the European Parliament and gained one seat. To distract attention from the economic crisis and back the aggressive anti-socialist plans of imperialism, fascist organisations make various chauvinist claims, such as in respect of Albania.

One of the main lines of imperialism's anti-communist policy is the effort to keep Asian, African and Latin American countries within its sphere of influence, bring about reactionary regimes in these regions and head off progressive changes there. The invasion of Grenada, complicity in the military adventures of Israel in the Middle East, the undeclared wars being waged against Afghanistan and Nicaragua, Washington's subversion against the legitimate government of Kampuchea, and other acts of aggression are a logical outgrowth of the fact that the United States is performing the functions of a world gendarme, which it has exalted to all but a virtue. Shortly after the bandit-like attack on Grenada, US Secretary of State made the following comment: "This may be a turning point in history. We've let the world know that we are going to protect our interests whatever it costs."⁵ Thus it was a deliberate act of aggression calculated to "teach a lesson" to the peoples of the planet.

Washington, using state terrorism as an instrument of expansion and hegemonism, grossly violates the sovereignty of other states and standards of international relations.

"Psychological warfare" has been formally declared to be part of US foreign policy. The USA has raised the coordination of its ideological propaganda activities at home and abroad to an unprecedented level. To this end it amply uses new techniques making possible prompt indoctrination of large population groups. A global information and propaganda system is being set up under the aegis of Washington, with the NATO information service holding an important place. In the USA there are hundreds of institutions, commissions, university chairs and other "brain trusts" funded by the government and private capital. They evolve programmes and tactics of ideological subversion. Similar centres are operating in other Western countries. Their activity is directed against socialism and liberation movements as well as against the democratic forces in capitalist countries.

There exists diverse anti-communist institutions and centres in Greece as well. Many of them bear harmless names of "colleges", "foreign language schools", and so on. However, they are functioning in close collaboration with imperialist secret services and spread anti-Soviet and anti-communist lies through various channels besides. Decades ago, the Greek government authorised the USA to set up a Voice of America station on our soil. The broadcasts of this station are aimed at undermining socialism and national liberation and progressive forces in the region. At present talks are going on about the future of the station. Large patriotic sections of the population demand that the government close it. The facts suggest, however, that this demand will not be met.

In unfolding its "psychological war", reaction is trying to tip in its favour the alignment of forces in the ideological struggle, which has long since changed very greatly to the detriment of imperialism. Lately anti-communist strategists have contrived to create a tense international atmosphere and increase the nuclear menace. This is their "asset" today. As regards their bid for revanche, it has proved futile, as so many times before, in the social, military, political and ideological spheres alike.

Allies or Vassals?

Imperialist rulers see a key requisite for implementing their policy of aggression in its coordinated pursuit by industrial capitalist countries. This approach is also prompted by a desire to blunt the edge of inter-imperialist contradictions and mobilise the internal resources of the world capitalist system in order to shore it up.

Internationalisation processes in various spheres of life, including that of the class struggle, induce the imperialist powers to gang up politically against the forces of peace and progress. They therefore perfect the coordination of their foreign policy moves and the mechanisms of important political, diplomatic and military activities. This is true primarily of regular meetings of the "Big Seven" (leaders of the main capitalist states of the world) and the activity of numerous NATO and Common Market agencies as well as several influential consultative forums, such as the Trilateral Commission.

International imperialist centres headed by the USA are busy evolving a global strategy against the forces of social and national liberation. It provides for the use of aggressive military political alliances; the creation of numerous international agreements and institutions strengthening the economic base of NATO and the EEC; the coordination of ideological subversion and joint efforts intended to divide and suppress working class organisations, national liberation and other democratic movements.

No matter what new forms of mutual relations are given priority or how much talk there is about "partnership" and interdependence, Washington approaches its allies above all from the standpoint of safeguarding its hegemonist interests, as an objective analysis of its policy shows. Pax Americana recognises no equality, seeing allies as mere vassals who cannot afford to disagree with the "Big Brother". The system of military political blocs and military bases set up by US imperialism is not merely directed against the Soviet Union, other socialist countries and the national liberation movement but serves as the basis on which to maintain US leadership in the capitalist world.

Washington takes advantage of institutions coordinating inter-imperialist policies to prepare for a counter-offensive against peace-loving forces and extend the scope of confrontation with socialist countries. Using NATO mechanisms, it imposes on West European countries military political confrontation with existing socialism.

The deployment of new US missiles in Western Europe is making the NATO allies of the United States more dependent than before. US militarists, who ignore the interests of other nation and the realities of the nuclear age, are turning West Europeans into their hostages. This provocation implies a deliberate, selfish attempt of the US rulers to stave off retaliation in the event of their mounting a nuclear attack. Washington is trying to keep the political and economic relations of its allies with socialist countries under its control.

The US administration is particularly high-handed in its treatment of small NATO countries. For years it has been carrying on a campaign of pressure and blackmail against Greece in an effort to make it toe the line with regard to the hegemonist plans of the USA. This campaign, which is backed by West European reaction and has assumed much greater proportions in the wake of certain statements and initiatives of the Greek government in favour of peace, amounts to frank interference in the affairs of Greece and is an insult to our people's national dignity. Interference is taking place with the

complicity of internal anti-communist forces who betray national interests, claiming that the only alternative for Greece is to rely, like other capitalist countries, on US "guarantees" of national independence and territorial integrity.

It is primarily forces submissively following the strategy of aggressive imperialist forces that the US administration relies for support in insisting that its allies should back its Star Wars programme. Tempting them with the promise of building up an anti-missile "shield" over Western Europe as well, Washington wants to tie them to its policy more strongly than ever.

"America first" is the main principle of this policy; as for "Atlantic" and other forms of "solidarity" in the capitalist world, they are seen as a secondary matter. Public opinion is realising more and more that the hegemonist policy of the USA tends to aggravate military political confrontation with socialism, which could result in disaster for Europe and the world. It is not by establishing closer military and political ties between Western Europe and the USA that the security of our continent can be safeguarded but through coordinated action by Western and Eastern Europe on the principles of equality, equal security and cooperation.

The Forces of Peace and Progress are in the Lead

Despite its anti-communist campaigns, imperialism is unable to expand the area of its ideological domination. People in capitalist countries show growing appreciation for the idea of peace. The crisis of militarist ideology is deepening. The anti-war movement is an important factor in today's world politics. It has its effect on the alignment of the forces of peace and war both internationally and in individual countries, which limits imperialism's possibilities of pursuing its adventurist policy.

The contemporary world is also characterised by the growing leverage and responsibility of small nations and their increasing ability to make a constructive and specific contribution to the struggle for nuclear disarmament, for the elimination of tensions in their regions and against the imperialist policy of diktat.

However, the struggle against war is going on in difficult conditions. Repression against peace fighters in capitalist countries is coupled with markedly intensified ideological subversion. In an effort to neutralise peace movements, imperialist propaganda alleges that they are inspired by "Reds" and "take their cue from Moscow". Along with this, it is trying to "tame" various contingents of these movements by flirting with organisations whose position it considers more acceptable and by taking advantage of the great heterogeneity of the movement.

Peace supporters are offered, among other things, the concept of "two poles" (the Soviet Union and USA) with its false thesis of "equal responsibility". Calls are made for keeping "equidistant", which means objectively serving the interests of bellicose imperialist forces. The overall purpose is to bring about a peace movement condemning "both superpowers". Ideas of this sort were upheld by certain delegates to the Conference of National Anti-War Movement of Europe (Athens, 1984).

Our party is positively against these concepts, which in the case of our country are being peddled mostly by right revisionist groups. Today one must not only champion peace but say plainly who is to blame for increased tension. What is more, to veil the fundamental difference between the US and Soviet positions by holding them "equally responsible" for international tension is to prejudice peace. Revealingly, proponents of such views are trying to draw public opinion in their countries into the "crusade" against socialist countries. Their statements are anything but "equally" critical of Moscow and Washington, for their general tenor is anti-Soviet. They mislead fighters against the US and NATO policy of aggression, or the real and only source of the present military threat. The concept of "two poles" is designed to exonerate US imperialism. It disguises the fundamental difference between the two opposed social systems in terms of their class essence and policy.

The people have a good memory. They know and remember who crushed fascist

barbarity and at what cost, who brought Europe freedom and who now insists on scrapping nuclear weapons and reverting to detente. They owe it primarily to the consistent peace policy of existing socialism that there has been no new world war over the past four decades and that humanity has been spared the devastating effect of nuclear arms of mass destruction. We Greek Communists, guiding ourselves by the principle of proletarian internationalism, side firmly with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the chief force in the struggle against imperialism and the main bastion of peace and progress.

Mutual understanding and solidarity among fighters against war are of exceptional importance today. We believe it is very useful to discuss seriously and frankly questions which do not seem clear enough or on which differences arise. The central problem in this connection is undoubtedly that of reducing the war danger and checking the race in nuclear missiles and conventional armaments.

While considering it their duty to work for peace, Greek Communists seek no advantages for themselves; they respect the peculiarities of diverse currents and groups of the anti-war protest movement. "What makes the peace movement strong," said the Political Resolution of the 11th CPG Congress, "are its breadth and unity. Hence to defend peace, it is necessary to defeat trends towards putting the movement under the control of this or that party, as well as steps aimed at disuniting it, and to immediately further the unity of action of all the forces on the basis of a common struggle for peace. It is also necessary to resolutely and convincingly expose theories misleading the struggle for peace."

Examining the evolution of anti-communism in our country, we may say that the downfall of the "Black Colonels" junta in 1974 was also a sign of the crisis of the official anti-communist policy which prevailed in Greece in postwar years. The removal of the Right from power in 1981 was an even more striking indication of this crisis. All this was a result of the operation of several factors, especially the Greek people's growing realisation of the fact that anti-communism only benefits their domestic and foreign exploiters.

We do not mix up different political forces but we must note that anti-communism has paid no dividends to social reformists, either. Despite the benevolent attitude of the ruling class to the activity of the leaders of the right opportunist group, their attempts to strike the CPG a blow by means of slander borrowed from imperialist propaganda have fallen through. This also applies to the anti-Soviet, anti-socialist and anti-communist slogans advanced by the imperialists and their willing or unwilling accomplices in connection with events in Poland and Afghanistan — they did not impress the bulk of the population.

Confident of the soundness of their cause and the invincibility of the ideas of scientific socialism, Greek Communists are carrying on along with fraternal parties an uncompromising offensive against anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, against ideological subversion. Our ideological potential has always been superior to imperialism's and will go on gaining in superiority. This is one of the major prerequisites for freeing humankind from exploitation, social inequality, national oppression, poverty and subjection and for saving it from death in a nuclear holocaust.

¹ On August 4, 1936, Gen. Ioannis Metaxas established a fascist dictatorship in Greece. — *Ed.*

² A right-wing party. — *Ed.*

³ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 371.

⁴ Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 16, p. 439.

⁵ *Time*, November 7, 1983, p. 30.

A Policy of Terror and Repression

Julio Rojas – First Secretary, CC,
Paraguayan Communist Party (PCP)

ANTI-COMMUNISM and its most common variety, anti-Sovietism, are the main weapons of imperialism's ideological struggle against the international communist movement, against revolutionary and national liberation forces, against all who champion peace, democracy and social progress. This fully confirms the correctness of Lenin's definition of imperialism as reaction everywhere.¹

Rusty Weapon

US imperialist reaction and its NATO partners constantly use anti-communist and anti-Soviet falsehoods as a weapon in bitter class battles with the socialist world. They resort to anti-communism in an effort to justify the monstrous increase in their military spending aimed at achieving illusory superiority over the Soviet Union and at imposing their will upon it.

Alarmed at the steady consolidation of the positions of existing socialism, the growth and might of the international communist movement and the working class, the upsurge in the national liberation struggle and the vast scope of anti-war actions, the imperialists and their lackeys are trying desperately to distort the truth about the achievements and advantages of the new system, discredit the community of countries committed to progress, undermine their unity and cohesion and destabilise the socialist system.

Hitler held forth about the "Bolshevik menace" to justify his bandit-like aggression against the Soviet Union. His bloody adventure fell through and he himself was thrown on the ash heap of history. Fascist Germany and its satellites — imperialism's strike force — were defeated thanks to the decisive efforts of the Soviet Union and its liberating army.

This year, when the whole of progressive humanity is marking the 40th anniversary of the historic victory won in World War II, it is not only Europeans saved from Nazi slavery but a tribute of deep gratitude to the sons and daughters of the great Soviet people, who contributed decisively to the deliverance of our planet from the brown plague.

Today the most aggressive forces of imperialism call openly for a new "crusade" against socialism, against the first worker-peasant state in history, against all who condemn Washington's adventurist plans for expansion. The latter-day "crusaders" use the lie about the "Soviet threat" in an attempt to create a hostile climate around Lenin's country and its allies, a climate favourable to accelerated preparations for a nuclear war.

The United States is escalating an insane arms race and planning to produce new weapons of mass destruction. It declares for the militarisation of space and Star Wars. This irresponsible activity unless foiled in time, will increase the hazard of a nuclear confrontation fraught with global disaster.

Myths about the "Soviet" and "Cuban" threat, the "communist danger", and so on, serve the US administration as a pretext for brazen disregard of the principles of international law in Central America and the Caribbean. The Pentagon and CIA use them as an excuse for the training and armament of Somoza's ex-guardsmen, whom they set against the Sandinist revolution. Indeed, President Reagan calls these mercenaries his "brothers" and "freedom fighters".

US "hawks" marching under the shabby banner of anti-communism want to "avoid a new Cuba". They are preparing for direct armed intervention in Nicaragua to drown the new republic in blood and overthrow its democratic government. But they can

never accomplish this. A people who have won freedom and independence and taken up arms to defend them and who enjoy growing international solidarity are invincible.

Draconian Laws

Anti-communism has been elevated to state policy under the fascist tyranny of General Stroessner, held in power with US aid. Its function is to preserve so-called internal peace, maintained by means of repression and police arbitrariness in regard to patriots. The country's foreign policy is shaped accordingly. Indeed, Stroessner urges the White House to intervene militarily against Nicaragua, El Salvador, Cuba and other countries in order to "eradicate communism". He unquestioningly approves of the militarist and aggressive policy of the Reagan administration.

A faithful menial of transnationals, primarily US companies, the dictatorship lays claim to the role of "champion of anti-communism". Currying favour with its imperialist masters and doing its utmost to preserve and bolster their domination in our country it has made terrorism official policy; it stages shameful electoral farces and uses the most impudent lies about Paraguay being a "democracy" and "legal state".

The Stroessner camarilla seized power on May 4, 1954, in a coup whose strings were pulled by the US military mission in Asuncion. Since then the head of the dictatorship, who has virtually assumed lifelong powers, has repeatedly prolonged the reactionary laws passed in 1930, 1936 and 1941 and accentuated their anti-communist bias.

The state of siege, an extraordinary measure anywhere, is a routine matter in Paraguay. For 31 years now, the tyrant has reimposed it every three months. In other words, this measure has already been adopted more than 120 times, invariably with reference to the non-existent danger of communist "subversion". As a result, all civil rights and individual guarantees have virtually been reduced to nil. Anyone may be arrested and jailed indefinitely. When a victim's lawyer demands respect for habeas corpus, police give him a standard answer, saying that the arrest was carried out "on orders from the President of the Republic, under the law on the state of siege".

What is more, the 1967 Constitution, approved by the so-called National Constituent Assembly behind the people's backs, includes a number of anti-communist provisions, in particular a ban on the class struggle. This reactionary document legalises the persecution of Communists, Workers and other class-conscious working people who make economic and democratic demands on the employers and the government.

Official propaganda affirms that the class struggle has been "invented by Reds". It denies the inevitability of social conflict in a society divided into antagonistic classes as a consequence of irreconcilable contradictions between labour and capital, exploited and exploiters. Along with this, ample use is made of the anti-democratic articles of the Constitution which accuse Communists of "fomenting hostility among Paraguayans". All this is perfectly groundless, of course, and would be merely laughable if it did not serve reaction as a justification for police violence.

There are also fascist laws on the "Defence of Public Order and Individual Freedom" and the "Defence of Democracy". Both legislative acts produced by the tyranny (and cynically defended by advocates of the regime) provide for long terms in prison for such "crimes" as propagating Marxist-Leninist ideas, maintaining ties with PCP members, offering them lodgings or helping them financially. Prison terms ranging between five and ten years are in store for whoever criticises high-ranking Paraguayan officials, leaders of "friendly states", and so on.

These anti-communist and anti-democratic laws are calculated to lend a constitutional semblance to repression — massive arrests, tortures and killings — against Communists or patriots belonging to other political groupings or social sectors. The summary sentences passed under these laws rouse the people's indignation.

Stereotypes

Imperialism's vicious anti-communist campaign is motivated to a notable extent by the desire to conceal signs of the general crisis of capitalism, the inability of the system to solve the formidable problems of unemployment and inflation while at the same time discrediting the home and foreign policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, as its distortion or downgrading of the achievements of socialism in Cuba indicates.

Lie manufacturers in Washington want to make people believe that the United States is compelled to build up its armaments in order to resist "aggressive pressure from communism". They harp on battered anti-Soviet allegations, turn facts upside down and inside out and unabashedly support the fascist regimes of Stroessner, Pinochet and their likes, whom they represent as exemplary zealots of the "free and Christian West".

To win the good graces of their US bosses and secure new handouts and credits, Paraguay's rulers draw freely on lies and slanders borrowed from the CIA, seasoning them with their own falsehoods born of hatred for the people's democratic movement.

The fascist tyrant declares in nearly all his speeches and messages that his regime is a "democracy without communism". His brand of "democracy" prohibits all activity by Communists, the political vanguard of the working class, and uses repression against anyone who rejects his authoritarian rule.

The dictator hypocritically talks about "democracy" and "human rights". This does not prevent him from holding the big stick behind his back or from using it against all opponents of our country's dependence on imperialism, all who are fighting for national and social liberation.

The Paraguayan variety of fascism combines shrill protestations of "patriotism" and demagogic glorification of the nation's finest traditions with rabid anti-communism in an attempt to present the legacy of our national heroes and the ideals of the PCP as incompatible. The dictatorship hopes to mislead public opinion by distorting the patriotic and internationalist policy of Communists and other revolutionaries. But its propaganda effort (backed by Washington) is getting it nowhere. It is more than the dictatorship can do to isolate the Communists or to intimidate and mislead Paraguayans.

Dirty Business

The Paraguayan media are fully controlled by the regime and its foreign bosses. The major Western news agencies, which are owned by capitalist, primarily US consortiums, have monopolised the supply of information and doctor it as they see fit to meet the requirements of imperialism's reactionary, militarist and aggressive policy.

Reports supplied by the USIA through the US Embassy in Asuncion are widely publicised by the semi-official press and other propaganda media. The more than 30 broadcasting stations operating in the capital and other cities daily distort the Soviet Union's peace policy by describing that country as a power bent on aggression and expansion.

A daily programme broadcast all over the country, "The Voice of Coloradism² with Stroessner", calls persistently and in the most indiscriminate terms for the suppression of "communist subversion".

The camarilla which has usurped power dreads the increasingly strong democratic movement in the country and so has hastened to set up for police and military personnel special training courses inspired by anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. The purpose of the courses is to try with the aid of these gendarmes to offset the growing appeal of existing socialism and dampen sympathy for the liberation movements gaining ground in Latin America and elsewhere. The instructors are paid agents of reaction who ram into their audiences the lie fabricated by the US State Department and claiming that the difficult problems facing Latin American countries

today are not due to the socio-economic realities of our continent but to "communist infiltration".

Official propaganda using all the media is waging an intensifying psychological war. It is stepping up actions intended to hoodwink the people and disguise the insane imperialist bid for world domination. Great attention is devoted to the schooling of "Sovietologists".

The Stroessner regime, which actively supports imperialist forces, has even financed international anti-communist congresses. It sends its men to the School of Political Warfare in Taiwan, where CIA instructors indoctrinate them in the spirit of anti-communism and hatred for democratic forces. Recently graduates of the school, who include Stroessner's Minister of Labour, José Eugenio Jacquet, formed an "Anti-Communist Action Group". This organisation spreads reactionary militarised falsehoods through all channels and plans to assume the function of a "death squad" in Paraguay.

Reckless anti-communist propaganda is buttressed by a steady build-up of the repressive apparatus, which is expected to harden terror and persecution. The Pentagon has trained over 1,000 generals and other officers of the armed forces of the tyranny in conformity with the notorious "national security" doctrine, which calls for war against one's own people. The CIA has sent to Paraguay a further group of advisers to train new police and army personnel. It has presented Paraguay's gendarmes with electrical batons. These were used against members of the youth organisations of opposition parties at a rally on the Asuncion premises of the Revolutionary Febrerist Party.³

The Opposition and Anti-Communism

Imperialism's reactionary ideology is professed by both official quarters and a section of the Paraguayan opposition: members of the bourgeoisie, landed proprietors, certain conservative church leaders, university teachers and petty-bourgeois intellectuals.

The anti-communism of these social sectors is due to their class composition as well as, in many cases, their complete ignorance of the proletariat's scientific doctrine, the historic achievements of existing socialism and to the impact of sustained propaganda through the media.

These people do not know that the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries have long since ended unemployment, one of the incurable evils of capitalism. They are not told that the socialist system, which guarantees free education and medical service and increasing participation of the working people in the management of and control over the development of society, has demonstrated its superiority over capitalism and its inexhaustible capacity to raise the people's living and cultural standards. Needless to say, publicising the truth about socialism is brutally persecuted in our country. The ruling camarilla and its underlings put pressure on opposition leaders to make them take an anti-communist stand in public and renounce united action with the Communists against the dictatorship. Reaction is thus trying to disunite and weaken the ranks of supporters of democracy. In the light of the facts we have listed, it is understandable why certain spokesmen of the parties which condemn the tyranny talk about "unity without Communists", denying the legitimate right of the political vanguard of the proletariat to representation in a broad-based coalition of patriotic forces without which the fascist regime cannot be defeated.

To justify our exclusion from National Agreement, as the alliance of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois opposition comprising the Authentic Liberal Radical and Revolutionary Febrerist parties, the Colorado Popular Movement and the Christian Democrats is called, some conservative leaders call the Communists' ideals "undemocratic". In this way they would like to dismiss the glorious 57-year record of our party's struggle, its direct participation in major national events, in battle for the fundamental interests of the workers, peasants, students and intellectuals, of all the

working people. The PCP played an outstanding role in the victory of the February Revolution in 1936, the actions which the military and the people launched on June 9, 1946, initiating a democratic process in our country, and the revolt of military men and the civilian population against the dictatorship under General Higinio Morinigo in Concepcion on March 8, 1947. Now as in the past, Communists are in the forefront among the most devoted fighters against the anti-national tyranny.

The statement issued by the PCP on the 57th anniversary of the founding of our party says that the Communist Party has produced the greatest number of heroes from its ranks and made the greatest sacrifices in the struggle for freedom, democracy and social progress. Hundreds of our comrades have gone through long years of fascist imprisonment. Many PCP members have been "missing" ever since they were atrociously tortured. Antonio Maidana, Miguel Angel Soler, Alfredo Alcorta, Obdulio Barthe, Augusto Canete have set examples of loyalty to the invincible ideas of Marxism-Leninism, of firmness in the face of the class enemy, of selfless dedication to the cause of freeing the people.

On the other side of the barricade is Oscar Creydt, a Maoist and anti-communist. This renegade expelled from the PCP is responsible for the arrest and death of many of our comrades. He systematically spreads the most infamous CIA lies about the Soviet Union and repeats bourgeois ideologists' time-worn call for struggle "against both superpowers". A new advocate of reaction, he repeats a manifest calumny coming from certain "Sovietologists" and "leftists", to the effect that the Soviet economy is based on the principles of "state capitalism". Making common cause with revisionists, he denies the very existence of socialism in an attempt to "shut out the sun with his palm".

Anti-communists grossly distort key aspects of socialism's economic system, which is based on social ownership of the means of production. They deny the fact that in the Soviet Union the means of production belong to the people (in the form of state property as well as the property of collective farms and other cooperatives) and that no one may use it for his own enrichment or other selfish ends.

Resisting Slander

The democratic, revolutionary and progressive forces of Paraguay emphatically reject the allegation about "Communist subversion", used by the pro-US dictatorship to justify repression. They all realise that the regime's falsehoods about communist "terrorism" is merely a smokescreen behind which it jails PCP members and anyone else who refuses to reconcile himself to the tyranny.

The working people of our country and a large body of our public opinion regard statements by Stroessner and his US bosses about their love of "democracy" and their aspiration for the "self-determination of peoples", for "peace and human dignity", as hypocritical, shameless twaddle.

The trade union of jouranalists, the church and all democrats of Paraguay were outraged by and protested against the banning of *ABC Color*, a conservative daily published in the capital, on a charge of carrying "subversive communist material". Students at the Catholic University of Asuncion joined up with students in other educational institutions and with members of independent youth movements and progressive forces in emphatically protesting against the closure of the department of sociology and in upholding their right to study the fundamentals of scientific socialism.

The anti-communist and anti-democratic campaign of *Patria*, a semi-official newspaper, meets with determined resistance from all fair-minded journalists and opposition parties. Popular discontent has reached a point where this yellow paper, a mouthpiece of the dictatorship and imperialism, is no longer sold at news stands but is circulated by compulsory subscription among bureaucrats.

The regime's tendency to escalate the persecution of creative intellectuals whose works reflect the people's problems and aspirations meets increasingly active

resistance from the general public. *Fulfilled Mission*, a book by General Amancio Pampliega (ret.), former minister of the interior and national defence, alarmed government quarters. The author, showing political honesty, declares for agreement between parties and the formation of a coalition government including the PCP. Reaction attacked the author, heaping vulgar insults upon him. The incident is indicative of changes in the thinking of diverse segments of Paraguayan society. It shows patriots in uniform the way to liberation from the fascist dictatorship.

The effort to unify all anti-dictatorial forces is making headway, winning supporters, above all in the youth organisations of the opposition parties, despite repression, which has expressed itself in, among other things, the kidnapping and disappearance of Antonio Maidana, a leader of our party who symbolises popular resistance, and despite a hysterical anti-communist campaign.

Developments suggest that anti-communism, a synonym of reaction leads to disunity among democrats, stepped-up persecution and the growing neocolonialist dependence of countries sold out to transnationals. Anti-communism is the chief motive power of the "crusade" against socialism and the freedom-loving peoples of the planet. It is confronted with Marxism-Leninism, the banner of all revolutionaries and all the champions of life and peace on earth. Our scientific and inherently humanist theory is winning the hearts and minds of hundreds of millions. Its appeal to the working class and other working people, to fighters against imperialism and to consistent patriots, is tremendous. The Communists, who propound this revolutionary theory, guide themselves by its humanist and optimistic ideals. They consider it their duty to offer bourgeois ideologists unrelenting and determined resistance and to bring more and more people into the ranks of those who champion peace, democracy and social progress.

Our tasks

In view of the complicated and dangerous international situation created by the more aggressive forces of US imperialism and its NATO allies, one of the latest plenary meetings of our party CC resolved to step up the effort to expose the reactionary militarist policy of these forces. We will continue to open people's eyes to the servility of the foreign policy of the Stroessner dictatorship and to lay bare the aims of the undeclared war against Nicaragua and other instances of US aggression in Central America and the Caribbean. Paraguay's Communists will do their best to oppose stronger arguments to the anti-communist campaign, to falsehoods about the "Soviet threat" and spurious theories about "two imperialisms" and "two superpowers", said to be contending for a redivision of the world.

The PCP considers that to neutralise reactionary ideology, something more is needed than systematic study and propagation of scientific socialism among the people and effort to combine revolutionary theory with the practice of the working class movement. Also needed is wide publicity for the great achievements of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in building a new life free of exploitation, a life in which "the people are masters in their own house", to paraphrase a line from a Soviet song.

A most important task of Paraguay's Communists is to bring down the fascist regime. This necessitates unity of the proletariat, support from a powerful movement of rural working people, a working-peasant alliance, and unity of all the anti-dictatorial forces. The fight against anti-communism is inseparable from increasingly vigorous actions by the working people. It is an important requisite for their unification in a broad national anti-dictatorial front capable of overthrowing the tyranny and replacing it by a provisional government that would democratise our country. Life demands that the Communists should take an increasingly firm stand

against underestimation of the decisive role of the people, against passivity and sectarianism, and exert the utmost revolutionary vigilance. This is a requisite for achieving freedom.

¹ See V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 287.

² Colorado is the ruling party of Paraguay and has a heterogeneous composition. A breakaway faction of it, which has become an independent party called the Colorado Popular Movement, is opposed to the dictatorship — *Ed.*

³ Reformist party of the opposition grouping sections of the middle and petty bourgeoisie, intellectuals, students, army officers and peasants. It is affiliated to the Socialist International. — *Ed.*

'Undo Yalta?' Who has a Stake in This?

Miroslaw Dackiewicz — Presidium member, Polish Committee on Security and Cooperation in Europe

POLITICIANS of the USA and other NATO countries have come to treat the name of the Soviet town of Yalta as something of a symbol or password. They apply it to definite events of the last year of World War II connected with the conference which the three members of the anti-Hitler coalition — the Soviet Union, the USA and Britain — held in the Crimea early in 1945. But why have bourgeois politicians been using this name so frequently of late? Is it because the 40th anniversary of the Crimea Conference compels them to make an objective assessment of the meeting? Having discussed major problems arising from the defeat of German fascism, the conference provided important prerequisites for establishing peace on earth, primarily in Europe. It set an example of how states functioning on different social and political principles can come to terms on peaceful coexistence and cooperation provided they respect one another's equality and sovereignty and the inalienable right of each country to shape its home and foreign policy.

Yet to US politicians and those who agree with them, "Yalta" regrettably means something entirely different, as this year's record shows.

Last February President Reagan, for one, said that the issue of Yalta was still important because the problem of freedom in Europe remained unsolved. There was a frontier which was symbolised by Yalta and for which there could be no justification, and so Americans wanted to efface that frontier.

We wish to stress right away that our concept of "freedom" and "subjugation" is far removed from the US President's. For him "freedom" is synonymous with capitalism and as for "subjugation", he uses it as a label for socialism. Actually it should be the other way round. But there is no room in this article for arguing over this point. Let either side stick to its convictions and ponder on something different. The President wants the frontier between capitalism and socialism to be effaced, with capitalism left intact, of course, while socialism would probably be expected to dissolve in it. But then this implies, in fact, that what is meant by "effacing frontiers" and "undoing Yalta" is an act of confrontation bound to lead to a collision between the two systems.

To be sure, this is not the first time that the world has heard statements of this nature. Reagan himself admits that for 40 years past, or throughout the postwar period, the

United States has seen its goal in the "liberation of Europe" as visualised by Washington. Still, such statements have certain new connotations today. They are now made both more often and more vehemently and the emphasis is put on their significance as a programme. Those who make them try to create the impression that they are speaking for the whole nation. They propose and even take new and very dangerous steps to translate intentions into reality, to the point of backing counter-revolutionaries by supplying them with arms.

To be sure, President Reagan is not the only one to want Yalta to be "undone". Some propagandists even offer a legal rationale for it. The United States has not recognised and will not recognise the division of Europe as legally valid, says US Secretary of State George Shultz. What he means by "division" is the existence on our continent of capitalist and socialist states enjoying equal rights. This situation has lasted 40 years now but we are being told that it is "invalid".

Senator Robert C. Kasten accepts the "legal grounds" said to exist for "undoing Yalta" and calls on the US Senate to adopt appropriate measures, that is, to reject the "negative" effects of the Yalta agreements, or, in other words, to abolish the postwar order in Central Europe. And he goes even further in pleading for these measures, saying that they are a *necessary addition* to the steadily growing political and economic pressure of the USA on the socialist community.

It is Kasten who calls a spade a spade. What is worrying anti-communist politicians is not "Yalta" as such. They want to reverse history by barring humanity's road to socialism. They feel that a revision of "Yalta" could be quite helpful in putting this scheme into practice.

Attempts to attack the agreements reached at the closing stage of the war are as old as direct attacks on the socialist system. As far back as the forties and fifties, John Foster Dulles included this device in his cold war programme. True, today's version, refurbished in comparison with Dulles', has certain "new" aspects. Formerly "Yalta" was above all a concern of "scholars" or experts in anti-communist propaganda; today they are joined by highly placed politicians. In the past, efforts to undermine the socialist system being established in Central and Southeast European countries were made under the slogan of "containing" it or "rolling it back"; today the slogan is "undo Yalta". Another "new" element is that NATO propagandists are trying to dissociate the commemoration of the Yalta agreements from the celebration of the 40th anniversary of victory over fascism. Some American commentators consider that nobody is eager to mark VE-Day any longer while "Yalta" is still a game worth the candles. As for stressing the connection between these two anniversaries, they allege that it could have an unwelcome emotional effect by, say, hurting the feelings of reactionary Bundeswehr officers and the West German right generally. Spokesmen of these forces are likewise willing to "undo Yalta"; they refuse to recall VE-Day because that was when the Nazi Wehrmacht was defeated.

There is no "undoing Yalta" in the US or revanchist sense of the phrase without falsifying the accords signed in February of 1945. The key aspect of this falsification is the assertion that "Yalta" was essentially an agreement between the parties to the coalition to "divide Europe" between the two social systems. The fact is, however, that there was no question at Yalta of this kind of "division". Neither documents, nor the recollections of participants in the Crimea Conference (published by many) indicate that there was a discussion of "division". The real meaning of "Yalta" was that it demonstrated the Allies' common resolve to create in Europe conditions in which German fascism and militarism could never revive. This is why the Allies came to terms on the unconditional surrender of the Reich; on its partition into four occupation zones, including a French one (incidentally, those French leaders who likewise insist on "undoing Yalta" are thereby undermining the legal foundation of postwar French-West Germany relations); on a radical demilitarisation, denazification and democratisation of Germany, as well as on the restoration of Poland within its

historical boundaries, which implied a revision of Germany's frontiers.

It follows that the issue of peace in Europe was considered in specific terms and in close connection with the German, Polish and other problems. This approach of the then leaders of the Allied powers was a valuable instance (which is still relevant) of comprehensive consideration of international matters; it is the only approach that can yield positive results.

To begin with, the parties to the Yalta talks generally raised the need to continue acting together in the struggle against fascism. This neither eliminated existing political differences and contradictions between them, nor unified the goals they set before themselves. We would like to re-emphasise, however, that their common goals were to defeat German imperialism and prevent a revival of it. These goals called for cooperation in the postwar period as well for all that each coalition partner was also pursuing his own class interests. Thus the anti-fascist alliance rested on a realistic assessment of both common interests and the interests of each party to the talks. This made for the solidity of the alliance despite the fact that its components were dissimilar. Now as in the past, states which see their chief goal in maintaining peace have a sound basis for achieving it even if they differ over many other problems.

The approach in question also found an expression in the attitude of the participants in the Crimea Conference to the Polish question, which politicians distorting the meaning of "Yalta" are particularly biased on today. They allege that Poland was "subjugated" and its national interests were seriously affected as a result of the 1945 "division". And they add that no "free elections" could be held in Poland. But how did matters stand in reality?

The Soviet position on the Polish question was formulated at Yalta in precise terms. Throughout its history Poland served as a corridor through which the enemy marched against Russia, having no difficulty in passing through it because Poland was weak. Therefore the interests of the Soviet Union called for the establishment of a strong, free, independent Polish state friendly to the Soviet Union and capable of defending itself.¹

That position was entirely in keeping with the national interests of the Poles, the interests of the Soviet Union and the need to preserve peace. It was appreciated and accepted by the then leaders of the United States and Britain. President Franklin Roosevelt, summing up the results of the agreements reached at Yalta, said that Americans hoped Poland would maintain the friendliest relations with the Soviet Union.²

It was on this thesis that the solution of the Polish problem approved at Yalta was based. It was consonant with the position of the Polish Left, which declared for the restitution to the country of the western territory which had belonged to it in the past and for drawing the frontier along the Odra and Nysa rivers. This was specified at the Potsdam Conference, in July 1945; it provided Poland with a solid guarantee of safeguarding its national interests in the future, since it meant reducing the ability of German imperialism to re-establish its potential.

This solution understandably enhances the prestige of the Left (which was entirely in favour of it, as we have said) and strengthened its positions in Poland. In 1944 there were two Polish governments: one in exile in Britain — it was anti-Soviet — and the other in Poland — it was friendly to the Soviet Union. The latter represented the left coalition headed by the National Liberation Committee; it was established on Polish territory freed by the Red Army.

Our people's power rapidly won enormous prestige in Polish society. Thanks to it, the unprecedented suffering of the people and their heroic fight against fascism, which took six million Polish lives, bore real fruit. The Polish Army participated alongside the Red Army in the capture of Berlin, Soviet support enabled the Polish government delegation to state its territorial demands at Potsdam, where they were appreciated. Thus we owe it largely to the steadfast effort of the Left, which joined along with the

Soviet Union in the struggle against fascism, that Poland benefited politically from World War II. The Left was socialist-oriented and it was only natural that the majority of our people associated the further realisation of their national aspirations with the construction of a new society and growing friendship with the world's first socialist state.

Supporters of the government in exile held completely different views. They were still hopeful of taking power into their hands and counted above all else on elections, which were also mentioned in the Yalta agreements. Present-day advocates of "undoing Yalta" snatch the provision concerning elections out of the overall context of decisions on the Polish question and, more important still, dissociate it from the thesis about a Poland friendly to the Soviet Union, a thesis recognised by all the participants in the conference. Critics of "Yalta" affirm that the USA and Britain always counted on victory for Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, leader of the anti-Soviet forces in Poland. If so it follows that, while accepting the idea of a Poland friendly to the Soviet Union, they were planning at the same time to hand over power there to anti-Soviet groupings.

If such plans did exist they were not revealed in 1945. But then they were only too evident by January 1947, when elections took place in Poland. In March 1946 the USA and Britain set out on a cold war path, and the Polish elections were expected to help make headway along this path. In other words, the USA and Britain began in 1946 to revise the Yalta and Potsdam agreements. Speaking in Stuttgart in September 1946, US Secretary of State James Byrnes promised that Washington would not fully respect the Potsdam agreements regarding Germany's frontiers if the Germans backed the anti-Soviet policy of the United States. In this way US imperialism offered cooperation to German imperialism; the latter accepted and that offer has, in effect, served to this day as the basis for joint action by Washington and Bonn against the Soviet Union and the socialist community.

Polish society was shocked by Byrnes' offer. Our former ally was inciting his enemy of yesterday to seek revanche and dispute Poland's new frontiers. And this was being done by a leader of the Western forces supporting the anti-Soviet Mikolajczyk grouping in the elections. How could anyone vote for it in the circumstances? By making his move, Byrnes helped defeat Mikolajczyk at the polls and took a step towards dividing Europe into two opposed camps.

Polish opinion in 1947 fully realised who was our country's real friend and who saw it as no more than the object of international intrigues. The united Left won the elections precisely because it was committed to consistent defence of national interests and to friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union, which continue serving as the main guarantee of the inviolability and security of Poland's frontiers and the fullest realisation of its interests. It is also worthy of note that in that period the electoral list of the Left was backed even by Polish forces traditionally considered pro-Western.

We have looked from the standpoint of the falsification of "Yalta" at variant ideas of "undoing" it advanced before and now, at their coinciding as well as divergent aspects. Incidentally, there are more coincidences than distinctions. For instance, US imperialism in 1946 called on German revanchists to join in the effort to "undo" Yalta and Potsdam; today it is doing the same. Present-day revanchists welcome such calls and respond to them at once. Alfred Dregger, Chairman of the CDU/CSU parliamentary group, leader of the right nationalist wing of the CDU, appealed to Helmut Kohl at the latest CDU congress to refuse to recognise the western frontier of Poland until it was defined by a peace treaty. Consequently, he expects the conclusion of that treaty to result in redividing today's Europe, certainly to the detriment of Poland and other socialist community countries. Isn't it intended to trigger conflicts rather than prove a factor for peace and tranquillity? A "constructive Eastern policy" should be based, in Dregger's view, on the "conviction" of the Poles (a "conviction" invented by him) as, needless to say, the Czechs, Slovaks and Hungarians that it is more

important for them to consider themselves an inseparable component of Central and Western Europe than part of the socialist community. The attempt to dissociate our people from socialism is disguised, as it were, by invoking historical geography.

Polish society is well aware that the inviolability of the existing frontiers of the Polish People's Republic is guaranteed primarily by the combined strength of the socialist community. The Polish United Workers' Party is firmly convinced of this. Its Ninth Congress (1981), which deliberated in an extremely complicated domestic situation, reaffirmed the following programme thesis: "We will defend socialism as one defends one's independence."

One of the main objectives of our opponents is to sever the connection between socialism and guaranteed national independence, between on the one hand, and development, the realisation of national interests, on the other. It was in passing, so to speak, that Dregger made his remark about bringing European socialist countries closer to Western, capitalist Europe, meaning, in fact, effort to erode the new system. By contrast, Zbigniew Brzezinski, that notorious US expert in anti-communism, uses this as the basis for a whole concept in his article "The Future of Yalta", published simultaneously in the United States and FRG. To "undo Yalta" is, in his opinion, a matter for "a genuine Europe, free from the Soviet yoke".³

This concept has much in common with the Dulles doctrine of "containment"; what is "novel" and may be seen as a "third option" is that Brzezinski would like the "liberation of Eastern Europe" to be entrusted to Western Europe. From what he writes, formerly the United States was almost alone in fighting to "free" it; now he wants NATO Europeans to work for this (and for the USA). "... The future of Europe is intertwined with the future of Germany and of Poland. Without spanning, in some non-threatening fashion (sic — *M.D.*), the division of Germany, there will not be a genuine Europe. . ."⁴

Eroding in a "non-threatening" way distinctions between the two socio-political systems, which have powerful military alliances, and merging the two Germanies — the capitalist FRG and socialist GDR — into one (it is clear what kind of Germany is meant). . . This sounds naive, to say the least, but this naivete must not be seen as a reason for leniency. The aims set by Brzezinski are utterly unrealistic but the instruments of attaining them have not been chosen accidentally and are dangerous. What he is after is to bring about a process of change in socialist countries in a capitalist direction, except that he wants it to go on imperceptibly — he describes it as "historical stealth". He proposes five ways of hastening the change in question, the chief way being to "intensify aid to those East Europeans who are struggling actively for the political emancipation of Eastern Europe". The USA has always rendered such aid, Brzezinski stresses; it has helped "dissidents" carry on subversion but Western Europe has regrettably been less than helpful. True, he concedes, the French have done a good deal to support anti-socialist leaders of the Solidarity trade union federation. It is now time, he stresses, for other European countries as well to back anti-socialists, primarily in Poland, more actively.

The Poles know very well what the reactionary American politologist of Polish origin is hoping for. It was not without his participation that a widespread subversive operation was staged in our country, with the result that its dire consequences have made themselves felt for more than four years now. We cannot deal in this article with the factors which permitted that activity, its course or the ways of removing the difficulties created by it.⁵ We merely wish to point out that the Polish counter-revolutionaries, whom imperialism gave and still gives ample support from abroad, declared that they were defending national interests. But their "defence" was in fact directed against the nation. It was causing economic anarchy, lowering the standard of living and weakening the country in every respect. Of course, it would have been harder for a weak Poland to oppose plans aimed at "undoing Yalta", that is, at revising agreements which assured the development of our state within its historical

boundaries.

After weakening one member of the socialist community, its enemies would certainly have encroached on other members. It is not Polish interests that they are preoccupied by. In setting Western against Eastern Europe and trying to foment opposition in socialist countries, they are pursuing primarily their own interests pivoted on anti-communism.

We repeat that all these dangerous and "non-threatening" ways of intensifying the present confrontation between the two main socio-political systems of the world are fraught with military threats, above all for Europe, itself. True, Washington is at pains to reassure its European NATO allies by promising them military protection, including a space "shield". This is how brawls are started, with a bully setting one fellow against another and telling him: "Come on, hit him, I'll help you in case you're in trouble!" Some time ago the *International Herald Tribune* made the following comment on the likely result of this kind of help: "The pursuit of this research (harmless term used by the Reagan administration to describe the initial stage of its Star Wars programme — M.D.), in short, would provoke the Russians to pursue their own defense and to rapidly expand their offense to guarantee penetration of any American shield."⁶

Inasmuch as the creation of a space "shield" for Europe is part of the concept of "undoing Yalta", sober-minded people should stop to think of the dangerous implications of this "non-threatening" policy.

The current campaign against the Yalta agreements is not only part of the anti-socialist "crusade" but a violation of the principles of the Helsinki Final Act. After all, this document amounted in a sense to a ratification by the whole of Europe of the results which the Allies' treaties produced at the end of World War II. Those who want to "undo Yalta" are also out to "undo" Helsinki.

Nor is Europe the only point at issue. The effort to "undo Yalta" is part of a larger campaign against the continuous historical process under way all over the world, in the form of the advance of people to real liberation. It is not accidental that many countries which have cast off colonial tyranny have opted for a socialist orientation in searching for paths to progress. Why? Is this a result of Soviet influence? The Soviet Union is unquestionably a mighty socialist power and imperialism is forced to take this into account, all the more since the Soviet Union renders freedom-loving peoples concrete support in complicated or, indeed, critical situations. This is not to say, however, that grave socio-political situations in which the working people and the ruling classes exploiting them clash should be attributed to the "hand of Moscow" although this is exactly what primitive anti-communist propaganda inspired by Washington does. The struggle for national and social liberation is not inspired by international communism. People's resistance to oppression is due above all to the operation of objective laws of social development and to internal contradictions of capitalist society. Of course, these peoples see the example of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and it is a source of inspiration to them. This explains why Brzezinski and his likes are trying to prevent us from showing greater solidarity with the oppressed peoples of other regions. But that is more than they can do. Socialist ideology including proletarian internationalism, is winning more and more followers in the world.

"Rolling back", "undoing Yalta" or a "third option" have never been, and never will be, an effective weapon against the new system. The case of Poland has furnished conclusive proof of this. A direct attack on socialism in our country in 1981 fell through. Currently its enemies, without renouncing their original aims, are changing to a protracted underground struggle. They want to make the Polish people believe that the values of socialism are contrary to the values created by them in the course of their history. By referring to mistakes of the former Polish leadership, the opposition would like to deceive Polish public opinion into resisting the policy of ensuring the construction of socialism which the party and the state are carrying on. But it is wasting

its time.

Socialism on Polish soil is inseparable from our working class movement, which has a record of more than 100 years. The interests of socialism and the national interests of the Poles are inseparable. It was only logical that, for the first time in Polish history, friendly relations based on alliance with all neighbours were established under the new system and have been developing ever since. The Yalta agreements laid the groundwork for constructive solutions to all the international problems that caused tensions in the heart of Europe for two centuries. Could a revival of these tensions meet our interests? Only an enemy of Poland would say yes.

People's Poland sees the purpose of its home policy in rallying the people to build socialism and as for its foreign policy, the aim is to make as great a contribution as possible to the effort to build up the unity and strength of the socialist community and promote good-neighbourly relations with all countries on the principles of respect for sovereignty and mutually beneficial cooperation, on an equal basis. Poland is and will always be one of the guarantors of the peaceful order in Europe that is based on the Yalta and Potsdam agreements and has stood the test for forty postwar years.

This world order is being maintained by the Warsaw Treaty. A protocol prolonging the treaty for another 20 years was signed by the parties to it last April. A relevant communique of the fraternal parties called special attention to the fact that what led off the split of Europe into military blocs was not the Warsaw Treaty, concluded six years after NATO had come into being. Even now the signatories to the treaty reaffirm their readiness to dissolve their alliance provided the members of NATO do as much simultaneously. For the time being, as far as Poland is concerned, "the Warsaw Treaty is, historically speaking, a materialisation of what even in the past was an object of the progressive aspirations of outstanding sons and daughters of our people, namely, an 'internationalisation of the Polish question' inseparably bound up with the long-term revolutionary course of history, "as Wojciech Jaruzelski, First Secretary of the CC, PUWP, put it.⁷

¹ See *The Soviet Union at International Conferences of the Period of the Great Patriotic War, 1941-1945*, Vol. IV, Moscow, 1979 pp. 99-100 (in Russian).

² *Teheran, Yalta, Potsdam, Moscow*, 1970, p. 142 (in Russian).

³ *Foreign Affairs*, Winter 1984/85; *Europa Archiv*, No. 23, 1984.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ See Wojciech Jaruzelski, "The Message of the Polish Experience", *WMR*, No. 11, 1983.

⁶ *International Herald Tribune*, February 25, 1985.

⁷ *Trybuna Ludu*, April 27-28, 1985.

Indispensable for Victory Over Counter- Revolution

Mahmud Barialy – CC Political Bureau
alternate member, CC Secretary, People's
Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA)

THE PDPA-led April (Saur) Revolution of 1978 proclaimed clear and simple goals: to bring prosperity to the country and make authentic improvements in the life of the Afghans, but while much has been done since then, the popular masses have not yet been able fully to relish all the advantages of the new system, mainly because the revolution was at once confronted with bitter and growing resistance from international imperialism and its satraps, who started wide-ranging and well-coordinated intervention in the country's internal affairs in what is a real undeclared war against it. To perpetrate their dirty schemes they have been using renegades from among the feudal lords, the tribal elite, the comprador bourgeoisie, the reactionary clergy, former officers and other strata and groups whom the revolutionary transformations stripped of their once-privileged status. These anti-people elements provide no more than a cover, a gloss of "Afghanisation" for the externally engineered aggression against the republic.

Internal counter-revolution would long since have collapsed, but for support from outside the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan (DRA), from the imperialist powers, primarily the United States, and their reactionary allies in our region. The US press has admitted that aid going to the Afghan counter-revolutionaries along CIA channels has acquired the proportions of the USA's largest covert operation since the war in Vietnam. Since 1980, the injection of funds into the aggression against democratic Afghanistan has multiplied six-fold, to \$280 million this year.

Largely through the efforts of the US administration, other sources are also tapped to replenish the coffers of the "fifth column" being infiltrated into our country: large amounts of money come from Saudi Arabia, China, FRG, Britain and Japan, among other countries, with the annual cost of keeping the *dushman* (bandit) gangs in operation totalling over \$1 billion. The money is used to supply the counter-revolutionary mercenaries with the latest weapons, including chemical weapons, to train them in the techniques of subversion and terrorism, and to pay for the blood-drenched services of these cut-throats. Simultaneously with broadening the undeclared war and increasing military and financial assistance to the counter-revolutionaries, US imperialism is also waging psychological warfare against the DRA on an unprecedented scale. Washington is intensifying the propaganda hulabaloo in a bid to deceive public opinion throughout the world, and especially in the United States itself and in West European countries, as to the true state of affairs in our country, to erode our people's confidence in their revolution. This psychological warfare is mostly lies and slander aimed at distorting the accomplishments of revolutionary Afghanistan, the far-reaching transformations under way there and the actual nature of the fraternal relations between the USSR and the DRA. Specifically, there are attempts to present the April revolution as a "threat to the Moslem religion" and the internationalist assistance provided by the Soviet Union, as "occupation".

Millions of dollars are spent on these subversive activities. Suffice it to say that hostile broadcasts in the languages spoken in Afghanistan total some 300 hours a week. Beaming their programmes at Afghanistan are the Voice of America, the BBC and the radio stations of Pakistan (from Peshawar, Islamabad and Karachi), Iran, China, Israel, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. It is reported that the Americans plan to open Pakistani branches of Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe, stations that

specialise in ideological subversion. The aim is to step up the campaign of slander against our country and other independent countries of the region. The mass media of the imperialist powers and their stooges in our region serve as an indirect tool of interference in the internal affairs of the DRA. The CIA has assisted in the establishment of several major centres bringing out anti-Afghan literature — books, pamphlets and leaflets. Propaganda inventions, including films, are produced on a mass scale. Imperialist intelligence services illegally send their agents, disguised as journalists, into Afghanistan.

Washington now feels that it no longer needs to keep secret its direct involvement in the armed intervention against our country: the White House incumbent has openly met with the ringleaders of the Afghan counter-revolution and has been unstinting in his promises of political, moral and material support.

Numerous training centres and supply bases, mainly in Pakistan, Iran and China, have been placed at the disposal of the bandits, while several dozen anti-Afghan groupings — actually no more than a mob of adventurists and schemers — have established themselves abroad. Some of them, like Burhanuddin Rabbani, the ringleader of the "Islamic Society of Afghanistan", one of the largest counter-revolutionary outfits, keep calling for the establishment of an "Islamic Republic", others circulate slogans like "war against the infidel" and "down with the Communists" while still others have visions of a return to the way things were under the monarchy. There are savage dog fights between these outfits, frequently with the use of arms. The only thing they have in common (apart from the urge to get the most out of their foreign well-wishers) is hatred for the Saur Revolution and the profound changes which it has brought about in the life of our people.

In some foreign capitals, notably Washington, this rabble are called "fighters for freedom" and "Afghan patriots", while a senior member of the US administration has even gone so far as to declare that they are carrying on the cause of the eighteenth-century American Revolution, despite the fact that their hands are stained with the blood of innocent victims in their war against their own people. These bandits have poisoned wells, butchered farm animals, wrecked irrigation facilities and communication lines, have tried to paralyse transport, and have burned down schools, hospitals and mosques. The direct losses inflicted by their crimes come to more than 35 billion afghani.

We are aware that some have been tricked into joining the enemy camp, or have gone there mistakenly or in a moment of weakness. The chastising sword of the revolution does not strike at those who have become aware of their guilt, or who have thought better of it and repented. The PDPA and the revolutionary government are working to create reliable prerequisites for national reconciliation and dialogue: our goal is civil peace followed by concerted joint effort for the sake of our homeland's prosperity and happiness.

To that goal are geared all the efforts aimed to halt the undeclared war against Afghanistan and to guarantee its non-resumption. The DRA government's earlier proposals on a settlement of controversial and outstanding problems in relations with neighbouring states — Iran and Pakistan — remain in force. It is safe to say that where it depends on Afghanistan there are no issues that could not be settled in a fair and democratic way, and if they cannot be positively settled today we and our friends will work patiently and perseveringly to bring on such a settlement tomorrow.

No concrete results have been achieved for the time being, despite all the efforts. Indeed, the subversive activity against the DRA from Pakistani territory has been stepped up. There is a lavish flow of US credits into Pakistan — mainly for the re-equipment of the army and for the staging of terroristic acts — and more and more consignments of the most modern weapons. It is becoming increasingly obvious that Washington has assigned to Pakistan the role of its military bridgehead in the region, and an outpost of the Afghan counter-revolution.

Democratic Afghanistan has not remained alone in the face of the fierce attacks in which the foulest means are being used: it has received fraternal assistance from its true friends, primarily the Soviet Union.

Afghan-Soviet friendship has deep and solid roots. Independent Afghanistan was the first state to recognise the young Soviet Republic, and since then, for 66 years now, we have been getting assistance from our neighbour in the north on what is most vital for our people: the consolidation of national independence and the country's integrity.

The traditional friendly ties with the Soviet Union were not undermined even in the worst periods of the feudal-bourgeois and Moslem reaction, for even illiterate people could sense the sharp contrast between the imperialist powers' gross, brazen and contemptuous behaviour, and the USSR's respectful treatment of our country as an equal. Besides, Afghanistan has always had enough patriots and democrats who realised that friendship with the Soviet Union was in the Afghan people's vital interests and served to strengthen national sovereignty. Indeed, even in the ruling circles there were nationalistically-minded elements who realised the need to maintain and develop good-neighbour ties with the USSR so as to reduce their dependence on imperialism, although they took a hostile view of socialism as an ideology and rejected its social and political system.

The Saur Revolution ushered in a new stage in Soviet-Afghan relations. Our countries, parties, governments and peoples are now linked with bonds of friendship, mutual understanding, and growing all round cooperation, which is constructive in substance and results.

The Afghans have a sense of profound gratitude for the Soviet Union's unexampled internationalist assistance in our most difficult days. Democratic Afghanistan was faced with the threat of losing its revolutionary gains, its freedom and national independence because of the undeclared war and the growing external intervention. We were faced with this choice: either to let the country be torn by the imperialist predators and the forces of reaction, or to turn to our friends for assistance in warding off the external aggression in accordance with the generally recognised norms of international law. In the light of the Afghan working people's supreme interests, we opted for the latter, and we are convinced that we did right.

In an address to a ceremonial meeting on the 20th anniversary of the PDPA, Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the PDPA CC and Chairman of the DRA Revolutionary Council, said: "Imperialist propaganda has been shouting all over the world about the 'occupation' of Afghanistan. We, for our part, tell the world: our Soviet brothers responded to our call for assistance and are giving it, unsparing of their lives. Honour and glory to them! The heroic feats of the soldiers of the limited Soviet contingent, true internationalists, loyal sons of their people, who are always prepared to extend a hand of assistance to those who are fighting for their national freedom and independence, will always remain in the grateful memory of the Afghans."¹

The Soviet Union has also been helping us to make good the effects of the damage being done by the armed counter-revolution, supplying Afghanistan, free of charge, with foodstuffs, clothing, footwear and other prime necessities, mineral fertilizers, cotton seeds, and so on. Major transmission lines to supply power from the USSR are being built to help the country meet its acute shortage of electricity.

In his speech, Babrak Karmal cited the following data. There are already 99 completed projects of Afghan-Soviet cooperation in the DRA, turning out almost 60 per cent of its industrial output, with 75,000 skilled workers having been trained at these plants over the past 30 years, something that is of exceptionally great importance for our country, whose working class is still small and is just taking shape. The Soviet Union has helped to lay the foundations of power, mining, and metal-working industries, it has built an international airport, laid all the main highways, and has done much else. Thousands of Afghan engineers, doctors, teachers and workers in culture and the arts have been trained at Soviet schools. It helped to set up the Kabul

Polytechnical Institute, an automechanical technical college and a technical college at Mazar-i-Sharif. The PDPA CC Institute of Social Sciences is the generally recognised centre for training party and government cadres.

Since the early days of the Saur Revolution and in the most difficult periods of its development, we have felt and continued to feel the comradely internationalist support of the socialist community countries. In the seven odd years since April 1978, our ties with world socialism have been consolidated, expanded and politically enriched. This new type of international relations based on internationalist solidarity, whose basic principles were politically and juridically formalised in the DRA's treaties with socialist states, has not only stood the test of time, but has provided a convincing demonstration of its viability. We are deeply grateful to our friends for their valuable contribution to developing the new Afghanistan, consolidating the gains of its revolution and carrying the truth about it to world opinion. It is a model of genuine internationalism which "consists of *deeds* and not phrases, not expressions of solidarity, not resolutions."²

We are well aware that such internationalism cannot and should not be one-sided, and that is why solidarity with the Soviet Union, the working class movement in the industrialised capitalist countries and the fighters for national liberation, solidarity that is rooted in their objective common interests, has always been and continues to be a fundamental ideological and political principle of the PDPA as a party of the working class and of all the other working people which is guided by scientific revolutionary theory. It is a principle which was written into our party's programmatic documents even before the Saur Revolution.

Since the 1978 revolution, internationalism has been enshrined as a direct duty to be practised by every member and candidate member of the PDPA, whose Rules say: "It shall be a patriotic and internationalist duty of all PDPA members to strengthen and expand Afghanistan's friendly ties with the USSR and other socialist countries, and with the international working class and national liberation movement." Our invariable commitment to the principle of internationalist solidarity was clearly reaffirmed in the PDPA's Action Programme, adopted by a national party conference in 1982, and in subsequent party documents.

At every stage of its more than twenty years of existence, and especially since it became the ruling party, the PDPA has attached exceptional importance to the problem of relation and blending the national and the international, because the theory, methodology and practice of the revolutionary process and revolutionary struggle are focussed in the balance between the two. The measure of a revolutionary party's theoretical, ideological and political maturity and an indication of its skill in implementing political strategy and tactics are provided by its ability in practice to ensure an organic interconnection and interpenetration of the national and the international elements of its activity, which means "to seek out, . . . predict, and grasp that which is nationally specific and nationally distinctive, in the *concrete manner* in which each country should tackle a *single* international task".³ The PDPA has been constantly studying this art, which is based on the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, making use of the experience gained by the fraternal parties and the world revolutionary movement as a whole, while its own experience, acquired over the past twenty odd years devoted to the political guidance of the people's revolutionary movement and affairs of state, goes to replenish the treasure-store of experience of all the revolutionary forces of the world.

The dialectical relation of the national and the international in the PDPA's policy is also expressed in the fact that the content of our internationalist tasks, and the lines and objectives of solidarity actions are largely determined by the actual national conditions of Afghanistan. We regard the defence, assertion and deepening of the gains of the Saur Revolution as a contribution by the Afghan people, led by the PDPA, to the noble cause of the world-wide struggle for freedom, national and social progress, and

international security. The measures necessary to beat back the undeclared war against the DRA and to ensure the independence and integrity of our homeland help to check the aggressive policy of imperialism, to eliminate dangerous hotbeds of tension in the region and other parts of the globe, and serve the cause of lasting peace throughout the world.

The fundamental principle of our foreign policy — struggle to avert another world war, and for peaceful coexistence — was written into our very first party programme. When the party took power, it confirmed its loyalty to that principle in practice. The PDPA and the DRA government are at one with the peace forces seeking to prevent a nuclear disaster, to re-establish the climate of detente in relations between states, and to curb the imperialists' encroachments on the freedom and independence of the peoples, and resolutely support the constructive peace proposals and initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Exposure of anti-Sovietism, rebuffs to the slander of Afghan-Soviet friendship, and the malicious inventions over the presence of a limited Soviet military contingent on the territory of Afghanistan are among our most important patriotic and internationalist tasks. We have been working to make the activity of our propaganda and counter-propaganda organs and mass media more effective and to improve the forms and methods of combating the ideological subversions of imperialist and counter-revolutionary forces. All these matters were discussed in detail at a national party conference, at virtually all the subsequent plenary meetings of the Central Committee, and at many meetings of the Political Bureau. We have declared resolute resistance to hostile propaganda and agitation to be a matter for the whole party and an internationalist duty of all PDPA members.

At the same time, we have had to face some serious objective difficulties in the internationalist education of the masses, or in the "acclimatisation" and "rooting" of internationalism on the national soil, as Georgi Dimitrov put it.⁴ The broad range of problems, which are vast in scope and most complicated in content, has to be tackled by the PDPA and the revolutionary power not only in the arduous conditions of the undeclared war, but also in a society whose economic and social structures are transnational and belong to different formations, including elements of prefeudal relations. It has been estimated, for instance, that nearly half a million families, or one-fifth of the country's population, are connected with the patriarchal order based on communal, clan and tribal relations.

Many countries of the East have gone through a period of stormy political, economic and social development over the past century, as the capitalism introduced into these countries by the colonialists broke up the long-established way of life, however high the costs of the process. But not Afghanistan: the Afghans' peculiar way of life, especially in the countryside, did not undergo any sharp changes, and it is still being regulated by the tenets of Islam, the norms of shariat law, and by common law (*adat* or *pushtunvalai*), especially in everyday life and the household. One of the *pushtunvalai* customs is that the Afghan has the duty to protect, at any price, anyone who has been given shelter in his home, and this kind of hospitality is regrettably often utilised by the enemies of the Saur Revolution.

The internal counter-revolution has now and again used with some success the archaic and traditionalist forms of mass consciousness, its widely accepted ideas of clan, community and tribal solidarity, notions of social hierarchy and nationalistic attitudes. It has actively speculated on religious beliefs, capitalised on the fact that the nationalities question inherited from earlier regimes remains outstanding, and has fanned separatist tendencies. Let us bear in mind that our population consists of more than 20 nationalities and 5 ethnic groups, and that the process of national consolidation is not yet complete.

When tackling Afghanistan's vital problems for the benefit of all the working people, the PDPA and the revolutionary power make a point of thoroughly reckoning

with the national specifics of the nationalities and tribes on its territory, their religious feelings, their unique traditions and long-standing customs. One has to note, however, that some of the entrenched views, notions and rules of behaviour tend to hamper the formation of new forms of social life and have a tremendous momentum of their own. Let us recall Marx's idea that "the tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brains of the living".⁵ Our party is carrying on a struggle against such notions, views and customs, while helping to preserve and fill with a new content the traditions which serve the interests of social progress.

Finally, the main thing. Internationalism has above all a class basis and expresses the common vital interests of the national contingents of the working class of all the countries. But in Afghanistan, the working class is still undeveloped and extremely small. The shaping of the class consciousness of workers, who are mainly first-generation workers, is hampered by political immaturity and their scattering at petty enterprises. They have not yet entirely broken away from their peasant life and are fettered with the bonds of patriarchal, tribal, religious and communal ties. They tend to have a mixture of petty-bourgeois views and precapitalist notions. The states of thing is further complicated because the process of class formation is being slowed down by the remaining multi-sectoral nature of the economy, something that is characteristic of most developing countries.

The Saur Revolution has done much to raise the political consciousness of the Afghan working class and to alter its status in the society. The profound economic, social and political transformations help to increase the number of workers, to make them aware of their class interests and of their role in the national democratic revolution, but these transformations are being impeded by the criminal anti-people activity of the counter-revolutionary gangs.

Our party is aware that the assimilation of the internationalist views and their conversion into well-established convictions are a difficult and protracted process which calls for persevering efforts in ideological education, and the PDPA has vigorously done this since its establishment.

Special attention is being, quite naturally, given to the internationalist seasoning of party members themselves, and this work is being carried on mainly through the system of party political education in close connection with the ideological and theoretical training of PDPA members and candidate members. Internationalism is inconceivable without a revolutionary theory and scientific generalisation of world developments. Scientific theory growing, as it does, from "the sum total of the revolutionary experience and the revolutionary thinking of all countries in the world",⁶ it helps to go beyond the framework of specifically national conditions and gives a correct assessment of the international dimensions of the revolutionary process. The study of the experience of revolutionary transformations in other countries is an exceptionally important element of studies at various levels of the political education network differentiated in accordance with the educational standards of students, and its creative application to the concrete historical conditions in which our revolution is proceeding is a necessary prerequisite for the party's successful activity and its further ideological and political strengthening.

We have a long-established tradition of marking memorable revolutionary dates, and the scientific and theoretical conferences and ceremonial meetings held on such occasions provide a potent means of internationalist education and an opportunity for giving a reminder that we can and must solve the difficult tasks before us and prove that the gains of the Saur Revolution are irreversible, only by being guided by the doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin, enriched and developed by the whole revolutionary movement of our day.

The importance of internationalist education tends to acquire special importance today, in view of the quantitative and qualitative changes under way in our party's composition. When it assumed the great historical responsibility of running the

country, and when the scope of its activity in party, state, economic and cultural construction was vastly extended, the need also arose for an influx of new forces. Since the revolution, the party's numerical strength has multiplied sixfold, and it has been strengthened qualitatively through the admission of workers, peasants, young people, women and members of Afghanistan's big and small nationalities. Almost two-thirds of the party members are now under the age of 30 years.

Our party is a fighting party, said Babrak Karmal at the 13th Plenary meeting of the PDPA CC. More than 60 per cent of its membership is now serving in the army, the Tsarandoi (people's militia), and state security organs. The PDPA leads the struggle for the homeland's sovereignty and integrity, and for beating back the undeclared war against the DRA, thereby fulfilling its patriotic and internationalist duty.

The party also seeks to assert the principles of internationalist solidarity by working through the trade unions and other mass social organisations, such as those of young people and women, and associations of writers, artists and other creative workers. It guides the activity of the National Patriotic Front, which, besides these organisations, includes the Economic Consultative Council, representing the interests of private capital, the Supreme Council of the Ulemas,⁷ chambers of Commerce, and so on. The Front now has more than 600,000 members, and its branches operate in the country's 28 provinces. Afghanistan's social organisations maintain active international contacts. In 1983 alone, the DRA was visited by almost 30 delegations representing public opinion abroad, a scope of international contacts our country has never had in the past.

Our expanding inter-party ties are a key factor in deepening and enriching our internationalist ties, while being a means of educating our party members in the spirit of internationalism and genuine patriotism. The PDPA maintains such relations with 103 communist, workers' and revolutionary democratic parties, progressive movements and organisations. With 52 of them these relations are regular and diversified, and that is fresh evidence of the mighty international support, which adds to our people's strength and steadfastness and serves as a reliable barrier to the counter-revolutionary moves by imperialism and reaction.

¹ Babrak Karmal, *Speech at a Ceremonial Meeting on the 20th Anniversary of the Founding of the PDPA*, Kabul, dzhadie 1363, pp. 32-33 (in Dari).

² V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 81.

³ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 92.

⁴ See Georgi Dimitrov, *Works*, Vol. 10, Sofia, 1954, p. 114 (In Bulgarian).

⁵ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 1, p. 398.

⁶ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 354.

⁷ Moslem theologians and students of law.

What Lies Behind US Messianism

John Pittman — Politburo member,
Central Committee, Communist Party USA

MESSIANISM is a traditional strain in the ideology of US ruling circles. It is the assertion of the historic mission and absolute rightness of these circles' expansionist aspirations. It has been and still is a rationale for their attempts to conquer, subjugate and exploit other peoples.

Messianic arguments emerged during the colonial period and early years of the US Republic. The propertied circles — merchants, money-lenders and slaveowners — employed them to deflect the farmers, workers and artisans in the class conflicts of that time, and to gain the colonist masses' aid in suppressing rebellions of the African slaves and exterminating the resisting aboriginal Indian peoples.

During the class struggles of the ensuing decades the bourgeoisie and slaveowners claimed sole credit for the concessions to democracy wrung from them by the workers and farmers, and feigned patriotic pride in the course of events. When monopoly displaced free competition and ushered in the imperialist stage of US capitalism at the turn of the century, messianism became a basic element of US nationalism, great power chauvinism and jingoism. Embedded in the consciousness of the US masses, during the last half of the present century it has become a premise of US pretensions to global hegemony and its bellicose anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

Such pretensions, coupled with brazenly announced intentions and openly flaunted preparations for destroying the socialist world and the people's movements for national liberation and independence, exacerbate international tensions, which is especially dangerous at this moment of the nuclear age. The incumbent US administration is trying to justify its policies by invoking the ideas of the Revolutionary War of the eighteenth century and to claim the sanction of an allegedly divinely inspired morality. Illustrative of these efforts was the February 1985 speech in San Francisco of Secretary of State George Shultz who, elaborating on ideas stated by President Reagan, declared that the US should be the leader of the "free world". Shultz' reaffirmation, in the context of the inflammatory situation in Central America and the Caribbean, of US imperialism's right of intervention wherever and whenever it chooses, points up the necessity for explaining to the global peace forces the origins, and development of messianism, its place in US imperialism's ideological arsenal, and the ways to combat it.

US messianism began as an attempt by the propertied classes to justify the atrocities committed during US capitalism's period of primitive accumulation. Claims of racial and cultural superiority were promulgated to defend the brutalities of chattel slavery and the genocidal wars against the Indians. Such claims facilitated the falsification of the cruelties bred of greed and rapacity, transformed them into acts of charity and virtue, sanctioned by religious doctrines. As such they became incorporated in the social practice and moral codes of the colonists. These birthmarks of messianism became deeply and inefaceably rooted in the political ideology and morality of the US ruling circles.

The early English and Dutch colonists employed violence and fraud to dispossess the Indians. As Indian resistance grew, the notion spread among the colonists that the only "good" Indian was a dead Indian. According to the English historian Arnold Toynbee, the English colonists involved biblical texts to substantiate their claims to being a "chosen people" divinely commissioned to exterminate the "infidels". Among the Puritans this idea was particularly strong.¹

Writing of this period of US capitalist development, Karl Marx heaped scorn on the hypocritical apologists of slavery and the despoliation of the Indian peoples. He wrote

that "even in colonies properly so-called, the Christian character of accumulation did not belie itself. Those sober virtuosi of Protestantism, the Puritans of New England, in 1703, by decrees of their assembly set a premium of 40 pounds on every Indian scalp and every captured red-skin; in 1720 a premium of 100 pounds on every scalp; in 1744... the following prices: for a male scalp of twelve years and upwards 100 pounds (new currency), for a male prisoner 105 pounds, for women and children prisoners, 50 pounds, for scalps of women and children, 50 pounds."²

The dispossession of the Indian peoples was a constant feature of US capitalist development throughout the entire period of colonisation and during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Vestiges of such measures persist to this very day. Of their original holdings of 3,026,789 square miles at the time of the first European invasions, Indians now retain territories totalling only 81,750 square miles. These, located in more than 250 federally recognised land units reserved for Indians, are objects today of state-monopoly efforts to seize their mineral, forestry and winter resources.

Similar falsifications and hypocrisy were used to defend the institution of chattel slavery when it was applied in the middle of the seventeenth century to the African labourers. The debasing, dehumanising consequences of this system were depicted as beneficial for both the slaves and the non-slaveowning whites as well as for the slaveowners.

As in the treatment of the Indians, the ideologues among the ruling groups of the colonists spent much effort in denying the human character of the Africans. Bishop George Berkeley, the Irish philosopher, is reported to have testified in 1731 that the US slaveholders had "an irrational contempt of the blacks, as creatures of another species, who had no right to be instructed or admitted to the sacraments".³

In the process of US capitalism's expansion over the entire area now embracing the continental USA's 48 states the doctrine of "Manifest Destiny", asserting the divinely ordained mission of US capitalism to expand and lead the rest of the world, made its appearance. Although a portion of the acquisitions during this period was obtained through purchases and deals, most of the total was annexed under the slogan of "Manifest Destiny" in wars of aggression and conquest. In fact, "Manifest Destiny" became a summons to aggressive war, a summons dripping with hypocrisy and appeals to cupidity.

The slaveowners were among the most zealous promoters of the "Manifest Destiny" drive. They spearheaded it during the 1830-1850s against the Indians and neighbouring countries. Andrew Jackson, another slaveowner who became US President, speculated in Indian lands, gained notoriety as an "Indian fighter", led "search-and-destroy" expeditions against Indian settlements and dispossessed the Indians of the eastern states by forcible removal.

A US Marxist historian wrote that the expansionism of the slave-South was intense and notorious. "It helped precipitate war with Mexico in the 1840s, a rather unpopular war outside the South; it helped account for filibustering assaults against Nicaragua a little later; for the diplomatic pronouncement by three US Ministers in Europe that Cuba should belong to the United States and not to Spain; and for the naval expedition financed by the US government through the Amazon Valley region of Brazil, with an eye to weighing its possibilities as a base for an extended slave empire."⁴

The slaveowners' expansionism ended in the fiasco of defeat by the Union forces, consisting mainly of the working class of the North and West and of the runaway slaves, and President Lincoln's proclamation emancipating the slaves. Yet this was not the case with the messianic postulates which the slaveowners invented to destigmatise the odious system of chattel slavery. They survive to this very day as a rationale for the racist system of segregation and discrimination.

The war for independence and US capitalism's expansionist activities broadened the content of messianism. The victory had accelerated progress towards nationhood and laid the basis of a national market. It had crowned the first anti-colonial war against

the most powerful country of the world. It had promulgated for the first time, as Marx noted, "the idea of one great democratic republic" and "the first Declaration of the Rights of Man".⁵

Compared to the feudal conditions and institutions of the European homelands of the colonists, the revolutionary democratic heritage bequeathed to succeeding generations encouraged feelings of pride and gratification. The heritage included both the material gains and opportunities awaiting exploitation in the new world, the historically new political doctrines elaborating principles of democracy and humanism.

Foremost among the latter were the right of nations to self-determination; popular sovereignty as the basis of government, the purpose of which is to secure the "inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" with which all men are equally endowed; and the right and duty of revolution and the institution of a new government whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends.⁶

The Revolutionary War eliminated the last vestiges of feudalism. The workers, farmers and artisans who had borne the brunt of the war and formed its motive force, amplified the democratic, humanistic content of the revolutionary heritage in the subsequent class struggle and sought to ensure its permanence through the sanction of the law. They forced the incorporation in the Constitution of ten amendments, the Bill of Rights, to facilitate the implementation of the principles of the Declaration of Independence.

However, the bourgeois and landowning circles who headed the revolutionary forces in the war, including the slaveowning interests in particular, succeeded in stamping their imprint of elitism and class exclusiveness and narrow-mindedness on the Constitution. They seized all the main political and economic positions in the new Republic and framed the Constitution and the laws in conformity with their determination to maintain their subordination of the working people and their intentions to pursue policies of profit-making and self-aggrandisement. Their notion of human rights was shown by the exclusion of 600,000 Afro-Americans, 3000,000 Indians, all women and indentured male workers from the benefits accorded citizens by the Constitution. This meant a majority of the population at that time was rightless.

The farmers of the 1787 Constitution transformed the Declaration's designated human rights into a caricature and used their version of "human rights" to assert the superiority of the new republic over the feudal states of Europe. Such superiority, they argued, endowed them with the right and responsibility to facilitate the replacement of such feudal regimes by bourgeois democratic societies. This was another formulation of messianism.

The idea of the superior attributes and advantages of the United States struck deep roots in the ideology of the ruling circles and augmented the nationalistic feeling of the masses. It fed and in turn was fed by US capitalism's expansionist tendencies. After the slaveowners' defeat in the Civil War, US exceptionalism became a cardinal feature of US ideology. It developed swiftly under the influence of US capitalism's rapid growth. The propertied classes glorified its specific peculiarities, absolutised US "exceptionalism" and idealised the US bourgeois-democratic system.

These political constructions of the US ruling elite became constituent elements of messianism, with increasingly adverse consequences for US working people and those of other countries. Assimilation of the concept of US exceptionalism by the mass consciousness of working people facilitated their psychological subjugation and manipulation. It became easier to persuade the workers of the non-existence of classes and class struggle, and of the essential identicalness of the interests of the workers and the interests of the employing owners of the means of production. One of the most serious results for the US working class movement was the repudiation and rejection by a number of its entrenched and influential leaders of the principles of working class internationalism.

The debut of US imperialism in the war against Spain for the redivision of the world launched a new expansionist phase accompanied by the addition of more constituent elements of messianism. By the turn of the century US imperialism had extended its sphere of influence to the former Spanish colonies in Central America, the northern part of South America and established strategic domination of the Caribbean including veiled control — a prototype of neocolonialist domination — over Cuba.

Says a US Marxist analyst of US imperialism's development, "The war against Spain was just the beginning. The subject peoples over whom the war was fought were not interested in having their British or Spanish exploiters replaced by Wall Street exploiters. In order to profit fully from their venture, the new masters engaged in wars of conquest or armed intervention against the peoples of the Philippines, Mexico, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Nicaragua, Panama, Haiti, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Costa Rica, Honduras, and China."⁷

The twentieth century bears witness to the efforts of US imperialism to satisfy its inherent insatiable appetite. Expansion in wartime, and expansion in peacetime; expansion by the ownership of entire countries and their governments through the export of capital and the power of transnational monopolies. All this led to the creation of the world's largest empire in history, an economic and financial empire based on armed force.

As of now, 119 countries have been forced or bribed to accommodate garrisons of US armed forces,⁸ and 30 of these have surrendered parts of their territory for establishing one or more US military bases.

The acquisition of the world's largest empire ever, and the transformation of the USA into a permanent warfare state could not have taken place without the development of persuasive explanations to gain and hold the population's acquiescence or support. For this purpose the content of messianism was broadened and adapted to suit changing tactics and needs.

Exceptionalism itself is a many-faceted ideological principle, subsuming other associated ideas. Economic optimism, or belief in the eternal existence of capitalism; the fetishisation of technology, or the conviction that any problem, mechanical or social, could be solved by a suitable gadget; and most dangerous of all, the belief that the USA is military invincible — these ideas and notions were interrelated and integrated in the concept of exceptionalism, and added substance to messianism.

The socialist revolution of October 1917 in Russia delivered the first traumatising blow to the ideology of US messianism. Then the emergence of the world socialist system and the sweep of decolonisation following the defeat of the fascist juggernaut, mainly by the Soviet people and their armed forces, accentuated the myopic perception of reality by the US ruling elite.

The increasingly severe cyclical crises and the new multiform structural crisis, both resulting from the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, threw confusion in the ranks of capitalism's pundits. More serious for the working masses and their adherence to messianic illusions, however, was the ensuing mass unemployment, deprivation and hunger. If the number of millionaires mounted above the half-million figure by 1984, the number of pauperised and destitute members of the multinational, multiracial, male-female, old and young workforce could be estimated at above 50 million.

The military fiascos in Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and the Bay of Pigs in Cuba shattered the myth of US military invincibility even against far less numerous and less developed countries. Added to these debacles of the US ruling elite's policies were President Nixon's forcible suppressions of the ghetto rebellions and Indian demands, his outrageous and criminal activities uncovered by the Watergate exposes, and his forces abdication to escape impeachment.

So alarming to the powerful was the evidence of mass discontent and outrage, that the Rockefeller-directed Trilateral Commission authorised a study entitled *The Crisis of Democracy*, which attributed the growing disaffection of the masses to an "excess of

democracy" and demanded more abridgements of the people's liberties.

The trilateralist screed's admission of widespread discontent and alienation was also a confession of the failure of messianism longer to direct the consciousness of the masses in support of the monopolies' policies, especially their foreign policies seeking global hegemony. For the fear of thermonuclear incineration ignited by these policies of intervention and confrontation overwhelmed the traditional lure of benefits from expansionism and its messianic cover. The forced negation of messianism became manifested when in the early 1970s the more realistic sector of monopoly capital accepted the Soviet Union's advocacy of military and strategic parity as the basis of equal security of both powers, and agreed to a normalisation of relations that promoted detente.

In the latter half of the 1970s, however, by a shift in the correlation of the top groups of monopoly capital and main corporate recipients of military contracts had taken the leading policy-making posts. The ascendancy of the military in the financial-industrial complex, and the insensate greed for profits of the giant banks, monopolies, conglomerates and transnationals linked with the military, checked the process of detente and revived the policies of intervention and confrontation.

The revival of these policies called also for a revitalisation of messianism. President Carter responded with a bow to "morality" and a campaign for "human rights" which, aimed against the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, plumbed new depths of falsification and hypocrisy.

Officials of the current US administration bettered this. They employed an assembly of myths and discredited falsehoods to invent both a present military threat from the Soviet Union and a demonology which attributed all the existing problems and concerns of the USA to the Soviet Union and communism. Today, messianism is intended to justify the preparation for waging and winning a thermonuclear war to destroy existing socialism, first and foremost the Soviet Union. That is a foolhardy fantasy from start to finish. Today's messianism is also designed to win popular support for US imperialism's increasingly brazen interference in the countries of Central and South America, the Caribbean, Africa, Asia and the Middle East.

Although they are the source of growing impoverishment and deprivation in the less developed countries, and of real peril to the peoples of all countries, including the US people, these policies are highly lucrative for US bankers and corporation owners. The profits of the so-called defence contracting monopolies are double those of US industries in general.⁹

Yet, the current version of messianism masking US monopoly capitalism's drive for global hegemony with bellicose anti-Sovietism and anti-communism has no realisable prospects. The near country-wide popularity of a freeze on the production, testing and deployment of nuclear weapons, the increasing massiveness of demonstrations, marches and rallies for peace and against continued US preparations for a nuclear first strike, bear witness that the US masses — as the Communist Party points out again and again — are more and more militantly demanding an end to the policies of intervention and confrontation and a revival of policies of detente.

¹ See Thomas F. Gossett, *Race: The History of an Idea in America*, Schocken Books, New York, 1970, p. 25.

² Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1, Progress Publishers, Moscow, p. 705.

³ Thomas Gossett, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

⁴ Herbert Aptheker, *The Unfolding Drama*, International Publishers, New York, 1979, p. 89.

⁵ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, in three volumes, Vol. 2, p. 22.

⁶ See Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilisation*, Vol. 1, Macmillan, New York, 1945, pp. 239-240.

⁷ Victor Perlo, *American Imperialism*, International Publishers, New York, 1951, p. 13.

⁸ Michael Parenti, *Democracy for the Few*, New York, 1983, p. 107.

⁹ *International Herald Tribune*, April 10, 1985, p. 9.

An Expose Behind a Mask of Decency

Alexander Krivitsky — Soviet author

AS I read about the Pentagon's new nuclear strategy I ponder the nature of a maniac.

A person addicted to a mania cannot respond to reasonable arguments. I believe that in many respects this applies to those who are today in the grip of military hysteria. While brandishing new or the latest weapons, they are constantly shouting about the sanctity of "human rights", which they are allegedly championing in this way. Normal people, including some columnists of bourgeois newspapers, look askance at the improvisations in which militarism is presented in a setting of stereotype arguments to prove that it is justified. Understandably, in such cases journalists often ask those they interview what the latter see as unpalatable questions.

Let's take, say, a dialogue between a correspondent and the US President. The former wants a clear reply to whether Reagan in fact advocates the overthrow of the present government in Nicaragua as can be deduced from his poorly veiled hints. But instead of a direct answer he gets the usual tirade about alleged violations of freedom and democracy in that country, about the Somoza followers and mercenaries wanting to restore the goals of the revolution. The conclusion is: "We intend to try and help them" (the counter-revolutionaries — *A.K.*). Does that mean, the correspondent persisted in an effort to get to the essence of the matter, that the US administration is seeking to replace the lawful government in Nicaragua with some other form of administration? And again a streamlined reply: "Not if the present government would turn around. . ."¹

Nonetheless, the intention is as clear as day. The threat to Nicaragua's independence is absolutely unequivocal. If not, then why the double-talk totally bereft of what is actually meant. The only purpose of this is to provide a cover, a screen for the actual intentions relative to Nicaragua: to repeat the Grenada scenario, to undertake an armed intervention through, if possible, proxies.

The most interesting things that come out of such dialogues in interviews or press conferences are, in my opinion, the questions rather than the answers because they are fast and binding. There are standard pseudo-arguments on various subjects. In respect of democracy — that it is inseparable from the "free" capitalist system, without which there neither is nor can be democracy. In respect of the USA's defence capability — the assertion that is supposed to be appreciated by everybody, namely, that there must be superiority to discourage the Russians from dropping a nuclear bomb on the USA.

But do the authors of these arguments believe them? An interviewer asked Caspar W. Weinberger: "I should like to ask the Defence Secretary whether he really believes that the Russians would drop a bomb on us first — I have in mind not a conventional but a nuclear bomb?"

The answer followed:

"The point is not in what I really believe."

We need go no further. Deep in his heart Weinberger, of course, does not believe that there is such a threat to the USA. From published Soviet statements he knows that the Soviet union has renounced the first use of nuclear weapons. But, like Reagan, the Defence Secretary cannot abandon the set of verbiage churned out on a conveyor: "freedom", "democracy", "defence of values" and so forth.

"Defence of values". . . In the interview I have mentioned the correspondent notes that to justify the build-up of the US defence capability Weinberger goes so far as to argue that without such a build-up no economic progress is possible. If such and such military hardware is not produced, unemployment will rise and the flow of tax revenue

to the exchequer will diminish.

Experts have proved long ago that this is demagoguery pure and simple because growing civilian production provides a much larger increment of jobs. The White House used this demagoguery to sell the shoddy belief that preparations for war are a profitable business. It is claimed that without it there will be an economic recession.

In this manner they are tormenting the American man-in-the-street, whispering, forcing a militarist morality upon him. In this way attempts are made to give out the interests of the military corporations for the common interests of the people.

Of course, all these arguments are thickly garnished with slander against the Soviet Union, with threats against countries that refuse to bow to US dictation, with laudation of the American way of life. For the sake of the latter they are making startling "discoveries" in world history. For example, US Secretary of State George P. Shultz declared that the first-ever representative government, i.e., a government representing the people, came into being in the USA a little over 200 years ago. But everybody knows that the very concept of people's representation, in other words, "democracy", was born in ancient Athens, and since then antique Greece has been regarded as the mother of the idea of power by the people. But now they are finding that it originated in the Western Hemisphere.

The Secretary of State publicly recarves the frontiers of European nations. In San Francisco he said that the USA would never recognise Europe's artificial division into free and non-free nations. This had nothing whatever to do with frontiers, he said, and wholly concerned ideas and the methods of administration. In other words, frontiers are no obstacle to changing the ideas and methods of administration in other countries.

Such statements in fact call for the destabilisation of the situation in Afghanistan, Cuba, Vietnam, Kampuchea, and the European socialist countries. And, of course, when offensive weapons are deployed in outer space words of the same kind may evidently be spoken with reference to the USSR as well.

Let us note once again that the bellicose rhetoric and calls have of course, a stuffing composed of words about "peace" and "democracy". Is this something new? By no means. Karl Marx wrote of Lord Russell, Britain's Colonial Secretary in the mid-nineteenth century: "Enthusiasm for war and yearning for peace — all of them were but false pretences for Lord John Russell."²

People driven by militarist frenzy dig up preposterous pretexts and arguments to justify nuclear war, contending that they are proponents only of limited nuclear clashes. And they try to depict such wars even as an alternative to detente despite the fact that in the prevailing situation there are no such alternatives at all. Among knowledgeable military men the reality of such "limited" clashes only evokes an ironic smile: if anybody, they know that every type of weapon has its own logic. In a nuclear war "limitations" are not codified. Also aware of this, the White House edges its unconvincing statements with a string of reservations. In the White House they unquestionably acknowledge the probability that if a limited exchange of nuclear strikes takes place it may trigger the use of all-destroying intercontinental missiles.

But then what is in general the sense of the term "limited nuclear war"? It's only sense is that it allows for an easier manipulation of public opinion. This term has at least two independently targetable propaganda warheads. The target of one is to confuse the Americans themselves offering them the illusory prospect of a possible extraterritoriality in a nuclear war — that if, after all, things boil down to a "limited" war? The target of the other is to accustom the West Europeans to nuclear insanity. Perhaps, they would then not shy away from the "elder brother", who is brandishing intermediate-range missiles.

The character and scale of wars have changes with the development of the technical means of fighting wars. War clubs are found in prehistoric caves. In the clashes of those times the victor was he who was physically stronger, was able to jump higher, and could hop away quicker. But then a combination of a pliant branch, an animal tendon,

and a thin stick became a new weapon: the bow and arrow. It obviated the need for drawing close for a hand-to-hand fight. An enemy could be killed from a distance, from the cover of a tree or a boulder. The new weapon generated a new battle tactic.

The arming of troops with weapons of ever greater power of annihilation allowed striking at an enemy from ever longer distances. The sinister atomic mushroom appeared on the horizon at the close of the Second World War. The US bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki signified the final erasure of the distinction between the firing lines and the areas behind them.

Now the entire territory of a potential enemy is in advance divided into targets, near and far. An entire warring country now becomes the infrastructure of the front; more, the concept of theatre of hostilities extends in theory and, I would say, in practice to the whole world.

But has the perfection of armaments not been accompanied by a change in social relations, by a growth of the forces prepared to oppose war? Naturally, both these processes are to be observed.

In the days of the cave-man, when with a deafening roar one of our ancestors attacked another with a club, there were no concepts of individuality, law, and mutual security. The struggle was to the death, for biological survival, for a patch of pasture, for hunting grounds. Man in the animal's skin did not yet even dream of principles of humanism. Then came the laws of King Hammurapi, laws that were harsh but nonetheless constituted an attempt to distinguish between good and evil. Subsequently, there followed antique philosophy with its awareness of the unity of the world and its desire, as Marx put it, to see every object without its cover, in the pure light of its nature. The early Christian martyrs were heard exhorting man to love his neighbour as himself, but these exhortations were later perverted by clericals. The colours of the Renaissance shone brightly after the darkness of the middle Ages. Then began the ascent of the young bourgeoisie, which toppled the idols of feudalism and replaced them with their own. Capitalism began to assert its supremacy in the world with sword and fire. In the icy water of egoistical calculations it drowned humankind's great hopes.

A real hope for genuine humanisation of human relations came only with the appearance of the scientific theory of social justice. It won the minds of millions, developed into a material force, and led to the birth of the Soviet state. In vain did the world of proprietors try to strangle it in its cradle. That world had to recognise the USSR first *de facto* and then *de jure*. After the Second World War, when the community of socialist nations came into being, it became clear to all realistically-minded people, in the world that the new system could not be broken. I am speaking of realistically-minded people not of myopic conservatives. The latter still cannot accept the legitimacy of the ideology of socialism, and are afraid of peaceful coexistence. Those who are running amok consider that nothing less than a war can halt the process of the world's social renewal. But now, we repeat, it is their notion that war is inconceivable without nuclear weapons.

They got these notions back in 1945. Atomic bombs were designated not only and not so much to intimidate Japan. They were tested in order to target them later on socialism. In this situation the Soviet Union could not afford to remain idle. In response to the threat it was compelled to develop its own atomic bomb and achieve nuclear equilibrium. It never regarded this situation as the only desirable one and immutable. It regarded and still regards it as a possible point of departure for a process developing in the opposite direction, namely, towards disarmament, towards the outlawing of war as a means of settling conflicts between nations. Time and again it suggested that the USA join it to veto various modifications of the nuclear weapon and the creation of new types of such weapons.

But in Washington they thought and are still thinking of something quite different — namely, of how to change the nuclear balance in their favour. However, a change of

the nuclear balance and the striving for superiority and the possession of a "superweapon" are a threat to humankind's existence, a threat bandied by politicians with rotting brains and generals who have lost their wits. True, they and their patrons expect that they will survive in deep shelters costing tens and hundreds of millions of dollars. These expectations are likewise unmistakable indications that they are running amok.

Heinrich Heine wittily remarked that the Trojan War was packaged in the egg hatched by Leda (in Greek mythology, the mother by Zeus, who is fabled to have come to her in the shape of a swan, of Helen, over whom this war was supposed to have started). It is doubtful if any of the American militarists bears any resemblance to the antique Leda. But their policy is precisely the hawk's "egg" of nuclear war, which they are assiduously hatching. Have they themselves any idea of what this may produce?

A nuclear war is inconceivable. Such is the logical viewpoint of the majority of people on the five continents. But the leaders in Washington are trying to move them away from this view, to put in circulation the idea that such a war is permissible. They are now calming Americans with the assurance that the USA's expected losses would be several tens of millions of lives less than the more than a hundred million estimated formerly. True, a billion figured in acknowledged estimates not very long ago. They are bandying these figures about as though talking not of millions of human lives but of metres of cloth.

World opinion has called such computations blasphemous. But there at once appeared further directives from the White House that speak of "retargeting" nuclear strikes from cities to "selective targets", to "strictly military" installations. Here again the calculation is to "reassure" people: see how solicitous we are — we want to fight a nuclear war "according to the book" and are inviting everybody to follow our example. Only the enemy's missile installations, factories, and military headquarters will evaporate or be incinerated. The enemy will act in the same way, and everything will be O.K. A nuclear war is not so terrible, after all. Revolution and the national liberation movements, that entire horrible Marxist internationalism, are much more terrifying.

But it is impossible to lay down the "rules" for a nuclear war. No rules were observed in World War II either. The Nazis did not ask for permission when they started the mass annihilation of people. Nor did the British and Americans coordinate with them the actions of their air forces, which towards the very close of the Second World War destroyed, for instance, Dresden, for which there was no need at all. Operating in three waves, 1,400 aircraft razed 36,000 buildings in the city and killed 135,000 people. The city was in the zone into which Soviet troops were entering.

I was in Dresden soon after that bombing. In a moonlit night we threaded our way between the ruins and suddenly in the strange, deafening, ringing silence we heard somebody singing. This took us by surprise and we began moving in the direction of the singing, lighting our way with a flashlight. We suddenly saw an elderly woman in black rags. She was sitting on a stone amidst the ruins of the Zwinger palace that housed (and now again houses) a world-famous picture gallery. In front of her was a gramophone on which a record was turning, and a caressing voice was singing "Ave Maria".

After the Second World War the US military-state machine compellingly demonstrated time and again how it is disposed to spare civilians. Fragmentation bombs with a large dispersal radius and the devouring flame of napalm that burned villages to the ground in Vietnam did not improve the nations of the level of virtue and humanism of the USA's rulers. Possibly, in Washington when they speak of a "limited" nuclear war they have in mind a situation in which US missiles will strike at the Soviet Union from Western Europe, in order to enable the USA to escape a retaliatory strike. But in such a situation it would be natural to regard the territory of countries that deployed missiles as military bases of the power across the ocean. Does

this not increase the probability that the grief-stricken mentally-tormented figure of a woman listening to the strains of "Ave Maria" amid ruins may become the symbol of the whole of Western Europe?

Further, the proponents of the Pentagon's "new nuclear strategy" are declaring that today in this "competition" they will strike with *more accuracy* than the adversary, which means they will garner more points. This also should evidently be seen as a sedative for the man-in-the-street. But such cheap propaganda merchandise has nothing in common with a serious approach to the problem. In this context it is worth recalling that William Perry, a former US Undersecretary of Defence in charge of scientific and technological research, explained that there was no superaccurate weapon technically superior to what was available to the adversary. The latter would find an antidote to every "sophisticated" system. Neither the "invisible aircraft", which is no more than a strategic bomber detectable only at a short distance from the target, nor the "transparent ocean" system based on non-acoustic means of detecting noiseless submarines, nor other innovations appearing with high-sounding names designed for propaganda can, according to Perry, therefore give superiority to the US Armed Forces.

The answers of this military expert, it would seem, are sober and serious. But the self-same Perry is a rabid exponent of shifting the nuclear balance in the USA's favour. Why? The answer probably is that people of this sort in the morning acknowledge there is military parity with the USSR, in the course of the day they deny it, in the evening they demand superiority, and at night they see the dreams of a Caesar and placards at US Armed Forces recruiting centres with the slogan: "The Earth Is an American Planet."

The Pentagon's latest plans, the so-called Star Wars, are likewise a pure gamble. The aim is to "blind" the adversary, in other words, to destroy his satellite "eyes", subject his territory to nuclear attacks, and then, from space platforms, destroy his retaliatory missiles while they are still in flight. It is expected that the other side, that is, the USSR will sit with folded hands.

It seems that in the Pentagon they are counting on "what if". What if some new weapon, this time a space weapon, will make it possible to tilt the nuclear balance in their favour for a long time. But in the USSR they remember a behest of Lenin's, who said that a revolution is worth something only if it is able to defend itself. The Soviet Union will not permit military superiority over it.

A thirst for world supremacy motivates the spread of militarist mania in the USA. US imperialism is proclaiming that the whole of our planet is its sphere of vital interests. It wants to be in command in all parts of the world, as a millionaire on his ranch. But the people living in the twentieth century want nobody to dominate them. They are countering the spectre of nuclear war, which its advocates try to bring to materialisation, with a powerful peace movement. This movement is helping to disperse militarist delirium on our planet more and more effectively.

Indeed, it cannot be expected that today everybody will lose their heads as happened with a certain Mr. Calhoun Kidd in a Glibert Chesterton story. Kidd represented in Britain a major American newspaper *Western Sun* or *Rising Sunset*, as it was called in jest. This was hinted at Mr. Kidd's statement to the press that he expected the sun to rise in the west after all, if only the Americans acted with more energy.

The hankering to compel the sun to rise in the west is evidently implicit in the present-day militarists as well. Small wonder that they are so set on changing the political map of the world. But the sun goes on rising where it has done through the centuries. And the light of truth continues to come from where policy is not dictated by those who are spurred by a mania for war.

Building Up the Vanguard Force

Trevor Munroe – General Secretary,
Workers' Party of Jamaica (WPJ)

THE Third Congress of the Workers' Party of Jamaica took place on schedule, in Kingston, between December 13th and 16th, 1984, three years after the Second Congress and on the sixth anniversary of the founding of the party.

The Congress opened in an atmosphere made tense by national and regional events which took place on the eve of its convening. On the domestic front, the National Security Minister of the Seaga government, the staunchest ally of Reagan in the Caribbean, launched an outrageous and slanderous allegation on national radio and television, falsely ascribing to the Workers' Party and other left elements in the People's National Party (PNP) responsibility for recent acts of terrorism and criminal violence. The transparent aim, which failed, was to stir up anti-communist and anti-revolutionary prejudices amongst the masses and destabilise the Party's Third Congress.

In the external sphere, the Congress followed hot on the heels of Reagan's re-election and took place in the context of the emboldenment of reaction which followed therefrom. One manifestation of the renewed brazenness of reaction was the open financial and organisational backing — amounting to further gross interference in internal Caribbean politics — given by Reagan and Seaga to the Grenadian New National Party in the sham elections held on December 3rd, 1984 under conditions of continued military occupation.

Nevertheless, the Central Committee of the Workers' Party assessed that the needs of the Jamaican people and of the party required the Congress to take place within the time limit set by the party's Rules — a judgement vindicated by its successful conclusions. Neither was the unfavourable situation allowed to weaken the inner-party democracy in the preparations leading up to the Congress. Up and down the country the different organs of the party met (in October and November) and discussed extensively the draft documents scheduled to come before the Congress. Numerous valuable suggestions arose out of these meetings, and important amendments were made to the Draft of the Central Committee's Report, ensuring that it expressed the collective will of the party. The unanimous approval which the Report therefore received at the Congress represented the culmination of a long process of debate prior to and during the Congress, and included elements of criticism and self-criticism.

During the Congress, 250 delegates representing 84 per cent¹ of those accredited from all sections of the party came together in the deliberations held on the Mona Campus of the University of the West Indies, along with representatives from 16 Communist and workers' parties, revolutionary and progressive organisations. As regards those who were unable to attend, the Congress was pleased to receive greetings from 31 other parties and organisations.

The composition of the local delegates is of interest, particularly in the light of the party's youthfulness and its recent origins primarily in the revolutionary intelligentsia. Workers constituted 32.4 per cent of the delegates — up from 23.1 per cent at the Second Congress (1981), and reflecting some advance in the party's policy of proletarianising its composition. The relative youthfulness of the country's population revealed itself in the fact that 45.7 per cent of delegates were 30 years of age and under. However, the growing connection of the party with older sections of the population was also shown in the fact that two and a half times as many delegates were drawn from the over-30 age group at the Third Congress as compared to the Second Congress (54.3 per cent against 22.3 per cent). Of note as well, in relation to the developing vanguard characteristics of the Workers' Party, were the large number of delegates

(approximately 45 per cent) who were leaders of one sort or another — in trade unions, youth clubs, as well as other mass organisations of the people. Over one half of the delegates had experienced some form of persecution, including unjust detentions, dismissals from employment and police harassments under the Seaga regime — a testimony to the party being increasingly steeled under conditions of reaction.

One innovation at the Third Congress was the presence, in addition to party members who were accredited delegates, of scores of accredited observers drawn from a wide range of non-party bodies and national personalities, in one way or another closely linked to the party but not as yet passing into membership, even though forming vital immediate organised reserves. Through this form, a cross-section of party supporters were being acquainted with genuine, Leninist democratic centralism. This had a powerful impact in undermining the residue of anti-communist prejudices regarding the Leninist party as "elitist", in drawing a sharp line between the communist democracy of the Leninist Congress and the undemocratic substance of the conferences of the reactionary and reformist parties. In keeping with the expectations of the Central Committee, many an observer is passing into the ranks of party membership that now lingering doubts have been cleared up.

The Congress closed with a successful mass rally, attended by over 5,000 working people, in Kingston's National Arena, during which the delegations of the CPSU, the Communist Party of Cuba and other foreign guests were warmly welcomed by the audience.

As could be expected, the Third Congress of the Workers' party had to come to grips with a number of central questions. The issue of peace received considerably attention. In their speeches from the floor, delegates were highly appreciative of the improvement of the party's work in the area of raising awareness of the centrality of the struggle for peace and against war, especially following the deserved self-criticism on this issue registered in the Central Committee Report to the Second Congress. Particularly noteworthy as well were the expressions of approval in the debate of the assessment in the Central Committee Report which stated: "The Soviet Union, keeping military-strategic parity with the United States, has been and remains a main means of helping to ensure that imperialism will not start a nuclear holocaust in which all of us will be consumed. . . We along with all mankind must be thankful to the Soviet people for the sacrifices they make in maintaining this parity whilst consistently seeking ways of reducing the dangers of nuclear war."²

While expressing these positive sentiments, the Congress was by no means complacent, and directed that the party should strive to raise even higher the work around peace, urging "leaders of the party and other progressive organisations . . . to bring the struggle for peace into their day-to-day work amongst the masses, linking it more vividly with the day-to-day concerns of the working people".³

The acute aggravation of the situation in Central America and the Caribbean — especially the threat to Nicaragua and to Cuba posed by the Reagan administration's criminal and warmongering activity in the region — was of particular concern to delegates. "For our part," the CC Report declared, "we re-dedicate ourselves to the primary responsibility of the Caribbean and the Latin American people — the primary responsibility of solidarity with the Cuban Revolution, which represents the finest achievement of the Caribbean and Latin American peoples. We re-dedicate our solidarity with the embattled patriots in Central America, particularly in Nicaragua, facing imminent United States imperialist aggression . . ."⁴

Delegates, however, did not examine this dangerous regional and world situation in a spirit of pessimism or gloom, but rather with an approach of realism and scientific optimism, stressing, in the words of the Central Committee Report, that "to see the danger alone would be to see only one side of the picture. The intensification of that danger (posed by imperialism. — *T.M.*). . . represents a mad and vain response to the strength and example of socialism, to the undying efforts of the world's peoples,

including within the imperialist states themselves, to gain a better life, to free themselves from oppression."⁵ In that vein, the Congress noted that positive changes have taken place and were taking place — not least of all reflected in the return of the Reagan administration to nuclear and space weapons talks with the Soviet Union.

The question of Grenada received considerable attention from the Congress. The achievements of the people's revolution led by Maurice Bishop were recalled, particularly the strengthening of Grenada's national independence, the carrying through of democratic changes in the country's political life, and the advancement of socio-economic progress in the interest of the masses. It was not lost on delegates that these positive changes contrasted vividly with the conditions of working people throughout the region under reactionary or reformist regimes. Internationalists, including Jamaicans, had contributed noticeably to the construction of a new society in Grenada. Most of our internationalists were from the Workers's Party and many of them were present in the delegate body.

The Grenadian revolution is no more, having been crushed by the criminal US invasion and occupation. Grenada has been recolonised, with the result that all forms of oppression of its people are now worse than before the revolution.

However, delegates expressed satisfaction that "the hope of imperialism, the hope of reaction that the anti-imperialist movement in the Caribbean would be for ever divided and paralysed. . . these hopes have been dashed to pieces".⁶ Special note was made of the meeting of some 30 anti-imperialist organisations of Central American and Caribbean countries (Havana, June 1984), which, like the WPJ, condemned the US aggression and continued occupation of Grenada and called for solidarity with its people, including defence of their human rights, which have been violated by the servile puppet regime and its US masters.

The Third Congress was held under the slogan, "Elections now! Seaga must go!". This slogan summed up a necessity facing all classes of the Jamaican people — with the exception of the oligarchy — based on four years of experience of Seaga's pro-imperialist reactionary regime.

During the course of these four years, in accordance with the diktat of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and international capitalist financial interests, the Seaga government devalued the Jamaican dollar by 152 per cent; made drastic cutbacks in public spending on services and welfare for the working people; removed price and rent controls; opened up the national market to the multinationals; reduced taxation on the biggest American corporations exploiting the country's economy, particularly the bauxite/alumina companies; as well as privatised and alienated to big foreign and local capital areas of the economy previously under some government or social control.⁷

In return for selling out the country and subjecting its economy in this way, the IMF, the World Bank and Western "donor countries" — led by the Reagan administration — committed about one billion dollars to Jamaica between 1981 and 1984. However, the conditions accompanying this committal, and the backwardness of the country's productive forces and economic relations have meant that imperialism and reaction have gotten the worst of both worlds — the economy performed well below the IMF target of twelve per cent cumulative growth between 1981 and 1984; the three per cent growth reported by the Planning Institute for the 1981-1983 period was wiped out by a 3-4 per cent negative growth in 1984 alone.

At the same time as the growth targets have not been achieved, the conditions of the majority of the people have rapidly worsened. The workers have found that their wage increases have fallen more and more behind rises in the cost of living, with price increases running at a rate of 35-40 per cent in 1983-1984, with many in the order of 100 per cent — as has been the case with electricity, basic foods and animal feed. In addition, thousands of workers in the public sector have been laid off — with more to come, in accordance with the IMF agreement.

Unemployment remains at close to 30 per cent of the labour force, with less and less prospect — under the IMF programmes — of the public sector contributing to its reduction. Within this framework, the oppression on the youth and the young women has become particularly unbearable. The youth make up one-half of the unemployed, whereas the women are almost 70 per cent.

For the vast majority of farmers — 70 per cent of whom have to eke out a subsistence on less than five acres of land (average size of holding being 1.4 acres) — Seaga's policy has meant a rotting of produce in the ground as the domestic market has contracted. At the same time, agricultural inputs have increased considerably in price; infrastructure required by the farmers — e.g., rural feeder roads and water supplies — have deteriorated, and seconds from the multinationals provide unfair competition for the small farmer.

The middle strata, too, have been hit by Seaga's programme: the vast bulk of professional and semi-professional people — teachers, nurses, civil servants, lawyers — have found that salaries can no longer make two ends meet; that utility bills can hardly be paid; that rising mortgage rates make it increasingly impossible to look forward to owning a home. The national bourgeoisie — big, medium and small — have been hit by the IMF-Seaga imposition of restrictions on bank credit; the introduction of new taxes; constant devaluations which heighten the burden of debt on the private sector; rapidly rising interest rates; and a sharp fall in the purchasing power of the people.

Whilst imposing increasingly intolerable oppression on the backs of the masses, growing hardship on the middle strata, and more difficulties for the national bourgeoisie, Seaga's programme has meant unprecedented power and profits for the small oligarchy: the main banks — largely foreign-owned — increased their profits by over 240 per cent between 1981 and 1984; the biggest comprador firms and the largest exporting manufacturing capitalists, equally, have never had it so good. Whilst substantial sectors of the masses are reduced to one or two cooked meals per week, top bureaucrats, particularly expatriates, are afforded salaries and allowances sometimes running into US 10,000 dollars per month.

The Congress assessed that the Seaga government had little flexibility in this policy line, since the oligarchy is the dominant social force in the regime, and the current programmes admirably meet their economic interests. So long as the Seaga regime remains, therefore, no end is in sight to the increasing oppression.

The response of the masses has been in the main passive. This was expected, following the tremendous exertions of the working people in the near civil war accompanying the 1980 elections and the decisive defeat of the anti-imperialist movement which followed. In the period in between the Second and the Third Congresses, therefore, strikes, demonstrations, mass activity of all types, had declined. Reactionary tendencies — cultural, propaganda, ideological — grew spontaneously, as well as were strengthened consciously by Seaga's government. State organs, particularly the propaganda and security agencies, were placed under reactionary direction, with professional and liberal functionaries victimised.

These circumstances provided fertile ground for the development of cynicism and scepticism towards all political tendencies: Manley's reformism having been derailed; Seaga's reaction bringing unprecedented oppression; and the WPJ's relatively small size — despite growth — encouraging doubt about its ability to cope. An apolitical or even anti-political mood spread among nearly all social classes.

The Third Congress therefore called for particular attention to be paid to what the Central Committee Report described as "the strength of the middle-of-the-road tendency among the main social classes in the country". The Report assessed that this tendency drew political sustenance from Jamaican peculiarities: "the fear of Seaga and of the ruling circles with the recently added concern that Seaga would ask for the Reagan would give them full backing against the Jamaican people; the significant role

played by some (not all) religious activity which, in effect, encourages the working people to reconcile themselves to rather than resist oppression; the continuing turn towards migration from Jamaica; the expectation by the people that they can gain some redress through established channels, institutions and authorities even under Seaga; the prevailing lack of conviction in the ability of the PNP to manage Seaga and to deal effectively with the country's social/economic problems; finally, anti-revolutionary and anti-communist prejudices which hold back the people's turning to support the Workers' Party. These factors are real and come from the strength of the ruling class, the spread of petty capitalism in our country, as well as political traditions and recent experience. They have not prevented and are not, however, blocking the development of the rejection of Seaga. What they are doing is sustaining doubt regarding the alternative to Seaga, and slowing up the growth of active, mass forms of protest against the regime."⁸

However, the Congress did not rest at identifying the predominant tendency, nor at looking only at the surface of things as they prevailed at the given moment. The Central Committee Report spoke of "elements of a secondary tendency", the essence of which was resistance to Seaga's policy, of willingness to protest, of growing resolve to remove the regime. "The underlying basis of this tendency," the CC Report said, "is in the deepening crisis in the economic policy of the regime. The crisis does not rule out periods and sectors of stability, but the main line is going to be towards worsening of the conditions of the main social classes, towards weakening political support"⁹ in all sectors, including within the ruling circles, for Seaga, at the same time as strengthening the occasions for mass protests. In fact, a main conclusion of the Congress was that "more protests of the people are likely . . . The period of stable rule by Seaga is drawing to an end."¹⁰ Life itself was soon to prove the scientific objectivity of this central conclusion.

Exactly one month following the Congress, on January 15th and 16th, 1985, in response to a 2 per cent increase in the price of petroleum products, nation-wide mass protests — taking the form of thousands of road blocks and street blockades — broke out spontaneously. The most oppressed urban poor constituted the main force in the protests, particularly the women and the unemployed youth. However, the action aroused considerable sympathy and some practical support from the masses of workers, peasants and even the middle strata and sectors of the medium bourgeoisie. By and large, the people's action was disciplined; looting and burning were at a minimum, though the use of excessive force by some sectors of the Security Forces and some hostile JLP elements left seven people killed and a score or so injured.

Our party applied the tactics approved by the Congress, namely, to strengthen the protest activity of the masses whilst being careful not to overestimate the possibilities of specific episodes and, most of all, ensuring that the party does not become isolated from the still relatively non-revolutionary middle-of-the-road tendency in the country. Hence, party members and supporters gave active propaganda and practical support to the road blocks, but called for their termination when the balance of forces began to change against that form of action.

The Seaga regime was taken off guard by the popularity, aggressiveness and nation-wide character of the protests. Their ability to crush the people by force was initially weakened by considerable sympathy for the masses amongst wide sectors of the Security Forces. By the end of the second day, however, the regime moved to repair this weakness and to stamp on the masses — entirely consistent with the Congress assessment of the regime.

Equally consistent with these tactics had been the massive propaganda from the state media following the protests, attributing the people's spontaneous action to organised conspiracy by the PNP, the WPJ, and singing the familiar tune of subversion, sabotage from communist elements, etc. Nevertheless, in the wake of the nation-wide upsurge, Seaga had to concede that elections to the local council will be

held in 1985. "The sharper class struggles" — anticipated by the Third Congress — are already under way.

In this context, the main tasks set for the party by the Congress assume even greater urgency and importance. These are, firstly, to make the Workers' Party more working class, drawing more of the workers and peasants into its ranks, as well as promoting them within its structures. At the same time, this policy required continuing struggle with the negative traits of members from the middle strata within the party, mainly that of "careerism and insufficient confidence in the capabilities of the lower classes".

The Congress also determined that the mass work of the party needed to be strengthened, particularly amongst the trade unions and the women. In that latter regard, the struggle with male chauvinism in political organising techniques amongst the masses has to be redoubled. It has not been lost on the party leadership that the main force in the January nationwide upsurge has been in fact the most oppressed women.

The Congress was also correctly critical of some decline in the work amongst the youth. A major task set, therefore, was to repair this neglect and to renovate the Young Communist League as an active reserve of the party, with the support of the party leadership — particularly in preparations to expose the pro-imperialist youth conference in Jamaica, as well as to prepare for the Twelfth World Festival of Youth and Students in Moscow in August.

The Congress also assessed the state of the organised anti-imperialist movement, and set clear tasks for the party. The People's National Party undoubtedly remains the main mass force in the movement — even as its anti-imperialism has assumed a less democratic and more liberal character, expressing in the main the interests of the middle strata and patriotic elements of the national bourgeoisie. The left wing of that party has become much weakened within its ranks and, in some measure, has been removed from membership as well as leadership. The Workers' Party Congress set the task of strengthening the party's independence at the same time as doing "more to facilitate closer unity between the party and left forces inside and outside the PNP, finding ways and means at all levels of reducing differences with the PNP without sacrificing the independence of our party and the growth of the left".¹¹

In a non-revolutionary situation, with increasingly pre-revolutionary elements, the overall tactical line set by the Congress was to retain the defensive against a dangerous regional and local reaction, whilst at the same time increasing our preparedness to pass over to the offensive in keeping with the possibilities of the mass movement. The Congress directed that the struggle against sectarianism and to overcome abstract Marxism in sufficiently taking into account Jamaican and regional peculiarities was to infuse all aspects of party work.

A particularly important element in the immediate prospects is, of course, the imminence of local government elections, and possibly as well, national parliamentary elections. Whilst retaining and improving its capacity for all-round class struggle, special emphasis, therefore, is being put on raising the level of electoral preparedness. At this time, the party assesses that it will place candidates in seven-ten per cent of the national and local electoral divisions. The prospects of a good showing are fair, but these depend in some measure not only on the revival of mass anti-imperialist sentiment, but on the material means — particularly transport — which the party can muster for the electoral struggle.

Events are proving correct the realistic and balanced remarks which closed the Central Committee Report to the Third Congress: "We are undoubtedly entering a period of greater dangers as well as greater prospects for the advancement of the

movement of the Jamaican people against imperialism. Darker days may well come, but brighter ones are more possible that at the time of the Second Congress, and we must work actively towards them."¹²

¹ The remaining delegates were prevented from attending by arrests and other forms of reactionary provocation.

² *Workers Party of Jamaica. Report of the Central Committee to the Third Congress, 13th-16th December 1984.* Presented by Comrade Trevor Munroe, General Secretary WPJ, December 13, 1984, pp. 6-7.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁷ For details, see Trevor Munroe, "When the Oligarchy Is in Power", *WMR*, No. 3, 1983.

⁸ *Workers Party of Jamaica. Report. . .*, pp. 39-40.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 82 and 83.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

¹² *Ibid.*

the party

Annals of Courage It Was Not the Last Test

This story is based on letters which a young Turkish Communist has contrived to send to his comrades from behind bars. He is still being held by the reactionary regime of the country and so we withhold his name for obvious reasons. We know that fighting against the dictatorship like him are thousands of democrats and other patriots of Turkey, which the men behind the 1980 military coup have turned into a huge concentration camp with the blessing of the Washington advocates of "human rights".

His eyes were covered with a black bandage. Feeling a whiff of fresh air on his bruised and swollen face, he realised that he was being taken out of the building. When they came for him he thought it was only for the daily practice of torture. But why were they taking him to some other place? After all, here in the First Department¹ they had everything they needed. For a moment, a spark of hope flashed in his heart: was he being released? But the trial was not over yet. The hope faded. Still, where were they taking him to? Perhaps, like Comrade Deniz,² to a cemetery for those whose bodies no one could claim?

He felt the cool air right inside his body. It made him shiver. The voice of the man who had questioned him for ten days running said: "What's up? Are your knees shaking?" Speaking evidently to the man beside him, the same voice added: "Look how our brave man is scared. Shaking like a leaf in the wind. Maybe he's understood what he is in for. What did you think chap? You thought you could play a game with the police, didn't you? We shall now get even with you".

He was listening silently, suffering because it was more than he could do to stop shivering. "They mustn't imagine I believe them," he told himself. "It looks as if they are trying to blackmail me because they couldn't get anything out of me by torture." But he could not stop thinking that perhaps this was the end. He had been bracing himself to meet any blow, including death, from the day he was arrested. But it was so hard to die. He recalled Nazim Hikmet's lines:

"Your road is leading to death. The lights are falling back. . . There is no stop beyond death."³

He was pushed into a car, others got in and the car started. This was how he had been brought to the First Department. He had looked at the autumn gold of the trees lining the road and felt as if he saw them for the last time. Now he was being driven to an unknown place, with a bandage over his eyes. It must be dark outside.

To judge by the noise of heavy traffic, the car had turned into a busy street like the

one along which he had walked shortly before his arrest with the comrade responsible for party work in the youth organisation led by him. They had had heated discussions for some time past. The Comrade told him that the masses were ready for action and the task was to mobilise them and give them proper leadership. He himself was practically of the same opinion. But he considered that the situation in the universities was different. The dominant mood of the students was petty-bourgeois and they preferred to enjoy themselves rather than fight for their academic and democratic rights.

Afterwards he wondered whether he was right. He could not make up his mind until the academic year began and he saw the students go into action. Thousands of them, including students in the faculty he was enrolled in, came out spontaneously against the barrack discipline imposed by the authorities, higher tuition fees and police repression.

When he met with the comrade again he told him joyfully about the action. The other tried to moderate his enthusiasm, saying again and again: "You must be very careful now, so that members of your organisation don't look like 'ringleaders'." But this warning was lost on him, for the joy of action was too great.

The organisation took no precautions — the party's call for vigilance never reached the rank and file. After all, this was the first public action and it was so impressive at that. He forgot about the rules of secrecy under a reactionary regime. The police took advantage of this. Arrests began among the students who had joined in the action. One night the police knocked at his own door.

He recalled the day when the "gorillas" seized him. The arrest came as a surprise. Everything happened so fast that he was dazed. Full of fear, he realised that the life he had lived until then was over, cut off as with a knife. He pulled himself together with difficulty and began to size up the situation. Two things crystallised in his mind: "I'll probably die" and "I'll never be a traitor".

There followed terrible days full of pain, with the hours and day dissolving in to each other. Many times he longed for death but it never occurred to him to give his comrades away. And now he was headed for an unknown destination. This might be the last test.

He went over his behaviour. He seemed to hear the party comrade again: "Personal responsibility." He had not said this like a teacher but like a close friend. "It's very important to foster that sense of responsibility in ourselves and in others. That will make it easier for us to solve our problems and we shan't need a preceptor to advise us on every occasion. Of course, leaders must point to shortcomings and decide on policy but it has to be implemented by those who know how matters stand in their sphere. Their hearts and minds will tell them how to go about it. That's the chief condition for fruitful party work."

Recalling that meeting, he felt like one who had missed his train. "If I had done as personal responsibility required I shouldn't be in this state now," he thought. "More important still, my organisation would be unscathed." However, the struggle was continuing despite everything. Right now he had to fight on unfamiliar ground, against heavy odds. What sustained him above all else was that even as a prisoner he had behaved like a revolutionary, had not submitted to the enemy and had defeated him morally.

The car turned into a rough road and stopped shortly after. He was pushed out and fell, stumbling on a stone. When he tried to get up he was knocked down. "Here it is again," he thought. But nobody hit him any more. Someone gave him a hand and helped him to his feet. "Listen to me carefully, chap," said a voice he had never heard before. "You've fooled us for ten days. We know everything about you even though you didn't talk. You must now make your choice. You'll either answer our questions and save your life, or die here in this forest."

"This sounds serious", he thought. He pictured himself lying dead in the mud, with a bullet hole in his head. But the next moment he imagined himself entering the

university building with his head down, feeling that his one-time friends were looking at him as they might at a leper. And he told himself that he did not want to live at the price of betrayal because a traitor's life is a thousand times worse than death.

"I'll count to three," the same voice said. "If you say yes we'll let you live." They seized him by the arms and forced him to his knees. He heard the click of a pistol being made ready to fire. Shivers ran down his back. But he pulled himself together. To say yes would mean saying no to all that made life worth living. The man began to count. "One!" He waited for an answer. "Two!" And then he added impassively: "Time is up. Think about your family for the last time." These words did not bring his father or mother to his mind. He recalled a young woman holding a baby in her arms. She was standing behind the iron bars.

He had seen the woman at the First Department, where she had been brought with her baby as a hostage while the police were looking for her husband to put him on trial as a Communist. That was on the third day after his arrest. Throughout those days he had been given no bread or water. His lips were parched with thirst and his tongue swollen and cracked. Occasionally hunger, thirst and beating made him faint. The woman managed to smuggle into his cell an orange that neither quenched his thirst, nor appeased his hunger, but then how it heartened him! Yet the young woman knew very well what would befall her if she were caught.

Was he to lose heart now and squirm like a worm, with his hands tied and a pistol pointing at him? "No, I'll never betray this young mother or her baby." He recalled Hikmet's line again: "There is no stop beyond death." "Three!" the man snapped. There was a brief pause and then a shot rent the air. He felt as if he were falling into emptiness.

When he came to himself the car was moving. He felt the ecstasy of being alive. He recalled a joyful fishermen's song. He was still afraid but also proud because he had not given anybody away, had not talked. "This isn't the last test," he said to himself. "The fight goes on."

K. Yalcin
Turkish journalist

¹ Police department in charge of "political offences". *Ed.*

² Party name of Mustafa Hayrullanoğlu, member of the CC CPT, tortured to death by police in November 1982. — *Ed.*

³ Prose version of the closing lines of a poem by the Turkish Communist poet. He dedicated it to Ali Bairamov, a revolutionary worker shot by domestic reactionaries in Azerbaijan in 1920. — *Ed.*

new experience

Our Interviews Clear-Cut Ideas, Concrete Proposals

Oscar Arévalo – CC Political
Commission and Secretariat member,
Communist Party of Argentina

What is the peace movement in Argentina like today? What are the tasks confronting it and what forms and methods of struggle does it employ? What role does the Communist Party play in it?

The defence of peace, the championing of the sovereignty of independent nations, and the promotion of international anti-imperialist solidarity are priority tasks of the Argentine Communists. These did not spring up today. Soon after the Second World War ended we began making a massive contribution to the work of organisations and movements indicting militarism and helping to mobilise the people of the struggle for peace.

We feel that the present moment calls for a significant upgrading of anti-war efforts. Our motivations are the immeasurable growth of the scale of the arms race; the appearance of ever more powerful weapons of mass destruction; and the adventurist imperial course of the Washington administration, which refuses to reckon with the realities of the nuclear age. In Argentina itself, too, the people are now growing increasingly aware of the danger threatening their country. This stems from the establishment of a British military base on the Malvinas and from the rise of tension in the world, especially on our continent.

The unprecedented threat has everywhere generated a heightening of the anti-war protest. Nor has Argentina remained aloof. In Argentina today the peace struggle involves not only revolutionary and progressive forces but also huge sections of the people, members of different political schools, and prominent statesmen. Evidence of this are the signatures of Argentina's President and leaders of another five countries under the Appeal of Four Continents, to which there has been a massive response in the world. The Communist Party gives its wholehearted backing to this document, which urged concrete and coordinated steps to ease international tension and achieve disarmament; realistic measure to reduce nuclear forces and, in the long term, destroy all nuclear weapons; and the use of the funds released in this way to foster socio-economic development.

The Argentine Communists are coming forward with their own proposals and supporting anti-war initiatives of other political and religious forces; together with

these forces they are active in the Argentine Peace council, which we believe, carries considerable weight.

The most important initiative of this kind includes the Appeal of the Hundred in the Name of Life addressed to Argentines and the peoples of the whole world by political leaders and prestigious personalities in culture, science, and art. Among them are members of the CPA. This document, supported by the nation's democratic parties, trade unions, statesmen, and civic personalities warns of the catastrophic consequences of a nuclear war and urges the mobilisation of the people in order to halt the production and proliferation of nuclear weapons and outlaw its use. Hundreds of thousands of people have already signed this appeal. It is expected that it will bear more than three million signatures.

Would you deal in some detail with the new experience of fighting for peace that the Communist Party has accumulated in the period since the democratisation process began in Argentina?

The national elections of October 30, 1983 opened a new chapter in Argentina's history. The experience of the grim years of the military dictatorship shows that there is a close link between constitutional stability and a genuine policy of peace. For that reason in the changed situation the Communists invigorated, in the first place, their efforts to remove the obstacles that in and outside the party impeded a more systematic and organised mobilisation of the people for the peace struggle.

Among other things, we conducted explanatory work among young people and women, and in trade unions and other public organisations. We feel that their more determined participation — especially on the part of the trade unions — in the day-to-day anti-war efforts is of the most crucial significance. True, in the trade union movement one still feels the effects of the influence of economism, which separates workers from political decision-making processes. However, the Communists do not see this as an insuperable obstacle.

In November 1984 we participated effectively in the referendum conducted by the Argentine government on the question of the treaty with Chile establishing the state frontier between the two nations south of the Beagle Strait. The Communist Party recommended that in the poll its members and supporters, as well as all other citizens, should back the document that would put an end to the long-drawn-out frontier dispute. At the same time, the CPA submitted to parliament the draft of an additional protocol to the treaty. We suggested the demilitarisation of this region, a halt to the transit across it of armaments, and a ban on the building of military bases there and also on the exploitation of its natural resources by transnational corporations. The adoption of measures of this sort would not only be consistent with the national interests of the two neighbouring states but would serve peace and progress throughout the Latin American continent.

Lastly, another significant aspect of the CPA's work is the unfolding of a nationwide movement of solidarity with Cuba, Nicaragua, and the people of El Salvador. It is now particularly important to prevent US aggression against the homeland of Sandino and compel Yankee imperialism to defer to the establishment of peace in Central America. With this objective in mind, the CPA supports the realistic proposals of the Contadora group aimed at settling the problem by political means.

A significant advance towards the consolidation of solidarity with revolutionary Cuba has been the setting up of General San Martín¹ teams by the Communist Party and the Communist Youth Federation of Argentina. Hundreds of their members — Young Communists — are voluntarily going to help the Nicaraguans gather their coffee harvest.

In *World Marxist Review* many fraternal parties have noted that the further development

of the anti-war movement depends to a large extent on the growth of the consciousness level of the bulk of its participants. How does the CPA assess the urgency of this task in Argentina.

First and foremost, I should like to subscribe to the view stated by contributors from other parties. Many ideas that at different times hindered the steady growth of the anti-war struggle circulate in Latin American society as well. Among them is the postulate that our continent is situated far from the centres of tension. The absurdity of this postulate is revealed by the example of Grenada and by the present situation in Central America. According to yet another spurious premise, the question of peace is exclusively the province of state leaders and the peoples cannot change anything. However, the reality is, as the lessons of history teach us, that to curb the warmongers it is essential to have a broad front of organised masses relying on the political, economic, and defence might of the socialist countries and on the solidarity of the non-aligned nations.

Some quarters in Argentina use the term "superpowers" in order to impute an equal responsibility to the USA and the USSR for the aggravation of the international climate; attempts are being made to ignore the peace initiatives systematically advanced by the socialist countries and conceal the incontrovertible fact that their policy is antipodal to the imperialist course. This misrepresents the actual state of affairs and prevents the anti-war forces from getting their proper bearings.

In short, if the situation is to be assessed realistically, it must be noted that a section of the peace forces still sees things through the eyes of bourgeois propaganda. The Argentine Communists therefore consider that the struggle against the threat of a nuclear catastrophe cannot be confined (although this is also extremely important) to demonstrations and to the collection of signatures under appeals. It is vital, and we are doing this day after day, to explain the actual causes for the growth of the war threat and show who are indeed responsible for the deterioration of the international situation — imperialism's military-industrial complex, the Reagan administration, and its closest allies. I am sure that the clear-cut aims and dedicated work of the Communists are major conditions for strengthening and extending the coalition of peace forces and giving it a bigger role to play as a political factor that is effectively influencing the practical policies of governments and parliaments.

Envoys of Internationalist Solidarity

Hermann Mädler — Member, German Communist Party (DKP), political leader of the Carlos Fonseca team

A campaign in defence of revolutionary Nicaragua is gathering momentum in many countries. The forms in which solidarity is expressed are diverse: from protest rallies to the sending of teams of volunteers to help Nicaragua gather its coffee crop. The DKP's solidarity materialised in the building of a printing facility. Why precisely a printing facility?

The official opening of the printshop on March 24 of this year in Managua was timed to coincide with the fifth anniversary of the commencement of the anti-illiteracy drive. Only a few years ago over 60 per cent of Nicaragua's population was totally illiterate. Within a very short span of time the Sandinist Front for National Liberation, the Sandinist Youth of July 19, and other public organisations reduced this indicator to 48 per cent. However, Nicaragua continues to be acutely short of printed output: school textbooks, exercise-books, newspapers. For that reason, as the SFNL leadership assessed it, the opening of a printing facility was a major contribution to attaining the objectives of the drive to eradicate illiteracy and building up the material base for improving ideological work.

The printshop is now working at full capacity for the revolution. Its first printed output includes a school mathematics textbook; an SFNL pamphlet on ideological issues; a placard of solidarity with Nicaragua; a songbook for Sandinist Youth. It will soon begin printing children's literature, exercise-books for the new school year, and also *Los Muchachos*, central newspaper for the Sandinist youth organisation. All this is evidence that the printshop is fulfilling an exceedingly important political function.

Or take the following, which is also important. Formerly, to print such a number of pamphlets the Nicaraguans had to spend hard currency to buy such services in Costa Rica. They can now do the printing — and on a much higher quality level — in their own country. This means that our printshop is, at the same time, helping to use the republic's currency reserves in a most rational way.

How was money collected for building the printing facility and how was the equipment for it acquired? Who blue-printed the project and drew up the technical documentation?

The idea of building a new printing facility in Nicaragua was brought up at a meeting between representatives of the Sandinist Youth of July 19 and the Young German Socialist Workers. This idea was warmly approved by Herbert Mies, Chairman of the DKP. The campaign itself started last July with the publication of an appeal by the Communist Party and the two youth organisations and is in fact continuing to this day.

Up until early April we received 2,300,000 West German marks, of which 1,400,000 marks were collected in cash at primary (factory and neighbourhood) organisations of the DKP, Young German Socialist Workers, and the Marxist Spartacus Students' Union, at demonstrations, rallies, and the *Unzere Zeit* festival, and even at family gatherings. Altogether more than 20,000 individual contributions were registered.

With the active participation of thousands of Communists and of primary, district, and country party organisations many actions of solidarity with Nicaragua were conducted in the course of nine months. Their objective was, above all, to give people an understanding of Central America's problems, and explain to them that the threat of a regional conflict emanates neither from the Sandinist Front for National

Liberation nor from Nicaragua's first-ever government formed as a result of free elections, but from the criminal policy pursued by the USA. The task we set ourselves was to bring citizens of the FRG round to the awareness that in helping Nicaragua they are defending peace and supporting peoples who have been ruthlessly exploited and pillaged by the capitalist vultures. This has yielded results.

Of course, we had to transcend a certain inertness and even incomprehension. But many people were convinced and joined in the campaign to build a printshop. For three months I was in Nicaragua as our team's political leader. While there we got a letter from the production council of the Big Rank Xerox concern in Düsseldorf, informing us that it had transmitted 450 marks collected from workers. The project's bank account received money from Hamburg dockworkers, workers of the Siemens concern, and others. Aid came also in the form of tools and building materials.

Nonetheless we are still short of a sum of money. That is why the drive for funds is continuing. We hope that upon returning home members of the Carlos Fonseca team will reinvigorate the campaign and complete what we had started.

As regards the project's documentation, it was prepared entirely in the DKP by Communist building and polygraphy experts. Machinery and equipment were purchased by the Communist Party in the FRG and the GDR on money sent to the solidarity fund.

At the building site nearly a thousand square metres of useful space has been roofed. There is now an entirely new facility with powerful offset printing machines, modern reproduction equipment, and a book-binding production line. Type can be set either on Linotype or by photo.

What were the criteria for selecting people for the Carlos Fonseca team? Who could become a member?

There were many more volunteers that were needed. For that reason we were unable to accept everybody. The team was formed primarily of people with experience of political struggle and the needed vocational training (plumbers, electricians, stonemasons, printers) who were active in the solidarity campaign. All of them (and there were 63) are members of the DKP, the Young German Socialist Workers or the Spartacus Union. Because of the skills and dedication of the team's members we were able to carry out our task on a high quality level.

Most of the team members were comrades who had received their annual holiday and devoted it to this solidarity project. Moreover, each of us put up 2,000 marks for the plane ticket. As the project chief and the political leader of the team I took my paid leave and another six weeks at my own expense.

How was the team's work organised?

The construction went on for eleven months. Altogether, the team put in 24,165 hours' work. As I have already said, our aim was to open the printshop on the fifth anniversary of the start of the anti-illiteracy campaign. To achieve this aim we had to work a 62-hour week in the course of the last six weeks. In other words, the team worked six nine-hour days and eight hours on Sundays. Besides, as a rule, the temperature was usually around 40°C.

But nobody complained. Everybody passed this difficult test. While they were still in the FRG the team members attuned themselves emotionally to hard work, but upon arriving in Managua they got new incentives for working with the greatest possible speed and efficiency. The destruction wrought in the city by a disastrous earthquake, the squalor and poverty inherited by the revolution from the Somoza regime and its North American patrons all exercised a powerful psychological influence. Moreover, we had many meetings with members of the Sandinist Front for National Liberation,

the people's militia, the Sandinist youth organisations, and the trade union. At these meetings we learned of the tragedy that overcame people under the Somoza dictatorship, of the people's labour achievements today, and of the fighting forced upon the republic by US imperialism's undeclared war. Every member of our team was virtually driven by a desire to do his job to the best of his abilities, to help the Nicaraguans with whom we had become very friendly.

— According to the press, in the FRG, apart from the DKP there are other socio-political forces, notably the anti-imperialist solidarity committees, the Social Democrats, and the trade unions that are likewise helping Nicaragua.

The SPD leadership has on several occasions declared its support for Nicaragua's peace initiatives and for the efforts being made by the Contadora states, and condemned the USA's interventionist policies. In Nicaragua we met that party's rank-and-file members, who had participated in gathering the coffee harvest and helped the republic in other areas. But, on the other hand, in the West German Social Democratic Party there are various currents that assess the situation in Central America differently. I am positive that given its potentialities and influence, the SPD can do much more than it is doing at present.

In Nicaragua we were shocked to learn that the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, which is closely associated with the SPD, supplies paper to the facility printing the newspaper *Prensa*, mouthpiece of conservative and even reactionary elements that do not scruple to champion the 'contras', who are daily killing women and children and blowing up schools, hospitals, and industrial enterprises. The fact of the Foundation's collaboration with a newspaper of this hue is very disconcerting.

Among the West German trade unions there is a tendency to upgrade actions of solidarity with the Sandinists. For instance, unions of steelworkers, typesetters, workers of the distributive network, bank employees, and transport workers are elaborating concrete programme for aid to Nicaragua. But still I feel that despite the extensive material and political support that is now given to that country by the various socio-political forces in the world, it is necessary to widen and invigorate the solidarity movement.

This is being actively fostered by our country's Marxist forces and by the team members who have returned to the FRG (six of our comrades — typesetters and printers — are remaining with the printshop to the end of the year to help our Nicaraguan friends master the production processes). Each of them has embarked on intensive political work at their various places of employment and in their party group or youth organisation. Meetings are arranged with schoolchildren and students, information stands are set up, and placards printed in our printshop are being distributed. We continue to promote and organise internationalist solidarity.

Documents

USSR

On the 27th Congress of the CPSU

The Soviet media have reported that at its plenary meeting in April the CPSU Central Committee heard a report by Mikhail Gorbachov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and passed a resolution to convene the party's 27th Congress on February 25, 1986. The following agenda has been endorsed: report of the CPSU Central Committee and the aims of the party; report of the Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU; a new edition of the CPSU Programme; modifications in the CPSU Rules; Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and for the Period Ending in 2000; elections to the party's central organs.

The plenary meeting defined the schedule of the report and election campaign preceding the 27th CPSU Congress. In the course of this campaign the Communists are to look deeply and all-sidedly into the work that has been accomplished in carrying out the resolutions of the party's 26th Congress and of the subsequent plenary meetings of the CPSU Central Committee, and substantively discuss questions related to the party's leadership of economic and cultural construction and to the state of the party's organisational and ideological work¹.

During the report and election campaign, the resolution states, party organisations and work collectives will have to concentrate on successfully completing the year 1985 and the eleventh five-year plan as a whole, and on timely and qualitative preparations for achieving the targets of the twelfth five-year plan, resolving key problems of economic and social progress, intensifying production to the utmost through the broad utilisation of scientific and technological breakthroughs, improving planning and management, reinforcing organisation, discipline, and order in all sectors of the national economy. The plenary meeting called for ensuring the vanguard role of the Communists in the pre-congress socialist emulation movement and for business-like support for constructive initiatives aimed at identifying and making better use of inner potentialities.

Party meetings, conferences, and congresses, the resolution notes, must take place in a workmanlike atmosphere marked by a principled, self-critical approach to assessing the work of party organisations and their leading organs. It is important that the reports and the elections should contribute to the further consolidation of the Leninist norms of party life, the development of inner-party democracy, criticism from top and bottom, the promotion of the activity and initiative of the Communists, and an enhancement of their sense of responsibility for the affairs of their organisations and the party as a whole. Their organisations and the party as a whole.

The CPSU Central Committee expressed its firm confidence that the preparations for the 27th Congress would proceed on a high organisational and ideologico-political level, with the close cohesion of the party ranks and the unbreakable unity between the party and the people as their keynote.

As stated in the report of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee to the plenary meeting, the impending 27th Congress, will unquestionably be a major landmark in the country's development. Its significance is determined by the immense importance of the questions being raised for discussion, the character of the present period, and the novelty and magnitude of the tasks confronting society. This gives the pre-congress work its special imperative, requires a profound understanding of the current situation, and demands bold decision and vigorous action.

Positive Results

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Luxembourg has issued a statement noting that under conditions of the continued crisis in all areas of economic and social life, the Communists are exercising a steadily growing influence on the situation in the country by their lucid and dynamic policy and their many suggestions and initiatives in parliament and municipal councils and at enterprises. In this context, a large role is played by day-to-day contacts with all strata of working people.

The Central Committee has positively assessed the exchange of party cards conducted in the party groups. There has been a strengthening of the party's ranks everywhere, and a numerical growth of its membership and supporters. It is imperative, the statement notes, to continue working in this direction and enhancing the mobilising role of general meetings that should focus on the ways and means of further improving the party's work at the local level and at enterprises.

The campaign for subscriptions to *Zeitung vom Letzeburger Vollek* (Newspaper of the Luxembourgian People) is proceeding successfully. The statement underscores the need for enlisting still more activists and party groups into the collection of donations for the Communist press fund and for increasing the number of subscribers. The Central Committee, the statement says in conclusion, approves the proposal of the CC CPL Executive Committee for conducting newspaper distribution actions with the aid of deputies and activists of the party.

A Personal Impression

Assuming Responsibility

In Lisbon one is struck by the sharpness of the "battle of placards", which are displayed on the walls of houses, on fences, and even on the pavement with multicoloured slogans and appeals. The most visible of these are the demands of the democratic forces: "Down with the Government of National Ruin!" "We Stand Together with the PCP!" "April Will Triumph!", and so on.

These graffiti are erased or painted over, but they reappear again and again, reflecting the tension of the political struggle. It has now reached a particularly high pitch: by continuing the course against the gains of the April revolution, strengthening the power of the capitalists, and subordinating the nation to imperialism, the present government has brought Portugal to the brink of socio-economic disaster.

Indeed, there is a deep-going crisis with economic anarchy threatening catastrophe. Evidence of this is provided by innumerable facts that one encounters at every step — not even the bourgeois press can ignore them any longer. Let's glance at some revealing statistics. During the past year the GDP has shrunk by another 2 per cent, and the decline in agricultural production is particularly marked. A traditionally agrarian country now has to import a large proportion of its food. The external debt has reached the 15 billion dollar mark, while inflation is soaring at a rate of 30 per cent, i.e., faster than anywhere else in Western Europe. The 600,000 jobless constitute 13 per cent of the

able-bodied population; 150,000 working people do not get their wages for long stretches of time. ("What can the workers expect if even in our department," related an acquaintance working in the Finance Ministry, "salaries are paid several months late.") Even the Church now has to admit publicly that the people are being pushed into poverty.

"In a home where food is scarce everybody gives his opinion and everybody is wrong." This pessimistic philosophy of an old Portuguese proverb is fully justified where matters concern the powers that be. Reactionary circles, like the coalition government of the Socialists and Social Democrats, are pinning their hopes solely on Portugal's entry into the Common Market, but it is obvious that this promises the working people further hardship and, consummating the collapse of the economy, will drag the country into deeper shackling dependence on the imperialist monopolies.

Happily, on Portugal's political scene reaction is opposed by a powerful, prestigious, and influential force — the Communist Party. It not only sees realistic ways and means out of the crisis but is prepared to make its tangible contribution to ending it. At the close of March it held a national conference specially to consider these issues. A scientifically-substantiated programme worked out in detail from Marxist-Leninist positions and championing the interests of the working class, of the whole people, was proposed.

The spacious, austere decorated hall of the steelworkers sports facility in the 'red' township of Seixal near Lisbon was filled by 1,500 delegates and guests. There were envoys from party organisations in all parts of the country. The key points of the Communist programme were inscribed in large letters on one of the walls — they could be seen from any part of the hall: promotion of national production, the state's financial recovery, a rise of the people's living standards, and the consolidation of national independence. Each of these points involved considerable analytical work with the participation of the finest brains in the party and also of its friends — scientists and experts. "Together we know much more" is the motto that promoted in-depth discussions at seminars, in party cells, and in the press.

The draft of the basic document submitted to the conference is based on hundreds of suggestions from the localities and is seen as the summation of the views of Communists, a product of a collective creative effort by the whole party. More than 300 papers were prepared for the meeting and some 150 persons took the floor at the plenary sittings and in the various panels. The broadest-ever discussion of the national economy in Portuguese history, it provided further evidence that the class adversary's assertions alleging that the Portuguese Communist Party "can only criticise" is totally untrue; that the party has every justification for taking upon itself the solution of the country's basic problems of development *constructively*. Well aware of this, the delegates at the conference proudly chanted: "Here's the PCP's strength!"

Of course, the government also, in its own way, realises the significance of the PCP's democratic programme. It was by no means accidental that just before the party conference was scheduled to open in Seixal, a "counter-conference", at which the chief personage was a prominent exponent of the post-industrial school of bourgeois sociology Alvin Toffler, specially invited from the USA, was held in Lisbon under the auspices of Prime Minister Mario Soares. True, in his paper — "Form of the Future" — he did not directly touch on the ways for modernising Portugal's economy. But he eloquently enunciated the idea that in our day technological rather than social changes determine the ways for ending a crisis. It seemed to me that he structured this paper as a polemic with the main point in the attitude of the Portuguese left-wing forces, namely, the revolutionary character of their demands. And when the audience, most of whom were specially selected, pushed him with their questions closer to such pressing issues as unemployment or the financial chaos, he replied evasively that these were transient difficulties and that history would itself correct everything. Yes, indeed, history itself!

The Portuguese Communists likewise address history but not for the sake of abstract

futurological reflections. They address it in order to take into account its experience and lessons for action under present-day realities. For example, they compare the present situation in their country — and see much in common — with what Lenin wrote about Russia of 1917 in the article "The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It". The same picture — the "dislocation in every sphere of national life" — and the same problem: "Perish or forge full steam ahead. That is the alternative put by history."¹

The PCP national conference gave a clear-cut picture: Portugal can be taken out of the crisis only by casting aside the government's counter-revolutionary policies and forging ahead by reinforcing the nationalised sector of the economy, carrying out an agrarian reform, extending the democratic rights of the working people, and enlisting their active participation in economic planning and management. In other words, through a decisive break with the interests of capital and the consolidation and development of the process of social changes. Every person who took the floor in Seixal — shipbuilding yard worker, bank employee, agricultural cooperative manager, engineer, factory economist, or trade unionist — drew from profound experience of life to show how in one area or another these general problems can be resolved. All of them displayed the maximum concreteness, a business-like sense of reality, and a wide-ranging view from the height of national interests.

In a brief account there is no possibility of writing even partially of the wealth of the party's collective thought that was embodied in the records of the conference. I shall note only the most essential points, each of which was elaborated in detail at the conference.

The programme for a dramatic expansion of production, presented by the Communists, gives a detailed characteristic of the ways of getting effective performances out of industrial facilities, increasing the number of jobs, raising labour productivity, and economising on material resources. By means of nation-wide rational planning, all this is possible in Portugal, where the leading industries and banks are in the hands of the state with working people broadly represented in the management. Having devoted special attention to agriculture, without whose progress no new economic policy can be implemented, the conference defined concrete tasks for the priority development of this sphere. Here the central link is the plan for doubling the output of grain in the course of four to six years — this point has been thoroughly researched and presented convincingly with the solid substantiation implicit today in Portuguese agricultural cooperative members and tested and tempered in their persevering struggle under Communist leaders for the right to work their land collectively. Precise proposals were worked out also for other sectors of the economy — the PCP insists on priority for some important national projects in irrigation and land improvement, the steel industry, the comprehensive utilisation of mineral resources, and other areas.

In speaking of *improving the financial system*, the party likewise acts from constructive positions. It clearly shows the ways and means of transcending the catastrophic situation in which the state is turning it into a gigantic parasite swallowing public wealth. The principal reason for the financial chaos is the counter-revolutionary assault on the nationalised sector and the agrarian reform. An improvement of finances requires, in the first place, the implementation of programmes for promoting the economy, programmes based on the gains of the April revolution. In making its point the conference suggested special measures for modifying budget and credit policy, reforming the tax system, curbing inflation, devaluating the national currency, and taking radical steps to shorten the deficit in the trade balance. The nation's foreign debt is a very acute and difficult problem; it is so large (over 80 per cent of the GDP) and so ruinous that the Communist Party has raised the question of reconsidering the interest rates and the repayment schedule, seeing this as a political problem of international proportions.

For the Communists the highest aim of economic development is to *improve the life of the people*. In Portugal, as in other capitalist countries, the right-wing forces are trying to sell the thesis that there can be no improvement in the present situation. Besides, in their efforts to find a way out of crisis upheavals at the expense of the working people they tirelessly appeal for a tightening of belts. While categorically rejecting the policy of social revenge pursued by the monopolies, the PCP conference declared authoritatively: "The people's living standard can and must be raised!" This would be facilitated by a dynamic economic development, which the Communists are advocating. Additional funds — all has been calculated — would be obtained by limiting government costs and at the expense of the highest incomes. The party's policy for increasing jobs and fighting unemployment and its programmes for raising wages (the minimum wage in the first place), improving social security, the health system, and public education, and promoting housing construction thus having a fully realistic foundation.

"The materials of our national conference, "Alvaro Cunhal noted in his closing speech, "the main document, the papers, and the speeches are not dry and impassionate. They express the most pressing problems and reality: the aspirations, interests, and will of the Portuguese people. This is a major political action, and an invaluable factor of the struggle of all of the nation's patriots and democrats."

Indeed, it is unquestionably to the credit of the PCP that as a party of action it immediately translated its socio-economic programmes into the language of *political struggle*. To get the charted alternative policy off the ground, the conference stated, it is necessary to form a new democratic government of national salvation. The Communists are prepared to participate in such a government: today they are, after all, the only party believed by the working class and other working people, the only party that shoulders the responsibility for taking the nation out of crisis.

In what way can basic changes be achieved in Portugal's life already in 1985? The conference replied to this question, too. First, by stepping up the struggle of the working class and the mass of the people against the government of Socialists and Social Democrats. Knowing that its term in office is short, it is acting on the principle of "after us the deluge" and hastening to destroy the revolution's gains with all, including illegal, means. Second, by uniting all the socio-political forces eager to save the country from catastrophe, to save democracy from being abolished, and to save national independence from imperialism. Third, by working day-to-day among the masses to prepare for the election battles that are soon to be fought — the municipal and the presidential elections. Fourth, but by no means least in significance, by continuing to strengthen the Communist Party, the party of patriots and internationalists, and raising the level of its ideological, organisational, and political work. The militancy, determination, firmness of principles, unity and cohesion displayed so clearly once again at the national conference have created new favourable opportunities for multiplying the PCP's strength.

"Each of us is proud of our party, which boldly undertakes to tackle national problems," João do Santos, a steelworker and secretary of the party organisation of the Seixal municipal district, said, speaking of the results of the conference. "The conference mapped out new prospects for our struggle for the interests of the people along the road opened by the April revolution. And in the localities we are particularly aware that the people's support for the Communists is growing steadily."

As he spoke of the work of Communists in his district, I had another vision of the conference's closing session. With tightly clenched fists over their heads, the delegates kept chanting as one man with revolutionary fervour, as though taking a vow: "The struggle continues! April will triumph!"

Sergei Tsukasov
WMR Executive Secretary

Lisbon

In Brief

ARGENTINA

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina has resolved to convene the party's 16th Congress in the latter half of 1986.

AUSTRIA

The Communist Party of Austria was successful at the municipal elections in one of the federal states — Steirmark. The elections increased the number of Communist deputies in communal and town councils by one-third. There was a particularly large increment in the number of votes polled by the CPA in industrial districts.

COLOMBIA

The Colombian Communist Party has started a new journal, *Margen Izquierda*, which will deal with the party's strategy and tactics, the political situation in the country, and the people's struggles. It will solicit contributions from all democratic forces.

FRG

At a plenary meeting the Board of the German Communist Party passed a decision to hold the DKP's 8th Congress in Hamburg on May 2-4, 1986.

JAPAN

The Communist and Socialist parties of Japan have submitted to the Tokyo prefectural assembly a resolution urging that Tokyo be proclaimed a nuclear-free zone; strict compliance with the officially proclaimed three "non-nuclear" principles; and the adoption of a special bill to aid victims of the American atomic bombings.

NETHERLANDS

A plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Netherlands has passed a decision to begin a national campaign in support of the demand of the trade unions for a shorter working week.

SAN MARINO

The Great Council (parliament) of the republic has elected the Communist Enzo Colombini and the Socialist Severino Tur to the highest office in the state — captains-regents — for a term of six months.

VENEZUELA

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Venezuela held a plenary meeting at which it was resolved to convene the party's 7th Congress on October 23-27 of this year.

exchange of views, discussion

New International Economic Order: The Communists' Attitude

The fundamental documents of the movement for a New International Economic Order (NIEO) — Declaration and Programme of Action for Establishing a New International Economic Order (May 1974), and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States (December 1974) — were adopted by the United Nations more than a decade ago. That was the beginning of the now globally recognised programme for a democratic transformation of the imperialist-imposed system of inequitable economic ties, a programme backed by more than 100 states of the developing world.

An international symposium held in Prague by *WMR* on "The Growing Role of the Developing Countries' Struggle for a New International Economic Order and the Communists" as addressed by the representatives of fraternal parties and scientists from 28 countries. Below is a summary of the statements and papers presented at the symposium.

The proceedings will be published in book form by Peace and Socialism Publishers.

SPEAKERS at the symposium described the dire economic plight of the developing countries, whose neocolonial exploitation is being stepped up by imperialism in its efforts to shift the burdens of the crisis of the capitalist economy onto the backs of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The economic progress of this group of countries is not just being retarded, but frequently even altogether paralysed under the impact of factors like the worsening of the terms of trade, the toughening up of credit terms, and cutbacks in funds allocated by the capitalist powers as official aid, and their restriction of access for the former colonies and dependent countries to high technology.

Eduardo Reyes, senior staff member of the CP Cuba CC, stressed that the economic trends which had their beginnings in the underdeveloped states in the 1970s have continued to operate in the 1980s as well. In view of the instability of the capitalist economy, there is a growing tendency towards the shrinking of their gross domestic product and a decline in other indicators as compared with those attained earlier on. Thus, according to the United Nations, agricultural production in the Third World countries in the latter half of the 1970s grew at an average of 2.6 per cent, a figure that was much lower than that projected by the UN international development strategy.

The contradictory consequences of the present economic situation are most evident in the industrial sector of these countries. From 1976 to 1980, their industrial growth ran at 4 per cent, and their share of world industrial output went up from 7 to 9 per cent. But their growth is extremely uneven, and the speaker cited data showing that in the late 1970s and early 1980s, 61.4 per cent of the Third World's industrial production was concentrated in six countries.

Nor was there evidence of any substantial change over the past decade in the underdeveloped countries' export structure (80 per cent of their exports consisted of raw material commodities, and only 20 per cent, of intermediate products). The crisis depressed raw material prices, which dropped by 25 per cent from 1978 to 1982 alone. The volume of export from the developing states shrank by 3.6 per cent in 1981 and by 4.5 per cent in 1982. Their balance-of-trade deficit has been steadily mounting. The dependence of the underdeveloped countries on private transnational banks has further increased.

Having analysed the economic trends in the periphery of the capitalist economy, the Cuban specialist drew the following conclusion: "One of the most important consequences of the crisis of the capitalist economy which is having an effect on the condition of the underdeveloped countries is the sharpening of the contradictions between them and the imperialist powers."

The same point was made by other speakers at the symposium. The decade since the adoption of the NIEO programme has been marked by growing activity of the non-aligned and other developing states on the economic front of struggle against imperialism. They have stepped up their action as the economic situation in the capitalist periphery was further complicated. The representatives of the fraternal parties of Brazil, the Dominican Republic, Guyana, Iraq Uruguay and other speakers described in detail the grave situation in their countries and regions, characterised the neocolonialist nature of the existing economic ties with the imperialist centres, and exposed the roots and underlying causes of the deep discontent with the existing economic order among the most diverse public forces, peoples and governments.

Objective, Results, Potentialities

The NIEO movement is a natural outcome of the development of the objective contradictions of capitalism at its imperialist stage, declared Nikolai Shmelyov, Dr. Sc. (Econ.), of the USSR. It sprang from the sharpening of the painful problems in international relations without whose solution there can be no economic progress in the former colonies and semi-colonies, no economic stability or an improved international political climate. The continuing inequality and discriminated status of these countries tend to curtail their potentialities in the struggle for economic independence.

The speaker started from an analysis of the basic NIEO programme documents and brought out two sets of objectives of the movement: the long-term, historical objectives, and the concrete objectives requiring practical action in this or that sphere of economic ties between capitalist and developing states. Among the first, he listed the following:

- establishment of fair interstate relations free from any discrimination or exploitation, something that implies a consideration of the specific interests of this group of countries. Accordingly, the NIEO programme provides for the extension to them of definite privileges and preferences in external economic contacts;

- long-term and stable transfer of resources, and a part of the newly created world incomes to the developing countries, above all from the states which bear the responsibility for their age-old backwardness and colonial plunder;

- creation of a system of international economic relations in which the operation of "automatic market forces" would be superseded by a high degree of state intervention in the regulation of these relations with the use of administrative instruments.

These objectives, the speaker said, are a kind of ideological credo of the movement of the states demanding a NIEO. Although they have simultaneously put forward a whole package of proposals on concrete issues (changes in the disposal of national resources, international trade, provision of necessary financial resources to newly liberated countries, transfer of new technology, etc.) the central issue has continued to be a radical change in the status of the capitalist-periphery countries in international economic relations. It is a change whose purpose is to enhance their role in the world economy, above all in the trade, monetary and financial system, with a truly equal say in world economic affairs, instead of a consultative voice curtailed by imperialism, as has been the case in the past.

In view of the wide historical character of the NIEO programme, speakers suggested that the contest over the programme should be seen as a protracted process. Professor **Helmut Faulwetter** (GDR) said that the ten years since the adoption of the 1974 documents were only a short part of the long way of transforming the international economic system. It is not right to expect all the conditions to be changed at one go, and a consummate order set up. The developing countries have few potentialities for improving their positions within the world capitalist economy solely by means of economic instruments.

Question to N. Shmelyov and H. Faulwetter. What is the relation between economic and political means of struggle for restructuring international economic relations?

H. Faulwetter. The bitter disputes over NIEO problems mainly within the United Nations and its bodies, within the imperialist-controlled financial institutions and at other international forums show that the political aspect of the developing countries' action for economic equality is tremendously important. Those involved in the movement are trying to take a stand as a well-knit group demanding equality and justice in world economic ties. For the time being, political struggle remains the most important means for achieving transformations in the unfair economic relations, while the sphere of international politics provides the main arena for the contest.

N. Shmelyov. From the standpoint of the long-term prospect, economic means of pressure on imperialism appear to be the main ones. The oil embargo in the first half of the 1970s¹ testifies to how effectively these can be used (both for economic and for political purposes), for it enabled a number of oil-producing states substantially to improve their world economic positions. Nevertheless, up to now the movement for the establishment of a new economic order has had mainly moral and political instruments of influence at its disposal, including political pressure, ideological pressure and persuasion, appeals to world opinion, and so on, all of which, the record shows, does likewise produce an effect. But if one considers the vast restructuring of the system of inequitable economic ties as proclaimed in the 1974 documents and the wide historical objectives of the NIEO, these can hardly be attained in general within the framework of capitalism, under the existing division of labour between its centres and the periphery.

In the light of these views, it was deemed advisable to define the approach to assessing the results of the NIEO struggle in clearer terms.

Very little has been achieved in actually restructuring international economic relations, said **Hamid Majid Musa** (Iraqi CP). On the contrary, many of the problems whose radical and early solution was demanded by the developing countries have been further exacerbated because of the crisis rocking the capitalist system. Some speakers pointed out that in the Third World there are some extremely pessimistic assessments of NIEO results and prospects. Here is the view, for instance, of the well-known African economist Samir Amin, who says: "The failure of the new economic order will possibly still have to be recognised, but can anyone assert today that there is at least one area in which something like progress has been attained in fulfilling the Declaration and the Programme of Action so solemnly proclaimed by the UN General Assembly in 1974?"

Raja Collure (CP Sri Lanka) drew attention to the assessments contained in the documents of the non-aligned movement. The economic declaration of its latest conference in Delhi characterises the outcome of the struggle for a NIEO as follows: "Limited forward movement in certain fields has been offset by subsequent retrogression in those fields and by regression in other fields. As a result, there has been hardly any progress towards the establishment of the New International Economic Order." The speaker said that the struggle itself has not gone much beyond slogan declaration, although its conception has been fully determined.

Several participants stressed the importance of a balanced assessment of the course, results and prospects of the NIEO struggle. According to **Rafic Samhoun** (Lebanese CP), it is not right either to be too pessimistic or overly optimistic. What is important is a dialectical assessment taking account of the objective balance of the negative and positive trends in the movement for a restructuring of economic relations, which is closely bound up with changes in the balance of forces in the international arena. The demand for it should be seen as a mobilising slogan which cannot be implemented all at once, or by leaping over necessary intermediate stages. Only persevering day-to-day class struggle in various spheres and along various lines simultaneously on the national, regional and global levels can help to attain the objective.

The approach to the NIEO-struggle results should, of course, be a realistic one, said **N. Shmelyov**. The movement has demonstrated its viability. The participants in the struggle have succeeded in achieving quite a great deal, although not in every area where progress was potentially possible. For one thing, the world climate itself, the attitude of international opinion to the newly liberated states' needs and demands has undergone a positive change. The global discussion of their vital problems has continued unabated, and the idea of international efforts to overcome the economic and social backwardness of the former colonies and dependent countries and their inequitable status within the world capitalist economy is being steadily asserted.

One of the most important objectives of the Declaration and the Programme of Action, namely, the unconditional international recognition of the developing states' sovereignty over their national resources, has been achieved. The property of more than 1,500 foreign companies was nationalised in that zone in the 1970s. The Third World countries' share in the appropriation of revenues from some types of products coming out of their subsoil, oil in the first place, of course, has increased. Hence the growth, however, limited, of the role of the group of oil-producing states in world price-formation processes. There are advances (modest ones, it is true) in the compensation of losses from the fluctuation of world prices for a number of raw material commodities. As for the broader historical objectives, they cannot, as has been said, be attained outside the course of the world revolutionary processes and without new profound and radical changes in the international arena.

It would be wrong just now, said **José Riva** (Dominican CP), to give a positive assessment of the results of the NIEO negotiations and to start analysing the issue itself only in the light of the documents and resolutions adopted by international forums. In summing up the results of our efforts, we must also bear in mind the actual political change and shifts in the arrangements of forces in the world arena. The crisis of the capitalist economic system over the past decade has created the conditions for uniting a broad movement for the restructuring of international relations. Considerable victories were simultaneously scored by revolutionary and progressive forces in some countries of the developing world. Together with the changes which have occurred since the Second World War, these have helped to create a situation in which millions upon millions of men and women are coming out ever more resolutely against imperialism. The weakening of its international political positions and the growing difficulties faced by the world capitalist system as a whole are two of the most important positive results in the battle against backwardness and poverty on the globe. Action for NIEO is a component part of that struggle.

The participants in the symposium agreed that, since the countries of the zone remain incorporated in the world capitalist economy, that will continue to have an effect on their NIEO struggle and objectively to curtail its potentialities. But it was also emphasised that NIEO problems require a much broader approach, not only with an eye to what can actually be done in this field, but also with the course and prospects of the anti-imperialist battle being considered within the context of the ongoing social changes in the international arena in favour of the forces of national liberation, peace and social progress.

Historical Framework of the Struggle

What is the connection between the demand for a restructuring of international economic relations and the struggle for social progress? Is it right to regard the NIEO movement in the capitalism-oriented countries as an anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist one, or is it to be seen only as an anti-imperialist movement? These questions were broadly discussed at the symposium.

Doctor of Sciences **Karel Lacina** (Czechoslovakia) said that it was important to regard any radical restructuring of international economic relations against a broad political background, as a key task of the national democratic revolution and as evidence of a further deepening of its anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist content. But such an approach requires serious correction when it comes to considering the attitude of concrete class forces to such a restructuring. Some national-bourgeois circles in power tend, on the whole, to take an anti-imperialist stand and regard the NIEO programme as having the same content. That does not mean, it is true, that the struggle in defence of the developing countries' legitimate demands then becomes anti-capitalist. On the contrary, under a bourgeois administration there is usually a tendency to purge NIEO propositions even of their objective anti-imperialist substance. The progressive forces opposing that make a point of exposing the attempts to use NIEO demands for demagogic purposes or as a cover-up for collaboration with imperialism.

While the NIEO programme has, on the whole, a positive content, said **E. Reyes**, it also has a number of serious flaws. It fails to reckon with the origins of backwardness as an economic phenomenon and tends to obscure the forms of class domination and dependence practised by imperialism. It also ignores the need for deep structural changes within the underdeveloped states themselves. With such an approach, backwardness and dependence are said to stem merely from the subordination of some countries to others in the external sphere, so leaving imperialism as an evil with which it is not so hard to deal, by transforming the norms of foreign policy relations on the basis of "new criteria" and "political will". In other words, no account is taken of the capitalist "roots" of imperialism, from which the relations of dependence, domination and subordination in fact spring.

But one should bear in mind the trends towards a cohesion of the underdeveloped countries, and they are considered in the closing section of Fidel Castro's report in Delhi.² Considering that the NIEO demands constitute a common platform for diverse forces, one could reach the conclusion that for the conservatives a new economic order is an end in itself, and for revolutionaries, merely a programme against imperialist domination. It helps to advance along the way to socialism when backed up with internal structural transformations (similar to those that have been brought about in Cuba).

Antonio Franco (United Socialist Party of Mexico) said that action by the peoples, movements and states for a restructuring of international economic relations on the basis of equality and justice could serve as a factor in the struggle for social progress.

The NIEO, said **John Nkosi** (South African CP), is a general democratic and anti-imperialist demand. For us, Communists, it opens up extensive potentialities for cooperating with various forces, since otherwise that objective is hard to attain. The

NIEO demand, he said, could be reflected in the Communists' programmes of struggle, especially when it comes to ways of overcoming the economic and social crisis in the developing countries. But that demand does not in itself imply any internal radical economic or social transformations. To insist that the Communists should always link the struggle for a new economic order with the struggle for socialism would make it extremely difficult to create the necessary unity of action. For there are many forces accepting the idea of restructuring international economic relations but not necessarily seeking progressive internal transformations at home.

Here are the views of other participants in the symposium.

Rupert Lewis (Workers' Party of Jamaica). The NIEO propositions are in the nature of a broad general democratic platform, and to attach a different meaning to them would be tantamount to the Communists' isolating themselves, from the broad circle of social forces acting under that slogan, including definite groups of the local bourgeoisie, which also want to see the inequitable system of economic relations democratised.

Cesar Jimenez (Peruvian CP). It is not right to regard the struggle for a new order solely from the standpoint of economic theory. Our revolutionary strategy and the evolution of the class struggle must inevitably be taken into account. The NIEO demand is not a socialist slogan, but it is anti-imperialist and progressive, because it aims to liberate the peoples from imperialist oppression, and to force imperialism to make concessions for accelerating the economic development of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Sémou Pathé Gueye (General Party of Independence and Labour) said that in his view the demand simultaneously has an anti-imperialist and, objectively, an anti-capitalist content, although the latter tends to be manifested in a contradictory manner. As others have said in the discussion, putting it in the forefront would amount to narrowing down the social basis of the movement for restructuring international economic relations.

The anti-imperialist substance of the NIEO slogan is expressed on the level of ideological and political motivation, which carries most of those involved in the struggle for such a restructuring to the awareness of the need of taking a conscious part in it. But a look at the problem in a broader context — within the historically established capitalist mode of production — will allow the following assumption: The NIEO demand also has an underlying anti-capitalist content. After all, it is impossible to carry out an in-depth structural modification of the existing economic order without affecting the very laws of capitalism, while leaving intact the nature of the relations of production dominating the periphery of the capitalist economy, that is, without a break-up of the capitalist mode of production. That is why it appears to be possible to apply to the NIEO demand a broad historical measuring-rod, as otherwise it tends to be reduced to a purely reformist slogan, and the kind of interpretation which bourgeois and reformist circles in the developing countries and international social democracy are trying to give it.

Raul Valdez Vivo (CP Cuba). For revolutionaries, the NIEO demand is a bill of indictment against imperialism. It is highly important to increase the number of countries and peoples backing the charges listed in the indictment. Our purpose is to involve broad masses of people in the struggle that is now under way. With a minimum programme for a new economic order, it is possible not only to set up a united front with reformists, but also to promote the deepening of the confrontation between imperialism and the bourgeois circles in power in many developing countries.

The NIEO programme does not proclaim the attainment of complete national independence in the sense in which the working class and its vanguard see it. There is even less evidence of any socialist content in it. But the programme promotes the battle for national liberation, thereby objectively favouring the creation of better conditions for the struggle for social progress.

Samuel Behak (CP Uruguay). The task of setting up a new democratic and equitable economic order will be most pressing when its fulfilment is combined with every nation's insistence on its own economic independence. The NIEO programme can acquire real political weight in the world arena (although this or that country may be economically weak and may vacillate), if more and more peoples and governments join efforts in fortifying their economic ties counter to the interests of the monopolies. The programme is already embodied in the new type of relations, those between the socialist states and the countries which have overcome their dependence and attained genuine national liberation.

Having discussed that range of questions, the participants in the symposium noted the growing importance of the struggle for a radical restructuring of world economic relations above all as an important factor in *consolidating the national independence* of the states of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Marxists believe that this means creating international conditions which facilitate their advance along the way of economic progress and — where the people are in power — also of social progress. Speakers said that action for economic equality, and against imperialist dictates will continue to have growing support from the Communists and other progressive forces.

The role of internal economic and social transformations was accentuated as the crucial prerequisite for changing the inequitable and oppressed status of countries on the three continents within the world capitalist economy. **H.M. Musa** said that one-sided emphasis on external measures and their importance will of itself not yield the desired effect where the way to real social change has been blocked. Conversely, social change has the most positive effect on the structure of international economic ties. Consistent struggle against imperialism and profound internal changes add up to the crucial prerequisites for speeding up the pace of progress in a radical restructuring of these ties.

Riad Ibrahim (Egyptian CP) spoke of the ways of overcoming the tremendous gap in the levels of social labour productivity between the industrialised countries and the developing countries. The gulf between development and backwardness can be bridged only through genuine industrialisation, which — from the scientific and social standpoints — should not be reduced to the building of enterprises as such. Social labour productivity is boosted not just through a starting of modern lines of production, but through a complex development of industry, not through a borrowing and purchase of technology, but through a build-up of scientific, technical and technological facilities at home, not through reliance on external sources of financing and technical aid (for all its importance and inevitability), but through a maximum mobilisation of the country's natural, manpower and other resources, and their optimal use. But all of that can be done when industrialisation is an organic component of the overall strategy of economic and social transformations.

There was support at the symposium for the views of the two latter speakers. **N. Shmelyov** said, in particular, that even an ideal NIEO cannot be a cure-all or the main means for changing the economic condition of the developing countries. The prospect of advancing towards NIEO objectives depends above all on how successfully these countries can cope with the problems of starting new industrial sectors, building up a highly efficient agriculture, and finding the answers to the key social problems. Indeed, the developing countries must have at their disposal the lion's share of the internal accumulation resources. In other words, all things being considered, their main sources of economic progress still lie at home.

The NIEO programme, speakers said, should not be considered in isolation from the progressive changes in the developing world. The more active the efforts to overcome the neocolonialist and other reactionary elements in the individual countries through radical internal transformations, the more pronounced the anti-imperialist tenor of the NIEO programme. Action by the popular masses, their parties and other organisations demanding a radical remodelling of the system of international economic relations

could simultaneously serve the cause of struggle against the shackles of neocolonial dependence and domination by foreign capital, and could help to expose the ruling circles' pro-imperialist and anti-democratic line.

The Role of World Socialism

Some key aspects of the influence of socialism on the democratic restructuring of world economic ties were dealt with in the course of the discussion, and among the key factors in the NIEO struggle was declared to be the socialist community countries' support for the stand of the developing countries and their struggle for a broad and equal say in solving international economic problems. These were above all problems like sovereignty over national resources, an end to the outflow of capital and the brain drain, unconditional application of the Generalised System of Preferences for the purpose of preventing a worsening of the economic condition of the former colonies and semi-colonies and promotion of their progress.

The concrete economic and technical assistance being rendered by existing socialism to the newly liberated countries is a most important prerequisite for consolidating their independence and resisting imperialism's neocolonialist line. There was interest in the data cited, among others, by N. Shmelyov, who recalled that over the two decades from 1960 to 1980, the share of the capitalist countries' gross national product allocated as government aid to the Third World more than halved, an indicator on which the Soviet Union's assistance to countries designated by the United Nations as developing was greater than that of any capitalist power.

The representatives of several fraternal parties asked scientists from the socialist countries to comment in greater detail on some of the questions relating to the approach within the CMEA framework to the solution of the problems in establishing genuine economic equality, notably the question of why the socialist countries were not taking part in the so-called North-South dialogue meetings. S.P. Gueye remarked in this connection that there are circles in the developing countries which misinterpret such non-participation and claim that it almost amounts to undermining the struggle for a restructuring of economic relations. Indeed, the NIEO has become the hobby-horse of international social democracy, and it is not averse to presenting itself as its most concerned advocate. Speakers proposed a fuller analysis of the socialist world's contribution to the radical transformation of world economic ties. Here is what was said in response.

N. Shmelyov. New, just, democratic and equitable relations have existed within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) since its inception (1949), and it is free from one country exploiting another or any other form of oppressive relations. Effective measures are being taken to align the economic development levels of the member countries, with preferences being extended to countries that have inherited weak productive forces from the past.

A look at the relations existing within the CMEA framework in the light of the NIEO demands, say, pricing policy (which in the capitalist economy is known to be determined by the play of market forces), makes it perfectly obvious that it is the only economic community in the world in which important administrative corrections are made in the price-formation mechanism. These are dictated by a sense of justice, a common urge to ensure each socialist country's economic progress, and to display actual concern for the interests of those of them which have had to cope with the problems of backwardness and underdevelopment since the establishment of the people's system. The Declaration issued by the CMEA economic summit, which was held in Moscow last summer, says that these countries "regard as their internationalist duty to continue rendering assistance to the socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Republic of Cuba and the Mongolian People's Republic, on the existing just basis, in accelerating the development and enhancing the efficiency of their national economy in the light of the tasks set by these countries in socialist industrialisation, and to

promote their broad participation in the international socialist division of labour".³

Here is another characteristic fact: regardless of whether a CMEA country is economically developed or has but recently taken the path of economic progress, it has an equal say in the affairs of the CMEA and in the adoption of fundamental decisions on any matters. Within the community, decisions are taken in the most democratic way, instead of according to strength and capital.

In response to a request to specify the percentage of the USSR's gross social product going as aid to the developing world, the speaker gave these figures: whereas, according to bourgeois statistics, the United States has been making available in the form of economic aid 0.23 per cent of its gross national product, Great Britain — 0.41 per cent, and the FRG — 0.47 per cent (1981-1982 data), the Soviet Union's economic assistance in the early 1980s, as computed on the basis of that indicator, came to 1.3 per cent. **K. Lacina** gave the figures on Czechoslovakia's economic assistance: it comes to 0.74 per cent of the country's national income, and that is much larger than the real percentage for, say, France, whose ruling circles keep stressing their "special" sympathy for the Third World.

H. Faulwetter. The view taken by some circles in developing countries that the socialist states refuse to take part in international discussions on the problems of the existing economic order is a distortion of the substance of the matter. What we oppose is something else, in the course of such discussions, we refuse to have the socialist world being treated on a par with the imperialist powers, which bear the responsibility for the newly liberated countries' age-old backwardness, and to have demands addressed to it for compensation to make up for that backwardness by referring to the concept of "North", which is neutral in class terms. Let us also add that the socialist states were simply not invited to attend the "North-South" meeting in Paris held from 1975 to 1977. When it became evident that, by sitting down to the same table with their partners from Asia, Africa and Latin America, the imperialists are subjected to the fire of criticism, they altered their tactics and began to talk about the presence of our delegations at such meetings being "desirable", in order to have such criticism addressed to the "North" generally, which means the socialist world as well.

- On the other hand, **H. Faulwetter** continued, in many cases, when we held talks under UN sponsorship, the representatives of the imperialist powers were either absent or engaged in obstructions. Everyone knows about the US resistance to global negotiations on the key economic problems within the UN framework. The socialist world gave full backing to the demand of the non-aligned and other developing states on the need for such negotiations.

The significance of the example set by the CMEA countries and their achievements in building the new society was stressed at the symposium. They have been consistently working to realise in practice the principles of fair and equitable relations between states in their cooperation with each other, and in their ties with other countries, so making an effective contribution to the restructuring of the international economic order. Speakers pointed out that the CMEA exemplifies the prototype of the truly democratic relations to be established between states in the economic sphere in the future.

Soon after the victory of the October Revolution, said **Ho Chi Binh** (CP Vietnam), the Soviet Union put forward the idea of a new organisation for the world economy. It is historically logical that that has become one of the main lines of the foreign policy of the USSR and subsequently of the whole socialist community as well. Consider, as an example, the experience of Vietnam, for which cooperation with the fraternal states and their support are especially important. The Soviet Union alone has helped us to build almost 200 large industrial enterprises. Just now, construction is under way with its assistance on the 1.7 million kW hydro-electric power plant on the Da River, and the coal mine with a capacity of 2.4 million tons a year — both the largest in Southeast Asia, a large thermal power plant, a big cement works and other facilities. The

economic ties with the socialist world, which are permeated with the spirit of internationalism, are a specimen of the just and democratic approach to problems in restructuring international economic relations.

The *purposeful influence* of existing socialism on the process of such restructuring is epitomised in the new type of economic contacts between the socialist community countries and the developing world. Their cooperation is of key significance for strengthening the national independence of the former colonies and dependent states and their successes in economic construction.

Turning to the example of his own country, **Ali Malki** (Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria) said that such cooperation has obviously demonstrated its advantages as compared with the imperialist powers' "aid". The socialist partners in fact help to strengthen the state sector, which is a non-capitalist sector, and their assistance does not cost much, as will be seen from the purely symbolic interest rates charged on credits, the prices on the equipment being delivered, and on research, services, technical assistance and training of personnel. The productivity of the facilities built up with the socialist countries' support is often higher than the contractual level; technology transfer yields a rapid effect, because it involves the supply of a type of technology of which there is a need, so that it can be mastered in due time.

Cooperation with the socialist world provides for balanced trade relations and may be planned for the long, medium and short term, which is why it is unaffected by the fluctuations and instability of prices that are so characteristic of the capitalist economy. The available experience shows, the speaker summed up, that an independent economic policy can firmly rest on the advantages of equitable ties with the socialist community countries and on the advantages of the new balance of political and economic forces on the globe.

Agamemnon Stavrou (Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus) said that further extension of economic relations with the socialist countries is of exceptional importance in enabling his country and other newly liberated countries to preserve their independence and sovereignty. Both groups of states — the socialists and the developing — are objectively concerned in a genuine restructuring of the international economic order and promote it in fact. How can the working people of Cyprus, for instance, forget the following fact: at a critical moment, when there was no demand on the capitalist market for tobacco and tobacco products, the unsold stockpiles were bought by the Soviet Union. While the CMEA countries have offered Cyprus truly mutually advantageous trade with preferences in it, the Common Market tends to set inequitable terms which are fraught with the danger of greater dependence on imperialism.

Speakers emphasised that the cooperation between the socialist community states and the developing countries leads to a further expansion of the sphere in which the new type of international economic relations operate.

Defying the Imperialist Dictates

Much attention was given at the symposium to the developing countries' collective action on the whole package of issues connected with the efforts to change their inequitable condition in the world capitalist economy (normalisation of raw material trade, development finance, protectionism, technology transfer, etc.). The discussion centred on two of the most acute issues: the need to overcome the domination of the transnational corporations (TNCs), and the consequences of these countries' mammoth external debt to their imperialist creditors (1 trillion dollars at the end of 1984).

Over the past decade, said Professor **Nripendranath Bandyopadhyaya** (CP India), the TNCs have sharply stepped up their activity in the capitalist periphery, thereby deepening the differentiation processes in the area. In view of the incipient industrial development in the former colonies, this activity has led to a further modification of

the neocolonialist division of labour. Nevertheless, the claims being made by the monopoly circles that the TNCs have made a positive contribution to the newly liberated states' development have not been borne out in practice. On the contrary, the economy of the countries which accepted the "models" and "recipes" of the international monopolies has been most heavily buffeted by the crisis.

The grave consequences of the TNCs' domination in Africa were analysed in a paper from **Abdoulaye Diagne**, member of the Economic Commission of the SPIL CC (Dakar University). He said that the sway of foreign agribusiness in the production of food crops tended to entrench the one-sided export orientation of the national economies of many countries on the continent, a process that held the threat of a further decline of local agriculture, a deepening of the food crisis, and even more flare-ups of hunger.

The TNCs retard Africa's industrialisation, and since the early 1960s its structure of production has changed very little, if at all. In contrast to other regions of the developing world, even light industry in the countries south of the Sahara has no outlet to the external market. In the mid-1970s, foreign capital controlled almost 85-90 per cent of Africa's production of copper, 90-95 per cent of the iron ore, 90-95 per cent of the bauxites, and 50-60 of the phosphates. The continent's mining industry being under the total control of the TNCs, it has failed to become a dynamic factor of industrial growth. The results of industrialisation over the past 20 years may be said to be lamentable.

A great responsibility falls on the TNCs and the imperialist powers for the worsening state of the African countries' foreign trade. The techniques they use to transfer their earnings result in a growing foreign trade deficit. International business makes money by delivering manufactured goods and technology, with the profits being guaranteed if only because the recipient country finds itself tied to the Western technological market and becomes "habituated" to it. What is more, capitalist companies claim that their goods are "improved" and so arbitrarily increase their prices. So, the TNCs have been acting in a truly imperialist manner.

Summing up the results, the author of the paper points to the growing integration of the African economies into the world capitalist economy, and lays special emphasis on the increasing cooperation of the TNCs, banks and government agencies of the industrialised capitalist countries with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (IBRD).

The representatives of several fraternal parties from the Latin American region spoke of TNC domination. **Noé Gertel** (Brazilian CP) said that in his country the TNCs are the basis of the overall system of exploitation. TNC subsidiaries dictate the level of industrial investments and impose the technology they want, the measures in agriculture and the financial sector, and even interfere in decisions concerning the Brazilian economy's internal and external ties. Contrary to the statements of the diehard heralds of imperialism and some confused economists, the TNCs do not make up any sort of additional sector in the Brazilian economy. In actual fact, the TNCs dominate it and remain outfits under the control of a handful of financial groups very often linked to local monopoly-finance capital.

Randolfo Banegas (CP Honduras) drew attention to the following phenomenon: giant TNCs, especially those operating in agriculture and mining, have been gradually abandoning activity in the productive sphere and have been trying to build up their positions in insurance, commerce and transit. Without entirely abandoning the obsolete methods of meddling in the internal affairs of Latin American countries, they have "delegated" the defence of their basic interests to international financial institutions like the IMF, the IBRD, and the Inter-American Development Bank.

It was noted that two-thirds of world capitalist trade and four-fifths of the technical exchanges are now controlled by the transnationals, among which US transnationals hold the leading positions. Establishment of control over their activity has been one of the key lines of struggle for a new economic order over a period of years. Still, criticism

of the TNCs' activity in developing countries has been more muted in the recent period. It has turned out, in particular, that the TNCs themselves are trying to find forms of penetration and activity which are more acceptable to the local bourgeoisie. The code of conduct for the TNCs, which is being formulated by a UN inter-governmental commission has still to be adopted because of the fierce resistance by the capitalist powers. The United States and some of its allies would like to see an end to the negotiations over the code, and to shelve the prepared draft.

N. Shmelyov expressed the view that while control over TNC activity is one of the spheres of struggle for a new economic order where least of all has been done up to now, that should not be a reason for pessimism. Practical experience shows that even within the framework of the capitalist economic system there are possibilities of exerting a very active influence on TNC activity, if not entirely of controlling it.

Question to N. Shmelyov: Could you give some concrete examples of control over the operations by that shock force of neocolonialism?

Question to N. Bandyopadhyaya: How realistic is it to expect such control to be effected in practice? What is specific in India's experience in this respect?

N. Shmelyov cited the example of Angola, whose oil sector is being serviced by US transnationals, but they are forced to accept the terms laid down by the Angolan side, which is simultaneously interested in having an influx of foreign exchange for the purposes of national development and consolidation of independence and sovereignty. There are a number of countries (not only socialism-oriented) whose governments have succeeded in striking definite compromises with foreign companies and obtaining concessions from them. This helps to curb the excessive appetites and the uncontrolled activity of the TNCs, or to oust them from this or that sphere of economic activity.

In this context, the speaker from India laid special emphasis on the role of the state, which has two instruments at its disposal: financial control and technical control. Where the economy of a developing country is based on the principles of planning and the government pursues a course of economic independence, it has greater potentialities for safeguarding its interests. Thus, a curb on TNC domination has enabled India to start the production of its own manufactured goods which it had earlier had to import. Of exceptional importance are measures in nationalising the banks and insurance companies, and that has also been carried out in India. The nationalised financial system can act as a regulator of relations between the state and the TNCs. All negotiations, ranging from technical to financial ones, must be conducted on behalf of the state, which has the potentialities for limiting the predatory appetites of the capitalist firms.

R. Ibrahim said that in the developing countries the TNCs are engaged in fierce infighting, with sharp clashes between the "old" and the "young" TNCs, as the latter try to move into markets already controlled by their predecessors. The "newcomers" offer more advantageous terms, only to begin acting on these markets later like the "old" ones. But it is possible to use these contradictions in order to secure concessions from foreign monopolies and to prevent them from operating by means of the old methods. The speaker pointed to the experience of the oil-producing states which have re-established control over their own natural resources. He said the success there was partially promoted by the fact that Japanese and Italian firms offered these countries more advantageous terms for the exploration and extraction of oil, whereupon their old established rivals on the market were forced hastily to make concessions.

Satijaya Sudiman agreed with the need for effective control over TNC operations and suggested that such control is hardly feasible if anti-patriotic circles are in power. Considering the experience of his own and other countries and three continents, the representative of the CP Indonesia pointed in this connection to the importance of the struggle of internal democratic transformations, a struggle which is being carried on by the Communists in alliance with other national patriotic forces. Without such a struggle there can be no advance to an active anti-imperialist line.

The problems of the developing countries' debt generated by the policy of imperialism were just as circumstantially discussed. These problems are critically acute. In 1982 alone, 35 states were forced to defer payments on their external obligations, being incapable of repaying about \$140 billion to their money-lenders.

CP representatives from Latin America and the Caribbean cited figures showing the unparalleled debt burden of the countries of this region: their total debt to international financial institutions and private banks adds up to \$350 billion, which is more than one-half of the Latin American states' annual gross product. It is equivalent to their aggregate exports for three years; interest charges take up nearly 39 per cent of their export earnings. As imperialism tightens the debt noose, and while bank interest rates keep soaring, the material condition of broad masses of people is steadily worsened, material inequality deepened, and the national income per head whittled down. According to **J. Riva**, an analysis of the external debt suggests this conclusion: it has acquired terrible proportions both in absolute and relative terms.

José Lava (CP Philippines) gave some of the reasons for that phenomenon, referring, in particular, to the experience of the 1970s, when vast masses of loan capital surged into the capitalist periphery. In that period, the external debt was being built up at a tremendous pace: 20-25 per cent a year which was faster than the growth of the gross domestic product, industrial output and export of the developing countries. This produced the vast foreign-trade deficit, which had to be plugged with "stabilisation" loans on the onerous terms dictated by the IMF. **Felipe Rodriguez** (CP Bolivia) considered the overcoming of the debt crisis as an especially pressing line in the current struggle for restructuring international economic relations and said that the external debt was "the sharpest weapon" used by imperialism in imposing its will on the countries of Latin America, Asia and Africa.

In the discussion, this question was formulated: how it is to be countered? Referring to Bolivia's experience, the speaker dwelt on the need to review the debt-repayment procedures and introduce a moratorium.⁴ He stressed the role of collective efforts in resisting the imperialist creditors' concerted line, something that has, up to now, been hampered by manifestations of national egoism and illusions about it being possible to secure some "special approach" by the capitalist powers to this or that country by means of separate deals. Recent developments show, however, that despite the difficulties the trend towards collective action is making headway.⁵ Speakers noted the importance of active pressure by the Communists and all the other progressive forces on bourgeois governments to make them take a fair basis. These problems including the external debt problem, were reflected in the platform of the Broad Front, which united Communists, Socialists, Christian democrats and independents against the reactionary dictatorship. Its statement in February 1984 stressed with especial forcefulness that the return to democratic freedoms must be paralleled by deep transformations in Uruguay's economic and social life, the earliest re-establishment of the production apparatus, and a review of the country's external debt in the light of its real potentialities. The Communist Party has always believed that the government taking over after the overthrow of the dictatorship will have to join other Latin American countries concerned in securing terms for repaying the external debt that would not stifle the national economy; it will have to pursue an independent external economic line by establishing relations with all the external markets without exception.

The Communist Party of India, said **N. Bandyopadhyaya**, opposed the Indian government's request for a large loan from the International Monetary Fund. We held that there was no justification in seeking such a large loan (\$5.7 billion), especially in view of the fact that the leaders have made it contingent on the non-use of any part of the funds for the purposes of the state sector (they were earmarked, in particular, to cover the costs of oil imports). When the loan was contracted anyway, the Communists started a struggle against fulfilment of its terms, for economies in the use of oil and expansion of its extraction at home. Through its own efforts and the Soviet Union's

assistance, India's capacity to satisfy its own oil requirements from internal resources has markedly increased. The last tranche of the loan was not even used.

Other evidence of the potentialities of resisting the imperialist diktat were presented at the symposium. Speakers stressed the importance of resolute action by the Communists and all the other progressive and democratic forces on concrete issues relating to the economic situation in the developing countries taking the capitalist way. Pressure on the ruling circles can force them to take a more resolute stand against the foreign monopolies and banks and the onerous terms of borrowing which are imposed on sovereign states. Overall, efforts should be made to get one's government to act more vigorously on the whole range of issues connected with the transformation of international economic relations on a fair and democratic basis.

Ideological and Political Platform Contradictions

Speakers at the symposium noted the importance of the class approach in assessing the behaviour of the diverse social forces acting within the NIEO movement. National bourgeois and reformist circles within it are highly influential, while some governments closely bound up with imperialism also claim to be NIEO advocates. Frequent attempts are being made to obscure the anti-imperialist content of the NIEO struggle, while the ruling circles seek to settle their problems with the leading capitalist powers by acting inconsistently and accepting unprincipled compromises. Such a line, said **Naim Ashhab** (Palestinian CP), is characteristic of a sizable part of the national bourgeoisie, and it accords with definite ideological and political positions.

Bourgeois and reformist ideologists, said **Ahmed Salem** (CP of the Sudan), tend to bring to the fore ethical, rather than economic and social criteria in their NIEO interpretations, such as the question of compensation to the former colonies for the damage inflicted on them by the imperialist exploitation and plunder. While admitting the absolute justice of these demands, like the question of transferring resources from the centres of capitalism to the underdeveloped states, one must note, however, that such an approach leaves in the background other key NIEO problems, above all that of fighting the international monopolies. There are attempts to put narrowly economic and technocratic interpretations on the NIEO, and to concentrate attention entirely on the aspects of "development" and "economic growth".

According to **H. Faulwetter**, spokesmen for some developing states in international bodies frequently go to this extreme: they equate the TNCs and the socialist countries' foreign trade associations and claim that the Code of Conduct for the TNCs, which is being framed within the United Nations, should apply equally to both. Another example is the charges levelled against the socialist countries of pursuing a policy of protectionism similar to that which is being practised against Third World goods on capitalist markets. Those who advocate such views usually refuse to reckon with the socialist states' long-term import policy stemming from the planned character of their economy, or with the actual facts, which tell a totally different story. With the creation of the most favourable conditions for imports from the developing countries, trade between them and the CMEA countries has become one of the most dynamic sectors of international economic relations, so that from 1976 to 1982, it increased at an average of nearly 20 per cent a year, which was more than 70 per cent above the corresponding indicator for trade between the capitalist West and the developing world.

Khaled Hammami (Syrian CP) pointed to the assertions, coming from influential bourgeois-bureaucratic circles (and their voices will be heard not only in Syria) that the socialist countries fail to satisfy the demand made on them in the sphere of economic assistance. In actual fact, behind such assertions lurks, first, the urge to receive from existing socialism everything that is required, without considering the partners' potentialities, and second, an unwillingness to reckon with the character of economic cooperation based on long-term planning principles, which also imply planned consideration of new requirements. Such 'arguments' are frequently used in an

attempt to justify flirtations with and kowtowing to the capitalist powers.

When Sadat broke the ties of cooperation with the socialist world and turned to his policy of *infitah* — “open door” — it meant in practice a switch to the way of dependent capitalist development, which cost our country the basic marketing outlets for its goods, while the long-established manufacturing industries went into a decline, said **R. Ibrahim**. Economic necessity has forced the Egyptian authorities to take steps to restore trade relations with the socialist states, the Soviet Union in the first place.

Speakers said that the stand of equating relations with the socialist and the capitalist partners and acts leading to a fold-up of cooperation with the socialist world tend to harm the developing countries, because they not only undermine their capacity to resist imperialism, but also weaken the common anti-imperialist front and the NIEO movement as an active and influential force of the historical process of transforming the world economy, a process started by socialism. In practice, such a stand tends to narrow down the global scope of the struggle for democratisation of the existing economic order.

It is equally wrong to confine the struggle to the framework of relations between the capitalist centres and the developing countries (a trend which will also be found within the NIEO movement). The restructuring of international economic relations must be universal, and this implies an end to discrimination, dictates, and any kind of impediments in economic ties and intercourse among all states.

Line of Cooperation

The decade of action for restructuring economic relations and for a NIEO has been marked by a growth of its collective element, which is expressed in the activity of the non-aligned movement, the group of 77, at UNCTAD and other international forums. Within the framework of the struggle, growing importance attaches to closer economic cooperation between the developing states themselves and a further expansion of the sphere of their external economic ties. Such cooperation is being carried on at the intercontinental and regional levels, along the line of foreign trade production, exchanges of scientific and technical experience, and monetary and financial matters. Almost 100 countries of the Third World are now united in over 40 regional and sub-regional economic groupings.

The idea of closer and more active economic integration and collective self-sufficiency is making headway through the tremendous economic difficulties faced by the newly liberated states, said **A. Diagne**, who stressed, in particular, the role of the Lagos Plan of Action by the African states approved by the OAU, a plan which is designed to act as a counterweight to the neocolonialist strategy and the “models” and “recipes” being pressed by the IBRD and the IMF.⁶ **C. Jimenez** referred to the experience of the Andean group⁷ as evidence of the joint efforts by Latin American states in resisting the economic diktat of imperialism. Action is coordinated for the purpose of carrying on negotiations in resisting the imperialist pressures, and this ensures close mutual ties between the Latin American economies. It is simultaneously important to realise more fully the potentialities of economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and the whole socialist community.

R. Collure gave a similar evaluation to internal regional economic contacts between developing states, an important factor in strengthening the positions of the Third World countries in negotiations with the capitalist powers. With reliance on collective self-sufficiency, such cooperation makes it possible to limit external economic dependence and to conduct a policy of development relying on the rational use of one's own resources. In view of the difficulties of regional cooperation (similar-type exports, narrowness of the domestic market because of the low purchasing power of the population, and so on), it is promising only if a number of conditions are met: the future partners have previous experience of stable relations; they have comparable levels of economic development, there is a similarity of the political and social systems

of the cooperating countries; and there are no sharp differences in territory and size of population. In the absence of any of these conditions, it is important that the stronger partner should, by agreement, hold out certain advantages to the weaker.

What was said at the symposium makes it clear that the communist parties of Latin America, Asia and Africa attach fundamental importance to the line of developing economic cooperation between the states of that zone of the world. Alongside orientation towards ties with world socialism, they regard it as an essential prerequisite in the struggle for restructuring international economic relations and, accordingly, a factor in resisting the imperialist line in world economic ties. **Donald Ramotar** (People's Progressive Party of Guyana) and other speakers likewise said that success in the struggle depends on its support by the working class and democratic opinion in the capitalist countries, and the capacity of the progressive forces of the West to exert effective pressure on the governments of the monopoly bourgeoisie.

J. Nkosi furthermore pointed to the need of a differentiated approach to the stand of the various capitalist powers with an eye to the pattern of forces within the camp of the monopoly bourgeoisie, in which there are not only ultra-reactionary imperialist circles, represented primarily by the Reagan administration, which would like to bulldoze their will on the developing states, but also advocates of certain concessions designed to relax the explosive situation existing in that zone, as is evident from statements by representatives of international social democracy and even of some conservative bourgeois leaders.

R. Lewis said that although Marxist-Leninist evaluation of NIEO problems differed from the reformist approach mainly by the accent on structural changes, the partial and extraordinary measures proposed by some bourgeois economists, like the review of the external debt and transformation of the IMF, also deserve attention. Referring to the action by Uruguay's Broad Front against the dictatorship and the shackles of dependence, **S. Behak** stressed in this context that the differences and shades of opinion in anti-imperialist formulations by the various forces do not prevent them from joining in the common struggle.

Niall Farrell (CP Ireland) said that his country, one of the countries in the European periphery (officially classed as a part of the developed capitalist world of the Northern Hemisphere) shares many of the problems endemic to the developing countries of the "South" (an enormous burden of foreign debt, dependence on foreign capital investments, inequality in monetary relations, etc.). Accordingly, Ireland has common interests with these countries in the struggle against the European Economic Community, an exploiter monopoly bloc. Hence the great importance of the country's closer trade and economic contacts with a number of Third World countries.

The discussion led the participants in the symposium to draw the conclusion that cooperation between the progressive and democratic forces of all the continents has a growing role in further exposing the exploitive substance of monopoly capital and that there is the need to deepen their solidarity with the developing countries' struggle for a new and truly democratic economic order.

Dialectical Interconnection

The movement for a restructuring of international economic relations and for a NIEO is now closely interlaced with the struggle for peace and the security of the nations, for an end to the arms race, and for disarmament. These matters were closely analysed in a paper presented by **H. Faulwetter**.

The long-overdue radical transformations of international economic relations, he said, can take place in definite conditions, above all, in the right political climate, especially if one takes into account the fact that they can be realised mainly through a democratically-based system of interstate agreements, treaties and commitments, with the observance of the vital interests of all the peoples. That implies a detente in international relations. Tensions, which are fraught with wars, like the policy of war

preparations, tend to burden and undermine the ties between states, and so impede the democratisation of the world economic order.

In the past, the governments of some developing countries preferred not to see that interconnection, and claimed that the crucial point in the international economic contest was the achievement of definite advantages in economic relations with the industrialised powers, that is, "development", which, according to that approach, would help to ease the tensions existing on the globe. It is a conception which not only obscured the true causes of the war danger, but also incorrectly indicated the main front of struggle against the ultra-reactionary and most dangerous circles of imperialism.

The process of detente throughout the 1970s undoubtedly served as an exceptionally effective factor behind the progress of international economic relations and helped to change the overall climate in foreign trade throughout the world. The rise of the movement for a radical transformation of the international capitalist division of labour inherited from the colonial period and being reproduced by neocolonialism became to some extent a natural development in those conditions. But as the global political climate was sharply worsened by the imperialist policy of hostility to detente and the stepping up of armament and preparations for thermonuclear war, the transformation of international economic relations was slowed down, and has now virtually been halted.

All of that was undoubtedly the main reason why the governments of Asian, African and Latin American countries have begun to take a new approach to these problems. This turnround was reflected at the Seventh Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement in Delhi (1983) and at a number of major UN forums in the recent period. More and more non-aligned governments regard the struggle for peace as the key issue from the standpoint of the prospect of continued democratic transformations in world economic ties.

Question. Which aspects of the struggle for a new economic order are, in your view, most pressing from the standpoint of the struggle for peace and against the danger of war?

H. Faulwetter: International organisations now present the main arena for the struggle over NIEO problems, and we feel that it is important to regard the latter in close connection with the issues of political detente, above all within the framework of the UN system, whose institutions and forums devote very much attention to international economic problems, which cannot, of course, be self-sufficient, and have to be discussed in such a way as to carry us to the cardinal decisions of our day ensuring the maintenance of world peace. Curtailment of aggressive moves, arms cuts and disarmament.

The formulations of the NIEO programme aimed against the policy of protectionism, trade barriers and methods of economic aggression (embargo, boycott, technological blockade, etc.) are exceptionally pressing. The development of measures of confidence among the states in this sphere would, for its part, also help to improve the overall political climate.

Finally, checking the arms race is a key point when considering the prospects of the NIEO struggle.⁸ That would help to direct the vast resources so released for the purposes of economic and social development, including the needs of the developing countries. One must also reckon with the fact that the outlays on armaments are now being increasingly funded through the exploitation of these countries by monopoly capital. The militarisation of the capitalist economy, with which the economies of most of them are closely bound up, results in a slowing down of economic growth rates, rising inflation, growing external debt and other calamities in these countries.

Many speakers noted the special significance of the peace initiatives by the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries aimed to reduce military expenditures by all countries with a large military potential. That would pave the way

for the solution of many world economic problems. Disarmament is precisely the most radical means capable of advancing the efforts to realise the main objectives of a new economic order.

* * *

The struggle for a restructuring of international economic relations on a fair basis and for a NIEO has been closely connected by life itself, by the logic of world development, with the objectives of the movement for peace, and for the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe. That is the starting point for the socialist community countries (as their economic summit in Moscow in 1984 clearly demonstrated), and for the fraternal parties of the non-socialist zone of the world carrying on fresh action against the imperialist policy of plundering the developing states, of pursuing the line of militarisation, unleashing of local wars and economic aggressions. Increasing importance attaches to active participation in the struggle of the non-aligned movement, progressive opinion, and realistically-minded leaders in the centres of capitalism, that is, all those who condemn the policy of undermining equitable relations between states and increasing international tensions. From this follows a conclusion which the participants in the symposium supported: the prospects for ensuring normal and stable development of international political and economic relations serving the cause of peace and human progress depend on the extent to which anti-war and anti-imperialist actions are coordinated by the forces of socialism, the world revolutionary and national liberation movements, and all the other patriots and democrats.

viewpoints

Where Youth Have a Big Goal

Eberhard Aurich – SED CC member,
First Secretary, Central Council, Free German
Youth League (FDJ)

THE situation in contemporary society depends largely on youth because one in every five inhabitants of the planet is a young man or woman in the 15-25 age group. This group now comprises over 920 million people and demographers expect its share to increase. It follows that the present and, to a still greater degree, the future are conditional on how the younger generation lives and works, how its cultural and material requirements are met and how it is educated.

Yet the position of youth in some regions cannot be described as satisfactory. In the developing world, where young people are particularly numerous, the living standard of most of them is so low that they have difficulty in receiving an education and entering a profession. But even in industrial capitalist countries, young men and women have no opportunity to use their energy and knowledge because from 40 to 50 per cent of them are jobless. This makes young people sceptical by robbing them of all hope for a decent future.

The plight of youth is made worse by the arms race and the fomenting of armed conflicts. To be sure, young people cannot be blamed for this, since behind it are imperialism and the contradictions of a society based on the exploitation of man by man. Yet wars are a particularly severe trial for the younger generation, from which they exact the heaviest sacrifices.

Young people in various countries realise more and more that the only way to remove the war menace, put an end to local wars and the arms race and ensure that the means released as a result are spent on building schools and homes and creating jobs is joint efforts prompted by international solidarity. Further factors for unity among youth are progressive organisations—the World Federation of Democratic Youth and International Union of Students—and events such as International Youth Year, now being held by decision of the UN General Assembly, and the Twelfth World Festival of Youth and Students to be held in July and August in Moscow.

The youth of the GDR are preparing for the Festival, whose slogan—‘For anti-imperialist solidarity, peace and friendship’—they fully support. Now that 40 years have passed since the victory over fascism, this slogan tells progressive youth all over the globe that by rallying together they can go a long way towards preventing war and assuring humanity a happy future. Our young men and women have always considered world youth festivals most useful for promoting mutual understanding among the youth of various countries, their solidarity and their readiness to

accomplish the progressive, humanist if very difficult tasks facing world civilisation. After the war the GDR played host to two festivals in its capital. We have come to look on them as festivals fostering brotherhood and friendship among the youth of the world, as important forums for the discussion of big political and social problems of the younger generation. We are going to take our experience in this sphere to the Moscow Festival.

The population of our republic includes 3.2 million young people aged 14 to 25 years (this is more than 19 per cent of the population total); 2.3 million of them belong to a unified organisation, the Free German Youth League (FDJ). Our worker-peasant state and the leading political force of our society, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED), see youth as their loyal assistant in the construction of the new system based on the principles of real freedom, equality, brotherhood, internationalism, and prosperity for the people. Speaking to the Ninth Plenum of the CC, Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the SED CC, Chairman of the State Council of the GDR, former leader of the FDJ, assessed the role of youth in the republic as follows: 'The progress of our worker-peasant state is also inseparable from the activity of our revolutionary young guard. . . . Youth are in the forefront in shaping the socialist present and communist future shoulder to shoulder with the party.'¹

This high opinion indicates that Communists are confident of the enthusiasm and devotion of youth. Theirs is the confidence of a party whose founders included Ernst Thälmann, and Thälmann said that a revolution without youth is half a revolution. Members of the SED and FDJ, sharing Thälmann's conviction, bear in mind the fact that the revolution passes through diverse stages and that the younger generation undergoes changes, which means that young people of the eighties are not the same as those of the fifties. Lenin called attention to this circumstance by writing that youth 'must of necessity advance to socialism *in a different way, by other paths, in other forms, in other circumstances* than their fathers'.²

Looking at the rising generation in today's GDR from this standpoint, we wish to stress, first of all, that it was born under socialism. Teenagers who have just joined the FDJ were born in the year of the Eighth SED Congress (1971), whose decisions opened a new and higher stage in the construction of a developed socialist society.

Economic and social conditions in the GDR are determined by the people's growing prosperity and the increasing satisfaction of their material and cultural requirements. The basis for this is extended reproduction backed by fast-developing science and technology. Progress in the economic, social and other spheres of our life is guaranteed by the far-sighted strategy of the party, which makes ample use of its decades-long revolutionary experience. This strategy is an example of creative application of Marxism-Leninism in evolving an integral concept of social development. New FDJ members grew up at a time when citizens of our republic increasingly satisfied themselves by their own experience that the people's welfare is the chief concern of the socialist state.

Our young men and women see this in their everyday lives. Their standard of living is high, nor are there any marked distinctions between diverse social sectors in this respect. Every citizen is obliged to receive a ten-year education and has unlimited opportunities of continuing his studies with guaranteed financial support from the state. Science and culture are within young people's reach. They know no such thing as poverty, unemployment or an uncertain future. These conditions give one a sense of security.

As regards the political atmosphere in which our young people are educated, it is characterised by faith in big goals and devotion in working to achieve them, close unity between the party and the people, historical optimism, deep respect of the working people for the growing international prestige of their state, and their

perception of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism as an inseparable whole. We are living in a climate of flourishing fraternal political, economic and cultural relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries. Communists and FDJ members are loyal to the legacy of Thälmann, who described the attitude to the Soviet Union as the touchstone of every revolutionary. Solidarity with the first socialist state is a duty of every real Communist. We honour Soviet people as heroes who freed our people from fascism. We realise the criminal, anti-human nature of the Nazis, who were thrown on the ash heap of history.

All this has a decisive impact on the formation of the political consciousness of youth. However, it would be wrong to imagine that young people look on revolutionary social changes as a smooth, automatic process. They see both the complexity of this process and the need to work hard in order to give it the right direction, one meeting the people's interests best of all. This approach is suggested by the experience of the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries, which have been steadfastly championing political and military detente in the world against the efforts of influential imperialist quarters to escalate the arms race and step up confrontation between countries with different social systems.

In these circumstances it is particularly important for youth to show greater international solidarity. The aid extended by the youth of the GDR to the forces of revolution and freedom has found an expression in the remittance of 50 million marks to the FDJ solidarity fund in recent years (5.1 million marks was contributed to the fund in 1983 alone) and in thousands of letters to the governments of many countries of the world demanding freedom for jailed patriots. Solidarity is equipment for Vietnamese schools, trucks for Angola, clothes for Kampuchean children, medical supplies for SWAPO and PLO combatants, the 'friendship teams' working in nine countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, where they help young people learn a trade.

For us, solidarity is inseparable from the fight for peace, which millions of our young men and women closely associate with the build-up of the economic might of their socialist country. The youth of our republic responded to the deployment of NATO first-strike weapons in Western Europe with a FDJ Peace Shift and anti-war demonstrations. During the spring meeting of youth in 1983, over six million people took to the streets to demand the signing of a treaty on non-use of force and the maintenance of peaceful international relations.

These are all indications of the strong political awareness of our youth. It must not be forgotten, however, that these are their first independent steps on the political scene, at the most crucial point where the two worlds and two social systems meet. Imperialism uses every means for ideological and psychological attacks on our youth, all the more since three West German television programmes can be received on a considerable part of our territory and 60 foreign radio programmes in German, all over the republic. Besides, millions of West Germans and West Berliners visit our country or travel through it, including many people who carry on bourgeois propaganda. Our youth have to work out and firmly defend their point of view in a constant and direct confrontation with arguments, an ideology and a way of life alien to them. And this requires serious political schooling, with the party and the FDJ playing a leading role.

The FDJ came into being on March 7, 1946, or shortly after World War II. German Communists, who pondered at the time on the lessons of the fight against Nazism, a fight which had taken a heavy toll, in particular among young workers, drew the important conclusion that the young generation can be educated in the spirit of allegiance to peace, friendship, mutual understanding among nations and to the construction of a new society most effectively in an organisation grouping young men and women from all social sectors. This was also the underlying idea of the Ernst

Thälmann Young Pioneers organisation, which is under the patronage of the FDJ and has 1.5 million members today.

The fundamental organisational policy adopted nearly 40 years ago is valid to this day. The FDJ Rules say that every young man or woman is eligible for admission to its ranks irrespective of whether or not he/she has been preparing from early youth to join the party, whether he believes in God or has been brought up as an atheist, whether he fully adheres to a socialist position or is only just approaching it. Grouping young people differing in experience and development level, the League draws them all into political activity and helps them understand better what goes on in society.

We continuously improve forms of work, making a special effort to strengthen the ranks of activists and to help League groups and branches increase their influence over youth.

Educating the rising generation, or helping it adopt an active position on life and form correct and lasting political convictions, depends in large measure on the party's policy towards youth. The party does all it can to enable youth to meet their material and cultural requirements as fully as possible; it fully trusts and supports youth and at the same time it sets them big, serious goals. It wants youth to approach life, work, the formation of their world-view, and the use of their energies and abilities with a sense of duty. Young people appreciate this.

The party considers that a dialogue based on mutual confidence is the only way to win the rising generation for the socialist revolution. This dialogue is made easier where young people know the main laws of social development discovered by Marxism-Leninism.

The political education of youth is promoted through FDJ newspapers and periodicals, books published by the League in large editions, and classes in Marxism-Leninism planned by the party in common with our League and carried out under its leadership. These classes acquaint young men and women with the biographies of Marx and Engels, the political activity of Thälmann and the SED Programme. They teach Marxist-Leninist philosophy and political economy. Lecturers offer current political information and spell out urgent problems of the class struggle. The political education of youth is also furthered by meetings with party leaders, statesmen, scientists and artists.

FDJ members invite anti-fascist fighters and activists of the early years of socialist construction to their meetings. These meetings and many other events help them work out a class conception of history, inspire them with respect for the effort of veteran fighters and workers and contribute to their formation as members of socialist society.

Loyal to its educational principles, the party remembers Lenin's highly important idea that youth 'can learn communism only by linking up every step in its studies, training and education with the continuous struggle which the proletarians and the working people are waging'.³ The Eleventh Party Congress, set for April 1986, will be a milestone in this struggle. It will set key tasks in the further construction of a developed socialist society in the GDR till 1990 and the main lines of the country's development till the year 2000.

Young people's energy, development level, political and civic maturity are not assessed according to outward indicators but according to their deeds, their contribution to the solution of the biggest problems of society. The Central Council of the FDJ called on youth to join along with other working people in a Thälmann shift under the slogan 'My work for the strengthening and defence of our socialist country! Everything for the safeguarding of peace!' Taking up this call, hundreds of thousands of young men and women made proposals to improve things in workplaces and set themselves important labour tasks.

There is every reason to feel confident that the undertakings will be met. Young people have justified this confidence by their earlier work. In the early seventies, in line with the principle of unity of economic and social policies advanced by the Eighth SED Congress, the party approved a vast housing programme running to 1990. One of the steps in this direction was that in 1976 the FDJ declared Berlin an urgent building project of youth. Young workers went to the capital from all over the republic to renew it and increase its economic potential. By now the construction of new housing estates, each of them the size of a medium German town, has been completed on the biggest building site of the republic's youth. A number of old neighbourhoods have been reconstructed; youth teams have put up a Young Pioneers' Palace and many other cultural projects, rebuilt the theatre designed by Schinkel, a famous nineteenth-century architect, put in operation a colour TV picture tube plant and a new building of the famous Charite clinic, and built supermarkets and swimming-pools.

Working on building sites in Berlin today are 16,500 FDJ members. This year they will be joined by new groups of workers who will arrive in the capital by assignment of our League. The pace of construction, especially in housing, will quicken.

Other cities and districts of the republic are keeping abreast of the capital. In 1984, youth teams helped build or modernise over 200,000 apartments—a postwar record. This figure includes nearly 18,000 apartments for newlyweds; they were re-equipped on the initiative and under the patronage of FDJ groups.

Young men and women greeted with deep satisfaction a SED proposal to build youth clubs in new urban districts under the current five-year plan (1981-1985). Many of these clubs are functioning already. Another 46 will go up this year. Their construction is a promising way of providing better opportunities for useful leisure occupations.

Young people make a tangible contribution to the intensification of the economy of the republic by combining the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of socialism, a task of key importance for building up the economic power of the new society. Reviews of scientific and technological creation are helpful in this respect. Held every year, they begin at the level of factories and schools and go on to the district and republican level. The number of participants and the exhibits on display grows from year to year. In 1983 and 1984, these reviews involved over 960,000 young people, or more than half the working youth. It is noteworthy that scientific and technological creation is seen as not only an amateur pursuit but a welcome opportunity to serve society.

Young innovators tackle increasingly difficult tasks. They concentrate on the latest lines of scientific and technological progress, which condition the growth rate and effectiveness of production: microelectronics, robotics, computerisation, sophisticated processing of raw materials, technologies saving power and metals, biotechnology. They also concern themselves with environmental protection and the problem of modernising consumer goods. Last year the economic effect of the application of methods and devices evolved by youth amounted to 1.25 billion marks.

Invention and rationalisation involve both individual young men or women and whole collectives, primarily youth teams. The latter's work is worthy of special mention. The tradition of youth teams dates from the early years of the republic's existence. Young people advanced the slogan 'Youth to the fore in socialist emulation' as far back as 1948 and have been loyal to it ever since. They compete in labour. Team members do their best to make their lives full. They consider themselves continuators of revolutionary traditions and this is why many teams bear the names of Vladimir Lenin, Ernst Thälmann, Wilhelm Pieck, Georgi Dimitrov, Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Salvador Allende, Ernesto Che Guevara. The number of teams has gone up from 26,000 ten years ago to more than 43,000 today.

Youth teams are at once shock brigades engaged in socialist emulation and groups educating young workers in a communist spirit. It is very important, therefore, that working side by side with young people are their Communist elders. The unity of generations, one of the motive powers of socialist construction, finds a forceful expression in the activity of youth teams. Mature and young workers are at one in striving to preserve and multiply socialist achievements which constitute our common property. This reflects the essence of the remarkable fact that in the GDR there is no basis for conflicts between 'fathers' and 'sons' which are typical of capitalism with its exploitation and oppression and its competition for survival. Our younger generation has the same rights and duties as its elders.

This is not to say that there are no divergences between young people and their parents or elders. The younger generation shows inclinations differing from their elders' in regard to forms of communication, pastime, fashion, and so on. But these divergences can be dealt with through education, by fostering human relations. Ultimately they cannot loosen the unity of generations on fundamental issues of the struggle for social progress. One indication of this is the desire to join the party expressed in hundreds of applications from members of youth teams now that preparations are under way for the next SED congress.

The rights of youth have been enshrined in the Constitution of the GDR and confirmed by other legislative provisions, including the 'Law on Youth' (now being applied in its third version). These are all instruments of guaranteeing the participation of youth in making decisions at state level and in carrying them out.

We have an inviolable principle: not a single decision concerning youth shall be taken without the consent of the FDJ. The League nominates its candidates for election to all the people's representative bodies exercising state power in the republic. Every person who has turned 18 is entitled to elect or be elected. Deputies to local government bodies include nearly 22,000 League members and as for the highest authority of the republic, the Volkskammer (People's Chamber), it includes an autonomous FDJ group of 40 deputies. The burgomasters of more than 600 towns and communes are FDJ members. Thousands of young people have been elected assessors or members of comrades' courts and a still greater number of them are active in the government bodies of residential districts. Young people take part in the organisation of work in factories and offices. In factories, cooperatives and educational institutions, FDJ branch secretaries join in the discussion of all the main problems of these entities by administrative bodies. Every year sees the adoption of a plan for the encouragement of young people's initiative and executives account to young staff members for its fulfilment.

Work in democratic government bodies makes young people aware of their responsibility for government and other public affairs and helps them approach their civil rights and duties correctly. They come to realise by experience that they are governing the state along with other working people and that the state serves their interests.

The 1985 economic plan of the GDR provides for the creation of further leisure opportunities for young men and women. Two hotels for young tourists are to go into operation and several Young Pioneers camps are to be reconstructed. The state grants young people subsidies totalling nearly 100 million marks for travel at home and abroad. Another 500 million marks is allocated annually for the maintenance and operation of various facilities for the use of youth.

The state takes good care of young families. Newlyweds are granted an interest-free credit of 5,000 marks. On the birth of the first child, one-fifth of the credit is written off and subsequently this may be the case with the whole amount. The family gets a monthly cash allowance ranging between 100 and 125 marks for every child. In 1984 the state allocated 225 million marks for the repayment of credits granted to

newlyweds. (It is appropriate to note that in the same period the West German government cut allocations under the item 'Aid to youth and the family' by 524 million marks to 'secure funds' for increased military spending.)

All this is only part of the huge sums earmarked for the needs of youth. Added to these are the substantial sums spent on public education, free medical service and sports. Account should also be taken of the stability of rents, basic goods prices and service charges. All students and apprentices get grants irrespective of their parents' incomes. Lodgings in a hostel cost students 10 marks a month, or from three to five per cent of the grants they get, and lunch, 65 pfennigs. The state also helps youth by amply subsidising other studies, amateur art groups and cultural activities.

International Youth Year and the Moscow World Festival will enable young men and women to draw objective conclusions as to which society offers them the greatest opportunities. The sponsors of the 'counter-festival' in Jamaica wanted to influence these conclusions so as to discredit socialism but got nowhere.

The achievements of socialism speak for themselves. We are certain that the Moscow Festival will encourage youth to strive for peace, democracy and social progress more vigorously than ever. They will be able to express this aspiration of theirs sincerely, widely and freely in the Soviet capital.

¹ Erich Honecker, 'Bericht des Politbüros an die 9. Tagung des ZK der SED', *Neues Deutschland*, November 23, 1984.

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, p. 164.

³ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 294.

A Great Democratic Achievement

Gerry Pocock – Political Committee member, Executive Committee member and Head of the International Department, Communist Party of Great Britain

THE defeat of German fascism in the Second World War is one of the great democratic achievements of this century. The titanic struggle in which the peoples of the Soviet Union, the United States of America, Great Britain and many others worked and fought together, brought victory. It was a victory bought at the cost of great suffering, destruction and misery, with 50 million dead, millions more wounded, suffering the barbarities of the concentration camps, occupation of their countries, separation and loss. May 8th in Europe marked the end of a period in which the most powerful and dangerous sections of imperialism sought to crush democracy and to reverse the historic breakthrough made by the October Revolution and the founding of the world's first socialist state.

The united struggle against Nazism was itself an achievement for the working class movement, anti-fascist and democratic forces in which the international communist movement, particularly following the historic Seventh Congress of the Communist International, played a decisive role. In Britain, as in other capitalist states, there were powerful quarters who saw Hitler as the answer to communism and build-up Nazi Germany in the hope that she would destroy the Soviet Union. If there had not been the broad anti-fascist movements of the 1930s, the popular fronts, the

internationalist aid to Spain, then participation of several capitalist countries in the anti-fascist war would have been less likely. In spite of inter-imperialist rivalry, in many such countries there were sections of the ruling class prepared to come to terms with fascism and allow it to spearhead the attack on the Soviet Union. They were ready to arrange this deal even at the cost of giving ground to German expansionism, while others hoped that the aggressor would exhaust itself in trying to crush the USSR.

In Britain, the Communist Party was in the forefront of the movement that challenged Sir Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists. The fascists were blocked—politically and physically—because Communists and others refused to follow the advice of those in the Labour Party who argued that the fascists would just go away if ignored. Right-wing quarters and the media were enthusiastic about Hitler and his 'dynamic leadership'. There is no doubt that in the absence of an anti-fascist movement and without the exposure of British fascism the forces of appeasement, of accommodation with Hitler, would have been more confident and more influential. The response to the call of Republican Spain also played its part. Britain's Communists, Socialists and democrats who rallied to the fight against Franco became part of the International Brigade, which also exposed the nature of the fascist threat and aroused public opinion. All this was carried out in defiance of an official 'non-intervention' policy.

It was this many-faceted anti-fascist struggle that also deeply influenced a whole generation of British artists and intellectuals and had its reflection, too, in the political ferment of the time. It was a period that made its full effect felt in the immediate postwar years, with the electoral defeat of Winston Churchill and the election of the majority Labour government, with its self-confident programme 'Let Us Face the Future', but reflecting the less formal but deeply felt concept 'Never Again', a slogan that referred not just to the horrors of war but also to that whole period of mass unemployment and fascist threat that preceded the war.

Broad Solidarity

Of less obvious significance at the time perhaps, but a factor that did make a vital contribution before, during and immediately after the war, was the policy of the British Trades Union Congress. Already in 1924 the TUC had incurred the wrath of the British press for daring to send its General Secretary and a delegation to the young Soviet Union. This led to the setting up of the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee to foster closer links. Of particular importance—and, perhaps, of even greater relevance today—is to know the reasons that led the TUC to seek links with Russian workers: it was to help develop trade in the face of mounting unemployment in Britain, and to work together against the arms drive and the growing war danger. Though the Committee did not endure, the British trade union movement at all levels throughout the 1920s and 1930s argued in the International Federation of Trade Unions (the Amsterdam International) for trade union unity, for over-coming the anti-communist barriers that kept the movement divided.

These efforts played their part, too, in creating the conditions and the impetus for the wartime alliance against Hitler. They also played a crucial role in shaping the wartime and postwar developments that led to the formation of the World Federation of Trade Unions. The lesson is obvious: disunity, anti-communism and the policy of turning a blind eye to the threatening danger nearly proved fatal. That such fatal consequences did not materialise owes much to the activity of the working class movement and in particular to the search for broad unity developed by the communist parties in the 1930s.

The unity forged in the armed struggle against Nazism was a historic achievement.

The memory of it is still alive even after the long years of the cold war, when the Soviet Union was defined as the 'enemy' in our country, when NATO was set up and every attempt was made to erase the memory of the anti-fascist coalition. In a recent radio phone-in programme in London, a Tory MP argued that 'the Russians are coming', that is, that the Soviet Union posed a threat to Britain. What was interesting about this debate is that many of those who phoned in recalled the alliance between the Soviet Union and Britain of those years. The phone-in vote was three to one *against* the cold war argument being put forward.

What was demonstrated during the war years was that co-operation was possible between countries of different social systems in face of a common threat and, indeed, that such cooperation was imperative if victory was to be achieved. Confronted with a terrible threat to the democratic and cultural gains of mankind, peoples proved capable of creating an alliance that overcame this threat. Another crucial lesson of the period is that the unity of the anti-fascist struggle could and should have come about earlier. The significance of what was achieved can perhaps be measured by reflecting for a moment on what *failure* would have meant, what a fascist victory would have brought—for the cause of socialism, for the cultural and democratic heritage of nations. But it is equally important to reflect on how much suffering could have been avoided by greater foresight, by an earlier recognition of the dangers of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, by a determined struggle against Hitler fascism before it had built up—and had been helped to build up—its monstrous war machine.

The joint struggle against fascism opened new prospects: its experience and the lessons of wartime cooperation shaped the developments of the immediate postwar period. It was a time of confidence, optimism, determination among the people. Simply to itemise some of the main achievements won by the progressive forces is to revive to some degree the mood of the times. The upsurge of the national and social struggle in many Southeastern and Central European countries leading to popular anti-fascist democratic governments and to the eventual emergence of a community of socialist states. The involvement of Communists in government in France, Italy and some other capitalist countries. The Labour majority—already mentioned—in Britain. The formation of the United Nations—more universal, more clear in its aims, more firmly based than the prewar League of Nations. The great acceleration of the liberation struggle in the colonial countries, many of whose peoples had joined the fight against German fascism or Japanese militarism and now wanted their own freedom. The victory opened broad vistas before mankind and created more favourable conditions for socialism. It was a time when construction and development were the watchwords.

There was an equally far-reaching development in the international working class movement with the formation of the World Federation of Trade Unions. As already noted, the seeds of this development were sewn in the 1920s, but the wartime alliance played a crucial role. When Nazi Germany attacked the Soviet Union in 1941, the British Trades Union Congress unanimously called for the re-establishment of an Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee. So strong was the feeling for this project that the first meeting took place within weeks, with agreement being reached covering mutual assistance in the joint war effort against Hitler Germany and all possible assistance to the people of the countries under Nazi occupation. By 1943 the TUC was calling for a world conference 'to promote the widest possible unity in aim and action of the international trade union movement'.¹ This led eventually to the London Conference in February 1945 and the foundation of the WFTU in October of that same year, bringing together for the first time ever the trade unions of countries with different social systems, of varying ideological outlook. The unity of the WFTU was disrupted by the onset of the cold war, bringing to an end the still incomplete attempt to overcome all the problems of bringing together the diverse stands, outlooks and priorities of the international trade union movement.

Revive the Spirit of Change

It seems to me important to understand why we are marking the 40th anniversary of the end of the war and the victory over fascism so widely. There are several reasons, not all of them rooted in history.

First, of course, we remember all those who were killed in the war, whether by bullet, bomb, bayonet or the barbarity of concentration camps. For many today there are personal memories of loved ones lost; for younger people the memory is not direct, but nonetheless important. It is impossible to measure fully the suffering and loss imposed in that war. But the destructive power of the weaponry used in it cannot be even remotely compared to that of the weapons of today. It is common today to talk of 'conventional' weapons and 'conventional' war as distinct from nuclear weapons and nuclear war. The distinction is important, but memories of the past give rise to our determination to banish any war, involving any types of weapons. Hence our foremost duty: to ensure that the postwar generation know more about the war and the victory over fascism and honour the memory of those who died in order that they may live.

Lessons of the past have an application today. An additional lesson is that many of the hopes to which victory gave rise 40 years ago were blocked by the Anglo-US inspired cold war and by the US build-up of atomic and nuclear weapons. In 1946, Britain's wartime leader Winston Churchill picked up the words used by Nazi leader Dr. Goebbels and spoke of an 'Iron Curtain' across Europe. He was one of those who launched the cold war and gave a massive setback to progressive developments. However, even while recognising that setback, we also know that many of the gains have been consolidated, that the changes that have begun can no longer be reversed.

The new situation is that with the victory of revolution in several countries on three continents, specifically in China and Cuba, the world of socialism expanded, imperialist colonial rule was swept away, and the United Nations grew in prestige. The communist parties grew in maturity and in number; the international communist movement is developing as a movement of autonomous and independent parties creatively applying the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the experience of the international working class to the concrete circumstances in which each works. All this has given impetus to new concepts of international relations between states, of national sovereignty, of the solution of disputes without recourse to force, of negotiated disarmament. Peaceful co-existence of states of differing social systems became a widely accepted principle.

We hold that a crucial need now is to revive to the full the aspirations and change initiated 40 years ago. The forces exist in the world today that, if active and united, can restrain imperialism and bring the arms race to an end. Powerful, broadly based peace movements are active today, mobilising public opinion against the threat of nuclear war; support for the principles on which the UN is based is strong and can affect the actions of governments; the non-aligned movement has a big impact on world events.

But peace is not inevitable either. Weapons development, the build-up of imperialist military bases throughout the world, the aggravation of regional problems and conflicts could lead to nuclear war. If we do not learn the lessons of the past and how to apply them, then humanity may not have another chance to do so. We are on the edge of a nuclear holocaust, of a war which in destructiveness goes far beyond anything known before.

A recent investigation in London by leading international lawyers concluded that the present rate of development of weapons and strategies (such as 'limited nuclear war') meant that such a war was virtually inevitable some time in the future. Scientists from many countries—from the Soviet Union, Britain, the USA and elsewhere—have described what the effects of war might be like: a nuclear winter of cold and darkness, disease, famine, and the destruction of even the fundamentals of

civilisation. A pamphlet produced last year by the Communist Party of Great Britain said: 'A "small" (100 megatons) war is . . . less than one per cent of the world's nuclear arsenals. The new studies showed that 100 megatons exploded over cities north of the equator could cause: darkness to cover the Northern Hemisphere for two months, temperatures to drop below 20 degrees of frost, blizzards with snow reaching depths of several feet.'²

To a New Era of Cooperation

1985 started on a note of hope with the start of talks between the USA and the USSR in March. This agreement was itself an achievement of the peace forces. The Soviet government's proposal for talks was taken up by the US in spite of the open opposition to any agreement on the part of some in the US administration and NATO. The reckless pursuit of the Star Wars project, fraudently named the Strategic Defence Initiative, could not only obstruct, and possibly wreck, the peace talks, but lead also to a new level of arms race. In Britain, Mrs. Thatcher, while expressing some misgivings about the Star Wars project, maintains her policies: cruise deployment is continuing, the astronomically expensive Trident project is going ahead, there are renewed and intensified attacks on the peace movement, and in particular the peace camps at Greenham and Molesworth.

However, Mrs. Thatcher has been obliged to modify her stance to some degree on East-West relations. This was shown in the talks she had in London last December with Mikhail Gorbachev when he headed a delegation from the USSR Supreme Soviet. Public reaction and political commentary on the visit was overwhelmingly positive. The 40th anniversary provides a fresh opportunity for emphasising the value and mutual benefits of good relations and cooperation between the British and the Soviet peoples. And there is no doubt that today, just as 40 years ago, these good relations and cooperation would be a great contribution to reducing world tension.

In November 1984 Neil Kinnock, leader of the Labour Party, conducted important talks in Moscow. Earlier in that year the Labour Party adopted a defence policy document which included many of the demands of the mass peace movement: a call for the removal of all cruise missiles, cancellation of the Trident project and the decommissioning of Polaris, the removal of US nuclear bases from Britain. These demands all spring from the basic approach which has inspired the broad mass peace movement in Britain, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament: the call for unilateral nuclear disarmament by Britain.

Britain is not only a small island which faces virtual extinction in a nuclear war. It is also one of the nuclear powers with its own 'independent' deterrent, of which cruise is just the latest. Unilateral nuclear disarmament therefore is not only a way of increasing Britain's own security, it is also a contribution to wider measures of disarmament at international level.

The discussions in Moscow revealed the following pledge: 'The Soviet Union would be prepared to reduce and dismantle a part of its medium-range missiles in the European part of the USSR equal to the number of nuclear missiles dismantled by the British side. Implementation of complete nuclear disarmament by Britain with liquidation of foreign nuclear bases would create the conditions under which the USSR would guarantee that its nuclear weapons would not be targeted on British territory.'³

While this commitment was described by the Prime Minister, the Defence establishment and most of the media as meaningless and impractical, it is in reality one of the most important peace moves of recent times. It offers to this country a very specific and attainable measure of disarmament that can open the door to wider measures. It is a proposal that does not await upon the election of a Labour government, it has to be kept in the forefront of the demands now for a change in

Tory government policy, for a new approach to the question of this country's relations with the Soviet Union. Another importance of this proposal and of the visit by the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation is that they help to break down that anti-Soviet myth which sustains the arms race and is used to justify the crushing burden of arms spending borne by the British people.

The peace movement in Britain is a broad one, uniting people of different political outlooks, religious beliefs and philosophical outlook, from many different sectors of the population. One of its strengths is that more than in the past there is the involvement of the organised labour movement, the trade unions, who make their own distinctive contribution on such questions as arms conversion. It is an autonomous movement with its own demands which arise from the specific conditions of Britain.

Today, the world once again faces grave danger—of devastating nuclear war. There are other challenging threats too: the problem of famine, underdevelopment and poverty; the threat to the United Nations system itself; the challenge of new technology and many others. All of them demand peace, disarmament and cooperation based on mutual respect. In commemorating the 40th anniversary we can assert the need for a new era of cooperation. Today, as in the past, the labour and progressive movement has a vital role to play, all the more so because today, the communist parties, the trade unions, the peace movements are incomparably stronger. While recognising the autonomy and independence of the movements in each country, there is surely the greatest need and possibility for a new level of cooperation in the closing years of the twentieth century.

¹ *Trades Union Congress. 75th Annual Report*, 1943, Southport, London, p. 288.

² J. Cox, *War and Peace*. The nuclear edition, London, 1984, p. 3.

³ *Pravda*, November 27, 1984.

Nationalisation: A Problem of Class Struggle

Rosmarie Atzenhofer – Economic Policy Department staff member, CC, Communist Party of Austria

Walter Silbermayr – Political Bureau member, CC, Communist Party of Austria

ABOUT 400,000 people, or 15 per cent of Austria's wage workers, are employed in roughly 1,600 enterprises and organisations owned fully or partly by the state, that is, the Federation, provinces or communes. These enterprises account for 18 per cent of GNP and over 20 per cent of investments in the national economy. The nationalised sector covers key economic fields, primarily the main industries, including electricity, and banking.¹ It plays a pivotal role in the nation's economy and political life.

The enterprises in this sector are characterised by diverse types of nationalisation due to historical, political and economic causes. Many of them emerged before World War I; they were set up by the state (the postal service, the railways) and the

provinces (provincial mortgage banks) or brought into existence by transferring private enterprises to the state. The latter applies above all to communal property, such as street railways or gas and electricity supply. Some enterprises of this kind (the tobacco or salt monopoly, the Federal forestry department) sprang up as far back as the days of absolutist feudal rule.

The state chiefly provides conditions for the development of production which private enterprise cannot do for various reasons: inadequate profitability, excessive economic hazards, too high a minimum or too long a period of turnover of capital, the need for centralised management. This forces capitalism to contribute against its will to the socialisation of production. Engels wrote that at a definite stage of this process the state must assume the management of some means of production and that 'this necessity for conversion into state property is felt first in the great institutions for intercourse and communication—the post-office, the telegraphs, the railways'.²

This was the case with, among others, the power plants involved in the nationalisation process that surged high in Austria after 1945. Their conversion into state property was profitable to private monopoly capital, which had a stake in guaranteed power supply at a cut price, sufficient investments in extended production and national control of industry.

On the other hand, this form of property has a bitter smack for capital, since it may be said to put the stamp of historical doom on the capitalist mode of production and appropriation.

Attacks on this part of the public sector intensified when, in the mid-seventies, the general crisis of capitalism went from bad to worse. Some power plants owned by the state were granted the rights of a 'private economic' juridical person under the slogan 'From office to enterprise'. These plants are no longer financed under the state budget, which means that the laws of private enterprise have been extended to them in greater measure than before. This generally results in higher tariffs as well as a deterioration of working conditions and pay, lower wage and salary rates, higher intensity of labour and restriction of the workers' likely demands under collective agreements. State enterprises that have become profitable find themselves exposed to importunate demands from monopolies intent on reprivatising them. Already there are cases of communally owned utilities being sold to private persons.

New Type of Nationalisation

Nationalised industry is at once the core and a new type of Austria's nationalised economy. It was established in 1946, after the abolition of Hitler fascist rule, and encompasses the greater part of heavy industry and some important manufacturing enterprises. The public sector includes three major banks. The state industrial enterprises run by the Österreichische Industrieverwaltungs AG (ÖIAG) employ about 100,000 people, or roughly 18 per cent of the total number of industrial employees. This sector produces about one-fifth of the total industrial output; it accounts for a quarter of industrial investments and 23 per cent of exports. It includes enterprises belonging to the nationalised banks and employing about 60,000 people. These indirectly nationalised enterprises put out a substantial part of capital goods.

Engels offered important advice on how to analyse the character of nationalisation under capitalism. In a letter to Max Oppenheim he stressed that 'every nationalisation is merely a change of the form and not the elimination of exploitation' as long as 'the propertied classes' are 'at the helm'.³ He called attention to this aspect of nationalisation, noting that 'state ownership of the productive forces is not the solution of the conflict (the main contradiction of capitalism.—R.A., W.S.), but concealed within it are the technical conditions that form the elements of that solution'.⁴

The progressive potentialities of nationalisation and its functions as a means of exploitation and state monopoly regulation flowing from the nature of the state under capitalism coexist in dialectical unity. Any overestimation or disregard of one of its aspects leads, as the experience of our country has shown, to opportunist illusions or a sectarian negation of the positive significance of nationalisation. Ascertaining this or that aspect of it depends on the balance of class forces, primarily the social consciousness, militancy and activity of the working class. Nationalisation, says the CPA Programme, can really become 'a key position serving the people' only when the 'stewards and politicians of monopoly capital have been excluded from government and the agencies managing the public sector'.⁵

To grasp the meaning of nationalisation processes in Austria, it is important to remember that immediately after 1945 the Austrian bourgeoisie was economically unable to take over the enterprises formerly owned by German monopoly capital. Their restoration to the one-time owners or their transfer to other groups of foreign monopoly capital was likewise impossible in the political context of the time.

The bourgeoisie saw in nationalisation a means of bringing former German property situated in the Soviet occupation zone under its control. Besides, the advance of our eastern neighbours along a socialist road played a notable part in deciding Austrian monopoly capital and its political stewards to make far-reaching concessions to the working class movement. The workers in major industrial centres demanded the nationalisation of all key economic fields. Their demand met widespread support among the anti-fascist sections of the population; remembering the disastrous role of fascist Germany's monopolies, they expected nationalisation to help end for ever the penetration of foreign capital into key areas of the Austrian economy. This explains why influential groups of the Austrian monopoly bourgeoisie and their political spokesman in the Austrian Peoples Party (APP) did not declare outright or publicly against nationalisation. Their strategic aim was to limit it as far as possible and put it in the service of private capitalist interests.

The fact that the nationalisation of Austrian industry and the inclusion of this economic sector in the social partnership system took place in a relatively peaceful manner, without open resistance from monopoly, played an appreciable part in the progress of both. However, the scope of nationalisation in 1946 was far from meeting the expectations of the workers, the decisions of the Federation of Austrian Trade Unions or the demands of the CPA, the most consistent advocate of nationalisation.

The plants which prior to the annexation of Austria by Hitler Germany had been French, US, British or Dutch property were not included in the list of the enterprises to be nationalised directly. Nor did the list include—due to APP intrigues—the enterprises controlled by nationalised banks. The banks themselves were soon excluded from the nationalised sector's common management. Their partial reprivatisation added to the influence of monopoly capital.

As a result of numerous reorganisations, mergers and reprivatisations (e.g., in the case of Siemens in the early seventies or some oil companies in 1955), eight joint-stock companies involving several major corporations were formed from the originally nationalised 67 enterprises. In 1946 these enterprises were under direct government control. It took monopoly capital two decades of political campaigning to wrest their direct management from the state. To this end the Österreichische Industriegesellschaft was set up in 1967 (it was renamed the ÖIAG in 1970). This holding company is functioning as a mediator exercising the rights of the state as joint owner of the nationalised enterprises. Their operation is influenced to a considerable degree by private monopoly interests defended by members of boards and supervisory bodies who represent domestic and foreign monopoly capital.

Originally nationalised industry was expected to supply the private sector mainly with basic materials, primarily steel, at lower than world prices (dual price system).

When, in 1973, the agreement between Austria and the Common Market on the establishment of a free trade zone became effective it put an end to this system. The signing of a coal and steel treaty with the EEC led (owing in particular to the crisis in the steel industry) to increased pressure on the nationalised sector of the Austrian economy from the Community's steel monopolies, primarily those of the FRG. The utilisation of capacities was restricted and the volume of output had to be agreed with these monopolies; this was the main reason for the rundown and reorganisation of production in the nationalised sector.

Contrary to the Workers Aspirations

The substance of nationalisation in Austria fell short of the aspirations of the working class movement, which was demanding socialisation, that is, wanted the nationalised enterprises to be put under the direct democratic control of the producers and consumers. Yet the right of the staffs of these enterprises to participate in management was regulated in the same way as in the private sector.

It was chiefly the fault of the leadership of the Socialist Party of Austria (SPA) that the militancy of the working class at a time when the balance of political forces was favourable did not translate into action. The SPA, which dominated the trade unions and the majority of production councils, did not allow large-scale mass actions in favour of nationalising key enterprises and establishing democratic control. SPA leaders looked forward to achieving concord with domestic and foreign monopoly capital. However, the social consciousness and militancy of the working people, including numerous Socialist workers, were so high that already in 1947 the SPA leadership had to include in its action programme a provision reading as follows: 'The nationalised part of the Austrian economy will be unified, rationalised and built up. It is to be carried forward to socialisation by introducing social forms of economic management and full democracy in the enterprises.'⁶

Actually the Socialists were pursuing in the government and the trade union movement a policy running counter to the above promise. They used rabid anti-communism, complete with elements of fascist ideology, as a key means of demobilising the working class and splitting its front. In this situation the nationalised industries became an instrument of state monopoly regulation geared to private capitalist accumulation instead of serving as a lever of anti-monopoly changes with a socialist trend. This policy was camouflaged with calls for the 'national unity in the interest of rehabilitation' after the ravages of World War II. The decline in Communist influence in the trade unions and on production councils following the defeat of the great strike movement in 1950 paved the way for involving the nationalised industries in social partnership, which became 'the dominant form . . . of state monopoly capitalism'⁷ in Austria. Nationalised enterprises were fertile ground for the SPA leadership's orientation to partnership with capital. Hundreds of SPA officials on production councils became members of the managements of these enterprises, primarily the personnel and wages departments. As for the workers, most of them were prevented, as in the past, from influencing really significant decisions. The most important of these are still made at narrow meetings attended by directors who are SPA members and not at general meetings of production councils. And while the influence of Socialist leaders on the councils and the opportunities of leaning on the work collectives for support have been dwindling, especially since the onset of another cyclical crisis in 1980, they are still considerable.

The office of production council member is a point of departure for continuing one's political or, more often, administrative career. Even those who fail to get on enjoy certain privileges depending on the post they hold; they have an economic stake in retaining it and so are only too willing to carry out instructions 'from above'. It is this category of relatively privileged representatives of the workers that produces

from its ranks chairmen of major production councils who integrate closely into the social partnership system. Their thinking adapts increasingly to capitalism's logic. As a result, from what a poll has revealed, most board members agree without much hesitation to the dismissal of fellow-workers for 'economic' reasons.

The SPA leaders' influence on the situation in nationalised industry also expresses itself in the fact that roughly 50 per cent of the enterprise managers are appointed on their recommendation. This group of technocrats is solidly integrated into social partnership and its upper section belongs to the state monopoly oligarchy of the country. It owes its standing to the SPA; on the other hand, it tries harder and harder to influence SPA policy.

However, the existence of the nationalised sector amounts to a weakening of the positions of monopoly capital, since an important part of the economy has been rid of the latter's influence. In the past, the monopolies strove to offset this by organisational and political means. Influential groups of the ruling class were inclined to carry on a policy of concord with SPA leadership. For a long time the Austrian bourgeoisie's relative weakness compelled it to make concessions which the working people in other countries were only able to win through a powerful strike movement. This situation helped spread the ideology of social partnership and increase social democratic influence on the working class.

Greater Opportunities

Though involved in social partnership, nationalised industry objectively provides greater opportunities for the struggle of the working class and for the eventual abolition of this partnership. Much to the displeasure of the bourgeoisie, the nationalised sector shows that enterprises can do without "partnership" with the employer. In this case the fundamental law of capitalism operates indirectly, primarily through the mechanism of state policy decisions, and hence it is easier for the working class movement to defend its interests by exerting political pressure. 'In this sector, the responsibility of the state for all matters relating to wage, social and structural policy is evident. It must take account of the workers' organisation and class consciousness according to their degree. Struggle with the state as the "central capitalist" may develop into political ones the more easily and contribute substantially to the formation of anti-monopoly consciousness.'⁸

Inasmuch as conflicts in nationalised industry assume very fast a political character directed against the government, the SPA-led coalition cabinet does everything possible to nip all unrest in the bud. But where it comes to an open dispute between the production council and the management (a rare occurrence so far), as was the case in VOEST-Alpine, a major nationalised company, the Federal Chancellor is often compelled (as a representative of the proprietor state) to step in.

The capitalist state disguises its class and monopoly nature; it pretends to be a supra-class force concerned solely with the 'common weal'. What this implies in practice is that with regard to nationalised enterprises it is compelled to show a degree of restraint in applying methods which may be interpreted as typical of the private capitalist economy.

During the fairly long period of economic upturn, the core of organised labour in nationalised industry won substantial improvements in its position that extended in time to the whole working class. Nationalised industry played the role of pioneer in the matter of perfecting remuneration and social security, providing conditions for vocational training, and so on. But these achievements did not come of themselves. They required many initiatives and actions in whose organisation Communist members of production councils and CPA activists took a direct part.

As regards SPA leaders, they systematically fostered illusions among the workers about the character of nationalised industry. They called it a 'national economy' and

held it up as an example of peaceful 'elimination of capitalism'. They made the workers believe that it was no longer necessary to fight for the expansion and democratisation of the nationalised industries since capitalism was going to disappear gradually of itself. Against the background of relatively guaranteed employment and a reasonably favourable economic development trend, the workers came to treat nationalised enterprises as being under their control. This attitude has certain elements of class consciousness to the extent that it proceeds from the notion that the paramount task of the nationalised sector is to overcome the influence of private capitalist property. When the crisis began the SPA leadership appealed to this 'sense of master' from the opposite standpoint, assuring the workers that the very existence of 'their' enterprises was at stake; this argument was intended to gild the pill and make the workers resign themselves to a policy of sacrifice and belt-tightening.

New Situation

Monopoly capital changed its attitude to the nationalised industries when, in the mid-seventies, it mounted a general offensive against the working class in the context of the crisis. The Austrian monopolies are out to weaken the nationalised sector in two ways: first, by running down basic production in this sector through more drastic capitalist rationalisation, and second; by reprivatising profitable enterprises in manufacturing industry. The big bourgeoisie not only wants to exploit the crisis as a means of making this sector serve capitalist interests more than before but is laying much more ambitious plans.

In Austria the only way to bring about cuts in real wages, undermine the social achievements of the working class and lower the standard of living outright is to rob nationalised industry of its positive leading role in these fields. Accordingly, capital does all it can to deform this role and turn nationalised enterprises into initiators of cuts in wages and social benefits. In some enterprises wages were reduced by way of experiment, occasionally by one-third. What makes this trend highly dangerous is, first of all, that in time large sections of the working class may stop looking on nationalised industry as more progressive in comparison with private capitalist property and that reaction's efforts in favour of reprivatisation, far from drawing protests, may even meet support. This is why the organisation of resistance on the largest possible scale to the offensive against nationalised industry has a decisive impact on political developments in the country.

To achieve their aims, influential sectors of Austrian monopoly capital have chosen the strategy of 'long-term offensive' in preference to a frontal attack on the working class movement. The bourgeoisie calls for consensus with the SPA leadership on the basis of social partnership to weaken the nationalised sector. SPA leaders at both government and trade union level have already set about reducing and partly reprivatising it. At the same time they use for their own ends vicious attacks on this sector from the bourgeois media, which are doing their utmost to exaggerate the deficit existing in it; they describe the social rights won by the working people as 'privileges' and argue that these live at the taxpayers' expense. SPA leaders pose as defenders of the taxpayers' interests and justify their policy as the 'lesser evil' or 'forced steps' dictated by the international crisis in the ferrous metal industry.

The SPA-led coalition government generally makes government assistance to nationalised enterprises conditional on the adoption of extensive measures to rationalise production and curtail the working people's social gains. Where this assistance is granted it takes the form of loans from the private sector instead of budget appropriations. The government services the loans until production becomes profitable again. Financial aid is spent chiefly on making up for losses and not on increasing the enterprises' assets or on extending research. As for financing current activity, nationalised enterprises are compelled to solicit credits from nationalised

banks and to pay high interest.

The reconversion of some industries to the final processing of products (it was begun several years ago and required enormous investments) creates the prerequisites for excluding profitable enterprises from the nationalised sector. The founding of subsidiaries helps private capital infiltrate and reprivatise them step by step. Although foreign companies are in the lead, Austrian monopoly capital misses no opportunity that offers. The share of nationalised companies in subsidiaries is generally much smaller than that of private, primarily foreign monopolies. In industries using new technology, such as microelectronics, nationalised enterprises are reduced to the role of suppliers of spare parts and assemblies. Cooperation with foreign monopolies is largely accompanied by the adjustment of nationalised industry to the requirements of the international division of labour established by them. It is beginning to function as something of an 'extra machine-tool'.

Unity of Action and Alliances

Social partnership makes resistance to attacks on nationalised industry extremely difficult. The SPA-dominated Federation of Austrian Trade Unions and the majority of production council heads are cooperating actively with the authorities to run down production and curtail social benefits contrary to the employees' interests.

Social partnership has left a deep mark on the social consciousness of the Austrian working class in the form of loss of militancy, a dulled sense of solidarity, disillusionment and pessimism. Lately, however, there has been evidence that under the impact of the crisis and their own experience, more and more workers in nationalised enterprises take a class stand. In some places where there were plants threatened with closure, it came to open resistance by the workers, who gained valuable experience of class struggle in these conflicts. It emerged that among SPA officials in the middle echelon the workers can find allies in the common fight against production rundown and encroachments on social achievements. Communists are working steadfastly for stronger unity of action with Socialist and Christian workers, managerial and technical personnel to defend and restore, at least to a degree, the leading role of nationalised industry. An important line of this policy is to spell out the community of the workers' interests and the need for them in both the nationalised and the private sectors to resist together the effects of the crisis.

To give an example, resistance to the closure of the Niklasdorf paper mill owned by one of the nationalised banks took diverse forms ranging from the blocking of streets by the local population, women and children included, to the occupation of the mill. Both at Niklasdorf and at Judenburg, where there was a mass action against the planned closure of a steel plant belonging to the nationalised sector, the activity of the solidarity committees formed outside the plants played a special role.

A task of decisive importance is to help various population groups realise their common stake in the preservation of nationalised plants which get their supplies from thousands of small and medium enterprises and keep them going by placing orders with them. It is essential for the owners of these enterprises to know that it is much more preferable to supply nationalised industry with their output than to be dependent on private monopoly capital. In turn, nationalised enterprises could play a more active role in creating jobs in crisis-stricken areas and establish closer ties with local economic structures. Relevant demands would help form broad regional alliances in defence of these enterprises.

The experience of our country and the role of the nationalised sector in preserving Austria's economic independence and neutrality suggests that it is necessary to bear in mind the objective long-range possibility of forming in defence of the sector a national alliance that would also involve certain sections of the bourgeoisie.

The Communists' Role

The Communist Party insists on writing into the Austrian Constitution a provision in defence of nationalised industry to emphasise the national significance of this economic sector and help the population resist its rundown and reprivatisation.

Notwithstanding various attacks, intimidation and discrimination by 'social partners', Communists and production council members from the Trade Union Left Bloc close to the CPA are in the lead among those who resist the offensive against nationalised industry. The main task of the Communist Party at this stage is to raise the class consciousness of various categories of workers and promote their unity in the course of numerous actions in defence of their everyday interests, jobs and social gains and hence to contribute to the fight for the extension and democratisation of the nationalised sector. This aim can only be achieved by reducing the influence of the idea of social partnership and by changing the balance of class forces in the trade unions and enterprises in favour of class-conscious elements.

We believe it is very important to ensure that production councils stop serving as an instrument of the policy of running down production and curtailing social benefits and help instead defend nationalised industry and uphold its leading role.

The CPA action programme stresses in regard to the nationalised sector the need to build up the democratic autonomy of work collectives and extend the workers' right to participate in management and vote on fundamental problems of production. Communists insist that representatives as well as the political underlings of domestic and foreign monopoly capital be removed from the boards and supervisory bodies of these enterprises.

In the current struggle over the nationalised sector, Communists reject the government's policy, which is prompted by the interests of the big bourgeoisie and leads to growing economic difficulties, a rundown of production and an aggravation of crisis phenomena. Our party indicates the nationalised industries' vast opportunities of defending jobs and the workers' social gains and of planning investments and production with due regard to the requirements of the whole nation. And it is fighting for the realisation of these opportunities.

¹ Official Austrian statistics uses the term *public economy* for means of production or assets owned by the Federation, provinces, communes or nationalised banks. The term does not cover non-production enterprises operating in the spheres of the health services, social security, education and research. The 'public economy' comprises 'direct Federal participation', including the railways and postal service (137,000 employees), 'nationalised industries' (104,000), 'nationalised banks' and their property (59,000), 'other forms of state participation in investment' (16,000), 'enterprises and assets of provinces' (19,000), the 'municipal services' (46,000), and 'mixed forms of participation' (14,000).—Ed.

² Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Moscow, 1959, p. 383.

³ Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *MEW*, Vol. 38, p. 64.

⁴ Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, p. 384.

⁵ *Sozialismus in Österreichs Farben*, Programm der Kommunistischen Partei Österreichs, Vienna, 1982, p. 20.

⁶ Quoted from Filla, *Zwischen Integration und Klassenkampf*. Sozialgeschichte der betrieblichen Mitbestimmung in Österreich, 1981, p. 208.

⁷ *Sozialismus in Österreichs Farben*, p. 21.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 19–20.

The Socialist International: Focus on Brazil

Givaldo Pereira de Siqueira – CC
Executive Committee member, Brazilian
Communist Party

THE leadership of the Socialist International (SI) has paid Latin America close attention ever since the mid-seventies. Its symbols—a clenched fist and a scarlet rose—are becoming habitual in the political life of the continent, where the SI has 14 full-fledged affiliates now, with a number of other parties enjoying an observer status. At present the Social Democrats are in power in Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic and Venezuela. The orientation of the ruling parties of Mexico and Panama as well as Peru's APRA¹ is close to this ideological trend. As far as the number of social democratic or similar governments is concerned, Latin America is now comparable to Western Europe, the traditional region of the priority interests of the SI. In the long term, the SI expects to win stronger positions in Latin America.

This calculation is based on the socio-economic changes in our region over the past two decades that have created certain prerequisites for the success of the social democratic 'offensive'. Intensive economic growth, rapid monopolisation of production and concentration of capital in some of the more developed countries (Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Venezuela) and a sharp increase in the proportion of workers and members of the new middle strata have compounded inter-class relations and provided conditions for social manoeuvring and more active indoctrination of the people by Social Democrats. At the same time, the anti-imperialist liberation struggle of peoples and the movement for democracy have been expanding as a logical response to the years-long tyranny of authoritarian regimes.

It is obvious that in the highly explosive socio-economic situation prevailing in Latin America today, the SI is trying to channel the immense potential of the forces demanding social change and the long-standing democratic aspirations of the people in a reformist direction. In this way it is creating a counterpoise to the revolutionary alternative of development, which since the victory of the Cuban revolution has been translating visible realities on the continent, primarily in the form of achievements in Nicaragua, the struggle of El Salvador's patriots for genuine independence, massive anti-dictatorial actions in Chile and Paraguay, and the effort of the people of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil and Uruguay to extend the process of democratic change.

Besides, the SI's wide penetration into Latin America may in definite circumstances become (and has already become, as some analysts believe) a trumpcard for West European monopolies intent on holding their ground against US competitors on local markets, where recent years have seen West German, French, Spanish, Scandinavian and Swiss corporations step up their activity. Sociologist John Petras has written that the pink banner of social democracy gives West German capital the green light.

In turn, present-day and prospective Latin American partners of the SI see contacts with it as an opportunity to gain access to influential West European parties and governments. First of all, this helps them assert themselves and gain greater respectability through serious international ties. Secondly, parties in power or expecting to take over regard relations with social democratic parties of Western Europe as an additional chance of solving acute financial and economic problems of Latin American countries and easing the 'North-South conflict' to a degree. After all, the SI considers Western Europe an important component of the industrial 'North'.

Besides, some Latin American parties, movements and statesmen see close bonds with influential European political forces as a counterpoise to the pressure of militant imperialist forces of the USA and home reaction. These trends have led Michael Löwy, a Latin American analyst, to the conclusion that rivalry between US and West European capital as well as the efforts of some business and political groupings in Latin America to lean on Western Europe for support in resisting dependence on the United States add to European influence south of the Rio Grande.

Strictly speaking, this last fact applies to both Social Democrats and other reformists, as recent attempts to merge liberal and radical parties of Western Europe and Latin America into a so-called Radical International indicated.²

The immediate purpose of the SI's building up contacts with a wide range of Latin American political forces is to create a real, durable and, as far as possible, broad political basis. Such a base was lacking in the past, for, unlike those of Western Europe, the Latin American social democratic parties in existence were small and rather weak, chiefly for lack of a numerous reformist 'working class aristocracy', their natural social mainstay, in most countries of the region.

With due regard to Latin America's peculiarities, the SI seems to see its long-term object, not in forming new parties, but in using the organisational channels already there: parties, trade unions, mass movements and public organisations, including those that do not quite fit ideologically into the framework of social democracy but are merely close to it by virtue of certain parameters. This approach makes it possible to cooperate with many forces on the centre left in the Latin American political spectrum, that is, liberal, radical and various national reformist movements.

What the SI is particularly interested in from this point of view are the South Cone countries where the liberation struggle against reactionary dictatorship is nearing victory. These countries have reached a relatively high level of socio-economic development and capitalist maturity; they have a fairly large working class as well as a large population group belonging to the middle strata; the political activity of the masses is appreciable while the broad democratic movement is socially and ideologically heterogeneous and strongly influenced by petty-bourgeois ideas. The SI also takes account of the perfectly explicable difficulties of the revolutionary, left-wing forces resulting from years of repression, underground activity and exile plus the survival of remnants of the mass national reformist currents of the forties and sixties (Getulism³ in Brazil), which today link up in many cases with the social democratic movement. Nor should one forget the experience of a number of South European countries that have freed themselves from fascist and dictatorial regimes (Spain, Portugal, Greece) and are close both economically and socially to the most developed countries of Latin America. Power in all these countries ultimately found itself in social democratic hands.

Such is, in rough outline, the Latin American policy of the SI. The distinguishing aspects of the SI's approach stand out in Brazil, a country which is plainly becoming a major object of attention for the international social democratic movement in Latin America. The growing interest aroused by Brazil is attributable to its size and increasing international influence as well as to the distinctive political situation here. The SI counts on likely changes in the alignment of domestic political forces in the course of transition from military to civilian rule and on the changes in the class composition of society that took place with the rapid economic development of the sixties and seventies.

There is a further reason—an extracontinental one so to speak—for the Social Democrats' special interest in Brazil. The point is that in the past decade our country has come to play a very active role in Africa. It now has close economic, political and cultural relations with a number of African countries, primarily the one-time Portuguese colonies of Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, and one of the

largest countries of that continent, Nigeria. The SI has a stake in extending its influence on the situation in this region, including southern Africa, and is ready to use Brazil to this end.

That the SI shows increased interest in Brazil was shown by its holding an enlarged meeting in Rio de Janeiro in October 1948, described by sponsors and participants alike as the most representative one ever held outside Europe. The composition of the more than 50 delegations, the speeches made by delegates, the agenda, the resolutions passed by the meeting and the reaction of Brazilian political quarters to the event give food for thought about conflicting trend in the SI and the outlook for its activity in Brazil and the rest of Latin America.

The Rio meeting confirmed the differentiation in the social democratic camp between the 'traditionalists' representing the right wing of the movement and the so-called new force, which comprises left-wing Socialists and members of some revolutionary, national liberation movements who are close to the SI. The centrists, or 'liberals' were conspicuous by trying to reconcile the radical orientation of national liberation and revolutionary movements cooperating with the SI with 'traditionalist' attempts to merely slightly modernise the facade of capitalism without changing anything in its substance. This trend was represented by, among others, Carlos Andres Pérez, ex-president of Venezuela, and Leonel Brizola, Governor of the State of Rio de Janeiro, one of the main sponsors of the meeting and proponents of the social democratic line.

The outcome of the meeting showed that, speaking generally, the SI is by no means 'a revolutionary organisation guiding class struggles on a world scale' (as some of its leaders still claim). But neither is it an 'assemblage of renegades', as certain leftist leaders rashly describe it. There is room in the international social democratic movement at this stage for both reformist and certain revolutionary forces. And while hegemony in the SI unquestionably belongs to right-wing centrist and centrist reformists, the organisation cannot but take into account both the significance of the struggle for peace, against the nuclear threat coming from imperialism, and the requirements of the national liberation movement in outlying regions of the capitalist part of the globe, a movement gaining ground among the population. Hence the fairly marked anti-imperialist complexion of the social democratic approach to problems of Latin America, Africa and Asia.

There is evidently nothing accidental about the arrival in Rio de Janeiro of delegations from not only social democratic parties proper but the ruling Civic Radical Union of Argentina, or President Raúl Alfonsín's party, the Broad Front and Blanco Party of Uruguay, the Socialist Party of Chile and some other parties which do not class themselves among social democratic organisations or movements. As regards Brazil, it was represented by Leonel Brizola's Party of Democratic Trabalhism (PDT) which formally ranked itself among SI affiliates, as well as by noted personalities of the Brazilian Democratic Movement Party (BDMP), a major alignment of the anti-dictatorial forces of our country, and by the Working People's Party (WPP). Tancredo Neves, subsequently elected president of Brazil, and WPP leader Luis Inacio da Silva, the trade union leader, were among the invited but did not attend. The sponsors were generally successful in bringing together a wide range of political currents that can serve the SI as a sphere of action in our country. However, the documents of the meeting made but a superficial analysis of a complicated situation, of the struggle between the forces of war and peace, imperialism and national liberation, obscurantism and social progress in Latin America, which partly explains the inadequate coverage of the meeting in the Brazilian press. Viewed against the background of the representative composition of the participants, the results may be assessed as very modest.

What, then, are the prospects of SI activity and the build-up of a lasting basis for

social democracy in Brazil?

Steps in this direction have been taken over a long period but they have invariably met great difficulties for obvious reasons. To begin with, there is no durable social democratic tradition in the country allowing the early formation of a party, nor has there ever been any. Social democratic trends and groups exist in several parties but they do not at all seek unity now, partly because of the personal ambitions of their leaders. Attempts made in the early eighties to found a party merging the PDT and WPP were strongly resisted by the WPP leadership. The same lot befell repeated attempts to found a socialist party in Rio de Janeiro.

In these circumstances the SI is forced to operate in Brazil simultaneously through several existing political and trade union alignments. Along with backing the PDT, which is closer to it ideologically, it is trying hard to extend its influence to the BDMP, a broad political bloc of the centre left, and the WPP, a party followed by a section of influential trade unions and the industrial working class of Sao Paulo. Worthy of note in this connection are the direct talks which SI Chairman Willy Brandt and BDMP leader Ulisses Guimarães had during the Rio meeting. While diversifying the channels of its penetration into Brazil, the SI aims, now as in the past, to bring into being a real if unorganised body of political forces for the pursuit of a social democratic policy in our country. It advertises the ties maintained by it with three Brazilian parties simultaneously as proof of an open-minded approach to their ideological and political differences. This is a further indication that the SI is not looking forward to the early formation of a new party in Brazil.

As well as working in political quarters, Social Democrats, primarily the Social Democratic Party of West Germany, are out to extend their presence in Brazilian trade unions. They are doing their best to enhance the prestige of the trade union federations following the WPP. The manifest purpose of this effort is to disunite the trade union movement and win away some trade unions from the Communists and the Left as a whole.

What the political programmes of the SI and the Brazilian parties and trade union federations listed above have in common is their refusal to search for paths to radical social changes, their renunciation of revolutionary solutions. The path of reform proposed by them does not go beyond the bounds of the capitalist system and the unjust international division of labour imposed by imperialism. To be sure, both the SI and its Brazilian partners are committed to a democratic alternative and the defence of national interests but only up to a point and only in combination with anti-communist prejudices. The forces in question cannot certainly afford to call openly for isolation of the Communists by excluding them from the broad democratic front existing in Brazil. In practice, however, the efforts of the SI and its Brazilian supporters are intended to divert the people from a revolutionary path leading to real democratic transformations.

This approach largely predetermines the failure of Social Democrats' attempts to win over the trade unions and the bulk of the working people. Reformism in its pure form is negated by the entire experience of the Brazilian proletariat and the logic of its struggle. Unlike the peoples of Western Europe with its 'civilised' capitalism which has drawn lessons from numerous class struggles, the peoples of Latin America only have to do with the worst capitalist realities: crying social and regional inequality, unemployment, reckless exploitation of natural resources, the oppression of small and economically weak states by stronger capitalist powers. This is why it would be hard to find in Brazil, for one, a reasonably large group of working people seeking merely a reform of capitalism and not its abolition. As distinct from Western Europe, where there is 'stuff' for reformist ideology and where the social democratic movement has long had a traditional mass base, such a base is either lacking altogether, or insignificant in today's Brazil as in the overwhelming majority of other

Latin American countries.

Workers in subsidiaries of transnationals are occasionally described as potentially receptive to reformist ideology. They are undoubtedly better off as to working conditions and earnings than their fellow-workers in national private capitalist enterprises. (Incidentally, workers in the Brazilian public sector earn even more.) But their condition is only better in comparison with the generally low standard of living of the vast majority of Brazilians, over 40 million of whom are recorded as poor even by official statistics. As for the contrast between the condition of Volkswagen workers in the FRG and that of Brazilian workers, it is striking.

Nor is the difference limited to living standards. The Brazilian proletariat today does not enjoy trade union freedoms in full measure and is denied job security. Labour fluctuation makes itself felt, and besides, the working class differs from its European counterpart due to historical causes.

All this objectively makes it difficult to build up a durable mass political base for social democracy among Brazil's working people. What is more likely for now is, we believe, a political mobilisation of the population under the traditional banners of populism and national reformism. These trends have long-standing historical roots in the region and have repeatedly won widespread support. A revival of national reformism in Brazil may be made easier by the political backwardness of the people, including the proletariat, as a result of two decades of military dictatorship. The international social democratic movement bears this in mind in trying to penetrate into such movements and to use their potential for its own ends.

Mention should also be made of yet another factor which the SI comes up against in our country, namely, the attitude of influential military and bourgeois quarters to its activity. It is typical of Brazilian politics that reactionary, retrogressive prejudices are very strong in the world-view of the ruling class. The morbid anti-communism of substantial sections of the military and the employers makes them regard even Social Democrats as 'too Red'. The top military look on Governor Brizola as a most dangerous 'revolutionary instigator', which he certainly is not. It is also indicative that the very fact that the SI Bureau met in Rio de Janeiro generated certain contradictions between the civilian and military sections of the Establishment. For instance, extremist generals, who still wield considerable influence, did their utmost to have the delegation of the Nicaraguan SNLF denied Brazilian visas. An obvious provocation of the ultras was the convening (at the same time) of a meeting of fascist-minded veterans of imperialist aggression extending from Korea to Vietnam. All these hostile moves accompanied a meeting in which the Brazilian government itself was interested. After all, the meeting fully endorsed the position of Brazilian diplomacy on problems of Central America and southern Africa and virtually approved of the policy of prudent reforms and a stage-by-stage return to civilian rule ('liberalisation').

Such was the political background of the SI's major actions of recent date in our country and Latin America as a whole. What conclusions do we draw for our work?

In the context of the fast-changing political situation in Brazil following the victory of Tancredo Neves and José Sarney,⁴ candidates of the forces opposed to the military regime, in the presidential elections on January 15, 1985, the problem of relations between the diverse currents whose cooperation ensured the candidates' victory in the electoral college became more acute than ever. These forces include both Brazilian Communists and social democratic groupings. The BCP considers that a priority task at the moment is to consolidate a consistently democratic political regime. A highly important requisite for this is, in our view, to preserve the unity of the democratic front which has defeated the reactionary military. None but this unity can dependably frustrate reaction's attempts to revive authoritarian forms of government.

Well knowing that at this stage in the political struggle, at a time when the future of Brazilian democracy and the scope and depth of the reforms to come are being decided, a clash of diverse trends within the democratic front is inevitable, we Communists consider, none the less, that the unity of the front on key problems of the nation can be preserved. To accomplish the tasks in democratisation facing them now, meet the pressing demands of the people and really improve their life, the forces interested in these changes should accentuate coincidences in their positions and not divergences or contradictions.

The document 'The Communists and Democratisation' adopted by the CC BCP in February 1985 defines the party's policy at the current stage in the political development of the country. 'A decisive requisite of the transition to democracy,' it says, 'is to defend and strengthen the democratic front, which should lean widely on the masses and their organisations. A broad and solid democratic front is, in the Communists' view, the chief political factor capable of advancing the country to democracy and guaranteeing its stability and progress. Hence the central political task facing the Communists and the working class is to fight against the danger of a split among the people and the democratic forces. These forces must reinvigorate their unity, consolidate the positions won and this will offer the country the prospect of free, sovereign and progressive development.'⁵

¹ APRA, or the People's Party, is a national reformist party.—*Ed.*

² Named as likely European members of this association were the Left Radicals Movement of France, the British Liberal Party, Italy's Republicans, and the Radical parties of Belgium, the Netherlands and Switzerland. The idea also won a measure of support in Latin America.

³ Mass national reformist movement founded by Getulio Vargas, the Brazilian politician (1883–1954), and bearing his name. After Vargas' death his followers exploited the myth surrounding the personality of the founder of the movement to preserve their influence over the Brazilian people.

⁴ President-elect Tancredo Neves unexpectedly fell ill and never took office. After his death in April 1985, Vice-President José Sarney became President of Brazil in conformity with the Constitution.—*Ed.*

⁵ *Voz da Unidade*, February 23, 1985, p. 5.

Brief Commentary

Background of an Anti-African Campaign Imperialist Media Speculation Over the Elemental Calamity in Ethiopia

Ahmed Salem – Representative of the
Sudanese Communist Party on *WMR*,

Abdoulaye Diagne – Dakar University
(Senegal)

Essop Pahad – South African
journalist

IN Africa the food problem continues to be alarmingly grave. The drought that started some two years ago has spread to 24 nations and placed millions of people under threat of death from starvation. The hardest hit has been Ethiopia, a large proportion of whose population lives in areas affected by the disaster. Let us give this progressive African country its due: its people and government have met this challenge of nature with courage.

However, there are elements in the world that have used the calamity to malign the

Ethiopian revolution, to depict it as being practically the prime reason for the eruption of famine in many regions. Ethiopia's leadership is charged with incompetence, with being reluctant to devote the needed attention to economic matters, with disregarding the food problem. These insinuations, spread by imperialism's ideological agencies, pursue the aim of compromising, above all in the eyes of African nations, the socialist orientation and, with it, the progressive way of restructuring agriculture. The slander campaign has been joined by many ranking bourgeois political leaders, one of whom, the US Secretary of State George P. Schultz, speaking in San Francisco, acrimoniously asserted that the Ethiopian authorities had ruined agriculture, were denying assistance to the famine-stricken, and so on and so forth.

Bourgeois propaganda is deliberately ignoring the fact that there have been droughts in Africa ten, twenty, and a hundred years ago. In Ethiopia, as everybody knows, they have been particularly frequent: in the course of at least the past six centuries they have recurred every 13-14 years, while in the 20th century their periodicity shortened to seven-eight years with a duration of between two and three years. As a result, even official statistics (which were always understated before the revolution) say that between 1957 and 1974 over a million people died of starvation, while in the five hardest hit provinces drought carried away almost all the camels and sheep, which were the nomad population's basic means of existence.

The last time Ethiopia was affected by famine was a little over ten years ago when it was still ruled by the imperial regime that had close links to imperialism and cared little for human suffering. The principle 'means' used by the authorities to fight the calamity was to forbid any mention of it. Yet a quarter of a million people died. As distinct from the present situation, drought raged then in only the northern regions, chiefly Wollo Province, and the weather conditions at the time were not so bleak: although they were infrequent, rains moistened the parched earth.

The whims of the climate are a sort of magnifying glass that make the hardships of the Africans many times more visible. But even in good years the food situation in Africa remains precarious. The causes of this are well known: the overall low level of the export-oriented monoculture economy and the agricultural backwardness inherited by the continent from colonial times. Africa is still firmly harnessed to the crisis-prone world capitalist economy. Disastrous to its economy has been the latest protracted economic decline, which has caused a drastic fall of the prices of the raw materials exported by developing nations and, consequently, a shrinking of their revenues. US and Western European monopolies are making billions in Africa. Further, the imperialists are dragging African nations into the arms race, sucking them dry of financial resources.

The more ruthlessly imperialism pushes the Africans into the whirlpool of catastrophe, the more strident becomes the capitalist press in calling for aid to famine victims. The bourgeoisie mass media have launched a demagogic campaign to show that without food aid from the 'strong', i.e., from the USA and Western Europe, Africa cannot live, that as in the 'good old' colonial times its lot will be dependence. In other words, doubt is again being cast on the ability of African peoples to resolve their problems by themselves. Since that is the case, it is argued, they ought to do what the 'philanthropists' in Washington, London, and Paris are telling them to do.

Indeed, the governments of the imperialist powers, of the USA in the first place, are making no secret of their intention of turning their food aid into an instrument of pressure on developing nations. None other than Henry Kissinger had bluntly formulated the thesis that the shortage of grain in the world should give the USA the power it had not had earlier, a power that would give it economic and political control over countries and peoples. The essence lies precisely in this, not in altruistic rhetoric. What else explains the fact that at the height of the present drought aid from the bourgeois states reached Africa belatedly and in quantities far less than promised by

their governments and private firms. We are far from bracketing decent people in the capitalist world, people who are sincerely extending their hand to help the suffering Africans, with those who count on using food supplies as a neocolonialist Trojan horse. All the more reason that we should not close our eyes to the fact that part of the money collected by philanthropic, notably religious, organisations has 'disappeared' on the way, without ever having reached its destination.

For example, the Englishman Charles Elliott, who heads an organisation extending aid to developing nations, believes that in recent years London and Washington have deliberately held up food aid to Ethiopia in the hope that this will topple its Marxist government. Generally speaking, the EEC Council of Ministers annually cuts back funds for such aid. The government of Britain is insisting on the same thing. Richard Lugar, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, openly declared that this was a convenient opportunity for bringing pressure to bear on Ethiopia. Jean Kirkpatrick, former US Ambassador to the United Nations, declared she was sorry to see food aid going to that country's Marxist government. In other words, even while they send food to starving people the imperialist benefactors look above all to their own political dividends, to pressuring independent and progressive governments.

Needless to say, Western politicians and ideologues speak fine words about the need for development in Africa. But, in fact, the neocolonialists are sickened by the thought of any independent progress by Africans, who might thereby escape from their economic and, consequently, political control. Is this not the reason that at the close of 1983 the largest powers of the capitalist world cut back by 20 per cent their aid for the development of agriculture in many nations south of the Sahara?

The imperialists regard African countries as their domain and are trying to impress upon the African peoples that their progress is linked directly to the destinies of the world capitalist system. The inference from this is that the greatest benefits should be expected by those countries of the continent whose socio-political system rests on a bourgeois foundation. In this way Africans are being pushed into capitalist development consonant with the interests of the neocolonialists. This is exactly the channel in which the bourgeois 'experts' and 'advisers' act, demanding that African governments should encourage private enterprise, urging renunciation of state planning, and trying to persuade our peoples that economic decolonisation is senseless and even dangerous.

What can be done to prevent any repetition of the tragedy that has now stricken Africa, to prevent disaster from hitting future generations?

Progressive forces believe that the only way out lies in restructuring the entire economic system and in radical reforms in agriculture. Steps in this direction are being steadfastly taken in socialist-oriented nations, a case in point being Ethiopia. The revolutionary changes of the past few years have enabled its government to take vigorous steps to abolish the aftermaths of drought. A series of measures defining long-term policy for combating natural calamities has been elaborated. It has been decided to resettle people from regions highly prone to drought to areas more favourable for agriculture and to build up a broad economic base and a modern infrastructure in these areas. There is to be a gradual transition of the nomad population to a sedentary way of life and this will undoubtedly help to improve its standard of living and cultural level. It is planned to create food stocks, open a special bank, develop irrigation, restore forests, protect the soil, build more dams, and increase the number of wells. Moreover, Ethiopia counts on growing drought-resistant varieties of grain.

Last October a national committee was set up to fight the aftermaths of natural calamities. Members and activists of the Workers' Party are helping to surmount these aftermaths, assisting the local authorities in distributing food and resettling

people from the hardest hit regions. In 12 provinces there are now over 200 centres of the national committee, whose functionaries have saved 330,000 children from death. Altogether, aid has been received by nearly five million people. At the latest plenary meeting of the WPE Central Committee (April 1985) it was noted that the government is now in complete control of the situation.

That the local authorities are operating efficiently has been acknowledged by foreign specialists working in Ethiopia. "I will not be surprised to learn that Aseb¹ has become the most efficient grain-handling port in East Africa," said Joop van Essen, a Dutch economist sent to Ethiopia by the World Food Programme organisation. The journal *Afrique-Asie* notes that 'the nation's entire economy . . . has been geared to supply the afflicted areas'.²

Only those who deliberately misrepresent facts can call the Ethiopian government's actions belated, inefficient, and so on. One needs to be totally bereft of conscience to charge it, as *The Times* of London has done, of 'hammering the peasants'.

And if we are to speak of those who instead of engaging in battered accusations are actually helping the Ethiopian people, mention must be made of the socialist community countries. It is they who have gratuitously sent them a large amount of food, many trucks, much equipment for tent towns, and medical supplies. Soviet means of transport are carrying three-fourths of the food to the affected population. But it is not immediate supplies—which unquestionably are also of exceptional importance in the difficult situation—that determine the young republic's cooperation with socialist countries. As was pointed out by Mengistu Haile Mariam, General Secretary of the WPE Central Committee and Chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council, their economic assistance enabled Ethiopia to accomplish in a single decade what formerly would have taken 40 years.

The Ethiopian revolution has stood firm in the face of yet another crucial test. It was all the harder to cope with the calamity because in the north of the country gangs of separatists opposed to the nation's progressive course and seeking to separate Eritrea from the homeland are not ceasing their imperialist-supported attacks.

It is no accident that the food situation is growing particularly acute in precisely those areas where the separatists are operating. They are disrupting regular supplies of food to the population, seizing the freight being sent there, and creating a threat to the lives of foreign specialists working in Ethiopia.

At the same time, imperialist circles are trying to get the Ethiopian government to extend de facto recognition to the rebels. For this purpose West European countries and the USA are turning a portion of the food coming from them over to the divisive groups, which are thereby bracketed with the lawful government. In the course of only the past few months the USA has channelled 60,000 tons of various freight to the rebels. It has become known that on the pretext of helping drought victims Gaafar Mohammed Nimeiri, the Sudanese dictator deposed in April 1985, supplied the rebels with armaments and other military hardware. Moreover, Khartoum has participated in the widely publicised Israeli and CIA action of transporting several thousand persons professing Judaism (Phalashas) from Ethiopia (allegedly to save them from starvation) via Sudan. The Zionists plan to settle these people in Arab lands occupied in 1967. The Ethiopian government has demanded a halt to these unlawful actions and giving the Phalashas the possibility of returning home.

Since we have referred to the Sudan, where according to the American journal *Newsweek* five million people are today starving,³ it will be not without interest to note that the reactionary Nimeiri regime, which blindly followed in the wake of imperialist strategy, had for a long time 'not noticed' the calamitous plight of a large proportion of the population. Moreover, the attempts that have been made by that country's ruling circles to 'modernise' agriculture have led to the deforestation of

huge areas, the destruction of pastures (which has inflicted an irreparable loss to the nomads), the erosion of the soil, and an accelerated advance of the desert. As a result the Sudan is totally helpless to do anything to fight this disaster.

Having plunged the country into catastrophe Nimeiri made a cynical attempt to shift the burden of the crisis to the working people by a drastic rise of the prices of basic commodities, including food. This proved to be the last straw for the Sudanese people. Last spring the country was shaken by an outburst of anger, and the anti-people regime collapsed. This has been an object lesson for those on our continent who still believe in the 'miracle' of capitalist development and see imperialist 'aid' as the panacea for all, including natural, calamities.

The drought affecting Africa is further evidence that the tragedy is by no means due solely to the weather. The basic cause of the recurring drama lies in the low development level of the productive forces and other consequences of colonial and neocolonial rule, and in the preservation of the unequal status of the African states in the world capitalist economy in the system of world trade. A way out of the difficulties can only be found by those countries where public consciousness is awakening and the social activity of the people is growing, where feudal survivals are being uprooted with determination, where the aim of achieving economic independence is pursued. Precisely this is the course upon which the Ethiopian revolutionaries embarked ten years ago.

¹ One of Ethiopia's two ports.—*Ed.*

² *Afrique-Asie*, December 31, 1984—January 13, 1985, p. 36.

³ *Newsweek*, February 4, 1985, p. 21.

International Satire Great Expectations

A so-called conference and festival of youth of the 'free world' was held at the beginning of April in Kingston, the capital of Jamaica. Despite a large financial input from Washington, the much-advertised event, designed to disrupt the normal preparations for the Twelfth World Festival of Youth and Students in Moscow, was a dismal failure. *WMR* asked the Young Communist League¹ of Jamaica to comment on these events. The political satire which follows is the response received from Kingston.

ONLY one festival poster remained in the entire island. Youths had torn down the rest in protest against the venture which the Jamaican government and its US patrons had staged despite their opposition. Even the one poster remaining—in the headquarters of the Eradication Squad (secret police)—was half-torn: the statement of one of the demonstrators as he was being dragged to the torture chambers. But there was no helping it: the Prime Minister desperately needed even one of the posters to be able to demonstrate in Washington what an excellent job his advertising staff had done. And, as he was handed the torn copy just before his flight, he inadvertently widened the tear in his agitation. Luckily for him the top of the poster could still be read: 'International Festival and Conference of Youth of the Free

World, March 31 to April 9. Thousands of anti-totalitarian youths of the world will come to Jamaica to participate in a demo . . . '.

The Prime Minister swallowed as his stomach rumbled. Washington wouldn't like the fact that the poster was torn, and even less that the Greatest Youth Show on Earth which it had thought up had been a complete failure. They would probably want to get to the bottom of this. All of a sudden the Prime Minister's collar was a little too tight in the tropical mid-morning heat. But then, he straightened his shoulders and resolved to himself: "I tried my best and I will not allow them to make me a scapegoat."

Still, as he entered His Highness's office the Prime Minister's knees were shaking.

"It's all your fault," the occupant of the office raged. "We should have known better than to stage such an event on some backwater island."

"Calm yourself, sir," the Prime Minister tried to smile. "All's well that ends well. Just this morning you told the press what a success our conference was and what a model of democracy Jamaica is for the Third World."

"Yes, yes," His Highness said testily. "No journalists are here so let's call a spade a spade. May I remind you that this festival and conference on your island was to have been a real demonstration of solidarity of youth of the non-communist world in opposition to the festival in Moscow and, at the same time, an expression of support for our economic programme for the Third World and for our strategic defence initiative. You, sir, gave me every assurance that you could handle it, and we put in millions of taxpayers' money and made big business fund it as well. The Information Agency's entire staff and some of the best CIA operatives were put to work on it. You promised that together we would not only be able to pull the youths away from the Moscow Festival but could also bring about a split in their organisations—the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students. And what really happened?"

His Highness's face was now quite hard.

"As it turned out, you couldn't even control your own youth. I was told that fourteen of the fifteen major organisations not only dared to boycott the conference but also tried to disrupt the opening with a protest demonstration which you claim to have been 'just a few hundred youths' but which our agents confirm was massive. You could not even organise a good concert because many of your singers and musicians refused to perform. . . ."

"But, sir, please," the Prime Minister tried to calm him. "May I remind you that I had that demonstration broken up and the leaders arrested."

"And how did that help," His Highness demanded coldly, "when it was all over the press the next day that protesters had been repressed at the freest and most democratic conference of youth?"

"No better than it helped, sir, when your official delegation went as far as to bodily remove another speaker from the mike for criticising your policies in the Third World."

The Prime Minister was so indignant that he threw all diplomacy to the winds:

"Let us look at the facts. The thing began to come apart when you failed to get the governments of the major free states of Europe to direct their youth to attend the conference."

"Mr. Prime Minister, you forget yourself!"

But the Prime Minister was too far gone to remember that he was even then in the middle of another negotiation with the International Monetary Fund.

"Most of your vassal governments in the Third World did not send the numbers of youths they promised, telling you outright that their hands were full with juggling the massive foreign debt to your financial institutions, arguing with the IMF for more humane terms and training armies to suppress the protests of their peoples. If you will

pardon my saying so (he would, of course, never be pardoned for saying so!), many of those who did come to our conference were plain and simple riff-raff. . . ."

"And what about your international secretariat? That was also something," His Highness shouted in response. "You know that their secretariat, the International Preparatory Committee for the Moscow Festival, has more than 100 countries represented on it, yet you had the gall to call your handful of individuals, unconnected with any bona fide youth organisation, an international secretariat!"

"Sir, I would appreciate your keeping on the subject at hand. Many of the international delegates that you promised, turned out to be exiles—Cubans from Miami, Poles from New York, Afghans from Pakistan, Nicaraguans from Honduras . . . and they wouldn't allow anybody else but themselves to speak in the conference. As you know this presented us with quite a problem because from the very first day other delegates began to head for the airport to return home."

"It is not our fault that your people could not keep order in the conference," His Highness smirked.

"You are not getting the point, Your Highness," the Prime Minister almost wailed in his frustration: "Delegates were saying that it was the most undemocratic 'democratic' conference they had ever seen. One of them even went so far as to complain to the press that there was too much emphasis on fighting communism and too little attention to the problems of youth at this Youth Conference."

"Mr. Prime Minister," His Highness interrupted, pulling out a file. "Let us get back to the real issue—the failure of our venture. I have here full reports from presidential aide Dr. Godson, the CIA, the USIA, the AFL-CIO, and the ICFTU,² all of which helped us with this venture. These documents say that the choice of Jamaica for the event was a bad one from the beginning."

Jumping up and pointing a finger in the Prime Minister's chest His Highness ground out through clenched teeth:

"You misled me. You wanted to get the money and to be praised as a peacemaker. Maybe you hoped that in Jamaica they would forget how in January your goon squad killed seven of those participating in a peaceful demonstration, and you did not even have the wisdom to keep it out of the press."

The Prime Minister (in a whisper):

"Why can't I do in my own country what you do in Nicaragua, not to mention Lebanon?"

"I heard you, Mr. Prime Minister, and just watch yourself! I do believe you lack full understanding of our peace policy, which aims not only to overthrow the Sandinist government but also to bring the entire world under the rule of our democratic system. Peace is not just the absence of war, you know, it is"

There was a sudden and urgent pounding on the door.

"Sir," a secretary called, "a massive demonstration of young voters with protest slogans is approaching, and journalists are waiting in the main lobby for a press conference on your talks with the Russians."

His Highness sighed.

"Ask them to wait; we'll be down in a moment. As for you, Mr. Prime Minister, I would have liked for you to make a dunce cap with that torn poster for your head. But," he laughed (the Prime Minister didn't), "it does not suit us to quarrel. We are in this together, sink or swim. . . ."

Josina Black

¹ Youth organisation of the Workers' Party of Jamaica.—*Ed.*

² CIA—the US Central Intelligence Agency, USIA—United States Information Agency, AFL-CIO—American Federation of Labour and Congress of Industrial Organisations, ICFTU—International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.—*Ed.*

the book scene

Fundamental Issues Tackled with Imagination

Todor Zhivkov, *Building Mature Socialism in Bulgaria: Issues and Ways to Approach It*, Party Publishing House, Sofia, 1984, 350 pp. (in Bulgarian)

This book by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, General Secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee and Chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, is a new stage in developing the BCP policy of building mature socialism in Bulgaria. The views and ideas expounded by the author enrich and enhance our understanding of what mature socialist society is, of the objective laws governing its construction and of the ways to accomplish this historic mission in Bulgaria.

As early as 1971, when the new BCP Programme was adopted, Comrade Zhivkov warned that 'The Programme lays no claim to being the absolute truth or the highest authority. Offering answers to a number of problems, answers that belong to the field of theory, it does not preordain the way this theory will develop in the future; nor does it restrict the sphere of future theoretical research.'

The development and enrichment of Marxist-Leninist theory cannot stop, because the development and enrichment of social practice itself continue uninterrupted. The BCP thoroughly analyses and pays attention to both its own experience and that of other parties and countries, especially to the experience of the CPSU and the Soviet Union, the country that was the first to enter the stage of comprehensive perfection of developed socialism. This makes it possible to gain a more profound understanding of the general laws governing the life of socialist society and, against this general background, to better respond to the distinctive national conditions and the demands of our specific historical period.

The book under review contains an analysis of the objective laws and motive forces of our development and an examination of issues related both to the material and technical basis and to the spiritual and intellectual fabric, to the economic foundation and to the political superstructure, to the ways of managing and directing society as a whole and to the operation of its basic units—work collectives and individuals. The author notes that in the period our country has entered 'it is of foremost theoretical and practical importance to identify *the nature of the material and technical basis adequate to a developed socialist society*, to determine the ways and avenues of its creation' (p. 19). Underlying the approach adopted to this question are the new

technical and technological characteristics of material production stemming from the objective trends displayed by the scientific and technological revolution (STR). Todor Zhivkov points out that the building and development of the material and technical basis of mature socialism includes the scientific and technological revolution as its organic element.

Scientific and technological progress not only alters the shape of the material and technical basis but also imparts a different character to its very creation and development. Radically new technologies, with automation as their foremost salient feature, can be introduced and constantly updated throughout the nation without encountering any social difficulties only if they help to solve vitally important social problems of the working masses. That is why only a socialist society can, in the long run, offer the fullest possible scope for the realisation of the scientific and technological revolution and for the creation of an adequate material and technical basis of production.

However, this logical connection between the scientific and technological revolution and the historical advantages of socialism does not come into being all by itself. Full-scale use of the advantages in question demands that the new social system activate all its latent potential for stimulating the people's creative efforts in production and providing broad opportunities for them. Essentially, the objective is to continue perfecting the entire system of socialist social relations; the author holds that priority development of relations of production is of key importance in this regard. Here, the prime objective is to ensure such a degree of economic links connecting the interests of the individual worker, work collectives, enterprises and the entire society that would encourage economic initiative and vigorous involvement in production aimed not only at the fullest possible use of the means of production but also at their renewal.

Todor Zhivkov lays special emphasis on the fact that socialist relations of production will of necessity continue to develop in accordance with the objectively operating law of value. Due attention to this law implies not simply its observance but also conscious and effective use of the opportunities this law opens for regulating and encouraging economic and production activity under socialism, for perfecting the economic links among producers.

Enhancement of the role of relations of production as the motive force of building mature socialism in Bulgaria at the current stage demands a new approach to what lies at their core—to relations of property. The book offers a convincing presentation of such an approach by advancing the concept of the state being the owner and work collective, the master of socialist property. 'The entire society, the people,' the author says, 'entrust the socialist state with the function of the owner of the property belonging to the whole people. The functions of the work collective as master of this property of the whole people are linked inseparably with the functions of the state as its owner. The state grants a work collective the right to employ certain means of production. Note: only the right to *employ* them. This does *not* make the given work collective the *owner* of these means of production. This means that we do not fragment socialist property, nor does anyone lay claim to it: it remains the property of the whole people, the integral and indivisible property of our society.

'At the same time, granting work collectives the status of masters of socialist property is an effective way to avoid depriving them of this property, avoid alienating it from those who make use of the means of production and take care to preserve, effectively use and add to them in their own interests and in the interests of the state and the people' (pp. 61-62).

Property of the whole people is not anonymous public wealth. Work collectives, economic agencies, local and national government bodies are what is called actual subjects among whom the powers and duties of managing and using this integral

property of the whole people are distributed. The distinction between the owner and the master in fact serves to improve, at the current stage, the balanced combination of the interests of actual subjects who enter into relations of property; this combination is based on their economic interest and responsibility.

The entire system of incentives and sanctions, all economic means used to regulate and encourage economic activity should exert influence on the social subjects using the people's resources. This influence should make them directly interested in the development of the productive forces and in raising labour productivity; at the same time, these subjects should have the powers that enable them to effectively display their initiative in furtherance of this interest.

Perfection of economic relations between the state and the work collectives is what is at the heart of the so-called new economic approach. Todor Zhivkov underlines that its purpose is 'to give even greater scope to the operation of objective laws governing the building of developed socialism, to impart a powerful impetus to the scientific and technological revolution which would accelerate it in conditions of socialism. We want to use these laws even more fully, so as to turn science into a direct productive force and to raise the development of man, our principal productive force, to a new high' (pp. 266-267)

This quotation highlights one of the more striking Marxist-Leninist methods—the dialectical linkage of objectively operating laws with the role of the subjective factor that creates optimum conditions for using these laws for the benefit of social progress.

The author takes the same principled position in tackling the extremely important issue of further developing society's political system so as to promote socialist democracy and enhance the feedback in which the political superstructure affects socio-economic progress. Here, attention is also centred on the rights and duties of primary work collectives, of basic units of social organisation and management, and of individuals. Their growing political weight is rooted in the material power they derive from the new economic approach; meanwhile, the broadening of their political rights assists them in the discharge of the duties they assume in the new economic situation. 'To use a figure of speech,' Todor Zhivkov says, 'application of the new economic approach will enable us to move more decisively in shifting the centre of gravity from the top to the bottom of the social pyramid. . . . Today, the prime objective is to directly interest and involve millions of our people in the management of the economy, social and cultural processes and socialist construction' (p. 294).

The book marshals a wealth of arguments proving the objective need to enhance the leading role of the Communist Party, the prime mover of social transformations, the trailblazer of new trends and processes. In this connection Todor Zhivkov deals with questions involved in the development of the party itself, focusing his attention on three major issues—that of fully mastering the political approach and moving it to the forefront of the party's comprehensive efforts to discharge its leading role; that of increasing the creative potential and impact of ideological work; and that of enhancing the role and militant effectiveness of the primary party organisation. Here, emphasis is laid on its role as a representative of the party in the work collective and of the work collective in the party.

Whatever topic is tackled in the book, it is permeated with concern for the working masses led by the working class, for the working man as both the force that shapes social progress and the supreme object of the transformations to be carried out in the course of developing socialism further. '*What is the prime issue here? It is what is new in the approach to the working man, to his place and role in society and social development, to his self-realisation; it is what is new in the demands society makes on him; it is what is new in society's attitude to his aspirations and needs*' (p. 233).

This approach is not only of great ideological significance; it also offers a practical key to bringing the qualities and the activity of the subjective factor into harmony

with what objective laws of socialist development demand.

The profound and objective nature of the analysis performed by the author is especially clear when he examines contradictions in socialist society. 'Socialism is a dynamic, ascendant social organism. And wherever there is progress, there are contradictions. This logic of development is applicable to socialism too. There are contradictions under socialism: between the productive forces and the relations of production, between the basis and the superstructure. Contradictions also arise in the development of society's different spheres, in relations between them, etc. . . . They should be promptly identified, grasped and solved, not dismissed or ignored' (pp. 287-288).

Written by a steadfast Marxist-Leninist, Todor Zhivkov's imaginative book is a vivid expression and further development of the ideological, theoretical and political principles underlying the overall course pursued by the BCP. This policy, referred to as the April Course, was initially adopted at the historic April 1956 plenary meeting of the BCP Central Committee which restored Leninist norms of party life and leadership principles and rejected dogmatism in theory and wilfulness in practice. The April Course emerged as a logical continuation of Georgi Dimitrov's party course; at the same time, it mapped out a new strategy for tackling the issues of building socialism further.

'We must never lose sight,' the author notes, 'of the actual historical course of socialist construction. This makes it our duty to shape our direct organisational and political work by adding to our knowledge of the inner laws and distinctive features present at each stage, by imaginatively developing and applying our great Marxist-Leninist theory. We are and will be searching for new solutions, new ways and means that would make our work more purposeful and more effective' (p. 286).

This approach is precisely what the book under review displays. Everything contained in it is proof of the great potential existing socialism commands because it is the product of an unprecedented creative effort which has been undertaken by entire peoples and to which each socialist country makes its distinctive contribution, enriching both the practice and the theory of our common, international communist cause.

Professor **Luben Nikolov**
Doctor of Philosophy

¹ Todor Zhivkov, *Selected Works*, Vol. 18, p. 562 (in Bulgarian).

Quietly, Like a Thief in the Night

John S. Saloma III, *Ominous Politics*. The New Conservative Labyrinth, Hill and Wang, New York, 1984, 177 pp.

The thesis of *Ominous Politics* is stated by its author John S. Saloma, an American scholar and political personality, in the opening lines of his foreword: 'Over a period of more than two decades, political conservatives have quietly built a vast coalition of

think tanks, political action groups, religious broadcasters, corporate political organisations, senators and representatives, Republican Party officials, and other groups with budgets totalling hundreds of millions of dollars annually.' I emphasise the word 'quietly' because this major development in American politics has not been much discussed in the media, or been the subject of serious study and publication.

At the 33rd Republican Convention in Dallas last August, which renominated Ronald Reagan for a second term in the White House, the ultra-right-wingers openly laid claim to that party's leadership. Their behaviour was so brazen and aggressive that one of the delegates complained, 'You get just the whiff of fascism.'¹

Gus Hall, General Secretary of the CPUSA, noted in this connection: 'The convention was not only dominated by ultra-right personalities, but by ultra-right organisations. . . . These ultra-right outfits are creating the atmosphere in which fascist ideas germinate and grow. They are the transmission belts for injecting reactionary, fascist-tinged ideas into the mainstream. Thus, this is the new ominous dangers that came to light at the convention—the emergence of an interlocking, institutionalized, coordinated network of fully mobilized, disciplined, sophisticated, and well-financed ultra-right and fascist forces.'²

How did all this come about? A good part of the answer is provided by *Ominous Politics*. Professor Saloma died in July 1983, before his book was published. He did not live to see his worst fears come to life. He was a 'moderate', 'liberal' Republican, one of those who in Dallas were brushed aside or silenced to give them no possibility of countering the ultra-right-wingers.

As a founder and president of the 'liberal' Republican Ripon Society and having worked in the same political party with extreme rightists, Saloma was in a position to see many things not visible to the general public. 'I became familiar with the Goldwater brain trust supplied by the American Enterprise Institute (AEI), the zealots of the Young Americans for Freedom, and the well-financed ideologues of the John Birch Society,' he writes (p. XIX). When he tried to communicate his concern to his friends and associates he found that few took him seriously. It was then that he decided to write *Ominous Politics*.

In it he shows that the building of the 'new conservative labyrinth', as he calls it, commenced in the 1960s. The ultra-rich ultra-right worked quietly, like thieves in the night. All the elements in this long-term political game were put in place in advance to be coalesced at a time when its leaders decided to take over the Republican Party.

At this point, a word of explanation is in order. Saloma bases his designations on the range of views *within* the Republican Party. What is 'moderate' or 'liberal' within the Republican Party is, at least, conservative, right-of-centre, in other words, right-wing, in the total political spectrum of the US. What Saloma calls 'conservative' within the Republican Party is, in fact, the extreme right.

The American extreme right-wingers developed their 'labyrinth' in breadth and depth. The author writes: ' . . . Instead of funding one or two major think tanks, for example, they have created dozens. And the network is still growing. New organisations and programs continue to emerge, suggesting a development plan stretching well into the 1980s. An investment of this scale and duration suggests serious intent. The conservatives have laid the groundwork and expect to govern this country for decades' (p. 6).

The book brings out the contours of this carefully camouflaged 'labyrinth', showing how extensive and intricate it is and how interlocked its elements are. The author writes of powerful corporations—those who pay and, consequently, 'call the tune'—of the ramified system of 'think tanks', 'foundations', and political, religious, and scientific organisations, of the penetration of the Congress and the state apparatus by semi-fascist elements, of the mass media serving them, of the alliance of the Republican conservatives with reactionary Democrats.

It would be of interest to readers of *World Marxist Review* to get a brief, even if incomplete, summation of Saloma's findings. This would give the face and the special forms of incipient fascism in the United States.

Let us begin by identifying those 'who pay the piper'. Among the American transnationals, to whose links to the ultra-right the author devotes a whole chapter, he names General Motors, Mobil Oil, Du Pont, American Telephone & Telegraph, the Mellon Interests, Hunt Oil, General Electric, U.S. Steel, and others.

As well as direct subsidies from corporations and banks, the ultra-right-wingers get funds in the shape of donations from individual financial magnates and of payment for advertisements in semi-fascist newspapers and journals, and remuneration for appearances by leaders of the New Right on radio and television. Some of the money comes from various foundations bankrolled by the selfsame American business magnates. These include the Bechtel Foundation, financed by construction corporations (out of which came such ranking members of the Reagan administration as George P. Schultz and Casper W. Weinberger), the Adolph Coors Foundation (brewing), the Fred C. Koch Foundation (energy and real estate), the Lilly Foundation (pharmaceuticals), the J. Howard Pew Freedom Trust, and the Sarah Mellon Scaife Foundation (oil).

As an example, let us consider the above-mentioned Sarah Mellon Scaife Foundation. It is backed by one of the USA's ten wealthiest families, the Mellon clan, which has been headed since 1973 by Richard Mellon Scaife, 'a long-time admirer of Barry Goldwater' (p. 25). Between 1973 and 1981 this 'charitable organisation', which bears the name of Richard's mother, put up nearly 150 million dollars funding all sorts of reactionary institutions. The center for Strategic and International Studies received 5,300,000 dollars, the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace 3,500,000 dollars, the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis 1,900,000 dollars, the Heritage Foundation 3,800,000 dollars, the Institute for Contemporary Studies 1,700,000 dollars, and so on. Moreover, Mellon money poured into the coffers of over 100 other ideological organisations of the New Right (see pp. 27-30). Saloma cites information on the Mellons' links to the CIA and on their lobby in the Congress that contributed greatly to torpedoing SALT-2. But even this picture of the activities of the Sarah Mellon Scaife Foundation is incomplete because, as Saloma points out, 'the conservatives have always been careful to allow only the most trusted into their inner circles' (p. XXII).

The author acquaints readers with organisations such as the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, Coalitions for America, Young Americans for Freedom, and the Coalition for Peace Through Strength. Their ideological credo may be gauged by, for instance, the composition of the leadership of the Center for the Survival of Western Democracies. It includes Senator Jesse Helms, who has 'a personal following on the political right second in size only to that of Ronald Reagan' (p. 68) and the rabidly anti-communist Sovietologist Richard Pipes. The ultra-right organisations usually function under decorous signboards. The word 'freedom' figures in the names of almost 80 of these organisations.

The extreme right operate in close contact with clericals. 'Under the leadership of the New Right,' Saloma writes, 'an alliance of mutual convenience has been established between an important part of the conservative political coalition' (p. 50). Of the battalions of the extreme right on the religious front the author identifies the Moral Majority, the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade, the Christian Freedom Foundation, the Religious Roundtable, and others. The Evangelical Church of the USA now controls one out of every seven radio stations, two television networks using satellites, 35 television stations and affiliates, with an estimated audience of 40 million. In 1981 the right-wing religious PTL television network had 179 TV affiliates, i.e., just a few less than the ABC network, which is one of the largest in the

USA.

Saloma's spotlight then moves on to the ultra-right infiltration of the Congress. Its placemen in this legislative body have formed their own groups in each of the two houses: the Republican Study Committee in the lower house and the Senate Steering Committee in the upper house.

Saloma takes a close look at the extreme right 'think tanks', which exercise a steadily growing influence on the charting of US imperialism's 'strong arm' policies on the international and the domestic scenes. Saloma asserts that 'conservative think tanks are something new in American politics. . . . They are much better funded than their liberal predecessors and much more closely tied to the government administration' (p. 8). Among these is the American Enterprise Institute (AEI).

The AEI was established in the early 1960s. It has 145 resident scholars, fellows, and staff, and over 80 adjunct scholars. It sends editorial articles to about 100 daily newspapers in the USA. Its televised *Public Policy Forums* were aired on 600 TV and radio stations in 1982. More than 100 AEI publications are made available every year to AEI-sponsored 'Public Policy Research Centers' in over 200 US colleges and universities. Since 1977 the AEI has been bringing out its own periodicals: *Public Opinion*, *Regulation*, *AEI Foreign Policy and Defense Review*, and the *AEI Economist*, to which the journal *This World* was added recently.

Professor Saloma's study is not exhaustive, of course. A serious omission in his book is the role of the military-industrial complex and the most reactionary section of the military in forming the New Right. He also fails to mention such an anti-democratic outfit as the Committee for a Union Free Environment and the conspiratorial anti-communist groupings calling themselves 'freedom fighters'.

The author's political stance (he was a rightist himself) prevented him from seeing the fundamental link between those he calls 'conservatives' and the out-and-out fascist organisations. Hence his ambivalent attitude to the 'conservative labyrinth'. On the one hand, he sensed the danger of what was happening within the Republican Party but, on the other, felt that a controlled New Right could be 'basically constructive in impulse' and 'part of the democratic process' (p. 149). But can one regard as 'constructive in impulse' those who bluntly proclaim their intention of throttling bourgeois democracy and clamping down on and abolishing all opposition?

'We organise discontent' and 'must prove our ability to get revenge on people who go against us,' declared, for instance, Howard Phillips, national director of the extremist Conservative Caucus (p. 46). And here are words spoken by Paul Weyrich, a founder of the Coalitions for America: "We are different from previous generations of conservatives. We are no longer working to preserve the status quo. We are radicals, working to overturn the present power structure in this country" (p. 49).

One of the reasons why this ramified extreme right network escaped notice for as long as it did is that in the USA many people are inclined to see a threat only in some outright fascist organisations such as the Ku Klux Klan, the John Birch Society, and the Nazi grouplets. The face of fascism is not the vociferous comic-opera gatherings of Hitler-lovers, nor the swastika's storm trooper uniforms, nor even the Ku Klux Klan hoods. It is far more skilful and clever in hiding its identity.

It is, therefore, time to recall words spoken by Georgi Dimitrov half a century ago at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. "In contradistinction to German fascism, which acts under anti-constitutional slogans," he said, "American fascism tries to portray itself as the custodian of the Constitution and 'American democracy'."³ This compelling evaluation remains valid to this day when extremists in the USA are waving slogans calling for the 'defense of democracy and liberty' and posing as the continuers of the traditions of the American revolution of the 18th century. Gus Hall noted that the re-election of Reagan, and also of Senator Jesse Helms and other right-wing members of the House of Representatives and the Senate signified the

preservation of the base for the further operation of the ultra-right, anti-labour, racist, and militarist forces. The ultra-right and fascist forces, he said, would go on influencing the new Reagan administration.⁴

All democratic-minded Americans see the necessity to resist the offensive mounted by reaction. Fascism, like war, is by no means inevitable if all true democrats display vigilance and strengthen unity. This is one of the lessons of the Second World War, whose victorious end humankind is marking for the 40th time.

Stephen Mark
Publicist (USA)

¹ *The New York Times Magazine*, September 9, 1984, p. 116.

² Gus Hall, *The New Danger: Reaganism's Alliance with Ultra-Right and Fascist Forces*, New York, 1984, pp. 3-4.

³ Georgi Dimitrov, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, Sofia, 1972, p. 37.

⁴ *Information—CPUSA*, November 1984.

New Books

Krovavy biznes (A Blood-Stained Business), Politizdat, Moscow, 1985, 351pp.

Written by a team of Soviet scholars and journalists, the book is an expose of major US arms manufacturers, top imperialist brass and their allies in government and politics. The authors have drawn sinister profiles of the people at the helm of the military-industrial complex, of the world's biggest 'death merchants' whose interests are diametrically opposed to man's striving for peace. These quarters who are pushing the world closer to the nuclear abyss gained particular influence in the United States under the Reagan administration. With military contracts bringing them billions of dollars in profits, these forces are doing their utmost to prevent any improvement in the international climate, to block disarmament and any limitations on the manufacture of hardware used to exterminate people. By expanding their exports of weaponry, the imperialists foment trouble in old flash points and create new areas of tensions and conflicts in various regions.

Georges Haoui, *On the Current Situation and Its Prospects*, Beirut, 1984, 46 pp. (in Arabic)

The General Secretary of the Lebanese Communist Party Central Committee examines various aspects of the political and socio-economic situation in his country. Considerable attention is attached to the class structure of Lebanese society and the work of the LCP in its different strata. The pamphlet also analyses the state of the national liberation movement in the Middle East and the struggle of the patriotic forces against the Israeli aggression and against attempts by US imperialism to bring this region under its control.

Development Issues and Trade Unions, World Federation of Trade Unions, Prague, 1985, 40 pp.

Opening with an introduction by Ibrahim Zakaria, General Secretary of the WFTU, the pamphlet deals with the pressing problems most Asian, African and Latin American countries have to tackle. Foremost among these issues are the unprecedented financial exploitation by imperialist banks, above all those based in the United States, exploitation which has led these countries to incur huge foreign debts; the predatory policies of the transnational corporations; inequitable trade resulting from low commodity prices and high prices for industrial products; food shortages and the famine that has hit several regions, especially Africa; and, as a consequence of all this, the deteriorating economic conditions in developing nations. Can this process be stopped? The WFTU believes it can, given vigorous involvement of the working class and its trade unions, concerted international action by working people, and close interrelationship between the struggle to solve these problems and the universal struggle for peace and disarmament.

Politzer Contre le Nazisme. L'obscurantisme au XX siècle. Révolution et contre-révolution au XX siècle. Textes clandestins présentés par Roger Bourderon (Politzer Versus Nazism. Obscurantism in the Twentieth Century. Revolution and Counter-Revolution in the Twentieth Century. Clandestine Publications Presented by Roger Bourderon), Messidor/Editions sociales, Paris, 1984, 160 pp.

Georges Politzer, a well-known Marxist philosopher executed by the Nazis in May 1942, is a man whose name is inseparable from the heroic history of the French Resistance. His essays that appear in the book under review were originally published clandestinely in February 1941, in response to the obscurantist preachings of Alfred Rosenberg, the ideologist of German fascism. Written by a brilliant polemicist, Politzer's essays expose fascism for the inhuman, racist and irrational obscurantism that it is, and defend the progressive democratic traditions of the French people. The book stresses the role of the Soviet Union as the mainstay of peace, freedom and social progress.

This Is Namibia, International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, London, 1984, 39 pp.

This pamphlet is an outline of the history, economy and living conditions of the indigenous population of 'the only country in Africa still under colonial rule'. Facts are cited about the outrages committed by the South African military in Namibia where the invaders would like to perpetuate their racist ways. The pamphlet also features information on the mounting liberation struggle the Namibian people, led by SWAPO, are waging resolutely against the Pretoria regime, for Namibian independence.

surveys, information and mail

The True Image of the Imperial 'Champions of Liberty'

NUMEROUS cases of direct armed interference in the affairs of other countries, occupation of foreign territories, organisation of coups and all possible assistance to reactionary regimes are features of both the traditional and the current course pursued by US imperialism. Over the past 40 years the United States has resorted to armed force to blackmail or pressure other countries almost 300 times. The record includes criminal aggressive wars, acts of sabotage and terrorism, brazen spying operations involving a broad array of tools and methods, as well as patrolling flights of nuclear-armed strategic bombers in the immediate vicinity of peaceful countries, repeatedly creating very real threats to the inhabitants of different countries and regions.

Today, Washington maintains over 1,500 military bases and installations in 32 countries where, under the pretext of 'protecting US interests', it keeps more than 500,000 servicemen.

The reactionary imperial essence of US foreign policy is clearly visible from the record of its aggressive moves. Cited here are the better-known such cases.

1945-1949

Intervention in **China** to suppress the people's democratic revolution and hand all power over to the Kuomintang clique under Chiang Kai-shek who had conceded a series of inequitable treaties with the United States, relegating China to a semi-colonial status.

1948

On April 18, the day of parliamentary elections in **Italy**, ships of the US 6th Fleet entered Italian ports, US Marines marched into the streets of Italian cities, and scores of planes rose into the sky from aircraft carriers and coastal bases, this exercise in armed blackmail aimed at preventing electoral victory of progressive forces.

Military coup in **Venezuela**. Overthrow of the Rómula Gallegos government which planned to nationalise the oil industry controlled by US monopolies.

- 1948-1951** Military operations against the liberation movement in the **Philippines**
- 1949** Organisation of a coup and installation of a brutal fascist dictatorship in **Colombia** to suppress a spreading popular movement against US domination.
- 1950-1953** Aggression against the **Democratic People's Republic of Korea**.
- 1950** Occupation of a part of the **People's Republic of China**—Taiwan and the island of Peng-hu Lieh-tao.
- 1953** **Iran's** Mossadegh government that had nationalised the oil industry overthrown, the CIA directing the coup and CIA agents active in it. As a result, US oil companies seized key positions in Iran.
- 1954** Armed intervention in **Guatemala**, leading to the downfall of the legally constituted Arbenz government which pursued a policy of checking the sway of US monopolies.
- 1954-1975** Aggression in **Indochina** launched to suppress the national liberation movement in the region. US invaders hurled the destructive power equal to 700 Hiroshimas at the countries of Indochina, primarily at the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. This reckless military venture, which resulted in millions of people killed and crippled and in grave damage to the environment, was composed of the following elements: aggression against Laos in 1954-1975, conducted on a particularly large scale since 1964; military operations to support reactionary puppet regimes of **South Vietnam** in 1955-1975; destructive war against the **Democratic Republic of Vietnam** in 1964-1975; aggression against **Cambodia** in 1969-1975.
- 1958** Intervention in **Lebanon** to suppress an anti-imperialist uprising and support the reactionary pro-American regime of Camille Chamoun.
- 1960** Military support for the Somoza family dictatorship in a bid to crush a popular movement in **Nicaragua**; bombing raids against various parts of **Cuba**; a demonstration to uphold the sovereignty of **Panama** fired upon by US troops in the Canal Zone.
- 1960-1962,** Military intervention by the United States and other NATO countries
- 1964** to suppress liberation and democratic forces in **Zaire**, then Congo (Kinshasa).
- 1961** Abortive aggression against **Cuba**, the first socialist country of the Americas (Bay of Pigs).
- 1965** Intervention in the **Dominican Republic** to suppress the national liberation forces that had overthrown a reactionary junta and to restore power to Washington's clients.
- 1973** Fascist coup staged by the CIA in **Chile**. Popular Unity government overthrown; dictatorship of a fascist type established.
- 1980** Abortive military operation to free US hostages in Iran.

Washington's course has become increasingly expansionist over the past five years. Gangster-like behaviour and terrorism on an international scale, as well as claims to a 'right' to grossly interfere in the internal affairs of sovereign nations and to dictate to them are now the principal content of the foreign policy doctrine the US administration adheres to. The practice of armed blackmail is spreading; US militarist activity now spans virtually all of the world's regions. The record of aggressive instigative and subversive moves against other countries has expanded perceptibly. Following is a chronicle of the more blatant cases.

- February 1981** Black Hawk military exercises in the Canal zone, staged to support the reactionary regime in **El Salvador** and to bring pressure to bear on the governments of **Nicaragua** and **Panama**.
The first contingent of the US Rapid Deployment Force (RDF) sent to **Oman** to bolster US military presence in the Persian Gulf.
- August 1981** Instigative exercises of the US 6th Fleet off the coast of **Libya**. Two Libyan Air Force planes shot down by US fighter aircraft.
- October-November 1981** Naval exercises by the United States and several other NATO countries in the Mediterranean to influence the election campaign in **Greece**.
- November 1981** Bright Star-2 large-scale exercises of the US RDF in **Oman**, **Somalia**, **Sudan** and **Egypt** in response to the signing of a mutual assistance treaty by **Libya**, **Ethiopia** and the **PDRY**. Bombs dropped in the Libyan Desert from B-52 bombers.
- April 1982** Stepped-up campaign of intimidation of **Cuba** and **Nicaragua**, bolstered by the Ocean Venture-82 naval exercises involving 60 vessels and 350 aircraft. A 45,000-strong contingent of the Rapid Deployment Force put on full combat alert at bases in Florida and Georgia.
- June 1982** A naval task force of some 50 vessels, including four aircraft carriers, sent to the Mediterranean to support Israel in her aggression against **Lebanon**.
- August 1982** The first contingent of US Marines arrives in **Lebanon**.
February 1983 Big Pine-1 military exercises conducted in Honduras along the border with **Nicaragua**. US campaign of blackmail and threats against Nicaragua and Cuba intensified simultaneously.
The aircraft carrier **Nimitz** with 6,000 Marines on board sent to the **Libyan** coast; US AWACS planes deployed in **Egypt**; violations of Libyan air space by these planes.
- August 1983** Airlift of weapons, including missiles, to **Chad**; 550 US servicemen sent to **Sudan**; carrier-based aviation of the 6th Fleet put on alert; all this to support the French-Zairian intervention in Chad.
A series of large-scale military exercises to simulate naval blockade of **Nicaragua** and **Cuba**.
- September 1983** Instigative intelligence operation involving a civilian South Korean airliner, a US Air Force reconnaissance plane and a spy satellite conducted over Kamchatka and Sakhalin, an area of strategic

importance to **the Soviet Union**.

An additional 17,000 US officers and men arrive in Europe to take part in major joint exercises by NATO armed forces; staged as a show of determination to deploy US medium-range missiles in **Western Europe**.

President Reagan authorises the US military contingent in Lebanon to fire at will and the carrier-based planes, to deliver strikes against local targets. In addition to the Marines, fighter-bombers and 6th Fleet naval ordnance used in military operations against the Lebanese.

**October
1983**

A task force of ten ships with landing parties on board sent towards **Grenada** to 'block' the revolutionary process in Central America, this show of force subsequently escalating into an invasion and occupation of the island. About 1,000 Grenadians killed in this act of aggression.

The 40,000-strong US military contingent in **South Korea** put on the alert to threaten the **DPRK**.

**February
1984**

Team Spirit-84, a US-South Korean military exercise held to demonstrate readiness to launch a 'preventive' nuclear strike. Amphibious landing of 50,000 troops simulated and **DPRK** air space violated repeatedly in the course of the exercise.

Massive shelling by the battleship **New Jersey** of the positions held by the patriotic forces of **Lebanon** in retaliation for the forced evacuation of 1,800 US Marines from Beirut.

Stationing of 2,000 US servicemen in **Honduras** upon completion of the US-Honduran exercises along the border with **Nicaragua** as a demonstration of US readiness to intervene.

**March
1984**

Mining of approaches to ports in **Nicaragua** organised by the CIA in an attempt to blockade the country from the sea.

**April
1984**

Grenadero-1 war games involving US, Honduran, Guatemalan and Salvadoran troops and Ocean Venture-84 US naval exercises conducted on **Nicaragua's** doorstep.

**May
1984**

Concentration of a powerful naval task force, including the aircraft carriers **Kitty Hawk** and **America**, near the **Persian Gulf**, seven ships entering the Gulf itself. Official announcement of the US intention to take any action in the area that would be necessary to 'protect vital US interests'.

**August
1984**

Strength of the US military contingent in Honduras doubled. Patrolling off the coast of **Nicaragua** begun by a large naval task force, including the aircraft carrier **Kennedy** and the cruise missile-armed battleship **Iowa**.

**September
1984**

Autumn Forge-84, a NATO military exercise, held in **Europe**, with all Pershing II first-strike missiles placed in combat positions for the first time.

An operation to block international straits and establish control over a 1,000-mile area around **Japan** simulated by a US naval task force jointly with the Japanese navy.

**November
1984**

Territorial waters of **Nicaragua** invaded by 40 US naval vessels, including the aircraft carrier **Nimitz** and the battleship **Iowa**, to influence the outcome of general elections in that country.

**February-
April 1985**

Big Pine-3, a large-scale military exercise, held in **Honduras** against the background of mounting anti-Nicaraguan hysteria in the United States (President Reagan's announcement of intention to overthrow

the legitimate government of Nicaragua).

* * *

The four decades that have elapsed since the end of World War II have demonstrated that Washington resorts to a variety of means and methods in its vain attempts to halt the onward march of history, to check the growth of national liberation and social progress and to suppress the world's democratic forces. All this is being done under the thoroughly fraudulent pretext of 'concern for freedom and democracy'. In actual fact, we are dealing with an imperial obsession with hegemony. Reversing all values in a travesty of logic and demonstrating its readiness to commit any and all arbitrary acts in international affairs, US imperialism is actually following a course that differs little from the inglorious path of German fascism—and ignoring highly instructive lessons of history.

Working Group of the *WMR*
Commission on Scientific Information
and Documentation

Communist Youth Leagues Brief Information*

HO CHI MINH YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE (Socialist Republic of Vietnam)

THIS League was founded on March 26, 1931. In 1976 it was given the name Ho Chi Minh. Today it has nearly 4,500,000 members of over 50 nationalities and ethnic groups of Vietnam between the ages of 15 and 28—this totals over 27 per cent of the country's youth population. Most of the League's members are young workers or peasants. The members include students of secondary schools and institutions of higher learning, and office employees.

The League functions under the leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam and is its militant helper and dependable reserve. Together with the party the communist youth of Vietnam have traversed a glorious road of struggle for their country's freedom and the implementation of socialist transformations. The CYL's members have invariably been in the hardest, foremost sectors of work, propagated the party's policies, and carried them out. In the 1961-1964 period two million CYLers took part in the movement for the overfulfilment of the targets of the first five-year plan. During the war against the American aggressors the League organised a mass movement known as the Three Preparednesses—preparedness for battle, preparedness to join the armed forces, and preparedness to be in any place and carry out any assignment for the country's sake. Over four million young men and women took part in this patriotic movement. They fought in the ranks of the People's Army, showing exemplary heroism, and participated in socialist construction. In the course of ten years (1966-1975) members of the Vietnamese CYL build fifty new roads with a

total length of 1,945 kilometres, and 10,000 other projects. In South Vietnam members of the League played a large role in the struggle against the invaders and their puppets, and made a considerable contribution to the building of a new life.

The party and government have highly assessed the services of the Communist Youth League, decorating it with Orders of Ho Chi Minh 1st and 2nd class.

The CYL now concentrates its efforts mainly on promoting the economy. The intensive work collectives movement has spread nation-wide. In industry alone 1,500,000 young people have undertaken to overfulfil the targets of the third five-year plan. Hundreds of thousands of CYLers have ploughed virgin land and developed new economic regions. Vietnamese CYLers have initiated many patriotic undertakings. They are doing their utmost to improve production and economise on state funds.

The CYL is giving much of its attention to ideological work among young people. It educates them in the spirit of Marxist-Leninist ideals and of loyalty to the party, and helps to mould the new citizen—the proponent of socialist morals capable of participating actively in reshaping society. There is a large network training cadres for work among young people. The CYL Central Committee runs three schools, and there are CYL schools in all provinces and large cities. On assignment from the Communist Party of Vietnam the CYL directs the work of the Vietnamese Youth Federation (nearly 10 million members) and has the patronage of the Young Pioneer and other children's organisations.

The League plays a visible role in the nation's social life. About one in every four deputies to the National Assembly is a CYL member.

At present the Vietnamese young Communists see their principal international task in defending peace, in removing the threat of a nuclear war. Vietnamese CYLers are taking a militant part in anti-war actions, urging unity between socialist and non-aligned countries; and between the planet's democratic and peace forces against the militarist, aggressive policies of imperialism and international reaction.

The Vietnamese CYL maintains contacts with progressive youth organisations in nearly 100 countries and is a member of the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

The League is structured along the principles of democratic centralism. Primary organisations are set up at the place of work or study of members. To date it has 40 regional, town, and special district, and four branch, and thousands of country and district organisations.

Its highest organ is the congress convened once in five years. In the interim between congresses the League's work is directed by its Central Committee and Secretariat.

Its central press organ is the newspaper *Tiên Phong* (Vanguard). The League puts out two journals. Its publishing house annually prints 40-50 titles of books and brochures.

The budget is formed of membership dues and revenue from the publishing house, newspapers and journals, and also from undertakings conducted by CYL organisations.

Democratic Youth League of Finland

This leading Finnish youth political organisation adheres to Marxist-Leninist positions. Founded in 1944, it now has nearly 30,000 members—young workers (61.88 per cent), students (35.36 per cent), and office employees.

Functioning under the leadership of the Communist Party of Finland, it formulates, together with the Communists, its policy and resolves whatever problems confront it. Primary organisations are in constant contact with party cells.

The League considers that its main task is to educate its members in the spirit of scientific socialism and does much to disseminate the Marxist-Leninist doctrine among young people. It enlists young men and women into the struggle for their

rights and interests, for a change of the government's economic policy which is causing unemployment to grow, and acts against big capital and reaction. It helps to strengthen trade union organisations and enhance their militancy.

It maintains close links with the Socialist Students' Union on the basis of a programme of ideological cooperation. Jointly with the latter it publishes the newspaper *Uusi Valta* (New Power), which disseminates the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint on problems worrying young workers and students, serves as the tribune for exchanges of opinion between the League's members and radical youth, and works out the platform for their joint struggle for peace and democracy.

The League regards the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe as its key aim today. It advocates disarmament and the creation of a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe. Its members take a militant part in anti-war actions.

In its work the League acts on the principles of proletarian internationalism. It organises campaigns of solidarity with peoples fighting for democracy and national liberation; is active in the international youth movement, and is a member of the World Federation of Democratic Youth. It devotes special attention to the promotion of friendly relations between Finnish and Soviet young people.

The League is structured on the basis of democratic centralism. Its primary organisations—cells—formed at the place of work, study, or residence of its members, direct the political activity of young men and women, consider their problems, sponsor discussions and debates, and chart the aims of work with young people who are not League members. The cells organise the leisure time of their members and form amateur art groups.

The primary organisations are united in commune organisations, and the latter in county organisations. At present the League has 16 county organisations. The highest organ is the congress, which is convened once in three years. The latest, the 13th, was held in 1982. In the interim between congresses the League's work is directed by the Central Board.

Patriotic Labour Youth of Guatemala

This is a Marxist-Leninist youth organisation working under the leadership of the Guatemalan Party of Labour and whole-heartedly supporting the latter's policies. It regards all party resolutions as mandatory for fulfilment. It unites young workers, peasants, office employees, students, intellectuals, and jobless. Admission to membership is individual. Before a person is admitted to membership he or she takes a course of training.

The organisation was formed at the close of the 1950s by members of the Democratic Youth Alliance, which functioned until the US-orchestrated invasion by mercenaries in 1954. Throughout its history it has had to function deep underground, in the face of bloodthirsty dictatorships.

The PLY's central aim is to draw young Guatemalans into the people's revolutionary struggle for democratic reforms and against repressive laws and the fascist dictatorship. Its slogan is 'For youth rights, revolution, and socialism'.

While it combines legal and illegal forms of work, and economic, political and military struggle, the PLY steadfastly adheres to the aim of drawing large sections of the youth into the revolutionary movement for, as its programme states, 'the revolution can only be carried out by the organised people and never by small groups isolated from the people'.

Despite the terror, police surveillance, and mass killings, young Guatemalans are conducting extensive agitational and propaganda work. Using every legal opportunity—sports contests or concerts—the PLY champions the rights of young people to jobs, a livelihood, and a place to live in. It also organises street processions. For instance, the funerals of young patriot-militants murdered by death squads

frequently grow into protest demonstrations with many thousands of people demanding respect for human rights and the punishment of those responsible for these deaths. In these processions one sees many masked young people: a patriot who comes to pay last honours to a murdered comrade risks sharing the latter's fate.

Masked young Guatemalans were seen by millions of televiewers the world over during the live television broadcasts of the World Youth and Students' Festival in Havana. In the face of the most brutal repressions, the PLY held its own national festival on the eve of the festival in Havana. It ushered in a qualitatively new phase in the organisation of the Guatemalan youth movement and demonstrated that even in these grim conditions young people can promote the struggle.

The PLY is doing much to expose the atrocities being committed by the dictatorship and mobilise world public opinion in support of the Guatemalan people's resistance to tyranny. The organisation educates young people in a spirit of proletarian internationalism, giving them a sense of brotherhood, comradeship, and solidarity with peoples fighting imperialist oppression and exploitation, seeing this as its contribution to the common cause of revolution.

The PLY is a member of the World Federation of Democratic Youth and maintains close friendly contact with fraternal organisations in Latin America, in socialist and capitalist countries.

- Its printed organ is the newspaper *Juventud* (Youth).

Communist Youth League of Uruguay (CYL)

The CYL, founded in 1921, is operating under the leadership of the Communist Party of Uruguay, implementing the party's policy among youth. It now has over 20,000 members: workers and other employees, peasants and students.

The League enjoys considerable influence. It has won a good name for itself among youth people as a staunch champion of democratic changes and the interests and aspirations of youth. Even in the worst years of fascist repression, young Communists resisted the military fascist dictatorship in conditions of illegality, rousing young men and women to action for the restoration of civil freedoms. They played an important part in the overthrow of the regime. Over 3,000 members of the CYL, including its First Secretary, Jorge Mazzarovich, went through imprisonment. Many young Communists lost their lives at the hands of the dictatorship.

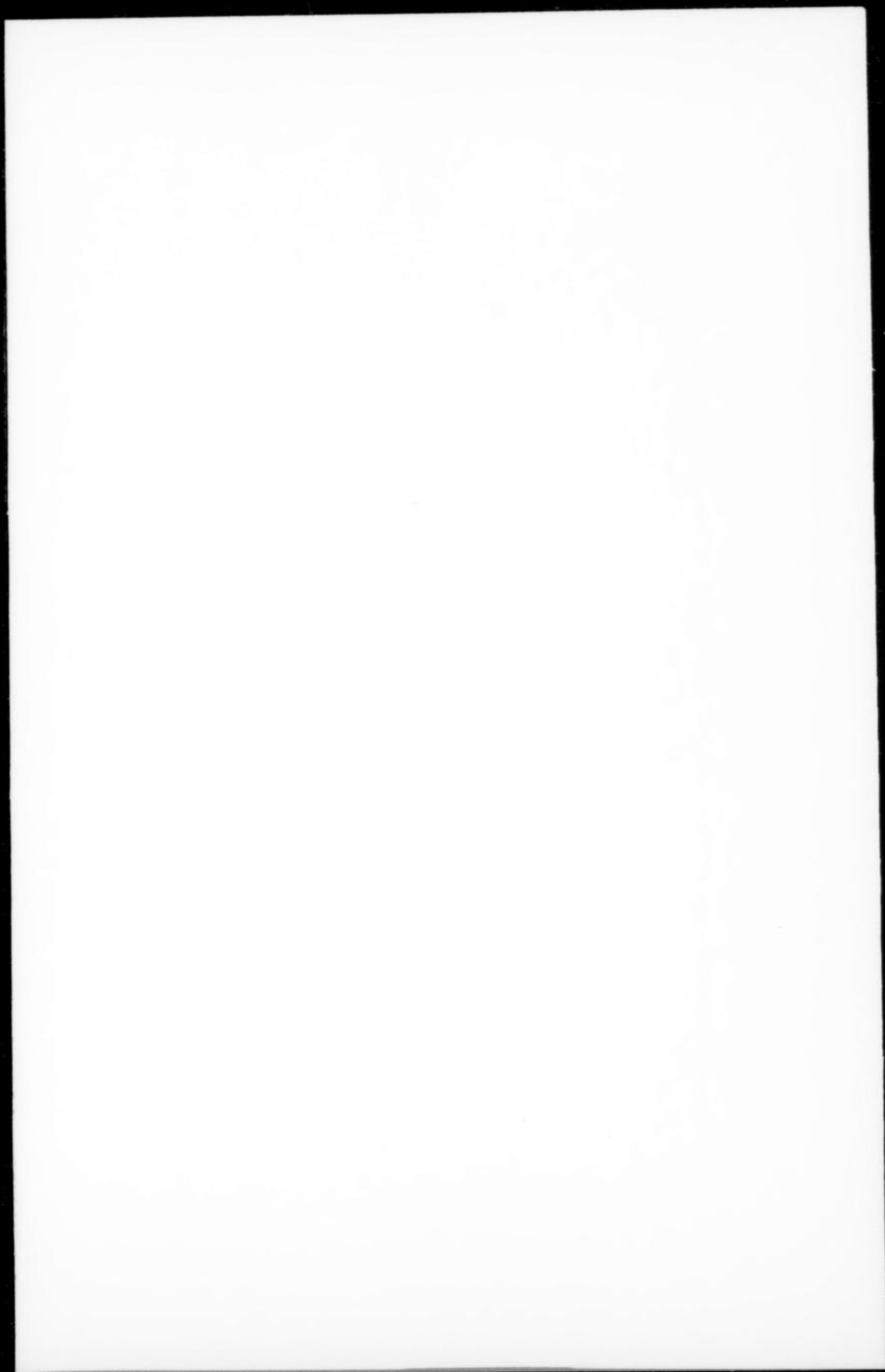
The CYL sees its standing task in uniting youth on a broad basis and drawing them into the people's struggle for a better life, advanced democracy, national liberation and socialism. Its members join in strikes called by diverse trade unions, circulate leaflets and take part in rallies and demonstrations. The League actively supports the Broad Front, a left coalition, cooperating in it with other left organisations of youth, in particular Socialist Youth and Democratic Christians. It wields great influence in the Federation of University Students, the youth commissions of the National Convention of Workers, associations of secondary school students and mass organisations active in residential neighbourhoods.

At present the CYL is set on using the revolutionary upsurge in the country to increase its influence on youth, reinforce its ranks and organise the bulk of the younger generation. It is intensifying the ideological schooling of its members, above all new ones, with special emphasis on educating them in the spirit of international solidarity.

The CYL is affiliated to the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

The Communist Youth League is based on the principles of democratic centralism. It has branches in all the departments of the country—in schools, universities and enterprises. Its supreme authority is the Congress. In between congresses the work of the League is directed by its Central Committee.

* For the preceding instalments of this series see *WMR*, Nos. 4,6,7,8, and 10, 1984, and No. 2, 1985.



WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

brings you each month a rich selection of authoritative material relating to peace, political science, economics, culture, sociology and international relationships written by leaders of the communist and workers' parties of more than 90 countries, embracing all five continents.

World Marxist Review is the North American edition of the monthly journal *Problems of Peace and Socialism* published in Prague.

Subscription rates:

Canada and United States: \$18 a year.

Institutions: \$36 a year.

All subscribers receive the monthly *Information Bulletin*.

Subscriptions — available in English, French, Spanish and Arabic — may be obtained through Progress Subscription Service,
71 Bathurst Street,
Toronto, Canada M5V 2P6.

In the USA from
Imported Publications,
320 West Ohio Street,
Chicago, Illinois 60610.

World Marxist Review is published by Progress Books,
71 Bathurst Street, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5V 2P6.
Second class mail registration number 2352.
Printed in Canada.
Copyright ©1968 by Progress Books, Canada.
All Rights Reserved.



Copies of articles from this publication are now available from the UMI Article Clearinghouse.

Mail to: University Microfilms International
300 North Zeeb Road, Box 91 Ann Arbor, MI 48106

This publication is available in microform from University Microfilms International.

Call toll-free 800-521-3044. Or mail inquiry to:
University Microfilms International, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.



