

WORLD

Problems of

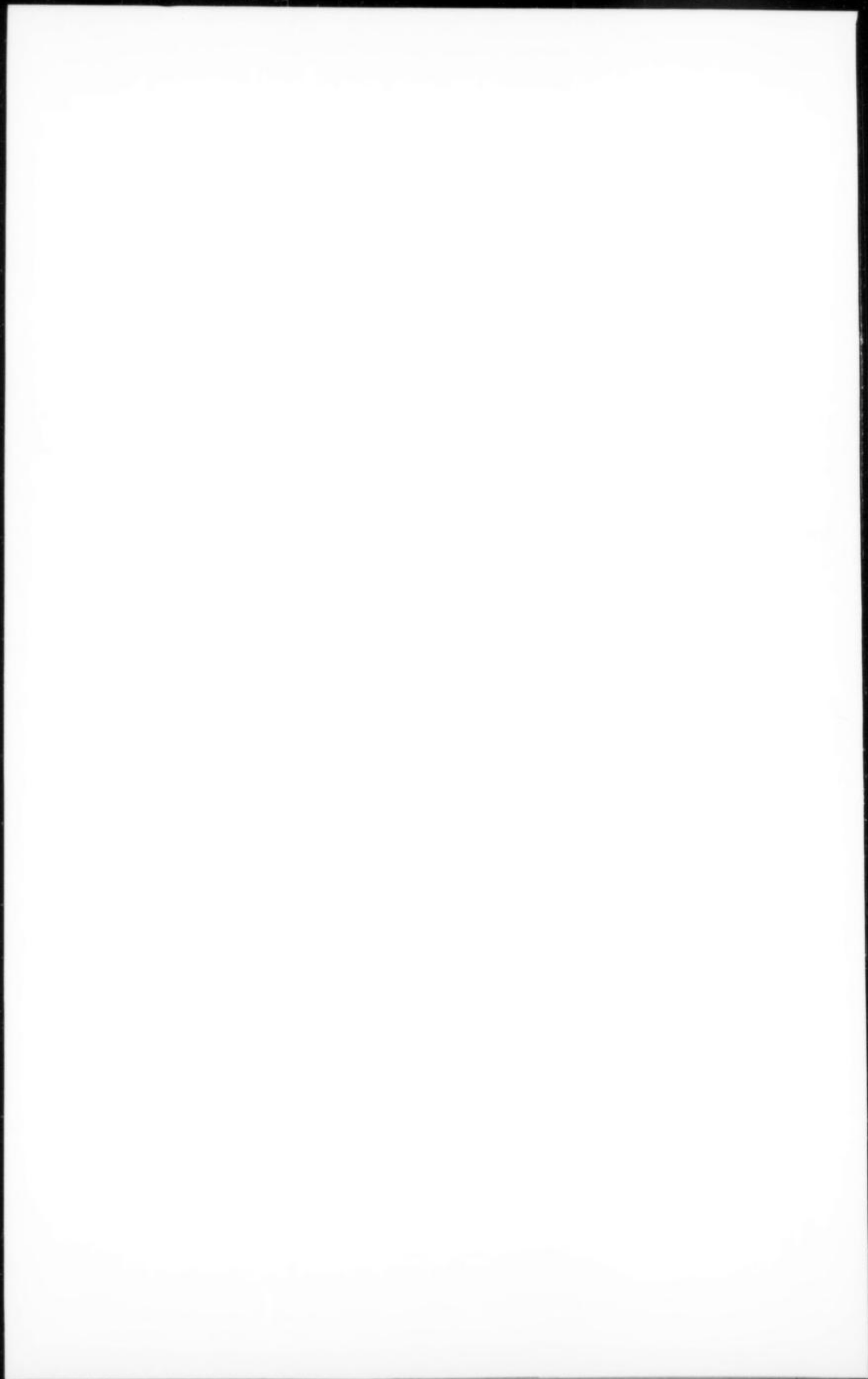
MARXIST

Peace and Socialism

REVIEW

July 1985 Vol. 28, No. 7
\$2.00 ISSN 0043-8642







world marxist review

VOLUME 28 NUMBER 7 JULY 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

Fraternal Cooperation—Way to Transcend Difficulties <i>Kazimierz Barcikowski (Poland)</i>	5
In Line with the Leninist Principles of Party Leadership <i>Tserendashiyn Namsray (Mongolia)</i>	11
On the Agenda—European Cooperation <i>Horst Schmitt (West Berlin)</i>	18
Armed Intervention on the Pretext of Countering a Mythical Threat <i>Rigoberto Padilla Rush (Honduras)</i>	24
The Lie About Communism's 'Aggressiveness' <i>Andreas Fantis (Cyprus)</i>	30
Ideology of 'New Social Movements' <i>Ernst Wimmer (Austria)</i>	36

the party

Meeting of CC Secretaries of the Fraternal Parties of the CMEA Countries ...	45
Local Government with a Right-Wing Majority <i>Roger Dafflon (Switzerland)</i> ..	47

new experience

In the Thick of the Workers' Movement <i>Ken Douglas (New Zealand)</i>	55
Viewing the Future with Optimism <i>Noëlson Razakarisoa (Madagascar)</i>	59
In the Mirror of the Press	60
Documents	61
Restructuring the Education System <i>Andrzej Czyz (Poland)</i>	61
In Brief	64

exchange of views, discussion

Young People in the Peace Movement. Records of an International Symposium	66
Central America: The Clash of Two Policies. A Survey of a Round-Table Discussion	77

viewpoints

Soviet Youth: Commitment to Socialist Ideals <i>Victor Mishin</i>	84
Haiti's Communists Are Fighting for Democracy <i>René Théodore (Haiti)</i>	91
The Elections and the Political Struggle in India <i>Narayana Kalyana Krishnan (India)</i>	97
Promoting Initiative. A Political Report <i>Bert Ramelson, Donald Ramotar, Raja Collure, Marina Pavlova-Silvanskaya</i>	103
Against Repression and Persecution. Stop Terror <i>Ali Ileri</i>	111

surveys, information and mail

Class Battles in Strongholds of Capital. A Survey	113
The Reader Wants to Know. A 'Housing Crisis' Under Socialism? Look at the Facts	120
IN MEMORY OF A COMRADE	124

the book scene

Through the Front Door <i>Bill Eagle</i>	125
New Books	127

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:
Aikakaulehti 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 Vállat,
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,
16616 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

Fraternal Cooperation— Way to Transcend Difficulties

Kazimierz Barcikowski – Political
Bureau member and CC Secretary, Polish
United Workers' Party

FOR Poland economic, scientific, and technological cooperation with fraternal CMEA member-states has been and is a cornerstone and motive force of progress in the building of socialism. For that reason we regard active participation in the integrational process as a major component of our socio-economic strategy. The expansion of economic relations with our partners and thereby the promotion of Poland's economy serve the attainment of the aims envisaged in the decisions of the CMEA economic summit held in Moscow in June 1984. This meeting was a milestone in the life of the socialist community and the entire international communist and working class movement for it signalled a transition to a qualitatively new stage of the integrational interaction of fraternal countries.

The programme documents adopted by the summit defined the ways and means of resolving the most important economic problems of the CMEA member-states and the long-term orientations of cooperation until the end of the present century. These are consonant with the aims, priorities, and basic guidelines for Poland's development formulated at the Ninth PUWP Extraordinary Congress (1981) and with the vital needs of Polish society, and this accounts for our profound interest in the full and consistent implementation of the understandings reached at the Moscow economic summit. Speaking at the Kremlin reception that marked the closing of the economic summit, Wojciech Jaruzelski, First Secretary of the PUWP Central Committee, noted: 'The decisions passed by this meeting are of tremendous, truly historic significance for the further development of the member-states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, for the deepening of cooperation among them, and for the strengthening of their unity and cohesion.'¹

We are working under complex conditions and have to tackle quite considerable difficulties. In recent years intensive efforts have been made by the imperialist states to aggravate them. The weakening of Poland remains one of the principle aims of the European policy of the USA, which orchestrates the actions of anti-government elements in our country. Although the capitalist powers are speaking of lifting 'sanctions', there has been no change in the attitude of the governments of most of them on the question of easing the credit blockade and removing the various

discriminatory restrictions on trade with Poland. This is having a disorganising effect on our economy and causing material losses. At the close of 1984 the latter were estimated as amounting to nearly 15 billion dollars.

In spite of all the difficulties, Poland is restoring its positions in the world. The fact that its international contacts are being vitalised is evidence of the futility of the boycott and isolation that the USA is compelling its allies to enforce. A permanent element of Polish foreign policy is the special attention that it pays to European security. Poland has steadfastly called for an end to the arms race, the nuclear arms race in particular, and for broad cooperation on our continent. This aim is also served by the Polish initiative, supported by the 39th Session of the UN General Assembly, on measures to reinforce confidence in international economic relations.

Together with the Soviet Union and all the other countries of the socialist community, Poland is acting as a force working to preserve peace and international security and promote equitable and mutually beneficial cooperation. This programme is set out in the Political Declaration adopted at the Prague sitting of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee, in the Moscow Joint Statement, and other documents. The principled, consistent course of our community aimed at strengthening world security is expressed in the Declaration headed 'Preservation of Peace and World Economic Cooperation' and approved by the economic summit. A readiness to develop a peaceful dialogue with other nations in a spirit of goodwill and confidence, and foster broad international cooperation in order to ensure world peace and security was articulated at the recent conference of top party leaders and statesmen of the Warsaw Treaty countries, at which the operation of the treaty was prolonged.

In Poland the PUWP programme for normalising socio-political and economic life is being steadfastly put into effect. The foundations for further socialist construction are becoming firmer.

On the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideology the PUWP is reinforcing its guiding and leading role in society. The gradual restoration of the strength and ideological unity of the PUWP has been demonstrated by the course and decisions of the All-Poland Conference of Delegates in March 1984.² While ensuring concord among all the forces supporting Poland's socialist development, the Polish Communists are tirelessly combating its enemies, the adversaries of the socialist system.

The country is gradually emerging from the economic crisis. The national income was 5 per cent up last year over the previous year. Industrial output increased by 5.3 per cent and agricultural production rose by 5.7 per cent. The trend towards growth is continuing this year as well. Management efficiency is rising. There has been an improvement of the supply of consumer goods to the population. Trade is expanding with fraternal socialist countries, for which we have again become a major partner.

However, the economic situation in Poland still remains difficult. The national income is still roughly 14 per cent below the level of the close of the 1970s. Investments have dropped by almost 34 per cent. There is a shortage of funds for speeding up the needed structural changes, reproduction, and the modernisation of basic assets. The drastic diminution of manufactured imports from capitalist states is felt acutely. The 'sanctions' imposed by the USA and its allies are compounding these difficulties.

Without the fraternal internationalist assistance of the USSR and other socialist countries we would have been unable to transcend the economic crisis precipitated by errors in economic policy in the 1970s and chiefly by the deliberate disorganising activities of anti-socialist elements and the hostile acts by imperialist powers. In the situation caused by the credit blockade imposed by some NATO countries financial assistance was particularly valuable. The Soviet Union gave us 500 million dollars gratis and also some credits: in convertible currency and in transferable roubles (to

balance trade). The obtained currency permitted purchasing in Western markets 209 million roubles' worth of cooperative elements needed by Poland's industry. Additional supplies of Soviet raw materials were also of substantial assistance.

Our CMEA partners responded to our idea of jointly utilising Poland's underloaded (as a result of the imperialist 'sanctions') production capacities, with the result that in 1982 the republic rendered services in processing more than 250 million roubles' worth of raw and other materials. The Polish government also suggested that other socialist countries should participate in completing some projects in our country. Investments in such projects allow the interested parties to economise on funds and receive quick returns in a situation in which fraternal states are short on investment resources. An agreement has been signed on Soviet participation in the building of coke-oven batteries and of rails processing and roll-formed section production facilities; for these purposes the Soviet Union has extended a credit of 450 million roubles. With Czechoslovakia's participation Poland is placing in operation a facility in the town of Pila for the production of incandescent lamp bulbs.

Thanks to this assistance industry and other basic branches of the economy did not stop working at a most difficult period for us, and we were able to give people employment and improve the state of the domestic market.

Poland, like the other CMEA member-states, has drawn up preliminary targets of the five-year plan for 1986-1990. We shall be working on that plan under conditions unprecedented for people's Poland. A fundamental distinction compared with the past is that all the production factors—investments, materials, and labour resources—are essentially limited. This means that the main direction will be to make more intensive use of these resources, for we still have quite large reserves. These guidelines take into account key issues raised at the Economic Conference in Moscow, and they will be specified when we coordinate our plans with those of the fraternal countries.

We are aware that no intensification of the economy is conceivable without Poland's broader participation in the international socialist division of labour, without a deepening of integration in our community. The republic is making a tangible contribution to the all-round expansion of mutual cooperation. The orientation of the Polish economy on expanding and strengthening all-sided relations with fraternal countries, particularly with the Soviet Union, is the underlying, basic direction of the strategy of our socio-economic development. It is being consistently put into effect and is yielding visible results.

This orientation is mirrored in the Long-Term Programme for Economic, Scientific, and Technological Cooperation Between the PPR and the USSR for the Period Up to the Year 2000, which is compelling evidence of the firmness of the links between the two countries and of their desire to expand them on a long-term basis. Further, it is an indicator of the deepening of integration between the two economies. Analogous documents have been signed by Poland with Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania; programmes of cooperation with Czechoslovakia and the GDR are also being drawn up.

The socialist countries' share of Poland's exports grew from 45.7 to 53.1 per cent and of its imports from 49.7 to 62.9 per cent in the period from 1981 to 1984. Commerce is expanding within the framework of production specialisation and cooperation, and mutually beneficial links are widening in the material sphere.

The relations between fraternal states will be fostered by the integrational measures charted in the decisions of the Moscow economic summit and by the creation of mechanisms that will safeguard the CMEA member-countries against any negative influence from market fluctuations in the capitalist economy.

Closer coordination of economic policy will be a fundamental factor reinforcing our cooperation. This is a new step in integration, in the creation of mutually

complementing economic structures. Its purpose is to foster efficient management, accelerate the switch to intensive development, and raise the people's living standard. At the same time, there will be a strengthening of our community's technological and economic independence relative to capitalist states, and we will be able to repulse economic pressure more effectively.

The main areas of cooperation in CMEA over the next few years will be the fuller satisfaction of fuel and raw materials requirements, the promotion of specialisation and cooperation in industry, the speeding up of scientific and technological progress, and the growth of the output of food.

The fuel and raw materials requirements of Poland and other CMEA member-countries give a high priority to cooperation in this sphere. In recent years there has been a significant expansion of such cooperation in ensuring key raw materials, especially in the form of investments on the territory of the Soviet Union. Poland's participation during the past decade is estimated at approximately one billion transferable roubles. This has given us additional supplies amounting to 2,800 billion cubic metres of natural gas, 40,000 tons of cellulose, 50,000 tons of asbestos, nearly 2,500,000 tons of ore annually, and so on.

Poland is active in giving effect to the CMEA Long-Term Multilateral Target Programme of Cooperation in Energy, Fuel and Raw Materials. A number of important agreements have been signed related to the building of the Khmelnitsky Nuclear Power Plant, a 750kV power transmission line running from the Soviet Union to Poland, the exchange of high energy-intensive for lower energy-intensive chemical products, and other projects.

We plan to resolve our raw materials problems as far as possible through the utilisation of our own resources. Various measures are being instituted to reduce expenditures and to introduce modifications in the structure of production, in technological processes, and in the direction of progress in technology and production organisation. This is one of the ways allowing for meeting the growing fuel and raw materials requirements most effectively, and we consider that cooperation must be perceptibly expanded in this area. Poland, for instance, is interested in joint efforts to develop and introduce technologies requiring less energy and raw materials, to manufacture highly productive equipment, and to make the best possible use of insulating materials and reprocessed base materials.

Our requirements are large but our reserves of oil, natural gas, iron ore, aluminium, nickel, zinc, magnesium, phosphates, and potassium are inadequate. For that reason Poland has to look for possibilities of getting more of these raw materials by expanding cooperation in CMEA.

The gas pipeline from the USSR to Poland is working at its full carrying capacity of roughly 6,000 million cubic metres. In order to obtain more of this fuel an agreement has been signed for the building of the Kobrin-Brest-Warsaw gas pipeline, which may be placed in operation as early as 1985. Further, to increase the volume of Soviet gas supplies we are prepared to join in laying a trunk gas pipeline running from Yamburg to the Soviet Union's western frontier.

For a number of years the Polish economy has been experiencing a shortage of oil and oil by-products: liquid gas, special benzenes, aircraft fuel, asphalt, and chemical raw materials. Lately, this shortage has grown because of the cutback in oil imports requiring hard currency.

In Poland the share of oil in the energy structure is about 12 per cent, while in other CMEA member-states it averages 33 per cent. In order to have a minimal petrochemical industry, a normally functioning transport system, and a rationally developing power industry our country has to import more oil because there are no indications of a possible growth of our own oil resources (at present these amount to about 300,000 tons annually). We therefore feel that it would be expedient for the

CMEA member-states to take joint steps that would allow increasing the import of oil through, among other things, cooperation with developing nations: joint investments, the formation of production and transport companies, and the extension of various services to these nations.

An upgrading of the Polish economy, especially an enlargement of industrial production, requires more electric power. Within the next ten years, in view of the targets adopted for the country's socio-economic development, power requirements should grow by more than 40 per cent. Poland's power industry is at present based almost entirely on hard fuel: lignite and anthracite. The preservation of this structure restricts economic development because, first, the output of coal cannot be increased any further and, second, there is a growing threat to the environment. We see the solution of this problem in the development of nuclear power engineering. With Soviet cooperation we began building our first reactor (440 megawatts) not long ago. By the end of this century we plan to have nuclear power stations with an aggregate capacity of about 8,000 megawatts.

Poland continues to make a large contribution to supplying the socialist community with raw materials. Large investments are being made to this end. The republic has lately increased its raw materials exports significantly: in 1984 we supplied fraternal countries with 14 million tons of coal, 1,100,000 tons of coke, 17,000 tons of copper, and 1,800,000 tons of sulphur. However, Poland's material resources are limited, while the capital-intensity of raw material production is growing. Production capacities cannot be preserved and, consequently, the supply of raw materials cannot be maintained at the former level without investments from interested partners. In particular, we count on such investments in the building of a coal pit in the Lublin basin and of new sulphur producing facilities.

A broad international division of labour in the processing industry, especially specialisation and cooperation of production, is today a major factor for speeding up the economic development of the CMEA member-states. Poland is a party to practically all the agreements signed by the members of our integrational community and, on the basis of these agreements, manufactures more than 2,700 types of machinery and equipment. Some of our industries have attained a high level of specialisation. These include ship-building, railway rolling stock, road-building construction, and textile machines, cranes, friction-free bearings, medicines, varnish, paints, and dyes. Our export of specialised products is growing steadily: from 1,200 million to 1,500 million roubles' worth in 1980-1983. This amounts to over 19 per cent of our total exports to socialist countries.

Participation in the international socialist division of labour enables each country to make better use of its material and labour resources—both in building and enlarging production facilities, in preparing to place them in operation, and in the process of intensifying production and making it more efficient. The achievements in this area are beyond question, but much still remains to be done. As we see it, the important thing is to continue expanding inner-industry cooperation, especially standardisation, normalisation, and specialisation in the manufacture of spare parts in use throughout a given industry and to increase the supply of these spares.

Thoughts could be given to launching joint efforts to make the maximum use of capacities for the production of machinery and equipment that have until now not been manufactured in the CMEA countries. By providing credits for these purposes and setting up joint ventures, we will be able to cut back imports of technology, machinery, and equipment from the capitalist world.

Poland wants all-sided cooperation in the promotion of specialisation and in increasing reciprocal deliveries of manufactured consumer goods, especially electronics and electrical engineering products. Moreover, a division of labour in this area will help to keep the population better supplied with high-quality and

inexpensive goods.

Dynamic efforts are needed to steadily boost the efficiency of equipment, to reduce its materials— and energy-intensity. Let us take a quick glance at what we regard as the basic orientations and conditions for upgrading the technological level and also the quality of the goods in which an individual country specialises and those produced by several cooperating countries. First, the concentration of scientific and technological effort in priority directions. Second, an enhancement of the returns from research and a closer meshing of scientific-technological collaboration with international production specialisation and cooperation. Third, last, and especially significant, the elaboration of a method of pricing that would provide incentives for bringing cooperated output up to the modern level of sophistication and quality.

As the other countries of our community, Poland is faced with the task of technically reconstructing the national economy. This accentuates the importance of cooperation in order to speed up scientific and technological progress. All the conditions exist for this in the fraternal countries: the needed cadres and the scientific and technological resources, which add up to approximately one-third of the world's potential. In Poland alone there are more than 93,000 scientific workers and engineers. We have nearly 1,100 research centres, of which 670 are cooperating with similar centres in other socialist countries.

In tackling modern economic problems it is vital to act jointly to ensure the most rapid development of microelectronics, means of automation, industrial robots, equipment for nuclear power engineering, and new materials and technologies. All these are areas in which various trade restrictions have been imposed by the NATO states in relation to CMEA member-countries. Yet here we have what it takes to make fuller use of our scientific potential and move to advanced positions with our own resources. To make it possible to transcend the difficulties of our development and compensate for the exhaustion of natural resources there must be a radical advance of the technological level of socialist production.

It is extremely important to widen cooperation in protecting our natural environment and water resources. These problems cannot be put off in the hope that the future will bring with it larger possibilities for resolving them. We believe that it is expedient to direct attention on concentrated research and development in order to shorten the road from research, blue-printing, and construction to practical application.

For the CMEA countries it would be of paramount significance to have a 15-20-year comprehensive programme for scientific and technological progress and a system of international agreements to give effect to such a programme. This would enable them to go over much faster to specific action and combine their resources in industries that provide the key to increasing labour productivity, cutting the outlay of raw materials to the maximum, and steadily improving quality. Furthermore, we feel that the forms of cooperation in scientific and technological progress need to be enriched—for example, by setting up more international scientific centres, integrated design offices, and joint operations.

Since the food output rate of growth is inadequate in Poland and difficulties are encountered in meeting the requirements of a growing population, a strategic aim of our development is to upgrade the agrarian sector and provide the people with a sufficiently high level of food consumption. As we see it the task is to achieve self-sufficiency in farm production, especially in grain and feeds, and to become in this respect less dependent on imports from capitalist countries. In the meantime, the attainment of the set aims is limited by a shortage of equipment, chemicals, feeds, and also funds for the purchase of foodstuffs that cannot be grown in our climate zone. Here a large role could be played by a further expansion of cooperation in CMEA, whose potentialities are far from having been exhausted. This concerns, above all,

the promotion of the international socialist division of labour in the production and reciprocal sales of machinery, equipment, and chemical products, the acceleration of progress in agrotechnology and zootechnics, and the reduction of losses in the storing and processing of foodstuffs. In terms of the long-term aims of Poland's development, we are very much interested in studying and acquiring the experience of socialised agriculture in fraternal countries.

The further expansion of socialist economic integration requires the establishment of direct links between production facilities and organisations and the creation of joint economic units and firms. A broader utilisation of these forms of cooperation serves to speed up technological progress, boost production efficiency, and consolidate cooperative links. Direct contacts between Soviet and Polish industrial enterprises are proving to be effective and have won approval. We are seeking to make direct contacts more practical, operative, and mutually beneficial so that they can help to resolve specific problems.

Huge efforts and outlays will at first be needed to raise integration to a qualitatively new level. However, this must be done in the long-term interests of increasing the economic potential of the community as a whole and of each of its members. In CMEA we have all the prerequisites for achieving this aim, for both the short-term and long-term development of national economies, for speeding up technological progress, and for effective resistance to imperialism's attempts to split the community of fraternal countries.

The guarantee of the successful implementation of our collective socio-economic strategy lies in our solid unity and in the enormous potential of the socialist community, notably the might of the Soviet Union, whose contribution has been and remains the key factor for the materialisation of our plans for integration.

¹ *Trybuna ludu*, June 15, 1984.

² Under the new PUWP Rules delegates to a party congress retain their powers throughout the period until the next congress, and in mid-term attend the All-Poland Conference of Delegates.—*Ed.*

In Line With the Leninist Principles of Party Leadership

Tserendashiyn Namsray — Political
Bureau member and Secretary, CC, Mongolian
People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP)

THE Leninist principles of party leadership are the most general, objectively conditioned tenets determining the character, forms and methods of communist activity in every sphere of public life. Evolved by Lenin for the Bolshevik Party, they are now applied by not only the CPSU but the international communist and working class movement as a whole, that is, have assumed an international character. This is because they are a result of generalising the experience of the working class movement all over the world and not just in one country. Secondly, this flows from the internationalist nature of the working class and its revolutionary vanguard and the community of the ideological and organisational basis and ultimate goal of Marxist-Leninist parties.

Operating as they are in the most different conditions, fraternal parties apply general tenets creatively; they define their strategy and tactics on their own and evolve methods suitable for their own functioning as they strive to make the operation of the laws of history as effective as possible.

Lenin always stressed the dialectical unity of the general and the particular, the internationalist and the national, in the activity of communist parties. He pointed out that 'the unity of essentials, of fundamentals, of the substance, is not disturbed but ensured by *variety* in details, in specific local features, in methods of *approach* . . .'.¹ And he insisted on approaching fundamental principles in such a way as to '*correctly modify* these principles in certain *particulars*, correctly adapt and apply them to national and national-state distinctions'.²

To combine nationally specific factors with general, internationalist ones, a party requires adequate ideological and theoretical maturity. Disregard of the distinctive, a nihilistic attitude to the national, may result in dogmatic revisionism and isolate the party from life, and hence from the masses. As for ignoring the general, the internationalist, it may lead to an opportunist departure from Marxist-Leninism. A correct conception and application of the dialectics of the general and the particular in party activity is a most important indication of loyalty to the Leninist principles of party leadership and a requisite for objective and comprehensive consideration of nationally specific features and social class distinctions in any given country.

Lenin, referring to the decisive significance of the general, stressed that peculiarities 'can apply only to what is of lesser importance'.³ In other words, whatever the peculiar conditions in which Communists are operating, the principles of party leadership retain their validity. Their consistent implementation is a factor and the basis for the fruitful activity, strength and efficiency of each party and, consequently, the entire world communist and working class movement.

The Leninist principles of party leadership are the object of an ideological struggle between Marxists and revisionists. The latter deny the international nature of these principles and confine them to the geographical area and historical background of Russia; echoing bourgeois theorists, they affirm that there are no law-governed, recurrent phenomena in the life of society. Their obvious aim is to deny the decisive role of the general, oppose the experience of some parties to that of others and divide the Communists of the world in this way. The entire development of the communist movement, including the development of the MPRP, refutes this affirmation.

Our party sprang up on one of the most backward colonial countries of the East, in a country dominated by feudal relations, inhabited mainly by arats (peasant stock-breeders) and lacking a proletariat. It was faced with what Lenin described as the need to '*adjust* . . . the Communist Party (its membership, special tasks) to the level of the *peasant* countries of the colonial East'.⁴

This task was compounded by the fact that the party came to power a few months after being founded. It has to grapple simultaneously with problems of historic magnitude, such as its own organisational and ideological consolidation on Leninist principles and proper guidance of the socio-economic changes that were to pave the way for the transition to socialism.

Our party's mastering of the fundamental tenets of scientific socialism and its consolidation on the ideological and organisational principles of Marxism-Leninism took place gradually. A tremendous role in this process was played by constant assistance and support from the international communist movement embodied in the Comintern and its main section, the CPSU. Lenin's advice concerning the need to found and build up a party of Mongolian arats, a mass revolutionary party unvitiated by alien elements, served our party as a guide in its subsequent activity.

The adoption by the Third MPRP Congress (1942) of a general line embarking Mongolia on non-capitalist development was an important indicator of the

ideological and political maturity of the party. The party's formal recognition of Marxism-Leninism as the scientific and ideological basis for its activity—a decision confirmed by its second Programme (1925)—was another significant event of the period.

Obviously, the distinctive social composition of the population and the peculiar tasks facing the country did not allow Mongolian revolutionaries to borrow the Bolshevik Party's experience of party building to the full, as a model ready for use. There was no network of local party organisations when the founding congress of the party was called (1921). This is why during preparations for the revolution and after its victory, one of its priorities was to admit more members to the party, shape its organisational structures and increase its influence.

In carrying on its extensive organising and explanatory work, the MPRP drew the finest arats into its ranks; new branches were founded and local party bodies set up. By late 1921 it had three branches and 225 members and by 1924 these figures had increased to 173 and 4,639, respectively.

In the initial period, arats as a class constituted the chief social base of the MPRP. At that time the party, striving to rally all progressive forces against foreign aggressors, admitted even patriotic elements with a feudal background and members of the former officialdom. In so doing, however, it never deviated in the least from its programme or organisational principles and was invariably mindful of the working people's interests.

The party worked to strengthen its class foundations as the revolution went deeper and social forces became differentiated. Its Third Congress underlined that poor and middle arats are the mainstay of the party. In 1922 arats made up 89.8 per cent of the party membership but by 1924 their proportion had grown to 93.6 per cent. Bringing the foremost arats into its ranks made the MPRP a mass party.

The party, Lenin wrote, should concern itself, 'not with increasing its membership but with improving its quality, and with purging itself of self-seekers'.⁵ To improve its composition, strengthen itself organisationally and overcome the pressure of one-time feudal elements and members of the petty bourgeoisie, the MPRP carried out three purges (in the late twenties and early thirties). As a result, vacillating, hostile and chance elements, violators of discipline and other unworthy people were expelled from the party.

The social base of the MPRP expanded as democratic changes were carried out. The rise of industry and the development of a culture socialist in content and national in form were accompanied by the formation of a working class and a people's intelligentsia, whose finest members joined the party. This had a notable impact on its class composition. Between 1934 and 1940, the proportion of workers in the party grew by 160 per cent. In this way the MPRP which maintained close links with the people and regulated its composition with due regard to changes in its social base and the alignment of class forces, had transformed by the end of the democratic stage of the people's revolution from a peasant party into an arat-worker party.

As a party of the new type, the MPRP bases its organisational activity on the principle of democratic centralism. This principle was not merely written into the Rules but served as a guide to the revolutionary reorganisation of society on democratic and socialist lines. The 1921-1940 period saw ten party congresses and over 20 plenary meetings of the Central Committee all of which dealt to one degree or another with the problem of strengthening the party ideologically and organisationally.

The party paid close attention to the systematic ideological and political training of Communists and the propagation of scientific socialism among the working people. Its formation and the dissemination of socialist ideas in Mongolia went on almost simultaneously, as a twofold process meeting serious difficulties. These were due to

the overall cultural lag of the population, its almost total illiteracy, the strong influence of religious and petty-bourgeois prejudices, inexperience in ideological work and the lack of politically seasoned cadres, especially at the early stage.

The Central Party School (founded in 1924) as well as Soviet assistance in training Mongolian personnel played a big role in overcoming these difficulties. From the mid-twenties onwards, leading members of the party cadre and government officials systematically studied Marxism-Leninism in various classes. That was also when we began publishing the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin in Mongolian and when the party membership's standard of education rose. While 67.9 per cent of them in 1926 could not read or write, by 1940 as many as 87.6 per cent could; 8.3 per cent of Communists had received a general education, 9.1 per cent a specialised and 26 per cent a political education.

The ideological and organisational consolidation of the MPRP on Marxist-Leninist principles took place against the background of an uncompromising struggle against feudal bureaucratic and petty-bourgeois views. The late twenties and early thirties were a difficult period, for petty-bourgeois spontaneity caused swings from one extreme to another that expressed themselves in right and 'left' deviations. Right opportunists, who wanted to divert the country from its non-capitalist road, set out to openly revise the general line of the party. 'Left' deviationists grossly distorted this line, ignoring the actual socio-economic context and peculiarities of development and trying to mechanically hasten socialist changes.

The MPRP, leaning on the support of the working people, its solid Marxist-Leninist core, the Comintern and the CPSU, successfully upheld its general line and its ideological and organisational unity.

As a result of fundamental anti-feudal changes, the first, democratic stage of the peoples revolution was essentially completed by 1940. In the same year the Tenth MPRP Congress summed up the results and approved a third Party Programme aimed at laying the foundations for socialism. The leading and guiding role of the party grew immensely at the new stage of the revolution and so did the need to develop and perfect inner-party life on Leninist principles.

The party's social structure underwent further substantial changes. While workers in 1940 added up to 6.4 per cent of full and candidate members, in 1961 they made up 26.2 per cent and this year their proportion amounts to 32.6 per cent. With the completion of collectivisation in agriculture (late fifties), the MPRP became a party of workers, cooperative arats and intellectuals. The main criterion of admission to the party at this stage is the applicants' social consciousness, political commitment and exemplary labour.

The exchange of party cards, carried out twice (1941-1943 and 1970), helped considerably in strengthening the MPRP. It constituted a review of the Communists' political and professional qualities, went some way towards increasing their vanguard role and helped the party get rid of unworthy elements and put party affairs in order.

Watchfully protecting the ideological purity and unity of its ranks, the party in the early sixties exposed and defeated the anti-party activity of a handful of factionalists advocating nationalist nihilism and seeking a revision of the party's internationalist policy.

With the triumph of socialist relations of production throughout the economy, our republic proceeded to complete the provision of the material and technical basis for socialism. The main tasks of the new period and the actual ways of accomplishing them were fully set out in the party's fourth Programme, adopted by its 15th Congress (1966). The Programme stated that 'in underdeveloped countries, revolutionary democratic parties of the peasantry and of the intelligentsia linked with it can in close contact and cooperation with the international communist movement adopt the ideas of scientific socialism and become the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working

people in the struggle for socialism'.

Our experience has shown that a revolutionary democratic party composed of peasants can carry on a working class policy and adhere to the ideology of the working class even where this class is a minority. This is done by unfailingly respecting the Leninist ideological and organisational principles of party building and political leadership and by applying them in a creative manner. Such are the distinctive character and international significance of the Mongolian Communists' experience.

The steady growth of the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party is an objective development law of socialist society. However, it does not take place automatically but is a result of purposive effort. The MPRP sees one of the major conditions for increasing its leading role in steadfastly promoting inner-party democracy and raising the efficiency of local party organisations, primarily branches, which are the bedrock of the party.

The party works perseveringly to perfect the forms and methods of its organising and political activity. It sees to it that all party organisations and leading bodies respect the principle of democratic centralism and insists that the development of inner-party democracy be accompanied by a tightening of discipline and by a growing sense of duty on the part of all Communists.

The MPRP keeps the established time limits of holding election meetings, conferences, plenums and congresses and sees to it that Communists join actively in the discussion of major problems of party life and political leadership. We are convinced that collective wisdom and experience are necessary for their correct solution.

Party discipline is a law and a binding norm for leading Communists and the rank and file alike. It implies active and effective participation by everyone in the implementation of party policy, a keen sense of duty, respect for the socialist order established in the production sphere and in society as a whole. All this is essential if the party is to operate efficiently and enjoy prestige among the people.

Communists regard the unity of the party and the people as a prerequisite for success in socialist construction and of the growing leading role of the party, as a source of strength and invincibility. They always remember that Lenin insisted on carefully and objectively verifying at every step 'whether contact with the masses is being maintained and whether it is a live contact'.⁶ Lately the Central Committee has adopted decisions and guidelines aimed at centring the party's effort on work collectives and strengthening live contact between party organisations and the working people.

This contact is maintained in the course of the Communists' everyday activity in work places and residential neighbourhoods, by studying people's requirements and sentiments and by supporting social organisations. The media and publicity play an important part in this.

Party organisations use the most diverse ways and means of encouraging the activity of the masses, including party meetings open to the public, joint party and RYL (Revolutionary Youth League) meetings, conferences of party activists, meetings of front-rank workers, common political study days, and everyday contacts between Communists and non-party people. This is also done in the form of meetings at which leading party members and government officials address the working people. Lenin wrote that 'personal influence and speaking at meetings make all the difference in politics. Without them there is no political activity. . .'.⁷

Working people's letters and proposals are a valuable channel of communication with the masses. The Central Committee and local party organisations invariably guide themselves by the decision of the 18th MPRP Congress, which says that 'proper attention to citizens' letters and requests is part and parcel of our care for the working man. Truthful letters from Communists and non-party people containing principled

criticism of shortcomings in our work or justified complaints are a very important means of studying public opinion and sentiment and of establishing closer contacts with the masses.'

The party steps up its work among the masses through all working people's organisations. The forms and methods of influencing the functioning of Hural (councils) of People's Deputies, the trade unions, the RYL and other mass organisations are political, which means that they rule out interference in their work and petty tutelage. Lenin stressed that in this case proper party guidance has nothing to do with administrative fiat and is more like 'the mild leadership of the conductor of an orchestra'.⁸

In line with the decisions of the 18th MPRP Congress and subsequent CC meetings, we give priority to perfecting the party's working methods and providing vigorous and competent party leadership. At the Ninth Plenum of the Central Committee of the MPRP (1984) it was said that we must get rid as early as possible of outdated working methods, react promptly to new methods and new experience, master them in a creative spirit, 'maintain the right differentiation of work between party, government and economic organisations, develop their autonomy and foster people's sense of duty'.

This was the purpose of the review of the militancy of party branches held in the republic late in 1984. It enabled the party to analyse the activity of its lower echelons, draw proper conclusions, publicise positive experience and remove shortcomings. The review may be described as a certification of the maturity of party branches. It helped considerably in intensifying the activity of the whole party in leading every sphere of public life.⁹

The party makes increasing demands on the organisation of control of the work done, defined by Jambyn Batmünh, General Secretary of the MPRP CC, Chairman of the Presidium of the Great People's Hural of the MPR, at the Ninth Plenum of the Central Committee as a tried and tested means of preventing setbacks and shortcomings and a component of the organising work of party and government bodies. By consistently applying Leninist principles, we want to ensure a close combination of control from above and below and to coordinate the activity of diverse organisations in this sphere.

The MPRP has always attached great importance to the selection, placing and education of personnel. Our country now has a large potential in this respect. In the past 15 years alone, the state has trained twice as many specialists with a higher or secondary specialised education as throughout the earlier years of people's rule.

Speaking to the Ninth Plenum of the MPRP CC, Jambyn Batmünh made the following point: "We must carefully study our cadres from the outset according to the party principles of selection, with due regard to political, professional and personal qualities, and after selecting them, we must help them and strive for their stability."

The party's personnel policy ensures the placing of Communists in key economic and cultural fields and exerts a guiding influence on the activity of government bodies and social organisations. At present two-thirds of the leading officials of the executive departments of local (*somon*) Hural of People's Deputies and 60 per cent of the chairmen of trade union councils and committees plus over one quarter of the full-time secretaries of RYL organisations are party members.

Party organisations do a great deal to encourage criticism and self-criticism as a sure means of educating people and a powerful factor in promoting democracy and strengthening the party ideologically and organisationally. Lenin considered this 'vitally essential to every live and virile party', stressing that 'there is nothing more disgusting than smug optimism'.¹⁰

In creating favourable conditions for criticism and self-criticism, we consider that criticism should be comradely in form and principled and business-like on content

and that nobody should be allowed to suppress it. It is primarily leading cadre members that should set an example of self-criticism and react correctly to criticism. Control by party organisations over the utilisation of criticisms and proposals made at meetings and through the media helps the party foster the activity of its membership, pool the working people's collective experience, opinion and proposals and find the right solutions to problems.

Fidelity to the principle of proletarian socialist internationalism has marked the activity of the MPRP ever since it was founded. This principle has invariably inspired our Communists, who consider it fundamental. The ideas of internationalism run through all the programme documents and decisions of our party and its entire work. It is in alliance with the international communist movement that the MPRP has learnt to take a class approach to revolutionary transformative activity, to harmonise the national with the internationalist and to combat nationalism and national narrow-mindedness. Close bonds, fraternal solidarity and cooperation with Lenin's great party and a creative assimilation of its experience along with its own have always been the most important basis for strengthening the MPRP.

The issue of unity and loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is highly relevant today, when the international communist movement has assumed new dimensions. Contrary to obvious facts speaking of the increased social function and significance of proletarian internationalism, bourgeois ideologists and revisionists spread lies about its 'crisis', trying to divert Marxist parties from class positions. In common with fraternal parties, the MPRP actively defends the purity of Marxism-Leninism, working perseveringly for closer unity and cohesion among Communists and combating manifestations of opportunism, nationalism and anti-Sovietism.

Solidarity in the struggle for socialism, peace and the social and national liberation of peoples is particularly important in view of the increasing aggressiveness of imperialism. International and regional party contacts enabling Communists to join efforts play a big role in the fulfilment of these tasks. The MPRP is closely cooperating with fraternal parties in the ideological and political sphere by participating in bilateral consultations and various multilateral meetings and conferences. Meetings of CC secretaries of the fraternal parties of socialist countries on international and ideological problems and organising work have become a tradition of late. All this makes it possible to widely exchange information and draw on collective experience.

The experience of each revolutionary party may generally be described as part of the whole, that is, the international experience of the Communists of the world. Disregard of this results in a sectionalist policy running counter to the main trends of the world revolutionary process.

Our party's successful mastering and application of the Leninist principles of party leadership in the context of non-capitalist development and socialist construction are inseparable from the history of building the new society. We are certain that consistent and unfailing implementation of the Leninist principles of party leadership serves to build up the unity, strength and efficiency of every party and the world communist movement as a whole.

¹ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 413.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. 31, p. 92.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 30, p. 108.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. 42, p. 202.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. 30, p. 63.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. 19, p. 409.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. 34, p. 325.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. 27, p. 269.

⁹ For details, see G. Chingel, 'A Review of the Militancy of Party Cells', *WMR*, No. 5, 1985.—Ed.

¹⁰ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 8, p. 452.

On the Agenda— European Cooperation

Horst Schmitt – Chairman, Socialist
Unity Party of West Berlin

THERE is compelling evidence that peaceful coexistence and detente are consistent with the interests of the working people, and that the imperialist policy of confrontation and cold war inflicts enormous harm on the people. Precisely this is the lesson learned by West Berlin's inhabitants from their own experience. The experience I have in mind is that in the plans of the Western powers, notably of the USA, our city played the part of the 'cheapest atomic bomb' in the confrontation with socialism, as some politicians cynically put it. For the population this part meant not only hardship and privation but also the threat of destruction. West Berlin was turned into a sort of 'gunpowder barrel fuse'. Imperialism could use it at any time. In this lay the threat of the outbreak of another world war.

The 'fuse' was snuffed out by the 1971 Quadrilateral Agreement on West Berlin. This agreement was the outcome of a new balance of strength, of which the successes of detente in the 1970s were a reflection. The policy of detente was initiated by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. That period saw the signing of a series of treaties formalising the recognition of the postwar frontiers by practically all the interested states, including the USA and Canada. The Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe was signed in 1975. The entire process was due mainly to the efforts of the socialist community, while the Western countries did all they could to put off the adoption of the needed decisions. In the FRG the CDU/CSU bloc, which is currently responsible for government policy, continued doing everything until the last moment to torpedo the negotiations and the conclusion of a treaty.

It is unquestionable that European cooperation plays the crucial role in ensuring the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. Since the signing of the Quadrilateral Agreement, this cooperation has embraced West Berlin as well. For the development of the peace process in Europe it is of cardinal importance that there is strict compliance with the provisions of the Agreement stating that neither force nor the threat of war should be used in this region, that disputes should be settled exclusively by peaceful means, and that tension should be eliminated and complications prevented. The main provision of the Quadrilateral Agreement declares that West Berlin is not a component part of the Federal Republic of Germany and would not be administered by it in the future either.

Countering the War Threat

There has been a marked worsening of the international situation since the close of the 1970s. It has not been as grave as it is today since the end of World War II. There are various reasons for this, but neither the political nor ideological struggle between the two systems, nor socialism's historical peace offensive are sources of the war threat, for military expansion is alien to socialism. The highroad of its development is the building of the new society. The source of the war threat is the aspiration of the US administration and the NATO elite to achieve military superiority in the calculation of destroying the world revolutionary process, chiefly the Soviet Union.

The threat to world peace comes from imperialism. For Europe this has become a particularly serious threat with the deployment there of US offensive nuclear weapons—Pershing II and cruise missiles. In Washington they evidently feel that by rapidly building up nuclear and conventional armaments and militarising outer space

it would be possible to confine a nuclear war to Europe and leave the USA unaffected. The fact that it is an illusion to count on sitting out in safety on the other side of the ocean does not diminish the ominous menace of these adventurist plans to the whole world. This alone refutes the assertions that imperialism and socialism are equally responsible for the tension in the world. It is quite apparent that the preservation of peace has become the key problem of international life.

Where security is concerned the SUPWB policy proceeds from the need for detente and for progress towards disarmament while maintaining the approximate military-strategic equilibrium between the two great powers and their allies. Our party wants a sizable cutback of nuclear armaments in Europe with the observance of the principles of equality and equal security, the creation of nuclear-free zones and, ultimately, the turning of the whole of Europe into a nuclear-free zone. We side with the socialist countries and those forces in the capitalist and developing states that are opposed to the plans of the USA and NATO to achieve military superiority. People who stop to think realise that today nobody can prevail in a nuclear confrontation or in the arms race. None of the world's problems can be resolved in this way. No country can ensure its security at the expense of others.

Political detente reinforced by military detente is in the interests of all nations. The USSR and the other socialist community states have never departed from this principle. It is crucial that the USA and its NATO allies should return to it. Throughout the world this is the aim of the peace forces.

We welcome the Soviet-US talks in Geneva whose purpose is to prevent an arms race in outer space, end the arms race on earth, and strengthen strategic stability.

However, the imperialist instigators of the arms race can be forced to accept the relevant agreements only by mass actions, by energetic actions on the part of the peace forces. It is in the interests of the European states to do everything to prevent a nuclear war while it has not broken out. This relates, of course, to the NATO countries as well.

At its 7th Congress in May 1984 our party appealed to the 35-nation Stockholm conference on confidence-building, security, and disarmament in Europe to use every opportunity to reinforce peace with concrete agreements, lay the beginning for a return to detente, and open the way to limiting armaments and achieving disarmament. An SUPWB delegation handed the congress' appeal to the participants in the Stockholm conference. Our point of departure is that *all* the European states bear the responsibility for the maintenance of peace on the continent and that cooperation among them is the only way to avert the threat to Europe's existence.

Cooperation—Condition of Peaceful Labour

The Communists advocate peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems. However, a lesson of experience is that peace does not come of itself, without a struggle. It cannot be begged from the imperialists. Tangible factors play a role in ensuring peace. These include the growing might and influence of the socialist community and the increasing significance of the national liberation and social movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America, as well as of the international communist and working class movement and the world-wide peace front.

What, in our view, should cooperation among the European states facilitate? First, the eradication of distrust by confidence-building measures in the political and military spheres. Second, a relaxation of confrontation in Europe and the creation of better conditions for limiting armaments and achieving disarmament. Third, the promotion of mutually beneficial political, economic, and cultural relations.

What could be the pattern of European cooperation?

Essentially speaking, an idea of this is given by the Stockholm conference and the currently ongoing multilateral talks in Vienna, although, of course, goodwill and

initiative must be shown not only by the socialist states. European cooperation presupposes political consultations, summit meetings, and all sorts of bilateral contacts with account of the specific interests of each country, the settlement of all conflicts by peaceful means, and industrial, scientific, and technological cooperation. The latter may open ways for returning to the detente trend that prevailed in the 1970s and placing all available resources, chiefly the human intellect, in the service of humankind's development rather than military projects.

Our party considers it symbolic that Sweden has come forward with the initiative of establishing in Central Europe a zone free from theatre nuclear weapons. The GDR has not only supported this initiative but also deepened its content. But the FRG is still evading a discussion of the matter. The world knows that Bulgaria and Greece have proposed making the Balkans a nuclear-free zone, and that Finland has proposed forming a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe. We are noting that these peace initiatives, which meet with the interests of all nations, have come from states with different social systems.

Moreover, European cooperation embraces interaction between non-governmental organisations, movements and associations, in the first place, naturally, of the peace forces and especially of the working class.

The SUPWB values highly the results and successes of detente achieved in the 1970s and is convinced that the continuation of detente at present is not only necessary but also possible. The expansion of peaceful, mutually beneficial cooperation based on the equality of states, mutual respect, and non-interference in internal affairs would undoubtedly have a positive stabilising effect on the overall situation in the world, including West Berlin.

This sort of development would be consistent with the interests of all people in the whole of Europe and, of course, in our city. Naturally, our party gives its backing to every step, big or small, that leads in that direction. Together with the other forces united in the peace movement, the Communists throw in with the broad campaign that is being carried forward under the slogan 'Our City Is Against Nuclear Weapons'. The party demands that the Senate (government) and Chamber of Deputies (parliament) should declare West Berlin free of such weapons. Hitherto, this demand has been denied. For our part we are not at all certain that the USA has not deployed in our city military units equipped with mininukes. Spokesmen of the US occupation authorities leave such questions unanswered.

The SUPWB has appealed to the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate to 'help make peaceful coexistence a norm of international relations since there is no alternative to it'. But even in this issue the parliament and government are being evasive.

Marked on a big scale throughout the world, the 40th anniversary of Europe's liberation from Hitlerite fascism is a particularly powerful reminder of the principal lesson of history in our nuclear age: it is not enough simply to reject war; war must be fought before it breaks out, before guns begin to speak and the irreparable takes place.

Victory Day reminds us of yet another lesson, namely, that during the Second World War states with different social systems cooperated successfully in a broad coalition of reason and realism. Why should such cooperation not be possible today? As in the days of the Anti-Hitlerite Coalition it is today vital to unite all countries against the threat of war, for the defence of peace.

In their joint Appeal to all Communist and Workers' Parties, to Trade Union and Youth Centres, to All the People of Europe, the three communist parties functioning on German soil—the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the German Communist Party, and the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin—made the following point: Europe should not be turned into a Euroshima. They reiterated the Buchenwald vow

that war should never again start on German soil. This vow has been subscribed to by the most diverse forces and trends: the peace movement, young people, women, Social Democrats, and Christians. In the spring of 1985 the Evangelical Christians issued an appeal under the heading 'A Word About Peace', that contains the following lines: 'We ask the Allies of World War II: unite once more around the policy of mutual understanding for the sake of the common aim of ensuring peace and justice.' It is outrageous that this appeal of Christians has evoked objections from politicians in the FRG and in West Berlin calling themselves Christians.

In Europe, which remains the central theatre of the struggle between capitalism and socialism despite the significant processes taking place in other parts of the world, two military blocs are in direct confrontation with each other. For that reason any progress in raising the level of security, preventing military conflicts, and promoting productive cooperation for the good of the European peoples benefits the whole world. The socialist countries in general and the Soviet Union in particular are the motive force of peaceful coexistence and peaceful cooperation on our continent. The more solid their economy, defence capability, and political influence, the more chances the efforts to assert detente and European cooperation have of success.

Given all the antagonistic contradictions between capitalist and socialist states, these states have to coexist for a long time to come if they do not wish to perish together. It is not possible for one half of Europe to flourish with the other half buried under ruins and ash. Europe has one common destiny. And it is not confined to one continent. Were a military conflict to erupt in Europe not a single part of the planet would remain unaffected. Hence the interest of the European states, along with that of other countries, in blocking the USA's plans for militarising outer space and for upsetting the existing military-strategic equilibrium on which world peace rests.

Of course, there are bourgeois political personalities who realise that the social changes in the world are irreversible and that only peaceful coexistence creates favourable conditions for development—of capitalist countries as well. These personalities helped to fashion detente in the 1970s. Realistic thinking is indispensable in politics, especially in the present complex situation. This means taking into account the existing ideological distinction. We, the Communists, are convinced that the future belongs to socialism and communism, for such is the natural course of history. However, in order to triumph the advanced social system needs neither wars nor international tension. Bourgeois political leaders are expecting capitalism to go on forever. We shall never see eye to eye on this point. But we can and must agree that in a nuclear war the human race will most certainly perish without ever settling the argument between world-views. Precisely for that reason there is no alternative to peaceful coexistence.

Priority for Concrete Steps

As a means of maintaining peace economic, scientific, and technological cooperation holds a major place in the relations between European states. It is a factor that stabilises the political situation and contributes to the promotion of peaceful relations. Besides, in the modern world with its broad international division of labour such cooperation is simply essential. In capitalist countries, where working people are cowering in the shadow of unemployment—there are roughly 14 million jobless in only the Common Market region—commerce with the East already now provides jobs for hundreds of thousands of working people, including more than a quarter of a million in the FRG.

The promotion of such commerce is particularly vital to West Berlin, which is situated like an island in the middle of the socialist GDR. The benefits to West Berlin from its direct proximity to the socialist market were noted by our party at a time when all bourgeois political leaders without exception were talking only of the 'cons'

ensuing from West Berlin's remoteness from the FRG and the Common Market. 'The SUPWB and the Aims of the 1980s', a programme document adopted at the party's Sixth Congress says: 'The party sees the utilisation of the West Berlin economy's natural advantages stemming from the city's geographical location by systematically expanding long-term economic and trade relations with socialist countries, especially with the GDR, as an essential step towards preserving existing and creating new jobs. Relations of this kind have already proved their worth as a factor providing jobs.'

We welcome the fact that West Berlin's incumbent Mayor Eberhard Diepgen and the Senate member responsible for economic matters visited the Leipzig spring fair this year, held talks with GDR representatives, and stressed the advantages of West Berlin as permitting an expansion of links to the socialist market, especially to the German Democratic republic. Unquestionably, this is a new development, evidence of a realistic approach. To put it into practice means to ensure a fuller utilisation of production capacities, including medium-size facilities, and to reduce the chronic unemployment in West Berlin. The GDR is, after all, its natural and important trade partner. The limits of mutually beneficial economic cooperation are still far from having been reached. Life shows that meetings and talks unrelated to prior conditions and conducted from reasonable positions produce useful results for both sides. Let's take some examples.

Preparations are under way to begin supplying West Berlin with 650 million cubic metres of Soviet natural gas annually beginning October 1, 1985. The relevant agreements with the USSR as the supplier and the GDR as the country of transit are valid until the year 2008.

Last February West Berlin and the GDR signed a new agreement on sewage which will relieve the pressure on the city's sewer systems and yield a positive effect in terms of protecting the environment. Then it was decided to lay a glass-fibre telephone cable and create a code system of directed radio communication between the FRG and West Berlin. Given good will, agreements of the maximum benefit to the population can be signed even in the prevailing international situation.

The maintenance of normal relations by West Berlin with its socialist environment requires, above all, the abandonment of all attempts at interfering in the internal affairs of the GDR. The West as a whole should realise this highly pressing and inevitable need, which is dictated by the interests of European cooperation.

Who—as the CDU heading the Senate is doing—tries to turn West Berlin into a 'symbol' of the allegedly still 'open German question' acts contrary to the interests of the city and its people, the relations with the GDR and to all the treaties that were signed after World War II and settled the question of frontiers once and for all. The relations between the GDR and West Berlin are also harmed by Bonn's unrealistic claim that there are special 'inner-German' links. West Berlin indeed has a special link, but it is not at all what Bonn has in mind. It is the special link to the GDR. Its significance is that our city is situated in the middle of a socialist republic and the frontier ringing it runs for 161 kilometres—this frontier is exclusively with the socialist German state. This circumstance is further and important grounds for, as our party has always advocated, maintaining normal, goodneighbourly relations between West Berlin and the GDR.

The GDR's successful economic and social policies and its striving for peace are unquestionably influencing the inhabitants of West Berlin. They cannot help being attracted by, in particular, the fact that in these policies deeds match words in contrast to the promises and their unfulfilment under capitalism. Our population sees the political stability and dynamic economic development of the German Democratic Republic, for which its enemies so often forecast disaster. The unending assertions about its 'crises' have boomeranged into a crisis of 'GDRology'. West Berliners

visiting the German socialist state and its capital are able to form their own opinion. Although this opinion does not automatically eliminate anti-communist prejudices it clearly paves the way for this. And, lastly, as time passes West Berliners see more and more compelling evidence of the GDR's absolute superiority in terms of the social confidence of its citizens. With the right to work guaranteed in fact, the broad social dismantling going on in the West is inconceivable.

In the light of all this, people in the capitalist world are asking many questions. Hence the increasingly more feverish activity of imperialist propaganda, which replies to these questions with prevarications, preposterous lies, or half-truths, tirelessly endeavours to breath new life into anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, and makes skilful use of survivals of primitive prejudices.

Our party concentrates its efforts on a matter that is central to West Berlin, namely, to get a policy going that would be consistent with the interests of preserving peace, with the present and future of its citizens. What does this signify in concrete terms?

—Doing everything to ensure the city's democratic inner-political development, reasonable external relations, and thereby its future. It means reducing the influence of big capital and correspondingly increasing the influence of the working people and their organisations on policy, the economy, and society as a whole.

—Doing everything to preserve jobs, raise the level of social services, and ensure the equality of young people, women, and the 250,000 immigrant co-citizens of our city.

—Doing everything for life in conditions of peace.

Such is our understanding of our contribution to a return to detente, to the promotion of European cooperation. We can see that such cooperation on the scale of the continent is seriously impeded by the striving of the USA and some of its NATO partners to bring economic pressure to bear on socialist countries. The forms of this pressure vary from discrimination and restrictions to the banning of specific transactions and projects. For instance, the Standard Elektrik Lorenz firm, which has a subsidiary in West Berlin, was prohibited from selling Hungary a telephone installation on the pretext that it contains militarily-sensitive microprocessors. The Reagan administration has gone so far as to demand, under threat of sanctions, that American subsidiaries in foreign countries, including West Berlin, cancel economic agreements with socialist countries. There are protests against this in the USA itself, but broad resistance sprang up in Western Europe in the first place. Western Europe, it must be remembered, has 86 per cent of East-West trade, while the USA accounts for only 7 per cent.

In contrast to Washington's policy of discrimination, the socialist countries have advanced and continue to advance many constructive proposals for establishing and expanding trade and economic relations between countries of the two systems on the basis of mutual benefit—relations that would indeed help to raise the living standard of the peoples of the interested countries.

In their efforts to promote European cooperation, settle outstanding issues, ensure European security, and strengthen peace, our continent's progressive forces have score quite a few successes: the recognition of postwar realities, including the existence of the sovereign GDR, the signing of a series of treaties, including the Quadrilateral Agreement on West Berlin, the expansion of trade, and so on. The socialist countries have offered to implement European projects in various areas: environmental protection, the development of new energy and other natural resources, the enlargement of combined power grids and communications, the prevention and treatment of dangerous diseases, and the exploitation and utilisation of outer space and the world ocean for the benefit of all nations. All this requires the USA and NATO to renounce their policy of confrontation, return to the road of

detente, and cease the arms race.

As was stated at our party's Seventh Congress, today 'with the strengthening of the socialist countries and of the working class movement in capitalist states, with progress in Third World nations and the growth of the peace movement on all continents there are forces, more powerful than ever before, capable of carrying on a successful struggle for peace and detente'. In this lofty work the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, being an internationalist party, is cooperating closely with communist, workers', and revolutionary democratic parties throughout the world.

Armed Intervention on the Pretext of Countering a Mythical Threat

Rigoberto Padilla Rush – CC General
Secretary, Communist Party of Honduras
(CPH)

THE situation in Central America and the Caribbean has rarely been as tense and dangerous as today. What is going on around Cuba and Nicaragua as well as in El Salvador, Honduras and other republics fits into the notorious strategy of local conflicts. These arise primarily where the people's fight for freedom and independent development meets bitter resistance from imperialist forces and domestic oligarchies. It is in such sensitive areas that foreign and domestic reaction starts counter-revolutionary wars in a bid to preserve and extend its rule.

Having lost the historical initiative in the world, imperialism is trying to take social revenge. Our subregion and other 'trouble spots' like it may therefore be described as areas where the fundamental contradiction of today—the contradiction between the forces of progress and those of imperialism and its menials—is more marked than anywhere else even if it often manifests itself indirectly.

The local conflict in Central America has its peculiarities. First of all, it is unfolding in close proximity to imperialism's main citadel, in a region long seen by the USA as its backyard, which explains the particularly violent fits of anti-communist hysteria attacking Washington. Second, the situation in the region is extremely tense and may assume regional or even global proportions. Third, the deepening structural crisis in our countries and the upsurge in the liberation struggle objectively pave the way for new breaches in the system of imperialist oppression.

Dreading Future Reverses

Statements by members of the US administration, first of all the US President's address to the British parliament in June 1982 announcing a new 'crusade' against communism, reveal a drastic hardening of the home and foreign policy of imperialism. We are witnessing a challenge to the socialist community, primarily the Soviet Union, a 'tightening of screws', an open suppression of progressive movements in capitalist countries, a struggle against national democratic forces in new states, and a further swing of the Latin American policy of the United States to the right.¹

All this naturally necessitated an ideological setting. And so unearthed again were the visible battered banners and slogans of outspoken anti-communism. No device or falsehood is ignored. The Soviet Union is called an 'evil empire', existing socialism a 'historical accident' doomed to disappear and the achievements of progressive forces a product of 'Communist intrigues'; Communists are accused of every imaginable sin, including that dirty CIA provocation, the attempt on the Pope's life. World opinion is told that the USA has a messianic role to play by saving civilisation from the 'horrors of communism'.

The main purpose of this psychological warfare unprecedented in scope is to create an ideological climate justifying Washington's current policy of state terrorism, economic blackmail, destabilisation, removal of 'undesirable' regime and armed aggression, such as was used in the case of Grenada and may be used in the case of Nicaragua and El Salvador.

Six months before power was taken over by an administration defending the interests of the most reactionary forces of US capital and its military-industrial complex, a team of Santa Fe experts drew up a programme entitled 'A New Inter-American Policy for the Eighties'. This secret document, published afterwards in several progressive periodicals, was not merely an up-to-date version of the notorious Monroe Doctrine but the quintessence of hegemonist ambitions strongly seasoned with anti-communist postulates.²

Looking back, its authors called the Monroe Doctrine the 'historic cornerstone' of US policy towards Latin America. One might think they did not know that over the course of a century and a half the United States never used the 'good neighbour' doctrine to defend Latin America against encroachments from European powers and completely discredited itself in the eyes of Latin Americans even in the last century. The doctrine only served as a cover for the expansion of US capital, then in its early stage. The USA first seized over half of Mexico's territory, Cuba, which had only just freed itself from Spanish colonial rule, Puerto Rico and then the Panama Isthmus and turned the Caribbean into an 'internal lake of the USA'.

The Santa Fe 'thinkers' alleged that the Caribbean was becoming a 'Marxist-Leninist lake' and that the countries situated there were threatened by the unrestrained activity of Soviet-backed Cuba. 'An integral and global foreign policy is essential,' they wrote. 'The time has come to sound a clarion call for freedom, dignity and national interests reflecting the spirit of the American people. The alternative is either Pax Sovietica, or a counterposed projection of US power at world level. The hour of decision brooks no delay.'³

The authors did their best to suggest that war is inseparable from human society and that the Americas (including what José Martí called 'Our America')⁴ have common spiritual values and traditions which they should defend.⁵

Life has shown that the 'new' Latin American policy of the USA is the one advocated at Santa Fe. When, three years ago, the Malvinas crisis broke out and Argentina became an object of British imperialist aggression the United States betrayed a 'traditional' partner in the most disgraceful manner, giving preference to 'higher interests' and flouting both the Monroe Doctrine and military political pacts on the defence of the Western Hemisphere. Subsequently it mounted its criminal invasion of Grenada, whose people had dared to choose independence. And now it is playing with fire in Central America.

Today even reactionary Latin American politicians realise that any country of the region may be attacked by the USA even if it had nothing to do with the socialist alternative of development and merely wants to win the right to full independence. As regards the 'White Books' concocted in Washington early in 1981 and 1985 to prove the 'involvement' of the Soviet Union, Cuba and Nicaragua in the events in El Salvador, and various official and unofficial declarations and documents of recent

years, they are all so many attempts to justify armed intervention through propaganda, bluff that translates into dramatic developments for Latin Americans.

We have come up against militant anti-communism on more than one occasion. Its intensification largely conditions the ideological situation in Latin America today. Ever since Reagan took office, the US administration has been obsessed by the idea of an all-out struggle against Soviet-Cuban 'interference' in the affairs of the region, against 'communist terrorism' and 'aggression'. This idea has been used as an excuse for repression both in countries ruled by dictatorial, authoritarian regimes and countries where arbitrary oligarchic and military rule is hidden behind a 'democratic' facade.

In Honduras, for one, the smokescreen used for the regime's atrocities is a hue and cry about the 'Sandinist threat' and incursions which the people's army of Nicaragua is alleged to make into our territory. Counter-revolutionary terror elevated to state policy is a further confirmation of Marx's following words: 'The civilisation and justice of bourgeois order comes out in its lurid light whenever the slaves and drudges of that order rise against their masters. Then this civilisation and justice stand forth as undisguised savagery and lawless revenge.'⁶

The Soviet Union, the socialist community as a whole and young states pose no threat to anybody. In 1932 Manuel Cálix Herrera, co-founder of our party, wrote from prison, where he was put by Honduran reaction, that 'the Soviet Union does not interfere in our affairs but the peoples of Central America look to it, being inspired by its example'. These words are still relevant and have new meaning today, refuting idle conjectures, for achievements in every field and in all socialist countries, Cuba included, and the gains of the international working class movement and national democratic revolutions are now more important than before and inspire us to fight imperialism and oligarchy.

The reactionary media in Latin America are playing an active part in the anti-communist campaign orchestrated by the USA, trying to impress counter-revolutionary, anti-Soviet stereotypes and notions on people. As for us, we perseveringly publicise the fact that the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions were not brought in from without, any more than the armed resistance of the Salvadoran people, but are the result of a deepening structural crisis and a just struggle against tyrannical regimes and imperialist plunder. We stress that the current anti-communist offensive is not a sign of strength of the class enemy but evidence of his weakness and his dread of future reverses.

Playing with Fire

US imperialism is doing its utmost to exercise the 'right' to military political and socio-economic hegemony which it has arrogated to itself. On losing many positions in other regions, it declared the whole continent a key 'security zone', Central America and the Caribbean an area of its 'direct vital interests' and Honduras its 'fourth frontier'.

Despite sharp criticism from progressive Americans, the White House has been doing everything possible to increase economic and military aid to obedient presidents and to unscrupulous military men who are turning the armed forces of Central American countries into cannon fodder to help Washington achieve its expansionist and counter-revolutionary aims. The Honduran army has been assigned a shameful role in these strategic plans.

Honduras lies in the heart of the most turbulent area of the American continent; it borders on three states whose peoples are carrying on an armed struggle. This is why the US administration attaches special 'geopolitical' importance to our country.

CPH documents have repeatedly pointed out that power in Honduras is in the hands of a coalition of Liberals and military men. This is a typical instance of 'limited

democracy' as conceived by imperialists. A variety of dictatorship, it is making the Honduran army a gendarme in Central America, an invader of its own country and a safeguard of US military presence. It is a source of menace to the whole region.⁷

The potential of Honduran troops is growing fast. The Air Force is getting new hardware; airfields for heavy aircraft are under construction. The Navy has been reinforced with modern ships. Since 1982, numerous military advisers and training units have arrived from Fort Bragg, North Carolina, and from bases of the US Southern Command in Panama. Centres set up by the Pentagon are training special forces to crush the people's struggle in Central America. A major radar station with a range of 400 km has been built at Cerro de Hule, not far from Tegucigalpa; it is serviced by two and a half scores of US specialists and guarded by a Honduran force.

The USA has greatly increased the staff of its Embassy and substantially expanded its CIA network. US, Chilean and Israeli experts in 'counter-insurgency' have noticeably stepped up their activity. More and more Green Berets are arriving in our country. Once again, as so many times before, manoeuvres code-named 'Big Pine', 'Universal Track', and so on, are being held on our territory, near the Nicaraguan and Salvadoran frontiers. In addition to representatives of 'allied armies', they involve US military personnel and equipment. Thousands of surviving Somocist cutthroats have found refuge in Honduras. They raid Nicaragua, committing new heinous crimes against Sandino's country. There have also been cases of Honduran troops invading Salvadoran territory.

Neither President Roberto Suazo Córdova, nor other high-ranking leaders of the Liberal Party (LP) can escape historical responsibility for their criminal policy, their betrayal of the peaceful aspirations of the LP rank and file and all else who in the 1981 elections voted for change.

Senior army officers intimidated by the Pentagon or deluded into expecting a military pushover are dragging our country into a war with Nicaragua that would have unforeseeable consequences for the peoples of the region.

There can be no reason other than increased imperialist pressure for the fact that the Liberal government rejects talks with the Sandinists, for the complicity of the military in the implementation of criminal plans of the Pentagon and CIA or for the use of paramilitary bands to kidnap and kill popular leaders and revolutionaries, who disappear without leaving a trace, so that we only see the grief of their relatives and hear about numerous secret graves.

The brutal assassination of our comrade, Herminio Deras, the kidnapping in Tegucigalpa of Rolando Vindel and Gustavo Morales, trade union and popular leaders whose fate is unknown, are only some of the cases in point. The list of lives lost by the revolutionary democratic, anti-imperialist forces of Honduras is steadily growing—an indication that there are plans to decapitate the masses and defeat all resistance to the ominous war preparations under way.

Honduran reaction, which is laying war plans, expecting to suppress the Nicaraguan revolution and national liberation movements in other republics of the region by force of arms, had reduced the country to a disastrous situation. 'One cannot play with war,' a CPH document stresses, 'especially when the economy is on the verge of bankruptcy, with the rate of economic growth showing a downward trend, the cost of living rising steeply, massive unemployment affecting one-third of the workforce, an uptrend in inflation nullifying the meagre incomes of our population and an external debt running to millions that will be a burden even on future generations. A crisis-stricken economy cannot be kept afloat by shackling loans, so-called aid or the handouts with which the White House buys, to the Hondurans' shame, the complicity of the rulers of the country in aggressive intrigues against fraternal peoples who are fighting for their sovereign right to choose their own destiny with dignity and independently. . . .'⁸

Should US imperialism and the Liberal-militarist camarilla of Honduras venture on armed aggression against Nicaragua or the revolutionary forces of El Salvador, they would be making a bad political miscalculation that would confront them with a new Vietnam in Central America. Sow the wind and reap the whirlwind.

Be Equal to the Exigencies of the Hour

More than a quarter of a century ago, the victorious Cuban Revolution ushered in a new period in the history of the Western Hemisphere. It buried the theory of 'geographical fatalism' and has been demonstrating the possibility of building a new, just society even in close proximity to the USA, in a climate of continuous blockade, psychological warfare, political provocation and subversion.

Twenty years after Cuba, the Sandinist revolution dealt a new telling blow to imperialist domination in Latin America. It served as an inspiring example for the liberation movement in El Salvador, the militancy of the Guatemalan people and the activity of patriotic forces in Costa Rica and Honduras. These processes in Central America are an everyday reality now, and while they proceed in different ways and have their peculiarities, they are a result of the operation of the general objective laws discovered by Marxism-Leninism, a result of a sharp deterioration of the deep crisis of social, economic and political structures and not of mythical Soviet, Cuban or Nica. aguan 'interference', as we have pointed out.

In Honduras this crisis has reached a point where a grave inner political conflict may break out very soon. Instability has become an attribute of national life. For many years past, a reactionary coup has been imminent each time the potentialities of bourgeois democracy happened to be exhausted. The people, satisfying themselves by experience that they cannot bring about the solution of major problems by peaceful, political means, take up arms, as they did in Nicaragua before and have done in El Salvador and Guatemala now.

The experience of Cuba, Nicaragua, El Salvador and other countries shows that revolutionary struggle, including armed struggle, which is always begun by reaction, is a severe school. As Lenin put it, 'its complete course *necessarily* includes victories for the counter-revolution, the unbridled licence of the infuriated reactionaries. . . But only incurable pedants and doddering mummies can moan over the fact that the nations have entered this painful school.'⁹

Sacrifices do not lead to the end of revolutionary movement, nor can setbacks of this or that contingent of the movement stop its advance. What sets the historical destiny of Marxism-Leninism apart from those of other theories and concepts, primarily anti-communist ones, is that Marxism-Leninist theory is being carried into practice. We see in successive achievements of the forces of progress a manifestation of the dominant trend of world development determining the main content of our epoch.

Our ideological and class enemies know all this very well. This is why we are not surprised at either the new offensive of reaction, or the new wave of anti-communism but regard both as the signal for vigilance, for preparedness to resist the enemy's ideological subversion and plans for aggression, whatever turn developments may take.

The prospects of revolution are perfectly clear. Nothing can contain or stop the objective process of national liberation in Central America. Of course, there is a threat of direct imperialist invasion of Nicaragua and El Salvador. It must not be underestimated and CPH documents say so. To stave off the danger, it is necessary to form a united front of the forces of democracy and progress in Central America, the Latin American region and the rest of the world, steadfastly expose reaction's intrigues and show effective solidarity with the Nicaraguan, Salvadoran and other peoples in struggle.

These peoples are not alone. They are backed by the socialist community countries, the communist and working class movement in capitalist countries, including the United States, national democratic forces and progressive humanity as a whole. They are also supported by the revolutionaries, patriots and internationalists of Honduras, who emphatically reject the attempts of lackeys of transnationals and the oligarchy to describe them as 'traitors' or a 'fifth column'.

To defend Nicaragua and the revolutionary movement in El Salvador is the best means of defending the interests of the Honduran people, saving the country's sovereignty flouted by the US military presence and combating 'mysterious' disappearances and political killings. To side with Nicaragua and the revolutionaries of El Salvador is to provide a lasting guarantee that the Honduran people as well—their finest sons and daughters—will ultimately win freedom, real independence and democracy and embark on social progress. Nicaragua and the revolutionary forces of El Salvador are also fighting for *our* future, carrying on a great battle in which we are participating in the name of our own national and social liberation.

The political situation in Honduras may be said to bring into focus the main lines of the 'new' US policy towards Latin America: militant anti-communism, state terrorism and fascist-like militarism. US imperialism is intent on going over from the advocacy of counter-revolutionary concepts and secret operations to armed intervention.

This binds Honduras' Communists to work for still greater agreement among popular, democratic and revolutionary forces and help further the unification process in the form of increasing unity of action of the revolutionary and democratic forces. The CPH and other progressive organisations satisfy themselves more and more that there is no coping with the present situation through a dialogue with the government.

The new stage in the Honduran revolutionary movement requires a creative application of flexible tactics, a competent policy of alliance and deep-going agreement among the social forces and parties opposed to US intervention and declaring for the restoration of democratic freedoms and peace on our soil. We want to be equal to the exigencies of the hour and are preparing organisationally and politically to carry out our strategic plans.

Continuing the cause of Francisco Morazán,¹⁰ other revolutionary democrats of the last century and Manuel Cálix Herrera and Juan Pablo Wainwright, pioneers of the communist movement in our country in the 1920s, we Honduran Communists said no to the war against Guatemala which banana companies wanted to impose on our people in 1932; to the Guatemalan counter-revolution led by Carlos Castillo Armas in 1954 and to the war in which Somoza wanted to involve Honduras in 1957; in common with El Salvador's Communists we unmasked the real makers of the armed conflict between the two countries in 1969.

Today we call on the party membership and other compatriots to reject war once more, to say no to armed intervention, which would be calculated to prevent the victory of the heroic fighters of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front and Revolutionary Democratic Front in El Salvador, to the Somocist bandits who bring pain and sorrow to Nicaraguan families, and to prevent through active resistance the involvement of Honduras in an insane war against Sandino's heroic people.

United around the Central Committee of the CPH, the Communists of Honduras are following the February line, rejecting all attempts to split our ranks as coming from the enemy.¹¹

The Communist Party searches for and finds new forms of promoting the mass movement; it seeks unity with other democratic and revolutionary forces, the church, opposition parties and members of the armed forces who want genuine democracy,

independence and progress in a Honduras' without political prisoners, kidnappings and foreign troops, and demand respect for the right to self-determination, calling for a situation in which our people could look other people in the eyes, having rid themselves of the ignominy of dependence.

We are convinced that the political and social forces striving to stave off fascistisation and militarisation of the country can assure victory provided they unite and act together. We do not merely believe in victory but know that it will be won even if enormous loss of life is incurred in the period between sowing and harvest.

¹ For details on the evolution of US imperialist policy, see contributions by leaders of the CPUSA to *WMR*, Nos. 11, p. 21, and 1, p. 15, 1981, and 4, p. 23, 1982.

² For details about the Santa Fe document, see Rodney Arismendi, 'Global Madness Once More', *WMR*, No. 7, 1981.

³ 'Documento secreto de la política Reagan para América Latina', *Soberanía* (Managua), No. 1, 1981.

⁴ The reference is to 'Our America', a programme article by José Martí (1891) which formed the basis of anti-colonial and anti-imperialist ideology in the region.

⁵ See J. Carrión, 'Ideología imperialista en América Latina', *Estrategia*, No. 44, 1982, pp. 43-44.

⁶ Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 2, p. 235.

⁷ See 'El proceso revolucionario hondureño en el momento actual. Intervenciones del Secretario General del Partido Comunista de Honduras, o. Rigoberto Padilla Rush, 1983'. — *Ed.*

⁸ 'Mensaje de la Secretaría general del CC del PCH con ocasión del XXIX aniversario de la Fundación del Partido.'

⁹ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 15, p. 183.

¹⁰ Francisco Morazán, a statesman and military leader of the nineteenth century, was President of the Federation of the United Provinces of Central America (1830-1839) and effected a series of progressive reforms.

¹¹ Action programme put forward by the CPH CC in February 1980 and based on the possibility of winning power through a mass armed struggle.

The Lie About Communism's 'Aggressiveness'

Andreas Fantis — Deputy General
Secretary, Progressive Party of the Working
People of Cyprus (AKEL)

HAVING set out to increase international tensions, the strategists and ideologists of reactionary imperialist forces emphasise the need to adopt a 'tougher' policy towards communist parties, socialist countries, the Left, and anti-war movements. The reason is obvious enough.

The increasing inability of the reactionary rulers of capitalist countries to meet the Communists' challenge in regard to the solution of major socio-political problems plus the intention of these rulers to win the contest with existing socialism at all costs induce them to step up their propaganda drive over the 'communist threat'. Yet what Communists mean in speaking of an offensive against capitalism is peaceful economic competition between the two systems and the need to propagate Marxist-Leninist ideas and help workers shape their class consciousness as they struggle for their rights.

'We must attach still greater importance to our work on the ideological front, which we need to expand,' said AKEL at its 15th Congress (May 1982). 'In the concrete international and internal conditions of today, with imperialism and extreme right-wing reaction stepping up their ideological offensive against socialism

and the Soviet Union abroad and against our party at home, ideological work is of exceptional importance. Our work in this sphere must help in steadily improving the ideological training of the whole party. We must show militancy in defending the lofty ideals of socialism and communism . . .'.¹

Communists regard all compromise between the socialist and bourgeois ideologies as impossible. They openly combat the bourgeois system of concepts, being convinced of their anti-human, reactionary essence. Marxism as an ideology is irreconcilable and incompatible with the set of ideas propounded by the bourgeoisie. However, Marxists maintain that methods of the ideological struggle should not extend to international relations. This struggle does not at all connote interference in the affairs of other countries. The Marxist-Leninist conception of the policy of peaceful coexistence implies that each of the two systems will show which of them is better by setting an example and not by using force. Communists demonstrate the superiority of their ideas and win the sympathy of the masses above all by noble examples of serving the people's interests.

Anti-communism resorts in the ideological sphere to subversion, blackmail, aggressive pressure and outright fraud, or the same devices as it uses in the economic and political spheres. By the same token, imperialism extends ideological and psychological warfare to relations between states. Lenin rightly served warning that bourgeois propaganda, hoping to discredit socialism in the working people's eyes and to justify its war preparations, would find a pretext for raising a hue and cry about so-called Red militarism. He described those who invented myths of this nature as 'political crooks who pretend that they believe this absurdity and throw charges of this kind right and left, exercising their lawyers' skill in concocting plausible arguments and in throwing dust in the eyes of the masses'.²

The myth about communism's 'aggressiveness' is based on bourgeois ideologists' allegations about the 'expansionism' of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, which they accuse of 'exporting revolution' and even 'endangering peace'. The experience of the Communists' struggle against every manifestation of capitalist ideology has shown the importance of distinguishing between reaction's propaganda ploys and its real policy, between declared aims and carefully disguised motives. Characteristically, imperialism's advocates are particularly concerned about 'violations of human rights' in socialist countries when it is planning a witch hunt. When pro-fascist, terroristic regimes acceptable to monopoly capital get the green light Communists and other people active in the national liberation movement are accused of 'terrorism'. In preparing for a new military provocation and a new round of arms race, our opponents talk about the 'Red danger'. Evidence relating to the cold war period is most instructive in terms of understanding the essence of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism and their contemporary forms and of exposing the hypocrisy of the concept of 'communist expansionism'.

The concept of communism's 'aggressiveness' was put into circulation by the propaganda machine of imperialist countries, especially Britain and the United States, virtually right after World War II. The more reactionary forces of these countries announced through Winston Churchill, who in March 1946 made his notorious warmongering speech at Fulton, USA, their plans for a campaign against communism to 'defend Western civilisation'.

In those days foreign policy strategists of imperialist powers, such as the Dulles brothers, did not restrict themselves to 'containing communism' but set much more ambitious aims, such as 'freeing Eastern Europe' or 'rolling back communism'. The Dulles plan, submitted to the Eisenhower administration in the very first year of its term in office, provided for the provocation of maximum unrest and 'popular resistance' in all the 'Soviet bloc' countries. In addition to direct support for counter-revolutionary groups, the plan called for the continuous implementation of a

meaningful and dynamic political strategy in every field and by every means: military, economic, diplomatic, secret and propagandistic.

Based on the myth about communism's 'aggressiveness', the plan was aimed at constantly threatening a 'total war' against the Soviet Union ('balancing on the brink of war') as a means of military pressure and political blackmail. It provided for the destruction of the socialist community. Another plan dating from the same period claimed that 'global war' met US interests, since it would make it possible to get even with the Soviet Union and then set up a 'global governing body', or, in other words, impose Washington's hegemony on the world. These plans admittedly fell through. Nevertheless, the baleful spirit of the doctrine of 'rolling back' materialised in US aircraft which afterwards invaded the air space above Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea and other sovereign countries.

Documents borrowed from archives and made public give a clear idea of the ugly things that the ideological machine of US imperialism was to have concealed by false declarations about the threat of a 'communist onslaught from the East'. They also shed light on the essence of the present-day ideology of the USA, which has fallen back on this old propaganda stereotype. Remembering history, we see in them the same political aims and considerations running counter to assurances of peaceful intent as in the past.

A false idea persistently advanced as an argument in favour of bringing the shadows of the cold war back from the past is that detente helps socialism gain superiority in strength. It was from this standpoint that Rainer Barzel, former leader of the West German CDU, assessed the results of detente. In his book, *On a Tightrope*, he insisted that a lessening of international tension would only 'benefit' the Soviet Union and the Communists. Increasing detente against the background of the growing influence of communist parties in a number of West European countries, he wrote, threatened the West with losing freedom in exchange for the Soviet model of peace.³ Imperialist strategists again see a way out of the situation in a sharper confrontation with the socialist world and a new 'crusade' against it.

The modus vivendi advocated by bourgeois ideologists today is plainly assuming cold war characteristics. They frankly falsify the aims and intentions of socialist countries without any qualification whatever, distort its foreign policy principles, tamper with an misinterpret history, and try to put a semblance of verosimilitude on would-be scholarly 'special reports', 'experts' estimates', and so on. Also current are provocative 'forecasts of likely behaviour', such as the 'likelihood of a Soviet seizure' of the Persian Gulf oil-fields.

Entirely in keeping with this modus vivendi, Paul H. Nitze, chief consultant of the White House on arms control, holds forth about the Soviet Union's 'fundamental support' for terrorism, its 'likely aid' to the Italian Brigade Rosse, the 'likelihood of Soviet bloc agents having instigated' the seizure of American hostages in Iran, and so on. From these absurdities Nitze deduces a US strategy for the eighties: 'a change in public attitudes in the United States toward the need to restore its power, including its military power, as a necessary support toward a constructive foreign policy'.⁴

Such devices have a common spearhead, being intended to put the blame for the worsening international situation on the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Those behind them see communism's 'aggressiveness' in everything: Marxist ideology, said to want to gain ground by force, the socialist countries' problems and difficulties, alleged to leave them no choice but foreign expansion, and so forth. Behind the smokescreen of the twaddle about the 'communist threat' is a maniacal desire to make people distrustful of existing socialism, intimidate the man in the street, reduce the appeal of socialist ideas and justify vast anti-communist campaigns with the ultimate aim of stemming the revolutionary movement in the world and defusing the class struggle in capitalist countries.

The meaning of political moves of the rulers of capitalist countries is revealed best of all by the policy patterns which their leader, the USA, offers them. Washington, expressing the undisguised hostility of the anti-communist and anti-Soviet forces of US-NATO imperialism blinded by hatred, declares that the military political aim of the United States is 'to destroy socialism as a socio-political system'.

The US military budget for the 1986 fiscal year approved by the Senate amounts to 303 billion dollars, or more than this year. Expenditures for the implementation of Star Wars plans are to increase nearly threefold. All this adds to current doubts about whether Washington really seeks a limitation of armaments. Besides, it is symptomatic that, arguing for the appropriation of this sum, advocates of the Star Wars project are carrying on another reckless campaign over the 'potential aggressiveness' of the Soviet Union, 'likely' violations of the disarmament undertakings given by it, and so on. The US administration trots out similar arguments in insisting that the arms race be spread to outer space. It assures public opinion, which is alarmed at the Star Wars programme, that the mortally dangerous plan to fill outer space with the most sophisticated weapons will lead to 'peace and security'. It affirms that the large-scale anti-missile system in question will help shift the emphasis from nuclear offensive weapons to defensive ones and that the United States 'does not seek' military or political superiority but merely proposes a 'way of eliminating the threat of nuclear war'.⁵

However, the veil concealing the truth about the 'peaceful' intentions of the advocates of Star Wars is raised by generals, who are less skilled in propaganda tricks. The strategic and political aims of the US plan for the militarisation of space were disclosed by Edward Aldridge, Assistance Air Force Secretary. You don't have to stretch your imagination to see that a nation controlling outer space can control the world, he said. A field manual of the US Air Force made public not long ago says that outer space provides unlimited potentialities and opportunities for military operations and room where the Air Force can carry out or support all its operations and tasks. On January 15, 1985 *The Washington Post*, commenting on the manual, wrote that the United States is committed to a policy aimed at assuring its superiority in space. It follows that ideological protestations about 'defence' and the need to 'safeguard peace' are at variance with the substance of the US leadership's policy, which is geared to a dangerous confrontation with the socialist world.

Communists have long since settled in explicit terms of principle the issue of the tasks, forms and methods of their class struggle. Their aim is to build a socialist and then a communist society. Marx and Engels said that socialism matures within the old, capitalist system. The old is destroyed under the impact of its own inherent contradictions. The philosophical, social and political position of Marxists is based on the fact that the development of every social system depends on internal contradictions and proceeds in different forms arising from the given conditions but always under the impact of and thanks to the operation of objective laws. A strategy aimed at spurring an objective process from without, at imposing on this or that people or state by any forcible means—political or military—a system alien to it, has nothing to do with Marxism.

Against the grim background of Washington's strategy, the alternative upheld by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is the most acceptable one. It is intended to reach agreement on an immediate end to the arms race in the world and on its barring from outer space, and to proceed to a radical reduction of nuclear armaments, with their complete abolition as the ultimate goal. The Soviet Union's consistent policy of effecting a real and substantial reduction of existing arsenals and of refraining from the development of new weapons systems is an important factor encouraging the peace forces. The Soviet Union has again furnished proof of its goodwill by unilaterally freezing till November 1985 the deployment of medium-

range missiles and by suspending other counter-measures in Europe. It has also proposed that the Soviet Union and United States should suspend for the duration of the Geneva disarmament talks the development (including research), testing and deployment of space assault armaments and freeze strategic offensive armaments. Thus the Soviet Union has formulated the terms of a fair dialogue. If the USA is really interested in a radical arms reduction, it would be logical for it to stop the deployment of its medium-range missiles in Europe, that is, first to check the arms race and then to go on to reductions. Many noted politicians and other public figures have spoken highly of the new Soviet proposals, which they see as constructive and truly peace-loving. But how did Washington react to these initiatives? It hastened to reject the measures which were proposed by the Soviet leadership and could have created a climate of greater confidence at Geneva.

A further component of the concept of communism's 'aggressiveness' is the twaddle of imperialism's ideologists about the threat 'from within', or from the communist and working class movement and national liberation forces. Imperialism is waging a life-and-death war against them, for it regards them as its dangerous internal enemies. The main device used to intimidate them is the allegation about terrorism, said to be used by the forces of social and national liberation.

One has only to look behind this ideological screen to see that in this case the rulers of the USA and other imperialist countries are primarily concerned about the dimensions of the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress, the upturn in the revolutionary movement and the gains of national liberation revolutions. Henry Kissinger, commenting on the substantial social and political changes that have lately taken place in developing countries, said that no nightmare could be worse for the West than a 'Red Black Africa'. He told *The Economist* that in the given world situation the USA 'cannot resign from the problem by renouncing the role of policeman'⁶. This outspoken statement of the ex-secretary of state of the United States is borne out by the policies of the present US administration.

The declaration of vast regions of the globe as 'zones of vital US interests', plans for the extension of NATO activities in the South Atlantic, the setting up of new military political alignments, the formation of a strike force in the Caribbean, and an increased military presence in the Middle East are all indicative of a US policy directed towards raising barriers to social and anti-imperialist changes in developing countries. Washington uses brute force and armed intervention on the plea of defending 'national interests'; it forms counter-revolutionary bands that operate under its patronage against the lawful governments of their countries, incites home reaction to destabilise these countries politically and imposes its domination upon them, directly or indirectly. More and more often, we hear calls for greater direct intervention in the affairs of Latin American peoples.

The US administration's aggressive orientation has lately found its perfectly frank expression in a speech delivered by George Shultz in San Francisco, specifically in the intentions of US imperialism with regard to Nicaragua openly announced by him. Until recently, aggression against that country was said to be aimed at 'blocking' mythical arms deliveries to the Salvadoran guerrillas but now this camouflage has been discarded as unnecessary. Nicaragua has been presented with a virtual ultimatum demanding that it renounce an independent home and foreign policy or face direct armed intervention by the USA intended to overthrow its lawful government. In continuing an undeclared war against Nicaragua, US strategists keep on talking about the danger of 'communist infiltration' of the Western Hemisphere and the transformation of Central America into a 'bridgehead for subversion'. At the same time they claim that support for the 'contras' is morally justified and has a direct bearing on the national security of the USA.⁷

The successes of the national liberation movement and the increased number of

socialist-oriented countries are likewise attributed by present-day anti-communism to communist 'expansionism', directly or indirectly. The myth of the 'aggressiveness' of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and the doctrine of the 'internal communist threat' closely interlock and are mutually complementary. Their ideological aim is to discredit communist parties in the eyes of the general public. The promotion of internationalist ties by fraternal parties is made out to be an anti-national activity. The carefully disguised purpose of this assertion is to obstruct by means of every possible falsification or fraud coordinated efforts by Communists and other progressives in their common fight for peace and social progress. This device is also widely used to distort the nature of relations between the communist movement and national democratic movements.

The meaning of the concept of 'threat to the free world from within' and of the alleged trend of the communist and working class movement as well as national liberation movements towards 'subversive activities' has been made only too clear by the imperialist powers' treatment of Cyprus. Anti-communists slander our party, describing it as an 'internal enemy' operating on orders 'from without'.

Our republic could not have been left out of anti-communism's sphere of action. Imperialism has never been indifferent to Cyprus, nor can it be. The predatory economic interests of international capital in the neighbouring region rich in oil plus what capitalist powers see as their 'vital', strategic interests prompt them to actively resist the progressive democratic forces of Cyprus, above all our party. International imperialism would like to impose on Cyprus a solution of domestic problems serving monopoly interests and enabling it to bring the island under its political and military influence.

NATO strategists have been pursuing an anti-communist policy towards Cyprus ever since it was declared independent (if not entirely). The CIA and other services of a similar type have long since worked out and introduced a system of recruiting agents of anti-communism, such as Polykarpos Georkadzis, ex-minister of the interior. He directed anti-communist campaigns in Cyprus. The CIA entrusted him with paying its agents and allocated 60,000 dollars a month for this purpose, according to reliable sources. In 1963 Georkadzis, a rabid anti-communist, granted *Agon*, a Greek Cypriot daily close to government quarters, an interview grossly attacking AKEL. He declared that 'there is no room for Communists among Greek Cypriots' and called on all 'sensible' nationalists to be 'vigilant' in order to resist the communist and working class movement, in particular AKEL.

The anti-communist, anti-AKEL policy of imperialism, especially US imperialism, is the main reason for the Cypriot people's troubles. The hegemonist plans of the United States in regard to our country and people are evident in the publication of the *Handbook for the American Army in Cyprus*, compiled in anticipation of a troop landing on the island.

Imperialist plans have materialised in the most infamous crime against our republic: the barbarous Turkish invasion and the Turks' continuing occupation of 37 per cent of the territory of Cyprus.

Even after this invasion US-NATO imperialism is continuing its traditional policy towards the people of Cyprus. To quote the recent Fifth Plenum of our party CC and CCC, 'intensive attempts and a deal are being made on instructions from the imperialists, under their direction and at their instigation to form an anti-communist and anti-AKEL front . . .'.⁸

AKEL is the main obstacle to imperialist plans on our island. This explains why, in trying to hitch Cyprus to its wagon, subdue it politically and turn it into an unsinkable aircraft carrier and a bridgehead against progressive regimes and liberation movements in the region, imperialism has drastically escalated its campaign against AKEL in recent years in an attempt to strangle our party and discredit the communist

movement.

All difficulties notwithstanding, AKEL actively resists the strategy of imperialism led by the rulers of the USA and aimed at subordinating the economies and policies of developing countries to the interests of monopoly capital. We are always mindful of the fact that anti-communism and anti-Sovietism are the main weapon of reactionary bourgeois ideologists in their sustained fight against Marxism-Leninism and the countries of existing socialism, particularly the Soviet Union, a bulwark of peace. Our party's decisions constantly point out the need to counteract anti-communist and anti-Soviet propaganda and expose its lies. AKEL invariably stresses the importance of propagating the Marxist-Leninist world-view, preserving the purity of our ideology and defending it against all attacks or distortions from the right or 'left'.

Operating in the forefront of the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress, Communists are gaining ground among the people and winning them by personal example for the immortal ideals of Marxism-Leninism. This is a tremendous contribution to the future of humanity.

¹ *Records of the 15th Congress of AKEL, May 13-16, 1982, p. 50 (in Greek).*

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 66.

³ See Rainer Barzel, *Auf dem Drahtseil*, Bonn, 1978, p. 218.

⁴ Paul Nitze, 'Strategy in the Decade of the 80s', *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 59, No. 1, 1980, pp. 91 and 95.

⁵ *International Herald Tribune*, February 23-24, 1985, p. 4.

⁶ *The Economist*, February 10-16, 1979, p. 35.

⁷ *International Herald Tribune*, February 8, 1985, p. 2.

⁸ *Records of the Fifth Plenum of the CC and CCC, AKEL, 1984, p. 8 (in Greek).*

Ideology of 'New Social Movements'

Ernst Wimmer – CC Political Bureau member, Communist Party of Austria

THE more pressing the need for breaking up the old society and the harder the transition, the breakthrough to the new, the more numerous become the alternatives—for which people fight sincerely and passionately—and the pseudo-alternatives, the 'third ways'. For a long time the appearance of 'new social movements' has been one of the cardinal and most contradictory phenomena on the political scene of a number of industrialised capitalist nations. These are unquestionably the waves upon waves of protest and disaffection against, as well as of resistance to, the evil that is being inflicted upon many people by state-monopoly capitalism. Let me emphasise: this is resistance mainly to effects of evil. There is still no purposeful resistance to its causes.

Almost every facet of capitalism's general crisis is mirrored in the names of movements. The military threat created by imperialism is reflected in the peace movement (it does not come under the heading of 'new social movements' but the latter constitute a significant section of its mass base). The destruction of the environment motivated by the drive for profits has generated ecological movements. State-monopoly centralisation, bureaucratisation, and the suppression of democracy have led to theories preaching decentralisation, self-management, and 'basic

democracy'. The crisis in education is countered in the calls for 'alternative methods of instruction'. The alienation of labour is fought by the demand for labour's spiritual emancipation and 'self-determination'. The criminal use of culture by the bourgeois mass media is opposed by the diverse attempts to create a 'counter-culture'. A striving for an 'alternative way of life' is the reply to control of day-to-day life, manipulation, compulsion in consumption, and also the painful limits on consumption. The response to spiritual callousness and brutalisation are the theories of 'new sensuality' and 'free sensuality'.

All these motley currents are evidence of, in fact, one thing: capitalism's crisis—although it does not signify, as many bourgeois pundits depict it, a crisis of the whole of humankind—has become so all-embracing that it now affects all aspects of people's everyday life in bourgeois society. These phenomena are thus living proof of the Marxist-Leninist analysis showing that present-day capitalism not only exploits the working class but robs, oppresses, and harasses large sections of the population, denying them the right to work, to a life worthy of human beings, to the application of the skills learned by them, to the development of their abilities and talents, and to participation in the making of decisions affecting their lives. In other words, all the objective conditions are on hand for the 'new social movements' to become—in large measure, if not entirely—our allies in the anti-monopoly struggle. However, a caution by historical experience is that when they act only against the effects and do not concern themselves with or are unaware of the causes, the victims of capital turn into instruments of the monopolies.

Relative to these movements the CPA is guided by the principles set out in its programme: the Communists are prepared to cooperate with those who act against the vices of the capitalist system. However, the Communists explain why any striving for liberation without the abolition of capitalist power, in other words, without the involvement of the working class movement, is at best an illusion. To carry on an explanatory work in order to achieve joint action with these forces it is vital to have a knowledge of the rudiments of Marxism-Leninism, but this knowledge alone is not enough. The new movements are advancing new aims in the battle of ideologies.

Because of the diversity of world-views in these movements, the attempts to classify even the basic of these may seem to be a hopeless task. They vary in a spectrum ranging from ideas visibly influenced by Marxism to new variants of philosophies about the 'call of blood and land'; from dreams of a 'natural, peasant life' to preachings of a 'free housing community' in towns with self-made household appliances, home-baked bread, and vegetables grown without the use of chemicals, from the glorification of contemplation, of immersion in the inner world to a readiness to act as a stand in life; from experiments in the channel of the working class movement's cooperative traditions to theories about 'undermining' the old society by creating a network of 'isles of resistance', of strong-points of an 'alternative life'.

Nevertheless, on this canvas of motley colours there is a basic design. A feature that all these movements have in common is that their ideologues fail to see that the determining factors in all issues, whether it is democracy, economics, ecology, or the role of science and technology, ultimately consist of the relations entered upon by people in the process of reproducing their life, namely, the relations of production. They impute the responsibility for the consequences of capitalist social relations and conflicts to the work of man: technology, science, development of the productive forces, institutions, organisations, structures, and even concepts (rationality, logism).

Another basic feature, utopism, is linked closely to the essentially idealistic view that explains the world from the standpoint not of relations between people but of the things created by them. This utopism has been defined by Karl Marx: 'In our eyes

those people are utopians who separate political forms from their social foundation and present them as general, abstract dogmas.¹ Typical here are the constantly, recurring, sharply abstract contrasts: here human, there technological; here 'basic democracy', small structures, there organisation, centralised administration. In these chains of contrasts in the shape of 'or-or' practically no room is left for showing the complexities of the world. Despite the astute and sometimes inventive criticism of capitalism's crisis phenomena, they do not show the underlying mutual dependencies.

One more fundamental feature supplements the above, and it is reformism. True, this reformism differs from traditional, social democratic reformism. Needless to say, there are points in common between them. These include, notably, disregard for the ultimately decisive relations of property and power or a simplification of these relations, their reduction, for example, to the formula of 'democratisation of administrative power over the means of production'. They are frequently offered as a 'third way', but formulas of this kind have never and in no manner changed capitalism's essence.

Of similarly great significance to present-day politics is the bitter clash between these two varieties of reformism. The ideology of the 'new social movements' came under the influence of views that emerged at the close of the 1960s and the early 1970s in connection with the actions of the 'new left'. At the time there appeared two main variants of the theory contending that the technostucture resolves everything.² The 'optimistic' variant of this theory contends that if a revolution takes place it can only be technological, structural, or institutional but on no account social in the sense of deposing the predominant capitalist class. The second, 'pessimistic', variant conflicts with the former in that it rejects the contention that a better society can come into being automatically, so to speak, as a result of scientific and technological progress, through the transformation of the functions of existing institutions. The US sociologist Alvin Toffler asserts that a speed-up of the growth of the productive forces does not bring about an improvement of society but rather generates shock. It is even worse, he opines, that the steadily accelerating changes in production and the rapid flow of information are greatly in excess of the potential of people for social adaptation. Toffler is very vague about preventing this 'shock'. However, as a result of some magical turn in development, he argues, material goods lose their value, property loses its significance, and the conflict between capitalism and communism is reduced to 'comparative insignificance'.³ Here he anticipates much of what is today fashionable to call 'post-materialism'. For instance, it is said that the crisis to be contended with is not of capitalism but of 'industrial society', that what will take place will not be a revolution 'aimed at seizing power, but a revolution aimed at its dispersal'.⁴

The 'new social movements' have been influenced by the pseudo-revolutionary reformist theories about reshaping capitalism. Herbert Marcuse was a typical spokesman of these theories. He turned the theory that under capitalism the development of the productive forces, science, and technology benefits society into its—similarly reformist—opposite: this development reinforces, cements capitalism. More, a negative convergence theory is proclaimed: because their productive forces and 'rationality' are comparable, the capitalist and socialist societies are inexorably drawing towards each other—in what is 'bad'.

With the continued impact of ideas of this sort on the 'new social movements' as the point of departure, it would be a mistake to conclude they are similar to the former 'new lefts'. The likeness between them is sometimes striking. But the distinctions are incomparably more glaring. The movement that appeared at the time—chiefly of students disgusted with the dirty war in Vietnam and the vices of capitalism—intended to take the place of the working class, which had allegedly become incapable

of action, and reshape the world at once. It claimed the role of the only truly revolutionary force.

The present 'new social movements' are much broader and more differentiated in terms of social composition and age, and have much more solid links to the world of labour. They do not act on behalf of any particular class. Many of their members imagine that they have risen above the distinctions between 'left' and 'right'. Indeed, in their ranks there are left-wing, conscious anti-capitalist forces. On the right wing are the 'ecolibertists', labouring under the illusion that it is possible to reconcile ecology with an economy based on the pursuit of profits. Strong is here the influence of the conservative ideology values. Also evident is the infiltration of fascist-type ideas. However, most of the participants in these movements declare that what they are seeking is not to choose between capitalism and existing socialism but to create an entirely different 'third' world by themselves and by new methods. Nevertheless, in these arguments the question of how to break the rule of the powers that be is usually sidestepped.

Champions of capitalism are making a big effort to prevent this question from being seriously raised. In a book with the revealing title *Farewell to the Proletariat*, the French sociologist André Gorz, who recently made a name for himself as a 'theorist of the Left', wrote that the most closely guarded 'secret' of the society of large-scale production 'is that *nobody possesses power*'.⁵ Gorz only repeats, with modifications, what was written a decade earlier by the US sociologist Charles Reich, namely: 'There is no longer any ruling class except the machine itself.'⁶

The former 'new lefts' argued that the working class can no longer achieve anything. The 'new social movements' are advised and even threatened to have nothing to do with the working class. The actual state of affairs is that even the most conscious and critical members of these movements as yet have no realistic alternative to the capitalist system. It is here that is manifested the special, irreplaceable role of the working class, which has by no means lost its historical mission. Will the above-mentioned movements advance an alternative to capitalism? Will their first steps in politics lead many of their participants further, to the working class movement or to its side? The answer depends on the working class, on the ability of its revolutionary party to counter the innumerable attempts to pit the 'new social movements' against this class and show these movements a future.

Questions related to democracy are a crucial sector of the struggle. We are guided by Lenin's theory that to bring the masses round to realising the need to remake society it is necessary to uphold democratic demands in their most consistent and fullest expression. The 'new social movements' are basically militant democratic movements, often with radical democratic features. Their protest is that state-monopoly capitalism is leading to an intensification of reaction all along the line. However, they hardly ever range beyond the bounds of bourgeois interpretations of democracy.

In the programme of the Austrian 'alternativists' we read under the heading 'Abuses of Power': 'Under the mantle of formal democratic procedures and elections, the politically and economically predominant groups impose an increasingly anti-democratic content and one-sided policy benefiting the wealthy and the powers that be.'⁷ If one reads the message correctly, the conclusion to be drawn is that the practices criticised here are considered solely as 'abuses' or their causes are seen in centralisation, in 'large-scale structures', in the system of political parties, and their apparatuses, and even in the existence of the state as such.

When unresolved problems are handed down from one generation to another, very old ideas are revived again and again. An unresolved contradiction of bourgeois society, namely that political equality is distorted and annulled by social inequality, served Jean Jacques Rousseau as a point of departure for a quest for a solution—true,

without remaking property relations. This quest brought him to the following construction. On the one hand, the 'social contract' was a project of the wealthy, which turned inequality into law and made it incumbent upon the state to protect property: 'In fact laws were always of benefit to the propertied and harmful to the have-nots.' On the other hand, while appealing to the self-same state, he suggested moving to a median level of property, to the ideal condition 'when not a single citizen will be so opulent as to be able to buy another citizen, and no one will be so poor as to be compelled to sell himself.'⁸

Petty-proprietor, petty-bourgeois illusions of this sort are constantly revived in a new guise. In the programme of the Austrian 'alternativists' they are presented in the form of a demand for 'neutralising capital by means of the state'. If the technology of large-scale machine production, if 'large-scale structures' are regarded as the cause of evil, the demand for 'median property' and 'median technology' suggests itself. Let us assume the improbable case of a class-neutral society prescribing compliance with a demand of this sort. Evidently, if it did not simultaneously exclude the laws implicit in capitalism, a return to earlier stages of development would be followed by the next stages and, with them, the 'large-scale structures' would emerge again.

Since such laws of capitalism cannot be annulled without eliminating that system itself, in particular, the 'force of example', any attempt to manage the capitalist economy by non-capitalist methods holds out the threat of collapse in various forms. In the long term the cost of the 'success' of such an experiment is total adaptation to the logic of making profits. There is a host of examples to illustrate this negative outcome. The worst of these is that many 'self-defence organisations' have turned into mammoth monopoly-type enterprises.

The 'alternativist' project for a 'double-track economy' is an illustration of the wish being father to the thought. On the one hand, it is surmised that there will be an 'informal sector', a 'model economy' based on 'personal labour'. On the other, that there will be a 'formal sector' concerned with the basic materials and means of production. For this there evidently would be a need for a solicitous state whose subsidies would enable a 'model economy' to live and 'set an example'. Regrettably, the existing bourgeois state has long been living in intimate association with insatiable monopoly capital. One can thus see why so little elbow-room is left for freedom of action. The demand for a 'new life' in society cannot be met by experiments conducted in 'islets', in tiny Icarías⁹ with their, more often than not, poor ability to compete. Moreover, such experiments may be halted at any moment by the state. The question inescapably arises of a fundamental modification of power based on monopoly property relations.

The transcending, even if partial, of utopism in the 'new social movements' with the aim of directing the democracy inherent in them against the capitalist system is a task that arises in a new way in every case. This includes a struggle against 'abstract dogmas', against established ideas claiming, for instance, that everything 'big' must necessarily be reactionary, while what is 'small' is in all instances democratic. If that were the case, then the most insular association of businessmen would be incomparably more democratic than a trade union. Further, this calls for a struggle against schematic notions about the 'democratic lower classes' and the 'reactionary upper classes'. Indeed, when in history have slave-owners, feudal barons or capitalists, who had been removed from power, subsequently become exponents of progress and democracy?

One can understand the participants in the 'new social movements' for perceiving centralisation as an evil. They have little or practically no knowledge of the democratic centralism of the working class movement. But daily they come into confrontation with the reactionary centralism of state-monopoly capitalism. Reality is the criteria that Communists use to determine whether this or that principle is

worth anything. As regards capitalist reality, where nothing is more centralised than the interlocking of monopolies and the state, there can only be one conclusion, namely, that these powerful forces cannot be overcome without centralisation and organisation, without subordinating private to higher interests, without coordinating short-term with long-term interests.

The strained attitude of the participants in the 'new social movements' to the revolutionary working class is due, apart from the psychological warfare against Communists, mainly to two concepts. First, the basically misconceived view that being a traditional component of a political system, a revolutionary party is itself 'ossified' and in principle no different from the other parties. Second, the portrayal of the communist parties in the distorting mirror of the bourgeois theories of organisation. Note is made only of centralism but nothing is said of the other, similarly important half, without which there is no whole—democracy.

We are guided by the historical fact that born in a class struggle democracy will remain a means of that struggle until classes disappear. The ideas we are considering are, in one way or another, abstracted from the class struggle and, consequently, it is not acknowledged that an element of suppression is sometimes vital to defend or assert democracy. 'Basic democracy' is often depicted as the sole correct form of social organisation. In this case they ignore the need for democratic structures that allow taking into account and weighing regional and general social problems and including them into the prospect for development, in other words, for directing and planning development consciously.

Despite the ideological distinctions between the Marxists and the participants in the 'new social movements', there are favourable prerequisites for cooperation between them where the defence and extension of democratic rights are concerned. Of course, the results of such cooperation depend to a large extent on whether a joint strike is directed against the monopolies, which are a living negation of democracy.

The greatest divergences of views are over the significance of technology and science for social progress. This problem is a favourite point of departure of those who seek to drive a wedge and bring about a collision between the working class and the 'new social movements'. What are these divergences? First, that most of the spokesmen of the 'new social movements', as I have already noted, regard relations of production subordinate, secondary, or having no significance at all.

Another reason for these divergences is that as a consequence of the influence of social democratic reformism a bourgeois understanding of technology prevails in the non-revolutionary working class movement. This understanding highlights the notion that whatever its purpose and effects any industry is always good as long as it creates jobs. This is no more than a modification of the principle of 'social partnership': there have to be profits to allow factories to operate. In other words, capitalism's social democratic 'partners' give priority to the self-growth of capital linked to production processes.

Of course, essentially differing views about society come into conflict in this area. Economic growth at any cost is one thing. But qualitative growth for society's benefit is quite another. And 'zero growth' is still another. They go so far as to preach in extreme variants a substantial cutback of scientific, technological, and industrial progress in order, as they put it, to appease nature and ensure a simpler, less dangerous life. Yet technology has long ago become a means not only of imposing and intensifying relations of dependence but also of breaking these relations.

Monopoly capital uses technology not only to pressure competitors and not only to produce more with a smaller outlay of labour, i.e., to abolish jobs. In addition, it pursues strategic aims, for instance, to pare down the core of the working class, to divide the working people, to isolate large sections, to turn them into 'ancillary workers' and home-industry workers, and make them more pliable, more submissive

by means of a 'flexible working day'. Not least here is the striving to erode the position of the trade unions, even of those that imagine themselves 'partners' of monopoly capital. Questions related to the use of technology are thus linked to the struggle for the size of the incomes of the different classes and intermediate strata, for jobs and working conditions, for the use of the world's resources, for environmental protection and, in the understanding of many 'Greens' and 'alternativists', for the 'sense of life'.

The CPA programme proclaims that the aim of the Communists is to build a society in which the freedom of each person is the condition of the freedom of all. But, as everybody knows, every aim presupposes specific means. Who denies this will never achieve his aim. What arguments can be offered to knock sense into those who, while wishing this aim, want to know nothing about the means for its attainment?

The working people, who are by virtue of their status in society called upon to fight for the new, socialist system, cannot be allured by a future that requires them to renounce a higher labour productivity and a better life. They refuse to understand 'fundamentalist Greens', who proclaim, for example, that mass unemployment is the shortest route to liberation from senseless labour. Let me note that it would be a gross mistake to identify the interest of the working class in the development of the productive forces with the capitalist 'modernisation strategies', of which the first victims are the working people. Capitalism's strategy must be countered in *all areas* with the institution of democratic control. But such control cannot be enforced without the working class. The Communists are convinced that capitalist relations of production, which have grown much too narrow, have to be reorganised. This is the only way to bring scientific and technological progress into keeping with social progress. A reshaping of relations of production does not, of course, signify that all problems have been resolved. But it is a vital condition for their solution.

Among and also between 'Greens' and 'alternativists' there are significant differences over the importance of ecological problems. Many focus on these problems to the exclusion of all else. Others, mainly the 'alternativists', on the contrary, accentuate social problems, unemployment, 'new poverty', and the arms race.

The 'new social movements' are, on the whole, extremely sensitive to ecological problems. Moreover, large numbers of people not participating in these movements are likewise sensitive to these problems. The reasons for this are, of course, not in any ideas but in objective processes, in phenomena such as the death of forests that is to be observed on an alarming scale in industrialised regions or, to put it in generalised terms, in the *new phase* of the metabolism between nature and society. This new phase is characterised by a rapid intensification of this metabolism, the increasing involvement in it of replenishable and non-replenishable resources and of ever larger territories. But the decisive circumstance is that on account of the scientific and technological revolution humanity's influence on nature can in many cases rival and even surpass nature. This in no way signifies that 'catastrophe is inevitable'. However, there is today more topicality than ever before in Marx's words that 'cultivation when it progresses spontaneously and is not consciously controlled . . . leaves deserts behind it . . .'.¹⁰ Marx and Engels demonstrated the significance of natural conditions for the reproduction of human life and proved that capitalist production 'develops technology, and the combining together of various processes into a social whole, only by sapping the original sources of all wealth—the soil and the labourer'.¹¹

If we take only the most significant ecological theories we shall again encounter the conclusion alleging that a change in the attitude to nature requires no more than a change of machinery, technology, and institutions. This approach does not conform even to the magnitude of the problem. Many ecologists believe that this is a simple

matter, that to attain equilibrium it is sufficient to adjust the economy to a given or remade nature. But they hardly take into account the fact that even if the point of departure is solely to preserve a production system that can meet extremely modest human requirements this alone now greatly exceeds nature's ability for natural, independent renewal.

Nature's regeneration has long ago become an aim of *human labour*, although its ability to restore itself, of which any dramatic weakening cannot be permitted, remains basic. Consequently, the attainment of this aim likewise depends on the productivity, the productive forces and thereby on the relations of production, which, in the long run, determine the aims of production. Any ecological solution has its socio-economic preconditions.

In the nineteenth century the ruthless exploitation of human labour threatened to undercut its foundation until the struggle for labour legislation and a shorter working day brought substantial improvements. Today the struggle continues under new and more complicated conditions: capitalist exploitation is threatening to inflict irreparable damage on nature. When the foundations of the reproduction of capital are menaced or when improvements can yield a profit, the capitalists show an eagerness for reforms. But they would not have been capitalists had they not tried to depict such reforms, even if these reforms are forced upon them, as 'evidence' of their reasonableness and capitalism's ability for self-improvement. But the main things guiding them are the deterioration of the conditions of the reproduction of capital and the fact that the expenditures on environmental protection come under the heading of 'losses'. That is why the struggle against capital, aimed at halting the destruction of nature and eliminating the damage done to it, is concentrated around the question: Who should bear the expense?

Whether the matter is the alienation of labour, the breakdown of human relations, the devastation of nature, the mutilation, distortion, and abolition of democratic rights, or the new dangers and hardships generated by technological achievements which are becoming a curse rather than a blessing, the question of property always proves to be fundamental. This holds true not only for the working class movement. All the signs point to the need for a basic reshaping of the relations of power, to allow for the socialisation of the means of production, which has long ago been demanded by the socialisation of labour.

The experience of the 'new social movements' and an analysis of these movements lead to a number of conclusions for the Marxist working class movement in Austria.

Regardless of the combination and groupings of forces at any given time it is evident that the clout of the intermediate strata of wage labour, from which these movements as a rule recruit their members, is growing steadily in the political life of capitalist society. They are increasingly interacting with the working class. Despite their lack of unity, these movements have shown that they are a democratic opposition force that has to be reckoned with seriously also by the state-monopoly system. Their prevailing postures are of immense significance for the basic orientation and efficacy of their actions to avert a nuclear catastrophe and secure all-sided disarmament, which could release colossal funds for resolving the problems confronting humanity.

The need for cooperating with these movements, despite divergences, some of which are quite profound, generates the corresponding demand on our ideological work. It is extremely important to study the impact of the relations of property and power on all areas of life, up to the imagined 'free expanses'. All-sided exposures of the capitalist system, as was noted by Lenin, help to reveal the common root of the various evils that diversely affect many people.

Generalities, abstraction, and inflexibility in arguments make it difficult to understand why we attach so much importance to basic issues, to what initially many

people regard as only a sweeping formula. More attention is merited by the struggle on the cultural front in the broad sense. The need for this is accentuated by the fact that a growing number of young people are questioning or rejecting the prevailing bourgeois morals and culture and looking for new values, for the sense of life.

In the 'new social movements' wide recognition is accorded to a key principle of the Communists, namely, that if you feel committed, you must act, display militancy, and resist. Advice from those who only contemplate the world does not enjoy prestige anywhere. Much greater appreciation is shown for those who participate in actions aimed at achieving a worthy aim and demonstrate how to act more productively and effectively.

The class adversary is trying to depict the emergence of the 'new social movements' as unmistakable evidence that the 'old working class movement' and, above all, its revolutionary parties have lost their social designation, their significance. If that were the case the irreconcilable contradiction between wage labour and capital ought to have evaporated, to have disappeared long ago. However, precisely the opposite is the case. Any contradictions of capitalist society, wherever they surface, are indissolubly linked, even if only through many intermediate elements, to this main contradiction. To resolve it we have to win over new forces and allies on new fronts.

¹ Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 539.

² See John Galbraith, *The New Industrial State*, Boston, 1967.

³ Alvin Toffler, *Future Shock*, New York, 1971, pp. 220-221.

⁴ *The New American Revolution*, New York, 1971, p. 259.

⁵ André Gorz, *Adieux au prolétariat*, Paris, 1980, p. 67.

⁶ Charles Reich, *The Greening of America*, London, 1971, p. 228.

⁷ *Die Grünen Alternativen*, Graz, p. 1.

⁸ Jean Jacques Rousseau, *Du contrat social ou principes du droit politique*, Paris, pp. 26, 56.

⁹ A small commune. This expression was brought into literary usage by Etienne Cabet's utopian novel *A Voyage to Icaria*.—Ed.

¹⁰ Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1965, p. 202.

¹¹ Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1956, p. 507.

the party

Meeting of CC Secretaries of the Fraternal Parties of the CMEA Countries

IN accordance with a decision of the Economic Summit of the CMEA Member-Countries for the intensification of the collective work of the fraternal parties to promote cooperation and the exchange of economic experience, CC secretaries of the communist and workers' parties of the CMEA countries met in Moscow on May 20 and 21, 1985 to discuss economic matters. The meeting was attended by representatives of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Communist Party of Cuba, Czechoslovak Communist Party, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Polish United Workers' Party, Romanian Communist Party, Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Communist Party of Vietnam.

The participants exchanged information on the work done by the parties to implement the agreements reached at the Economic Summit. They noted that all the fraternal countries are ascertaining the outlook for the period till 1990 and the late twentieth century in respect of the further all-round progress and perfection of socialist society. This work is going on according to decisions of congresses of the communist and workers' parties of the CMEA countries and with due regard to the main lines of the long-term strategy of economic development and growing mutual cooperation coordinated at the Moscow Summit. The participants in the meeting unanimously expressed the opinion that consistent realisation of the decisions of the Economic Summit is an important factor for the further advance of the socialist community countries, for their closer unity and cohesion.

There is coordination of economic policy on matters of mutual interest. Bilateral programmes for economic, scientific and technological cooperation for the period till the year 2000 are worked out and adopted. The coordination of national economic plans for the coming five-year period is being completed; a number of major multilateral agreements on cooperation in production and joint exploitation of natural resources are in preparation. They include agreements on cooperation in mechanical and power engineering and the fuel and raw material industries. Economic, scientific and technological cooperation is seen by all as playing an increasing role in the intensification of social production.

The participants compared notes on a wide range of questions relating to party guidance of the effort towards raising the efficiency of the socialist economy. Thanks to measures adopted by party and government bodies, labour productivity is going up, production costs are decreasing and certain gains have been made in reducing power-intensiveness and the specific consumption of materials in social production.

At the same time, emphasis was put on the need to make further efforts in order to achieve substantial progress in the development and large-scale intensification of the national economies. The urgency and political acuteness of this problem are due to the need to accelerate the socio-economic development of the fraternal countries and to the present international situation.

As a result of the policy of confrontation being pursued by aggressive imperialist circles, world tension is not abating. Trying to upset the military balance that has shaped up, they are escalating the arms race and want to spread it to outer space and to weaken the socialist countries economically. The US rulers also use international economic relations for their political ends by continuing to apply direct pressure, embargoes and 'sanctions' in the sphere of trade, credits and technology. This aggressive policy of imperialism in the economic area also extends to countries fighting for their national liberation, such as Nicaragua, on which an economic blockade has been imposed.

The CMEA member-countries, consistently pursuing a policy intended to preserve and consolidate peace, resume the process of detente and promote mutually beneficial economic cooperation with all the countries concerned on an equal footing and building up their unity and cooperation, will go on taking every requisite step to protect their vital interests and further their technological and economic independence. At the same time, they will continue with the utmost determination to come out for an end to the arms race, against its extension to outer space, for disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, and for international security and cooperation. The Warsaw Treaty dependably serves the development and consolidation of all-round cooperation among the socialist countries.

Inasmuch as the main component of the fraternal countries' economic strategy today is to accelerate scientific and technological progress, the participants in the meeting called special attention to the importance of collectively working out a comprehensive programme for scientific and technological progress covering the period till the year 2000. The CMEA countries have all that they need to move to the fore in science and technology. They will make every effort to introduce scientific achievements onto production as speedily and effectively as possible. To this end, they have begun coordinated work on priority lines, such as the use of electronics, comprehensive automation, atomic energy, new materials and technologies, biotechnology. They are setting out to draft along these lines comprehensive agreements on cooperation based on the international socialist division of labour and encompassing the whole cycle from research to production and realisation.

The participants declared for the early drafting of the programme in question and of specific agreements on its implementation, and for closer attention to and supervision of progress in this work by the fraternal parties' Central Committees.

It is the opinion of all the participants that in order to constantly and promptly renew the production capacities in operation, a special effort must be made to develop mechanical engineering and promote within the framework of the CMEA specialisation and cooperation in this industry, the production of high-quality machinery and plant meeting world technological standards. The CMEA Committee for Cooperation in Mechanical Engineering, set up not long ago, will have to play a big role in this respect.

The participants exchanged information on forms and methods of exerting party influence to ensure judicious utilisation of all material resources, raise capital productivity and the effectiveness of investment, and perfect the structure of the national economy. All the CMEA countries are carrying out a set of measures to save more fuel, power and raw materials and raise labour productivity as an indispensable condition for intensifying production. Mention was made in this connection of the need to step up collective work on raising economic efficiency all along the line.

The representatives of the fraternal parties declare again that the CMEA member-countries consider it their internationalist duty to continue rendering the Republic of Cuba, Mongolian People's Republic and Socialist Republic of Vietnam assistance on the existing fair basis in accelerating the development and raising the efficiency of their national economies with due regard to the tasks in socialist industrialisation set by these countries, and to help them participate more widely and efficiently in the international socialist division of labour. Cooperation in these fields should hasten the process of gradual equalisation of the economic development levels of the Cuban Republic, MPR and SRV to those of the European members of the CMEA.

It was found advisable to continue holding regular meetings of CC secretaries of the fraternal parties on economic matters.

The meeting proceeded in an atmosphere of comradely cooperation, businesslike discussion and mutual understanding.

Local Government with a Right-Wing Majority

Roger Dafflon – Political Bureau member;
Swiss Party of Labour (SPL), Mayor of Geneva

HOW is it, I am often asked, that in Switzerland, a country of banks where conservatives have an almost complete monopoly of power, a Communist has been re-elected mayor of one of the main cities, a major international centre? I always answer that I regard my election as a sign of the confidence which the people of Geneva put in our party, a result of our party's defence of the working people's interests over a long period and its effort for the unification of left democratic forces.¹

Geneva is known above all as the headquarters of specialised agencies of the UN and a city where important conferences and congresses involving many countries are held. It is now in the focus of attention in connection with the Soviet-US talks on nuclear and space armaments. However, Geneva is also a city with a long-standing tradition of class struggle.

The SPL established itself here as a major force from the outset.² It polled roughly 30 per cent of the vote in the very first local elections that took place after the lifting of the ban on left organisations imposed during World War II. This happened exactly 40 years ago, in the year when the freedom-loving nations won their great victory over fascism and when reaction had to retreat in Europe, Switzerland included, and the democratic movement surged higher than ever. Since then, despite constant efforts by the right to do away with the Communists' influence, they have invariably played an active role in the city and the canton of the same name and made all the parties active on the local political scene reckon with them. Thanks to its positions in Geneva, the SPL has been represented in parliament at all times, even the hardest. The experience of Geneva's Communists is therefore noteworthy as regards both the manner in which they operate and the results which they achieve in local government bodies.

Participation in these bodies is one of the main forms of our party's political work, due primarily to the peculiarity of the administrative system of the Swiss Confederation. Every one of its 26 cantons and half-cantons has its own constitution,

parliament and government and enjoys ample autonomy, so that it may draft and pass its own laws and submit draft laws to the Federal parliament. Inner political struggles and the activity of parties and social organisations are largely concentrated at the level of cantons and big cities. Communists in representative bodies do their best to give these bodies a direction meeting the interests of the working population and to strengthen their ties with the masses.

I wish to say from the first that we are far from seeing in local government anything more than an echelon of the bourgeois state apparatus. Our party's appeals to the working people stress that no amount of effort on this level can bring about a radical change in their condition, and that this can only be done by thoroughly transforming the whole of society on socialist lines. After all, even in Switzerland with its relatively low degree of centralisation, the jurisdiction of local bodies is restricted by bourgeois legislation and their real possibilities are limited by the decisive role of big capital in the life of the country and by the policy of the Federal government. With the principle of 'free enterprise' all but reigning supreme—the state only controls the railways, public transport, the postal service and communications—the cantonal and city authorities can influence regional economic development but indirectly and are in no position at all to influence employment, working conditions or wage rates.

On top of this there is a major factor which is lacking in neighbouring countries, such as Italy or France, and has to do with the balance of political forces. In all cantons and cities, even in Geneva, where they are in a relatively favourable position, the left parties are forced to contend nearly always with a right-wing majority in representative bodies.³ Attempts to effect more or less important progressive changes generally meet bitter resistance from the conservatives. Not all decisions running counter to the requirements of ordinary citizens can be prevented—far from it.

However, our experience suggests that Communists can use local government bodies to defend the working people's interests and improve their condition. These bodies lend themselves to the direct influence and control of the people to a much greater extent than the Federal parliament, to say nothing of the government. Their jurisdiction covers housing construction, elementary and secondary education, public transport, territorial improvement, the maintenance of public order, taxation and other matters affecting the interests of every individual and every family to one degree or another. The electorate can directly express in elections its attitude to the activity of this or that deputy or party. All this makes it possible to widely mobilise the population against bourgeois projects and in support of solutions meeting its needs. Given pressure, the right-wing parties often find themselves compelled to reckon with the working people's wishes, in particular for electoral reasons.

In Geneva, where Communists and other democrats have repeatedly won popular support on specific issues, they score gains more often than elsewhere. An employer said therefore that despite a right-wing majority, a left policy is being pursued here. This opinion is not groundless. It was in Geneva that, for the first time in Switzerland, the authorities introduced paid holidays and then extended them to four weeks, passed laws on allowances for large families, aid to the aged, social security, the readaptation of invalids and public education. Geneva has outpaced nearly all cantons in granting women the suffrage (1960). Many of these achievements produced a chain reaction in other parts of the country, where the working people stepped up their struggle while conservatives came to find it more difficult to resist the satisfaction of legitimate demands. The social laws still in force in Geneva are among the most progressive in Switzerland; they provide the population with benefits which very few cantons enjoy.

The ruling class had been attacking the people's gains and living conditions ever since the early eighties. Monopoly capital is using the 'classical' bourgeois remedy of

overcoming economic crisis by charging the costs to the working people, specifically by running down production and cutting real wages. The Swiss are now aware, possibly for the first time in years, of the instability of the relatively high standard of living won by them in the postwar period.

Big capital is trying to impose its will on local government bodies, to dictate its approach to long-standing as well as new problems. The ruling quarters' bid to curb the real powers of local government bodies has been particularly obvious in the past decade. They are out to reduce these bodies' financial resources, to cut subsidies for social security, education, culture, sports, the health services, the construction of public housing and other projects, environmental protection.

How does the SPL counter this policy in, say, Geneva?

First of all, by promoting cooperation among all democratic and progressive forces. Communists see joint action with them as the chief condition for an effective common struggle and an earnest of their own success. When making proposals in the cantonal legislature or the city municipality, they lean on the support of the trade unions and other organisations of working people and the population as a whole. The SPL has always devoted special attention to the work of party groups in factories and in the past 10 to 15 years it has made a point of establishing contacts with social movements defending the rights of women, tenants and consumers, with associations for aid to the aged and the advancement of public education, with professional groups. Communists play an active role in the League for a Fair Housing Policy, which comes out for the construction of homes within reach of low-income families and defends tenants' interests in other respects. It includes Socialists, trade unionists, Christians and members of the Popular Movement of Families.⁴ In common with these forces the SPL carries out major campaigns over pressing problems of the canton or city.

A case in point was the campaign against forcible eviction which Communists and other democrats conducted in Geneva for many years. I took a direct part in it. We set up something of a public committee. Every time its members got word that the authorities were going to evict tenants at the houseowner's request we went there and prevented eviction. We often sought direct help from working people. In the early days police tried to foil our action and threatened us with arrest. On one occasion I was held and taken to the police station. But according as our activity drew public attention the authorities showed less inclination to provoke conflicts with us.

In the end we succeeded in having evictions banned and then in bringing about legislation protecting tenants that is unique in Switzerland. It infuriates houseowners, who still feel outraged by what they call 'too many obstacles' to the construction or demolition of houses in Geneva, the exercises of the 'freedom of private property', and so on. I admit that we Communists like other progressives, are very pleased to hear that. What is equally important is that during the campaign against evictions we made it clear to the authorities that they could not treat the people of our city at will or they would come up against widespread public protest.

Thanks largely to the support which the working people of Geneva give to us Communists, we have established solid contacts with the Socialists. In the past 10 to 15 years our two parties have repeatedly entered into electoral agreements and put forward common lists of candidates, with the result that they invariably won more votes than earlier and scored a number of victories. Communist and Socialist deputies to local bodies often proceed as one group. Cooperation has been developing virtually under a common action programme even though it has not been put on paper. It covers a wide range of problems, such as housing policy, the promotion of social security or the democratisation of education.

To reach the population directly, Communists and the movements to which they belong use the popular legislative initiative and the referendum, a practice typical of

the Swiss political system. The right of popular initiative means that any party or group may put a draft law to the vote at the level of the canton concerned. To submit a bill in Geneva, for instance, you must collect 10,000 signatures. It comes automatically into force if supported by the majority of voters. Referendums are held on decisions of the government of the Administrative Council of a canton, city or commune, provided a definite number of inhabitants declare for it (6,000 in the case of Geneva).

We do not overrate the effectiveness of this mechanism, for it happens only too often that conservatives defeat through propaganda among the electorate initiatives of left parties and democratic organisations objectively meeting the interests of the majority of the population and win approval for their own legislative acts in a referendum. Nevertheless, a general vote is an important device for the Left since the levers of power are in the hands of a right-wing majority. In some cases we won approval for our proposals and so inflicted telling setbacks on bourgeois parties.

This was the case when, on March 10, 1985, an initiative of the League for a Fair Housing Policy (mentioned earlier) was put to the vote. The initiative was aimed at forbidding houseowners to sell tenanted apartments to third persons since such a transaction is tantamount to eviction and deprives tenants of the right to sue the owner. The bourgeoisie submitted a counter-draft meeting houseowners' interests and launched a publicity campaign in its support that cost about two million francs. However, this time the tradition by which the Right in Geneva Canton polled 60 per cent of the votes was upset. The democratic forces won a clear victory, for their draft was backed by nearly 70 per cent of the electorate while the Right was defeated by 72 per cent of those who voted in the referendum. This outcome was largely a result of a campaign in defence of tenants carried on by the Communists and the Left as a whole for a long time.

And now the Communists plan to hold a referendum on a new initiative providing for a tax reform in the canton. They propose that in levying taxes account be taken of both growing wages and rising prices. Bourgeois parties have blocked this proposal for 25 years now. But it is becoming particularly relevant as inflation grows, and we believe it may be backed by the population.

Exercise of the right of initiative or referendum is an important form of SPL work in cantons where the party has no share of government or is not strong enough really to influence decision-making. This is true of German-speaking cities like Zurich or Basel. In Basel our party secures an annual average of one voting or referendum on its proposals. It was thanks to its efforts that social insurance against sickness, which the cantonal executive wanted to privatise, was preserved.

Even where a Communist initiative does not win the requisite number of votes, it draws public attention to pressing issues and helps criticise the authorities and unite a section of the working population around the SPL. Besides, it compels reactionary forces to take account of the ability of the Left to mobilise the population and its organisations against their bills.

Persevering effort in local government bodies is another prerequisite for the Communists' success.

Take the Geneva municipality, for one. Its affairs are managed by the Administrative Council. The SPL has had a representative in it⁵ ever since 1970, which helps the party uphold its proposals or influence developments. Our group in the municipal council plays a big role. It proposes solutions to various problems. Much depends in this respect on how sound the Communists' arguments are. The more convincing they are, the harder it is for the right-wing majority to defeat initiatives of our party and the Left generally. Communist municipal councillors are very active in the Council's working commissions, in which they show competence, a serious approach and proper knowledge of the point at issue irrespective of whether it

is a question of finance, public works, culture, sports or environmental protection.

We see our task in extending the social functions of the municipality and in overcoming the resistance of bourgeois groups backed by the big companies and the employers.

Under the influence of the Communists and the Left as a whole, the municipal authorities now give greater attention to the housing problem, one of the most acute problems in Switzerland. The construction of municipal housing accessible to the bulk of the population has been considerably extended, even though it is still inadequate. Pensioners and low-income families are granted a reduction of rent and this offsets in a measure the policy of the houseowners, who artificially put up rents.

A further problem is that of equal rights for women. The Constitution grants women equality but this provision is hardly ever respected in regard to wages, working conditions or the admission of women to 'male' spheres of social and economic activity. In Geneva the left parties have won real equality for women in respect of employment in the municipality and its services. Progressive deputies and SPL councillors, especially women, have done much to set up a network of public day nurseries and nursery schools without which all talk about women's socio-economic equality would be meaningless.

Communists apply similar criteria in other cases. They seek an increase in the share of municipal expenditures for social needs, an extension of public transport to include working class districts, the introduction of various special benefits for youth and pensioners and access to culture and sports for the working people.

I am particularly familiar with this last sphere because ever since 1970 I have headed the department of the municipality whose responsibilities include the promotion of sports. Formerly negligible sums were appropriated for sports but by now they have increased fourfold. This increase is used for assisting large sports societies short of funds, granting subsidies for them to purchase equipment and setting up specialised schools for the rising generation. Municipal funds were spent on renovating and expanding stadiums and on building new gymnasiums, swimming-pools and tennis courts. Sports organisations are allowed to use these facilities on a regular basis and free of charge. Without such an infrastructure the working people could not exercise their right to recreation.

The very status of Communist deputies enables them to influence various aspects of socio-political life. In Lausanne, which is the capital of Vaud, a canton neighbouring on Geneva, the democratic forces were allowed by the Federal government to set up their own local broadcasting station. The station, known as Acidule, began its broadcasts in April 1984. This meant breaking the bourgeoisie's monopoly on radio information throughout French-speaking Switzerland. The project has been headed from the first by Christiane Jacquet, SPL member of the Great Council of the canton. Her experience, knowledge and social standing helped greatly in getting Acidule off to a start and it now publicises the Left's views on local and national problems.

Communists are searching at cantonal level for ways and means of altering the prevailing balance of national political forces, without which no fundamental transformation of Swiss society can be attempted.

In Geneva and other French-speaking cantons, where the SPL has brought about joint action with the Socialists and members of other progressive organisations on specific issues as well as on a broader political plane, the groundwork is being laid for a unity that in the long term could assume the characteristics of a permanent left alliance. True, the Socialists occasionally turn out not to be very reliable partners, being prompted primarily by passing considerations. Nevertheless, visible progress has been made since the 1950-1960 period, when the two parties hardly cooperated at all.

Participation in the solution of virtually every important problem of the canton and

city has enabled us to extend ties with trade unions influenced to a decisive degree by the Social Democrats, reach sections of the working population keeping aloof from political parties for various reasons and find common ground with new social movements. In Switzerland they are characterised by actions against this or that aspect of conservative policy and in defence of the interests of definite population groups. These movements are fairly distinctive and their popularity may verge at times on frank anti-communism. But when a joint action is launched over a specific issue ideological prejudice is generally set aside to ensure success for all.

Thus Communist activity in local government bodies accords with the strategy reaffirmed by the Twelfth SPL Congress (May 1983) and calling for the formation of a broad popular alliance equal to fighting for a political renewal and economic renaissance of the country. It is locally that concrete approaches are worked out to fulfil a task set by the Congress: seeing to it that all left progressive parties and organisations, the trade unions and democratic movements decide on common goals and join efforts to attain them.

Communist groups in municipalities also promote as best they can unity between Swiss and foreign workers, which the SPL considers very important. As a consequence of bourgeois propaganda, xenophobia has taken deep root in society and over recent years it has increased due to growing unemployment and the housing crisis. The important thing for us is to overcome distrust and hostility between the Swiss population and immigrants. Work in small towns and communes, among ordinary people, has yielded some positive results. In Renens, Vaud Canton, Communist municipal councillors have succeeded in drawing foreign workers into the life of the community by securing their inclusion in the parents' councils of schools. As a result, foreigners have come to mix more with Swiss people and to join them in bringing up children and organising their leisure pursuits. The wall of estrangement between the Swiss and foreigners is gradually crumbling. Thanks to the Left, foreign workers in French-speaking Neuchâtel Canton have been granted the right to participate in communal elections.

However, a legitimate question arises: Why, then, is it that despite what Communists have done and go on doing in government bodies in Geneva, they have been unable for more than ten years past to win more seats in either the cantonal legislature, or the municipal council and that, indeed, recent years have witnessed a downward trend?

I believe this is due to the overall impact of a number of factors. The longest-standing include the ideological atmosphere in the country, which still betrays some features of the cold war period. Incidentally, it was in that period that reaction contrived to notably undermine the positions of the SPL in the German-speaking part of Switzerland through a fierce anti-communist campaign. Ever since then the ruling class has kept this campaign at quite a high degree of intensity. As for the past few years, which saw an unprecedented upsurge in anti-socialist, anti-communist and anti-Soviet hysteria in the West, the SPL has been under particularly bitter attack.

Indoctrination of the population is bolstered by definite practical steps. A decision adopted by the Federal government in 1950, which says that no civil servant may belong to a revolutionary organisation, is still in force. Besides, there are unofficial job bans. SPL activists (occasionally their wives) are denied employment on the most diverse pretexts or told that they can get a job provided they withdraw from the party. This is done to instil into people's minds the notion that the Communists are 'undesirable' or even 'hostile' elements and to isolate them from society.

Here is just one example to show how anti-communist stereotypes affect social consciousness. In Zurich our party raised the issue of paid holidays. Its initiative met violent resistance from the Right as well as from the Socialists and trade unions dominated by reformists. Our proposal was voted down. Exactly one year later, the

Socialists put forward the same proposal and won the support of the population despite the bourgeois forces' efforts to defeat it. In this case our party helped enact a progressive law, if only by placing it on the agenda. But the fact is revealing.

To be sure, it is not always that reaction manages to exploit anti-communist prejudice. When, in 1979, it tried to prevent the re-election of a SPL member to the Administrative Council of Geneva the Communists and other left-wingers responded by launching a campaign of their own. As a result, my candidature won many more votes than the others, a fact which, incidentally, played a decisive role in the election of the mayor.⁶ It is perfectly obvious, nonetheless, that widespread anti-communist sentiment limits the possibilities of the SPL.

Rapid changes in the social structure are another factor. The Swiss economy is increasingly geared to developing the non-productive sphere, which now employs 55 per cent of the economically active population. In Geneva this index is still higher, for 70 per cent of the working population is employed in trade, banking, insurance, transport, hotels, restaurants, the administrative apparatus, the health services, educational institutions and international organisations. The share of the working class proper, which 20 years ago exceeded two-thirds of the total workforce, has dropped to 27 per cent in the canton and so reduced the natural social base of the party, confronting us with considerable difficulties. The class consciousness of those employed in the service sector is very low and while some of them do join in social movements with which our party is cooperating, we cannot claim yet that we know how to approach this social group.

There is also the fact that Swiss workers in factories and farms are gradually replaced by foreigners, who now total 700,000, or 23 per cent of the workforce. In Geneva Canton foreigners allowed to reside permanently or temporarily add up together with their families to roughly 110,000 or nearly one-third of the population; most of them are immigrant workers. It must be added that there are 6,000 seasonal workers (time limit to stay, nine months), 24,000 people who daily come to work from France and about 4,000 persons residing in the canton without permission. Nearly the whole of this huge number of working people, most of whom are engaged in material production, stay aloof from political struggles because foreigners are denied the suffrage and other civil rights.

Lastly, only a fraction of the working class votes Communist. In Geneva the SPL has its organisations in many factories. But the bulk of the working class is still shackled by illusions born of the policy of 'class peace' which trade union leaders have long been committed to. They capitalise on the fact that the economic crisis in Switzerland is less acute than in other capitalist countries and that the upward trend in the cost of living and in inflation is less noticeable than elsewhere. As for employment, the situation is 'eased' by dismissing foreign workers—240,000 of them have been laid off and have left the country in the past decade.

Needless to say, the Communist Party owes its strength to something more than the votes it polls in elections. At local level, however, election results largely condition the party's ability to carry on its political struggle and win allies. These phenomena also confront the SPL with serious problems in broader terms. We have yet to find solutions to them.

The foregoing invites the following conclusions:

First of all, despite the limited potentialities of local government bodies under capitalism and the dominance of bourgeois parties in them, these bodies can be an instrument of struggle for social progress even under the existing social order. They can also be used to resist the anti-popular policy of the ruling quarters. However, this can be done only if the Communists succeed in keeping government bodies under continuous popular pressure, fight successfully for the extension of their social functions and establish durable relations with other left parties as well as democratic

organisations.

Second, vigorous municipal activity by the SPL, direct appeals to the people and campaigns involving diverse social movements help foster the political militancy and initiative of the working people and make them more receptive to the tasks which the Communists set before themselves.

The efforts made by the SPL to unite working people of the most diverse orientations, trade unions and social movements pursuing limited objectives, on the basis of specific demands are paving the way for their gradual involvement in the anti-monopoly struggle and the formation of a broad popular alliance advocating far-reaching changes in the economic and political life of the country.

¹ The author's popularity, too, played an important part. He served in the Great Council of the canton for 30 years and was a Communist MP from 1959 to 1984. In the party he concerned himself with the defence of the working people's social rights for more than 25 years. He contributed greatly to the founding of the Association for the Protection of Aged People, Invalids, Widows and Orphans and is its National Chairman. Dafflon was for a long time one of the leaders of the movement for the protection of Genevan tenants. He was Mayor of Geneva in 1979 and 1980 and was re-elected in 1984.—*Ed.*

² Formed in October 1944 on the basis of the Communist Party of Switzerland and a group of left Socialists.—*Ed.*

³ The bourgeois parties today have a durable majority in the cantonal parliament of Geneva—64 seats out of 100 (the SPL holds 10 seats and the Socialists, 26)—and on the city's municipal council—43 seats out of 80 (against the Communists' 11 and the Socialists' 26). Their representatives also predominate in the executive bodies: the State Council of the canton and the administrative council of the city.—*Ed.*

⁴ Progressive Catholic organisation.—*Ed.*

⁵ Roger Dafflon was re-elected to the Administrative Council in 1971, 1975, 1979 and 1983. Apart from him, the Council now comprises a Socialist and three deputies from bourgeois parties.—*Ed.*

⁶ The Mayor of Geneva is elected by rotation every year from members of the Administrative Council.—*Ed.*

new experience

Our Interviews In the Thick of the Workers' Movement

Ken Douglas – National Executive
Committee member, Socialist Unity Party of
New Zealand, Secretary, Federation of Labour
of New Zealand

—What led to your election as Secretary of the nation's only trade union associations? What decided the issue?

My involvement in the trade union movement started in the mid-1950s, when I joined the drivers union. Since then, already a Communist, I have risen to various official positions in the union in Wellington. In 1977 I became a member of the FL national Executive Committee, and two years later I became its Secretary.

I think that my election to this office, the second highest in the Federation after the FL President, was above all a reflection of the reputation our party and its members gained within the working class movement by their active involvement and competence. As confirmation of this fact, one can cite the numerous threats by the former conservative Muldoon government¹ to bar Communists from holding official positions in the trade unions. But even the virulent anti-communist and anti-Soviet campaign launched by the reactionaries has failed to change anything: as before, the workers at large accept SUP members as the more class-conscious workers active in the promulgation of the interests of the working class.

There is another factor that largely explains why precisely at the close of the 1970s a Communist was elected Secretary of the Federation, incidentally for the first time ever. This was the visible radicalisation of the New Zealand trade union movement and this has become the key feature of its development over the past ten years.

—What does your party see as the main reasons for this?

These include, first, the adverse effects of the current stage in the crisis of capitalism and, second, the results of the conservative government's policies, which exacerbated the already acute problems facing New Zealand.

Essentially, these were policies aimed at assisting the development of big business, especially US and transnational corporations. The government programme to 'rationalise industry' greatly accelerated the monopolisation of the New Zealand economy, enhanced the role played in it by foreign capital, and caused many small

businesses to go bankrupt or be swallowed up. Simultaneously, three years of wage-freeze meant an attempt to effect a radical shift in income redistribution away from the working people.

As a result, unemployment—something New Zealand had no knowledge of from 1935 to 1970—has reached ten per cent of the workforce, that being the official government figure. Hit hardest are young people, especially school-leavers, and women. Today, 70 per cent of the unemployed are 25 years old or younger. Several years of steadily deteriorating living standards of the working people led to real poverty. All this caused a sharp rise in action by workers against the course taken by the government, for a more just social and economic policy.

Another important factor in increased trade union activity was greater public support of peace and international cooperation and protest against war preparations and the government's policy of turning New Zealand into a hand-maiden of the United States in the South Pacific. Particularly popular were demands to bar US warships with nuclear weapons on board from using New Zealand ports and to turn the entire country into a nuclear-free zone.

—What new elements appeared in the Federation's activity in this situation?

The Federation entered a new stage in its activities in 1979, when Jim Knox, well known for his progressive views and at that time Secretary of the FL, was elected President of the Federation and I replaced him as Secretary. A course was set for democratisation in the trade union movement and for maximum involvement of rank-and-file workers in decision-making on important issues. Simultaneously, efforts have been stepped up to make the actions of the workers for their rights more effective. The Federation is encouraging unions to merge into bigger and more effective national organisations such as the distribution sector, which will cover some 70,000 workers—sales clerks, storeworkers, truck drivers, and others.

Much attention is now given to the problem of unity in the workers' movement. Currently the Federation unites some 60 per cent of those employed; unaffiliated to it are 72 of New Zealand's 258 unions. In bargaining with the government, their interests are represented by an organisation known as the Combined State Union. This organisation and the FL leadership have been cooperating quite closely in recent years, especially in drawing up statements and demands addressed to the government.

—What is your party's assessment of the Federation's role in the country's political life?

By way of an answer let me cite documents in which our party analysed the results of the latest general elections (July 1984). It is stated there that the independent role of the trade union movement in the election campaign was a new and important feature of the country's political life and proved to be a decisive factor bringing Labour to power.

Since the close of the 1970s the Federation concentrated its efforts on bringing about the defeat of the Muldoon government. Huge numbers of workers were involved in the mass rallies in 1979 and 1982, as well as in the 1983 campaign, which was successful in preventing the widespread implementation of the 'four-day pay for a four-day week'. The year 1984 started with a campaign against the wage freeze, which developed into a struggle for political change.

In opposition to government policy the Federation worked out an alternative

economic programme. This programme certainly cannot be described as a blueprint for socialism. Its foremost objective is to meet immediate needs of the people. Its purpose is to nationalise some key sections of the economy, take a number of other democratic steps, and thus maintain the living standards of working people, enhance their participation in controlling production, abolish unemployment and poverty, and develop positive job creation.

Much has also been done to resist the government on other matters. In response to the Federation's appeals, merchant marine sailors and dockworkers stopped loading, unloading, and other operations in all ports where US warships and submarines armed with nuclear weapons called. These strikes won widespread public support.

The struggle to implement the alternative economic programme, against the anti-popular policy pursued by the National Party government prepared the ground for its defeat in the elections.

—How would you describe the main tasks facing the New Zealand trade union movement today?

First and foremost, the movement should work out the right course in its relations with the Labour government. We are urging the trade unions to proceed from the point that the only alternative to the present government is to have a National Party government again. This would see even more damage done to the position of the working class and all working people and to the economy; it would see stronger anti-democratic and authoritarian trends, which surfaced during the Muldoon government's term of office. Acting on these considerations, the Socialist Unity Party decided not to stand its candidates in the latest elections in order not to prejudice the attainment of the main goal—building the unity of the trade union movement and the Labour Party to ensure the defeat of the National Party government.

We believe that the Federation is currently pursuing a correct policy: to support the government's overall course while criticising individual aspects of this course. The Labour Party has already responded favourably to the demand of most New Zealanders for a nuclear-free status for the country by barring US naval vessels with nuclear weapons on board from using our ports. Further, the government has announced its intention to take steps to improve the international climate in the Pacific and to restrict New Zealand's participation in the ANZUS bloc. Finally, it has promised to pay greater attention to the needs of working people and to help raise their living standards.

While welcoming the peace initiatives and other positive aspects of the Labour Party course, the Federation unhesitatingly champions the interests of the working class. We cannot accept that it should go on carrying the cost of the economic burden resulting from the crisis and we have stated this bluntly to the government. The FL is pressuring the government to provide partial compensation for the rise in the cost of living which occurred from July 1981 to July 1984, when wages were frozen.

Moreover, we are taking into account the fact that the alignment of class forces in New Zealand carries great weight with the Labour Party. The recent emergence of a powerful mass movement of working people has been an important factor prompting the Labour Party to take a progressive stand on a number of issues. The Socialist Unity Party and the Federation of Labour confront the task of continuing to consolidate the workers' movement. At the same time, as our party points out, it is important to make the utmost effort to facilitate unity of action in the Labour movement in order to ensure the achievement of the positive policy objectives of the new government and prevent the forces of monopoly capital from destroying it.

On the international level, our party calls upon the Labour Federation to increase

its efforts to avert the nuclear war threat and strengthen security in the world, particularly in the Pacific.

It must be said that in recent years the Federation has achieved much in this direction. I have already mentioned its contribution to the promotion of the anti-war movement in New Zealand. Let me add that along with other peace forces, the Federation is working to get the South Pacific proclaimed a nuclear-free zone and secure a cessation of nuclear weapons tests and of the dumping of nuclear waste. It is one of the organisers of the regular anti-war trade union conferences in the region and plays a leading role in the activities of the Pacific Trade Union Forum,² which works hard to achieve these goals.

The Federation participates in actions of solidarity with oppressed peoples fighting for freedom—both in our region and beyond. It was the driving force behind the movement of protest against the South African racist regime, a movement which has become widespread in New Zealand. It has influenced the Labour government to close the South African consulate and to condemn the practice of apartheid. The trade unions have declared their support for the anti-imperialist policy of the new state of Vanuatu, which has joined the non-aligned movement. They support the Kanak people of New Caledonia in their demands for independence from France.

Consistently advocating unity in the trade union movement at the international level, the Federation and the Communists in its ranks regard it as one of the principal forces capable of blocking those who are pushing mankind towards the nuclear abyss. This is why, having recently confirmed its affiliation inside the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, our Federation reserves the right to develop a relationship with trade unions that are not affiliated to this organisation. We attach special importance to stronger ties with the trade union centres of the socialist countries. Our Federation has invited their representatives to many of its conferences and has itself taken part in the Tenth Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

I would like to conclude by saying that Jim Knox and I were unanimously re-elected to our posts at the latest conference of our trade union centre in May 1984. We see our re-election as proof of the broad support the working class extends to the current policy of the Federation. Our party sees a duty in maintaining and expanding positive tendencies in the New Zealand working class movement and in building up the struggle for the interests of the people, for peace and social progress.

Viewing the Future with Optimism

Noëlson Razakarioa – CC Political Bureau member, Congress Party for the Independence of Madagascar, General Secretary, Youth and Students' Committee of Madagascar

—In many countries young people are displaying social and revolutionary militancy. What is your party doing to develop such militancy on Madagascar?

We have always attached paramount significance to work with young people. The finest of them were at the sources of the organised national liberation movement in our country and have played a large role in the struggle against colonialism and then against the neocolonialist regime. Moreover, it may be said that for more than a quarter of a century reliance on young people has been a major factor of our party's viability and revolutionary capability.

Our party's 10th Congress (October-November 1983) set the course towards broader and more persevering efforts to enlist young people into the building of the nation's life on principles consistent with the aims of the Malagasy revolution and towards the utmost fostering of the political education of young people, the dissemination of socialist ideology among them. The Youth and Students' Committee has a major part to play in this.

The importance of its work is made all the greater by the fact that today there is regrettably some decline of the social impetus among young people in the country. There are many reasons for this, among which are the adverse situation in education and the mass unemployment among school-leavers. Many are losing faith in their strength, closing themselves up in a shell of indifference to politics and to society's life generally. A large segment of young voters did not participate in the 1983 parliamentary elections.

The difficult socio-economic situation and the dissatisfaction among young people with their condition have generated leftist feeling among some sections. In its work the YSC, a revolutionary youth organisation affiliated to the CPI, makes allowance for this contradictory situation as well as for the rising generation's considerable socio-political potential. It must be remembered that two-thirds of Madagascar's 11-million population are under age 25.

—How do you assess the work of your organisation and its role in the nation's youth movement?

In 1975, when the Charter of the Malagasy Socialist Revolution was adopted, the YSC's activities entered a new stage. It has grown dramatically, and now has roughly 100,000 members. Most of these are young peasants, who are extremely active, and there are young workers, students, and artisans. The YSC has sections in all the six provinces. We consider Marxism-Leninism as its ideological basis. Growing attention is now being given in the party and its youth wing to the ideological and political training of cadres.

Just as our Committee is affiliated to the CPI, the other parties in the National Front for the Defence of the Revolution likewise have associated youth organisations. But unlike the YSC, none of the latter has a clear-cut structure or has had a congress. This lack of form creates quite a few difficulties in resolving the problem of uniting the youth movement.

However, the need for such unity is very much on the agenda, for it would make the

more vigorously they support the party, its plan and programme aims.

Cadres are a key element of the party's policy. Publicity is particularly important in evaluating, selecting, and promoting them. *Pravda* cites the example of the city of Krasnodar, where over the past two years more than a thousand cadres, including 135 for top jobs, were appointed as a result of public discussion and selection. This is by no means a formal procedure: in the course of the public discussion 150 candidates were rejected. However, *Pravda* notes, the question of the appointment of this or that executive is in some instances still decided in a narrow circle, without account of the collective's opinion. Hence the mistakes when an executive post is filled by an incompetent and poorly-trained person.

Further, publicity is an effective means by which party and government bodies combat bureaucratic distortions, unfounded cutbacks in plan assignments, eye-wash, sham efficiency, and embellishment of the actual state of affairs. There is a need for a further improvement of inner-party information as well. It is no secret that Communists sometimes know more about the work of higher party bodies than about the work of the bureau of their own primary party organisation or district committee.

The media are a most important channel of information about the work of the party, the government, and public organisations. Party committees, the newspaper says, should make more effective use of the mass media for extending publicity, and they should respond more quickly and constructively to criticism in the media.

participation of revolutionary young people much more effective in the struggle for the socialist prospect. Well aware of this, we are endeavouring to pursue a unitary course relative to other organisations and have made many concrete proposals.

We are optimistic about the long-term prospect of the youth movement. The need to transcend socio-economic backwardness and repulse the intrigues of militarism and internal reaction and determine the objective imperative for unity among all national progressive forces, including the contingents of revolutionary youth. For its part, the YSC is determined to achieve this aim under our party's leadership.

In the Mirror of the Press

Pravda

Effective Role of Publicity

At the April 1985 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, when the tasks of party organisations were spelled out in the preparations for the party's 27th Congress, it was pointed out that they had to apply themselves to how publicity is ensured, to how all channels of communication to the people are functioning, and to what attention is given to public opinion, critical observations, and petitions and letters from citizens.

Pravda, newspaper of the CPSU Central Committee, constantly focuses attention on this question. With the Soviet people now working on big, complex tasks linked to socio-economic development, *Pravda* writes, it is vital to give a further boost to work incentives and to mould in each person an uncompromising attitude to everything standing in the way of progress. This cannot be done without consistent publicity. The better people are informed, the more conscious their actions become and the

A major duty is assigned to ideological workers. We should speak to Soviet citizens, the newspaper declares, exclusively in the language of truth, which does not tolerate streamlining, reservations, the glossing over of acute problems, or relishing shortcomings.

Documents

Romania

Growth of the Communist Ranks

In the documents of the plenary meeting of the Romanian Communist Party's CC, held on March 26-27 of this year, there are detailed statistics on the numerical strength and social composition of the RCP.

According to these statistics, on December 31, 1984 the RCP had nearly 3,500,000 members. At present the proportion of Communists adds up to over 22 per cent of the able-bodied population and to almost 33 per cent of the working population. Among the party's members 55.67 per cent are workers, 15.67 per cent are peasants, 20.65 per cent are intellectuals and white-collar workers, and 8 per cent are pensioners and housewives. Three-fourths of the party's members are working in material production.

The party's growth in terms of numerical strength, it is stated, receives constant attention from the party's organisations. In 1984 the RCP admitted 132,000 new members. Of these 65.26 per cent are workers, 15.56 per cent are peasants, and 19.18 per cent are intellectuals. Of the new members 77 per cent came from the Communist Youth League.

The number of women in the RCP reached 1,126,000 by the close of 1984, and their proportion of the nation's female population rose to 32.5 per cent. More than half of the members admitted last year were women. Party organisations are more and more often promoting women to leadership positions. Of the people elected in 1984 to party organs they comprise 38.3 per cent as compared with 32 per cent in 1979. During the same period the proportion of women among party functionaries rose from 16.5 to 25.7 per cent.

Moreover, the documents speak of significant changes in the structure of education among Communists, of the growth of the number of Communists with a higher education. In particular, it is noted that 92.6 per cent of the members of RCP district committee bureaus and almost 53 per cent of all party functionaries have finished higher party or state educational institutions or are studying at these institutions.

Cadres: Ideological Tempering

RESTRUCTURING THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

The Polish United Workers' Party is steadily building up the effort to eradicate the effects of the crisis phenomena in society that were to be observed in the early 1980s. In particular, it focuses much of its attention on the ideological and political tempering of Communists through, among other channels, the system of party education. What is the situation in this area like today? This question

was addressed by *WMR* to Andrzej Czyz, deputy head of the Ideological Department of the PUWP Central Committee. His reply follows.

The events of the early 1980s had a strong ideological impact on the PUWP. On the one hand, the experience of the acute political struggle that it had to wage enabled many Communists to get a better understanding of the class essence of social phenomena and processes, form a clearer picture of where the dividing line runs between the proponents and enemies of socialism, and acquire a deeper understanding of the content of the PUWP programme. On the other hand, some party members vacillated ideologically, showed indifference, or departed entirely from the party's underlying principles, which were under savage attack from our adversaries.

A negative role was played by errors and omissions in ideological work during the preceding period, including the work of the party education system. The education of Communists was reduced at the time chiefly to a pragmatic substantiation of specific decisions in socio-economic policy, many programmes had nothing to do with actual life, and formal academic methods of instruction prevailed.

The Ninth Extraordinary PUWP Congress (July 1981) severely criticised these shortcomings and mapped out ways of overcoming them. The party education system had to be practically rebuilt because it had almost ceased to function on account of the crisis. In the party's work priority was given to propaganda and information that allow it to react quickly to the development of the political situation and to the enemy's assaults. This sector retains its significance to this day. But now the PUWP focuses on forms of ideological education that help to promote an understanding of social processes and a more profound knowledge of the laws and mechanisms of socio-economic development. This enables the Communists to get their bearings more efficiently in the ideological struggle and offer sound arguments to uphold the party's policy and the decisions adopted by it.

The subject matter of study has been provided for all elements of the party education system. It consists of four themes: the foundations of Marxist-Leninist theory and its three components—philosophy, political economy, and scientific communism; the science of the party and the norms of its inner life; key issues of the PUWP programme and policy; the development of the world revolutionary process, the essence of proletarian and socialist internationalism, and questions related to the ideological and political struggle in the world today.

A few words on the forms of party education. Among the most widespread today are ideological meetings of primary party organisations devoted to discussions of the tasks of Communists in connection with the fundamental problems facing Polish society. Each party organisation has to hold at least six such meetings annually: four on a mandatory subject and two on additional subjects related to the specific nature of this or that lower organisation of the PUWP. An analysis conducted last year of the state of party education at 188 of the nation's largest industrial facilities, where over 4,000 primary and shop organisations function, showed that with few exceptions this form of educational work has been asserted in practice.

With the growth of the party's numerical strength, increasing attention is paid to the training of probation members. This includes the study of the PUWP's ideological principles, the foundation of its policy, its Rules, and the main problems in the history of the Polish working class movement.

The education of functionaries has been organised on a relatively large scale. This includes a network of special courses for secretaries of primary and shop organisations and for party group organisers at party voivodship committees.

Schools for local functionaries have been set up at large industrial enterprises. Party and trade union functionaries, members of self-management bodies, foremen,

team-leaders, and the finest of young workers are sent to these schools. The curriculum is drawn up under a centralised procedure. It covers 10 subjects and (by choice) three areas—economic, historical, and international.

Evening universities of Marxism-Leninism are the higher form of party education. These function in all voivodships and have a total of 700 branches—in towns, rural centres, industrial enterprises, and public institutions.

We can thus speak of certain progress in the restoration of the party education system and the introduction of new organisational forms of such education at industrial facilities, in rural communities, and at institutions of higher learning.

However, much ground still remains to be covered. Not everywhere is there compliance with the duty, made mandatory by the Rules, of participation by Communists in the party education process. Some organisations, especially small ones, have not set education going at all. Others have not yet discussed the envisaged programme subjects. There often are cases of low attendance, while learner-response is not always satisfactory. The reasons for this are, in particular, poorly prepared ideological meetings in some primary organisations, inadequate use by Communists of study aids, and a low level of self-education. Another point is that here and there the work with probation members must be visibly improved.

The party is aware of these shortcomings. At present steps are being taken to improve the selection process and qualification of propagandists and lecturers, tighten discipline, get classes started on a regular basis in all organisations without exception, and disseminate methods promoting learner-response in the course of study.

I would say that the existing system of party education is fully in keeping with the PUWP's present ideological education requirements. It allows coupling theory with the interpretation of the practical tasks of party cells and individual Communists, adapting the programme to the needs of various organisations, and recting to development.

But we do not regard the present system as complete. On the contrary, it will be perfected as more experience is gained and as new possibilities appear for developing party education. Above all, we have to make sure that the education process is balanced and continuous, find the optimal combination of the problems common to the entire party with specific themes, and develop forms of study that would be in line with the education level and tasks of the Communists in the different collectives. It is very important to go on expanding the work with party cadres. Lastly, we intend to achieve an improvement of teaching methods. A major role here must be played by discussions in which Communists acquire the skill to carry on the ideological struggle.

We regard the steady development of the party education system along these lines, with the use of the extensive experience of the fraternal parties, notably of the CPSU, as one of the conditions for successfully surmounting the effects of negative phenomena in the PUWP's ideological work and for making this work more effective.

In Brief

ARGENTINA

The festival of the Communist Party newspapers *Qué pasa?* and *Aquí y ahora* held in Buenos Aires was a great success. Those who attended saw displays highlighting the history and the current activities of the communist press and the work of CPA regional and provincial committees, as well as an exhibition of photographs commemorating the 40th anniversary of the defeat of Nazism.

BRAZIL

The National Congress has passed legislation lifting the ban on the activities of several political organisations, including the Communist Party of Brazil. It was the culmination of the long struggle waged by the Communists and all of Brazil's democratic forces to have the BCP recognised officially. Virtually throughout the 63 years of its history, the party was outlawed and emerged from the underground for brief periods only.

CANADA

The *Communist Viewpoint* journal, the theoretical organ of the Communist Party, sponsored a conference on arms reduction and disarmament held in Toronto. It was attended by CPC leaders and representatives of Canadian peace activists.

ITALY

At the administrative elections to regional, provincial and communal self-government bodies the Italian Communist Party won 30.2 per cent of the votes even amid the vicious propaganda campaign the parties of the ruling coalition launched against it.

JAPAN

240,000 people attended the festival of *Akahata*, the principal press organ of the Japanese Communist Party, held in Sakai, a suburb of Osaka. Its central event was a meeting in which JCP leaders took part. They called on the Japanese people to display greater resolve in joining the struggle for a complete ban on nuclear weapons and for preventing the nuclear war threat.

NORWAY

The Central Board of the Communist Party of Norway has issued a statement calling on the government to follow the example of New Zealand and bar nuclear-armed US naval vessels from the nation's ports.

SUDAN

After being outlawed for 14 years, the Communist Party of the Sudan can operate in the open now that the Nimeiri regime has been overthrown. CPS representatives took part in meetings with the military council, other parties and trade union organisations on the forming of the transitional government formed in late April, 1985. In May, the party held its first mass rally at which Mohammed Nugud, General Secretary of the CPS Central Committee, spoke.

¹ The government under Robert Muldoon was in office in 1976-1984. It was formed by the National Party, which speaks for the monopoly bourgeoisie and the big farmers.—*Ed.*

² Created in 1980, it unites progressive trade unions in the countries of the South Pacific.—*Ed.*

exchange of views, discussion

YOUNG PEOPLE IN THE PEACE MOVEMENT Records of an International Symposium

Jointly with the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students, the WMR Commission for Problems of Peace and Democratic Movements sponsored an international symposium in Prague on the theme 'Working Youth and Students Against the Threat of Nuclear War'. Reports were presented by **Vera Achenbach**, Board Secretariat member of the German Communist Party, **Giorgos Michaelides**, Executive Committee member of the Pan-Cyprian Federation of Students and Young Scientists, and **Francisco Filipe**, National Leadership member of the Portuguese Communist Youth.

Attending the seminar were: **Donald Ramotar**, CC Executive Committee member, People's Progressive Party of Guyana; **Roland Bauer**, CC member, Socialist Unity Party of Germany; **Georg Kwiatowski**, representative of the German Communist Party on the WMR Editorial Council; **Randolfo Banegas**, CC member, Communist Party of Honduras; **Stratis Korakas**, CC alternate member, Communist Party of Greece; **Henning Bentzen**, CC alternate member, Communist Party of Denmark; **Kadhim Habib**, CC member, Iraqi Communist Party; **Niall Farrell**, representative of the Communist Party of Ireland on the WMR Editorial Council; **William Stewart**, CC Executive Committee member, Communist Party of Canada; **Felix Dikson**, CC member, People's Party of Panama; **Sémou Pathé Gueye**, Political Bureau member and CC Secretary, Senegal Party of Independence and Labour; **John Pittman**, CC Political Bureau member, Communist Party of the USA; **Pavel Auersperg**, CC member, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia; **Raja Collure**, CC Political Bureau alternate member, Communist Party of Sri Lanka; **Vusizwe Seme**, representative of the South African Communist Party on the WMR Editorial Council; **Elean Thomas**, CC Political Bureau alternate member, Workers' Party of Jamaica; **Walid Masri**, President, World Federation of Democratic Youth; **Miroslav Štepan**, President, International Union of Students; **Sergei Chelnokov**, Vice-President, International Union of Students; **Auni Abu Ghosh**, Director, International Student Research Centre; **Jorge Prigoshin**, CC Executive Committee member, Communist Youth Federation of Argentina; **Nikolay Arabadziev**, CC member, Dimitrov Young Communist League (People's Republic of Bulgaria); **Vilmos Cserveny**, CC Secretary, Young

Communist League of Hungary; **Hans Kluthe**, head of the preparations for the Twelfth World Youth and Students Festival in the Socialist German Working Youth (FRG); **Binay Wiswam**, Vice-President, All-India Youth Federation; **Saleem Al-Tamimi**, CC member, Yemeni Socialist Youth Union; **José Castillo**, Executive Committee International Commission member, Student Federation of Panama; **Fayssal Al-Mekdad**, Central Council member, National Union of Syrian Students; **Zory Apresyan**, Editor-in-Chief, *Young Communist*, journal of the Central Committee of the USSR Leninist Young Communist League; **Viktor Kamyshev**, Presidium member, Committee of Youth Organisations of the USSR; **Joseph Simms**, National Committee Executive Council member, Young Communist League of the USA; **Petr Krpata**, representative, Student Centre of the Socialist Youth League (Czechoslovakia); **Hankore Abebe**, Central Committee Secretary, Revolutionary Ethiopian Youth Association.

The following is a summation of the views and assessments stated on the main items of the symposium agenda.

In terms of its social composition, *WMR* Executive Secretary **Pavel Auersperg** said in his opening address, the anti-war movement has never been as broad as it is today. And it is quite natural that young people are a major component of the peace forces and playing a militant part in the struggle against the nuclear threat. It is a lesson of history that when wars break out they are the first victims. However, the character of mass destruction weapons and a specific of the nuclear catastrophe, to which imperialism's policies are pushing, are that their victims will be all generations.

The nuclear threat is global. This predetermines the internationalisation of the anti-war actions. Young people are drawn into participation in them chiefly because these are humane actions. Further, a significant factor promoting the anti-nuclear movement of young people is their social condition. The anti-war struggle of young people in socialist, developing, and industrialised capitalist countries has both common and distinctive features. However, they are uniting in their sincere desire for peace, to safeguard their own future and that of all humanity.

The United Nations Organisation defines youth as young people in the age group from 15 to 25. In 1980 these numbered 857 million and in 1985 they numbered 920 million or nearly 20 per cent of our planet's population. It is forecast that by 1991 this figure will exceed one billion.

Today the rising generation matures in a situation witnessing changes and transformations of a depth and magnitude unknown in any other epoch. Young people want, more than ever, a say in resolving humankind's problems. The immediate aim is to halt and then roll back the arms race started by imperialism. This is the aim of the Communists and all other progressive, democratic forces.

What Young People Encounter

In the reports and speeches at the seminar emphasis was placed on the importance mainly of the global factors influencing the condition of young people in the world today, on the struggles waged by them for their vital rights and interests. In different parts of our planet young people experience, to one extent or another, the effects of the arms race that is being whipped up by imperialism, of big capital's selfish use of scientific and technological breakthroughs, of the increasing pollution of the natural environment with the waste products of the enterprises operated by transnational corporations, and of the widening gap in the socio-economic development of the centres and periphery of the capitalist system. In this is expressed our epoch's basic contradiction, that between imperialism, on the one hand, and socialism and all the other forces of peace and social progress, i.e., the vast majority of humankind, on the other.

At the symposium the consensus was that precisely the policies of the imperialist circles of the NATO powers, chiefly of the USA, are a threat to all peoples. The course towards confrontation with the socialist community and the brushing aside of the peace initiatives of the USSR and its allies are leading to rising international tension and undermining universal security.

A particularly serious threat, said **Walid Masri**, is coming from the large-scale programmes of the USA and NATO for building up conventional and nuclear armaments, for adding new and more destructive means of mass attack to their military arsenals. Nuclear adventurism permeates Washington's course towards the militarisation of outer space, its plans for Star Wars against socialism and peoples refusing to accept imperialist dictation.

International developments are bearing out the fact that peace is indivisible, that everything in it is interrelated. In the complex situation of our day, said **Hankore Abebe**, young people are constantly made aware that what occurs in any part of the world influences the situation in other regions directly or indirectly. There is no region where people feel secure. In this respect everybody is equal and affected.

It is futile to try and find a 'quiet haven' out of reach of humanity's anxieties and concerns. As an example, **Jorge Prigoshin** cited the experience of a European who, in order to escape the threat of a nuclear war in the Old World, decided to make a home on the Malvinas. No sooner had he arrived there than an armed conflict erupted between Britain and Argentina, in the course of which it was mooted whether or not to use even nuclear weapons.

The influence of these factors is assessed differently by young people, depending on the socio-political situation in their respective countries, on the problems confronting them, and on how these problems are resolved. From this standpoint, it was stated at the seminar, the condition of the rising generation and its struggle for its interests in socialist countries differ substantially from the realities of the capitalist world.

In the socialist countries, said **Zory Apresyan**, **Nikolay Arabadziev**, **Vilmos Cserveny**, and others, young people have witnessed a situation of peace all their lives and have grown accustomed to the conditions of peaceful coexistence. It is a splendid thing to live in peace, to know no war. However, to prevent war it is necessary to fight for peace. In socialist societies this is the cause of the party, the government, the state, and the whole people. Everything induces each young person to be aware that much depends upon him, that his personal contribution is necessary for consolidating peace, safeguarding his homeland, and protecting the interests of socialism. In the USSR, for instance, this involves participation in manifestations and rallies, in the canvassing for signatures in protest against the nuclear threat, and the labour contribution of young people to strengthening the might of a country coming forward as a bulwark of the peace forces. Under socialism the education of young people in this spirit is a concern of the whole of society.¹

In the FRG, said **Vera Achenbach**, young people have likewise grown up under conditions of peace, and they too have not had to know the meaning of war. But for the country's future, for its peaceful development it is imperative to convey historical experience to young people with the example of such memorable dates as the 40th anniversary of the defeat of German fascism and the liberation of the peoples of Europe. History helps to understand what must be done today to prevent a global conflagration. Truth about the past will have a positive response from many young people, for their fear of war is made all the more oppressive by the fact that the nightmarish vision of a nuclear carnage, of a Euroshima, exceeds all the horrors known to the senior generation. Yet this fear of war does not paralyse a large section of young people, who are freed from this paralysis by the struggle for peace.

With capitalism's general crisis growing deeper, said **Francisco Filipe**, **Giorgos**

Michaelides, Walid Masri, and Miroslav Štepan, the working people and the rising generation are worried not only by the problem of preserving peace. They are worried by the mass unemployment, by the diminishing opportunities for getting professional training, by the steady cutbacks in public spending and by the consequent erosion of the foundations of the life of millions of citizens. Hence the growing significance of combining the struggle for peace with the struggle for social progress. All the more then is it important that in looking for an answer to burning social, economic, and political questions young people should not succumb to pessimism about the future, lose hope, or see as an outlet demagogical projects leading away from society's genuine progress.

The foreign policy of any state is the continuation of its domestic policy. **Joseph Simms** spoke of the atmosphere in which the rising generation is being brought up in the USA. Young Americans, he said, are victims of the biggest-ever campaign launched to call for a 'crusade' against socialism, the victims of vicious propaganda that calls socialism a 'focus of evil' in the world. The present generation has to deal with a situation in which in Washington they are speaking openly of the possibility of fighting and winning a nuclear war. This generation is a witness of aggressive actions against Lebanon, Nicaragua, and Grenada, of the export of counter-revolution, and a policy of state terrorism. Moreover, this generation has suffered more than any other from the cutbacks in public spending, the rapid growth of tuition fees, the reduction of employment, the exhausting hunting for jobs, and the fear of being left without work. Precisely for these reasons an active struggle for peace presupposes vigorous opposition by youth and large section of working people to the Reagan administration's domestic and foreign policies.

The seminar addressed some other issues related to the impact of factors of external policy on the struggle of young people in developing countries. The 1980s, said **José Castillo**, saw a new situation develop when international tension was heightened as a result of US imperialism's aggressive actions and the escalation of its pressure on domestic and national liberation movements throughout the world. Reaction is intensifying its intrigues especially in Central America, where it is out to destroy the Nicaraguan revolution and deal summarily with the patriots of El Salvador. Today, as never before, Central America has become the target of the imperialist policy of economic blackmail and militarism pursued by Washington.

In Panama, **José Castillo** continued, the movement for peace is more than a struggle against the US missiles in Europe and against the nuclear arms race. By their vigorous actions for democracy, for reinforcing national independence, for an end to US imperialist ambitions in the region, and for the dismantling of the US military base on Panamanian territory, the nation's youth are contributing to the general struggle for peace.

The Middle East, said **Kadhim Habib, Saleem Al-Tamimi, and Fayssal Al-Mekdad**, has long been a hotbed of international tension. The settlement of the main problems worrying young people in this region is thus linked largely with the extirpation of the effects of the wars of aggression fought by Israel, with the backing of US imperialism, against neighbouring Arab states. The nuclear threat now looms over the Middle East as well: there is information that Israel now possesses weapons of mass destruction. Further, the first-strike missiles that the USA has begun deploying in Italy and the military forces that it maintains at bases in Turkey are targeted not only against the USSR but also against the peoples of the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf. Imperialism and Zionism have turned the Middle East into a gunpowder keg that may at any moment kindle a world catastrophe. It is our task to prevent this from happening.

In African countries, **Sémou Pathé Gueye** and **Visuzwe Seme** noted, where questions of a socio-economic character, the problems of fighting famine, disease,

and illiteracy, are in the foreground, a large section of the young people is still uninvolved in the peace movement. They do not see the link between imperialist interference and the slowing rate of development, the growth of international tension, and the diminution of internal resources resulting from the rising military expenditures and the diminishing foreign economic aid. Young people are most active where a direct, including armed, struggle has to be waged against the aggressive designs of imperialism, racism, and their puppets. The involvement of large segments of African youth in the general peace movement in the world is one of the priority tasks of the progressive forces in Africa.

Emphatic Resistance to Militarism

The establishment of lasting peace in the world is inseparable from resistance to militarism, to the ideology and policy of the most bellicose imperialist circles. Speakers at the symposium noted that a hallmark of modern imperialism is its adventurism on the world scene, and the intensification of political reaction in the zone under capitalist rule. All this runs counter to the vital interests and aspirations of young people. The course towards confrontation with socialism and with the forces of national liberation, towards the fanning of tension is jeopardising the future of young people. The purpose of the political and intellectual pressure being brought to bear against the protests of the masses is to preserve the practices that young people disagree with and would like to change.

When the First World War was still raging, Lenin wrote that the 'imperialist bourgeoisie militarises the youth as well as the adults'.²

Militarisation of social life is leading to a moral degradation of young people. Attempts are being made to accustom them to violence, hostility for socialism and the peoples of developing countries, admiration of the military, and a readiness to fight for money wherever they are ordered. The other side of the coin is that a section of young people has lost faith in the morrow, is apathetic, and seeks to escape reality. As a result, there has been a rapid rise of the crime rate and of drug addition.

Vera Achenbach, Francisco Felipe, and others pointed out that this tendency towards the militarisation of youth is more pronounced today than ever before. Young people are becoming the first victims of militarist policy. They experience all the hardships caused by the rapidly growing military budgets to the detriment of social security, public education, and economic development.

The constant shortage of funds is aggravating the crisis of the education system. In the USA, said **Giorgos Michaelides**, 157 institutions of higher learning and 3,456 secondary schools were closed in only the past ten years. Britain is short of a thousand schools and nearly 45,000 teachers—for this the government has no money. On the other hand, the cost of access to knowledge, to training, especially higher education, is growing steadily. In France, for instance, seven out of every ten students have to look for a job during the holidays to pay for their education. A result of the imperialist intervention in and occupation of the northern part of Cyprus is that together with their parents tens of thousands of schoolchildren have had to abandon their homes and become refugees in their own country.

Militarism is responsible for the mass and constant unemployment that has now hit huge numbers of young people, said **Walid Masri** and **Joseph Simms**. The facts indicate that if the money now being allocated for the armaments industry were to be channelled into civilian production, there would be considerably more jobs.

There is a direct link between imperialism's militarist policy and the condition of young people in developing countries. In these countries military expenditures have been growing steadily: since the early 1970s they have risen by approximately 150 per cent and in 1983 amounted to 113 billion dollars. The faster armies are increased the more non-productively are labour resources expended said **Saleem Al-Tamimi, José**

Castillo, and **Binay Wiswam**. This concerns young people, above all, because they are diverted from civilian production to form the backbone of armed forces.

These are often imposed losses. **Randolfo Banegas**, **Donald Ramotar**, **Jorge Prigoshin**, and others drew attention to the fact that the US militarists are fighting an undeclared war against Nicaragua. Nicaraguan young people have to drop their studies or work and take up arms in order to repulse imperialist aggression. Many young Nicaraguans have laid down their lives in defence of the Sandinist revolution. Had it not been for the massive supplies of sophisticated US armaments and ammunition to the reactionary regime in El Salvador, the people of that country would have deposed the dictatorship long ago. In Ethiopia, **Hankore Abebe**, **Sémou Pathé Gueye**, and **Vusizwe Seme** pointed out, young people would have been significantly less affected by difficulties and hardships had the people's revolutionary government not had to expend effort and resources to resist imperialist subversion and aggression by its reactionary accomplices.

Imperialism's militarist policy diversely affects young people in the capitalist world, it was noted at the symposium. But a common distinctive feature is that the radical deterioration of the conditions of life has been recently affecting ever larger numbers of young people.³

In characterising the attitude of young people to the political realities of capitalist society, speakers accentuated the growing militancy of their anti-militarist actions. **Vera Achenbach** spoke of the work conducted by the trade unions and factory peace initiative groups in the FGR. Such groups are now functioning at many large industrial facilities and they involve blue- and white-collar workers, including young people, of course. In their protests against the arms race, members of such groups proceed from their social status and their conditions of work. At the country's docks, for example, there are groups advocating what they call alternative production, in other words, civilian production. In these groups many people learn for the first time that due to cooperation with the Soviet Union and as a result of detente large steel mills, for example, Hoesch and Mannesmann, have been able to preserve thousands of jobs. Knowledge of this sort is highly significant to a working person.

Miroslav Štepan and **Giorgos Michaelides** spoke of the anti-militarist feeling spreading among students. A factor fostering this feeling is that military preparations are prejudicing the vital interests of students. The escalation of militarism is linked directly to the assault on democracy, culture and basic humanitarian ideals and values and threatens to wipe out the hopes for life entertained by the present generation of students. This has to be acknowledged even by those elements in the student movement of Western Europe that have traditionally supported the centrist and in some cases right-wing parties.

The problem of the responsibility of students for preventing a nuclear catastrophe has a clear-cut ethical, emotional aspect and, at the same time, it is not locked up in morality. It has a direct outlet to politics, said **Sergei Chelnokov**. In a certain sense a parallel can be drawn between this problem and the war in Vietnam that was a sort of catalyst of the student protest movement, chiefly in the USA but also in many other capitalist countries.

Many forms in which students join the anti-war struggle are emerging today in Britain, the FRG, Holland, France, Denmark, Austria, Finland, the USA, and Canada. Associations, coalitions, and campaigns with exclusively anti-war aims are appearing. Among these are, for example, the American associations of campuses for nuclear disarmament and the standing committee against nuclear war set up recently by the International Federation of Medical Students Associations. As a whole, this is leading to changes in the attitudes of national unions of students, in which left-wing forces are growing increasingly more active and there is mounting militancy, a readiness for political actions.

For young people, said **Henning Bentzen**, it is important to see the concrete results of their struggle. Under the influence of the powerful peace movement embracing large sections of the population, Denmark has virtually dissociated itself from the NATO decision to deploy new US intermediate-range missiles⁴ in Western Europe (Belgium, Britain, Italy, Holland, and the FRG). This shows how much of a role can be played by so-called small nations, particularly the small nations in NATO, if they act in favour of easing the international situation. This success of the Danish peace forces owes much to the contribution made by the many youth and students organisations.

In Greece and Argentina, said **Stratis Korakas** and **Jorge Prigoshin**, youth organisations made active use of the screening of the film 'The Day After'. Tables bearing anti-nuclear statements were placed at the entrances of the cinemas showing this film. Young militants circulated leaflets explaining the anti-war significance of the film and calling upon people to fight against war before it starts. A large number of signatures was collected within a short space of time.

Walid Masri, **Francisco Felipe**, **Vilmos Cserveny**, **Binay Wiswam**, and others spoke of the WFDY's major role in the anti-war movement today. This year, the World Federation of Democratic Youth—vanguard of progressive young people—is marking its 40th anniversary. Since its first congress (London, November 1945) it has evolved into a prestigious association of democratic youth aiming to prevent young people from ever again experiencing the horrors of war. It works for peace, democracy, the independence of nations, and social progress. The Federation sponsors massive campaigns, among which are the World Youth Actions Against the Nuclear Threat, for Peace and Disarmament.

In the WFDY's activities there has lately been an expansion of its traditional political contacts with other international organisations, notably, with the International Union of Socialist Youth, in order to map out a common approach to problems attracting public attention and conduct joint actions in defence of peace.

Miroslav Štepan, **Giorgos Michaelides**, **Sergei Chelnokov**, and **José Castillo** spoke of the role played by the International Union of Students in rallying students to the peace struggle. By decision of its latest congress, the IUS has started a world-wide campaign under the slogan 'Students for Peace, Against Nuclear War'. It was asked whether this work was not being impeded by the fact that some student organisations of the largest capitalist countries are not affiliated to the IUS. In reply, **Miroslav Štepan** said that in fact they are quite actively cooperating with the IUS, discussing the documents submitted to them, and exchanging delegations with the IUS. For instance, there was a positive response from the United States National Student Association, which has nearly four million members, to an Open Letter to US Students, urging joint action in the struggle to remove the nuclear threat.

In their analysis of the present situation **Hans Kluthe**, **Elean Thomas**, **Nikolay Arabadziev**, **Victor Kamyshanov**, and others showed that in the prevailing conditions, following the commencement of Euromissile deployment, for young people opposed to war paramount importance is being acquired by the task of drawing up a new long-term action programme. This could be helped to a large extent by the Twelfth World Youth and Student Festival, whose slogan 'For Anti-Imperialist Solidarity, Peace, and Friendship' makes sense to millions of young people, especially as the festival is being held in the year that witnessed the 40th anniversary of the great victory over Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism. Democratic young people revere the memory of those who gave their lives in the world war so that peace could reign on our planet.

Expressing the concern of the world community of nations for the planet's future, the UN has proclaimed 1985 as International Youth Year. **Giorgos Michaelides**, **Zory Apresyan**, and others assessed this act as timely and significant. The IYY motto—

'Participation, Development and Peace'—mirrors the objective need to enhance the role played by young people in the struggle for peace, to reinforce friendship and cooperation among nations.

Counter-Offensive by Reaction

Much attention was devoted at the symposium to various aspects of the current ideological struggle to win young people.

In order to subordinate young people to their influence, speakers noted, the reactionary forces have organised an unprecedented anti-communist, anti-Soviet propaganda campaign. The orchestrators of this campaign are the most aggressive imperialist circles in the USA. This is seen vividly in the main issues of our day, that of war and peace. The innumerable peace initiatives of the USSR and the other socialist community countries, initiatives that open the road to ending the arms race and improving the international situation, are ignored or misrepresented. The militarist preparations of the USA and NATO and the man-hating Star Wars plans are dished up as a counterbalance to the 'Soviet military threat'. The monopoly press tags the label of a 'Moscow conspiracy' and 'intrigues of Communist agents' to the spreading resistance of the peoples to the imperialist policy of dictation. Participants in the anti-war movement, which is gaining momentum on all continents, are maligned as 'puppets manipulated from without'.

When lies of this sort pour out day after day from television screens, radio receivers, newspapers, and journals, young people in the capitalist world sometimes find it hard to understand what is happening. Access to truthful information is blocked by subtle anti-communist propaganda. Little wonder that a section of young people is influenced by the stereotypes planted by this propaganda.

It is all the more important, speakers at the symposium pointed out, to give accurate and compelling answers to the political and ideological questions being asked by young people. The main question today is: Who is threatening peace?

We try to conduct this work forcefully, said **Stratis Korakas**, whether the issue is missiles, human rights, or any other question. In talks with young people the simple argument that for citizens of socialist countries life is as dear as it is to us, Greeks, paved the way to understanding. We explain that the Soviet Union has made a non-first use of nuclear weapons commitment, that it has pledged not to use such weapons against countries that do not possess such weapons, do not manufacture them, and do not have foreign nuclear-armed military bases on their territory. No capitalist power has as yet followed this example. Judging from our experience, broad explanatory work yields results, moulding and developing people's thinking.

Speakers drew attention to changes in the strategy of imperialist reaction, which is trying to restrict youth participation in the peace movement. Formerly, the main aim was to justify war and the preparations for it. Now, in parallel, they are seeking to reorient the peace movement, to set it new targets, or replace this allegedly obsolete movement with a new one. The significance of this 'correction' is to place anti-war actions outside active politics, to confine them to a simple condemnation of the 'superpowers'. In other words, it is suggested that young people should drop the question of 'Who is threatening peace', and this means trying to erode their pressure on imperialism as being alone responsible for international tension. To rebuff efforts of this sort requires extending the participation of all contingents of young people in the peace movement.

In the thinking of young people in the FRG, said **Vera Achenbach**, there are elements we should carefully analyse. Say, young people do not agree with the purely mercantile norms of the bourgeois way of life and seek other values and moral criteria. Conservative forces are making every effort to use these aspirations and declare, for instance, that it is a good thing that in the FRG young people want to

introduce something new into society's development and, without taking their cue from the state, do not ask it for funds for the realisation of their ideas. The only reason this is being said is that the right-wing elements are engaged in redistributing state funds, giving priority to the requirements of the Bundeswehr and NATO to the detriment of socio-economic requirements.

Relative to values and morals, **Vera Achenbach** went on to say, we cannot leave the battlefield to the conservatives, Greens or the alternativists. It is our mission as Communists to develop the peace movement, the social protest of the people and, at the same time, propagate our great ideals, explain them, and fight alongside young people for a better future. It is very important that every young person should have the opportunity to take part in the struggle, even if this is only a small initiative. Let me illustrate. The largest strike of apprentices in the history of the FRG took place last year. For the first time ever an action week was conducted jointly with school pupils, students, and young workers. On the basis of what has been achieved, we feel that it is now vital to step up our work at universities and other educational institutions and also at industrial facilities so that instead of being reduced to passiveness young people's non-acceptance of their condition should evolve into protest actions, big and small.

In Portugal, said **Francisco Felipe**, right-wingers said that indeed young people had their own difficulties but these would disappear in the immediate future. At the same time, they encouraged consumer feeling among young people, giving them empty hopes for a better future. We countered this with vigorous explanatory work. The result? The understanding that the ideological campaign of the right-wingers has failed is being increasingly demonstrated in the activities of the democratic movement of young Portuguese. Young people are getting more organised and more of them are taking part in the actions for a new, democratic policy, and this applies also to those who formerly maintained an individualistic stand and held aloof from the struggle. This has enabled the youth movement to organise massive actions on a national scale against unemployment and in defence of peace.

Communists Are with Young People; Young People Are with the Communists

All classes and all political parties, it was stated at the symposium, are seeking to win the support of young people. The Communists see their task in helping young people to acquire a class consciousness, an active stand in life, a broad view of developments in the world, and profound democratic convictions.

In thinking of the role played by working youth and students in political life, the Communists see them as a powerful force in the struggle against the threat of a nuclear war and believe in their potentialities, which they have now demonstrated on many occasions. These potentialities are far from having been exhausted. The anti-war movement is open and accessible to everybody. It unites young people of different views. But like any other social movement, it has to have clear aims and a clear understanding of how to achieve these aims. It is thus especially important for the Communists to develop the class consciousness of young people in the question of war and peace, to help them to acquire a scientific, dialectical approach to present-day political problems. In the anti-war movement the ultimate aim of the ideological work of the Communists is to give precisely such an education to young peace fighters.

Motivated by a pressing need to live in peace, steadily growing numbers of young people in capitalist countries are identifying themselves with the peace forces. But the main social force is the working class, the working masses. There have been cases when non-proletarian strata, notably students, have played the role of catalyst of the anti-war protest in this or that country. However, experience compellingly

demonstrates that the further growth of the movement depends on the support it gets from the working class, from young working people.

Unity of the peace fighters with the working class, it was stressed at the symposium, is an imperative of the day. The certain weakness of the anti-war movement, despite all its successes, has been due to the inadequacy of such unity.

The German Communist Party, said **Vera Achenbach**, interacts with young people, using the great ideals of the working class and the historical experience of the struggle against fascism, and exposing neonazism, revanchism, and the government's discriminatory policy towards immigrant workers. The Communists have made it a firm principle that the cardinal aim of their work with young people is to help the Marxist associations (the Socialist German Young Workers and the Marxist Spartacus Union of Students) and the Socialist Organisation of Young Pioneers. GCP members are working in these organisations. Without this the party would not have been successful among young people. The influx of new members comes from youth unions in the first place. A task confronting the communists is to win the maximum prestige in their ranks. A glance at the leadership of these organisations shows that here there is no problem: young Communists are their motor, their motive force.

The Communist Party of the USA said **Joseph Simms**, regards its youth organisation as a dependable political helper. A party conference on youth problems held last year noted the militant participation of the Young Communist League of the USA in the election campaign. Without the assistance of the League, which is the party's task force, the Communists would have been unable to get their candidates registered in a number of states. The conference charted ways and means of reinforcing the youth organisation and expanding its press. The League's second convention is planned for next year, and the Communist Party is helping in the preparations for it.

Stratis Korakas described how the Greek Communists are educating young people on the heroic traditions of the national and international working class movement. As a result, young workers and students act more and more often jointly for peace and for their rights. Young people are active in the movement to dismantle US and NATO military bases in Greece. This movement is headed by a committee formed of representatives of large sections of society. Further, the Communists and young people have collected hundreds of thousands of signatures against the deployment of new US missiles in Western Europe. At first this was not a particularly large movement, but today most of the workers and peasants, and every member of the Communist Youth of Greece know how much of a threat Pershing II and cruise missiles are.

Henning Bentzen spoke of the involvement of young Danes in the peace movement. The tireless, day-to-day work of the Communists in this direction is yielding results. The innumerable discussions of questions related to disarmament are helping to draw more young people into the movement for the withdrawal of US missiles from Europe and for the creation of a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe. In Denmark this movement embraces many strata of the population. The World Peace Council has supported the initiative of the Danish public calling for a World Peace Congress in Copenhagen in 1986. The nation's Communists and young people will take an active part in the preparations for this congress.

Vusizwe Seme gave examples to illustrate how the South African Communist Party and young people work together in the complex situation prevailing in a racist state. Young people need their heroes, and in South Africa one of this is Solomon Mahlangu.⁵ The Communist Party draws public attention to his selfless devotion to the people, and thousands of young men have taken his place in the ranks of fighters. The Communists have to keep explaining the distinction between 'anti-white' and

anti-racist actions. This work is bearing tangible fruit: more and more young whites are refusing to serve in the racist army, which is fighting an unjust war against Africans, and growing numbers of conscious revolutionaries are being recruited into the party.

When working with young people, said **Sémon Pathé Gueye**, it is necessary to get the correct bearings. In fighting unemployment, for the democratisation of education, and larger allocations for the people's enlightenment, the Senegal Party of Independence and Labour sees this as a condition for enhancing the political consciousness of young people. In the course of the struggle young people begin to understand the link between the difficulties facing the country and the arms race, the interest that the forces of imperialism and neocolonialism have in inflaming international tension. The Alboury Ndiaye⁶ Democratic Youth Union has become an active helper of the party.

The history of the People's Progressive Party of Guyana and that of its youth section, the Progressive Youth Organisation, are closely linked, said **Donald Ramotar**. The PYO was founded soon after the appearance of the party, at the height of the anti-colonial struggle, and indeed made an important contribution to the winning of independence for Guyana. With the constant guidance of the party, Guyanese youth have stepped up the fight for democracy, social progress, and world peace. Peace cycle races are regularly organised as an interesting form of propagating anti-war ideas and focusing attention on burning issues of the day.

The upbringing of young people in a spirit of internationalist solidarity, it was declared at the symposium, is a major means of promoting their political activity. In this area there are many effective forms of organisation. One of them is the sending of youth teams to assist Nicaragua. Last year 120 young Communists went to Nicaragua from Argentina alone. Many volunteers from the GDR, Greece, the USA, the FRG, Austria, Holland, Finland, and other countries went to Managua to help bring in the harvest and build various civilian projects. **Niall Farrell** spoke of the support of the Communist Party of Ireland for the initiative of Irish Young Communists to start a fund collection drive for building new schools in Nicaragua.

The affairs and concerns of young people are dear to the Communists, who see them as an ally not only in the struggle against the threat of a nuclear war but also for remaking the world in the name of humanity's bright ideals.

* * *

Summing up the discussion, **Ronald Bauer**, chairman of the WMR Commission for Problems of Peace and Democratic Movements, noted that there had been a useful exchange of views on a wide range of questions related to the overall theme of the symposium. A particularly substantive analysis was made of the problem of the active involvement of the planet's young people in the anti-war movement, which has become a major factor of international life. For young people throughout the world to fight for peace means to secure an end to the arms race, consolidate detente, assert in practice the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and, in the final analysis, eliminate war from the life of society for the sake of humankind's social progress. This aim is seen clearly by democratic young people and by progressive students.

¹ This is dealt with in this issue by V. Mishin in 'Soviet Youth: Commitment to Socialist Ideals' and by E. Aurich in 'Where Youth Have a Big Goal' (WMR, No. 6, 1985).

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, p. 82.

³ This is borne out by UN statistics. Two billion people are not ensured with purified drinking water and, for that reason, are prone to infectious diseases; 1,500 million people have no access to medical attention; one billion people are living in abject poverty; 800 million adults are illiterate; 250 million children have no

opportunity to go to school; 600 million people are fully or partially unemployed; 450 million people suffer from chronic undernourishment. A large proportion of each of these statistics concerns young people in developing countries.—*Ed.*

⁴ This was done after the Folketing passed the relevant resolutions. These go so far as to deny Danish allocations for NATO for the deployment of these missiles.—*Ed.*

⁵ Solomon Mahlangu (1959-1979), hero and patriot of South Africa. Despite pleas for clemency to the South African government from the UN Security Council and the governments of many countries around the world he was executed in a Pretoria jail for participation in the national liberation struggle. In his last letter to his mother before he was executed, the youth wrote: 'My blood will nourish the tree which will bear the fruits of freedom. Tell my people that I love them and that they must continue the struggle.' A college in Tanzania has been named after him.—*Ed.*

⁶ Alboury Ndiaye, a national hero of Senegal who lived in the latter half of the nineteenth century. He was a fighter against colonialism and a champion of the unity and independence of the African peoples. He fought invaders on the territory of Senegal, Mauritania, Mali, and Niger, and was killed in one of the battles. Ignored by bourgeois historiography, he was restored in the memory of the people by the Senegal Party of Independence and Labour, which gave his name to its youth organisation.—*Ed.*

CENTRAL AMERICA: THE CLASH OF TWO POLICIES

The situation in Central America has reached a dangerous degree of tension. The danger that the United States may launch here a savage military adventure along the lines of Vietnam is increasing daily. Washington is trying to justify its irresponsible moves in the sub-region by slanderous inventions about 'intrigues' of Moscow, Havana and international communism, by claims that Nicaragua allegedly threatens the security of its neighbours and of the United States, that it 'exports revolution', and the like. The White House has even imposed an economic and trade blockade on Nicaragua under this pretext.

What are the real reasons behind the acute crisis in Central America? How can the present situation be overcome? These questions were analysed at a recent round table organised by the *WMR* Commission on Latin America and the Caribbean and attended by representatives of fraternal parties from other regions too.

The article that follows, written by *Raul Valdes Vivo*, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and a participant in the discussion, sums up the opinion exchanges.

The major point on which all speakers were unanimous is that the conflict is rooted in the imperialist policies the United States pursues in relation to the Central American countries dependent on it. There, the masses are saddled with poverty, illiteracy, hunger and an extremely high death rate. Even the interests of the indigenous bourgeoisie and middle classes are severely curtailed. The principal culprits are the US monopolies and the brutal dictatorships they sustain. The extreme degree of social oppression and absence of political rights are the prime cause of the crisis and of a revolutionary situation.

Rejecting equitable relations with Latin America as a whole where, as Comrade Fidel Castro says, a political, economic and social situation has arisen in which the countries of the continent will no longer accept further restrictions and deprivations,¹ Washington blindly and stubbornly sticks to a bullheaded imperial policy. Today the

United States threatens to 'punish' the peoples of Nicaragua and El Salvador, forgetting that only recently similar attempts intensified resistance still further and gave rise to new revolutionary processes. In other words, the US administration wants to resolve the crisis by methods of state terrorism, hoping to preserve the status quo in its 'backyard', as the neoconquistadores scornfully refer to Central America.

Participants in the discussions stressed the ludicrous nature of US claims about 'communist involvement' in the developments in the subregion. They recalled that the history of intervention and lawlessness in Latin America began long before the emergence of communism on the international scene or the birth of free Cuba and revolutionary Nicaragua.

Social and Economic Roots

The economic fabric of most Central American countries, the speakers noted, is dominated by transnational corporations (TNCs) controlled by big US capital. Although monopoly investment in the region appears modest,² it makes these corporations all-powerful. As pointed out in the discussion, the reason is that the local oligarchy of capitalists and landowners has never competed with the imperialist corporations but acted only as their junior partner. Besides, no noticeable presence of other capitalist countries is felt in Central America. In addition, it is relatively easy for US corporations to oust their European competitors from the Caribbean.

TNCs control virtually all key elements of the weak Central American economies—exports of agricultural produce, finance, the mining and manufacturing industries, foreign trade, tourism, etc. Nor must one forget, said *Felix Dixon* (People's Party of Panama), that the Panama Canal and the Canal Zone are used as a transit route for half the foreign trade and 25 per cent of the oil imports of the United States. Every dollar invested in the economy of the region returns to its US owners with up to seven dollars of pure 'gravy'. By global standards, that is an extremely high rate of profit. It stems from the ruthless exploitation of cheap labour.

Many participants in the discussion noted that the narrow scope of the domestic market, the low concentration of local capital and lopsided development produced a dual phenomenon: on the one hand, a rather limited influx of foreign resources and on the other, a rapid consolidation of exclusive US corporate control over major branches of the economies despite the relatively low investment. Ruthless imperialist oppression is precisely the cause of the current underdevelopment, emphasised *José A. Riva Tavaréz* (Dominican Communist Party). In other words, it is complete domination at little expense.

It was noted in the discussion that hypothetically, the TNCs face a choice of either continuing to extract maximum profit from moderate investment or abandoning this course and allowing Central American nations to modernise their economies—the dream of the indigenous bourgeoisie. In actual fact, however, the dilemma simply does not exist: the leopard never changes his spots and is always hungry. The monopolies are doing all they can to preserve their advantages.

This is the reason why the short-lived industrialisation of the 1960s and 1970s failed to produce the desired results and why the attempts of the national bourgeois quarters to upgrade the production level in their countries generally availed them nothing: they were drawn into the sphere of TNC domination by 'traditional' techniques, including the transfer of technology and the snares of the finance system. A deplorable situation ensued. In 1983 the Central America's total external debt was more than eleven billion dollars—a debt it is impossible for Central America to pay back. Unequal exchange rates, high interest, the drain on foreign exchange and the artificially inflated dollar rate aggravated the situation to the extreme. Meanwhile, the corporations secured a powerful tool for exerting pressure on the debtors; the latter were forced to keep turning to their US 'benefactors', and this, obviously,

tightens the noose against which the regional economy is choking.

Donald Ramotar (People's Progressive Party of Guyana) recalled in this connection that President Reagan's so-called Caribbean Initiative³ was designed to substantially enhance US economic, political and military control. Even Washington's client governments admit that, although it promised the world to them, the plan virtually does not benefit them at all.

For a long time, imperialism could not care less about the need to 'convince' its victims of the 'advantages' it offered them. But, as it was noted in the discussion, today dependent countries are being assured that the United States is 'bursting with eagerness' to transform countries that import a large part of their consumer goods (although they could long have begun to produce them themselves) into exporters. As it is clear from the colonial case of Puerto Rico, the scheme is above all to use their territories for industries hazardous to human health and the environment. The 'sincere desire' has a hollow ring to it. For example, Washington's much-advertised decision to exempt many goods produced in the subregion from customs duties cannot be implemented because the region's industry is now in crisis and cannot produce goods in quantities and at prices that could make them competitive on the US market.

Participants in the discussion pointed out that all these factors produced a highly explosive situation in Central America and the Caribbean and fed the rapidly growing discontent. At one extreme huge wealth is being accumulated, with the lion's share appropriated by foreign capital and the rest swelling the bank accounts of the anti-national oligarchies; at the other, poverty stubbornly holds sway over the popular masses. This tragic situation, inescapable poverty and shocking contrasts are illustrated by the statistics on income distribution in Central America published by the UN Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA). In 1980, 20 per cent of the region's population received only four per cent of national incomes while 57 per cent went to the same number of Central Americans at the opposite end of the social ladder. By the beginning of the current decade, over 60 per cent of Central Americans were destitute; the figure for the rural areas was 70 per cent. Since then, the situation has grown worse. This means that the vast majority of working people is denied access to the fruits of economic progress.

For example, what else can explain the mass flight of Haitians to the United States? What prompts them to take this step, defying the threat of shipwreck, the ruthless swindling on the part of illegal refugee runners (there have been cases of these desperate refugees being dumped overboard in the middle of nowhere) and the fact that the coveted 'paradise' will be hell: awaiting them there are camps for displaced persons, persecution and no chance to secure jobs or shelter? Over the past ten years 500,000 people died of starvation in Haiti (population about 5.5 million). The country's gross national product is among the world's smallest, although there is another country 'competing' with Haiti in this respect—Honduras. Participants in the discussion also cited other facts. In El Salvador, the latifundista family of Regalado Dueñas owns more than 28,000 hectares of land, and its income equals the earnings of almost 7,000 poor families. Full and partial unemployment in the urban areas of El Salvador and Guatemala affects some 60 per cent of the economically active population. The figure is even higher in Honduras. According to official statistics, the infant mortality rate in El Salvador is 58.3 per 1,000—aside from the children who are killed by US-made bombs. (It was recalled in comparison that before the revolution, 70 out of 1,000 newborn babies died in Cuba; today the rate is about 15 per 1,000). There are also the depressing illiteracy statistics: almost 65 per cent of the population is illiterate in El Salvador and even more in Guatemala, Honduras and Caribbean countries; virtually all Haitians can neither read nor write.

Wherever TNCs hold sway, 'misery belts' spring up around cities; there, people are

cooped up in dilapidated shacks without elementary hygienic arrangements, without any water supply, electricity or plumbing. The situation in the field of health care is hopeless. In El Salvador, there is only one physician per 3,650 people. Medical facilities are concentrated in cities and are accessible only to the rich. Central America and the Caribbean, a region with an acute shortage of skilled personnel, is plagued by the brain drain. Not only medical workers but also other experts are lured to the United States.

Transnational corporations have not only enslaved the republics of the subregion economically; they are also trying to introduce the so-called American way of life with its inevitable concomitants—fear of the future, an all-pervading feeling of insecurity, mass neuroses, moral degradation, drug abuse on a mass scale, crudely cosmopolitan attitudes and disdain of national values. Tourism from the United States, responsible for many of these ills, corrupts people, especially youth. The peoples of Central America and the Caribbean deeply respect and cherish their rich historical traditions and strive to end foreign domination, suppression of all rights, ignorance, violence, injustice, as well as class, racial and other forms of discrimination.

Proceeding from the points made, participants in the discussion concluded that the model imposed by foreign oppressors is totally alien to the aspirations of Central American and Caribbean working people.

Political Lessons of the Recent Past

The developments of recent years have borne out Lenin's idea that imperialism is reaction everywhere.⁴

The economic, social, ideological and cultural violence to which the United States resorts is the factor behind the authoritarian if not openly tyrannical type of rule in most Central American and Caribbean countries. This is where the term 'gorilla' was born—the name of client dictators who emerge with the Washington's blessing. Many of them were installed in presidential palaces in the wake of direct armed intervention by the 'northern neighbour'. And there have been over 100 cases of such intervention in US history.

As it was noted at the round table in this connection, Washington now claims that it helped Nicaragua to overthrow the odious dictatorship of the Somoza clan. One would be hard put to find a more flagrant example of hypocrisy. The credit for the rout of the bloodstained dynasty which, assisted by the United States, clung to power for 45 years (during which the White House saw eight US presidents succeed one another), belongs to the Nicaraguan people and to their glorious Sandinist revolution which the US administration is trying to crush, violating UN and OAS principles and all norms of international law. As if bent on repeating the Vietnam experience, the hawks in the White House and the Pentagon are deliberately building up tensions around Nicaragua and preparing for a direct intervention.

El Salvador has long become another flashpoint in the area. The army which seized power in this country as far back as 1931, has turned into a 'maker' of presidents and into a sort of armed political party. Today, the Salvadoran patriots are waging a struggle under the banner of Farabundo Martí, a national hero, against this corrupt puppet clique and against US interference. This interference, **Jaime Barrios** (Communist Party of El Salvador) pointed out, is aimed at preserving the regime which serves the TNCs and the landowners' oligarchy, has been tormenting the people for over fifty years now, brutally murders civilians, including old people, women and children, and destroys whole communities in response to the least protest on the part of the masses.

Washington's charges that the revolutions in Nicaragua and El Salvador and the growing spirit of resistance throughout Latin America are inspired by the mythical

'agents' of Moscow or Havana are totally groundless. No amount of slander can justify the crimes committed for the sake of the superprofits going to the foreign concerns which are bleeding the republics of Central America and the Caribbean white.

Speaking on the point raised, **Gancho Ganev** (Bulgarian Communist Party) noted that the imperialist monopolies form the material basis of violence and interference in the affairs of other countries. Just as in any other region, there are no Soviet monopolies in Central America, for this would have been contrary to the very nature of the socialist system. The only 'external stimulator' of explosive discontent one can speak about is rather the International Monetary Fund (IMF) with its crippling credit and loan terms and merciless demands on the recipient countries—demands that take food away from the already hungry people.

Honduras is directly connected with these two main focal points of conflict. Before turning this country into a springboard for attacks against the Nicaraguan revolution and the Salvadoran patriots, the United States tried to suppress all forms of democratic movement there, using punitive army expeditions, the terrorism of the 'death squads' and everything up to and including coups d'etat. Today, **Randolfo Banegas** (Communist Party of Honduras) said, our country is virtually under occupation. US naval vessels with thousands of Marines on board are cruising close to Honduran shores. **Rafic Samhoun** (Lebanese Communist Party) remarked that these vessels include the ships that launched a barrage of artillery fire against Beirut in support of the Israeli aggressors. There is a common pattern to the action of the interventionists in the Central American and Mideast conflicts. Within the framework of strategic cooperation with Washington, Tel Aviv trains gangs of Nicaraguan contras and supports pro-American regimes by supplying them with arms and instructors.

The situation in Guatemala was also discussed at the round table. The guerrilla struggle being fought in that long-suffering country began in 1954, when the CIA used mercenaries to crush a democratic revolution behind a smokescreen of anti-communist and anti-Soviet rhetoric. Because of this intervention by Washington, Guatemala has been saddled with a regime clearly stamped 'made in USA' for 31 years now. This 'deliverance from communism' cost the Guatemalan people more than 100,000 human lives.

The United States would also like to extend the sphere of its violence to Costa Rica where, since the fierce fighting in the civil war of 1948, the governments have not been that despotic. Recently however, noted **Luis Orlando Corrales** (People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica), Washington has been putting strong pressure on the nation. As a result, the permanent, active and unarmed neutrality proclaimed by President Luis Alberto Monge in late 1983 is increasingly turning into a chimera. The contras who stage bandit raids into Nicaragua have set up camps in 'neutral' Costa Rica and, in the north of the country, a powerful rebroadcasting station of the Voice of America has begun to operate, fanning the flames of war in the subregion.

After several decades of domination by repressive governments taking orders directly from the US army command in the Canal Zone, the patriotic military led by Omar Torrijos took power in Panama in 1968. The CIA never forgave him either his success in having President Carter sign the treaty stipulating transfer of the sovereignty over the Canal to its sole rightful owner, the Panamanian people, or his support of the Nicaraguan revolutionaries: the general died in a mysterious air crash.

Complete TNC domination is also obvious in the islands of the subregion, with the sole exception of Cuba. In the Dominican Republic and Jamaica, bloodshed keeps recurring as a result of the crippling terms imposed by the IMF which pursues a policy of virtual financial terrorism. The sovereignty of the small island nation of Grenada has been trampled underfoot. What happened there, **Georg Kwiatowski** (German

Communist Party) said, was reminiscent of the times and methods of Hitler. Washington used the fig leaf of 'joint action' by the Caribbean nations to camouflage this iniquitous act. In the Caribbean, like in Central America, the interventionists strive to commit their crimes by proxy, to sow hostility and hatred among the Caribbean nations and to pit them against one another. In pursuit of these goals, the United States is hastily cobbling together the so-called Eastern Caribbean regional security force under the aegis of Reagan's 'Caribbean Initiative' so as to continue acting according to the 'Grenada model'.

Self-Evident Conclusions

The round table participants agreed that the crisis of the entire system of US domination in the central part of the Western Hemisphere began after the Cuban revolution of 1959. This revolution exploded the myth of 'geographical fatalism'⁵, the alleged inevitability of US financial domination and military presence. Twenty years later the Sandinist victory in Nicaragua confirmed that Cuba was not simply a maverick. The example of socialism and the progress of the countries that have taken this development path inspire nations in their struggle for freedom and independence. Their action against monopoly domination, for democracy and better living conditions is growing ever more resolute and reflects their firm commitment to peace. All attempts by the monopolies to save their crumbling empires at all costs, up to and including the use of armed force, are fated to fail. Imperialist domination is doomed by the inner dynamics of imperialist development.

Analysis led the round table to the conclusion that there exist three types of democracy in Latin America. The first is the socialist democracy of Cuba where the basic means of production are public property belonging exclusively to the Cuban people. This and the relations between the Island of Freedom and the socialist community (embodying the just principles of a new international economic order the Third World strives for) have opened the path of progressive development for Cuba and protect the country from the vicissitudes inherent in the crisis of the world capitalist system. The second type is the revolutionary democracy of Nicaragua with its mixed economy and political pluralism. The third type is bourgeois democracy (often suppressed by oligarchies and foreign monopolies), again on the rise in the South Cone republics. As Fidel Castro emphasised, democratisation in these countries clearly began as a result of popular struggle and resistance to the military dictatorships. 'Other significant factors contributing to this also included such gravity of the economic crisis that the military lost confidence and were in confusion, no longer able to cope with the situation.'⁶ In Central America, bourgeois democratic rule exists only in Costa Rica and Panama. This pattern of government preserves big private property belonging to both local and foreign owners. It is obvious that if the authorities existing under this system want to keep up with the times, they cannot bow unquestioningly to Washington's diktat.

Alongside democratic forms, brutal dictatorships persist in Latin America to this day—those of Pinochet in Chile, Stroessner in Paraguay and Duvalier in Haiti. They have no future.

The speakers paid special attention to the Latin American external debt which has now reached an astronomical total of 370 billion dollars and is virtually impossible to be repaid. The US imperialist policy is to turn this problem into a permanent factor of pressure and blackmail, into a means of perpetuating TNC domination.

Is there a way out of this situation? The Latin American participants in the round table supported the Cuban idea that the debt could be repaid by the creditor nations through proportionate reductions in their military spending. This would also be a tangible step towards curbing the suicidal arms race. **Ahmed Salem** (Communist Party of the Sudan) pointed to the direct and vital connection between the struggle

against the rape of Latin America, the struggle waged by all developing nations and the drive for peace. The broad masses increasingly realise that the huge profits the monopolies extract from dependent countries are used to manufacture bigger and newer piles of weapons of mass destruction; this further aggravates the international situation and pushes humanity closer to war.

Uncontested imperialist domination is a thing of the past and the United States can never succeed in restoring it. The solidarity of the Latin American peoples who have a common history and related cultures and who suffer equally from monopoly domination was thrown into particularly bold relief during the US-supported British aggression in the Malvinas. Today, when the economic crisis is deepening and the external debt is strangling the continent's nations, Latin American solidarity is acquiring new incentives, for the matter concerns these nations' future and, in fact, their very survival. All Latin America is therefore rising to rebuff US interventionism—not only economic, political and ideological but also military. The resistance is against the policy of force, against imperial disdain of the right of nations to self-determination.

As emphasised by **Vusizwe Seme** (South African Communist Party), the situation imparts particular importance to international support for the firm and consistent course followed by socialist Cuba, revolutionary Nicaragua and the patriotic forces of El Salvador that staunchly uphold their freedom and independence and advocate a just and universally acceptable peaceful solution to the present crisis.

At the conclusion of the discussion it was noted that the Central American developments highlight two diametrically opposed policies which are also present in the global context.

The first is the high-handed course of state terrorism, blackmail, threats and armed forays by mercenaries. This policy is fraught with war. Washington pursues it contrary to the genuine interests of the people of the United States, said **John Pittman** (Communist Party USA). These moves that ignore the changes in the world alignment of forces are like an attempt to put out a fire by pouring gasoline on the flames. A 'new Vietnam' would bring untold suffering and losses to peoples and eventually end in an imperialist failure just as—or even more—resounding as the reckless adventure in Indochina.

The other policy is that of peace; following it are the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, supporting it are the non-aligned nations, including revolutionary Nicaragua which is ready to sign the instrument of peace and cooperation prepared by the Contadora Group, and the patriots of El Salvador who invariably advocate negotiations to end the war and the people's suffering. Promoting this realistic course are all those who realise that in today's tense international situation the powder keg in Central America must not be allowed to explode.

¹ See Fidel Castro, *La impagable deuda externa de América Latina y del Tercer Mundo, como puede y debe ser cancelada y la urgente necesidad del Nuevo Orden Económico Internacional*, Havana, 1985, p. 8.

² By 1980 US investment in the Central American nations was only 2.3 per cent of total direct US investment in Latin America.

³ For more details see Cheddi Jagan, 'The Caribbean Danger Zone', *WMR*, No. 8, 1983.

⁴ See V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 287.

⁵ The US propaganda assertion that geographical proximity to the United States dooms Latin American countries to dependence on Washington.—*Ed.*

⁶ Fidel Castro, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12.

viewpoints

Soviet Youth: Commitment to Socialist Ideals

Victor Mishin – First Secretary, Central Committee, All-Union Leninist Young Communist League (AULYCL)

THE dialectics of social progress is such that the more difficult and large-scale the goals, the more important it is for the popular masses to be active in their attainment. There is no denying that the human factor is playing an increasingly important role in the building of a new life. Hence the need to step up political education of working people, especially youth. 'In a certain sense,' Lenin emphasised, 'it is the youth that will be faced with the actual task of creating a communist society.'¹

The Communists see youth political education and party guidance of the youth movement as a foremost condition and guarantee of generational continuity of the revolutionary spirit in socialist society. This point is made in the CPSU Central Committee resolution 'On Further Improving Party Guidance of the YCL and Enhancing Its Role in the Communist Education of Youth' (July 1984) and in several other recently adopted major party documents.

The party provides the Leninist Youth League, the biggest and most authoritative youth organisation of the USSR, with a truly scientific basis of work and charts the YCL's political course and major directions of its activities. The party helps the YCL to identify priority tasks and to find the most effective forms and methods of their implementation. At the same time, the Communists invariably take care to promote independent action by the YCL, a vigorous attitude and creative initiative on the part of its members. 'For unless they have complete independence,' Lenin remarked, 'the youth *will be unable* either to train good socialists from their midst or prepare themselves to lead socialism *forward*.'²

Thanks to the concern shown by the party and the government, young Soviet citizens fully enjoy the great diversity of socio-economic, political and personal rights proclaimed in the Constitution; they are assured broad access to spiritual and intellectual values, to science, culture and education. The YCL has the right to propose legislation, a right it exercises vigorously. Significantly, over the past five years alone government bodies have acted on more than 200 various proposals submitted by the YCL.

Under socialism, society does not bar young people from politics but, instead, does its utmost to ensure their active participation in the country's life. For the first time, from an oppressed mass deprived of many rights, young people are becoming

full-fledged participants in the decision-making process on all issues concerning the social fabric. Competent youth involvement in government and in the management of work collectives is growing. People of the YCL age group make up almost one-third of the membership of the Soviets of People's Deputies in the USSR.

The YCL currently comprises 42 million young men and women, the finest representatives of our country's every national and ethnic group. Some 50 per cent of the YCL organisations' numerical strength are concentrated in the sphere of material production. In broader terms, 58 per cent of all YCL members are employed in the national economy. Young workers are the soul and heart of the YCL, its pride and glory.

Young people make an impressive contribution to the creation of spaceships and powerful modern turbines, of precision equipment and consumer goods. They grow grain, mine coal and break open countless treasure chests of mineral wealth. A glance at the map of the USSR is all it takes to notice the numerous new cities, built in places which only recently were barren steppe or rolling taiga. Today, factories rise there, huge steel, chemical and engineering projects are being built and housing developments spring up.

The biggest construction projects of the eleventh five-year period have been sponsored by the YCL. The League is instrumental in the implementation of the Energy and Food Programmes, the construction of important natural gas pipelines, the building of the unique Baikal-Amur Railroad and the transformation of Russia's non-black soil belt.

Work is the basis of Soviet society. Our young people are well aware that everyone's earnings depend on how much one has produced and that to live better, you have to work better. Assisted by expert instructors and advisers, young people work hard to improve their skills, master the secrets of different occupations and trades and uphold the fine traditions of the working class and collective farmers.

Socialist emulation has become an effective form of education by and for work. Virtually all young working people, entire YCL/youth work collectives take part in it today. Striving to increase labour productivity, frugally use raw materials, fuel and energy resources, produce high-quality goods and uphold the good name of their factories, young people make it a practice to evaluate their work from positions of high civic virtue and Soviet patriotism.

The April 1985 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee was a major event in the life of the Communist Party and the entire Soviet people. The meeting reiterated the continuity of the strategic course elaborated at the 26th Party Congress and at subsequent Central Committee plenary meetings and decided on the convocation of the 27th regular congress of the CPSU in February 1986.

On the initiative of the best YCL organisations, best young workers and students, a broad campaign has been launched in which the participants are vying for the right to sign the report of the Leninist YCL to the forthcoming party congress. Millions of young men and women are taking part in this patriotic movement.

Major efforts are under way in the Soviet Union to modernise the scientific and technological aspects of production so as to attain the world's highest level of labour productivity. Social relations are being perfected, and far-reaching changes are occurring in the sphere of work and in material and spiritual living conditions. Youth involvement in all these efforts is vigorous and dedicated.

Soviet youth has always responded enthusiastically to all that is new and progressive; it has always headed for where its enterprising initiative is welcome. Today, a sphere of this kind is, specifically, YCL participation in large-scale economic experiments designed to enhance the economic independence of enterprises and amalgamations and their responsibility for the end result of their work. The experiment means additional incentives for greater labour productivity

and a higher shift coefficient of the equipment, for output over and above the planned quota and for better products. The experiment makes it possible to tackle a broad range of social issues more effectively, including questions directly connected with the organisation of young people's work, living conditions, rest and recreation.

Protection of youth rights and interests is a major social function of the YCL. The League's voice rings loud and clear at planning briefings, at standing production conferences and in trade union committees when the subject concerns bonuses for good work, modern housing for newlyweds, hostel facilities or day care centres.

Involved in the efforts to perfect the economic mechanism, YCL organisations show concern not only for the present but also for the future state of the Soviet economy. The forthcoming twelfth five-year period is to launch far-reaching, radical changes in production and become a turning point in the intensification of all branches of the national economy. The efforts of YCL committees to involve young people in work to accelerate scientific and technological progress assume particular importance.

Acting jointly with interested organisations, the YCL Central Committee has mapped out specific steps to further promote creative work by young people in the field of science and technology. Efforts are under way to provide this movement with a better organisational and legal basis and to enhance its role as a tool of political education. Serious steps are being taken to set up a single, highly efficient nationwide system of such creative work.

Against the background of rapid advances in science and technology, YCL committees are tackling a dual task. It is important to ensure vigorous involvement of young men and women in improving economic efficiency and developing industrial robots, microchips, flexible automated production lines, waste-free technologies and the like. At the same time, youth should be morally prepared to handle sophisticated modern equipment, and young people should be moulded into real masters of tomorrow, capable of adding their own accomplishments to the store of experience accumulated by the older generations.

The ranks of the YCL include almost eight million school pupils, 2.5 million young people studying in the vocational training system, 2.7 million boys and girls at specialised secondary schools and nearly three million students. Attention should be accorded each category, each age and social group; and a special approach should be applied to each.

The foremost job of pupils and students is, of course, to study. But studies are not the only thing that shapes the image of Soviet secondary and higher education. It is equally important how active pupils and students are in tackling the common tasks facing our people. While still at school or in college, our youth strives to contribute tangibly to our country's prosperity. The YCL bolsters and develops this attitude to life by specific efforts in the field of organisation and political education.

On YCL members initiative, production teams of pupils have been set up, and productive training has been organised for senior grade pupils in the summer. YCL organisations invariably take care to strengthen the material infrastructure of interschool training and production centres and do much to publicise industrial trades and occupations among young people.

The integrated programme designed to prepare worthy new members who will join the working class and cooperative farmers, the programme approved at the 19th YCL Congress in 1982, is being implemented successfully. The programme pools the efforts of various government bodies and civic organisations and ensures consistency and continuity of political education.

Instilling a correct attitude to socially useful work is a central objective of the reform of general education and vocational training now under way in the USSR. YCL and Young Pioneers organisations are to become reliable assistants of the

collectives of educators in improving the quality of education, developing a conscious sense of self-discipline and responsible conduct among young people, helping them to organise their productive work and recreation well, and promoting their self-reliance.

The CPSU emphasises that the alliance of the YCL and the school education system is now more important than ever. The practice of YCL organisations acting as sponsors of general education and vocational training schools is gaining ground. In their spare time, young workers, technicians and engineers help schools to repair and equip classrooms and workshops; they direct the work of technical societies and athletic clubs and teach schoolchildren to operate computers.

Soviet students have never kept exclusively to the academic world. Their contribution to the acceleration of scientific and technological progress and to the intensification of national economic development is increasing. In college and university, the YCL is constantly searching for new, promising ways to further young people's creative efforts. Study/research/production centres and research laboratories have been established under the aegis of many colleges on YCL initiative.

Guided by party organisations, the YCL works to ensure a situation in which each student would be educated not simply as a person possessing a certain body of knowledge but above all as a member of socialist society, as a person vigorously participating in communist construction, a person committed to distinct ideological and moral values and interests, a person of high culture in work and conduct. During the summer 'work term' hundreds of thousands of students assume full control of construction sites. One can encounter young men and women dressed in overalls with the insignia of the All-Union Student Work Force at all major construction projects, at many transport, commercial and service agencies and establishments. They contribute considerably to national economic development and conduct large-scale political and cultural education in remote areas. Notably, the number of YCL student task forces working without remuneration, that is, contributing their earnings to the Peace Fund and to other noble causes, has grown in recent years.

As the CPSU plays the leading role in perfecting developed socialism, the YCL is further enhancing its political consolidation on the basis of loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. The YCL is assuming an increasingly important role in the ideological and political affairs of Soviet society; relationships existing within the League itself are growing more mature and diversified, and its ranks are swelling.

The enemies of socialism refuse to accept this. Having launched a 'crusade' against our social system, imperialism and its ideological services try to erode the moral and political unity of Soviet society. Their main stake is on discrediting the leading role of the CPSU; they attempt to drive a wedge to isolate the party from government bodies and mass organisations of working people.

The imperialist propaganda machine tries to falsify the principles and methods used by the party to direct the youth movement, to present this guidance as 'diktat' and 'coercion' running counter to the will and interests of the youth masses. The aim is to encourage young people to abandon their class position and the struggle for the victory of the new, communist system.

This shall never come to pass. The YCL and all Soviet youth are selflessly dedicated to the cause of our Leninist party, to the ideals of socialism. It is not blind fanatical faith (and our ideological opponents often do try to picture Soviet YCL members as fanatics) but firm conviction and confidence in the victory of the ideals of social justice the Communists uphold that form the unshakable foundation of this commitment and dedication.

Socialist reality itself, with its innate principles of humanism, genuine freedom,

equality and brotherhood of working people, is a powerful factor helping young people to attain ideological and political maturity. But it would be an unforgivable mistake to believe that socialist views and convictions come into existence automatically. Here, constant and purposeful political education and broad involvement of young men and women in social efforts are in order.

The present generation of Soviet youth has never encountered the class enemy face to face. It is only from books, films and veterans' eyewitness accounts that this generation learns about the difficulties our country had to overcome to lay the foundations of socialism and to bring about its complete and definitive victory in the USSR.

This fact and the mounting massive pressure exerted by the class enemy, by hostile foreign propaganda make it incumbent on YCL organisations to continuously improve the system of reinforcing the class commitment of young men and women, to maintain a high level of political vigilance and to combat, in a militant spirit, any manifestations of ideology or morals alien to socialist society.

A great deal is being done to acquaint youth with Marxist-Leninist theory. The knowledge gained in study is discussed in specific detail in the YCL political education schools and workshops attended by over ten million people. Veteran Communists with a higher education and a rich store of experience make up the overwhelming majority of those conducting these studies.

The strength of Marxist-Leninist youth education is in its close links to life. The YCL well remembers Lenin's behest—to learn communism not only from books and pamphlets but also to check one's knowledge against practice, to forge knowledge into conviction.

Lenin taught us that 'there can be no political education except through political struggle and political action'.³ The YCL attaches great importance to the process in which young people accumulate their own political experience. Young men and women acquire it through involvement in the affairs of their collectives and in the work of Soviets, trade unions and other civic organisations.

The mass information and propaganda media assist in making Soviet youth spiritually and intellectually richer and in comprehensively explaining the policy of the CPSU. The YCL operates three publishing houses of its own. Over the past four years, they have produced almost 180 million copies of books and pamphlets. As many as 248 YCL and Young Pioneers' newspapers and periodicals are published in the USSR, their circulation exceeding 80 million. Youth desks have been set up on television and radio. The YCL makes vigorous use of all this to publicise the achievements and advantages of existing socialism and to expose imperialist ideological subversion and the much-vaunted pseudo-values of the capitalist world.

Patriotic and internationalist education of youth is among the YCL's foremost tasks. Young people profoundly grasp the indelible bonds existing between them and the history of their country; this understanding comes to them at history lessons at school and in trips tracing the revolutionary path of the Soviet people and their exploits in war and peace. YCL members meet with veterans of past battles, heroes of the frontline and the war effort, record their recollections, collect and cherish relics of the people's war epic, and show care and concern to veterans and the families of fallen heroes.

The entire history of the YCL is permeated with the principles of proletarian internationalism at work. The YCL is active in upholding CPSU foreign policy; it expands its international activities, aiming to step up its efforts to publicise communist ideas and the record of building developed socialism and helping to strengthen the unity of the democratic and progressive youth movement and promote cooperation among young people of different political and ideological views for peace and friendship among nations.

Today we maintain contacts with almost 2,000 national and international youth and student organisations. The YCL is active in the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students. It sponsors and organises major international political initiatives that create a tangible basis for expanding the scope of joint action by democratic youth in the struggle for peace and disarmament, for freedom and national independence, for the rights of the younger generation.

Firm bonds of friendship and brotherhood link us and the youth leagues of the socialist community countries. The longterm bilateral cooperation programmes drawn up and signed in recent years make it possible to develop and apply particularly effective forms of youth involvement in socialist economic development, to jointly stage large-scale action. Joint work at CMEA projects enhances the finest qualities of members of socialist society, strengthens the ideological convictions of young men and women and moulds them into patriots and internationalists.

In capitalist countries, our closest friends are Marxist-Leninist youth leagues. Our contacts with them are developing on the basis of a common ideology, common positions on key problems of today's world, and joint struggle against imperialism and reaction, for peace, democracy and social progress. Our partners in international dialogues include Socialists and Social Democrats, Radicals and Christian Democrats, as well as members of the youth peace movement.

Soviet youth extends fraternal assistance to the young men and women of Afghanistan, Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Democratic Yemen and other socialist-oriented countries and invariably supports the progressive and democratic forces of Latin America. YCL delegates are very active in actions of solidarity with the people and youth of the Arab countries, Namibia and South Africa.

The world-wide movement of youth festivals is playing an increasingly important role in mobilising the masses of young people to the struggle for peace, disarmament and social progress.

The Leninist YCL and all Soviet youth were among the founders of the movement and have been vigorously involved in all previous festivals. The YCL initiative on holding the 12th World Festival of Youth and Students in Moscow this summer is an effective contribution to the movement's development. Today, we can state with satisfaction that our initiative was welcomed and supported by many youth and student organisations of different political affiliations.

In many countries, the joint national preparatory committees comprise young Communists, Socialists, Social Democrats, Liberals, Radicals, young members of the peace movement, of trade unions, of the 'Greens' parties and other political forces. In some cases, conservative youth associations also took part in the preparatory efforts.

Reactionary forces tried to hamper preparations for the festival. They attempted to wreck this celebration of the world's youth by staging 'alternative' youth projects. These attempts were a resounding failure.

Once again, as 28 years ago, Moscow will host a universal forum of young people of different political views and philosophies, but united by the ideas of anti-imperialist solidarity, peace and friendship.

The festival is being held in the year that marks the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism, in the country which made the decisive contribution to this victory. And so we regard this youth forum as a powerful anti-war, anti-imperialist demonstration of the commitment of the world's younger generation to do everything possible to defend peace and life on Earth.

The Moscow festival is being held in 1985, designated by the United Nations as the International Youth Year to attract the attention of progressive public opinion to the issues involved in the struggle of the younger generation for its legitimate political and

socio-economic rights. There is no doubt that the festival will help in the implementation of the lofty motto of the Youth Year—'Participation, Development, Peace'.

Aware of their responsibility for the development of the festival movement, the YCL and all Soviet youth are doing everything to make the Moscow forum a success. Our country's young men and women are preparing actively for the festival and looking forward to meeting their foreign guests. This is best seen in the accomplishments they achieve to honour the great event in the lives of the world's young people. One can cite the great popularity won by Anatoly Alexandrov, a worker of the Moscow-based Likhachev Auto Works, who fulfilled 40 extra shift quotas to commemorate the 40th anniversary of Victory Day and contributed the money earned to the festival fund. There are numerous similar examples that highlight the high level of patriotic and internationalist consciousness of Soviet youth.

Our young men and women will be glad to acquaint their foreign guests with the achievements of our country, tell them about their work, studies and civic activities, and show them our historic sites and other places of interest.

Participants and guests of the festival will have the broadest possible opportunities for meeting Soviet people, Soviet young men and women. This will convince them that we do not want the horrors of the last war to recur, that all our plans and energy are aimed at peaceful constructive work, at the development of the national economy and culture, that the Soviet Union wants to live in peace and friendship with all nations.

Preparing to welcome young people from all continents, Soviet youth fully supports what Comrade Mikhail Gorbachov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said at the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the victory the Soviet people won in the Great Patriotic War: 'We call on the most diverse social and political forces for earnest cooperation—for cooperation based on goodwill in the name of peace.'⁴

The Moscow festival will no doubt be a new contribution of the world's younger generation to the struggle against the nuclear threat and against the imperialist forays to undermine freedom and national independence. It will promote understanding and cooperation among youth and student organisations of different political affiliations for peace and social progress.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 253.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. 23, p. 164.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 4, p. 282.

⁴ *Pravda*, May 9, 1985.

Haiti's Communists Are Fighting For Democracy

René Théodore – General Secretary,
United Party of Haitian Communists (UPHC)

HAITI, like Paraguay and Chile, is still under the rule of a tyrannical dictatorship reared by US imperialism.

The dictatorship makes out the archaic form of government existing in the country—hereditary, life-long presidential rule—to be a guarantee of strengthening and expanding relations with the United States and as a 'barrier to communism'. Numerous speeches by Duvalier, statements by his Foreign Ministry and utterances by Haitian representatives in the USA confirm this official point of view. It is an open secret that Haiti is economically subservient and that its political independence is illusory. Imperialism exploits the Haitian people through the Duvalier regime and is set on keeping the region under its unlimited sway to the detriment of the interests of Caribbean nations.

In these circumstances the UPHC strives to specify the political goals of the anti-dictatorial struggle. It unrelentingly exposes the class character of the tyranny and its responsibility for the inhuman exploitation of the working people and the national oppression of the country by US imperialism.

Searching for a Political Alternative

The issue of a political option in Haiti is linked with the activity of the ruling camarilla and the programme for democratic and revolutionary changes which an organised opposition intends to carry out on coming to power. Diverse sections of the population take a stand on the government according to their interests. A national economy in decline and sharpened social problems compel members of all social groups to ponder on what the present regime brings them.

Besides, it must be borne in mind that the attitude of the Duvalier family's traditional imperialist protectors towards its dictatorship has been increasingly restrained since Somoza was overthrown in Nicaragua. They now find it more difficult than before to justify in the eyes of the public their support for a regime which cannot be called a representative democracy even by US standards. True, Washington only pays lip-service to representativeness, as its tolerance of Paraguay's Stroessner shows today and a similar stand on Trujillo, the Dominican dictator, indicated in the past (till 1960).

Increasingly sensitive to the pressure being put on it, the government is casting about for formulas that would enable it to preserve the status quo by disguising autocracy as political 'liberalism'.

Speeches delivered by Haitian officials in the late seventies abounded in phrases about human rights and in promises to democratise and liberalise public life. However, all the make-believe changes that have occurred in this sphere to date are evidence of the anti-democratic and anti-national character of the dictatorship. The popular movement closely follows every manoeuvre of the regime and declares its willingness to back attempts from above, however timid, to liberalise society. The regime, however, sees every popular initiative as a bid to limit the top rulers' power and resorts to fresh intimidation and occasionally to a campaign of repression.

In contrast to official speeches there is the reality of unprecedented actions by the working people in defence of trade union freedoms and the right to information about the real condition of the exploited majority. The people's demands have provided progressive journalists with a basis on which they help mould public opinion

against the Duvalier clan. The political guidelines adopted by the First UPHC Congress defined the situation in precise terms. Our slogan 'The struggle for bread, jobs and freedom is the road to mobilising the masses' made for a more active democratic movement.

In the early eighties a number of leaders openly challenged the one-man rule imposed on Haiti. They tried to form political organisations avoiding a conflict with the regime and to make the dictatorship respect its own laws. This legalist current is characterised above all by a partial utilisation of the same traditional political clientele as Duvalierism seeks support from. It is worthy of note that in arguing for their 'liberal' intentions, legalists originally counted on aid from imperialist embassies and not on popular support, not on drawing the people into a struggle to really democratise public life. Despite this orientation, the Christian Democratic and Christian Social parties, which were founded in these circumstances and are still weak organisationally, became an object of repression as involuntary rivals of the regime who might be accepted by imperialist powers as an alternative to Duvalierism and so rob the government of its traditional protectory.

Under autocratic rule, despite the class heterogeneity of society, which could give rise to the most diverse political formations, such parties are undesirable to the top rulers even if they are ready to respect the laws enacted by the dictatorship itself. The fact is that the people's persistent democratic sentiments may find fertile ground in the new parties and give Haitians new hope for far-reaching social changes. These non-governmental parties are a democratic opposition which generally tries to distance itself from the regime in order to win sympathy and confidence among the population commensurate with the changes expected by it. By virtue of developments resulting from the people's aspirations and, on the other hand, from the aggressiveness and intolerance of the autocratic dictatorship, the legalist movements in question are frankly hostile to Duvalierism and the antiquated system of life-long presidency.

The most important provision of the institutional reform planned by the Haitian opposition is to do away with the existing political system. It is the touchstone of the ongoing struggle, for nothing short of removing hereditary power can be regarded as a real blow to autocracy in its present form. 'The economic situation,' Engels wrote, 'is the basis, but the various elements of the superstructure—political forms of the class struggle and its results, to wit: constitutions established by the victorious class after a successful battle, etc., juridical forms, and even the reflexes of all these actual struggles in the brains of the participants, political, juristic, philosophical theories, religious views and their further development into systems of dogmas—also exercise their influence upon the course of the historical struggles and in many cases preponderate in determining their *form*.'

The Regime Is Manoeuvring

Faced with growing social discontent and increasingly emphatic demands for democratic freedoms, the Duvalier government has again fallen back on extensive repression under an anti-communist flag. Continuing to hold forth about democratisation, it even declares that it recognises the right of parties to legal existence. But although it has announced that it has drafted a decree regulating their activity, the dictatorship is in no hurry to issue it while at the same time setting up in provincial cities bureaus of its organisation, the National Council of Jean-Claudism.² For many years past, this organisation has been trying in vain to operate all over the country and to become an influential political force of a modern type.

The government goes on introducing numerous amendments to the Constitution. Its aim is to preserve the principle of life-long presidency under the cloak of purely nominal collective responsibility. The institution of state ministers to whom Duvalier

can from now on delegate part of his functions is expected to consolidate still further a monarchic system run with the aid of a handful of top officials.

In this context, official quarters are contemplating the establishment of a parliamentary system that, while preserving the principle of life-long presidency, would have mediatory powers to be passed on from elections to elections and so meet US standards of 'representative' democracy. With this prospect in view, the government intends to accept the existence of legal parties ready to participate in the travesty of democratisation and expected to disguise the autocratic, anti-popular nature of the present system.

The country has a great many other problems. They are understandably perceived differently by different social groups and so may cause disagreement among democrats. However, the regime's manoeuvres betray its growing difficulties as it tries to preserve the political status quo in the face of an active if motley opposition. Even so, we have no reason for complacency, since the Duvalier dictatorship may well give way to other forms of government that would perpetuate a regime docilely meeting the interests of foreign capital.

At the moment, some oppositional groups pursuing tactical aims of their own are seeking nothing but a reform of state power. They are only interested in definite provisions of the Constitution and insist on abrogating some of its articles and fully respecting others. This is true of Article 106, which legalises life-long presidency and is rejected by the entire opposition and, on the other hand, of Article 43, which recognises the right to form trade unions and political organisations and is backed by the opposition; it was grossly violated by the anti-communist law passed on November 28, 1969. The whole opposition constantly refers to this article in upholding its demand for civil freedoms. The debates which the more active part of the population is carrying on over various constitutional provisions are a further confirmation of the influence of the opposition and its hostility to that anachronism, hereditary one-man rule. Nevertheless, we must admit that legal and institutional problems, for all their importance and the political obligations imposed by them, are far from expressing the essence of the changes needed to really and comprehensively democratise life in Haiti.

Is There a Way Out?

Our party, analysing the problem of democracy, always links its solution to the realities of social development. In this way we want to clear up an issue deliberately confused by bourgeois political quarters concerned with only nominal democracy. Communists assess the content of the democratic movement primarily in terms of the working people's interests. Hence the task of the UPHC as the vanguard of the working class is to ensure even now conscious participation of the working people in the struggle for democracy and seek in today's climate tangible gains in the area of civil rights.

The proletarian sections of society are the main victim of the arbitrary rule and disfranchisement brought on by Duvalierism. This expresses itself in chronic lawlessness (which hits all working people) but above all in the most merciless exploitation encouraged by the pro-imperialist dictatorship. The National Office for the Promotion of Industry, which is functioning as a research institute in the service of the employers and imperialist investors, points out in all its investigations the 'competitive' value of Haitian labour power in comparison with that of other countries of the region. This is because not a single trade union freedom is respected in Haiti. The same organisation notes that the trade unions are almost non-existent in the country, a reality which it considers favourable to foreign investment. The government and the employers jointly adopt repressive measures against workers and trade unions; they allow none but employers' organisations.³ Lately the state has

even agreed to make up for the losses incurred by bankrupt private enterprises.⁴ The regime's helplessness in the economic sphere and the crisis of the whole imperialist system, which has a disastrous impact on the situation in Haiti, tend to increase inflation, unemployment, hunger, corruption and poverty. Popular actions in defence of their demands, which repressive forces hasten to represent as 'Communist intrigues', demonstrate the devotion of the UPHC to the interests of proletarian sectors. As for the government's recurrent attacks on our movement, they are an indirect admission of this fact.

In these circumstances democratisation has anything but symbolic meaning for the working class and other disinherited groups. To bring it about, the people must organise politically and in trade unions, make social and political demands and generally carry out actions conducive to national and social progress. The broad political alliances that are needed so badly must be completely clear about the prospects of the struggle for the working people's interests. This will undoubtedly help unfold the political potential of the progressive movement in general and the UPHC as the working people's party in particular.

Taking a Stand

The most manifest proof of the failure of Duvalierism is mounting unemployment (in the capital it affects nearly 60 per cent of economically active inhabitants), dire poverty among all working people and the regime's absolute inability to meet the people's minimum requirements for housing, health care, education, and so on.

The people pin their hopes for change on a government that could solve precisely these urgent problems. It follows that democratic organisations should not only fight for the restoration of political freedoms but show in criticising the present state of affairs their ability to lead the country along a new road.

We consider it important to take an explicit stand on the government's industrial policy, which only favours subcontracts in association with US big capital. The main enterprises of the country now employ nearly 54,000 workers whose jobs are in no way secure and whose fate depends entirely on unilateral economic or political decisions made by the USA.

Official policy comes down to adjusting the 'industrialisation' of Haiti to the requirements of imperialism. This situation also suits the domestic bourgeoisie, which benefits from it because the dictatorship maintains unlimited exploitation of the working people. Labour power is the only national factor in the production sphere, for Haiti is supplied with semi-finished products which it merely subjects to additional processing. The surplus value created under the system of subcontracts—it amounts to 27 per cent of the value of the output re-exported to the US market—and the workers' meagre wages are evidence of the huge profits derived by the employers. From the point of view of economic development, subcontracts under imperialist domination and dictatorial rule are ineffective. Even a bourgeois democratic revolution is unable to bring about any radical changes.

There is also the problem of taking a stand on President Reagan's 'Caribbean initiative', which provides for increased control of the region's every economic sphere, primarily agriculture, on the part of US financial capital. Under the pretext of specialisation, it is planned to introduce a 'new division of labour' at the level of Caribbean states—technocrats call it 'lending dynamism to trade' with the USA. Haiti is to play the role of a producer and exporter of fruit and vegetables. The projected re-equipment of agriculture is to be geared to monopolising land and financial resources and to concentrating them in the hands of a small group of businessmen and speculators. With profit as their only aim, they strive to ship all the output they get to the US market, to those who bid most, with the result that the working population, whose purchasing capacity is negligible compared with US

citizens' is doomed to hunger.

To take a correct stand on the economic pseudo-liberalism of the Duvalier and Reagan governments today means seeking the restoration of control over exports and the formation of internal prices for consumer goods with due regard to the working people's requirements. In 1980 prices nearly trebled in comparison with 1971. The cost of living index leapt from 110.4 (1970=100) to 277.3, or grew by an annual average of 10.8 per cent. Since then the situation has deteriorated, for inflation reached 17.8 per cent in 1980 and has gone on rising.

Furthermore, this kind of 'specialisation' threatens Haiti with complete dependence on the northern neighbour for food because in recent years the export of food staples from the United States has substantially increased. Meanwhile their production in our country has been steadily falling off; in 1979 and 1980 it dwindled as follows: rice, 9 per cent, beans, 11.27, maize, 8.32 and millet, 14.84 per cent.⁵ To supply the population out of our own resources and effectively resist food blackmail, used as a means of political pressure, it is necessary to firmly resist Duvalier's current measures in agriculture. The only acceptable way of meeting our national interests is to modernise agriculture and achieve a productivity level making it possible to satisfy the needs of the population and the requirements of foreign trade. This is out of the question unless an end is put to the harmful practice of leasing large public estates to rich private individuals for a song and unless the rural commune renounces sharecropping as an outdated system.

This calls for a revision of the rules of the National Bank for Agricultural and Industrial Development now in force, since this bank only finances big owners supplying export products and grants no credits for the modernisation of agriculture to small owners' cooperatives.

Reagan's 'Caribbean initiative', which the Haitian oppositional press has exposed in sufficient measure, also provides for the closure of public and mixed enterprises. Duvalier is implementing its directives to the best of his abilities. After the failure of the National Transport Company, we witnessed an equally big failure in the case of SODEXOL, the firm mentioned earlier. Unable to normalise the operation of the State Tobacco Department, whose function is to supply and control the home market, the government dissolved it under US pressure, on the plea of respecting 'commercial freedom'. As regards public opinion, it accused this agency of deriving substantial profits that were not taxed and were mostly pocketed by high-ranking officials of the regime and led to greater corruption.

The demand for publicity in the management of state-owned enterprises which we advance to put an end to embezzlement and legalised theft has never implied, however, that the UPHC declares for abolishing the public sector. The profits made by this sector over the years could have been used for increasing investment and provide the state with means for the gradual solution of the acute social problems of the disinherited.

The democratic opposition wants to pave the way for social progress. It realises that national dignity cannot be preserved by selling out the health services, public education and food supply to 66 foreign 'charity' organisations (nearly all of them 'made in USA'). The fact that Haiti's political and diplomatic relations as well as its trade with other countries are under rigid imperialist control in no way meets the nation's interests. None but open and mutually beneficial ties with all the countries of the world on the basis of extensive international cooperation could guarantee Haitian society's advance.

Measures to liquidate public enterprises and 'reorganise' agriculture plus the current harmful export practice have been imposed by the IMF. Haiti is now reaping the fruits of the economic policy of the seventies, when the regime freely took loans from Wall Street moneybags, with the result that the foreign debt reached a figure

extraordinary for our small country. Indeed, every year Haiti pays one quarter of its budget appropriations to foreign creditors in compliance with the will of the IMF.⁶ The obvious aim of the IMF is to create infrastructures in various economic fields (communications, electricity, land reclamation) in order to ensure foreign penetration into them at minimum cost. It is absolutely impossible to pay the foreign debt, which now equals roughly two-thirds of the gross domestic product. IMF demands which undermine the very foundations of the Haitian economy and doom the people to hunger are ultimately a result of the regime's utter economic incompetence, frightful venality and vassal dependence on imperialism dictated by class interests. The IMF today squeezes a maximum of funds out of Haiti in interest payments on loans taken from imperialist financial sharks. The paying is done by the working people and even a notable section of the bourgeoisie.

Without renouncing its demands for deep-going economic and social changes oriented to socialism, our party has put forward a minimum programme to unite the broadest possible patriotic and democratic forces who have a vital stake in positive changes.

Marx was right when he wrote that 'every step of real movement is more important than a dozen programmes'.⁷ However, it is essential to indicate even now realistic paths to change in order to enable the truly democratic forces to initiate an important stage in the life of the country, a stage heralding political and social development and a renaissance of popular sovereignty and national dignity.

It is on this basis that Haiti's Communists are going to work hard in order to bring the population into the political struggle necessitated by the situation. A task facing the UPHC and democrats generally is to ensure that the workers and peasants do not stay out of this struggle and to prevent imperialism's underlings engaged in political intrigues from using the working people as a tool for the imposition of new dictatorships of the same anti-national character as today's.

¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 487.

² So named after the dictator, Jean-Claude Duvalier.—*Ed.*

³ The employers' organisations existing in Haiti are the Chamber of Commerce of Haiti, Industrial Association of Haiti and Haitian-American Chamber of Commerce. The government systematically consults them on all measures relating to trade, industry, taxation and wages.

⁴ Following the recent bankruptcy of SODEXOL (a producer of vegetable oil), which owed 20 million dollars, the state took part in the liquidation of the firm and agreed to pay all its debts.

⁵ *Le Nouvelliste*, July 24, 1984, p. 3.

⁶ In the current fiscal year, nearly 260 million gourdes out of a budgeted total of 1,080 million gourdes is to be spent on paying the foreign debt (one gourde is worth 20 cents), according to a report submitted by the Haitian Minister of Finance. See *Matin*, August 24, 1984.

⁷ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 3, p. 11.

The Elections and the Political Struggle in India

Narayana Kalyana Krishnan – Central Executive Committee member and Secretary of the National Council of the Communist Party of India

THE general elections in India held at the end of December 1984 resulted in a big victory for the ruling Indian National Congress(I) Party. This party secured just over 49 per cent of the total votes polled and nearly 80 per cent of the seats. Out of 508 seats of the Lok Sabha (House of the People—lower chamber of the Indian Parliament) for which elections were held, the Congress(I) won 401 seats.¹

The reactionary communal Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), as well as the rest of the bourgeois opposition parties, suffered a severe defeat in this election. Also the representation of the Left, including the CPI and the CPI (Marxist), has sharply come down.

What were the factors that led to this unprecedented electoral success of the Congress(I)?

The tragic assassination of the late Prime Minister Indira Gandhi brought about an abrupt and sharp change in the political situation in the country. The entire political psyche in India underwent a complete change in the wake of this assassination. The assassination itself came following most serious and tragic developments in the state of Punjab. For months on end terrorist gangs of the Sikh fundamentalist extremist Bhindranwale had kept Punjab in their grip and had gone on a killing spree. All this while a so-called separatist 'Khalistan' Government was openly functioning from the USA and Britain. Its spokesmen were publicly inciting violence through BBC and other imperialist mass media. There are authentic reports that the Punjab terrorists have been receiving training in the territory of Pakistan with the knowledge and connivance of the military dictatorship of that country. The CIA had played a big hand in this whole conspiracy aimed at the destabilisation of India. It was in this background that the Indian Government had to send the army into action in Punjab under the operation code-named 'Operation Blue Star'. The army action ferreted out the separatist terrorists who had ensconced themselves inside the Sikh Golden Temple in Amritsar and elsewhere in Punjab. The army action also unearthed a huge accumulation of sophisticated arms, including some of foreign make. Particularly after the 'Operation Blue Star', the Khalistani leaders had begun openly calling for the murder of Indira Gandhi, as well as some other Indian Government leaders and during all these months the moderate leaders of the Sikh Akali Party did not differentiate their stand from that of the extremist nor did they come out condemning the wanton killings indulged in by the terrorists.

Coming as Indira Gandhi's assassination did as a high point of these developments, it made the people sharply aware of the developing threat to the unity and security of India. The imperialist conspiracy for the destabilisation of India and the collusion of imperialism with internal reaction and separatist forces were all too transparent to be missed by the Indian people. It is significant that just about a fortnight before the general elections had come the exposure of a report published in the USA recently, a study which purported to go in depth into a situation that might follow in India in case Indira Gandhi suddenly disappeared from the scene. The significance of this publication was sharply commented upon by the Left press. The imperialist and CIA role behind the assassination of Indira Gandhi could clearly be discerned from this and other developments.

It needs to be emphasised that these developments were taking place in the background of the massive US military build-up of the Zia dictatorship of Pakistan and the encircling of India by US imperialism through militarisation of the Indian Ocean and open backing to hostile reactionary military regimes around India. All these things produced an acute awareness among the Indian people about the heightened external and internal threats facing the country.

In such a situation, the overriding concern of the Indian people naturally centred upon the defence of the unity, integrity and security of the country. This justifiably became the central political factor in the parliamentary general elections. Hence the question arose: which party could be relied upon to safeguard the unity, integrity and security of the country in the given context? In the absence of a viable Left and democratic national alternative, the Indian people saw only the Congress(I) as a force of this kind. Therefore, there was a massive swing towards the Congress(I). The high-powered and aggressive campaign of the Congress(I) leadership, particularly of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, that his party alone was capable of safeguarding the country's unity and security did make a big impact on the people's consciousness. As the election review of the National Council of the Communist Party of India points out, 'In brief the urge for the nation's unity and security powerfully influenced the swing in public opinion in the December Lok Sabha poll. A 'sympathy wave' was also generated, especially among women voters.' It is a fact that very wide sections of the people felt deeply indignant over the dastardly murder of the late Prime Minister.

The bourgeois opposition parties in the main missed to take note of this deep concern among the people. Quite apart from the fact that they could not even present a united list of candidates—major bourgeois opposition parties like the BJP, Dalit Mazdoor Kisan Party (DMKP), Janata Party and others were fighting among themselves—nor present a coherent alternative political platform, they belittled the imperialist challenge facing the country and were indifferent to the concern felt by the people on this score. Some of the pro-imperialist elements among them were even declaring in their campaign speeches that the threat to the unity and security of the country was non-existent and was a mere bogey invented by the Congress(I). The people naturally could not be expected to trust such leaders with the task of forming a government of the country. Their slogan calling for the formation of a coalition government at the Centre, therefore, could not cut ice with the people. Now, after their defeat at the poll also many of the bourgeois opposition parties do not seem to have grasped this essential aspect of the outcome of the election. They attribute the massive Congress(I) victory mainly to the undemocratic electoral practices the ruling party indulged in.

Undoubtedly the Congress(I) misused the mass media and the administrative machinery on an extensive scale; outright rigging and money power was resorted to on a wide scale in states like Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. The Communists and the democratic opposition will have to seriously ponder over how to face and overcome this menace to the democratic electoral process. The CPI has once again clearly come out for radical electoral reforms and for the introduction of a system of proportional representation. After all, the existing electoral system follows the British pattern and only serves to formalise injustice. Suffice it to recall that while the Congress(I) Party secured just over 49 per cent of the votes polled, it was able to capture 80 per cent of the seats in Parliament. But it is an undeniable fact, however, that the Congress(I) victory in the election cannot be basically attributed to these malpractices which played only a secondary role.

The CPI and the CPI(Marxist) in their election campaign sharply focused attention on the danger to the country's unity, integrity and security coming from the imperialists' conspiracy to destabilise India. We sharply highlighted the role of US imperialists and of the CIA in Punjab, Assam and the North East and in the

developments leading up to the assassination of Indira Gandhi. But in the face of the high-powered propaganda distorting the position of the Left, our campaign did not always reach the masses. Besides, the Left parties together were contesting only 135 seats in the whole country and, therefore, no Left democratic alternative was present there as a viable alternative before the people. In such a situation the swing towards the Congress(I) also affected the traditional Communist strongholds in some cases.

The massive Congress(I) victory came as a surprise to many political observers in the country—whether they belonged to the ruling party or the opposition. In fact, one of the Cabinet Ministers of the Indira Gandhi Government had himself earlier publicly expressed his apprehension as to whether the Congress(I) would win a majority in the impending election. This was not without a serious basis. In the two years up to the middle of 1984 the developing trend had indicated a gradual erosion of the political base of the Congress(I). In a number of state assembly elections in 1982-1983, the ruling party had failed to obtain a majority and non-Congress(I) governments had come into existence. Similarly the Congress(I) lost a series of bye-elections also. The attempts to topple and the toppling of some non-Congress(I) state governments, making use of the Governors appointed by the Centre, were in total violation of parliamentary democratic norms and they invited wide protests all over the country. The dismissal of the Andhra State Chief Minister N.T. Rama Rao led to a mighty mass upsurge against that action in Andhra Pradesh and throughout the country which compelled the Centre to reinstate the dismissed Chief Minister.

The last two years also witnessed some of the biggest united working class actions in some of which the Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC) led by the Congress(I) also participated. Such were the all-India dock workers' strike, strikes of the electricity workers in many states, protest actions of the coal-miners, the textile workers' strike in Bombay, etc. These actions also indicated a certain disillusionment with the Government's policies even among workers led by the INTUC. Similarly, discontent in the countryside, both among the peasantry and the agricultural workers and the rural poor were gradually on the increase. Despite better harvests in the last couple of years, the mass of the peasantry suffered due to the absence of remunerative prices for their produce. Inflation and price-rise were going on uncurbed, as also mass unemployment. It is these factors taken together which found reflection in the gradual erosion of Congress(I) influence.

Coming as the last Lok Sabha elections did in this background, the possibility that the ruling party might fail to win an absolute majority could not be ruled out normally as non-existent. The BJP and other bourgeois opposition parties were working on the lines of forging an all-in unity of non-Communist non-Congress(I) opposition parties to present an alternative to the Congress(I). But our party made it absolutely clear that the basic problems of the country could not be solved by replacing the Congress(I) Government by a government of another bourgeois combination which, in this case, may prove even more retrograde in several respects. The party maintained its stand that a Left democratic alternative was the urgent need in the situation. The CPI set forth the broad outlines of an alternative set of policies for such an alternative government. It conducted a sustained campaign against the idea of a so-called all-in opposition unity and opposed the reactionary pro-imperialist parties and elements.

The CPI and the CPI(Marxist) had participated in several opposition parties' meetings referred to in our country as 'opposition conclaves'. Four of these were held in the last two years in Vijayvada, Delhi, Srinagar and Calcutta. Many of the bourgeois opposition parties sought to forge an all-in opposition unity through these conclaves. But our party has consistently been working to prevent this forum being used for such a purpose. We sought to isolate the BJP and in these conclaves strove to forge and project democratic solutions to some of the major problems facing the

country. We worked in concert with the CPI(Marxist). Some success was achieved in keeping the BJP out of these conclaves and in working out consensus solutions on questions such as the Punjab problem and Centre-State relations.

In this way the party was trying to forge links with the masses following the opposition parties, orient them along democratic lines and foiling the efforts of the bourgeois opposition parties to forge all-in opposition unity as an alternative to the Congress(I). On the eve of the elections there was an effort to forge all-in opposition unity against the Congress(I) made by the Andhra Chief Minister. The CPI and the CPI(Marxist) publicly opposed this move and the idea was abandoned.

This definite orientation of the party determined its election tactics also. The National Council of the party firmly held that while the Congress(I) Government had to be replaced if the burning problems of the country are to be solved effectively, the 1977 model of bourgeois alternative would not bring about such a solution. Hence, the party ruled out an alternative government at the Centre as an unrealistic slogan in the December election.

In this situation what the party would aim at in this election was winning of the largest number of seats for itself and for the other Left, democratic parties and elements. It would seek to reduce the number of Congress(I) seats in the Lok Sabha. At the same time, it would work for the defeat of the BJP and other reactionary forces. Within this framework of approach the National Council of the party decided that the CPI would not join or support any front which restricted its political independence in any way.

We could arrive at electoral alliances in West Bengal, Tripura and Kerala only. There were some seat adjustments in Andhra Pradesh, Tamilnadu, Karnataka and Maharashtra. But in the Hindi-speaking states in general the party was virtually fighting alone without any alliances.

In our election campaign we focused attention against imperialism and internal reaction and against the retrograde policies of the Congress(I) Government and emphasised the necessity of strengthening the Left democratic contingent in the Lok Sabha. The National Council review of the party's election campaign, however, has self-critically noted that 'there were some lapses as we were not always prompt and particular in demarcating ourselves from, and when necessary, sharply criticising, the erroneous and retrograde viewpoints and actions expressed on occasions by certain opposition parties'.

While the Congress(I) generally won a big victory on a countrywide scale, there were exceptions to this wave in Andhra Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir and Sikkim. In these states, along with the concern for the country's unity and security, people's anger against the undemocratic actions of the Congress(I) Central Governments was still very much alive. This explains the somewhat different outcome in these states where the Congress(I) was defeated.

That the reactionary communal and rightist forces were thoroughly defeated in the election is a positive outcome. But, it is also necessary to note that the mass base of the reactionary BJP is still not to be ignored. It secured seven per cent of the votes and came second in some 100 constituencies it contested. But the hopes of knocking together a right-oriented alternative have suffered a fiasco.

The Left has also suffered some reverses. CPI representation in the Lok Sabha was reduced from 13 to 6 and of the CPI(Marxist) from 36 to 22. It is true that the votes polled by the CPI and the CPI(Marxist) have increased in absolute terms, as compared with 1980. Both parties together polled over 20 million votes this time. But in the context of increased percentage of poll and the massive votes polled by the Congress(I), this cannot be considered very significant. What is of more serious significance is the setback suffered by the Left in the traditional Communist strongholds of West Bengal and Kerala. In West Bengal, though the rural

constituencies withstood the pro-Congress(I) wave, several Calcutta and urban working class constituencies were lost by the Left Front to the Congress(I). In Kerala the Left Democratic Front could win only three seats out of 20 in the state. Our party, as well as the CPI(M) have self-critically analysed the election results and are going into the subjective and objective factors underlying the reverses suffered by the Left and drawing necessary lessons.

The massive Congress(I) victory does not invalidate the slogan of a Left democratic alternative. The factors that gave rise to this slogan continue to exist—above all, the crisis of the capitalist path of development and its attendant consequences. In this context only a Left and democratic alternative can show the way out of the crisis to the people. Our party considers that this calls for strengthening the unity of the entire Left and particularly unity of action between the CPI and the CPI(Marxist). Despite negative factors and recurring difficulties in the relations between the two parties (which manifested themselves even during this election), the process of the CPI and the CPI(Marxist) coming closer in action has been progressing steadily, though slowly, during the last few years. We are of the opinion that this process of unity between our two parties and forces of the Left as a whole should be strengthened to enable us to intervene effectively in the political developments, to defend the living standards of the masses and to safeguard the unity and security of the country from the conspiracies of imperialism and internal divisive forces.

The question now arises: How does our party view the new Government of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi? We realise that it has come to power on a massive mandate from the people. People entertain high hopes in this Government. They expect it to act to mitigate their misery and improve their living conditions. Besides, acute and outstanding problems like Punjab, Assam, Centre-State relations, etc. remain to be solved. In the post-election period, therefore, the Rajiv Gandhi Government has the mandate and an opportunity to seriously grapple with people's problems. To the extent the Government devotes its attention to these, there will be a positive response from our party. We will also intervene with our concrete proposals and constructive suggestions and will mobilise the masses for implementing such suggestions.

Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's declarations emphasising that the Government will firmly pursue the foreign policy of peace, non-alignment and friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and fight for the prevention of a nuclear war have been warmly welcomed in the country. Our party considers that such vital questions as unity and integrity of the country, fighting the danger of external aggression and the movement for preservation of world peace are issues of common concern for all patriotic, anti-imperialist and secular democratic forces, including those inside the Congress(I). We will, therefore, strive to arrive at consensus among all these forces on these questions. Every policy initiative and positive measure taken by the Government on these vital issues will receive support and cooperation from us. We will try to mobilise mass action so that such positive steps are initiated and to involve the masses in implementing them.

Similarly, we will mobilise intervention of the people to resist the weaknesses, vacillations and slidebacks on these issues. The party sees possibilities of cooperation in these spheres of a wide spectrum of political and social forces, including vast sections inside the Congress(I). We will seek and use all opportunities for such cooperation.

However, there is no denying the fact that the social, economic and political problems arising out of the crisis of the capitalist path of development in our country remain as acute as ever and are likely to get accentuated in the future. In such an overall context, our party will play the role of a Left opposition and will continue to fight all anti-people, anti-democratic and pro-vested interests policies of the Government and mobilise mass support to struggle for alternative anti-monopoly democratic policies.

The election results have once again underlined the utmost urgency of intensifying the party's independent image, political work and mass activity. We will pay more attention to consolidating the existing bases of the party politically and ideologically through a process of mass political activity. We will also strive to expand to new areas and newer sections of the masses so that they see our party as a real alternative to the various bourgeois groupings. With this orientation the party will intensify day to day work among the basic masses and organise and lead their struggles so that they secure relief and their class consciousness is deepened. We consider it extremely essential to project and campaign for the party's viewpoints on all issues of social, economic and political life and conduct independent political and ideological struggle against positions and actions of reactionary, communal, pro-imperialist parties and forces. The party will concentrate on expanding and consolidating the mass organisations and ideologically winning over the working class, peasantry, women and youth.

In order to orient correctly the entire work of the party, the CPI will project a concrete alternative socio-economic programme that can solve the urgent and acute problems engendered by the crisis of the capitalist path. Our party will seek the cooperation of the CPI(Marxist) and other Left parties for hammering out such a concrete programme. On the basis of such a programme, the party will work for the unity of the Left, which will be the rallying point for all democratic forces. As the election review of the National Council of the CPI emphasises, 'only the creation of a powerful and united Left, leading countrywide mass movements on economic and social demands, as well as on political issues like the defence of the democratic institutions, of national unity and security, can pave the way towards the emergence of a Left and democratic alternative'.

¹ The Lok Sabha has a total of 544 seats. However, elections could not be held in the states of Punjab and Assam due to unsettled conditions, and in a few more constituencies in some other states. Hence the reduced number of seats for which elections were held.

Realities of Socialism **PROMOTING INITIATIVE** Travel Notes from Bulgaria

Bert Ramelson – representative of the Communist Party of Great Britain on the WMR, member of the WMR Editorial Board

Donald Ramotar – Executive Committee member, Central Committee, People's Progressive Party of Guyana, member of the WMR Editorial Council

Raja Collure – Political Bureau alternate member, Central Committee, Communist Party of Sri Lanka, member of the WMR Editorial Council

Marina Pavlova-Silvanskaya – WMR staff member

IN recent years, social security issues have become increasingly 'burning' problems for working people in capitalist and developing countries: the conservative and reactionary forces are trying to launch an offensive and win back the concessions they made in the past.

In the world of capital, the term 'social policy' always has a bitter aftertaste of charity, of something doled out to the poor. In socialist countries, the term covers everything that is connected with the well-being of the people, with the distribution of income, with consumption, housing, health care, etc. The purpose of our trip to Bulgaria was to take a closer look at the social policy of the BCP, all the more so because a special resolution on this issue was recently adopted there. We saw many facets of life in Bulgaria: our trip took us not only to the capital but also to other, smaller cities and towns, to industrial and agricultural enterprises. We talked to workers, to party officials and economic managers at different levels. We wrote this article to try and record our impressions.

In the Name of Social Justice

The principle aspects of the party's social policy began to emerge with particular clarity in 1972, after a plenary meeting of the BCP Central Committee specially devoted to the raising of the people's living standard. In the Sofia City Committee of the BCP we were told that at that time, specific figures were set as immediate and long-term targets in that sphere. Since then, steady efforts have been taken to implement these tasks. Over the past decade real incomes have grown 50 per cent. Average wages have increased from 125 levs in 1972 to 202 levs,¹ and the average pension, from 38 to 82 levs. Developing even more rapidly were the various benefits, services and discounts citizens receive from the government—in addition to their wages and salaries—in the form of free education and medical care, bonuses to parents and the like—from 320 to 770 levs per person per year (an increase of almost 150 per cent).

In April 1984, the BCP Central Committee, the PRB Council of Ministers, the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, the National Council of the Fatherland Front and the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Young Communist League adopted a new decision—a sizable package of social measures. G. Georgiev, first secretary of the BCP Sofia City Committee, told us that in that decision, four major objectives could be singled out. The first is to noticeably increase the salaries, wages and social prestige of engineers, technicians, science workers and skilled industrial workers—those who determine the rates of technological progress. Recent graduates were given particularly substantial raises. The second is to improve the financial position of teachers and medical care workers. The third is to stimulate the birth rate

which is now rather low in Bulgaria.² The fourth is to raise the living standard of pensioners.

Implementation of the decision is estimated to require an additional annual total of one billion levs appropriated from the national budget alone. But the actual rise in the living standards will be even higher since the decision broadens the rights of local councils and individual enterprises to make payments for social purposes from their budgets and various funds.

We were told that the growth of the people's well-being was not confined to these sums alone. Under the decision, raises are given mostly to government employees earning fixed salaries. Meanwhile, for several years now Bulgaria's entire system of remuneration in the sphere of material production has been based on the so-called residual income principle: an enterprise pays the state and the credit agencies the sums due them under the law, forms its own funds, and then pays remuneration to the workers—the more effective their work and the greater the profit it has produced, the bigger the payment. This means that wages and salaries depend primarily on how enterprising and well-managed the economic effort is.

Naturally, we were interested to learn if the workers could bring about a marked increase in the size of the funds to be distributed and what say the collective had in their distribution. In one of the shops of the Sofia Metalcutting Tools Works we discussed this with members of a team producing parts for numerically controlled machine-tools. The workers answered our questions readily; they immediately showed us all the necessary paper-work so as to explain things better to us. B. Simov, a fitter, and D. Mikhov, a grinder, told us that the Works' economic managers set overall plan targets and then the team, a self-governing entity, drew up the plan in detail, in accordance with its possibilities and latent capacities. This, essentially is the stage at which the workers begin to generally determine the level of their future earnings.

A team council of three members (team leader and two workers) monitors fulfilment of the production plan. The team leader is neither an overseer nor even strictly, a manager. Receiving his powers from the team, he is the elected organiser of the work process, and he himself does much of the physical work involved.

We were then told that a meeting of all team members (this meeting is the team's highest body making decisions on all production matters) sets an individual coefficient for each worker, reflecting his contribution to the overall output. Distribution of the income is invariably geared to this ratio. The Bulgarian comrades believe that this is both democratic and just: first, who but the workers themselves is better equipped to know how hard this or that job is, what skills each of them possesses—in actual fact and not on paper—who is more conscientious, who is somewhat less diligent, etc. Second, this enables people to act on their own views of what remuneration is.

The workers can also influence production and distribution at the next level of management, that of their factory as an economic unit. Let us explain that by citing the example of the Radomir heavy engineering works which we visited. Here—as at every enterprise in Bulgaria—an economic council is elected; at Radomir, it is composed of 29 people and chaired by the director general. The rule is that half the council members should be workers. The council has a great say in charting the future development of production and in making all major decisions, including those concerning the social field, housing, services, culture, etc. Should the council's views differ from those of the management, the case is reviewed at the next level and solved jointly by the ministry and the trade union of the industry in question.

You can deduce the scope of the works' social efforts from the following statements.

K. Siromakhov, deputy director general: "We draw no line separating the

problems of the works from those of Radomir, where 70 per cent of our employees will eventually live. While our works is under construction, the city receives a percentage of our capital investment. After that, the city's share will be three per cent of our profits—a sizable sum, considering that we are to become the biggest industrial project of our kind in the Balkans and one of the biggest in Europe. Last year, the amount invested in the city's development already exceeded the investment level of the two previous five-year periods. We do a lot to help Radomir's services and cultural network."

M. Sharenkov, chairman of the trade union committee: "The sum of 106 million leva has been earmarked to meet our workers' social requirements. Three first-aid stations have already been built, a clinic is planned, and special shops and services will be opened in each of the 17 workshops of our giant works."

The economic council takes part in the tackling of these important issues. In other words, a democratic mechanism has been built into the economic management system at the microlevel; this mechanism enables the workers to be active in the management of production at all stages—from planning to the distribution of income—and thus in the implementation of social policy.

At the macrolevel of the nation, Bulgaria's social policy discharges a regulatory function which, as S. Mikhailov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, told us, serves to enhance social justice. "This is a very important question," he emphasised. "The party's principle is that under socialism, remuneration should be differentiated and that the differences may on occasion even deepen with time." "The considerable 'scissors' between minimum and maximum wages and salaries are fully justified," he added, "because the scientific and technological revolution makes the degree of the complexity of work highly graduated. There are top-level experts, and there are those whose training is insufficient and who perform the most elementary jobs. We are dead set against reducing everyone to the same level, but we also believe that the differences should not reach too far; otherwise this may come into conflict with the people's view of social justice. For example, the obvious discrepancy in the remuneration of teachers and doctors compared to other occupations has been recently eliminated; the gap between wages and salaries on the one hand and pensions on the other, a gap that is constantly re-emerging, even though at a new level, has been reduced."

The picture of the way in which social policy is shaped and implemented in Bulgaria will be incomplete if we do not mention the role trade unions play at the micro- and macrolevel. "Here we exercise our influence through a variety of channels," G. Yevgeniev, deputy chairman of the Bulgarian Trade Union Central Council and chairman of the Committee on Labour and Social Questions, told us. "Trade unions indirectly help to raise wages and salaries by conducting exchanges of advanced experience, occupational training and retraining and by organising socialist emulation. Besides, trade unions discharge direct social functions too. Take, for example, public catering for wage and salary earners at the place of work. Or take our health resorts: each year, two million people spend their vacation there, and a person pays only 42 leva per two weeks; that's only for the meals, the rest is financed by the trade unions. Finally, there is a very important sphere the state has given us full powers to control—that of working conditions and labour protection. A trade union's recommendations in this sphere are mandatory—even if, for reasons of safety, the union demands a halt to the operation of an entire workshop or factory, let alone a single machine-tool. Such incidents do occur, and the managers are taken to court for each gross violation of the rules. You can also judge the extent of the legal powers of the unions by the fact that they can veto a decision of the management should it run counter to the workers' interests. Moreover, no agency may approach the government on a matter concerning the people's well-being without first securing the

agreement of the trade unions."

Can Small Things Be Dispensed With?

'Without stores offering a great selection of goods there can be no viable social policy,' our Bulgarian comrades told us. Indeed, the BCP attaches great attention to the development and highest possible efficiency of the consumer and food industry in Bulgaria. Small and medium-size enterprises are set up to produce deluxe goods increasingly in demand. Of the four of us, those who have been to Sofia before hold that the stores offering consumer goods look more attractive—first and foremost, this is true of clothes, sporting goods and cosmetics.

"In recent years," S. Mikhailov said, "the problem of quality has become very acute for our industry, including light industry. And the reason is not confined to the competitiveness of our goods on foreign markets, although, of course, this is extremely important to us too. The time is past when we were dealing with the elementary needs of poor, illiterate Bulgarians. Our people have a lot of money, and the requirements of our families are met increasingly fully. Today, each young man and woman receives a secondary education. The number of those skilled in foreign languages is growing rapidly; out of our population of nine million, 800,000 people go abroad every year to see the world; besides, consider now many people from all over the globe come to our country. Bulgarians are indifferent buyers no longer, they are becoming ever more demanding in their choice of goods and want them to be up to the world's best standards, to follow the latest fashions. As a result, some of our products cannot be sold on the domestic market. For example, the stores are full of footwear, but its appearance sometimes leaves much to be desired. Therefore, our party and government have set the goal of considerably improving the quality of goods and services."

We saw that there are no food shortages in Bulgaria, but, in our view, food stores look less attractive than those offering industrial consumer goods. We realise that an adjustment should be made for the national habits: for example, Bulgarians eat less meat than West Europeans, preferring cheese, sheep's milk cheese and other dairy products. Each family preserves, in one way or another, its ties to the village, the source of fresh fruit and vegetables. They say that no self-respecting Bulgarian housewife would buy canned food: each makes her own preserves for the winter, according to the recipes inherited from her mother or grandmother. All this is true, all this is the Bulgarian way of life, and still the stores could offer a wider selection of foods.

The party and government are doing much to change this. But it calls for sizable expenditures and patience, and while a cardinal solution to the problem is still a matter of the future, another course is being pursued, described as self-reliance. Essentially, this refers to a system of food supply. It, too, can be regarded as an element of social policy in the broad sense of the term. As the Bulgarian comrades have told us, self-reliance is an umbrella concept covering a variety of measures.

First, the structure of food supply has changed. While previously food was distributed through centralised government stocks, today all districts and areas are to use their own resources to ensure production of enough staple foods to feed their own population. Produce in short supply is purchased by the local bodies in other areas under contracts concluded in advance with the agro-industrial complexes (AICs) there. This means that one can no longer blame a higher authority for not delivering something. Now you simply have to be efficient and, if you fail, you will answer to the voters. In short, responsibility for the supply of food has been shifted one or two steps downward; the stake is now on the promotion of local initiative.

Second, food-raising on personal plots is encouraged. Essentially, this is no novelty because this situation has been in existence since the establishment of the very first

agricultural labour cooperatives. The setting up of AICs did not affect this tradition, they continue to help peasants to raise stock at home. For example, we have been told that in Staraya Zagora, personal plots provide 40 per cent of the meat, 25 per cent of the milk and 15 to 17 per cent of the eggs produced—all this without additional capital construction financed by the AIC or the state.

Third, each city dweller can apply for and be issued a small plot of land (up to ten ares). As a rule, it is a plot of land in the mountains which can be used to grow fruits, vegetables or grapes. After all, it breaks one's heart to see weeds cover previously cultivated land or orchards on the slopes grow old and barren. And if people have fun into the bargain, if they enjoy working the land, so much the better.

We could understand all these three aspects. But the fourth gave rise to questions and doubts. On the first day of our trip we heard that all industrial enterprises and offices in Bulgaria, even the Sofia City Committee of the BCP, have subsidiary farms of their own to raise stock and grow vegetables for the employees. Could it be some sort of subsistence economy? Does it really pay to take skilled industrial and office workers away from their proper jobs? We kept asking these questions at the factories we visited.

We arrived at the Sofia Metalcutting Tools Works, an impressive and modern industrial project with a work force of some 4,000, and asked K. Nikolov, shop manager, and D. Mikhov, grinder, if the works had a subsidiary farm. "Yes, we have," we were told. "150 ares. We grow fresh greens for the factory cafeteria there." Are workers employed in essential production sent there to work the farm? "No, sometimes those who work as helpers go there; we visit the farm very seldom, usually during the holidays, for recreation."

We came to the heavy engineering works at Radomir. Ye. Stankov, party committee secretary, told us: "Yes, we have a subsidiary farm. It is actually a special affiliate of ours, and so, instead of engineering workers, it employs a permanent staff under several agronomists and stockbreeders. We seldom send help there, unless during harvest time, and even then it's a strictly voluntary arrangement."

But, judging from what we were told in the Sofia City Committee of the BCP, many major industrial enterprises and their trade union organisations are now hooked and make wide use of the opportunity. An enterprising director and a vigorous factory union committee (and trade unions are very active in this field) use the subsidiary farm to make the food served in the factory cafeteria taste like homemade meals, to make it varied and wholesome. Of the 435 metropolitan enterprises, 417 have set up subsidiary farms covering an area which totals 867 hectares. Last year they were raising 9,700 swine, 8,800 sheep, 810 cows and a poultry stock of 283,000. This gives the factory cafeterias 70 per cent of their meat. Since some three-quarters of the workers have their lunch at the factories, this accounts for a substantial share of the food supply.

We think that the idea of self-reliance developed approximately as follows: we live in a world of technological progress, and Bulgaria, too, is working vigorously to retool its national industry (we saw that both in Radomir and at the Metalcutting Tools Works in Sofia). But retooling calls for vast resources. How can one combine accumulation and big investments into social production with a steady rise in the living standard? This is the chief strategic problem tackled by the BCP. And so the party aims to continue heavy investment of the nation's resources into raising the people's income and consumption, while at the same time using every 'auxiliary device' available, no matter how small, since they add up to impressive economic totals.

But self-reliance appears to have another, equally important effect: it opens the door to collective and personal initiative and enterprise, so that people do not sit back and wait for the state to offer them everything on a silver platter but so that they

should think what they themselves can already do today.

Red-Brick Cities

After the revolution of September 9, 1944 Bulgaria's industry surged forward. This was followed by rapid urbanisation. When we talked to G. Georgiev, he mentioned the postwar population boom in Sofia: previously a small and quiet city has grown four times its size over 40 years. Today, about twelve per cent of the nation's population live in Sofia. Meanwhile, older houses, we were told in the City Committee, are in such disrepair that some 40 per cent of newly built housing are used merely to compensate for the loss of dilapidated dwellings. The demand for housing is great. In Sofia alone, 16,000 apartments are handed over to new tenants annually—six times what was reported 20 years ago. These figures give an indication of the scope of housing construction, an important element of the BCP's social policy.

We were shown a metropolitan district still under construction—the experimental laboratory of Bulgarian experts in urban development. The particularly interesting thing about the experimental zone is the obvious concern of the planners with social issues. For example, they make provisions for the spread of the automobile: the underground garages with a service station are built on the assumption that 80 per cent of the families living there have cars. Concern over the state of the environment is also evident: stores and shops are 'hidden', garbage collection areas are invisible, etc. Compact ground floor apartments with the doors opening right into a small garden are built for senior citizens. A special building is under construction, with entrances, elevators and stairs designed to accommodate handicapped tenants in wheelchairs. A building with large, two-tiered apartments will house large families.

During the first postwar years Sofia, like a giant vortex, sucked in the landless and the almost landless peasants (covert unemployed exceeded the one million mark at the time). Then it absorbed young, vigorous people from backwater towns and mountain villages, where life gradually came to a standstill while it became increasingly hectic in the big cities. Experts estimated that if this went on, by the year 2000 the entire natural increment of the population would be concentrated in the nation's 30 biggest centres.

The previous model of urbanisation was rejected. It meant disrepair and waste of housing and farm buildings in the abandoned villages, something that was economically unreasonable. But economic considerations were not the only ones involved: old buildings, mountain villages are part of the nation's distinctive image, the heritage and history of the people, the uniquely Bulgarian landscape. How could one allow all this to go to waste?

Faced with this regrettable turn of events, the BCP moved resolutely to expand the scope of its social policy and steered towards a more rational geography of social production and of the population. 'Our party sets great store by an even development of the productive forces throughout the nation,' we were told in the BCP Central Committee. 'Today practically no Bulgarian town or village can be found without an industrial enterprise or workshop.'

We saw that this is indeed true when we went to the Blagoyevgrad District in southwestern Bulgaria, an area with a turbulent history, where the people rose many times against Turkish rule, against the fascist, where the first Bulgarian guerrilla unit was formed to fight against the Nazis.

"It was a land forsaken by God and the Bulgarian tsar," L. Prichkapov, first secretary of the Blagoyevgrad District Committee of the BCP, said. "The tsar forgot the need to develop the country, but he always remembered to hunt down Communists. We started economic and social development here literally from scratch: there was poverty, illiteracy and no industry."

In 1983 the district's industrial output was almost six times bigger than its

agricultural production. "But you won't see smokestacks, the traditional symbol of industry, in our towns, because with us, the leaders are telecommunications, electrical engineering and electronics. Former children of peasants have grown into a working class which copes better and better with sophisticated technologies. Three-quarters of those employed in industry have a secondary, specialised secondary or higher education," the secretary told us with justified pride.

What about the places where new production facilities are to be located? "For several years now we have taken care to avoid excessive concentration of industry in 'select' places. We could, of course, develop district centres further and mass some 150,000 people in each, but we decided that 65,000 should be the limit. People remain where they lived before, and this means that we can use the housing and the social fund of villages and small towns, that there is no need to build so much in the district's centre. It saves money and makes for a healthier way of life."

Each of the 272 villages and towns of the district has at least one school, one store and one medical centre. There is not a single village without electricity or television sets, all are linked to the world around them by highways: the last kilometre was covered with asphalt on the eve of the 40th anniversary of the republic. That is what might be called a bird's-eye view, a view from the district's centre. But we also took a closer look, in the two small towns of Melnik and Sandansk.

By calling them 'small' we appear to imply that they are about the same in size. In actual fact, however, Sandansk has a population of 24,000 while in Melnik, only 300 to 350 people live. The common element is that both are centres of so-called settlement systems in which a town is joined together with several rural communities nearby. This arrangement is devised to concentrate the resources of small communities and to gradually develop social services, transport and communications—not in individual villages but in the entire system.

L. Georgiev, chairman of the executive committee of the community people's council, and B. Dremdzhev, secretary of the BCP community committee, who received us warmly, told us that the Sandansk system numbered 29 communities with a population of 37,000, four factories, including three engineering works, and three local industry projects.

Sandansk is throbbing with life. The Twelfth BCP Congress, held in March and April 1981, decided to turn the town into a tourist attraction on the national and international scale. "If you look at our town from a distance," L. Georgiev said, "it looks red-brick: many houses are being built that have not yet been covered with plaster. There's this poetic song about shining cities you dream about. I am sure that ours will be a shining town too." But many buildings are ready for occupancy even now—for example, an excellent hotel with therapy rooms as good as anywhere in the world (Sandansk, with its mineral springs, will specialise as a health resort).

Very well, this is the centre of a settlement system, and besides, its construction is financed not only from local sources. But how have the satellite villages changed in these five years? L. Georgiev and B. Dremdzhev are again ready to cite facts. Concentration of resources makes it possible to develop these satellites one after another. Here, the primary concern is to supply the villages with water and a telephone network. Some 2,500 people work in Sandansk but live 15 to 16 kilometres away. Good roads and a well-organised transport system stabilise the population: people lead a full life and do not feel inferior because they were born in the country.

As, perhaps, in any southern town, life spills out into the streets in Sandansk on a summer evening. People sit in cosy cafes and stroll about the tree-lined and pleasantly laid-out town centre from which automobiles are barred. A cheerful stream of people flows past the town museum with the ruins of ancient marble columns rising near the sidewalk, right in the open. Two steps past the executive committee building take you into the past. For Sandansk which, tradition has it, was the birthplace of Spartacus,

this is a natural synthesis of past and present.

A. Kosachev, mayor of Melnik, is leading us along narrow, stone-paved bystreets—or are they mountain trails? The steep green slopes of the mountain rise in a semicircle, and about a hundred small houses dot the valley—it looks like at least half of them have been photographed for books on the history of Bulgarian architecture. Wherever you look, there are ancient ruins, some of them worn down to their foundations. They are the sad landmarks of the slow death Melnik, once famous as a viticultural and trade centre, was dying. “We are few,” the mayor says, “about as many as there are tenants in a big apartment building in Sofia. The difference is that there, people enter the building through the same door but may know nothing about one another, but here everyone knows everything about everyone else.”

In the museum, located in the house of a rich nineteenth-century vintner, the mayor treats us to red wine of his own making and says: “Two-thirds of the people here in Melnik are pensioners, 60 and older. Children are few, and only some 50 people are in the employable age bracket.” That, of course, is too few to make the town come alive again. And it’s such a waste. After all, the town is in the mountains, the climate is excellent—a veritable tourist paradise.

In late 1983, on the initiative of enthusiasts, the Melnik settlement system was set up, comprising eight communities with a population of 1,130. It is the smallest system in the district. Obviously, without financial support from the government it cannot grow into a tourist centre, but a great contribution can be made by something which cannot be expressed in financial terms—the loving care with which the people treat the place they live in. Those who were born and raised here are in the best position to organise a ‘smokeless industry’ of recreation and travel here and to preserve local traditions without turning them into the small change of a tourist attraction. This is the job the elected bodies of a newborn settlement system around the aging town have undertaken.

The Familiar and the Experimental

In the settlement systems we heard about another important aspect of the BCP’s social policy—the combination of industrial and agrarian labour, aimed at overcoming the considerable differences between the urban and rural ways of life. Today, this process is under way mostly in the AICs, major modern agricultural projects engaged in production over a large area.

We visited one such complex in the town of Petrich. The man in charge is well known in Bulgaria: he is D. Mazneikov, Hero of Socialist Labour. Besides, the complex itself is not ordinary either: it is a pilot project. The interesting thing about it is above all the fact that here a full production cycle—from the soil to the finished product—is being introduced. The complex already includes a cannery, a dairy factory and a tobacco factory. A winemaking factory is in the blueprints. These production facilities are already bringing in more than half the income, and so the signboard at the entrance to the administrative building bears the abbreviation usual in Bulgaria—AIC—in an unusual order: IAC, that is, Industrial-Agricultural Complex.

In a word, it is a prosperous and modern project. We were primarily interested to learn about the social aspects of its operation. The director told us that the new organisational approach made it possible not only to use the production funds more fully but also to virtually eliminate seasonal labour difficulties. Vertical integration opens an opportunity for managing the work force within the framework of the whole area. For example, when greenhouses grow empty in the summer, 1,000 people are transferred to the refrigerators to prepare goods for export. Should a temporary lull occur at the tobacco factory, its workers—about 700 people—are sent to the fields, etc. This means that almost all of the 8,000 people employed in the IAC work all year

round and, of course, this has an impact on their earnings, on the living standard of their families and on their social consciousness.

We were also told that in the past, only workers at state enterprises (and members of a few affluent cooperatives) were entitled to paid leave, received child care bonuses and had a guaranteed minimum wage. The creation of the AICs extended these benefits to peasants too.

But it is not only that the social conditions are levelling out. Large AICs have the right to extend additional benefits to their workers. For example, there is the general rule that if you eat in the factory cafeteria, the government underwrites 25 per cent of the cost of your lunch. The Petrich complex takes care of another 25 per cent, and thus its workers have a 50-per cent discount. The state builds day care centres and kindergartens all over the country, but gradually, as the budget allows. A complex can offer more prompt help to its workers by financing the construction of child care centres from its social funds. We heard that the Petrich IAC pays bonuses to doctors and nurses in order to induce competent personnel to stay by offering material incentives. The people in the IAC hold that it is useful to pay scholarships to 'their own' students—employees and their children—from the IAC funds so that they are under the obligation to return to Petrich after graduation from an agricultural college.

In short, government social policy is supplemented by the social policy of the complex itself. "This is very important to see," the director stressed, "because bourgeois propaganda pictures socialist society as passive. The claim is that the people are content with what they receive from the government, from the capital. That's not true: we in Petrich, for example, do much to raise our living and cultural standards."

A clear understanding of the role and the powers the work collective has in social matters is not a unique feature of Petrich but rather the rule. This awareness is widespread, for the principal method of the BCP's social policy in all its forms and manifestations is to promote initiative.

¹ The official exchange rate is 0.96 dollars or 0.77 roubles to the lev.

² A highly graduated approach was applied in this section of the decision. Monthly child bonuses have been increased (from 25 to 30 levs for a second child, from 15 to 30 levs for a first, but only after the birth of a second child, and from 40 to 55 levs for a third). The period in which one of the child's parents or employable grandparents can stay at home receiving benefits equal to the legal minimum wage or salary has been extended to two years. Newlyweds are entitled to large credits for building their own housing and purchasing all that is necessary. If two or three children are born into such a family within a relatively short time, most of the loan is written off. Previously, mothers received full pay during compassionate leave taken to care for a sick child only if the child was under seven; now the child's age has been raised to nine. Medical drugs were supplied free of charge to children under three and now, to children under six—and so on.

Against Repression and Persecution Stop Terror

A further major trial of Turkish patriots has been held in Ankara by the reactionary dictatorial regime. The court sentenced over 220 defendants to various terms in prison; more than 170 of them were sentenced to between five and ten years and 30, to more than ten years. They were all charged with membership of the Communist Party of Turkey.

Over 15 'trials of the CPT' have taken place since the 1980 military coup, with the courts passing upwards of 500 sentences. At all these trials the defendants courageously upheld the people's cause, their struggle for work, peace, freedom, and independence from US imperialism. Large-scale police raids led to the arrest of more than 2,000 persons 'suspected of communism'. Many of them, including Comrade Deniz, a member of the CPT CC, and some other leading members of the party, were tortured to death.

Repression is directed not only against Communists but against other democrats, peace fighters and trade unionists as well. Even official sources admit that there are 30,000 political prisoners in the country today. Twenty-nine prisoners were executed and another 108 are awaiting execution; at the trials now going on, the public prosecutor demands the death penalty for a further 5,000 people, including 52 leaders of the outlawed trade union federation DISK. Increasing judicial arbitrariness towards democrats in Turkey means that the dictatorial regime, faced with popular resistance to its disastrous economic policy and protests against its military political subservience to US imperialism, is escalating terror.

The sentence on more than 220 patriots caused a world-wide revulsion. Diverse political parties and noted public figures of many countries wrote to the Turkish authorities to demand an end to repression and the release of all political prisoners. The current campaign of solidarity with Turkish patriots and democrats is a reflection of widespread support for their just cause.

Ali Ileri
Representative of the Communist
Party of Turkey on the Editorial
Council of the journal

surveys, information and mail

CLASS BATTLES IN STRONGHOLDS OF CAPITAL **An Analytical Survey of the Strike Movement in** **1983 and 1984**

THE class confrontation in industrialised capitalist countries has become noticeably more acute over the past two years. This was reflected, on the one hand, in the numerous strikes and workers' demonstrations that differed in their scope and forms and, on the other, in the massive attacks against workers' gains launched by state-monopoly capital and in the efforts to block the masses' democratic social demands.

Under Difficult Conditions

The class confrontation intensified amid an extremely complex economic, social and political situation. The capitalist economic revival that followed the cyclical crisis of the early 1980s proved highly imbalanced. Considerable differences surfaced in the economic development both of individual countries and of major industries. Long-term crisis phenomena are continuing—including the structural crisis that has spread to entire branches of the economy. Capital investment is still low. The US policy of high interest rates is aggravating interimperialist contradictions. Experts of the Bank for International Settlements to which the central banks of several West European countries, the United States, Canada, Japan, Australia and South Africa belong, estimate that capitalist countries may face an 'even more far-reaching and destabilising economic recession' than in the early 1980s.¹

Of particular significance is the fact that the international tensions and arms race policy pursued by the United States and the more aggressive NATO quarters threatens to unleash nuclear war and destroy the very basis of human existence. Huge arms spending exacerbates the crisis-prone development of capitalism and adversely affects the entire process of capitalist reproduction. The working masses bear the brunt of the burden created by military spending.

Mass unemployment which remains at a high level (especially in Western Europe) even in the postcrisis period of relative revival is an important indication of the state of the capitalist economy. The problem is further aggravated by the capitalist 'streamlining' of production and intensive introduction of scientific and technological advances accompanied by mass layoffs.

Taking advantage of the crisis in employment, the monopolies step up exploitation and pressure on those still employed. Real wages are diminishing. Capital uses fear of job loss as an effective means of pressure which forces concessions from working people and pushes the degree of exploitation higher. By its massive offensive against the system of social services and cuts in allocations for health care, pensions, housing,

rest and reaction, culture and environmental protection, the state-monopoly oligarchy is trying to inject energy into the badly malfunctioning financial system at the expense of the masses. Many of the wealthiest capitalist countries are witnessing the emergence of 'new poverty' that deals particularly painful blows to the unemployed, the aged, young people, large families, foreign workers and national minorities.

Meanwhile, working people in virtually all industrialised capitalist countries are encountering a policy of political reprisals, conducted in different specific forms by conservative governments and aimed at curtailing the democratic rights won in pitched class battles. The monopolies are striving to weaken trade unions so as to change the alignment of class forces in favour of capital. All this encourages far right, neo-nazi and revanchist elements; this is a particularly dangerous political challenge to the working class movement and all democratic circles.

Processes connected with a certain social regrouping within the working class are another factor that contributes to the extremely difficult position of trade unions. Rapid technological advances and structural economic changes reduce the ranks of precisely those sections of working people that have attained the highest level of organisation and developed firm militant traditions. On the other hand, recruitment into the unions of new and growing groups, primarily those employed in the service sector and working for the government, is not so rapid. The result is that in the case of the United States, the share of union members in the total number of those employed has now dropped to fifteen per cent from 20.9 per cent in 1980. The British Trades Union Congress has lost some 2.5 million members over several years.

In a bid to hasten the weakening of the unions, monopoly capital is resorting to an increasingly broad range of political tools—from anti-labour legislation and trials to direct action by the police. The aim is to curtail union rights as much as possible, especially the right to strike, to tie the unions' hands in the use of their funds and reduce the degree of worker participation in production management. The bourgeois mass media are also pushing in this direction. Attempts are being made to blame trade unions for growing unemployment. The illusory view that a lower 'level of demands' is the key to economic recovery is being publicised. Mass chauvinism and nationalism is being fomented so as to create the atmosphere of an 'industrial peace' and then consolidate, amid the growing interimperialist competition and contradictions, the positions of national capital at the expense of working people. Anti-communist and anti-Soviet slander produces a particularly harmful effect. Its purpose is to divert the attention of working people from the real causes of the capitalist crisis and to prevent them from grasping the need to fight for a democratic alternative to the policy of monopoly capital. The anti-social, anti-democratic course of the monopolies and conservative governments and their attacks against trade unions do have an effect where the trade union movement is fragmented, labour leaders oriented on social partnership are pliant, and there exist anti-communist prejudice and fear of mobilising the working masses to the struggle for their demands.

The Fightback Is on the Rise

Despite the growing difficulties, the increasing odds in the struggle and the deteriorating living conditions, the working class is stepping up its diversified fightback against the policy of monopoly capital. The struggle is on for a new strategic political orientation of the unions; the working class is drawing up its own alternative strategy designed to benefit working people and fighting, in the course of class battles, for its implementation.

After a temporary relative slowdown of the strike struggle in several leading capitalist countries, especially during the cyclical crisis of 1980-1983, the movement is clearly on the rise again. For example, the strikes in the West German metalworking

and printing industries with their demands of a 35-hour workweek with no reduction in wages, advanced to alleviate unemployment, are among the longest and most determined. The British mine-workers' strike which lasted a full year and had a tremendous political significance is a graphic example of working class fortitude and militancy. Major strikes and other forms of mass action by working people are being staged in France, Italy, Belgium, Denmark and several other countries.

Having overcome the feeling of uncertainty that was caused by the social consequences of the crisis and the political and ideological pressure of capital and that generated relatively widespread disillusionment and weakened militancy, the core of the working class is displaying a growing fighting spirit. Many class battles are acquiring qualities such as a certain readiness to make sacrifices, as well as broad solidarity. The period when workers accepted the consequences of the crisis and retreated before the onslaught of the monopolies and conservative governments is apparently drawing to a close.

The analysis conducted recently by trade unions in capitalist countries shows that they no longer accept the bourgeois argument that technological and economic development is uncontrollable. One can state that a restructuring of trade union action to organise resistance to the capitalist strategy for overcoming the crisis has begun, albeit on an uneven scale and after a certain delay. Here, battles such as those fought in the metalworking and printing industries of the FRG and in the British mining industry are merely the tip of the iceberg. Analysis reveals a broader spectrum of actions—individual and mostly uncoordinated but nevertheless sufficiently effective cases of fightback against the policy detrimental to the interests of the working masses. Any moment now, this fightback may turn into the starting point of a concerted offensive.²

The strike experience, especially in the FRG and Great Britain, also shows that of considerable importance for mobilisation of working people are both the readiness to defend one's unions and their ability to act, fight and win in spite of attacks by capital. The rank-and-file union members have grasped and upheld the slogan 'It is a matter of life and death for the unions'. For example, new members were recruited to trade unions during the strike in the FRG, although there were also cases of members quitting their unions. DKP Chairman Herbert Mies had this to say in this connection at a meeting of the party's Board: 'In the final analysis, trade unions are as attractive for the working class as they are strong, influential and militant in their policy of representing workers' interests.'³

New Forms, New Demands

Significantly, new and diverse forms of struggle are being tested and applied alongside traditional types of strikes. Since pressure from monopoly capital limits the effectiveness of large-scale strikes,⁴ other forms are applied, such as warning, short-term general and 'staggered'⁵ strikes, rallies, demonstrations, national action days and protest marches. Besides, unconventional methods of influencing the masses were used—'villages of the unemployed' set up in urban downtown areas, hunger strikes, street shows, public tribunals, symbolic occupation of administrative buildings and the like.

Occupation and sealing off of enterprises holds a special place in the arsenal of working class action. So far it is still unclear whether the use of these methods is a temporary or long-term trend. But what is clear is that the explosive political effect of such action far exceeds the impact of the traditional type of bargaining over wage rate agreements. In many cases, this action is a direct expression of confrontation with the government. It is also an indication of the striving to make the struggle more effective. This bears out Lenin's idea that the struggle of working people, 'as the movement develops, as the class consciousness of the masses grows, as economic and

political crises become acute, continually gives rise to new and more varied methods of defence and attack.⁶

Action against mass unemployment is central to the trade unions' fightback. The fact that millions of people are unemployed is the gravest challenge to the unions. The complex process of their adaptation to the new conditions offers a distinctive reflection of some of the interrelated causes behind chronic unemployment—above all the fact that the adverse effects on employment of the scientific and technological revolution capitalist style are exacerbated by the slowdown of economic growth and by crisis phenomena 'independent' of the capitalist cycle.

Those trade unions who entertained the illusion that under capitalism, scientific and technological progress results in social progress are forced to abandon this view. All hopes of this kind have been buried under the social consequences of crisis processes. Some trade unions are realising increasingly that nothing can be attained by traditional methods of pragmatic social partnership or by emphasising the sphere of distribution, and that given the aggravation of social contradictions, working class strategy demands renunciation of the logic of struggle only for partial concessions. Today, the spectrum of trade union demands concerning employment includes imperatives such as government programmes of employment and capital investment, interference in the structural policy and shorter working hours (for example, these demands were advanced by trade unions in the FRG as a means of combating mass unemployment; they were the basis underlying many 1984 strikes).

New emphasis is also typical of the struggle over the wage rates. In raising issues of wages and working hours, trade unions often set forth additional slogans on control over the 'streamlining' of production and on restricting the intensification of labour and of the regime of exploitation. The idea of expanding the framework of worker participation in production management, of nationalising key industries and establishing democratic control over them was expressed clearly and forthrightly.

Trade union action in 1983-1984 featured many pitched battles for preserving the existing wage level, against the mounting onslaught on social gains. Social demands were often coupled with the struggle in defence of democratic rights and of the role and militancy of trade unions, against the growing rightward drift in the socio-political fabric of capitalist countries.

Of exceptional importance is the fact that parallel with the economic struggle of working people, mass social and democratic movements are also developing; the interaction that is established among them leaves a distinct imprint both on the social confrontation and on all domestic politics. In some countries, the connection in terms of time and content between the economic struggle of trade unions on the one hand and social and democratic movements on the other is a factor operating against the system of state-monopoly capital domination.

This is particularly typical of the peace movement which became a mass drive in several, especially West European capitalist countries in the early 1980s and which is aimed against the nuclear arms race, first and foremost against the deployment of new US medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe. In many countries, this action reached its peak in 1983. But, even after the missiles began to be deployed against the will of most of the population in the autumn of 1983, the peace movement did not lose its political efficiency. The broad mobilisation of the masses increasingly involves trade unions. This helps to considerably expand the social base of the action for peace and increases its weight.

More working peoples are grasping the connection the arms race has with mass unemployment and capital's offensive against social rights. Slogans such as 'Jobs Instead of Missiles' and 'Food Instead of Bombs' often accompany trade union action. This is also reflected in the changes in the unions' programmes. Durable peace, an end to the arms race and the struggle for effective disarmament have taken

firm root in the programmes of national trade union centres adopted in recent years and in the decisions and statements of various trade union forums. True, there is an ambivalence to the stand taken by the leaders of some trade unions. This is especially true of the American AFL-CIO which, on the one hand, joins in mass social protest against domestic policies and, on the other, supports the aggressive foreign policy of the US administration.

The fact that several political strikes were held in 1983-1984 against the deployment of missiles in Western Europe—such as the strikes in the FRG, Belgium, Finland, Denmark and the Netherlands—is of special importance.

The Panorama of the Struggle

Let us recall the more significant class battles fought in the major strongholds of capitalism in 1983-1984.⁷

United States. As Lynn Williams, United Steelworkers president, told his union's national convention in September 1984, US workers have never been more oppressed than they are under the Reagan administration. The motives underlying the protest action are also a telling factor in this regard—the substantial drop in wages, mass layoffs and sharp cutbacks in Federal spending on social services and programmes of assistance to the needy. Also contributing to the upsurge in the strike struggle was the broad movement within the unions against concessions to the employers in negotiations on new wage agreements.

The biggest strikes of the period included the three-week walkout of 700,000 American Telephone and Telegraph Company workers joined by 40,000 Western Electric workers, the 38,000-strong strike of school employees in Chicago, the industrial action of 12,000 of Greyhound employees that lasted for seven weeks and the six-week strike staged by 52,000 staff members of private hospitals and homes for the aged in New York. In September 1984 some 100,000 auto workers at key General Motors factories struck for a week.

The US administration and monopolies repeatedly resorted to repression in a bid to dampen the intensity of the strike struggle. For example, the strike of PanAm employees called by the unions in August 1984 was banned under a court ruling; that same month the authorities threatened mass dismissals of postal workers should they call a strike. Layoffs, evictions of strikers and police protection for strikebreakers accompanied the strike of 3,000 copper miners in Arizona.

A wave of demonstrations and rallies swept US cities in 1983-1984. Hundreds of thousands of working people came out for protection of their rights and simultaneously protested against the arms race and Washington's policy of nuclear war preparations.

France. The relatively smaller number of strikers and shorter duration of the strikes in the first half of 1983, the result of increased activity on the part of the right wing and the complex domestic political situation, gave way to a new upsurge. In this, an important role was played by the joint rally of the two biggest trade union associations, the CGT and the CFDT, supported by the FEN union of teachers and held in May for the first time in five years. Specific slogans aimed against growing unemployment, inflation and social injustice, for peace and disarmament were advanced at the rally.

There was a powerful wave of strikes in the auto industry. Beginning at a Renault factory in January 1983, it spread to other enterprises, and, by the end of the year, swept Citroen, Chausson, Peugeot and Fiat factories. On December 9, 8,000 workers were on strike at the Talbot Works near Poissy alone, mostly to protest mass layoffs. This resolute action by auto workers prevented the employers from carrying out their schemes. Similarly successful were the workers of the woodworking, construction and printing industries.

In 1984 strikes continued in the auto industry. Their intensity can be deduced from the fact that in January the workers occupied Talbot's Poissy works to forestall the planned closure of some 2,000 jobs. In February, the miners staged a two-day general strike in protest against the 'recovery-oriented' reduction in coal production and the consequent layoff of 25,000 workers. In March, a 24-hour strike, the biggest in decades, was held by 1.5 million workers of different enterprises to defend the purchasing power level. A major landmark in the year's chronicle of events was the April strike of the Lorraine steelworkers against the employers' plans to shut down factories and liquidate over 20,000 jobs. Broadly supported by the people of the region, the steel-workers' action culminated in a 30,000-strong protest march on Paris. Government employees struck three times that year, demanding pay rises. Their 24-hour strike in October which paralysed transport, communications, gas and power supply, involved two million people. In late 1984 powerful protest actions were staged in response to a CGT appeal to come out against the signing of an agreement on 'flexible labour use' proposed by the employers and actually tantamount to a suppression of basic trade union rights and loss of the social gains achieved over the past decades. These actions introduced new militant emphasis into the strike movement of French working people.

FRG. In the early 1980s economic and political pressure from the class enemy put trade unions on the defensive. Later, they adopted a strategy of 'new mobility', combining short-term, warning and other strikes which had a broad impact on the public.

During 1983, major warning strikes were held in nine industries. Taking part in them were 750,000 workers at some 2,000 metal-working factories and 300,000 government employees. That year yielded the greatest number of cases in which workers occupied factories to protest mass layoffs. Lasting a total of 204 days, these actions involved about 13,000 workers at 16 enterprises (including two major shipyards in Hamburg and Bremen). Powerful demonstrations of protest against growing unemployment and in defence of social rights were held in Stuttgart (80,000 people) and twice in Bonn (30,000 and 130,000 people). Add to that the action that had a smaller scale, and the 1983 total of those protesting against mass layoffs reaches 1.5 million people.

In 1984, the major events in the struggle were the strikes in the metal-working and printing industries, the longest in West German history (seven and 13 weeks respectively), accompanied by actions of solidarity staged on an unprecedented scale by trade unions in other industries and by other sections of the public. The strikers' principal demand was the introduction of a 35-hour workweek with the wage level unchanged. Neither reprisals nor layoffs nor pressure from the authorities augmented by an anti-labour campaign in the bourgeois mass media succeeded in breaking the workers' resolve. The strikes achieved maximum effectiveness due to well-chosen methods; in the metal-working industry, the strike paralysed key sectors of production; in the printing industry, it was 'staggered'. The struggle resulted in a compromise—a 38.5 hour workweek with wages unchanged. The 40-hour limit of the workweek which the employers had declared 'inviolable' was thus pushed back.

Political strikes/demonstrations involving millions of working people were also staged throughout the country in the period under review. Foremost among them was the one called 'five minutes of warning for peace', organised by the trade unions on October 5, 1983 to protest the deployment of US missiles in the FRG.

Italy. The year 1983 was marked by numerous strikes to preserve the wage level, renegotiate agreements on wage rates with employers, and consolidate social guarantees. In January, the three biggest trade union associations organised a general strike against curbs on the 'mobile scale', an important gain of Italian working people which, for many years, had protected their real incomes from arbitrary action of the

employers amid the rising cost of living. Seven million workers of all industries took part in the strike. Textile, construction and metal-workers staged a series of major strikes demanding the soonest possible renegotiation of wage agreements. In April, the nation again witnessed a general strike, this time aimed against the anti-labour economic and social policy of the government. A political slant was also evident in the May strike called by the unions on the eve of the election campaign to force the government into taking effective steps to combat unemployment and speed up the conclusion of negotiations on wages. This strike involved 15 million working people.

The biggest strikes included the September action staged in Genua and all of Liguria against a plan to shut down factories and lay off workers. In November, 400,000 dockworkers, seamen, transport workers, truck and taxi drivers struck for job security. In December, dockworkers struck again because payment of their wages was delayed four weeks. Protest strikes against capital's onslaught on their social rights were organised repeatedly by those employed in education, medical care and insurance.

In 1984, new powerful protest action was taken in response to the moves by the authorities to further curtail the 'mobile scale' and reduce jobs. On February 8 a general strike paralysed all factories and offices in Bari. That same day factories in Milan ceased work for four hours; the workers were supported by government employees. On March 24 and 25 the CGIL, acting jointly with factory councils, organised in Rome a 700,000-strong demonstration of industrial and office workers, intellectuals, pensioners, housewives and school students who demanded programmes to create new jobs, a tax reform and a reform of the pension system. The demonstrators also protested against the deployment of US missiles in Sicily. Airline, customs, railroad and other transport workers held strikes throughout the year. In November, 1.5 million construction workers were on strike, and a four-hour general strike was called demanding higher wages and a tax policy reform. All three trade union centres were involved in this major action.

Great Britain. The reactionary policy of the Tory government deliberately aiming at mass unemployment as a means of socio-economic pressure, as well as the privatisation programme considerably complicated the struggle of working people in the period under review. By expanding the scope of anti-labour legislation, by restricting trade union powers to organise pickets and demand compensation in case of 'unauthorised' strikes and by banning solidarity action, the authorities in fact declared war on the trade unions.

Nevertheless, numerous strikes were staged in several industries in 1983—waterways, the motor, mining, steel and printing industries—to demand job security and higher wages. The November printers' action which stopped publication of national newspapers for two days was an extremely acute conflict. There were fierce clashes between union pickets and the police; the strike was accompanied by mass layoffs. Under a court decision, the printers' union was fined 150,000 pounds for organising a solidarity strike.

Department of Employment statistics indicate that in 1984, over 1.3 million people were on strike in 1984—double the 1983 figure. Of crucial importance for the increase in the strike movement was the already mentioned miners' strike—one of the more powerful and militant actions taken by the working class in decades, the longest mine-workers' strike in British history. Beginning in March, it soon spread to 80 per cent of the government-owned pits. The strike was prompted by the National Coal Board decision to close 20 'unprofitable' pits and dismiss 20,000 miners without offering them any alternative jobs. In the course of the strike, the mine-workers' union invariably expressed its readiness to hold negotiations, but the authorities rejected all offers of compromise. The entire juridical and punitive apparatus of the state and the entire propaganda mechanism of the monopolies were mobilised to

break the miners' spirit of resistance.

The miners' strike caused an unprecedented rise of proletarian solidarity. The strikers repeatedly received effective support from other unions, especially the railway workers' and dockworkers' unions, from the British Trades Union Congress, the Labour Party and numerous voluntary organisations. Trade unions in 50 countries extended financial and material assistance to the mine-workers.

* * *

The experience of the action taken by working people in several leading capitalist countries in 1983-1984, the action that continues to this day, is a general indication of the fact that the strike movement tends to grow and that the socio-economic and democratic demands of the working class are acquiring a more profound content. This experience is an additional factor refuting the inventions of those who would like to question the ability and resolve of the working class to fight for its interests against the frontal attack of the monopolies.

Annemarie Klemm
GDR Institute for International
Politics and Economics.

¹ *l'Humanité*, June 18, 1984.

² See W. Lecher, 'Gewerkschaften in Europa. Zwischen Resignation und Widerstand' in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, 'Das Parlament' Supplement, Bonn, No. 51-52, December 22, 1984.

³ *Unsere Zeit*, Special Supplement, August 31, 1984, p. 23.

⁴ Strikes spreading throughout or through most of an industry.—*Ed.*

⁵ Strikes passing from production line to production line, from workshop to workshop, from factory to factory of one company.—*Ed.*

⁶ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 11, p. 213.

⁷ The facts cited below are based on 'Militant Action by the Working Class and Other Democratic Forces in Leading Capitalist Countries' (see *IPW-Berichte*, Berlin, 1984, Issue 4; 1985, Issue 4).

The Reader Wants to Know

A 'HOUSING CRISIS' UNDER SOCIALISM? LOOK AT THE FACTS

'Our press claims that the European socialist countries are afflicted with what is virtually a housing crisis. What is the actual state of affairs in this field?'

Michael Ralstone, Great Britain

Dear Michael Ralstone,

No socialist country believes that it has fully solved the housing problem. But the situation is far from anything like a crisis; that is simply not true. Judge for yourself. There are no homeless people in the socialist world—just as there are no vacant flats. There, the problem is not that someone has no home; the issue is that of providing

every family with a sufficiently spacious flat of its own.

The socialist countries regard the solution of the housing problem as a major social task. Let us quote some statistics. From 1966 to 1976 the GDR allocated 6.9 per cent of all capital investment to housing construction; Romania, 9.3 per cent; Bulgaria, 10.1 per cent; Poland, 13.7 per cent; Czechoslovakia, 15.3 per cent; the USSR, 15.6 per cent; and Hungary, 16.5 per cent.¹ And these outlays are growing (see Table 1).

TABLE 1

Percentage of Capital Investment in Housing Construction
(1970 level as 100 per cent)

Country	1973	1983
Bulgaria	146	250
Czechoslovakia	115	126
GDR	141	251
Hungary	128	147
Poland	139	174
Romania	122	183
USSR	113	164

Source: *CMEA Statistical Yearbook*, 1975, p. 146; 1984, p. 140.

Housing is being built on a large scale and, in most countries, at increasing rates (See Table 2).

TABLE 2

Total of useful housing space handed over to tenants (in thousands of square metres)

Country	1973	1983
Bulgaria	3,496	4,470
Czechoslovakia	8,115	7,216
GDR	5,577	7,493
Hungary	5,452	5,431
Poland	12,664	13,182
Romania	7,083*	9,536**
USSR	110,280	112,444

* 1972

** 1982

Source: *CMEA Statistical Yearbook*, 1975, p. 156; 1984, p. 148.

Generally, housing conditions improved for almost one-third of the population in the CMEA countries from 1974 to 1983. Let us now take a look at the reasons why a certain housing shortage still persists.

To begin with, all East and Central European countries were the theatre of fierce fighting and large-scale destruction during World War II. For example, almost one-third of national wealth, 1,710 cities and towns and some six million buildings were destroyed in the USSR. Left homeless were 25 million people, i.e., one-seventh

of the population. Poland lost 40 per cent of its national wealth. Half the housing space was destroyed in the cities of what is now the GDR.

During the first postwar years these countries of necessity focused their major efforts on rehabilitating and developing the production basis of their national economies, their economic infrastructure and the more important aspects of their social infrastructure (schools, hospitals, etc.). This called for the commitment of huge financial, material and manpower resources. The possibility of simultaneously expanding housing space was severely limited. Housing construction assumed great proportions only in the late 1950s, when the wounds of war had been mostly healed.

Considerable strains in this field were also rooted in the extremely broad scope of economic development. In several countries, the rapid industrialisation that was launched in the wake of people's democratic revolutions gave rise to swift urbanisation. For example, in Poland the share of the urban population in the nation's total increased from 27 per cent before the war to 60 per cent; in Bulgaria it grew from less than 25 per cent in 1946 to over 64 per cent. Available housing could not meet the increased demand either in quantity or in quality. This is why large-scale renovation and modernisation of older buildings to make them as comfortable and well-equipped as modern housing was and is under way simultaneously with the construction of new housing developments. The scope of this renovation is clear from the example of the GDR (see Table 3).

TABLE 3

Increase of Housing Space in the GDR
(number of flats)

Year	New flats built	Old flats renovated
1981	125,731	59,619
1982	122,417	64,636
1983	122,636	74,585
1984	121,654	85,380

Sources: *The GDR Is 35 Years Old. Facts and Figures*, 1984, p. 36; *Report of the GDR Central Statistical Board on the Implementation of the 1984 National Economic Plan*, I/1985, p. 31.

Large-scale renovation of older houses is conducted in other socialist countries too.

While on the subject of the housing problem in the socialist world, one simply must emphasise the socially just system of housing distribution and maintenance. Major construction efforts constantly add to the available housing space. The registration and seniority of those in need of better housing is controlled by the public and open to scrutiny. The size of the flats depends on the size of the families that move in. The state and the public see to it that these sizes do not sink below the level adopted for the period in question. In most socialist countries, minimum per capita quotas of housing space have been introduced (the kitchen and other areas not lived in not included). These quotas are shaped by the actual availability of housing—for example, 14 square metres per person in Czechoslovakia and 15.8 square metres per person in Bulgaria. As available housing space increases, so does the minimum quota. For example, in the USSR it was nine square metres per person in 1981; by the end of this year 14.6 square metres will become the target figure. Priority rights to new flats are granted to those whose housing space is below the quota, to families

with several children, to unmarried mothers, to persons with serious health problems and to those who have earned a special status by their service to the people—disabled soldiers and best workers. Special attention is paid to newlyweds. For example, Bulgaria sets aside 25 per cent of the total increase in housing space for young families.

The right to housing is guaranteed in the socialist countries just as the rights to medical care, education, work, rest and recreation and social security are guaranteed. This is a sphere in which all are equal regardless of the income or social status of this or that family. It is quite common for a factory manager and a worker, a prominent scientist and an ordinary office worker to be neighbours in the same building.

This equality is made possible by the absence of private property in real estate, the kind that exists in capitalist countries.² This naturally, does not rule out personal property in housing. But the law forbids the use of housing for gain unearned by work.

Housing belongs to the state (for example, 80 per cent of housing is state-owned in the USSR), to various cooperative associations, trade unions, government agencies and enterprises. Besides, housing construction is financed from working people's savings and carried out both via housing cooperatives and through construction undertaken by individuals. The latter form has become particularly widespread in Hungary and Bulgaria. Of great importance here is assistance from the state—allocation of land plots, low-interest credits, supply of building materials and equipment, and secondment of experts. Housing cooperatives are also supplied with manpower.

State-owned flats are distributed free of charge in most of the countries in question, and at the world's lowest rent rates. In the Soviet Union, rent accounts for some two per cent of the average family income and covers less than one-third of the total costs involved in maintenance. The government subsidy for the purpose is over eight billion roubles a year. The situation is similar in other socialist countries. According to official statistics, 2.2 per cent of the average family income in Czechoslovakia are spend on rent; in the GDR, the figure is three to five per cent.³ In most socialist countries, rent levels have remained unchanged for decades. For example, in the Soviet Union they are what they were in 1928. In Hungary, rent has increased in recent years, but it is still a great deal lower than in any capitalist country, taking up only 3.7 per cent of the average family income. Utility charges are also marginal.⁴ Anyone with a job—and there is no unemployment in the socialist world—can well afford to pay the rent without economising on essential needs.

Another important factor should also be emphasised—the tenant's stable and firm rights to his or her flat. Eviction may result only from some gross violation of the generally accepted rule of housing maintenance, and all such violations are clearly defined under the law. In actual fact, the tenant receives a permanent grant of a flat; to be replaced at no loss should the building be torn down, require major repairs or be earmarked for other purposes.

The state not only provides housing to tenants but also keeps a close watch—together with the public—over its conformity with basic sanitary and hygienic norms. Repairs and technical maintenance are the job of organisations controlled by local government bodies.

As the well-being of the people in the socialist countries grows, so do the standards housing is to meet. This is reflected in housing construction. The architectural image of new districts is improving, and so are the quality and the layout of new buildings. Flats are becoming bigger; most of them now comprise two, three or more rooms. For example, such flats account for 69 per cent of the total in Hungary and for 80 per cent in Czechoslovakia. The proportion of flats where only one family lives has increased

considerably and, in the Soviet Union, has reached 85 per cent.

Housing space increases in the socialist countries on a planned basis which combines annual, five-year and longer-term programmes. Implementation of each of them is another step towards the full solution of the housing problem—that is, towards a situation in which every family would have a flat of its own. And since the rates of construction considerably outstrip population growth rates, there is no doubt that this objective will be reached in the foreseeable future.

As you can see, Mr. Ralstone, facts prove that the allegations of the bourgeois press about a 'housing crisis' in the socialist world are completely groundless.

Working Group of the WMR Commission
on Scientific Information and
Documentation

¹ *Lakáspolitikánkról*, Kossuth Könyvkiadó, Budapest, 1983, 237 pp.

² Individual old privately owned houses still exist in the GDR. But the tenants' rights are protected under the law. For example, the landlord may not evict tenants, and rent must be consonant with the adopted rates.

³ There, the rent figure depends not only on the size of the flat but also on the state the house is in and on the family income of the tenant. Tenants in the low-income bracket pay less in rent.

⁴ Rent and all utility charges take up only three per cent of the family budget in the USSR and 7.2 per cent in Bulgaria.

IN MEMORY OF A COMRADE

Samuel Behak, who represented the Communist Party of Uruguay on the Editorial Council of *World Marxist Review* from October 1979, has died at the peak of his creative ability. He was an ardent patriot, consistent internationalist and staunch champion of the working people's interests.

Samuel Behak was born on May 21, 1923. He joined the CPU in 1946. Educated as an economist, he taught political economy at the Montevideo University of the Republic till 1974. He wrote constantly for the party press—the journal *Estudios* and the newspaper *Popular*—and was a member of the educational and cultural commissions under the Executive Committee of the party CC.

Samuel Behak helped organise the financial institutions of Cuba, the first country in the Western Hemisphere to set about building a new society.

When Samuel Behak arrived at *World Marxist Review* he was a scholar well versed in key problems of the world economy and international relations. He took an active part in collective analyses of current problems and contributed many articles of remarkable profundity.

Samuel Behak gave all his knowledge, energy and talent as a party analyst to the cause of liberation of the oppressed, to the cause of peace and socialism. While in exile, he did not for a moment sever his ties with the working people of Uruguay, for whose happiness he worked and fought.

The memory of Samuel Behak, a loyal Marxist-Leninist and Communist journalist, will always be cherished by his comrades.

the book scene

Through the Front Door

Allan Ryan, *Quiet Neighbors. Prosecuting Nazi War Criminals in America*, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, San Diego, New York, London, 1984, 386pp.

The victory over fascism in World War II was won 40 years ago. In honouring the memory of those who died fighting for the freedom and independence of peoples, one feels legitimate indignation over the fact that numerous Nazi war criminals are still unpunished. Thousands of former Nazis and their underlings live comfortably in the United States. This is the subject of *Quiet Neighbors*, whose author, a lawyer, served at the US Department of Justice and headed from 1979 to 1983 the Office of Special Investigations in charge of inquiring into the cases of one-time Nazis and their menials.

The vast amount of documentary evidence which Ryan came across while working at his post leads him to the conclusion that 'Nazi war criminals came here by the thousands, through the openly deliberated public policy of this country, formulated by the Congress and administered by accountable officials' (p. 5). And he adds that the overwhelming majority of them entered the United States 'through the front door, with all papers in order' (ibid.).

Europe was still in ruins left by the war when certain quarters in the USA began to depart from the principles and objectives that had united the members of the anti-fascist coalition. In March 1947 the Truman Doctrine was announced—Ryan describes it as 'the declaration of a cold war against . . . our wartime ally' (p. 29). The commitments written into the Moscow Declaration (October 30, 1943) and the decisions of the Yalta and Potsdam conferences, which provided for the most severe punishment of war criminals, were ignored.

'Surely no enemy in American history was forgotten so soon after defeat as the Nazis . . . By then America was far more concerned with the new enemy, communism . . .' (p. 5). As early as August 1946, President Truman 'recommended that Congress amend the immigration laws to enable 200,000 refugees (their number was doubled in 1950.—B.E.) to come to America, regardless of immigration quotas' (p. 15). Somewhat later the Congress passed the 'Displaced Persons Act', which in effect guaranteed, according to Ryan, that Nazi war criminals would enter the United States.

By June 30, 1952, when the DP Act expired, nearly 400,000 immigrants had arrived in the USA under it. If one estimates that only 2.5 per cent of them took part in Nazi crimes, then nearly 10,000 Nazi war criminals went to America (see pp. 25-27).

Among them were participants in the Nazi genocide, such as Trifa of Romania's fascist Iron Guard, Andrija Artukovic, ex-minister of the fascist regime in occupied Serbia, or Demianjuk, a professional murderer who had sent inmates of the Treblinka prison camp to the gas chambers.

Compelled to admit that the US rulers did their best to provide war criminals with a peaceful refuge in the United States, Ryan understates, none the less, the proportions and implications of official involvement in this disgraceful effort. He claims that accounts exposing US intelligence activity aimed at using Nazi 'experts' in subversion against the Soviet Union and the young socialist states of Eastern Europe contain 'dubious evidence . . . unable to survive any objective analysis'. Yet the facts given in his own book speak for themselves.

The direct complicity of US secret services in the activity of former Nazis is revealed in, for example, the chapter dealing with Otto von Bolschwing, a high-ranking SS man, chief of the fascist secret police in Bucharest and co-author along with Adolf Eichmann of the monstrous programme for the 'deliverance of Germany from Jews'. Bolschwing earned special favour with his new masters and was subsequently allowed to enter the USA as one of the most active members of the Gehlen Organisation. After the defeat of the Third Reich General Reinhard Gehlen, chief of the Eastern Department of the Abwehr, put himself at the Americans' disposal together with his staff, which virtually became a subsidiary of the US intelligence service. Gehlen's network of agents was an important source of intelligence about Soviet troops and East European countries. Afterwards the Gehlen Organisation was transformed into the Bundesnachrichtendienst, or West Germany's intelligence service, which the hardened Nazi headed until 1968.

That former Nazis were used by the US intelligence service is also shown in another chapter of the book, which tells in detail how this service recruited Klaus Barbie, the 'Butcher of Lyons', one of the most brutal Nazi war criminals, used him for a long time as an agent and then sent him to a safe hiding place in Latin America.

Ryan cites only some of the evidence revealing Washington's sustained cooperation with Nazi criminals who escaped retribution. Yet this evidence is substantial. For instance, John Loftus, former investigator and Federal prosecutor for the Office of Special Investigations, US Department of Justice, writes in his book, *The Belarus Secret*,¹ how in the early postwar years the US intelligence service recruited a large group of former policemen, who had served under the Nazi invaders in Byelorussia, to carry out anti-Soviet actions. The operation was directed by Allen Dulles, who afterwards became chief of the CIA, and Frank G. Wisner, division head at the Department of State.

Ryan also leaves out so important an aspect of the years-long alliance between US government agencies and former Nazis as the massive use of German specialists who had loyally served the Führer and were assigned in the United States to design new missiles and other modern weapons. The *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* notes that from 1945 to 1955, over 800 Nazi specialists were smuggled out of Europe under false names within the framework of operations 'Overcast' and 'Paperclip' for active use in developing new weapons, including nuclear ones. Ex-Nazis were invited to do research not only in NASA but in all three armed services of the USA, according to *The Washington Post*. They were among those who developed the Pershing and Tomahawk missiles and include Sturmbannführer SS Wernher von Braun, who was in charge of Hitler's missile programme, and Hauptsturmführer SS A. Rudolf, former production chief at a secret SS camp where missiles were made. There the Nazis killed not less than 50,000 prisoners. Hermann Becker-Freysing, the SS torturer who carried out inhuman experiments with Dachau inmates, became an expert of the US Air Force at Wright Field, a base in Ohio.²

War criminals found that they were 'home free' in the United States. In the quarter

century from the end of World War II until the early 1970s, no more than ten cases were filed against persons suspected of Nazi collaboration or of persecuting innocent people (see p. 31).

Even in those rare cases when public pressure compelled the authorities to investigate the past of this or that Nazi, the judicial authorities blocked proceedings. This was how the Board of Immigration Appeals dealt with Felix Krasnauskas, a traitor to the Lithuanian people and a Gestapo man. It ruled as follows: 'There is no evidence that the respondent participated in a movement hostile to the United States.' The only explanation of this ruling is that the Board was willing to consider only communist movements as being 'hostile to the United States'. This ruling, of course, was at odds with the entire history of World War II. Whatever the reason, Krasnauskas stayed in Worcester, Massachusetts (see p. 37).

Ryan virtually admits that the establishment of the Office of Special Investigations headed by him did not help make judicial activity against the Nazi criminals entrenched in the USA more effective. It took the authorities over 30 years to start proceedings against Artukovic (mentioned earlier). What is more, official and unofficial protectors of that butcher of the Yugoslav people continue appealing against the decision of the court, trying to delay its execution indefinitely.

The author understandably approaches many problems from a bourgeois standpoint. Nor is his book exempt from Western propaganda stereotypes or misrepresentation of the history of World War II and the subsequent period. Even so, the factual data contained in the book make it an indictment of the US rulers, who have taken Nazi war criminals, those sworn enemies of humankind, under their wing.

Bill Eagle

¹ See *WMR*, No. 12, 1983, pp. 111-113.

² See *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, April 1985, pp. 16-24.

New Books

V. Y. Sipols. *Na puti k velikoi pobede. Sovetskaya diplomatia v 1941-1945 gg.* (On the Way to the Great Victory. Soviet Diplomacy in 1941-1945), Politizdat Publishers, Moscow, 1985, 495 pp.

Former British Prime Minister Winston Churchill once wrote that Hitler's funeral pyre, which flared to the roaring thunder of Soviet guns, marked the horrible end of the Third Reich. He thus paid tribute to the great feat of arms of the Soviet Army, which made the crucial contribution to the rout of Nazi Germany's war machine and Europe's liberation from fascist bondage. The foreign policy activity of the world's first socialist state also had an important part to play during the Second World War. The author is a Soviet professor and his book is based on the documents of the Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam conferences, the correspondence between the leaders of the USSR, the United States and Great Britain, and reminiscences of those who were directly involved in the negotiations between these countries. He describes the efforts of Soviet diplomacy in creating the anti-Hitler coalition, ensuring the most

favourable international conditions for the defeat of the aggressors, and consolidation of the results of the Victory, and also the USSR's efforts for new relations between all the states on the principles of equality, trust and mutual respect.

Čestmír Amort, *Srdcem a mečem* (With Heart and Sword), Horizont Publishers, Prague, 1984, 117 pp.

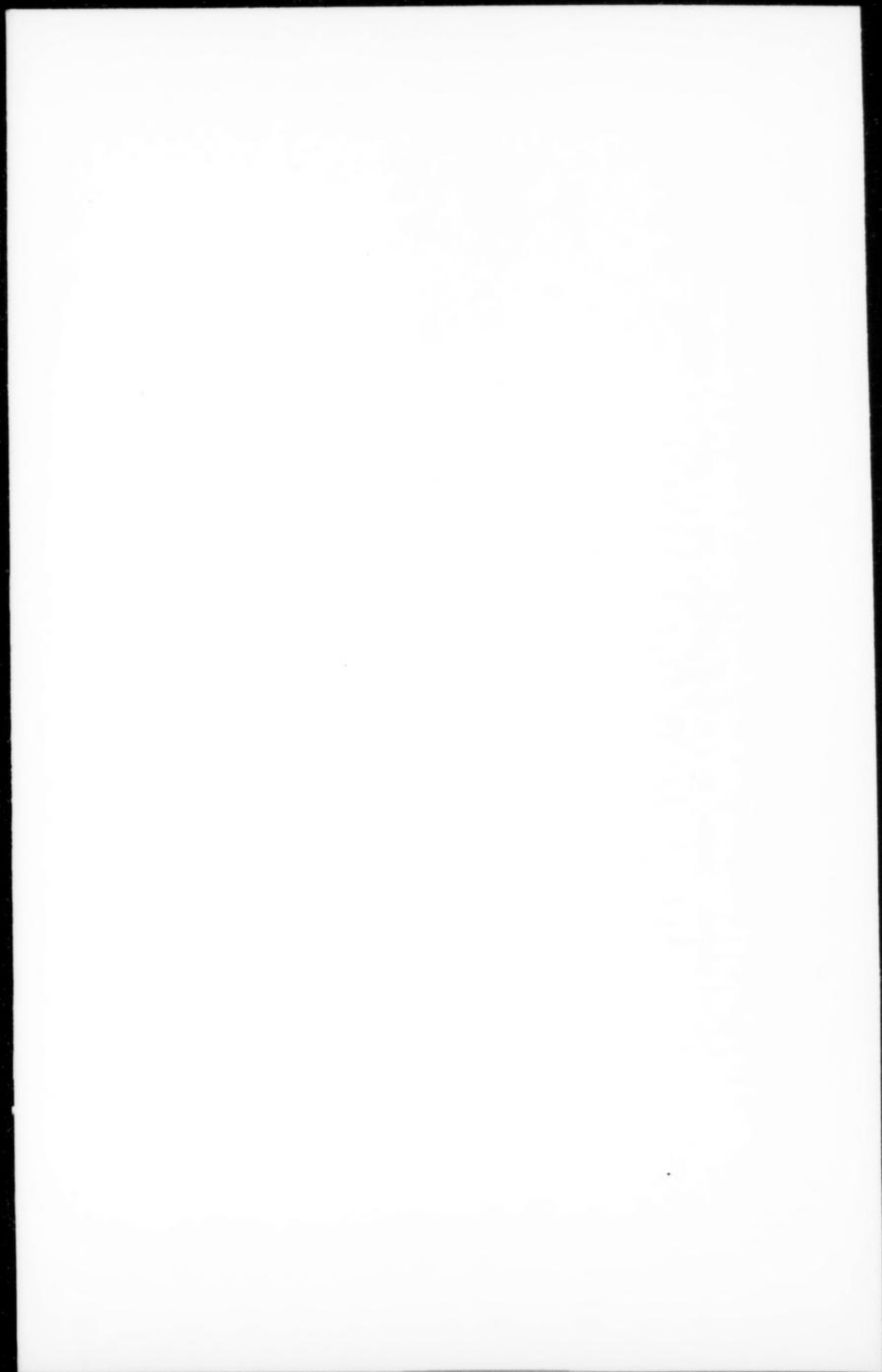
The author is a prominent Czechoslovak historian who has used little known archive documents from various countries, testimonials of Soviet Army men and reminiscences of local inhabitants to trace in detail the way traversed by the First, Second and Fourth Ukrainian fronts, the First Czechoslovak Corps, set up on the territory of the USSR, and partisan detachments, from the battles in the Carpathians in September 1944, to the victorious Prague Operation in May 1945, which ended the Second World War on the European continent. He describes the formation of democratic organs of power on the liberated territories, adding that in Czechoslovakia people cherish the memory of the Soviet soldiers who liberated the country and fulfilled their historical mission. The book is well illustrated with documentary photographs.

Veress D. Csaba, *A Dunántúl Hadi Krónika. 1944-1945* (Trans-Danubian Military Chronicle), Zrínyi Katonai Kiadó, Budapest, 1984, 270 pp.

Dunantul is the Trans-Danubian territory which covers almost 40 per cent of Hungarian territory, and which during the Second World War was an arena of bitter fighting between the Soviet Army and the fascist troops. It was regarded by the Nazis as the forward defensive position of their 'Alpine Fortress', that is, the southern part of Germany, where they intended to sit it out in the hope of getting the USSR to clash with the Western Allies. With a wide range of sources the author recreates a consistent picture of the military operations which led to the crushing defeat of the German fascist *Süd* grouping, and the liberation of Hungary and Eastern Austria. The author shows the staunchness and heroism displayed by the Soviet troops in the fighting.

Die KPD Kampf gegen Faschismus und Krieg (1933-1945) (KPD in the Struggle Against Fascism and War), Dietz, Berlin, 1985, 282 pp.

May 1945 is not at all a 'humiliation and disgrace' for the German nation, as reactionary circles in the FRG claim, but the herald of its liberation from the sinister regime, which committed the most heinous crimes against its own people as well as against other peoples. Germany's best sons and daughters, with the Communists in the front ranks, valiantly fought for the victory over fascism. Ernst Thaelmann symbolises the courage and steadfastness of the party, whose members fought doggedly deep in the underground, in the prison cells and concentration camps, on the fronts of the Republican Spain, and in the ranks of the Resistance movement in France, Italy, Greece and other countries. German Communists also fought in the ranks of the Soviet Armed Forces. That, the authors say, produced the blend of profound patriotism and fiery internationalism of those who so finely carried on the cause of Marx and Engels.



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.



