

WORLD

Problems of

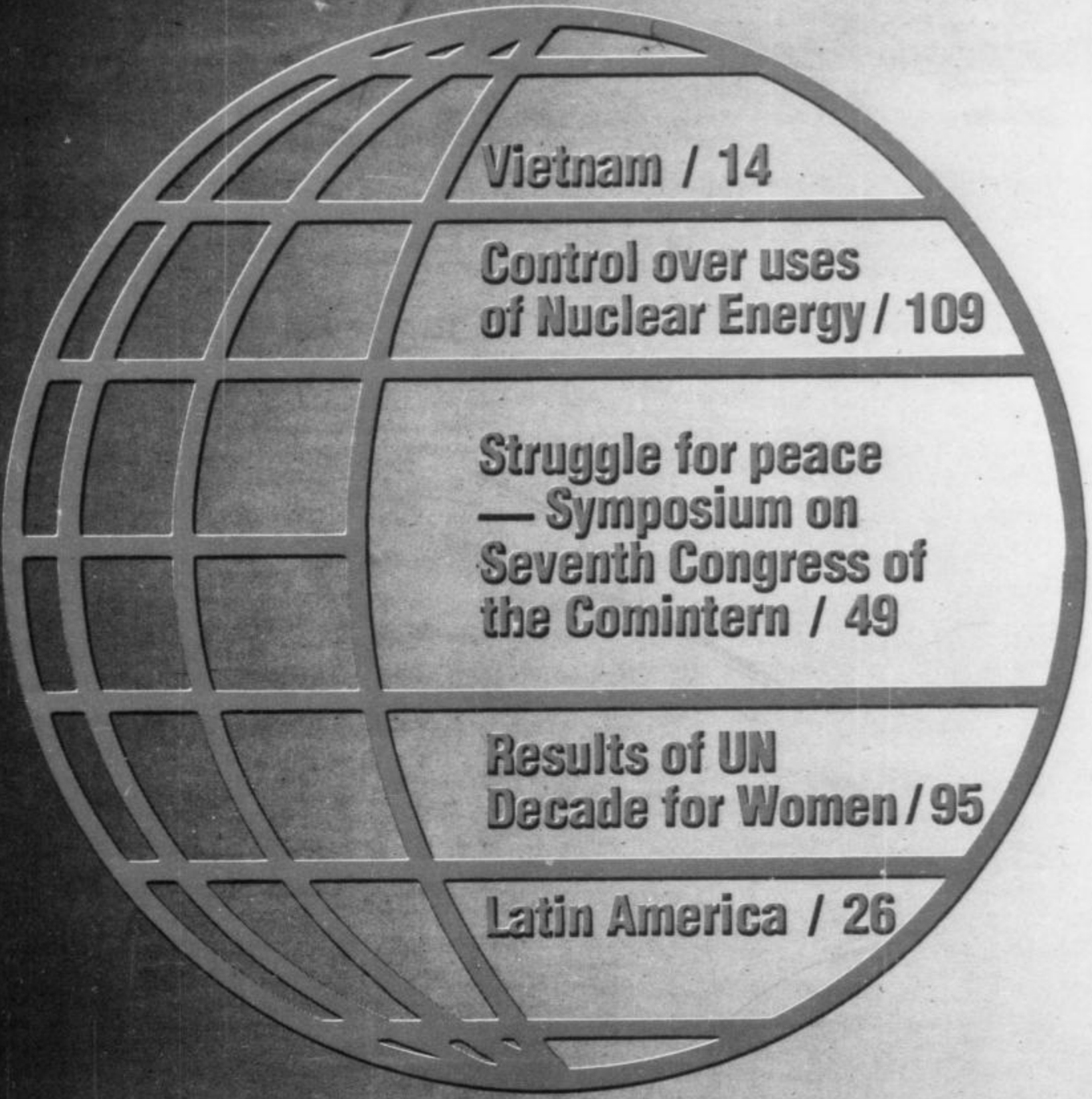
MARXIST

Peace and Socialism

REVIEW

August 1985 Vol. 28, No. 8

\$2.00 ISSN 0043-8642



Vietnam / 14

**Control over uses
of Nuclear Energy / 109**

**Struggle for peace
— Symposium on
Seventh Congress of
the Comintern / 49**

**Results of UN
Decade for Women / 95**

Latin America / 26



world marxist review

VOLUME 28 NUMBER 8 AUGUST 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 Council of *Problems of Peace and Socialism* are the representatives of 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, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

contents

features

Along the Leninist Path <i>Károly Németh (Hungary)</i>	5
Independence, Socialism and Peace—an Indivisible Aim <i>Pham Vân Đông (Vietnam)</i>	14
Frederick Engels and the Present-Day Ideological Struggle <i>Heinrich Gemkow (GDR)</i>	19
Latin America: The Lessons of the War and the Revolutionary Process <i>Orlando Millas (Chile)</i>	26

the party

By Defending the Masses We Strengthen the Party <i>Janet Jagan (Guyana)</i>	34
---	----

new experience

After 14 Years Underground <i>Tijani Tayeb Babear (Sudan)</i>	38
A Communist Alcalde at Work <i>Ramón Mendezona (Spain)</i>	40
Documents	43
In the Mirror of the Press	44
In Brief	45
Against Repression and Persecution. Stop the Terror in Indonesia! <i>S. Sudiman (Indonesia)</i>	47

exchange of views, discussion

Uniting the Peace Forces. 50th Anniversary of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. A Summary of an International Symposium	49
A Development that Encourages Optimism. A Collective Interview.	63

viewpoints

World-View, Talent, Creativity <i>Felix Kuznetsov (USSR)</i>	76
Anti-Communism on a Rampage in Iran <i>Ali Khavari (Iran)</i>	84
Where the White-Collar Workers Belong <i>Gunnar Asplund (Finland)</i>	90
For Genuine Equality <i>Fern Winston (USA)</i>	95
Under the Sign of the Winged Horse. A Political Report. <i>J. Waszczuk, R. Samhoun, M. Novikov</i>	101
Control Over Uses of Nuclear Energy Is Possible <i>Hans Blix</i>	109
Brief Commentary. Rejecting 'Radio Goebbels'. <i>Raúl Valdés Vivó (Cuba)</i> ...	112
A Militarist Conspiracy <i>Ibrahim Malik (Israel)</i>	114

surveys, information and mail

The Cuban Communists' First Party <i>Blas Roca</i>	117
The Socialist Way of Life. A Guaranteed Right to Work	120
Diary	124

the book scene

Fighting an Octopus <i>Nicholas Barton</i>	125
--	-----

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

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

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

Rani Jhansi Road,
New Delhi 110055, India.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Finnish Edition:
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 Vállalat,
Budapest I, Fő u 32,
Hungary

Indian Editions:
Rani Jhansi Road,
New Delhi 110055, India
in
Bengali
Gujarati
Hindi
Malayalam
Oriya
Punjabi
Tamil
Manipuri

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

Mongolian Edition:
Ulaanbaatar MONGOL,
Ulsyn Nymyn,
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. Copico 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

Along the Leninist Path

Károly Németh – Deputy General Secretary, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

HUNGARY regained independence and embarked on a course of social progress four decades ago. Since then our workers, peasants, intellectuals and other working people have achieved significant results; they have established and consolidated people's rule, socialised the means of production, gone over to a planned economy with full employment, made gains in industry and reorganised agriculture on socialist principles. Socialist democracy is the rule everywhere, national unity has become closer, culture and education have been developing on a guaranteed basis and the day-to-day living conditions have undergone a radical change.

Our road was not always straight. We arrived at the current stage in socialist construction after suffering reverses and overcoming errors. Reorganised on Marxist-Leninist lines, the HSWP¹ did away with the deformations and mistakes of the early years of the new society's construction and took this experience into account in its further activity. The confidence which our party enjoys among the people today was won by sustained effort, by loyally serving the interests of the working class and other working people. Under the leadership of the HSWP, building a developed socialist society became a national programme in Hungary.

The fulfilment of this programme over the past five years has been going on in more difficult conditions than earlier. A tense international situation, the need to make up for changes in the world economy unfavourable to us, the difficulty of moving on intensive economic development exacted additional efforts from the people. We preserved our socialist gains: durable people's rule, national unity and a secure life—and increased the wealth of the country. These are most tangible results, since we had to stand many a test in those years. Thanks to the industry, skill and devotion of the people and the collective effort of party, government and social organisations, the development of society followed the line approved by the HSWP early in this decade; the main goals set by the party were attained.

The 13th HSWP Congress (March 25-28, 1985) reaffirmed the party's general line and carried it forward in accordance with new exigencies. The Congress expressed the conviction that there is a dependable basis in Hungary for continuing the construction of the new society. The paramount task for the years ahead is to go on building a developed socialist society on the basis of our historical achievements. This means ascertaining and using the potentialities of our system, building up the economic might of the nation and creating the prerequisites for a further

consolidation of the economic balance and a tangible improvement of the standard of living, advancing science, culture and education and thereby helping people use their creative abilities, improving democratic institutions and achieving closer national unity in keeping with socialist aims.

The central thesis of the Congress was 'Forward along the Leninist path'. It guides the everyday activity of the HSWP, which is pursuing a principled Marxist-Leninist policy built on confidence between the party and the people. Our approach to international and national problems combines socialist patriotism with proletarian internationalism. We Communists are accountable to history for the realisation of our people's national programme: building a developed socialist society. The HSWP creatively applies the general laws of building the new society; it takes account of the distinctive characteristics of Hungary and draws on the vast experience gained by fraternal parties. Serving the interests of the country and people is combined with the struggle for peace, socialism and progress.

The party, which is the revolutionary vanguard of the working class and other working people of Hungary, plays the leading role in society. In keeping with its historical mission, it guides and organises socialist construction ideologically and politically. It carries on its policy through the Communists working in government agencies and social organisations, respecting the autonomy of these entities. The degree to which party policy is put into practice shows how real the leadership provided by the party is. In the process, every Communist is faced with a task of his own, for the principal method of implementing the party line is persuasion, ideological influence and mobilisation of the people.

The party's guiding activity encompasses all key spheres of public life. The party is building up its links with the masses, winning their support again and again. 'The party's guiding thought and idea,' said HSWP General Secretary János Kádár, speaking to the Congress, 'consists in its aspiration to continue justifying the confidence of the working class and other working people, a confidence won in historical struggles. The party fully believes in our working class, our working peasantry, all our working people, and relies on their support. . . . Our party is guided by lasting principles and not by dogmas. It searches for correct, socialist answers to new questions raised by development. After all, life moves fast and at higher development levels there arise new questions which cannot quite be answered in the same way as they were decades or even ten or twenty years ago. This calls for a constant renewal of our policy. . . . We see our ideal in a party having firm principles, circumspect and thoughtful in its everyday policy and always ready for renewal.'²

The party's entire activity, including its organisational work, is increasingly permeated by democracy. Preparations for the Congress included two meetings in every party branch. The first meeting assessed on the basis of the party leadership's report on the work done in the previous five years and elected the chairman of the second meeting plus two commissions: a commission for the nomination of candidates and a tellers' commission. In between the two meetings members of the former ascertained the Communists' opinion about those eligible as secretaries and members of the new bureau. The second meeting discussed the Congress theses, whereupon the nomination commission proposed candidates for election to the new party bureau. Following an open debate the meeting resolved to include definite names in the ballot-paper and then elected by ballot a new leadership and delegates to the pre-Congress conference of the higher party body. Similar preparations preceded elections in all other party bodies, including the highest. Thus compliance with party democracy made it possible to select for leading positions on all levels persons whom the membership considered the most competent. It is essential that decisions passed by a majority vote are unfailingly carried out.

The theses, the most important political document for the preparations for the 13th

Congress, were published and submitted to the people for discussion several months before the Congress met. This was done in line with a long-standing practice that had proved its worth, the purpose being to ascertain the more fully the views of the party membership, non-Communists and the people as a whole, verify the party's assessment of its previous effort and the correctness of the concepts and plans proposed by it. Mass organisations and scientific institutions were consulted and their opinions and experience taken into consideration. The praise and criticisms voiced in the course of the debate helped the Congress adopt resolutions on the tasks listed in its agenda and on a fitting continuation of our forty-year advance along the socialist road.

The Communists thus play an active role not only in the drafting and adoption of decisions but also in their fulfilment. Free discussion, confrontation of opinions, criticism and self-criticism in party organisations and at party congresses contribute to the unity of our ranks and provide a basis for joint action. All party members participate in general meetings and the meetings of elected bodies on an equal footing and have equal duties; what determines the outcome of any discussion is not this or that speaker's office but the credibility of his arguments. Extending party democracy is an important requisite for fostering socialist democracy.

We attach special importance to greater centralism in party activity and the enforcement of discipline, which is binding on every Communist. The policy of the party and the resolutions of its leading bodies must be carried into practice everywhere. This depends to a considerable extent on how well execution is organised and supervised. We are going to give this matter closer attention in order to enhance the party's role in the management of society, its preparedness for action and its efficiency. We also consider it necessary to inform Communists better and better and to insist that they should implement the party line resolutely and competently, in accordance with socialist goals and ideals. The HSWP will ensure in everyday practice, as it has done in the past, compliance with Leninist norms, including collective decision-making and personal accountability for the fulfilment of decisions.

Party unity was put to a serious test in recent years, against the background of a worsened international situation and under the impact of certain economic and social problems. The party stood the test. Most of its members live and work according to the provisions of the Rules and meet their civic and party obligations. We think highly of Communists who serve our common cause, the cause of all working people, with devotion.

The HSWP considers it very important to continuously renew itself and strengthen its ideological and organisational unity as well as its unity of action. It is not enough to merely accept definite principles. The criterion of real unity is action, the consistency with which Communists defend party policy, and their active participation in its realisation. Ideological work and political education by the HSWP are prerequisites for solving social, political and economic problems. It is hard to see clearly and take one's bearings in a complicated situation; public opinion does not always react correctly to the contradictions and economic difficulties of society's development.

The party strives to concentrate its ideological activity on forming a judicious way of life which respects labour, vindicates social justice and induces people to guide themselves by socialist and humanist values. At the same time we consider it important to resist selfishness, foster a collectivist spirit, strengthen civic discipline, help mould a really national consciousness and self-respect and socialist patriotism, and oppose nationalism and cosmopolitanism. The party brings it home to the people that a major guarantee of their future is to contribute to universal social progress, respect and apply the principles of proletarian internationalism and identify themselves with the international communist and working class movement.

Loyal to Marxism-Leninism, we safeguard the purity of its ideas and reject all

distortions of it from either the right or the 'Left'. We see the chief task in disseminating these ideas among the people. With socialist construction going on, the HSWP adds new elements to its policy that may not be immediately appreciated by everybody. This makes it a standing task of our explanatory work to answer in time the questions that arise.

Imperialist propaganda is particularly aggressive in today's tense international situation; it is doing its utmost to oppose socialist countries to one another. This is why we attach great importance to ensuring that Hungarian Communists resist and defeat such attempts, proceeding unanimously and consistently.

The party's policy expresses the fundamental interests of all classes and sections of society. It takes account of social relations and brings into the open contradictions that arise in the course of development. The party initiates the people into its plans and takes their opinion into account. This enabled the 13th Congress to set realistic tasks, spur the unification of the forces committed to the country's progress, strengthen the political mainstay of people's rule—the worker-peasant alliance—reaffirm its policy of alliance and make relations between the party and the people based on confidence closer still.

Building socialism requires joint efforts by the whole nation. Our policy of alliance reflects the alliance between classes. The workers, or the leading social class, make up 56 per cent of the working population and the cooperative peasantry, 14 per cent. The role of intellectuals and office employees (26 per cent) is growing as society develops. Small producers, handicraftsmen and small traders (four per cent) are engaged in useful activity. Further, the policy of alliance reflects the alliance of the Communists with people professing other worldviews. Socialist construction has forged national unity by uniting Communists and non-Communists, believers and non-believers, Hungarians and members of other nationalities, all who feel responsible for the destiny of the country and in working for its good ensure their own welfare.

The party could not accomplish its mission—building socialism—singlehanded. 'The idea of building communist society exclusively with the hands of the Communists is childish, absolutely childish,' Lenin pointed out. 'We Communists are but a drop in the ocean, a drop in the ocean of the people.'³ He also stressed that 'a number of capable and honest non-party people are coming to the fore from the ranks of the workers, peasants and intellectuals, and they should be promoted to more important positions in economic work, with the Communists continuing to exercise the necessary control and guidance. Conversely, we must have non-party people controlling the Communists.'⁴ Our principle is that non-party people can be entrusted with any functions (except party functions, of course) that correspond to their abilities. Many of them hold leading positions in diverse spheres of life, showing high proficiency and political and moral qualities corresponding to their responsibilities.

Mass and other social organisations have an important role to play in the implementation of the policy of alliance and the consolidation of socialist national unity. Our party relies on the support of the trade unions, the Youth League, the Fatherland Popular Front and other movements, associations and alignments adhering to socialism and operating independently in conformity with the laws of the republic. The HSWP counts on their participation in the working out and implementation of its line at all stages. The fact that in forming socialist national unity problems of development were resolved with the participation of the mass of non-party people may be regarded as a major achievement of our policy of alliance. This policy has truly become a cause of the people as a whole. The search for new solutions and new forms and methods of socialist construction is not carried on within the party alone and goes far beyond its framework. This is highly important for encouraging the initiative of the various enterprises, organisations, and industrial facilities in the

localities and hence for making them more accountable for their work.

The views of the overwhelming majority of the people on key problems of socialist construction are similar. We will continue building up this unity, seeing to it that everybody knows the tasks facing society and that these tasks are fulfilled jointly. The party's effort to give correct answers to new questions—answers which crystallise as a result of constructive discussion—prompts the people to do their duty conscientiously. The Communists' ideas find response among the working people, as the fruitful mass emulation movement launched in honour of the 13th Congress showed.

To carry out the decisions of the Congress, the party must raise its activity to a higher plane, must perfect its working methods, so that every party committee or organisation may meet the higher exigencies of today. We are set on fostering selflessness in party work, on raising the membership's militancy. Besides, we consider it important not to overburden lower echelons of the party with obligatory subjects for discussion at meetings, with instructions, and to reduce the number of written accounts and various conferences. Party branches need help to be able to carry out the decisions of central bodies, doing it not nominally but with due regard to local conditions and requirements, and to decide and carry out their tasks themselves.

The economy is the key sphere of socialist construction. Although external economic conditions have become more complicated, we have succeeded over the past four years in maintaining economic stability and preserving the main social achievements. We have not only kept the economy balanced but strengthened it from the point of view of the state budget, the workforce and investments; goods supply has been abreast of solvent demand, the national income has grown by 8.5 per cent and a substantial part of this increase has been used to reduce the foreign debt.

Industrial production in Hungary went up by ten per cent in four years, or less than planned. However, we may record it as a notable achievement that industrial exports grew faster than production for export in spite of difficulties in marketing. The import requirements of industry decreased. The tasks set before industry were fulfilled by using a smaller workforce than before, that is, by raising labour productivity. The utilisation of material and power resources improved.

Agricultural production increased by 12 or 13 per cent over the average of the previous five years. Results achieved in harvesting and processing cereals and industrial crops made it possible to both meet domestic requirements and increase exports. Recurrent droughts notwithstanding, the past four years saw wheat and maize harvests average 4.6 and 6.1 tons per hectare respectively. Stock-farming exceeded plan targets; in 1983 it produced as much as had been planned for 1985.

Management is being transferred to intensive methods, but much remains to be done to resolve this problem on the scale of the whole economy. We have yet to bring about the needed increase in profitability, raise the competitive capacity of our products and quicken the pace of technological progress. We are still slow in applying scientific achievements in practice.

On making an in-depth analysis and assessing the external and internal conditions of the country's economic development, the party came to the conclusion that this process will have to be stepped up in the years ahead. As far as the foreseeable future is concerned, the situation on the world market is unlikely to become more favourable, hence we will have to improve the internal conditions of social production to an extent enabling us to continue making it more balanced. After the Twelfth HSWP Congress there were positive trends in raising labour productivity and mobilising resources. This provided the basis for expanding production at a higher rate and creating funds to be spent on more rapid technological progress and a tangible rise in the standard of living.

We estimate that the national income may go up by 14 to 17 per cent under the

seventh five-year plan (1986-1990), with industrial production increasing by 13 to 16 per cent and agricultural output by 12 to 14 per cent. If we maintain the economic growth rate we have set, we will be able to increase internal consumption by 13 to 16 per cent and stabilise the foreign economic balance still further. This will require the concentration of a substantial part of material and mental resources in the more promising fields: electronics, computerisation, automation and robotisation, the application of up-to-date methods of production organisation, the output of chemical products, the manufacture of progressive types of machinery and equipment for agriculture and the food industry, the introduction of material-saving technologies and biotechnologies, and the comprehensive and effective use of natural wealth.

The republic's industries are a decisive factor in increasing the national income but so far their share is smaller than needed. Dynamic development, effective production and a higher competitive capacity of our output will depend heavily on whether we succeed in moving our industries to the fore in world technical and technological progress.

Our industries currently employ too many people. The size of staffs must be determined in accordance with considerations of profitability. Many more people than before will be transferred from abolished jobs and unprofitable enterprises to other work places; we will have to encourage them to change their jobs and possibly their professions. Full employment is a tremendous achievement of socialism. But in the future too it will be important for us to use the workforce efficiently, which is a responsibility of industrial facilities. One of the tasks of government bodies is still to provide the prerequisites for full employment.

An economic priority now as in the past is to coordinate the development of agriculture and the food industry. The natural conditions of the country and the means which major farms command make it possible to supply the population with high-quality food products and to increase exports in keeping with the market demand. While the introduction of intensive methods in agriculture has proved its worth, this branch still has untapped resources. There are large possibilities for cutting production costs, increasing crop yields by making better use of and renewing the material, technical and biological basis for food production, exploiting soil fertility judiciously and processing farm produce to a higher degree.

All this will depend, above all, on major socialist farms, that is, cooperatives and state farms. Ancillary and subsidiary husbandries will go on playing a notable part, with large-scale production assisting them. While giving large-scale production every support, we consider it advisable to make fuller use of personal and family reserves of labour in various spheres.

The economic management system introduced in Hungary in 1968 is one of the systems of this nature evolved and being used in fraternal socialist countries. It effectively performs its function by serving to attain the socialist goals we have set before ourselves, for it takes account of the general laws governing the construction of the new society as well as of Hungarian conditions. This system encourages the working people's initiative. Economic management is developing within the planned socialist economy and is based on combining the economic plan with the commodity-money, market relations existing under socialism. We strive to make central management by the state more efficient, allow the enterprises greater autonomy, offer them greater incentives for the development of production and give them a bigger share of the responsibility for it. With these ends in view, we are perfecting planning, economic regulation and the organisational structure.

Hungary's participation in CMEA activity, including socialist integration, plays a decisive part in working out our economic plans and our foreign economic strategy. The Soviet Union is our most important economic partner. We will seek more extensive cooperation with it and enhance the effectiveness of our mutual relations by

making better use of opportunities for specialisation and cooperation in production.

Hungary takes energetic steps to fulfil the decisions of the 1984 CMEA Economic Summit, which will make it possible to coordinate the member-states' economic development better than before. We are certain that closer cooperation in science and technology, the satisfaction of power and raw material requirements, economic and political consultations on a regular basis and the promotion of economic methods of cooperation will make for more rapid and intensive progress in fraternal countries and strengthen their positions in the world economy. We are ready to continue building up cooperation on these lines with all socialist countries.

The HPR advocates more extensive mutually beneficial economic, scientific and technological ties with industrial capitalist countries. However, this is hampered by the measures these countries are taking to inflict damage on us. As for our relations with developing countries, we promote cooperation in production, rendering these countries technological aid and training their specialists.

The main principle of party policy towards the standard of living is that every person should enjoy material benefits according to his work. Socialism provides the necessary means of subsistence through the right to work and the social security system. We see an important prerequisite for balanced and steady economic development in distributing only what has been produced, for the living standard of the population depends solely on economic productivity.

In the past four years real incomes and consumption in Hungary have risen by 6 per cent but real wages and part of the real amount of pensions and social allowances have declined; life has become harder for some population groups. The tasks set by us to improve living conditions were basically accomplished: the population was steadily supplied with goods, more apartments were built, the supply of household durables improved. The medical and cultural services and social security are comparable to those of countries whose economies are on the same level. We now have a five-day working week.

Our next five-year plan is aimed at accelerating economic growth and raising the standard of living, if modestly, by managing the economy more efficiently. We want to augment per capita real incomes and consumption by 10 to 13 per cent in the 1986-1990 period and at the same time to increase real wages.

An effort will be made to improve goods supply and extend the service sector in accordance with growing incomes. The provision of housing is a most important socio-political task. When specifying the conditions on which family can obtain an apartment, we intend to take fuller account of distinctions in the financial and social positions of the family.

The HSWP is of the opinion that the growth of the economy will depend largely on consistent application of the principle of distribution according to work. In perfecting current methods of economic management, we set out to provide conditions making it possible to remunerate labour better than at present, to ease social inequality, distribute the common burden more evenly and offer greater incentives for development. It was found necessary to grant more in the form of allowances and benefits to those who need it.

The party gives much attention to the living conditions of large families, young people and pensioners who are worse off than other population groups. It has been decided to increase the government's share of expenditures for the upbringing of children. The child care allowance, which is now paid over a period of three years after the child's birth, will be gradually transformed into a cash allowance equalling 75 per cent of the wages of the person concerned. Grants for children are being increased and the housing conditions of large families will be improved. Young people beginning an active life will be offered easy terms to obtain an apartment and set up a family. An important task is to offer elderly people greater security. Since the

right to a pension is acquired through work, additional efforts will be needed to preserve the real pensions and increase low ones.

Consistent application of the principle of distribution according to work also makes it necessary to prevent or stop the acquisition of unearned incomes, incomes out of keeping with the work done and unlawful profits. Party, government and social organisations take a firm stand against anyone who gets benefits unearned by conscientious work and hence damaging other people's interests. A blind eye cannot be turned to this. Conduct alien to the socialist system will be punished under the law regardless of who is involved or what office he holds.

The foundations of our social system are solid. Almost all means of production are socialist property, being owned by the state or cooperatives. To augment, protect and make increasing use of its advantages are a fundamental condition of the new society's development.

There are advances in the economy and nearly all other fields. These are clearly evident in political relations. Extending socialist democracy is a programme demand of our party and a permanent component of its policy. We see in democracy an important condition and motive force of the new society and will therefore work to strengthen it in every sphere.

A general orientation of this work is to enhance the independence and responsibility of people's representative bodies, public organisations, industrial facilities and other enterprises.

Our electoral system was perfected some time ago by introducing a national list on which people vote for those who hold particularly important positions, well-known statesmen and other public figures. It was decided to nominate in every constituency several candidates for election to government bodies. They all support the electoral programme of the Fatherland Popular Front, which is based on the main guidelines for development formulated by the 13th HSWP Congress. The nomination of several candidates enables the electorate to select and support those who will, in their opinion, show particular energy in defending the voters' interests and contribute better than others to the attainment of both national and regional goals. We expect the revised electoral system to help strengthen the socialist national unity of our people and enhance the democratic character of our system. Greater harmony between the functions of the State Assembly, local councils and their concrete activities will strengthen people's power.

The newly elected State Assembly and councils are gaining in significance, with their activity acquiring new features. The Hungarian parliament will become a still more important factor in solving political problems through public debate; it will discuss more often concepts and plans relating to government measures; its role in control over the functioning of central government bodies will grow. The character of local councils as bodies representing the people and self-government will come out in greater measure. They will take greater account of public opinion and make independent decisions on a wide range of issues, being less inhibited than in the past.

Roughly two-thirds of state enterprises will gradually change to new forms of management. Councils are being set up in large factories. Most of their members will be elected for five years by the workers or their delegates; the rest (not more than one-third of the total membership) will be appointed by the management. In conformity with the principles of the party's personnel policy, the council will elect a manager by ballot. As for smaller factories, they will have leaderships; their members and the manager will be elected by a general meeting of the staff or a meeting of delegates.

All new forms of management have a noteworthy characteristic in that enterprises will use property and labour independently, without violating, needless to say, legal standards. The main right and duty of collectives will be to effectively use and

increase the material and mental resources at their disposal. This will make higher demands on leaders and help managers and subordinates realise that they are the masters and induce them to make the best possible use of funds and objects of work. We want to ensure that as many workers as possible take part in management, social control and public affairs. This is why we are working to improve their general education and vocational training.

The heads of an increasing number of institutions are elected by open competition. Managers elected in this way will have to perform their functions over a definite period; they will have to show political reliability, professional competence and capacity for leadership. We devote special attention to promoting democracy as a motive factor of the agricultural cooperations. This is helping to find efficient managers of production and ensure a skilful coupling of the interests of each given cooperative, of its members with those of the state.

The management system is intended to serve more fully than before as a means of raising efficiency, and encouraging autonomy and initiative in order to allow greater scope for the application of creative energy and bring public and personal interests into closer harmony.

The international communist and working-class movement is a dependable bulwark of socialist construction in Hungary; it is through it that the life of our country merges into the general stream of human progress. The HSWP helps strengthen the cohesion of our movement and contributes to the success of the common cause, including the preservation of world peace and social progress. Our party attaches vast importance to the struggle to bring about closer unity among communist and workers' parties by supporting creative, public, comradely exchanges of opinion on a bilateral or multilateral basis.

The Hungarian people have been living and working in peace for forty years now. Peace is the chief prerequisite for socialist construction; by the same token, our creative effort is the most dependable contribution to the preservation of peace. Unfavourable trends have lately gained strength on the international scene. The main reason for stepped-up tensions is the bid of the reactionary imperialist forces in the USA to upset the military balance between the WTO and NATO and achieve military superiority. In common with its allies Hungary will do everything possible to keep this balance at the lowest possible level of armament, to preserve peace and humanity's security.

The present situation confronts Communists and other anti-war forces with the historic task of doing all in their power to preserve peace and the security of humankind.

Our foreign policy proceeds from the interests of our people and the ideas of proletarian internationalism. We are operating in close unity with the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries. We are working to contribute to the fraternal countries' cohesion. We express solidarity with developing countries, with all the forces fighting for the freedom and independence of their peoples. Prompted by the principles of peaceful coexistence, we favour mutually beneficial cooperation with industrial capitalist countries. With the interests of socialism and peace in mind, we back efforts aimed at lessening international tensions, preserving the results of detente, continuing the East-West dialogue and maintaining relations between states irrespective of social systems, all of which is conducive to better mutual understanding and greater confidence between nations.

¹ Prior to October 1956 there was a Hungarian Party of Working People.—Ed.

² *Népszabadság*, March 26, 1985.

³ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 290.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. 32, p. 388.

Independence, Socialism and Peace—an Indivisible Aim

Pham Van Dong – CC Political Bureau
member, CPV, Chairman, Council of
Ministers, Socialist Republic of Vietnam

THE revolution of August 1945 was a historical milestone in the life of Vietnam. It finally put an end to our people's oppression and exploitation and rang in the era of the nation's independence and unity, the era of socialist construction. This was made possible by the struggle of the working people under the leadership of the Communist Party with the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism as its guide.

The revolution was the natural continuation of the millennium-long independence struggle of the Vietnamese people. It highlighted the nation's splendid traditions that fused with the cardinal tendencies of our epoch, with the ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, the experience of the Great October Revolution, and the revolutionary struggle throughout the world. The Vietnamese nation will always revere the memory of President Ho Chi Minh, who was loved and respected. As early as at the turn of the century he began paving the way for the nation's salvation, which he saw in the proletarian revolution, headed the struggle of the working people and led them to liberation.

This was a process of the evolution of a national democratic revolution into a socialist revolution without the involvement of capitalist development. Our party had charted this course as soon as it was founded. The certainty that this course was correct was inspired by Lenin's words that 'with the aid of the proletariat of the advanced countries, backward countries can go over to the Soviet system and, through certain stages of development, to communism, without having to pass through the capitalist stage'.¹

Fifty-five years have elapsed since the founding of the Communist Party of Vietnam, and 40 years since the triumph of the August Revolution and the proclamation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. These events were the crucial factors of the truly heroic epic of our people, who fought under the banner of national independence and socialism. They became part of the great changes of our epoch.

In the Declaration proclaiming the independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (September 2, 1945), Ho Chi Minh stated: 'Vietnam has the right to be free and independent and has indeed become free and independent. The Vietnamese people are fully determined to dedicate their spiritual and material strength and sacrifice their lives and property in defence of their right to freedom and independence.' Indeed, 'no revolution is worth anything unless it can defend itself'.² The Vietnamese people are profoundly committed to the cause of peace, and President Ho Chi Minh was tireless in his efforts to deliver them from wars, urging the settlement of outstanding issues at the negotiating table. But when an aggressor attacks our country, all Vietnamese rise and fight him to the victorious end.

During the War of Resistance against French aggression, Ho Chi Minh made the following appeal on December 20, 1946: 'Every citizen of Vietnam, male and female, old and young, regardless of religious, party, and ethnic affiliation, must, for the salvation of the homeland, rise to fight the French colonialists. Those who have a rifle, let them arm themselves with a rifle; those who have a sword, let them arm themselves with a sword; those who have not even a sword, let them arm themselves with hoes, shovels, or sticks.'

Later, when US aggression was being repulsed Ho Chi Minh specified: 'Our

Vietnamese nation is fighting the greatest War of Resistance in its history. In the name of the homeland's independence and freedom, in the name of the interests of the socialist community, all oppressed peoples, and the whole of progressive humanity we are victoriously repulsing the most evil and sinister aggressor of modern time' (July 20, 1968). And further: 'This war may last another five, ten, twenty years or even longer. Hanoi, Haiphong, and other cities, and also industrial facilities may be destroyed, but the Vietnamese people will not be intimidated! When the day of victory comes our people will rehabilitate their country and adorn it with larger than ever and more beautiful structures' (July 17, 1968).

Under the Communist Party's leadership it became possible during these war years to mobilise the valour, intelligence, and creative abilities that for a millennium have been the patrimony of the nation and every citizen of Vietnam, and to rely on the sympathy, support and aid of all of the world's progressive forces, including the working people of France and the USA. Use was made of diverse forms and methods of struggle, and determined steps were taken on the military, political, and diplomatic fronts. We were constantly on the offensive, grew strong in battle, and moved from one victory to another. Powerful defence forces with intimate links to the masses were built up during this period, and our military skill was perfected in battle.

The victory over the French aggressors was the deathknell for colonialism, while the victory over the American invaders was a serious blow to neocolonialism, helping to undermine imperialism and change the balance of strength in favour of the world revolutionary forces.

The thirty years of struggle against aggressive, chiefly US, imperialism bore out a maxim of our epoch: 'Nothing is dearer than freedom and independence'. Closely interrelated within individual countries and globally, the national democratic and socialist revolutions are just and of the people, and this is what ultimately assures them of success.

The tenth anniversary of the expulsion of the US invaders by the patriotic Resistance, solemnly and enthusiastically commemorated last May in our country and abroad, had a strong impact on US public opinion. The unjust war started by the administration of the largest capitalist state and its defeat in Vietnam inflicted grievous wounds on the consciousness of the American nation and negatively affected various aspects of its life. The enormous historical significance of our victory is now seen more distinctly than ever.

After the reunification of Vietnam the people tackled with inspiration the difficult task of healing the war wounds and promoting economic and cultural development. We are strengthening friendship with fraternal Laos and Kampuchea. The anthem of construction is to be heard in the North and the South, at factories and in the fields, in the thick forests and the expanses of the sea, and on faraway islands. Peaceful, independent, socialist Vietnam is moving ahead, becoming the forepost of peace and socialism on the shores of the Pacific.

However, it has to be noted that Vietnam remains the central objective of the expansionist ambitions of the Peking government that has committed acts of aggression on our frontiers and is now trying to consolidate its hold on sectors of seized border territory, conducting massive subversive warfare and seeking to pave the way for the conquest of Southeast Asia. Our victories in the two latest wars taught the invaders much, but the Peking rulers continue to reject our offers of peace negotiations to restore normal relations between Vietnam and China. Nonetheless, we shall go steadfastly pursuing this line, for we are, as we always have been, deeply committed to friendship between the Vietnamese and Chinese peoples.

The national democratic and socialist revolutions have transformed the image of Vietnam's North. An end was put to hunger, illiteracy, and foreign interference; this

served as the solid base for the just war against US aggression. After victory, having won full independence, freedom, and a united homeland, the working people, all the patriotic strata of the population came together once again in a single nation and opted for socialism. The Socialist Republic of Vietnam was proclaimed. All this happened quickly and naturally, becoming the result of the steady development of the revolution and the deep-rooted traditions of Vietnamese history, and a manifestation of the leading tendency of our epoch.

Progress towards socialism in a country where small-scale production still predominates is new and exceedingly difficult, especially after 30 years of continuous wars. We began moving in that direction at a time when the economic hardships caused by enemy devastation were compounded by natural disasters. Nevertheless, transcending innumerable difficulties the socialist revolution in Vietnam has achieved significant successes in the course of ten years.

The Fourth Congress in 1976 renamed the Vietnam Workers' Party into the Communist Party of Vietnam and charted ways and means for the further development of the socialist revolution and the building of a new economy. The Fifth Congress, held in 1982, defined the objectives and main targets of policy at the initial stage of the transition to socialism. The correctness of these decisions has been borne out by practice.

To reshape all spheres of Vietnamese society after a hundred years of colonial and neocolonial rule means to remould the thinking and way of life of tens of millions of people. The forces of international reaction cannot recover from their amazement that this remarkably broad and profound restructuring has been achieved painlessly and rapidly and with enthusiasm on the part of wide sections of the working people, as has been witnessed in Ho Chi Minh City and other regions of the South. Today, ten years after full liberation, everybody can see the impressive political, economic, cultural and social changes that have taken place in the South.

The exploiting strata have in the main been abolished nation-wide, the majority of the peasants and other working people have embarked upon collective work, and socialist relations of production continue to be fostered and strengthened. There has been marked progress in agriculture and industry. The output of staple products has reached or even surpassed its highest level of the past. The economy's material-technical resources are being enlarged dynamically. Hundreds of large projects are under construction and production capacities are being expanded. The educational and cultural level of the population is rising swiftly, and people are participating more and more actively in the administration of the state. All this is an object of legitimate pride to the new system. Although the population has grown by 10 per cent over the past decade, the basic requirements of the people are being met. Encouraged by the country's successes, a growing number of collectives, districts, and advanced industries are developing new, more effective management methods.

These achievements would have been greater had it not been for subversive actions by imperialist powers and international reaction. Our enemies are having recourse to all means in order to inflict damage on our country, but they are plotting in vain. They would like to see Vietnam bleed white and weaken, but Vietnam is gaining strength and making steady progress. Efforts are being made to divert and compromise Vietnam, but it is winning increasing confidence and affection among progressive humankind.

In overcoming the bitter effects of the past and working on new problems of managing socialist construction, we sometimes miscalculated. Inevitable negative circumstances arose in an economic and social situation that was not at all simple. In recent years the party and the working people have been able to weed out many weak spots and shortcomings thanks to the enhanced level of the theoretical and practical knowledge of our cadres and the whole people in the sphere of scientific socialism, to

their more profound understanding of the actual state of the economy and the laws governing social progress.

We are currently working on two strategic objectives: building socialism and ensuring the country's defence. Within the next few years, in order to attain the targets set by the party's Fifth Congress, we have to achieve a comprehensive stabilisation of the economic situation, reinforce the basis of management along new principles, and increase the growth rate of labour productivity and the national income so as to satisfy the population's requirements more fully. We are carrying out three revolutions: in the relations of production, in science and technology, and in ideology and culture, with the scientific and technological revolution playing the key role. We are trying to develop a rational economic structure and a dynamic mechanism, pursuing a progressive industrial policy in keeping with the specifics of the various industries and professions, and improving the system of education, including polytechnical, vocational, and professional training. We are perfecting ideological and cultural work with the requirements of practice as the criteria, and propagating the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism, which, assimilated by the people, are becoming a material force. We are giving special attention to introducing and explaining at all levels and in all areas of society's life the principle: 'The party leads, the people exercise the rights of master, and the state governs.'

The party regards the creative efforts of the nation as our most valuable asset, and we are doing everything to promote its vast potentialities and capability. The well-known Marxist-Leninist principle that the people are the maker of history is implemented by the Communist Party of Vietnam by reinforcing the people's status and rights as the collective socialist master. Large-scale socialist production is becoming the economic backbone of this process. This is evidence of the people's revolutionary gains under the party's leadership and the guarantee of the successful realisation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of our revolution.

We shall go on developing the new culture, ensuring to each member of society a rich intellectual life in line with the lofty aims under which human relations express the splendid rule of life: 'One for all, and all for one.' It is our objective that each working person should be linked closely to society and that the socialist revolution should be the common cause of all so as gradually to translate into practice the great thesis of Marx and Engels that: 'The free development of each is the condition for the free development of all.'³

On the international scene the Vietnamese people are setting an example of determination and consistency in the efforts to safeguard universal peace and the basic and inviolable rights of humankind. US imperialism is today feverishly inflaming the nuclear arms race, creating a deadly threat to life on earth, and fanning hotbeds of war in many parts of the world in order to retrieve lost positions. In this situation the struggle for peace is becoming the cardinal and most urgent task of the peoples. It has, essentially speaking, become a continuation of the revolution and can enlist to its side all the proponents of a civilised life on our planet.

The main forces of the peace fighters are the community of socialist states headed by the Soviet Union, the communist and working class movement of capitalist countries, and the national liberation movement. The steady reinforcement of these forces and their tireless work to prevent war and consolidate national independence, democracy and social progress are the earnest that all the militarist provocations and conspiracies of international reaction will inescapably fail.

Vietnam, too, is active in this heroic offensive of the planet's peoples. Our party and government wholeheartedly approve and support the Soviet peace initiatives advanced by Mikhail Gorbachyov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. These are eloquent evidence of the Soviet Union's lofty sense of responsibility for the preservation of peace in the world and promotion of

cooperation and friendship among nations.

To help one's brothers and friends in the battle for the common cause is to help one's own self. We have supported the Kampuchean people, who deposed the bloody Pol Pot regime, which had destroyed millions of lives. The People's Republic of Kampuchea is recovering and looking to the future with confidence. The remnants of the reactionary hirelings of the Chinese expansionists are being swept out of its territory and its international standing is growing stronger. The solidarity and all-sided alliance between Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea, and the mutual link between their revolutions are growing steadily closer.

Vietnam's assistance to its Kampuchean brother is a splendid example of internationalism and humanism. It is winning the respect and appreciation of all progressive people and will be inscribed in gilded letters in the history of the two neighbouring peoples. Leading personalities of Southeast Asia and the whole world, who are assessing the situation soberly and without bias, are becoming increasingly convinced that an honest and frank dialogue between all the interested sides on the basis of respect for the basic national rights of the three countries of Indochina and the principles of peaceful coexistence is the surest way to settling the Kampuchean problem politically, ensuring peace and stability, and promoting friendly relations between the countries of the region.

Forty years is only a hundredth part of our history of four millenia. But this is a new era, which has given inspiration to the Vietnamese people and enabled them to move with the speed of 'twenty years in a single day' from the national democratic to the socialist revolution through three wars of liberation. In that period the Vietnamese have ceased to be an outcast people and they have put an end to their society's stagnation and inertness.

In analysing these forty years, which have witnessed many turbulent historical events and profound changes, it may be said that the work of the Communist Party of Vietnam was the cardinal factor of our victory. The party is the mind, honour, and conscience of our epoch. True to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, it is creatively applying its theory to the distinctive features of the Vietnamese nation and country. The party was founded and tempered by Nguyen Ai Quok, who was subsequently known as Ho Chi Minh. It embodies features that became the source of all our achievements: the combination of the nation's patriotic traditions with proletarian internationalism, the link between the Vietnamese and the general socialist revolution, and unity with the national liberation movement and with the struggle of the working class and all other working people of industrialised capitalist countries, of all revolutionaries, progressives, and peace fighters.

Our party has the utmost confidence in the people, who supported it in the years of enforced underground existence and after it came to power, when socialist construction commenced. It has invariably and faithfully served the people. The CPV is true to proletarian internationalism. As it has always done, it maintains unbreakable links with the CPSU. We are fully aware that the mighty Soviet Union is not only the creation of the Soviet people but the most valuable asset of the entire working class and all peoples, and the bulwark of peace and revolution.

Our party cherishes and abides by Lenin's call: 'Workers of all countries and all oppressed peoples, unite!'⁴ We are working for the interests of our nation and the whole of humanity, deepening our many-sided cooperation with the CMEA countries, and developing friendly relations with the non-aligned states. We stand shoulder to shoulder with the peoples opposed to aggressive imperialism, and share our meagre portion of rice and our poor clothing with brothers and friends who experience difficulties, thereby discharging our duty to the communist, working class and national liberation movements. The party mobilises the nation's forces to the maximum and, at the same time, relies wholly on cooperation with the Soviet Union

and the other countries of the socialist community. We are adopting the best from the experience of other nations and applying the achievements of scientific and technological progress with account of our country's distinctions.

Fighting under the banner of national independence and socialism, Vietnam has won glorious victories. There will unquestionably be further triumphs in socialist construction and in the defence of the homeland. This is our contribution to the revolutionary cause of the peoples of the world.

¹ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 244.

² V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 124.

³ Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 506.

⁴ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 453.

Frederick Engels and the Present-Day Ideological Struggle

Heinrich Gemkow – Professor, Deputy Director, Institute of Marxism-Leninism, SUPG Central Committee

THIS year the international communist and working class movement will observe two memorable dates related to Frederick Engels: the 165th anniversary of his birth on November 28 and the 90th anniversary of his death on August 5.

In his will Engels requested that his funeral should be attended only by a few people. Accordingly, the attendance at the civil funeral rites in the centre of London on August 10, 1895 was small, about 80 persons, but they were representative of what by then had become a millions-strong army of the international revolutionary proletariat: August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Vera Zasulich, Paul Lafarge, Eleanor Marx-Aveling, Eduard Anseele, and British, Dutch, Polish, and Armenian Socialists.

Everybody's feelings were expressed in the short funeral oration delivered by Wilhelm Liebknecht: 'We have not had such a blow since we lost Karl Marx. With the death of Frederick Engels Marx died the second time around. . . The number of people at the graveside is small. But if all who are with us in thought were gathered here, there would be millions upon millions of people, and the whole of London would not accommodate them.'¹ In Liebknecht's words there was not a shadow of a well-meaning desire to exaggerate. This is borne out by the hundreds of articles in the international working class press and by the scores of rallies of mourning in many European countries and the USA—in Berlin, Budapest, Bucharest, Geneva, London, Madrid, New York, Valencia, Vienna, and Zurich.

In those August days the then young Vladimir Lenin was in Berlin studying the works of Marx and Engels that were unobtainable in his homeland. There he learned of the death of Engels. Grief-stricken by the sad news, he at once drafted an obituary, which has become a classical document of Marxism-Leninism under the simple heading **Frederick Engels**. 'From the time that fate brought Karl Marx and Frederick

Engels together,' he wrote, 'the two friends devoted their life's work to a common cause.'²

Today, as the class-conscious workers of the nineteenth century did, we speak of Marx and Engels most often without separating them. Although the concept 'Marxism' contains the name only of one of the founders of scientific communism, we always associate Marxism also with the name and historic work of its other creator—Engels. This is natural because the unity of their views and work is unreservedly confirmed by facts.

Indeed, Engels independently—at first in parallel with and separately from Marx and then in close collaboration with him—elaborated all the component parts of the new world-view, enriching them with underlying ideas and scientific findings. This concerned dialectical and historical materialism, political economy, and the teaching on the class struggle and the proletarian revolution. But this is not all. In accordance with the division of labour between him and Marx, Engels applied the materialist dialectical philosophy evolved jointly by them to new areas—natural history, military theory, aesthetics, linguistics, the history of social systems, and world and national German history. His was an immense contribution to demonstrating the world-wide significance of scientific communism's universal provisions. Lenin wrote: 'It is impossible to understand Marxism and to propound it fully without taking into account *all* the works of Engels.'³ In assessing Engels' work in preparing the second and third volumes of *Capital* for the printers, Lenin noted that 'these two volumes of *Capital* are the work of two men: Marx and Engels'.⁴ Engels took an active part also in the writing of the first volume of this great work of political economy as consultant, expert, and adviser. Marx constantly sought his assistance. Engels, who had a profound knowledge of economics and rich practical experience, was Marx's brilliant associate in this area of science as well.

Untenability of the Attempts to Dismember the Scientific World-View

For decades on end anti-Marxist analysts and pseudo-scholars have been endeavouring to construct a collision between Marx and Engels, between their views. They have sought to question the universal significance of Marxism's basic postulates and destroy its integrity. A special role is played here by the striving to belittle Engels' importance as an independent theorist, by making him out to be a 'great simplifier' or even 'vulgariser' of Marx's ideas. At best, Engels is described as having been a gifted populariser and propagandist of scientific communism.

Judgments of this kind contest not only the historical role played by Engels in elaborating the proletarian world-view and founding the international revolutionary working class movement. Under the guise of 'restoring genuine Marxism' they strip our theory of inalienable propositions which we owe precisely to Engels. Marxism allegedly 'vulgarised' by Engels is played off against 'authentic Marxism'—the doctored views of the young Marx reduced to general messianism. Marxist scholars show the futility of any attempts at running a dividing line between the views of Marx and Engels, at placing one above the other. From all that has been created by the founders of Marxism stems the conclusion that their creative work is indivisible. Engels' significance as a scientist and revolutionary can only be appreciated in the inseparable unity of his theoretical and practical work with the work of Marx, and vice versa.

We know how Engels himself assessed his contribution to the elaboration and development of the proletarian world-view. Many people remember him saying that throughout his life he played 'second fiddle'⁵ to Marx. On one occasion he modestly wrote: 'Marx was a genius; we others were at best talented.'⁶ Here, for the sake of historical justice we must beg to differ with Engels. He was not among the 'others'.

He was one of the founders and creators of scientific communism, Marx's comrade-in-arms during the decades that were crucial to their work. He was a thinker of the same stature as Marx. Of a different mould, he was a genius like Marx. Let us recall Lenin's words that 'Marx and Engels are justly named side by side as the founders of modern socialism'.⁷

Revealing the historic mission of the working class, the scientific world-view founded by Marx and Engels accomplished a revolution in humankind's intellectual life. Marxism's impact had determined the main content of all further battles in ideology. It was the forerunner of the most profound upheaval in economic, political, social, and ideological relations. Since the publication of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, the scientific world-view of the working class had been in continuous and unprecedentedly triumphant procession. Thanks to the efforts of communist and workers' parties the ideas of Marx, Engels, and the continuer of their work Lenin have captured the minds of the masses and evolved into a material force in the struggle against exploitation, oppression, and war, for peace, social justice, freedom, and true humanism. The masses have always been the motive force of historical development, but ever since the appearance of Marxism their struggle acquired a new dimension. For the first time ever they became conscious makers of their own history. Life daily illustrates that the ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin are fully applicable to this day although their creators lived and fought several generations before us.

In a curious way this is corroborated also by the enemies of progress, the anti-Marxists and anti-communists. For decades on end they have been trying to write off Marxism as a 'barren', 'antiquated', and even 'dead' teaching. Today they are once more calling for a crusade against existing socialism and its ideology, against allegedly 'dead' Marxism. Without batting an eyelid their trans-oceanic chieftain proclaimed his intentions of throwing Marxism on the 'dust heap of history'.⁸ Today, 40 years after the victory over Hitlerite fascism, it would not be superfluous to recall what blind anti-communism had brought its champions to in the past.

The course steered by the USA and NATO towards confrontation with the socialist countries and an arms race is accompanied by a significant growth of conservative trends in bourgeois ideology. This is mirrored also in the misrepresentations and bourgeois criticism of Marxism. As in the whole of present-day bourgeois ideology, there has been in this criticism a steep turn towards irrationalism, the propagation of social myths, and unconditional subordination to the interests of the most reactionary quarters of monopoly capital. This tendency is seen in the blanket, bellicose non-acceptance of Marxism, in the attempts to cast aspersions on it, portraying it as a religious doctrine and a theory of power, in the efforts of the Marxologists, notably of the neopositivist school, to depict the theory of Marx and Engels as unscientific, in the unceasing attempts to vilify its creators personally. What we are witnessing was noted by Engels in his polemic with the obscurantists of his day. Characterising bourgeois historiography, he wrote: The bourgeoisie turns everything into a commodity and, consequently, history as well. By virtue of its nature, by virtue of the conditions of its existence it is implicit in it to falsify every commodity; and it falsifies history as well. After all the most highly paid historical composition is that in which the falsification of history conforms best with the interests of the bourgeoisie.⁹

The falsifiers of Marxism, representing the conservative wing, direct their heaviest fire at the objective laws of social development uncovered by Marx and Engels. Meanwhile, they idealise the historically outworn, last exploiting society, whose vices—if they are at all acknowledged—are attributed to the imperfection of human nature. Conservative critics of Marxism, the 'destroyers of Marx' act from a position of irrationalism, of elitarian self-conceit, and of negating the role of the masses in history.

As everybody knows, a service rendered by Engels is that together with Marx he was the first to explain human society scientifically on the basis of a dialectico-materialistic understanding of history, expelling idealism, religion, and every sort of irrationalism from the world-view of the working class. In the light of this it is patently absurd to call Marxism a bare faith, a messianic or eschatological teaching, as the conservative ideologues are doing. As a matter of fact, this is not even an original approach. It had its precursors in the neo-Kantism of the 1920s (the writings of the Jesuit priest Gustav A. Wetter and the Dominican Joseph M. Bochenski) and in neopositivism. The present conservative detractors of Marxism—Jean Elleinstein, Richard Friedenthal, Leszek Kolakowski, Konrad Löw, Hans-Rudolf Peters, Ernst Topitsch, Ernst Wolf—follow in the footsteps of their predecessors in trying to prove that Marxism had from the beginning not been a scientific theory. Yet, it is precisely Marxism-Leninism's scientific character, the logic of its inner integrity, the unity in it of theory and practice, its guidelines towards understanding the processes taking place and arising in the world, and its creative dynamic and humanism that give this great teaching its strength and enlist to its side a growing number of adherents in all parts of the world.

The theory evolved by Marx and Engels in the course of their decades-long cooperation and developed by Lenin is an inexhaustible fount of creative ideas that make it possible to resolve pressing theoretical and practical problems. Evidence of this, for example, is the programme adopted by the SUPG in 1976. This programme shows how our party—and in equal measure it would be fair to say this of the fraternal parties of many socialist countries—uses the basic postulates of scientific communism in the building of a developed socialist society. This applies to economic strategy, in particular.

In *A Critique of Political Economy*, written in the course of an animated exchange of ideas with Engels, Marx stresses that costly machines are used not for their own sakes but for the purpose of raising cost-effectiveness. 'If costly machines were used to produce a small quantity of goods they would not be a productive force but would make the product much dearer than if it were made without machines.'¹⁰ The principal effect of the use of costly machines (today such are, in the first place, robots and applied microelectronics) is achieved, as Marx concluded, if the quantity of goods increases in proportion to the increase in the number of machines and the quantity of live labour decreases. The ideas of the founders of scientific communism underlie the SUPG economic strategy, which is oriented on turning 'intensive extended reproduction . . . into the determining foundation of the growth of our national economy'.¹¹

Practice shows that under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party socialist society has all the potentialities for successfully continuing socialist construction in the more complex international political and economic situation of the 1980s. The immense creative strength of the people and the topicality and universal significance of the ideas of Marx and Engels unfold in the course of socialism's development. The further consolidation of the socialist homeland as part of the community of socialist states is at the same time our most important contribution to the struggle for peace on the international scene.

Ideas That Help to Uphold Peace

Among Engels' innumerable theoretical ideas and practical revolutionary accomplishments, the impact of which on international development has not and will not diminish, I should like to mention his behests concerning the struggle for peace, which is the cardinal issue of our day. This is all the more significant because for several years this issue has been at the heart of the international falsification of Marxism. In particular, it is asserted that for Marx and Engels any war, regardless of

its causes and aims, was the decisive means for spreading the proletarian revolution world-wide. For example, Richard Friedenthal wrote a biography of Marx in which he asserts that to the end of their lives the founders of scientific communism hoped that in Russia, France, Poland or somewhere else 'there would be war and turmoil. . . Then would come the hour of the proletariat.'¹² Scores of other 'destroyers of Marx' are singing the same tune, smearing scientific communism, calling it 'a strategy of destruction' of a 'proletarian doctrine of war',¹³ reinforcing their criticism of Marxism with the imperialist lie about the 'threat from the East' and with references to a doctrine of 'totalitarianism'. Falsifications of this kind serve to justify the US course towards building up armaments and preaching a savage anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

Marxologists take advantage of the fact that in some countries people know little about the life and work of Marx and Engels. In the light of historical facts such assertions are shown up to be lies—in some cases clumsy and in others subtle. Wars are not the product either of Marxism or of existing socialism. Their causes are rooted in private property in the means of production and the consequent existence of exploiting classes. World wars were started by capitalism. Today the threat of humankind's nuclear destruction comes from US imperialism.

Engels, founder of Marxist-Leninist military science who was after 1870 genially called 'the General' by his friends because of his extensive knowledge of military theory, was, as Marx, an emphatic opponent of the wars unleashed by the exploiting classes and an ardent champion of peace and disarmament, and urged a peaceful future for the peoples. This stems logically from the postulate, evolved by him jointly with his friend, about there being a natural link between capitalism and the striving for war, at one pole, and between socialism and the will for peace, at the other.

As early as in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* Marx and Engels wrote the following classical lines:

'In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to.

'In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end.'¹⁴

This was thus the first ever scholarly substantiation of the thesis that the struggle for peace, for the right to life—the paramount right of man—is an inalienable part of the historic mission of the working class, of the struggle for socialism. No attack or fabrication by past and present 'crusaders' can shatter this thesis in any way.

In the following decades, especially when the First International was functioning, working in close contact with Marx, Engels constantly returned to the question of how the proletariat could and should fight the war threat. From the mid-1880s onwards he became more strongly convinced that the uneven economic development of individual capitalist states and the increasingly feverish arms race of the European states—among which the German Empire played the leading role—were creating the threat of a European and, more, of a world war. Engels watched this process with deep anxiety. In letters and articles written in the 1890s he enunciated the view that in the impending war no Socialist, whatever his nationality, could wish any of the European powers to win. He considered that the cause of socialism would be ensured with the preservation of peace. 'Precisely for that reason the Socialists of all countries stand for peace.'¹⁵ He pointed out at the same time that a war of extermination would not save the capitalist system. He drew these conclusions in 1891 from his analysis of the international situation.

Stressing that there could be lasting peace only under socialism, Engels considered in his letters and articles the possibility of the proletariat removing, while capitalism was still in power, the sources of the threat of war or at least restricting them. His was a sober approach to these issues. He was disgusted with the empty rhetoric about

bourgeois governments wanting peace and a 'universal fraternisation of peoples'. Experience and a scientific analysis convinced him that war and the threat of war could be eliminated only by action, by the struggle of the masses under the leadership of the working class and its revolutionary party. He considered that it was the duty of the revolutionary working class movement to create the necessary ideological conditions in the shape of a strongly rooted proletarian internationalism and democratic anti-militarism, and also the organisational conditions by uniting all opponents of war.

These were the underlying ideas also of a work published two years before his death under the compelling title of *Can Europe Disarm?* This was the first ever project of disarmament based on a scientific analysis of society, and the Communists take pride in the fact that it came from the pen of one of their great teachers. Although this work was written nearly a hundred years ago, its basic ideas are amazingly topical and to this day serve as a guide for action.

On the basis of research into the alignment of political and military forces, Engels advanced a programme of disarmament with detailed facts and figures. It was consistently founded on the principle that there was an equal and mutual need for security. Let me emphasise: all the initiatives of the socialist states, of the USSR in the first place, for strengthening peace and for disarmament have from the very outset been based on the principle of equality and equal security. Naturally, Engels was aware that partial disarmament based on mutual agreement could be achieved only as a result of a struggle of all the strata of the peoples threatened by the Moloch of militarism and war, and that compliance with it would require tireless and rigid verification by the masses.

Further, Engels made it clear that the struggle for disarmament is democratic. It is a movement in which the working class must be the initiator and advanced champion. At the same time, as no other movement, it is able to involve the broadest sections of society. The SUPG and other fraternal parties have been steadfastly guided by this principle in their present strategy of struggle for peace, working to put together the broadest and most durable alliance of peace fighters. Already in Engels' day such a strategy was possible and necessary. On the people, he wrote, 'almost exclusively devolves the duty to supply the mass of soldiers and pay the bulk of the taxes'.¹⁶ Today this problem is much more acute because the availability of nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction to imperialism's aggressive forces makes disarmament a question of life and death for the whole of humanity. At the same time, as experience shows, thanks to the existence of the Soviet Union, the socialist community, and the world peace movement the possibilities for a successful struggle for detente, disarmament, and peace are incomparably more favourable today.

It is of great significance that Engels advocated phased disarmament. In contrast to pacifist illusions and the sectarian demand of 'all or nothing', he suggested that in the struggle for disarmament attainable aims should be put forward step by step. Why is it so important to map out attainable partial aims while working for general and complete disarmament? Because on the basis of partial successes it is possible to enlist a growing number of people into the struggle against the arms race and the threat of war, to reinforce their strength, courage, and faith in their own potentialities. Today this principle, which was advanced by Engels, serves the states of the socialist community and all the other peace forces as a compass.

Lastly, Engels—and here, too, social practice has demonstrated the credibility of his behests—stressed that while it is an international task the struggle against the arms race places a special responsibility on the German revolutionary working class movement. The historical duty of the German working people, he wrote, 'is to be leader in the matter of disarmament as is rightfully due to the country that gave the signal for armament'.¹⁷ Here one involuntarily recalls the pledge made by the

German anti-fascists in 1945 and the fidelity to it that is invariably stressed by Erich Honecker: 'War will never again come from our new, socialist Germany'.¹⁸

From its first line to the last, Engels' work *Can Europe Disarm?* proclaims a principle that has been borne out by history: War must be fought before it breaks out.

* * *

From the scientific and dynamic character of our dialectico-materialistic world-view stems a remarkable quality seen time and again by, I would say, every Communist and every individual who addresses Marxism without prejudice. No matter how closely you reread the works of Marx and Engels, you invariably discover something new, you find an idea that escaped you in your earlier reading, and detect thoughts consonant with our day. What explains this? This miracle is achieved by materialist dialectics as a theory and method that Marx and Engels jointly evolved and skilfully applied in their works. This is what induces, more, compels the reader to think dialectically, creatively, and in harmony with practice together with the authors and develop their ideas. The constantly changing world with its problems arising in a new way are what make it so necessary, useful, and heartening to turn to the classics of Marxism-Leninism for advice. Constant creative consultation with the theoretical legacy left to us by Marx, Engels, and Lenin is the guarantee of our successes in the struggle for peace and socialism.

¹ *Ihre Namen leben durch die Jahrhunderte fort. Kondolenzen und Nekrologe zum Tode von Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels*, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1983, p. 332.

² V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 19.

³ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 91.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 26.

⁵ Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Vol. 36, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1979, p. 218.

⁶ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 3, p. 361.

⁷ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 558.

⁸ *Wireless Bulletin From Washington*, Bonn, June 9, 1982.

⁹ Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Vol. 16, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1977, p. 554.

¹⁰ Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Vol. 42, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1983, p. 633.

¹¹ *Aus dem Bericht des Politbüros an die 9. Tagung des ZK der SED. Berichterstatter: Genosse Erich Honecker*, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1984, p. 31.

¹² Richard Friedenthal, *Karl Marx. Sein Leben und seine Zeit*, Munich-Zurich, 1981, pp. 597-598.

¹³ *Karl Marx und das politische System der DDR*, 1982, p. 148.

¹⁴ Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 503.

¹⁵ Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Vol. 22, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1982, p. 256.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 373.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 398.

¹⁸ *Neues Deutschland*, May 6, 1985.

Latin America: the Lessons of the War and the Revolutionary Process

Orlando Millas—member of the CC Political Commission and Secretariat, Communist Party of Chile (PCC)

THE great victory over Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism created a new situation for the whole of mankind, including the peoples of Latin America, which were also faced with the sinister Nazi threat of annihilation or slavery. The unconditional surrender of the countries dominated by the most brutal reaction eliminated that danger for the working class, the peasantry, the numerous middle strata, the intelligentsia, women and young people, and opened up before them ways towards a more resolute advance to national liberation and social emancipation. Powerful forces emerged and came into motion. The battle for freedom, progress and a second independence¹ was resumed, but now on a higher level. US imperialism did its utmost to contain the rising democratic tide, and at one time it even appeared that the night of reaction was once again descending on our continent, and that the countries south of the Rio Grande were doomed to remain on the sidelines of historical progress. But that was no more than an impression: over the past four decades the balance of class forces has been changed to such an extent by the world-wide upheaval caused by the rout of fascism that the line imperialism tried to impose on mankind could not be longlived; the peoples of the continent rose to the struggle again and again, with the process epitomised by the Cuban revolution, the most important page in Latin America's long history.

Knowing the Truth about World War II

The anniversary of the Great Victory was made central to contemporary life both in our region and in other parts of the globe by the great impact on the whole world of the events that took place 40 years ago.

Reaction cannot forget the mighty movements of solidarity with the anti-Hitlerite coalition which surged in every Latin American country, the great attention with which multitudes of people watched the progress of the fighting, especially on the Soviet-German front, and what the war taught the working masses. That is why the falsifiers of history are now trying so hard and putting many millions of dollars into their futile efforts to distort the past, to conceal the true facts, to stand things on their head, to whitewash the fascists, to clear the culprits of historical responsibility and smear those who saved mankind at the price of their blood. Imperialism fears that the peoples will draw their own conclusions from the experience which culminated in the defeat of Hitler and his allies and patrons. Latin America's right-wing press—and regrettably not it alone—keeps printing the silliest inventions in an effort to scare its readers, to confuse them, and to prevent them from understanding the gist of the fascist regime and comprehending the basis of its policy of aggrandisement and the content of the anti-Comintern i.e., anti-communist pact, which linked Nazi Germany with fascist Italy and militarist Japan. The gutter press has been trying to justify the rightists' leniency to the aggressors of every stripe, the wild anti-Soviet hysteria and the Nazis' horrible crimes against humanity, to cover up the terrible reality of the concentration camps, and to make men forget about the mass annihilation of

Another in the series on the 40th anniversary of the rout of fascism, and the history and lessons of the Second World War by authors of various parts of the world, including Latin America (see S. Malin's article in *WMR*, No. 4, 1985 and G. Vieira's in No. 5, 1985).

millions and about how the war was prepared and what it led to. Even on the progress of the actual military operations, bourgeois propaganda has resorted to diverse tricks and dodges to distort their true nature. On orders from Washington, it has made 'amendments' to history and substituted all kinds of inventions for it. It all adds up to a wide-ranging Operation Big Lie about the origins and course of the Second World War. These facts show how important and meaningful the topic is and they put the duty on the democratic circles, us, Communists, in the first place, to stand up for the truth and to re-establish it.

The war ended over 40 years ago. Those who are now fifty and younger were children or had yet to be born when the battles were raging at the approaches to Moscow, at Stalingrad and the Kursk Bulge, when the allies landed in Normandy, when Paris was liberated, when the Nazis were expelled from Yugoslavia, when the Soviet troops stormed Berlin and when many other important events took place. These people want to know what happened at that time, they want to have true historical information and to rely on the experience that is relatively recent but that is of abiding interest. The peoples must have the truth at their disposal, because it helps to comprehend current events.

The Prewar Struggle for Peace: the Lessons

Imperialist propaganda has a special stake in obscuring the peoples' struggle to avert the Second World War. Those efforts were not crowned with success, but they have left us some valuable historical lessons and were of tremendous significance in exposing the aggressors. When the war broke out, they developed into firm resolve to stand up to fascism and fight it.

In the 1930s, Latin America was in the throes of the cyclical crisis that hit the citadels of imperialism in 1929. That was a period of economic disasters, record unemployment, spiraling inflation and steadily growing privation for broad masses of people. The reactionaries managed to use the crisis for their own interests in most of the countries on the continent, installing rightist governments and even oligarchic dictatorships in many cases, and using fascist techniques. But there were simultaneously social battles and anti-imperialist actions in the course of which the masses came to know the name of Augusto Cesar Sandino. That was when some of the decrepit tyrannies came down with a loud crash. Broad democratic movements, epitomised in the activity of the Lázaro Cárdenas Cabinet with its policy of renewal in Mexico, and the victory of the Popular Front and the Aguirre Cerda government in Chile, were a characteristic feature of the prewar period.

Exposure of the danger of war, concentration of efforts to safeguard peace, and the struggle for disarmament invariably marked the memorable popular actions in Latin America. All of the peoples' democratic demands had an anti-war and anti-fascist ring and displayed active solidarity with the victims of the criminal acts and aggressions perpetrated by the Nazis and their allies. That was a period of mass actions in defence of the life and freedom of Ernst Thaelmann and Georgi Dimitrov, whose names were writ large and red on the walls of thousands of houses, and whose image was cherished by the inhabitants of many towns and villages. At the same time, the continent was swept by a wide-ranging and militant campaign in support of Republican Spain. These events went to the hearts of Latin Americans, had a deep impression on their conscience and enabled them to understand just how much effort and energy the Soviet Union was putting in to avert the looming war, to erect a barrier in the way of the aggressors through an effective collective security system and to safeguard peace.

Reactionary journalists now specialise in distorting the realities of the past and try to substitute all kinds of slander for the facts of history. They keep twisting the circumstances in which the Soviet Union concluded its non-aggression pact with

Germany and its true purposes, and how it helped the Soviet Union to delay the Nazi aggression for a short but highly vital period. They also distort many other facts.

But the lessons of those years are alive; they have not left us to disappear in the past. They are a part of the people's invaluable common experience, and we must not allow anyone to scrap it. It is perfectly clear, for instance, that Nazism and fascism generated a turbid tide of reaction, of anti-communism, in the first place. The sinister activities of Hitler, Mussolini, Franco, and of collaborationists like Petain and his tribe in Latin America showed that anti-communism lead to anti-patriotism, inhumanity and monstrous savagery. In foreign policy, the 'anti-Comintern axis' had an influence on bourgeois rulers of diverse stripe through its dogmas of anti-Sovietism, as they were forced to make one concession after another: surrenders like the Munich betrayal of Czechoslovakia, abandonment of their own national interests, agreement to leave Austria and Spain to the aggressors' tender mercies, and to oil the Nazi war machine with vast financial injections. The prewar period showed very well, therefore, that anti-Sovietism, the basic weapon of reaction, serves the basest purposes and is aimed against the cause of peace.

But the main conclusion to be drawn from the rich historical experience of the 1930s testifies to the need to oppose the threat of war before the guns start shooting. Any hesitation or connivance is tantamount to suicide. Only when the hurricane of the Second World War began to devastate countries and whole continents, many statesmen realised that they had failed to appreciate the positive significance of the Soviet peace initiatives in due time, while millions of men and women became aware how right we, Communists, had been in calling for a general mobilisation against the aggressors. Our duty is to see that none of this is forgotten today. The present threat—the threat of nuclear war—is immensely more dangerous, but the forces capable of safeguarding peace have also grown incomparably and, besides, have much greater experience. It only needs to refrain from procrastination, and to discard all placidity, conciliation and self-complacency.

Unity of action by broad democratic progressive circles and those who support peace or political realism, at the least, have become imperative. It is highly significant that in Latin America as well there are ever more resonant calls for a struggle against the nuclear madness. However, the importance and significance of this great task has not yet been fully realised in some countries of the continent.

Crucial Contribution

The past four decades provide an opportunity for making a comprehensive assessment of the course and crucial turning points of the mammoth battle which ended in 1945. It has been described in reams upon reams of the most diverse writings, in endless speeches at conferences and in radio broadcasts, and on millions of kilometres of film, all of that being evidence of the impact of the war on the life of mankind, although there is no doubt that a fairly large part of the books, dissertations, statements, broadcasts and films seeks to present a biased picture in substitution of the actual facts. That is why the major TV serial on the main front of the war—the Soviet-German front—produced on a strictly documentary and objective basis and intended mainly for viewers in the capitalist countries has been called 'The Unknown War'.²

The war has left an indelible imprint on those who witnessed those dramatic events. Although Latin America was not a theatre of military operations—they did not reach it—our continent did not remain indifferent to the life-and-death struggle. People in Latin America felt that each battle was crucial to the destinies of its peoples, and its whole way of life was largely connected with the on-going battles. We knew well the names of the Soviet generals and marshals and also of the many popular heroes of Lenin's country. Thousands of girls, for instance, were named Zoya by their parents

in honour of the courageous Soviet girl Zoya Kosmodemyanskaya, or Tania, as she was known among her fellow-partisans. Among the favoured names for boys was Orel and others names of cities where the Soviet troops routed the Nazis. As reports on the progress of the war came in, the smokescreen of the anti-Soviet propaganda set up by reaction was dispelled and anti-communist myths burst like soap bubbles.

It is highly important to recall once again and make tangible for our own day the experience of that period, to emphasise its truly democratic content, and to acquaint the new generations with the history of the recent past.

The 40th anniversary of the Great Victory puts forward the responsible and pressing task of assessing each patriot's contribution to the crucial battle for mankind's salvation on which the whole subsequent development of history depended. We, Communists, have no intention of forgetting anyone or ignoring anyone's participation. We remember everyone depending on their actual merits or, conversely, their vicious acts. Now is the time to consider those who sang paeans of praise to Hitler and Mussolini, who put their stakes on these men, who followed their man-hating line and in many cases provided them with aid and services in an effort to oblige the aggressors. Today, some of these fascist hangers-on have donned the garb of democrats, while remaining the anti-communists they have always been. By contrast, credit should be given to those who promoted the success of the anti-Hitlerite coalition's struggle, while being guided by a far from similar ideology. After all, it was a war in which the battle against the aggressors was joined together with the Soviet Union by the major imperialist powers, including the United States and Great Britain, and also by the other capitalist countries, despite their different social systems. The peoples voiced their gratitude to Franklin D. Roosevelt, Charles de Gaulle and all the other statesmen who had the strength of mind to rise above their bias and preconceptions for the sake of their supreme duty, to come out against fascism and to participate in its defeat. Many political leaders and government members on our continent took a similar stand.

For those very reasons, it is important duly to assess the Soviet Union's crucial role. To it, as to no one else, belongs the fundamental contribution to the containment and then the destruction of Hitler's juggernaut war machine. The war showed the great strength of the Soviet system and its historical viability. The unquestionable superiority of the socialist system was manifested in the course of the war—the most gigantic war in history—as it had earlier been in peaceful construction and the solution of the most complicated problems of everyday life. The Soviet people's immortal exploits and boundless heroism, its capacity to overcome a savage enemy who had the resources of the whole of Europe at his disposal, and the military art of the Soviet Army, a new type of armed forces, add up to the greatest lesson of the Second World War. The Soviet Union's accomplishments provide a wealth of experience, whose study is of tremendous interest for all the popular movements. The malicious campaign of misinformation started by imperialism in its efforts to delete the unforgettable pages of history and to create a false impression of the Soviet reality by distorting and falsifying it is designed to impoverish the peoples politically and spiritually and to hamper the working people's struggle for their rights and national liberation.

If one is to give a true assessment of the Second World War, one has also to reckon with the exceptionally important factor of the contribution made by the communist and working class movement in every country, and the exceptional selflessness of the millions of Communists who gave their all and even life itself to the struggle against the 'brown plague' on the various fronts and in the most diverse forms. The communist parties of Latin America enhanced their authority by their steadfastness, clarity and creative initiative in fulfilling their anti-fascist duty, where they were given valuable assistance by the Communist International, a fact which, quite naturally,

aroused the hatred of the Nazis and their accomplices. It is highly characteristic that the CIA (when it got notorious Gestapo butchers to act as its consultants) contracted with its mercenary scribblers to concoct a book bearing the signature of the renegade Eudocio Ravínez,³ describing the Communists' 'bloodthirstiness', and having the purpose of distorting, smearing and slandering the noble struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties of the continent, as the authors of that forgery subsequently admitted in their 'reminiscences'. That evidently anecdotal case merely goes further to emphasise the hatred of the fascists and their present-day sponsors for those who have always been in the front ranks of the dedicated fighters against imperialist reaction.

Echoes of the Great Victory

The unconditional surrender of Nazi Germany and then of militaristic Japan opened the new chapter in the annals of every nation on the globe. The prevalent opinion in Latin America was that mankind's colossal sacrifices had not been made in vain and that it was time to get down to tackling the major social problems and to paving the way for a more full-blooded and radiant life in freedom.

The Latin Americans directed the sharp edge of their actions against the two salient sores which historical development had left on the continent: latifundism and imperialist domination. It is noteworthy that the demands both for agrarian reform and for an end to imperialist oppression simultaneously gathered exceptional force in all the broad democratic movements which emerged just after the war. They were closely tied in with the struggle for genuine democracy, and for the satisfaction of the vital requirements of the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and the middle strata. For generations, masses of people had starved and keenly felt the acute shortage of hospitals, schools and housing. The homes of huddled working people lacked any conveniences. The deprivation and the ceaseless abuse of the most elementary human rights were intolerable, and people refused to go on living in that way. These problems were reflected in the rapid change of the everyday political lexicon.

Major reformist movements, including populist ones (and their influence is still being felt) began to develop in various Latin American countries in the course of the Second World War, acquiring a new content with the victories of the anti-fascist coalition. At the same time, the already existing parties began to review their objectives, hastily trying to adapt themselves to the peculiarities of the situation.

There are many facts from that period reminding one of the invigoration of the social struggle, which was joined by many millions of men and women who were organised and who came mainly and above all from the working class. There was a sharp upswing in the trade union movement, a growth in the number of strikes and the emergence of new forms of action by the exploited. Unitary class trade union centres rapidly gained in strength, and the role of the Confederation of Working People of Latin America was enhanced as a mighty association which took part in the founding of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU). It was headed by the Mexican leader Lombardo Toledano.

The Latin American communist parties, which operated in virtually all the countries of the continent, likewise increased their influence. Many of them (virtually a majority) characteristically decided in those conditions that it was necessary to rewrite their programmes, to specify their positions based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, deepen their study of the realities and formulate the major tasks for rallying and uniting the revolutionary forces. There was a far-ranging debate with a rejection of the Browderite postulates and the slide down to reformism and accommodation.⁴ One could say that in that period of high political activity of the masses, the revolutionary, independent and common line of the communist parties of

Latin America, their proletarian internationalism and clear-cut Marxist-Leninist orientation were firmly asserted.

Such was the situation in which powerful social movements got under way with the objective of eliminating feudalism, the latifundia and the dependence on imperialism, modernising the economy, developing production, considerably enlarging the public-health and education system, resolutely supporting the national cultures, giving the working class access to the leadership of the society, and attaining real successes in genuine democratisation. Latin America was in a state of turmoil, and the demands which were later spelled out in the Havana Declarations⁵ were heard on every hand. The then prevalent situation was reflected in the 1946 presidential elections in Chile, which were won by a coalition with a clear-cut programme for change. In November of that year, a new government with three communist ministers was formed in our country. In the 1947 general municipal elections, the CP Chile topped the poll among the political parties of the republic.

The growth of the communist press was yet another indicator of the changing situation. The dailies *La Hora* (Buenos Aires), *Hoy* (Havana) and *El Siglo* (Santiago) were issued in large printings. There was a heightened interest in Marxist-Leninist literature, and a number of publishing houses, above all those in Argentina, Mexico, Cuba, Brazil, Colombia and Uruguay, published—for a wide readership—works by the classics of scientific communism and also by communist authors from Latin America.

The emergence of trends signifying the start of a swing in the consciousness and behaviour of religious people was another important feature of the postwar period. Up to then, the Catholic Church had taken pride in being the bastion of reaction, being dominated by the darkest integralist urges, while the hierarchy had made a point of emphasising its rabid anti-communism. Conservative parties in many countries had operated as denominational organisations, and this had hampered the struggle for social progress in Latin America. (In the centuries of the Spanish colonial conquest, when the cross and the sword were identified with each other, the Christian religion had struck deep root among broad strata of the population.) During the obscurantist pontificate of Pope Pius XII, the Vatican patronised the surviving Nazi criminals, while most of the Latin American bishops continued to be an instrument of the oligarchy. But in the 1940s, it became obvious that the masses of believers, and some clergymen and prominent Catholic intellectuals together with them, had taken account of the experience and ideas of their predecessors, and had moved well ahead along the way which led to their involvement in the popular movement, without any detriment to their religious feelings. It was a complicated, contradictory and difficult process that was fraught with conflict and that had its ups and downs, but it was characteristic of this epoch of the world-wide transition from capitalism to socialism and communism.

The above-mentioned and some other signs of the development of the class struggle in the 1940s and especially right after the war showed that the Latin American revolution was moving into a higher phase.

Imperialist Counter-Offensive

The states south of the Rio Grande were also seriously affected by the cold war, which the ideologists of reaction claimed was no more than the US adoption of an anti-Soviet line. But the peoples of the globe were convinced from their own experience that it was a broad imperialist counter-offensive aimed to reverse the changes resulting from the Second World War. People on our continent were perfectly well aware that the United States had conceived and was realising its line and resorting to extreme measures in an effort to impose on the Latin American republics hated tyrannies, to suppress the democratic movements, to redouble the exploitation and

to implant neocolonialism, while its policy was anti-Soviet because the USSR, like the socialist community as a whole, was a solid bulwark of peace whose example in building the new society indicated and determined the mainstream of mankind's development. Those who were guided by petty interests or by sheer opportunism, or made concessions to anti-Sovietism, agreed to smear existing socialism and succumbed to poisoned imperialist propaganda because of their narrow-mindedness did harm above all to their own peoples and acted against their interests.

US imperialism unleashed the cold war and so took up the banners which had been knocked from Hitler's hands.

Pablo Neruda, the outstanding Chilean poet, concluded his 'General Song' on February 5, 1949. One of the sub-chapters of that remarkable work was entitled 'The Chronicle of 1948 (America)', and began with the words of a curse: 'Evil year, year of the rats, impure year!'⁶ It deals with Paraguay under the Higinio Morínigo dictatorship, with Brazil under the Dutra tyranny, with Cuba where the working class leader Jesús Menéndez was killed, with Central America and Chile, the situation in all of which is tied in with the situation in Greece. Neruda describes Mr. Truman arriving in Puerto Rico, in the hope of the transparent waters of the seas around washing clean his blood-stained hands.⁷ Neruda drew the conclusion that imperialism had committed a great many crimes in Latin America dooming us to long years of 'the rats'. The 'Chronicle of 1948' is intensely dramatic because it portrays events which followed upon mankind's victory over Hitlerite fascism. But the 'General Song' expresses the faith that the dark forces of regress will be finally crushed, and that a new and even more powerful upswing in the Latin American peoples' struggle will take place soon, very soon.

We Are Contemporaries of the Cuban Revolution

Latin America has indeed continued its revolutionary march. There is a dialectical connection, direct continuity and definite consistency in the interlaced events caused on the continent by the rout of Hitlerite fascism in the Second World War, by the peoples' resistance to the massive imperialist counter-offensive, and by subsequent events, including the great social battles of our day.

In Latin America, imperialism has set up a system of total domination based on effective and sophisticated mechanisms of economic plunder and dependence, and on financial relations controlled by the International Monetary Fund, with special emphasis on manipulating the mass consciousness through a wide network of mass media run by the transnational corporations, which have taken control of press, radio, television, screen and stage. They have been carrying on an out-and-out psychological war. A great many legal instruments are used to support the so-called system of pan-Americanism, or inter-Americanism, headed by the Organisation of American States (OAS), which is a sort of US department for colonial affairs. The Pentagon exercises direct and constant control over the armed forces of the Latin American countries, doing so through the Inter-American Defence Council, the military pacts, the so-called national security doctrine, military missions, training courses for commissioned and non-commissioned officers, and so on.

That being so, it is not surprising that the United States is capable of hitting out at the patriotic governments, frequently imposing its will on them, hatching plots, and cracking the whip in most of Latin America. However, the fact that the United States no longer manages to get all it wants right away, is noteworthy and of ever more essential significance. Its puppet regimes keep collapsing, while the anti-imperialist attitudes have grown steadily. Imperialism is pulling against the tide, as the saying goes, and it is the mighty and irreversible tide of history.

The Cuban Revolution is the most important event in the history of Latin America, and all Latin Americans take pride in socialist Cuba's successes, thanks to which the

countries of the continent have entered upon a new stage of their development. It is precisely as a great event with far-reaching consequences that the Cuban Revolution enjoys the broadest all-round support. After all, each Latin American nation is now confronted—in its own conditions and in one form or another—with the inevitable need of liberating itself from foreign-monopoly oppression. The Sandinist Revolution has won in Nicaragua and is carrying on a tireless battle, beating back US aggression. The patriots of El Salvador and Guatemala are fighting for their freedom arms in hand. Democratic governments have once again come to power in Bolivia, Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil. Resistance to Wall Street's financial domination has been growing throughout the region. The peoples of Paraguay, Haiti and Chile are firmly resolved to get rid of their oppressive tyrannies. Resistance in our country is mounting, is being radicalised in a thousand forms, and it should put an end to the fascism of Pinochet, a willing tool of the White House and the Pentagon.

The prospects opened up before mankind by the rout of Hitlerite fascism continue to prevail in Latin America to this very day.

¹ From imperialist sway.—*Ed.*

² A film by the outstanding Soviet film documentarist Roman Carmen.—*Ed.*

³ Eudocio Ravínez, a renegade to the Latin American and international communist movement and a paid agent of the CIA. His name is on the cover of a book entitled *Big Fraud*, which broad public circles on the continent have come to regard as synonymous with treachery and moral turpitude.—*Ed.*

⁴ Earl Browder (General Secretary of the CPUSA from 1930 to 1945) propounded revisionist theses on the allegedly changed character of US imperialism and the disappearance of antagonistic contradictions in the capitalist countries. On the basis of these erroneous assumptions, he urged what was in effect the self-dissolution of the revolutionary organisations of the working class and their replacement by amorphous non-party associations.—*Ed.*

⁵ The Havana Declarations of 1960 and 1962 were the first programmatic documents of the Cuban Revolution, which condemned imperialist intervention in Latin American affairs, latifundism, man's exploitation by man, social inequality, and racial discrimination, and reaffirmed the right of the peoples of the continent to self-determination.—*Ed.*

⁶ Pablo Neruda, *General Song*, Moscow, 1954, p. 186 (in Russian).

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 189.

the party

By Defending the Masses We Strengthen the Party

Janet Jagan – CC Secretary, People's
Progressive Party of Guyana

IN its work with the people our party is guided by the general Leninist principles of its policy, by the resolutions of its 21st Congress (1982), which charted specific areas of struggle for the masses at the present stage, and by the provisions of the PPP Constitution. A cardinal aim of the party organisation, the Constitution says, is to enhance the party's role among the population at the place of residence and work at educational institutions, and in mass organisations, i.e., wherever it is possible to fight for the interests and defend the rights of the working class and other oppressed strata.

The PPP's work is structured on the basis of a constant account of the most pressing needs of the masses which at present stem from the calamitous state of the nation's economy. Unemployment now affects 30 per cent of the workforce and wages have been long lagging behind the growth of the cost of living. Taxes are rising, the cost of living is high, public spending is being cut, and there is an acute shortage of prime necessities.

The PPP's wide-ranging action programme is aimed at rectifying the present situation. It says in part that the production level will continue to drop or stagnate as long as the workers and peasants have no real say in resolving questions related to the economy. Further, they must be given the democratic right to join trade unions and other organisations and to elect leaders who will champion their interests. The party condemns the attempts to denationalise and abolish the state sector as insisted upon by the International Monetary Fund. It urges the creation of conducive conditions for small and medium businesses. To ease the economic situation as quickly as possible it suggests a temporary halt to the repayment of the external debt. In the social sphere the programme calls for, among other things, a campaign for larger pensions and material assistance to those who need it, the allocation of funds for unemployment relief to thousands of people dismissed from state enterprises and the private sectors, the introduction of school meals nationwide, and urgent steps to speed up the creation of jobs and provide vocational training for young and jobless people.

In the resolutions of the 21st Congress and in subsequent decisions of the PPP's leading bodies it is stressed that these targets cannot be attained without mobilising the masses for action in defence of their rights, without promoting their political activity, and without agitational, organisational, and educational work by the party.

One of our priorities is to reinforce the unity and militancy of the working class. The party is working to ensure that the trade union movement is a genuinely democratic force capable of championing the interests of the working people. In the past the conciliatory policy pursued by the main trade union centre, the Trades Union Congress of Guyana, disenchanted the working people time and again. For instance, for many years, the government¹ failed to abide by the agreement on an annual rise of the minimum wage, and the TUC had done nothing about this issue.

In this situation, the most consistent forces in the working class movement are fighting to reorganise the TUC to make it more militant and sensitive to the demands of the working people. This battle has been led by a four-union grouping,² formed in 1979 and acting from clear-cut class positions. And we may say that there are some results. At the last annual conference of the TUÇ, held in September 1984, there was a positive shift in its leadership.

In the immediate past these four unions have been joined by another two that act in the bauxite industry. The foundation for cooperation between them was laid in a joint strike struggle. For instance, as early as in mid-1983 workers of the sugar and bauxite industries acted in concert on the issue of staple foods. On other occasions sugar workers struck in solidarity with bauxite workers which was a demonstration not only of class unity but also of successful interaction between working people regardless of race.³

Our party feels it is expedient to act in all, even reactionary, Guyanese trade unions. It calls upon its members to do their utmost to arm the workers with our alternative programme and launch a struggle in factories and in the countryside. In this context, the CC report to the 21st PPP Congress stressed: 'Trade union leaders must be forced to defend the rights of workers or be forced out.' Already now it may be noted that there has been tangible progress in this respect.

The PPP maintains close links to peasants' associations. Our activists belonging to these associations are carrying out various important functions: many work in the groups assessing the quality of rice and checking the sugar content of sugar-cane, make sure that fair prices are established, monitor transactions between farmers and wholesale buyers, and insist on regular government supplies of insecticides, fertilisers, and farm machinery and other equipment. Close interaction with the party has brought these associations a larger role: they have made much headway in, for example, improving the drainage and irrigation systems, which are extremely important for the small farmers. In the taxpayers' and tenants' association operating in rural communities our representatives now head the struggle against rises in rents and community fees for the use of drainage and irrigation facilities.

Although there have been successes, much still remains to be done in the way of fully implementing the provisions of the party Constitution on work in mass organisations. Every party group is confronted with the task of enhancing the personal responsibility of its members and making sure that all have joined trade unions or farmers' organisations and are displaying the needed level of militancy.

An important aspect of the work of party groups is to reinforce links with industrial enterprises and also with working people at the place of residence, and disseminate our newspapers and literature among them. This is one way of ensuring an influx of new members into the PPP, which is orienting its members on painstaking and purposeful work in this direction.

Much of our effort is linked to the life of the community, which is the principal socio-group unit in Guyana and provides the best opportunities for direct contact with people. Central here is the task of conducting agitation among the population, of getting people to act for their day-to-day interests. This concerns the supply of potable water, drainage, regular repairs of roads and public buildings, improved sanitary conditions, the normal functioning of transport, and so forth. Party members

head delegations of inhabitants to the local authorities, take part in picketing, and help to draw up petitions. In mid-1983, when the Demerara River overflowed its banks and completely flooded the riverside section of Georgetown the country's capital, the PPP district committee helped the residents to pressure the authorities in order to get emergency measures taken to fight the disaster.

A new aspect of community activities has risen out of the escalating crime wave throughout the country. The incidents of violent crime have increased so rapidly, as a result of the decline in the social fabric of the nation; that persons have become overwhelmed by fear. Out of this situation, many party groups have been involved in organising 'vigilante groups' which patrol the village area at nights to keep out criminals.

As regards educational work, the primary and district organisations of the PPP frequently organise seminars and lectures on political themes to which everybody is invited. The showing of films is extremely popular, especially in rural communities and places situated far from the coast where leisure-time facilities are limited. In many localities the party groups have set up libraries which we open to members of the community. There is ongoing political education of the masses carried out village to village, street to street in the towns, at public meetings and at bottom house or yard meetings. Hundreds of these are held every year.

A component part of our efforts in this direction is the work of the women's organisation, which closely coordinates its activities with the PPP. It sponsors vocational courses, lectures on medical themes, and sports contests for girls, and draws women into action for specific demands, for example, an improved water supply which is vital to all households.

The PPP gives much of its attention to young people. In various parts of the country the party groups have initiated the formation of youth camps and bear the entire responsibility for their work. We regard this work as one of the ways of strengthening and enlarging the Progressive Youth Organisation, which functions under our party's guidance. Its members play a leading role in the parents' and teachers' associations, which supply schoolchildren with books and sports gear, look into the possibilities for improving the study process, and so on.

All this is helping to increase the PPP's influence in the localities and unite the working people around it.

Our party is making active use of the possibility of taking part in the Parliament and local bodies, seeing this not as the basic but only as one of the areas of its work. The PPP has ten members of parliament,⁴ 35 members of regional democratic councils, four village councillors, and three members of municipal councils.

Let us make it clear from the outset that because of election rigging by the authorities, the question of participation in elections has evoked some controversy. This question has been considered at special meetings of district organisations at which all the pros and cons were weighed. By an overwhelming consensus it was decided to take part in elections despite the underhand dealing. First, in order to expose this and, second, to have the opportunity to struggle in the National Assembly and councils of various levels.

Some people have tried to misrepresent the sense of this decision, alleging that the PPP is interested only in getting the benefits that come with having a presence in parliament and other representative bodies. Actually, we were motivated by entirely different considerations: despite all their shortcomings these bodies are important arenas to air the grievances of working people, clearly enunciating the party's stand on many issues, and conducting a political struggle.

PPP members of rural and district councils and also of the municipal councils of Georgetown and New Amsterdam use their position to monitor the spending of funds and demand improved medical services and food supplies for the population. Nor do

they forget the most dispossessed strata, for instance, pensioners, whose requests the authorities often simply ignore. Our representatives have time and again had to intervene personally to ensure the examination of petitions from elderly citizens at various levels of authority to help them implement their rights. The PPP deputies in organs of local authority address the question of housing construction, go into the reasons for squeezing on lands, and use every opportunity to improve the condition of the working people. Through the party press we inform the entire population of our initiatives in the localities. Moreover, we expose cases of corruption and nepotism brought to light in the state apparatus.

In many councils our comrades form a small minority. Nevertheless, they give effect to the party line very vigorously. It has been observed, for example, that if PPP representatives are for some reason not present statutory meetings of the Georgetown Municipal Council last only a few minutes. But when they are present major issues are almost always discussed and sharp debates take place in which we sometimes gain the upper hand.

The party uses the National Assembly to publicise its policy and explain the significance of socialism. We feel it is our duty to keep pressuring the ruling party to pursue an anti-imperialist course and expose all attacks on the working people. The National Assembly is the most suitable place for such exposures.

At the annual budget debates in parliament our group uses every opportunity to protest against government cutbacks in public spending, the rising cost of living, and squandering of funds, the deteriorating situation in health and housing services, and so forth. PPP members of parliament submit their own proposals on the most crucial issues concerning the working population and address questions to ministers. For instance, the Communist parliamentarians have led many delegations to the Commissioner of Police with the demand for greater protection of the people in view of the growth of crime, and have tabled proposals for improving the public transport.

The PPP's work in mass organisations, communities, the parliament, and councils of various levels is aimed at fulfilling the programme slogans advanced by its 21st Congress: 'Defending the Masses' and 'Strengthening the Party'. Progress along these lines is an indispensable prerequisite for achieving our main goal at the present stage—that of paving the way for the creation of a national patriotic front government with democracy, anti-imperialism, and a socialist orientation for Guyana as its principles.

¹ The People's National Congress has been in power in Guyana since 1964.—*Ed.*

² These include the sugar workers' union (Guyana's largest—its honorary president is Cheddi Jagan, the PPP General Secretary) and the associations of university employees.—*Ed.*

³ Mostly Guyanese of African origin work in the bauxite industry, while the sugar industry employs mainly Indians.—*Ed.*

⁴ The parliament in Guyana has 53 members.—*Ed.*

new experience

Our Interviews After 14 Years Underground

Tijani Tayeb Babear — member, Central Committee Secretariat, Communist Party of the Sudan (CPS)

—A little over two years ago *WMR* published excerpts from your statement before the national security tribunal that sentenced you to a long prison term.¹ Recently we welcomed the news that you were free again.

I gained my freedom on April 6, the day the Nimeiri regime fell. Within two or three hours of the overthrow, the people of Khartoum broke into the city prison, ripped out the bars and the doors of prison cells and freed all political prisoners. When we emerged in the street we saw thousands, tens of thousands of jubilant, exultant faces: the hated dictatorship was finally overthrown.

—You spent several years in prison. Was any clandestine party work conducted there? If so, what was it like, what objectives did the Communists pursue?

At the beginning, I spent two years in solitary confinement, first at the headquarters of the security service and then in prison but completely isolated from other inmates.

I met with my party comrades after the trial, when I was transferred to the section of the prison reserved for political prisoners. Despite very difficult conditions, we succeeded in creating a party school and debate societies. We even advanced a slogan—‘Let us turn our prison term into a university for Communists’. Among the inmates, there were people well acquainted with a great variety of aspects of party experience. They delivered lectures on subjects such as the principles of organisational and political work, the tasks and forms of work in the trade union movement, and problems of the Sudanese economy. We ran a sort of literacy course for the comrades who had been deprived of an opportunity to study.

The fact that the party managed to establish regular contacts with us was very important. The party smuggled Marxist literature and documents adopted by its governing bodies into the prison. In turn, it received from us articles for the clandestine communist press and various messages in which we shared our experience with the comrades outside. Constant studies, discussions and other activities helped us to better survive in jail and kept us from psychological breakdowns. At the same

time, the Communists saw these activities as preparation for their work when they were released.

There were several groups among the political prisoners comprising members of other opposition parties and progressive organisations. We established contacts with many of these groups. Repeatedly, we organised joint protests against actions taken by the prison authorities and demanded improved conditions for prisoners, especially those with health problems. Acting jointly with other sections of the opposition, we were aiming to lay the basis for future cooperation with them when we were released and to help strengthen the unity of all forces that opposed the dictatorship.

—On March 26 the world learned about the uprising in the Sudan which paved the way to the overthrow of the Nimeiri dictatorship. What role did the Communist Party play in preparing the masses for this revolutionary action?

The last 14 years were very hard on the CPS, but it never ceased its work among the masses. Our foremost mission was to constantly keep up the spirit of resistance in working people. The Communists and their allies were active at all major industrial enterprises. They urged workers to block any attempts at turning trade unions into purely subservient organisations, which was the goal of the regime, to force union leaders, including even diehard opportunists, to reckon with the demands of the rank and file and, in union elections, to defeat candidates supported by the ruling party.

In order to impart confidence to working people, the Communists set them feasible tasks, advanced realistic slogans and taught them to choose forms of struggle depending on specific conditions. For example, the Communists explained that under certain circumstances, instead of staging a strike, it was better to draw up a petition listing the workers' demands and to insist on compliance with them, thus rallying people together. In the clandestine press, in leaflets and messages to the people the Communists always exposed the regime and argued that changes were imperative.

Our party maintained contact with other opposition parties and movements—at least with those that were largest. Leaders of outlawed organisations held regular meetings, especially since 1983; naturally, these meetings were a closely guarded secret.

—In 1971, when the regime launched reprisals against Party, many party members, including Abdel Khaliq Mahgoup, General Secretary of the CPS Central Committee, were arrested and executed. What shape was the party in when the dictatorship fell?

True, our party was dealt a very painful blow in 1971. However, we managed to regroup and, with the help of hundreds, perhaps thousands of people who were not members of the CPS but who regarded themselves as its friends, to preserve an efficient organisation and protect our cadres. Although the party leadership was inside the country all these years, after 1971 Nimeiri's secret service managed to arrest only a few of the leaders. Most of them remained at large, although a virtual hunt was on.

—How would you describe the current position of the CPS on the national scene? How does it participate in the country's politics?

I'd like to begin by emphasising that after the overthrow of the dictatorship we were

able to operate legally, to work in the open in trade unions and to cooperate with other democratic forces. Communists took part in negotiations on the formation of a caretaker civilian government. Our leaders also met with the head of the military administration and informed him about the CPS position on various issues.

We maintain bilateral ties with all political parties active in the country. We hold that preservation of such relations is an important condition for strengthening the unity of the political and social forces that took part in the March uprising.

Today the CPS is preparing to launch a daily newspaper and to open its headquarters which will operate legally in the capital. On May 2, 1985 we held our first mass rally at the Khartoum stadium where Mohammed Nugud, our General Secretary, spoke. We don't have to hide any longer. At the same time, we are ready for any eventuality: should it become necessary, we'll manage to go clandestine much faster than we emerged from the underground.

—Our last question concerns your assessment of the role of the international solidarity with the Sudanese patriots in their struggle against the dictatorship.

Solidarity was of paramount importance for us. This was what was behind the world-wide condemnation of the Nimeiri regime; government-sponsored trade unions, women's, youth and other organisations were openly boycotted on the international scene, especially in African and Arab countries. This solidarity gave us strength in our struggle and was an indispensable source of moral support for political prisoners. It helped very many of us to hold out. And so I'd like to use this opportunity to convey our heartfelt gratitude to all those who were on our side during the long years of the dictatorship.

A Communist Alcalde at Work

The Communist *Julio Anguita* has been head of the city council (alcaldia) of Cordova, capital of the Cordoba province and one of Spain's oldest cities, for over six years now. *WMR* has asked *Ramón Mendezona*, veteran member of the Communist Party of Spain (CPS), to interview the mayor of Cordova.

—Six years ago you became alcalde for the first time; in 1983 you were re-elected. How did the Communists fare in the latest election?

Compared to 1979, when the first municipal elections since 1931 were held in Spain, we have made a qualitative step forward. In 1979 we won more votes than the other parties and formed the biggest faction in the city council. But, with only eight seats out of 27, we failed to secure a majority. Today there are 17 Communists on the council. Sharing the other ten seats are the Popular Alliance (six seats) and the Socialists (four seats).

Commissions and the General Workers' Union—in our administrative bodies. These representatives serve on the administrative councils of the waterworks, transport, housing, sanitation and other services. A delegate from the residents also serves on each of these councils. These innovations are the results of initiatives coming from the grassroots level and supported by the Communist alcalde.

We have succeeded in establishing municipal services that never existed in Cordova before. The housing conditions of 50,000 townspeople who lived without running water, plumbing or electricity have been improved. Residents' organisations Broader powers enable them to tackle problems in greater depth and detail and to see that these problems are really solved and not merely appear to be solved, the way it happened in the past.

In our city, the contrast with the Franco years is particularly striking because immediately upon the demise of the dictatorship, a Communist was elected mayor. I have felt a great responsibility from the very beginning—above all because the people of Cordova can judge the party I belong to by the way I work. Besides, much more is always demanded in Spain of Communists elected to responsible administrative and other public posts than what is expected of members of other political parties. And so a Communist alcalde must work so that the people could see his heart is in it, see him setting an example for other members of the city council. In a word, it's a tough job. There are times when you have a feeling your strength and patience are at an end.

—What aspects of the city council's activities have the Communists focused on? What have they accomplished over these years?

Our prime task was to break through the wall of alienation that separated the city council from the townspeople under Franco. And so the first thing we did after the 1979 elections was to come to the meetings with the people of different districts (so-called neighbourhood associations) and bring slates and chalk, to explain how the city budget was drawn up. I also had occasion to visit the city's schools where I told students about the structure and the tasks of the city council (I am a schoolteacher by profession). We tried to win the people's confidence explaining our work down to the smallest detail. I think that these efforts played their part in the success of Cordova's Communists at the latest local elections. That, after all, was the first time a Spanish alcalde and his colleagues, city councilmen, visited residential areas to tell people how things were being run.

Later we worked out the principles of our cooperation with the people, the most progressive principles in the country. They stipulate creation of district councils in which 'neighbourhood associations' and similar groups take part. Representatives of these councils are entitled to attend city council sessions and meetings of the information commission, to examine draft budget articles 45 days before their approval and to introduce additions to these articles. The city council promises to inform these councils in advance about all major construction projects in their districts so that they could submit their suggestions. Should disputes arise on these issues, they are considered at plenary sessions of the city council attended by representatives of the district councils. We are therefore dealing with broad, comprehensive cooperation.

True, the rules we have adopted are not yet always followed up in actual fact. Sometimes we city council officials forget about them, sometimes the people themselves are not vigorous enough in using the mechanisms of participation in the work of the city council. In most cases however, this cooperation has proved very effective.

One more point. So far, our city council is the only one in Spain to have included representatives of the two biggest trade union associations—the Labour

and trade unions supported the Communists on the issues of erecting a new city council building, creating a local theatre, a botanical garden and a day-care system. During the six years I have been at the head of the city council, some seven billion pesetas have been invested in construction projects—a very high level of capital investment for a city of 300,000.

—What are the criteria that guide Communists in the tackling of urban development issues?

Cordova has a rich and famous history. Founded by the Romans to replace an Iberian settlement in the middle of the second century B.C., it was an important centre in the Spain of the Visigoths. The city attained the peak of prosperity after the Moslem conquest, as part of the Cordoba Caliphate—that is, in the tenth century A.D. All these periods have left their marks on the city's image.

Up to the nineteenth century, Cordova's city limits, streets, squares and even communications remained virtually unchanged since the Moslem era. Today, our city is still one of Europe's biggest concentrations of historical monuments. We strive to preserve the ambience of a historic city; at the same time we are conducting the necessary construction work and creating an infrastructure to meet today's needs.

—There will be regional elections in Andalusia, in 1986. You have been nominated by the Communist Party of Spain to the presidency of Andalusia's autonomous government. Please tell us about the 'Andalusia appeal' the Communists and other left forces advanced prior to the elections.

The purpose of the 'Andalusia appeal' is to involve the people of the region in the drawing-up of an alternative programme of action for the regional government. The motive behind our appeal to the population and to all democratic organisations is that given the deviation of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party from its election programme, there is the danger that broad sections of the people may lose their interest in political struggle and succumb to disillusionment and apathy.

Our party is working to rally the progressive quarters and currents together so as to prevent this turn of events. And here, the Communists are calling on the democratic forces of Andalusia to prepare for practical discharge of government functions on the regional scale, not only to advance demands. This calls for knowledge, skill at debate and the ability to go to the heart of social phenomena. We hold that participation in the drawing-up of an alternative programme will give such knowledge to industrial and agricultural workers, fishermen, professionals and members of the artistic community; it will enable them to enhance the role they play in public affairs.

—An international meeting of the mayors of those cities and communities that have declared themselves to be nuclear-free was held in Cordova in early April. What were its results?

Today, almost one-third of the population of Spain lives in communities that have been proclaimed nuclear-free zones. Our country is close to Great Britain in this respect, and both are in the front ranks of the municipal authorities' movement that organised the Cordova meeting, attended by delegates of 99 municipal councils from 15 countries. This was a more representative meeting than the previous one, held in Manchester. Important resolutions were approved. One of them calls on all 'nuclear-

free municipal councils' throughout the world to demand that their governments cease the manufacture of nuclear weapons, withdraw nuclear armaments from the respective countries, and end immediately the transportation and dumping of nuclear wastes.

The meeting reflected the alarm of Spain's 'nuclear-free municipal councils' at the country's membership in NATO. They called on the government to hold a nationwide referendum on the issue and declared that irrespective of its results, nuclear weapons must not be deployed on our country's soil.

Documents

MONGOLIA

FOR AN EFFECTIVE CALL TO ACTION

The MPRP Central Committee has adopted a resolution 'On Steps to Further Enhance the Effectiveness of Propaganda by Word of Mouth'.

The resolution states that propaganda by word of mouth contributes greatly to the shaping of Marxist-Leninist views among the country's working people, to the implementation of national economic plans and to the strengthening of the ties between the party and the people. New forms of mass education have developed in recent years: centres for information and propaganda are being set up and integrated propaganda crews are visiting enterprises and residential areas. Nation-wide days of political education, discussions of letters from the people, as well as permanent political education centres have proved effective.

The resolution notes that the growing role of the spiritual and intellectual factor in the development of modern society and the rising education and cultural level of working people make it necessary to comprehensively improve propaganda by word of mouth. Meanwhile, its organisation, forms and methods are so far lagging behind the current requirements, and this often makes this propaganda unrealistic and divorced from the production tasks facing collectives. Frequently, these efforts are undertaken only among the politically conscious working people, and those who violate economic discipline and ethical norms are excluded from this work. Specific action in response to proposals and complaints of working people is not always timely. Not enough is being done to add competent new members to the ranks of those engaged in propaganda and political education, to regularly improve their knowledge and skills and to promptly supply them with meaningful and interesting information and visual aids.

The resolution orients party organisations on eliminating those shortcomings—above all, a formal, superficial attitude to propaganda by word of mouth—and maps out ways to make it more efficient. This means, first and foremost, combining mass and individual forms of political education and propaganda, vigorously involving the leading party cadre and experts in it, ensuring a differentiated approach to different population strata and strictly observing the principle of openness and publicity—that

is, informing people of the actual state of affairs, including both successes and setbacks.

In the Mirror of the Press

L'Humanité

WHAT TELEVISION SHOULD BE LIKE

The French communist newspaper has published excerpts from the statement Charles Fiterman, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the FCP Central Committee, made at a press conference formulating the party's point of view concerning the government plan to enhance the influence of big business on the operation of national television and setting forth several proposals on the development of the audiovisual media.

The statement stresses that the intention of the government to make these media operate under the laws of profit will standardise the content of the programmes: stiff competition and the false pretext of catering to the requirements of the viewers will result in all channels showing lookalike films, serials and shows. Gradually, big capital will try to gain complete control of television; this will be tantamount to the elimination of the public sector from this sphere.

In opposing this scheme, the FCP by no means defends the status quo, the government television monopoly. Television has become an appendage of the state apparatus, a tool of political power; genuine diversity of opinion is absent from and anti-communism reigns supreme in the programmes.

To bring about a change, the statement went on, television must be freed from direct control on the part of government agencies. In this connection the FCP proposes that each channel be headed by an administrative council comprising representatives of different civic forces and enjoying full autonomy in the devising of principles that would guide the approach to and the production of the programmes.

The record shows that the viewers would like to be able to choose from a broad range of news programmes, feature films and show those that are closer to their own concerns. The Communist Party maintains that one way to solve this problem is to set up local public and mixed companies that would be able to operate without outside interference and to produce programmes meeting the requirements and the wishes of the population.

Another way is to develop cable television. This should be regarded above all as a modern way of stimulating economic activity and increasing access to the desired information and the necessary knowledge. The FCP advocates creation of cable television which would use optical fibres. Unlike the traditional means of transmitting televised images and unlike satellite communications, this type of television makes it possible to conduct a dialogue and maintain contact between the source of information and its consumer and to sizably increase the number of channels. In the future, cable television promises to open even greater vistas.

L'Humanité reports that Charles Fiterman urged the broadest possible discussion of the FCP proposals and said the party was ready to enlarge them on the basis of the suggestions that would be made. Audiovisual communications, he stressed, are

turning into an important sphere of public life, and the Communists will not be passive observers of developments in this field.

In Brief

Congresses Scheduled

The Central Committees of several fraternal parties have held plenary meetings to schedule their regular party congresses: the Eleventh Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany from April 17 to 21, 1986, the 17th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia on March 24, 1986; the 19th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party on May 28, 1986, and the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Israel in December 1985.

Meetings of Fraternal Parties

* An international conference of the communist and workers' parties of European capitalist countries on the position of women and their involvement in the social struggle was held in Wuppertal, FRG, on May 31 and June 1, on the invitation of the German Communist Party.

* The communist and workers' parties of the Arab countries held a conference in early June to discuss topical international issues and the situation in the Arab world. The participants issued a joint statement reflecting the principal evaluations and conclusions of the conference.

* A meeting of 18 communist and workers' parties from European capitalist countries was staged on the initiative of the French Communist Party in Paris on June 12 and 13. The tasks of the Communists in the context of the deepening socio-economic crisis of capitalism and, above all, of growing unemployment were discussed.

* Delegates of Latin American and Caribbean communist parties met in Havana, Cuba from June 12 to 14. The participants exchanged their views concerning the acute economic crisis afflicting the countries of the region, expressed profound concern over the extremely dangerous situation around Nicaragua and the conflict in El Salvador, and reiterated their solidarity with the struggle of the Chilean people to restore freedom and democracy.

GDR

Hundreds of Berliners and visitors to the GDR capital took part in the traditional festival of *Neues Deutschland*, the newspaper of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. The festival included meetings with representatives of the 40 press organs of the fraternal communist and workers' parties, including *World Marxist Review*, that took part in the festival.

GREECE

In the parliamentary elections held on June 3, 1985 the Communist Party of Greece won 9.61 per cent of the votes and generally retained its positions.

INDIA

At their latest meeting, the leaders of the Communist Party of India and the Communist Party of India (Marxist) reached agreement on stepping up the activities of the central coordinating committee of both organisations. The committee was set up three years ago to consolidate India's left unity.

MEXICO

Tens of thousands of Mexicans attended the festival the Socialist Unity Party held in the capital. Numerous meetings, discussions and round tables were organised to discuss today's pressing problems. The festival ended with a mass rally of solidarity with the militant people of Nicaragua.

PERU

On April 14, 1985 general elections were held in Peru to elect the president, senators and members of parliament. The right-wing forces suffered a resounding defeat. The People's Party (APRA) won the elections gaining 45.74 per cent of the vote. The United Left coalition, which includes the Peruvian Communist Party, was the runner-up with 21.26 per cent of the ballots cast. The election results prove that most of the population is committed to progressive change.

PORTUGAL

A national conference of the Portuguese Communist Party has been held in Lisbon. It summed up the record of the Popular Unity Alliance election bloc comprising the Communists, the Portuguese Democratic Movement, the Greens and independents, and charted an action plan for the municipal elections to be held in December 1985.

TURKEY

The Communist and other left forces vigorously supported the June 9, 1985, mass demonstration in Istanbul officially sponsored by the Social Democratic Party, one of

the three legal bourgeois opposition parties, to protest against rising prices, unemployment and layoffs and advocate democratic rights. Taking part in the demonstration were 40,000 people. It was the biggest mass action staged by working people since the coup of 1980.

UNITED STATES

A weekly Spanish-language supplement to the *Daily World*, the US communist newspaper, was launched in June 1985 to highlight the problems of the Spanish-speaking population of the United States.

Against Repression and Persecution

STOP THE TERROR IN INDONESIA!

In May 1985, on the eve of the 65th anniversary of the Communist Party of Indonesia, the country's reactionary military regime carried out the death sentence on our beloved Comrade Mohammed Munir, member of the Political Bureau of the CPI Central Committee, chairman of the National Council of the Central Organisation of All-Indonesia Trade Unions (SOBSI) and vice-chairman of the World Federation of Trade Unions, who had spent more than 17 years in prison. It is reported that Rustomo, Joko Untung, Gatot Sutaryo and Ruslan Widjayasastra, prominent figures in the Communist Party of Indonesia, are to be executed, too.

We know that almost two decades ago the reactionaries, directed by right-wing Indonesian generals under Suharto, let loose a bloodbath of terror against Communists and democrats and wrested state power from President Sukarno, patriot, outstanding democrat and anti-imperialist. Hundreds of thousands of people of progressive views were thrown into concentration camps and jails; thousands upon thousands of Communists perished. Under pressure from domestic public opinion and the international campaign of solidarity with Indonesian patriots, a campaign that has continued unabated all these years, the ruling military regime agreed to 'release', on numerous conditions, a large group of political prisoners (1979). As to the leaders of the CPI, to the cadres of the party and other progressive organisations, they are languishing in prison to this day. Pleas of clemency for most of them were rejected by Suharto.

The mock trial and execution of Mohammed Munir, Communist and patriot, staged by the authorities in defiance of the demands of his release coming from the Indonesian and world public, and the passing of the death sentence on our other comrades have yet again revealed the inhuman nature of the military regime. Its blindly anti-communist and anti-democratic essence spells death for representatives of working people and damages national interests. This regime is useful to monopoly capital that robs our people, to imperialism, above all US imperialism that intends to bind Indonesia closer to its militarist plans in Southeast Asia. We hold that the reactionary course pursued since the seizure of power by the right-wing military has always been an element of the global anti-communist strategy in which the United

States is the prime mover. This policy runs counter to the aspirations of our people and of all peoples fighting for genuine national independence and upholding the cause of freedom, peace, democracy and social progress.

We are confident that international solidarity will help us in Indonesia to succeed in our struggle for the release of all Communists and democrats, for wresting them out of the hands of reactionaries. Together with other patriotic forces, our party and our country's working people will secure radical changes in the interests of the popular masses and for our country's happy future.

Progressive international public opinion vigorously demands an end to the terror in Indonesia. The anti-communism and the criminal anti-democratic methods of the Suharto regime must be universally condemned and exposed.

Sa'adjaja Sudiman
member of Leadership,
Communist Party of Indonesia

exchange of views, discussion

UNITING THE PEACE FORCES

50th Anniversary of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern

"The struggle for peace must be the
central slogan of the communist parties"
(From the decisions of the
Seventh Congress of the Comintern)

To mark the 50th anniversary of the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern, a significant date in the history of the international communist and working class movement, *WMR* held a symposium in Prague last May on 'The Topical Relevance of the Ideas of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in the Struggle for Peace and Against the Danger of a World War and Imperialist Aggression Today'. It was attended by Marxist scientists and representatives of communist and workers' parties from 45 countries.

IN his opening speech at the symposium, *WMR* Editor-in-Chief *Yuri Sklyarov* said that it was the third *WMR* meeting on the Seventh Congress of the Comintern: the first two were held in 1965 and 1975, and aroused considerable interest in the international communist movement. That is understandable, because the ideological and political legacy of the Communist International is of abiding importance. The decisions of its Seventh Congress ushered in a new period in the development of our movement and enriched the Marxist-Leninist theory and the fraternal parties' strategic and tactical arsenal at a time when the struggle for socialism and the working people's vital interests was closely bound up with resistance to fascism and world war.

The Seventh Congress considered a wide range of questions, each of which variously related to the problem of struggle against the danger of war, the central problem for the working class strategy of alliances, and united and popular fronts, which it worked out, and which marked a creative development of Marxism-Leninism. It clearly indicated the source of the war danger—the policy of the most reactionary circles of imperialism—and formulated the important conclusion that war could be averted by joining the efforts of all the anti-war forces with the peaceful policy of the world's first socialist country. The material of the Congress shows us the gist of the present-day approach to the question of the responsibility of the international communist and working class movement for the destinies of world civilisation and for ensuring the prime human right: the right to life.

The present situation in the world does, of course, differ radically from that in the latter half of the 1930s. The forces of peace and progress, with existing socialism at their centre, have considerably gained in strength and stature as a result of the rout of fascism, the growing might and authority of the Soviet Union, and the victorious socialist and national liberation revolutions.

But, like half a century ago, mankind is now again going through an alarming period. Ultra-reactionary circles, led by US imperialism, have been conducting their oft-failed strategy of 'crusade' against socialism and the forces of national liberation. Revanchism, which seeks to revise the results of the Second World War, is raising its head. It is a reckless and highly dangerous policy: it is fraught with a world war which could be nothing but a global catastrophe.

Bourgeois ideologists and politicians have been trying to stake out some kind of imperialist right to put down peoples yearning for freedom and independence and asserting their right to opt for a socialist way of development. The Communists' stand on this issue was clearly formulated by the Seventh Congress: no interference in the internal affairs of other states and peoples. The Communists resolutely oppose the imperialist attempts to export counter-revolution and colonialism. We are bound to do so by our class stand and concern for the maintenance of world peace.

The Communists are and have always been in the van of the struggle for peace. They have been doing their utmost to help the anti-war movement fully realise its potential, without laying any claims to leadership in it.

The Seventh Congress said that the defence of peace makes the Communists' solidarity with all the other peace forces imperative, but it also emphasised that such solidarity is neither an impediment nor a substitute for the Communists' own cooperation. The Congress ideas and the experience in implementing them provide convincing evidence that if the Communists act together, they can successfully fulfil their role in the anti-war struggle. The Communists' internationalism gives them tremendous advantages over other social and political movements in our own day as well.

A discussion of the pressing questions relating to the historical significance and ideological and political content of the legacy of the Seventh Congress should, we think, help to gain a deeper understanding of the theoretical principles and effective nature of the Communists' present-day strategy, which is designed for the defence of peace and for social progress, and to consider the problems of its ideological substantiation in the light of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, analysis of the present situation, and the fraternal parties' experience.

Below is a summary of statements by contemporaries of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern and papers prepared by participants in the symposium at the request of the organisers.

A Historic Call

Khaled Bagdash – CC General
Secretary, Syrian Communist Party

THE work of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern is among the most indelible impression of my 55-year membership of the Syrian Communist Party: I had the honour of attending that remarkable forum. Under the name of Ramzi, I was elected to the Presidium of the Congress and found myself among such leaders of the international communist movement as Georgi Dimitrov, Dmitry Manuilsky, Wilhelm Pieck, Joseph Stalin, Palmiro Togliatti and Maurice Thorez. I was startled and asked myself: "Who am I to be among such giants of our movement?". I was only 23 years old at the time, I felt a slight dizziness and was in a state of great confusion. However, as the Congress proceeded and after it, I saw the concern displayed by the Comintern leaders for young people, as they paved their way into the future.

I still remember the reports delivered by Dmitry Manuilsky, who spoke of the irreversible victory of socialism in the Soviet Union, and by Palmiro Togliatti, who urged the Communists to support all the foreign policy acts of the Soviet state. An impressive speech was delivered by Georgi Dimitrov, who showed the perspectives of the communist movement, spotlighted the bestial nature of fascism and called for unification against war, fascism and colonialism.

Let me say that after the Congress, our party corrected its tactics: it began to conduct a flexible line with respect to the national bourgeoisie and its parties, and to support its stand when it was in the slightest way aimed against colonialism. Thus the Syrian Communists merged with the mainstream national movement and arranged cooperation with patriotic organisations.

The general ideas of the Seventh Congress continue to be valid today, when we are faced with the task of uniting the fighters for peace and ridding mankind of the threat of nuclear war. The Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries constitute the main force which prevents US imperialism and NATO from realising their schemes by stepping up the danger of war.

Mikhail Gorbachov said at a ceremonial meeting in Moscow to mark the 40th anniversary of the Soviet people's Victory in the Great Patriotic War that the Soviet Union seeks a world without wars or weapons. Such are the aspirations of all honest men and women on the globe. With the military, political and economic strength of the USSR and of the whole socialist community, the peoples are capable of resisting the schemes of the warmongers. Members of the US leadership and the NATO bosses could do worse than give the speech by the CPSU CC General Secretary a careful reading so as to realise that their attempts to gain world domination could lead only to the annihilation of mankind. They themselves will not be spared by a nuclear war either.

Our people and Syria's National Front, government and army support the peace initiatives of the USSR. The Syrians are doing all they can for the struggle against the threat of nuclear war, for the peoples' right independently to choose their way of social development, and for turning the international world into a world of cooperation between all the states, irrespective of their social system.

The Spirit of the Congress is Alive

Bruno Furch – representative of the Communist Party of Austria on WMR

THE generation of Communists to which I belong have vivid memories of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. In 1935, I was a middle-echelon functionary of the underground Communist Youth League in Vienna. We, young Communists, were then vaguely aware that we did not quite know why the working class and democracy had been defeated in Germany and Austria. We felt the lack of a clear-cut orientation: 'What are we to do now?'. Nor was there clarity on many other issues, primarily on the attitude to the Social Democrats, and also to the democratic and patriotic elements in Christian circles. Many of us were influenced in our thinking by dogmatism and sectarianism. There was also some uncertainty, because our work, confined mainly to political agitation, did not yield any visible success, although our party kept suffering considerable losses as our comrades were arrested. We felt that we lacked the vision of realistic perspectives, which helped to mobilise for an all-out effort. It is true that in the important field of trade union work our thinking and mode of action were already being modified in the spirit of the subsequent propositions of the Comintern, and that was noted as a positive example by Georgi Dimitrov at the Seventh Congress.

There was at that time a bookshop in the centre of Vienna which sold foreign newspapers. During the Congress, I bought a copy of *L'Humanite*, the French Communists' newspaper, which had a detailed summary of Dimitrov's report. We, Young Communists, had had profound respect for that man since the Leipzig trial. At home, I ran right through his report and at once translated it into German. I contacted my comrades from the district committee, and we decided to hold a meeting of the district's cells and groups somewhere in the Vienna woods the following Sunday in order to study the report. We read and discussed it paragraph by paragraph, from beginning to end. We then tried to draw a few conclusions in the context of our own practical activity. I remember the spirit of enthusiasm which then elated us. We soon began to rearrange our work on the basis of the party leadership's recommendations to work for the establishment of a popular anti-fascist front.

The official press claimed that we were using Trojan Horse tactics to infiltrate Catholic, youth and other legal mass organisations. The leftists claimed that the popular front policy was an urge for 'civil peace' with the bourgeoisie and for class collaboration. We were naturally opposed to such distortions and did not allow ourselves to be diverted from our purpose. It was a policy that yielded considerable results, which cannot be expunged from the history of the anti-fascist resistance and the subsequent struggle for the restoration of Austria's independence.

A superficial view may suggest that developments fell short of the potentialities opened up by the Seventh Congress. In actual fact, its decisions had a tremendous part in the social transformations that have taken place over the past 40 years. Life has shown the enduring importance of the ideas of the Congress. They continue to be most relevant even today and provide the Communists with a source of inspiration in working out strategy and tactics.

With its strategy of alliances, our party is involved in the movement for peace, cooperating with Socialists and Christians, and advocating the unity of the working class, defence of the working people's vital interests, disarmament and detente on the basis of equal security; it wants neutral Austria to make a contribution to removing the danger of a world war. The CP Austria takes a firm stand for the unity of the communist and working class movement. It is no exaggeration to say that the spirit of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern is alive in the Communist Party of Austria.

In Search of a Solution

Professor Katalin Szokolay – Higher Political School of the HSWP CC

IN the run-up to the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, the question of the principled and practical attitude to the danger of another world war remained on the agenda of the working class movement. Even in the 1920s, the Communists sensitively responded to the appearance of hotbeds of international tension which threatened to generate aggression against the Soviet Union and cause a world conflict. The danger of war in that period was regarded as a grave and constant one, being produced by capitalism, a danger against which the victory of the international proletarian revolution could provide an effective safeguard. Such views were reflected at the Comintern Executive Committee meeting in February and March 1922, when the need was urged for ideological and organisational preparation of the masses for the keenest revolutionary class struggle in order to avert war.

This standpoint was subsequently modified on the basis of an analysis of the concrete historical situation. The Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928 emphasised the Soviet Union's role as the bulwark of peace and highlighted the question of carrying on a struggle against the danger of war. Assessments of the situation in that period contained the assumptions that all the capitalist countries of

Europe as a whole were vehicles of unjust, imperialist war.

The international communist movement reappraised the potentialities and means of fighting against war in the early 1930s. The fascist takeover in Germany posed the once-underestimated threat to world civilisation which proceeded precisely from countries where the positions of the working class movement had but recently been regarded as being fairly solid. The theses of the 13th plenary meeting of the Comintern Executive Committee in 1933 outlined the contours of the emergent war danger and of the brewing conflict between the capitalist countries. Still, there was as yet not clear-cut assertion of the idea that in political terms the main contradiction of the epoch was assuming the form of a confrontation between fascism and democracy, and an exposure of the incipient differentiation among the various strata and groups of the bourgeoisie over the looming world war.

Participants in the discussions just before the Seventh Congress of the Comintern took a lively interest in the question of the character of the war danger and its concrete orientation. There was a growing understanding among the Communists that the right orientation in this matter helped to enlarge the circle of allies of the working class in the struggle against fascism and war. A new possibility was taken into account: if the war broke out, some capitalist countries could find themselves among the USSR's allies, while others would take a neutral stand. The discussion brought out many serious problems. What tactics should the Communists use in countries cooperating with the USSR in fighting the danger of war, or in neutral countries? What is the attitude to take towards pacifism? What should be the attitude to the most diverse political and social forces with a stake in preventing war? Those were new questions for the Communists in the mid-1930s, and we are dealing with their various aspects even today.

In that period, it was not easy to bring home to all the Communists the idea that the victory of fascism in a number of countries and its expansion had caused a polarisation of the political forces in the capitalist world, and that this process opened up great potentialities for enlarging the circle of allies. The Communists' discussions established the understanding that defence of peace required, in particular, respect for the views of other political forces in the working class movement, and also of the parties taking a bourgeois-democratic stand for peace and against fascism.

The reports by Georgi Dimitrov and Palmiro Togliatti at the Seventh Congress stressed that it was possible to turn the struggle for peace into the broadest popular struggle and to involve in it not only the vanguard of the working class, which sought to overthrow the capitalist regime, but also the whole of the working class in the capitalist countries, masses of social-democratic working people, pacifists, Catholics, women, youth, broad strata of the petty bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia, national movements and also government of capitalist countries wishing to prevent war. They also said that it was possible to cooperate with the bourgeoisie in defensive national wars. The Congress expressed its profound conviction that a world war could be put off and—given the right conditions—even avoided.

As the unity-of-democratic-and-peace-forces strategy worked out by the Seventh Congress was implemented, it tended to create the political conditions for defeating fascism. It signified great theoretical progress. The Congress conclusions enhanced the influence of the communist ideology on the masses and stressed the Communists' responsibility for the destiny of the peoples and nations. The Congress demonstrated the communist parties' capability of formulating their policy with an eye to the aspirations and mood of broad public strata and their readiness for action.

The ideas of the Seventh Congress become especially meaningful now that there is once again a growth of dangerous trends in international relations. The socialist states' effective peace policy has the crucial role in averting a further worsening of the international situation, but it cannot be a substitute for struggle by the Communists,

the working class and other social forces in the capitalist countries coming out for peace and disarmament.

The efforts of the socialist community and the communist movement in defence of peace coincide with the general line of aspirations among realistically-minded bourgeois politicians and statesmen, who realise that there is no reasonable alternative to detente. The rise and scope of the anti-war actions show that nations with different social systems have an interest in preserving world peace, despite the profound ideological and political differences.

Even in the mid-1930s, the communist movement was confronted with problems requiring coordination of anti-war actions by the working class and other numerous forces, including pacifists, who not only rejected the class struggle, but did not even want to issue an open condemnation of fascism. At that time, the Communists, wishing to unite all the forces against war, accepted an appeal confined to anti-war objectives which was adopted at the International Peace Congress in 1936.

The political and ideological diversity of the peace movement now again confronts the Communists with complicated questions. In the struggle to avert war, it is important to seek and find broader possibilities for cooperation with all those who oppose the nuclear threat, even when their views largely differ from ours.

Key Issue

Professor Horst Schumacher – Institute
of Marxism-Leninism under the Socialist
Unity Party of Germany CC

THE struggle for durable peace has been central to our party's line since the beginning of its activity. The formation of the GDR meant the emergence on German soil of a state whose supreme official doctrine is a policy of peace for the first time in history. This fact acquires especial significance 40 years after the victory of the USSR and its allies and of the peoples of the anti-Hitlerite coalition over nazism, and the German people's liberation from the fascist yoke.

The GDR's line of peace is deeply rooted in the history of the German working class movement. The founders of the Communist Party of Germany, led by Karl Liebknecht, fought against German imperialism, which started a world war in 1914, and together with Lenin and the Bolsheviks, stood for its revolutionary ending. In the light of the ideas worked out by the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, the Brussels (1935) and the Berne (1939) conferences of the CPG put forward the orientation towards the overthrow of fascism and the establishment of a democratic republic in the country. Under the leadership of Ernst Thaelmann, the German Communists gave all their efforts and their lives to the struggle against fascism and the danger it posed to mankind, subsequently representing the other Germany within the ranks of the anti-Hitlerite coalition.

An abiding achievement of the communist movement is that it was the only political force which proved capable of answering the question that agitated the minds of millions upon millions of people, by projecting this perspective at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern: the imperialist war can not just be delayed, but under some circumstances even averted. The Congress expressed in concrete terms the proposition substantiated by Marx, Engels and Lenin that the working class is the chief force in the struggle for peace, and that as socialism develops and gains in strength, the human ideal of peace is translated into practice. The Soviet Union's growing economic, political and defence might was characterised as the crucial factor in strengthening the forces of peace.

The establishment of a world-wide peace front and the cohesion of all those who do not want war is the prerequisite for averting war, the Congress declared. Their own motivations are of secondary importance in the existing situation. The Comintern

formulated that orientation on the assumption that the social, political and ideological basis for the defence of peace is much broader than the proletariat's class struggle, and emphasised the role of the working class as the most active part of the world-wide peace front.

The Congress especially underlined the decisive significance of cooperation between the Communists and the Social Democrats in creating a broad international movement for peace. Without obscuring the profound ideological and political contradictions between the Communists and the Social Democrats, it did everything to pave the way for their cooperation.

The task of setting up a world-wide peace front was becoming ever more pressing in view of Hitler Germany's aggressive policy, which was indulged by the other imperialist powers, and of Japan's aggression against China and Mongolia. Let us recall, however, that such a front was not set up chiefly because of the anti-Soviet policy of the imperialist powers and also in consequence of the anti-communist attitudes of pacifists and right-wing social-democratic forces. Joint action with the Communists and concerted mass action against the threat of war were rejected by many advocates of peace under the pressure of imperialist propaganda, on the plea that they did not want to become a 'tool of Soviet foreign policy'.

The anti-Hitlerite coalition, the alliance for which the Communists, together with some Social Democrats, had striven even before the war for the sake of averting it, took shape only during the war, under the impact of the Soviet Army's crushing blows at the German fascist troops. Thus, the lessons of the Second World War bore out the conclusions of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, which had said that wars have to be fought against before they have been started.

The international situation in the mid-1930s bears no comparison, of course, with the present situation. The danger posed by the US drive for world domination, the US line of confrontation with the socialist countries and the arms build-up is exceptionally great. But—and this is the crucial point—the forces of peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism towards which the Seventh Congress gave the orientation have also grown. The conditions have taken shape for a world-wide coalition of reason and realism against another world war.

With Experience as a Basis

Hans Vossen – researcher into work at enterprises under the German Communist Party (DKP) Board

THE ideas of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern are meaningful for the Communists of the FRG because in the present conditions they have to carry on a struggle above all to solve a problem of historic importance: war must never again be started from German soil. That is a lesson drawn from the tragic and sanguinary experience of the past which in the recent period has met with a broad public response. The mass protests against the deployment of US medium-range missiles in West Germany, the arms buildup, and the militarisation of space, and also the social battles of the working class have broadened the basis for joint action. Since the beginning of the 1980s, in consequence of the growing danger of war and the deepening economic crisis, the common interests of the Social Democrats and the Communists have become more important than their political and ideological differences.

Substantial changes have taken place in the political conceptions of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) since it went into opposition. Instead of 'yes' to the deployment of US missiles, it now says 'no'. A definite shift towards the working people's interests is taking place in its economic and social policy. Important trade

union demands are being supported. The distance between it and the right-wing parties has increased, while that between it and the democratic and left-wing forces, including the DKP, has narrowed.

However, not all our Communists, party groups and boards have yet been making full use of the growing opportunities for conducting a joint-action policy. The guarded approach to cooperation with the Social Democrats springs from the experience of the past. The consent of the Federal Government, then headed by the SPD, to the deployment of US missiles, the job bans it introduced, and the 'social partnership' practice at the enterprises and in the trade unions are among the reasons for which such attitudes are still alive. On the other hand, there is evidence that criticism of the Social Democrats' unacceptable attitudes is being abandoned for the sake of maintaining good relations with them. In our discussions and explanatory work, members of the party, above all its central bodies, seek to overcome the attitudes leading to sectarianism and opportunism.

More vigorous activity by the working class and its trade unions is of crucial importance for the development of the peace movement. A relatively clear stand on peace and disarmament issues is formulated in the documents of several trade union congresses in the FRG, but there is still a wide gap between adopted resolutions and practice. The key to the further development of the peace forces' movement lies in enhancing the role of the working class, in its active and independent participation in the struggle to ensure peace, and also in its joint action. How do we believe the working class can increase its influence?

There is growing public awareness of the cardinal alternative of the 1980s: the consolidation of peace or the slide down to war. Only a few weeks ago, the Communists were alone in saying that every mark could be spent only once: either on armaments, or on the working people's economic and social wants. Today the working people, whose economic and social rights are being encroached on by the Bonn government, see ever more clearly that the arms race tends to worsen their condition. Within the movement for peace, and for social and democratic rights, the slogans 'Jobs Instead of Missiles', 'Education Instead of Bombs' and 'Peace and Work' have become massive.

We explain that the resistance to the imperialist policy of sharpening tension implies action against any threat to the working people's condition, and for their immediate economic and political demands. Such an understanding helps to enlarge working class participation in the struggle for peace. In the trade unions, one will frequently hear a saying that goes precisely to emphasise the connection: 'Peace is not everything, but without peace, everything is nothing'.

In order to overcome the mass unemployment, the Federation of German Trade Unions has demanded the adoption of a state-financed programme for employment, a demand supported by the DKP, which believes that the requisite funds should come above all from the military budget. The trade unions now want arms spending reduced by 10 per cent a year, until it is down by 50 per cent. It is important, we feel, to tie in these initiatives with the elaboration of the employment programme, thereby driving home to the people an awareness of the connection between the mass unemployment and the arms buildup.

The working class movement and the peace public were unable to prevent the start on the deployment of the new US missiles in the FRG, but the protest generated a popular movement. As a result, the unanimity on security policy among the traditional Bonn parties has been disrupted. Peace has become the main issue in the political life of the country.¹ The advocates of revanchism have been pushed onto defensive positions.

The decisions taken on peace and disarmament issues by the trade unions affiliated with the Federation of German Trade Unions provide a good basis for extending the

workers' participation in action for peace, and the Federation's structure, an organisational form for joint action. The establishment and activity of 'factory peace initiatives' are an important accomplishment of the working class. There are now almost 300 such groups, above all at the large enterprises and also in the services. Trade Union decisions on peace and disarmament issues give factory functionaries, Communists and Social Democrats in the first place, a basis for explanatory work on the shopfloor with an eye to enhancing the social activity of the workers, so largely helping to overcome the still existing views that peace is not among the key issues of trade union activity in production.

In January 1985, Dortmund was the venue of the second republic-wide congress of 'factory peace initiatives', which are organs of working class unity of action in industry, while being a specific form in merging the working class movement and the movement for peace.

The DKP attaches much importance to the concrete work in defence of peace which is being carried on at the enterprises and to the 'factory peace initiatives'. It is largely determined by the ideological steadfastness and mobilising role of the Communists, who set a personal example to show how the working class can effectively participate in strengthening peace and standing up for the working people's social rights. We formulate our task as follows: wherever there are factory DKP groups and factory groups of activists, there must also be 'factory peace initiatives'. It is essential that in this work at the enterprises, unity of action—the pivotal principle of communist policy—should be constantly applied in mass practice.

The Strategy of Unity

Jose Xavier Garaycoa – CC Executive
Committee member, Communist Party of
Ecuador

THE Seventh Congress of the Comintern designated the struggle for peace as the central task, so opening up broad prospects for the Communists' creative realisation and development of their political line in accordance with the specific conditions of the individual countries. Even then, in the 1930s, defence of peace implied extensive mobilisation and close cohesion in each country and in the international arena of the most diverse forces coming out against the fascist aggression. Peace activity was also connected with the advance of the peoples' struggle in the colonial and dependent countries for national liberation and the establishment of an anti-monopoly popular front to unite the forces variously opposing imperialism, including the national-reformists. It took skill on the part of the Communists to blend the proletariat's class interests with national interests in resisting fascism and war. Developments ultimately proved that policy to be the right one. Fascism was crushed. The socialist world was enlarged. The colonial system of imperialism collapsed.

The ideas of the Seventh Congress, summing up the experience of the working class and democratic movements, were a rich source of knowledge for the Communists of the dependent and colonial countries, and their historical value is determined not only by the slogans formulated at the time to meet contemporary requirements, but also by the vibrant example set by the Congress in applying Lenin's methodology to analysing the concrete situation.

The task of averting a nuclear war, involving efforts to contain the aggressiveness of imperialism and the growth of militarism, now stands full square before the national liberation movement, as it does before mankind as a whole. The local conflicts being fanned by the imperialist forces in Asia, Africa and Latin America pose a threat to universal security and the peoples' interests. The establishment of US military bases and the US military presence in Third World countries involves the

trampling of the peoples' sovereign rights.

An analysis of the characteristic features of the global expansion of monopoly capital is highly important for success in the national liberation and social emancipation struggle. The activity of present-day multinational corporations is a reflection of the higher level on which bank capital is merged with industrial capital. Powerful financial associations and banking monopolies have emerged on the basis of the new organisational structure of finance capital, with US private banks playing the leading role and controlling the extension of credits to most developing countries. Giant monopolies and money-lending banks, marshalled by the International Monetary Fund, have woven their web round the whole capitalist world, producing, with the complicity of the local oligarchy, a monstrous system of financial dependence and plunder. Direct investments help to funnel resources to the imperialist metropolitan countries, while 'aid' programmes are selective, besides being military and political.

Latin America owes almost \$350 billion of the developing countries' aggregated debt of \$800 billion. US banks refuse to give the debtors loans to meet their debt-service payments, and dictate onerous terms for any debt rescheduling. No fair solution of the Latin American countries' external debt problem can be isolated from resistance to the overall aggressive line of imperialism and the growing militarisation in which the developing countries are being involved. The financial oligarchy once promoted the rise of nazism, and now supports the most reactionary forces practising aggression, overt and covert terrorism and the sparking of international conflicts, and serves as the mainstay of fascist and despotic regimes.

The close connection between resistance to imperialist aggression, with its policy of war, and national liberation, which the Seventh Congress brought out a half-century ago, is, therefore, ever more obvious. The national liberation movement in Latin America is going through a period of considerable change; its social make-up has become broader and more complex; it has assumed different forms in various countries. But for all the diversity, its general anti-imperialist tenor is obvious; it is expressed in the urge to do away with the consequences of the neocolonialist plunder, to overcome the backwardness and poverty, to assert the right to self-determination, and to beat back the imperialist attempts to export counter-revolution. Growing importance attaches to demands like democratisation of social life, handover of land to the peasants, satisfaction of the working people's vital material wants, and development of public education and public health. It is important to go on studying the new forms the national liberation movement now assumes, for, in the light of the present-day realities, this would help to determine its actual connections with the defence of peace and resistance to the imperialist powers' efforts to push the world into a nuclear catastrophe.

The united-action strategy put forward by the Seventh Congress of the Comintern helps to further the growth of the anti-war ranks in the developing countries. Concrete joint action provides the basis for influential social strata joining the anti-imperialist struggle and broad fronts being formed with the Communists' participation. There are, of course, many difficulties which now and again deepen the social, political and ideological disagreements and result in internal friction and a scattering of forces. Our party seeks to formulate the tasks with an eye to the level attained in the class struggle and the mass consciousness and to determine the most effective ways for fulfilling them. There is no contradiction between the goals of national liberation and those in defence of peace. The Declaration of the Conference of South American Communist Parties in July 1984 emphasised with good reason that the struggle for democracy, social justice and anti-imperialist solidarity, and against economic, political and military intervention makes a weighty contribution to the cause of preserving peace on the Earth and of victory for socialism in Latin America.

Democracy and Peace

Erol Cantekin – CC member, Communist Party of Turkey

THE material of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern shows the close connection between the struggle for democracy and for peace, an approach that is especially meaningful for Turkey.

The country is ruled by an anti-national oligarchy made up of local monopolies, the army elite, the parasitic part of the big bourgeoisie, and the landowners. But for the constant political, military and economic support which it has been getting from the United States, the regime would not have been viable. US imperialism has intensified its military presence in our country in the recent period. It regards Turkey as a bridgehead for its aggressive plans against the socialist countries and the national liberation movement in the Middle East. The government has made available to the United States a number of military bases in the country and in the northern part of Cyprus, which is under occupation by the Turkish army. Efforts to overcome the dependence on US imperialism are an important part of the struggle for peace and the country's democratic transformation.

The authorities have used the armed forces as their chief instrument. Arrests for political motives continue. Tens of thousands of patriots—members of the Communist Party, the Workers' Party, the Socialist Workers' Party, and other parties, trade unions and cooperatives—have been thrown into jail. Even members of the Peace Society have been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. The people are deprived of elementary rights and freedoms, which exist only on paper. Every left-wing democratic movement is branded as an internal enemy.

The regime has kept going largely because of the disarray of the democratic forces, but there is a gradual growth in the tendency towards their unity and genuine national independence, while the economic, social and political contradictions in the country are being exacerbated. Ever wider public circles demand a general political amnesty, the lifting of bans on the activity of democratic parties, and assurance of trade union rights, freedom of the press and freedom of speech, and autonomy for the universities. The puppet parliament, with members hand-picked by the general who staged the coup, is in a state of accelerating decay, and even those who supported the government's pro-imperialist line before the coup now advocate political change.

Our people's democracy and peaceful future have one and the same enemy. Only a democratic Turkey can promote the cause of peace, and only a peaceable republic can have a viable democracy.

The winning of democracy is the task facing the country. In Turkey there are three groups of political forces opposing the regime: the Left, including the Communists, the 'Social Democrats' and the 'Democratic Right', the two latter having legal political parties, although their activity is limited by the authorities. None of the opposition forces—neither the Communists, nor the other left-wing parties, nor even the liberal bourgeois circles opposed to the present regime—is alone capable of setting up a democratic system of power resting on a majority and capable of governing the country. In the present conditions, national democracy is the concrete alternative to the existing regime for our people. In this context, the dialectical approach by the Seventh Congress of the Comintern to the question of attitude to bourgeois democracy serves as a key guideline in the formulation and pursuit of our party's political line.

The Turkish Communists seek to attain popular unity through the development of a national-democratic dialogue between the political forces of the opposition. The

CP Turkey supports the demand for the immediate holding of early elections in the belief that they will serve to unite the opponents of the regime and to involve the masses more broadly in political life. A 'left unity', including the CP Turkey and five Turkish and Kurdish left-wing parties, was set up in December 1984, and the efforts to consolidate the 'left unity' are doing much to create a centre of attraction for all democrats.

The constraining influence of the 'class against class' principle, which is current among left-wingers in Turkey, the failure to understand the crucial importance of the struggle for bourgeois democratic rights and freedoms at the present stage, and the confusion of the struggle for socialism with the struggle for democracy are all sectarian views which were proved to be untenable by the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, and which now prevent the creation of solid popular unity and lead to self-isolation.

Fascism and the threat of war can be eliminated only through mass struggle, the Seventh Congress emphasised. The role and responsibility of the left-wing forces tend to increase because bourgeois opposition circles fear a growth of the mass struggle and keep their distance from the cause of popular unity. The bourgeois opposition parties' greatest weakness is their failure to understand that the present regime will not go away of its own accord. They think that the government will be further weakened in consequence of its economic and social-policy failures, so clearing the way for their running the country. But however limited and moderate the bourgeoisie's opposition to the regime, the policy of the Communist Party, which has to work in the underground, is aimed to achieve the unity of all those who come out in defence of peace and democracy.

It is our party's premise that the struggle for democracy and peace can be successful if the working class and the national-democratic forces display solidarity in the international arena. We keep explaining that a policy of friendship and cooperation with our socialist neighbour is a reliable way of assuring the country of peace, national security and independence.

Continuity and Novelty

Jerzi Pawlowicz – senior lecturer,
Academy of Social Sciences, Polish United
Workers' Party

THE Communists' postwar positions were largely determined by the idea that for the communist movement peace issues are just as important as the issues of social progress, an idea keynoting the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. The question of peace was considered at the international meetings of communist and workers' parties in 1957, 1960 and 1969, at the conferences of European communist parties in Karlovy Vary, Berlin and Paris, and at the meetings of communist parties of other continents and regions. Their consensus on issues such as the source of the war danger rooted in the policy of US imperialism and NATO, and the prerequisites for detente connected with the changing balance of forces in the world arena, the foreign policy of the socialist states and concerted actions by the fraternal parties went to strengthen the communist movement and helped to turn it into an important factor behind the positive changes in international relations.

The turnabout of the United States and the other NATO powers in the late 1970s and early 1980s towards their policy of sharpening the confrontation with the socialist countries and forces of national liberation markedly slowed down the positive tendencies that had been in evidence in the world arena and once again heightened the danger of a nuclear war. In view of the present conditions which are dictated by the need for fresh political thinking in the nuclear age, it is worth considering what

influence they have on communist strategy. Is it now possible to remain within the 'system of coordinates' created by the period of detente or, conversely, should the possibility of further changes be envisaged? Are such changes to affect strategy and tactics alone, or the theoretical basis for the treatment of peace, war and revolution issues as well? We feel that 'continuity and novelty' are the gist of the answer.

The principled communist line of linking social progress and the preservation of peace, the class and the general democratic factors, has not changed. What has changed, however, are the conditions for its implementation, and that suggests many new aspects. First of all, there is the general approach to peace issues. The prevention of a nuclear catastrophe, now of primary importance in communist policy, is inseparable from the historical mission of the working class. Here, the class and the general human elements are indissoluble.

When concretely identifying the sources of the present danger of war, we do not merely say that it is capitalism, or even state-monopoly capitalism, but its most reactionary and aggressive circles: the military-industrial complex, and the anti-communist forces looking to US imperialism, their standard-bearers. Accordingly, the struggle for peace is not some kind of 'instrument' for the Communists in overthrowing capitalism. Its immediate objective is to ensure peaceful coexistence and a return to detente for the sake of mankind as a whole.

The socialist community has countered the nuclear threat with a realistic and constructive programme for the development of international relations taking into account the specific features of the world order in our day. Persevering efforts to curb the arms race and secure disarmament, repudiation of the development of new types of weapons, including space weapons, and conjugation of the parties' mutual interests with their concern for the maintenance of national and international security are its essential features.

There are some new aspects to the Communists' cooperation with various social forces. The present movement for peace is profoundly differentiated and is, as a whole, not aimed at liquidating capitalism or even the 'Western' security system. Current anti-war protests can hardly be characterised as an immediate component of the anti-imperialist liberation struggle. It is an allied force in ensuring the peaceful coexistence of states, a force that is relatively autonomous with respect to the revolutionary streams.

The present-day view of the peace forces' solidarity is reflected in communist policy. There is no doubt that it has grown in importance and acquired new forms. The main thing is to reach agreement with peace fighters holding different political views. Realistically considered, they often reveal bias with respect to the socialist states and communist parties. Accordingly, the principles of the Communists' relations with other peace fighters are formulated and tested in practice: joint action with any ideological or political pre-conditions; equitable relations of partnership, repudiation of any exclusive right to directing the movement; and recognition of the diversity of its potential forms (it does not have to develop on the basis of a single organisation with a common programme). The vital thing is to avert a split and to prevent, in particular, the ranging of the peace forces of the socialist countries and of the capitalist countries against each other.

This question may arise: if the idea is to make the anti-war movement as large as possible, will that not reduce the Communists' role, or deprive them of their class face? The answer lies in political practice which implies the overcoming of the left-sectarian view that peace can be ensured only with the abolition of capitalism, and of the right-opportunist view envisaging a 'dissolution' of the communist movement in the various anti-war movements.

The problem of involving the working class masses in the struggle for peace also appears to be a key one for the Communists' attitude to the Social Democrats. On the

one hand, there are the pro-US and pro-NATO trends in the policy of the Socialists of some West European countries and their inability to formulate a sufficiently constructive international-policy programme. On the other hand, there is the practice of parties like the Greek PASOK, which has been resisting US hegemonism; like the Social Democrats of Scandinavia, who have been campaigning for the establishment of nuclear-free zones; and like the West German Social Democrats, who have come out against the arms race.

The question of peace is also of primary significance for relations between the fraternal parties, in the context of consolidating proletarian internationalism. The decisions of the Seventh Congress had a substantial influence on the development of the content (an understanding) of international solidarity. It is a development marked by the strengthening of the link between the class content of internationalism and the tasks in the defence of peace. The horizon of internationalism is widened as the importance of the national liberation and general democratic movements for the revolutionary struggle of the working class is brought out. The content of internationalism is enriched on the basis of the communist strategy and tactics to ensure broad unity of the working class and cooperation with all democratic and all the other peace circles. Here, the overcoming of sectarianism has an important role to play. Finally, there is the development of the principles and norms of internationalism in inter-party relations, which serves to deepen cooperation among the Communists themselves.

Joint actions in defence of peace are becoming central to these problems. For the Communists and for all class-conscious workers, proletarian internationalism is expressed in a clear-cut class approach to the questions of war and peace, in solidarity with the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries, and with their peaceful foreign policy, and in support of the peoples' liberation struggle against imperialism.

Like other parties of the socialist community countries, ours is convinced that different views of the international situation should be no impediment to the Communists' cooperation. That is what the PUWP National Conference was guided by when it sent out messages to the communist and workers' parties explaining the situation in Poland and its measures to overcome the crisis. It said, in particular, that the curbing of the counter-revolution in the country was of immediate significance for strengthening peace and security in Europe, because it did away with the conditions under which the forces of imperialism could use the situation in Poland to destabilise the international situation.

This summary of the historical importance of the ideas of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International and their continued relevance today falls short of presenting the complete exchange of views at the symposium, where there was a wide-ranging discussion of various aspects of the theoretical substantiation and generalisation of the experience of the Communists' current struggle for peace and social progress, which is fertilised by the ideas that have come down to us from the Congress. A fuller survey of the discussion will appear in *WMR* shortly.

¹ For details see the article in this issue: 'A Development that Encourages Optimism'.

A DEVELOPMENT THAT ENCOURAGES OPTIMISM

Members of Different Currents in the FRG Peace Movement Speak

With the deployment of US first strike nuclear missiles in several West European NATO countries the struggle for peace in the FRG—a country central to the NATO 'rearmament' plan—has entered a new stage. The problems encountered by the FRG peace movement in the new situation were discussed at a *WMR*-sponsored round table held in Bonn in late March 1985, and attended by representatives of this movement's major currents.

Taking part in the discussions were **Martha Buschmann**, member of the Presidium of the German Communist Party Board; the Rev. **Volkmar Deile** of the Evangelical Church, representative of the 'Sign of Redemption—Service of Peace' movement; **Achim Maske**, member of the bureau of the Committee for Peace, Disarmament and Cooperation; **Hans Joachim Patzelt**, chairman of the AG Kanis firm council and member of the Krefeld Initiative; **Ludger Volmer**, member of the Greens faction in the Bundestag; and **Olaf Scholz**, deputy chairman of Young Socialists and member of the Social Democratic Party of Germany.

Following is an abridged transcript of the views the participants expressed on questions proposed for discussion. We cannot agree with all that was said, but these opinions reflect the actual situation in the FRG peace movement.

—How do you assess the record of the peace struggle in the FRG during the first half of the 1980s? What are its main accomplishments and its impact on the country's socio-political fabric?

A. Maske: Major political shifts have occurred in the FRG in recent years. In the course of the clashes over the deployment of Pershing II and cruise missiles in our country the peace movement succeeded in winning the support of a majority of the people. This was reflected in the positions adopted by several parties and organisations and in their approach to the issues of nuclear weapons and the doctrine of deterrence.¹ This is particularly true of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), the Confederation of German Trade Unions (DGB) and the Protestant Church. In all these organisations, the balance of forces has changed in favour of those who are critical of the arms build-up. Moreover, opinion polls show that the mass of the population sympathising with and supporting the peace movement is considerably greater than the share of the electorate usually voting for opposition parties. It follows that many supporters of the CDU and the CSU do not agree with the position assumed by Helmut Kohl's cabinet on these issues. Finally, the clashes over the missiles have altered the system of the parties in the FRG. Candidates of the Greens, a radical democratic party avowedly critical of armament, won seats in the Bundestag in the 1983 by-elections.

V. Deile: In a recent discussion at a school the teacher asked me if peace had become more durable in recent years. He must have implied that the deployment of the Pershing II and cruise missiles in the FRG created a more explosive situation. One cannot contest that. But I surprised the audience by saying that in a certain sense, peace had indeed become stronger because we now had not only the Pershings but also a broad peace movement. After all, the population could have passively accepted the missile deployment, but that was not the case. Moreover—and this is a

phenomenon of exceptional importance to our society—a sort of 'peace lobby' has emerged in the FRG.

Finally, the peace movement and its efforts to educate and inform have breached the monopoly politicians and experts held in the shaping of opinions on issues of armaments; this, I believe, will have a long-term effect on election results.

I would also like to mention that the shifts that have occurred in major organisations were brought about primarily by the rank and file and not by the leaders. The Evangelical Church had never experienced such developments in the past. It had even proved possible to stir Catholics who traditionally vote for the conservative Christian forces. Summing up, one can say that in the 1980s, more people in our country are shaking free of thought patterns based on hate, of the spirit and logic of the deterrence doctrine.

O. Scholz: A major accomplishment of the peace movement in the FRG is the fact that it succeeded in wrecking the consensus on matters of national security—a consensus that stipulated a common understanding of the essence of the issue and a common course of action pursued by the ruling political quarters, the Bundeswehr, the military industry and the people. Today, most of the public, as well as certain responsible political forces in the FRG do not agree with the policy of 'rearmament' and, above all, with the deployment of the Pershing and cruise missiles. Another result is the fact that US foreign policy and Washington's approach to the issue of security are being questioned. The population of the FRG no longer believes fully and firmly that the policy of the US administration is aimed at promoting security and peace.

The peace movement has emerged as a long-term, permanent factor in West German politics and, as far as questions of security are concerned, the White House and the Federal government of the FRG have to take that into account. I think that the current debates within the US administration over ways of implementing US policy are rooted in the difference of views regarding not so much the purposes in question as the ways to be adopted in relation to the peace movement and its impact on the policies of West European governments. In that past, Washington did not even take the trouble to consider these matters.

Another remarkable development is that after the arrival of the new missiles, the government of the FRG has been deliberately working to conceal the threat that has emerged as a result. The government is trying to soothe people and convince them that the deployment has not changed anything. Simultaneously, the Rogers Plan and the Airland Battle concept² are presented, quite absurdly, as something that enhances international security. This manoeuvring is prompted, I believe, by the fear of new expressions of concern and new action by the peace movement.

M. Buschmann: I agree that the movement has established itself as a long-term political factor which responsible quarters cannot afford to ignore. That is a big step forward compared to what we had a decade ago. An exceptionally important development is that it has proved possible to involve millions of people in the discussion of issues of war and peace. Progress is also evident in the understanding of who should be blamed for the arms race. Spokesmen representing forces of different leanings have noted repeatedly that US and NATO policy is the prime cause of the world-wide arms build-up.

I recall that in the 'pre-Pershing period' we received many impulses from the Dutch peace movement in mobilising the masses to the struggle against the neutron bomb. Today, the West German peace movement is itself imparting impulses to peace champions in other countries. And another thing: realisation of our movement's ability to act as a united front is a truly enormous achievement. The movement has thus proved that people of different convictions can and must cooperate in the solution of the central problem of today's world. I might add that the DKP has been

trying to make a constructive contribution to this.

L. Volmer: Indeed, a major accomplishment of the peace movement has been the increasing realisation on the part of the people that foreign policy should not be reduced to a security policy based on missiles and that weapons must not be a factor shaping relations among nations. However, there is still the problem of transforming this majority of public opinion into a majority in parliament. Here, the peace movement has not yet advanced far.

The realisation that foreign policy cannot be pursued through weapons has led above all to the rejection of the Pershing and cruise missiles. But soon another question began to be debated: the response of the other side does not help to break out of the vicious circle of the arms race either. I think that this factor is important for understanding the sentiments of a large part of the peace movement in the FRG.

Another important shift in public opinion is that while in the past, issues concerning political safeguards of peace, specifically, East-West relations, detente and the like, were tackled mostly on the intergovernmental level, today the people hold that foreign policy is not the exclusive responsibility of professionals and top leaders. Contacts at the grassroots level have become much more frequent.

This is of prime importance for the FRG. I would say that essentially, the movement against armaments has given powerful impetus to the democratisation of some aspects of the country's social fabric. The need for such an impetus was felt acutely; the people of the FRG had been barred, 'sealed off' from politics. Ruling in this sphere were military, political and economic clans that treated the public as immature minors. Today the people express their views directly, not only through politicians' statements.

At the same time I think that the peace movement is facing three major problems in its development. First, the impulse that set the masses in motion was a moral protest against weapons, specifically missiles. It helped to politicise the population, above all Christians. However, it is now time to go beyond ethnical motives, to expand the discussion within the movement and focus it on the new military doctrines and on the causes behind the arms race. Second, the fact that the population is becoming politicised prompts the reactionary part of our society and government to retaliate; the offensive the right-wing forces have launched against my party is one form of such retaliation.

Third, there is the danger that vested interests may try to turn the movement, originally aimed only against missiles, into a tool for implementing other concepts of 'safeguarding peace' by military means—say, the doctrine of conventional arms build-up allegedly designed to create a West European economic superpower. I think the peace forces should be warned of this danger.

—The security policy discussion which has affected virtually all sections of West German society could not fail to influence the attitude of the public towards NATO. How does the present situation in this sphere differ from the 'pre-Pershing' period?

V. Deile: First of all, the people are no longer confident that NATO is concerned about the security of West Europeans and West Germans. Some forces—for example, the Greens—demand withdrawal from the North Atlantic Treaty, although this prompts others, specifically, the SPD, to keep reiterating their loyalty to the alliance. I do not think that this counterposing of slogans and positions is appropriate now, when a specific critique of the NATO policy is in order.

The people who have leaned a lot from the Pershing deployment and the consequent deployment of tactical nuclear weapons in the GDR and Czechoslovakia

do not want relations between the nations of Europe, a Europe divided into two big military alliances, to depend on the yield of weapons. We want the spirit of confrontation overcome; we advocate rational relations among European governments. This makes it imperative to sharply criticise specific NATO policies instead of advancing unrealistic demands.

A. Maske: Indeed, the number of West Germans swayed by the argument that their security depends on the military strength and superiority of the West has diminished sharply. The understanding is growing that peace cannot be based on armed force, that to ensure peace is a political problem and that consequently, initiatives aimed at halting the arms build-up and switching gradually to disarmament should be promoted. More people realise that NATO military programmes have a destabilising effect, that instead of solving issues of security, they pose a threat to the peoples of the NATO countries. That is an important change in the thinking of many West Germans.

Besides, there is every reason to conclude that the foremost propaganda weapon for justifying the unending arms build-up—the claim that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries threaten us—no longer produces the desired effect. People have become more realistic. Constant references to the alleged superiority of the other side have lost much of their credibility and can no longer provide sufficient grounds even for a neutral attitude to the Western arms race policy, let alone for its support. In my view, credit for all this should go to the peace movement.

O. Scholz: I think the Rev. Deile is right to demand criticism of specific NATO and US security policies. It would be an illusion to maintain that a majority or a significant part of West Germans question the usefulness of NATO as an institution. It would be more correct to say that the global policy of NATO and the United States is being increasingly called into question.

I believe that now is the time to intensify discussion of various aspects of the course they pursue—such as the conventional arms build-up, preparations for militarising outer space and the continued deployment of Pershing and cruise missiles. It would be a mistake to focus the efforts of the peace movement on the problem of whether we should remain in NATO or withdraw from it. We've got to tackle specific questions. By acting along these lines we'll be able to find a way to a European security system and a simultaneous dissolution of both pacts.

L. Volmer: We think the demand of West German withdrawal from NATO would be an important step in the right direction. Like many other ideas introduced by the Greens, this demand had what you might call a utopian value. We did not think that we could accomplish this goal here and now. Nevertheless, we were trying to challenge the entire system of blocs, the very logic of a balance of terror and of the senseless pursuit of superiority and first strike capability. It was imperative to break this 'taboo' so as to make NATO the subject of discussion at all. But it is really our belief that such institutions are historically obsolete and must be abandoned.

As to the so-called constructive critique of NATO, there is a danger here. We fear that European dissociation from the United States and economic fragmentation ('trade wars' between allies) may lead Europeans to claim a leading role in the North Atlantic bloc so as to assure their economic interests. As a result, NATO would acquire two support bases—one, involving mostly conventional armaments, in Europe and the other, nuclear, in the United States. I believe this is a very serious threat.

M. Buschmann: I would merely like to stress that the FRG's 'dissociation from NATO' today will surely not be enough to overcome international confrontation. I might note in passing that our party has always been against the FRG's membership in this aggressive bloc. But I call your attention to the following point: at the Stockholm Conference and earlier, the Warsaw Treaty countries put forward a

proposal that could become a step towards the dissolution of the blocs. The proposal was that they conclude a treaty on the mutual non-use of armed force. If implemented, this idea would no doubt help in overcoming the explosive situation that exists today.

—What were the problems the peace movement in the FRG had to face after the deployment of the US missiles began? What ideas did the understanding of the change in the situation produce?

A. Maske: The beginning of the Pershing II deployment in our country (the cruise missiles are slated for deployment in 1986, and that, apparently, still gives us a chance to act) led to widespread debates within the peace movement. The principal agenda items are two interrelated issues—of peace and of democracy. Many people realised that the authorities were lying when they said that the will of the people was the guiding light of West German policy. It became clear that this was nothing but lip service because the majority of the population was against the decision to deploy the missiles, the decision that the Federal government and the coalition of parties supporting it pushed through parliament. There are two sides to this problem: how to transform the will of the people into political decisions and how to ensure success given the existing realities. These are not simple questions, and their discussion will take time.

Debate is also under way on the following two groups of problems: first, which plans of our government, of NATO and especially of the United States should be rebuffed before all else so as to defuse the gravest threats to peace and, second, what untapped possibilities and new avenues can be used to recruit new members into the peace movement.

As concerns the first group of questions, a broad understanding is emerging of the need to fight against militarisation of outer space, essentially aimed at perfecting the first strike concept and decapitating the enemy. Simultaneously, the peace movement keeps up its action against the Euromissiles, against the conventional arms build-up, against plans to use chemical weapons and so on.

In our search for additional avenues of adding to our ranks it is especially important, I think, to focus on explaining the connection between the consequences of the arms race and the aggravation of social and global problems. Many people are realising that military spending seriously hampers efforts to overcome mass unemployment and makes it impossible to affectively combat the destruction of the environment. More and more West Germans are also alarmed at the fact that, together with other factors, the arms build-up policy exacerbates the situation in Africa, Latin America and Asia. I think that this realisation can broaden the mass support base of the peace movement and will help to grasp its global character.

O. Scholz: The missile deployment created a new situation, considerably eroded international security, promoted instability and raised the threat to peace to an unprecedented level. All warnings of the peace movement have proved accurate: the overall military strength of NATO and the WTO has increased, the escalation of armament is continuing, and the position of the FRG has become more insecure. Besides, there are plans to enhance the destabilising effect of the Pershings and the cruise missiles by implementing new projects—such as Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) and the Airland Battle doctrine—and by building up the more sophisticated conventional armaments.

At first all this produced confusion among the West German peace forces who, initially, were at a loss about what to do next. On many questions we disagreed: it was difficult to understand one another's position. But the fact that the peace movement

has survived is immeasurably more important. That should not be taken for granted because, having been born with the sole objective of preventing the deployment of the Pershing and cruise missiles and having failed to attain it, the movement has survived this failure and continues its political struggle.

The movement is still at the stage of working out a policy. However, one can already cite several groups of questions on which efforts will be concentrated in the immediate future. First, new medium-range missiles are still being deployed in the FRG. The role played by the French and British nuclear capabilities should be considered in this connection too. Second, the discussion covers all the strategic military projects I have mentioned. Third, one should also deal with the plans to deploy nuclear weapons in outer space. Besides, several additional questions arise with regard to the FRG. We are concerned over the militarisation of our country—the plans to enroll women in the Bundeswehr and give a military slant to medical care and education, the civil defence programmes and the intended extension of the term of military service.

L. Volmer: The questions that formed the minimum consensus³ of the peace movement a year ago are still on the agenda. But we have to go onward. The important thing (and the Greens have pointed this out from the very beginning) is to expand the discussion to cover all the new strategic concepts we have mentioned here. It is time to ask what interests are behind the continued arms race. We must direct out attention to the economic aspects of the stockpiling of arms by the two rival systems. This may at first result in a degree of polarisation within the peace movement, but I think it would be a necessary and transient stage of the discussion on the way to joint action.

M. Buschmann: The peace movement has been developing not only in its unity but also in diversity. Different processes are currently under way in it. We know that the Coordinating Committee, one of the pillars of the movement, decided that prior to June 1985 it would hold consultations and discuss the future of the peace movement, but there are other major entities that keep up a very vigorous struggle. I refer first and foremost to the multi-faceted activities of factory peace action groups and groups representing different occupations, especially Natural Scientists for peace who, thanks to their competence in the relevant fields, are contributing remarkably to the struggle against the militarisation of outer space. In September, a big demonstration of the Krefeld Initiative supporters will be held within the framework of the campaign to mark the 40th anniversary of Hiroshima. To sum up: whatever new problems and questions the peace movement faces, we Communists believe that discussion should be combined with action.

V. Deile: Studies by sociologists and political scientists indicate that having reached a peace—that is, having secured or having failed to secure compliance with their demands—large-scale opposition and social movements that emerged in the FRG in the past usually disintegrated. This has not been the case with the peace movement. After effectively blocking the metastasis of disintegration, the movement has entered a stage at which it is analysing what has happened and accumulating—above all at the grassroots level—practical experience in re-buffing militarism. In this connection, three major problems have moved to the forefront in our ecclesiastical sphere.

The first problem is how to overcome the bloc-inspired logic of mutual intimidation which underlies confrontation. We do not, of course, keep silent about the fact that the United States was the first to develop new types of weapons. But this admission is not much help because, true to the pattern of deterrence, the Soviet Union has inevitably followed the other side and entered new, higher rounds of the arms race. That's the way this process develops, making the situation increasingly explosive. Then there's another recent addition—the threat of Star Wars. We hold that if we oppose the logic of deterrence by promoting partnership for common security—I

mean troop reductions, withdrawal of weapons of mass destruction from Europe and the like—this could effectively promote unity of the peace movement. I also foresee a difficulty concerning the plans to deploy weapons in outer space. No one lives there, and so it will not be easy to find appropriate forms of mobilising the people.

The second problem is the connection between militarisation and the burning issues of poverty and hunger in the Third World. We were enthusiastic over the fact that at the 1983 Vancouver assembly of the World Council of Churches the churches of the developing South declared peace movement in the North its ally and called for joint action for peace and justice. This is very important because so far, the level of such cooperation has been low; one of the reasons is that our movement has accorded insufficient attention to non-European problems..

Third and last, the church is gravely concerned over the social policy which is aimed against a large part of the population and which is being increasingly adopted in North America and Western Europe. I read somewhere recently that 35 million Americans live below the official poverty threshold. In the FRG and Great Britain, the authorities are now ready to plunge 10 to 15 per cent of their population into 'new poverty'. The first sprouts of resistance are already springing up—they are the action groups of the unemployed. I believe it would be very promising to bring them closer to the structures of the peace movement. This would make it possible to act jointly for a freeze and reduction of military budgets so as to prevent further deterioration of the social fabric and put an end to the policy of armed confrontation. This sphere is where the interests of different population strata obviously coincide.

H. J. Patzelt: To me, a trade unionist, forging closer links between the peace struggle and social problems is a priority task. Today, people are already feeling the painful impact of the arms race, and this pain will become more acute in the future. Communities experience increasing financial difficulties; allocations for assistance to the needy are inadequate; the malignant tumor of 'new poverty' is spreading through the body politic. Current official estimates put the number of the unemployed in the FRG at 2.6 million. In actual fact, the figure is closer to four million. We have hundreds of thousands of 'redundant' young people. But the authorities claim that we cannot afford to spend 50 billion marks on the employment programme advocated by the DGB. At the same time, the military budget is getting bigger and bigger.

I won't claim that every single social issue is linked directly with the problem of the missiles, but the peace movement must explain the general connection between them. We used to be a single-demand movement; today we can deepen the dialogue we are conducting with the public. That is the principal way to involve greater masses in the struggle.

—How does the peace movement evaluate today's international situation with its two salient features—on the one hand, the Soviet-American talks in Geneva and on the other, the feverish preparations of the Reagan administration for militarisation of outer space?

V. Deile: I am afraid that the Geneva talks are under way because the United States is concerned about Soviet intercontinental missiles and the Soviet Union, about US plans to militarise outer space. The danger is that the Pershing IIs will be 'deadwood' for the parties to the talks.

While I do not equate the two great powers, I share the view common in the peace movement—namely, that it is wrong for them alone to decide issues of eliminating nuclear weapons. After all, weapons are not only a means of deterrence; they are also the cornerstone of political prestige. One cannot deny that one of the factors in the broad recognition of the Soviet Union as a world power was the Soviet acquisition of

its own nuclear weapons. There are other reasons arguing that an end to the logic of deterrence, the reduction or prohibition of nuclear weapons will not be brought about by agreement between the great powers alone. Of course, the current talks in Geneva are politically useful because they are an avenue of contact, but the important thing is to take specific unilateral steps that would effectively reduce the potential threat on both sides.

Now about the second reason why I am sceptical about Geneva. I urge you to recall that when the Pershings had not yet been deployed and when Soviet-American talks were on in Geneva, the government of the FRG rejected the arguments about the need to discuss medium-range and strategic missiles simultaneously. We were told that these were highly complex issues and that they had to be tackled separately. Today, however, the government is optimistic about the outcome of the talks that **deal not only with medium- and long-range missiles but also with a new project of space-based weapons.** The conclusion is either that it was too difficult in the past to negotiate two issues simultaneously—and if so, the current talks are all the more hopeless—or that not too long ago, the government of the FRG duped us.

My third fear is that the talks will degenerate into an exercise in mutual recrimination. The dialogue in Geneva may be used to accuse the Soviet Union that it leaves the other side no choice other than to militarise outer space. Today, claiming that the USSR constantly violates the ABM Treaty, the United States is already gradually preparing public opinion for and paving the way to the scrapping of the Treaty and the deployment of weapons in space. Unless there is pressure from the **people and the governments of all concerned countries, Geneva will hardly produce any result.**

And the last point I'd like to make. The West is—at least it says it is—for parity, although many Western steps in the field of armament are clearly taken to outstrip the other side; the East is for equality and equal security. Observance of these principles—true, both sides interpret them differently—is very important politically because it stipulates renunciation of the search for military superiority. From the military viewpoint, the equilibrium mentality is the motive force behind the intensification of the arms race. But I think that the parties to the talks, as well as European countries, should create more favourable conditions for disarmament by taking, say, unilateral steps. By working to have the FRG make such disarmament moves we would do more for Geneva than by simply pinning optimistic hopes on it.

M. Buschmann: We Communists believe that the Soviet striving for new talks—and the current Geneva talks are completely new negotiations—is consonant with the basic principles of Soviet foreign policy. These talks are based on the joint statement made by Andrei Gromyko and George Schultz in early January 1985 in which both sides undertake to discuss the three groups of problems so as to end the arms race on Earth and keep it from spreading to outer space.

The charge that the Soviet Union follows the leader in the arms race concerns, I think, the fundamental principle of the talks—that of equality and equal security. History proves that effective detente was possible only when this principle was observed—witness the developments of the 1970s. But it would be a mistake to believe that Soviet policy is aimed only at the preservation of equality and equal security. True, the Soviet Union holds that this principle is extremely important; however, the USSR has for years been submitting proposals designed to ensure arms limitation and disarmament and to break out of the arms race circuit. Don't forget that at the very start of the talks the Soviet Union joined the non-aligned nations and peace movements in many countries in calling for a freeze on the nuclear arsenals and for an end to the missile deployment; this was soon followed by the Soviet decision to impose a unilateral moratorium on medium-range missile deployment until November 1985 and to suspend the implementation of other countermeasures in

Europe.

We all agree that elimination of nuclear weapons is not the exclusive responsibility of the great powers. I support the Rev. Deile's view that the Americans may use the talks to shift the blame onto the USSR. But if that should be the case, the peace movements must act as though they are participating in the talks as representatives of critical public opinion.

This is why our party advocates a campaign to explain the need for exerting pressure on the talks and calls on the federal government to make a constructive contribution to their success by stopping the missile deployment and saying 'no' to the US plan to militarise outer space. We reject any FRG involvement in military space activities and support our country's participation in exclusively peaceful space exploration programmes.

H. J. Patzelt: A degree of scepticism and mistrust about the Geneva talks is indeed widespread in the peace movement. I believe it is necessary to get rid of this mood, to make the undecided see the positions and, especially, the moves taken by each party to the negotiations. This approach can clear up many things.

A. Maske: It is important for the peace movement to realise that it, too, has contributed to the resumption of the Geneva talks. Those who rule in Bonn and Washington were under strong pressure from below and could not completely ignore the nation's demand of durable peace. On the other hand, it is a fact that, even though it agreed to go to Geneva, the United States refused to cut its military programmes by a single dollar and continues to test and build up the latest weapons of mass destruction. If this trend does not change, the talks are doomed. With this in mind, we should think about ways of intensifying criticism of the arms build-up and causing Washington to change its course. In short, the results of the talks will be commensurate with the strength of the pressure brought to bear by the people, especially on the American side in the Geneva talks.

Our foremost task is to mobilise the considerable potential of the peace forces in order to prevent militarisation of outer space. So far, these plans are in the research and development stage. But it is already clear that these schemes are fraught with grave danger, demand enormous sums of money and essentially perpetuate the arms race. Frankly, the rhetoric and the military programme of the United States are to a large measure reminiscent of the situation in Nazi Germany on the eve of World War II. **There's considerable resemblance between the then concept of a Blitzkrieg and the policy Washington pursues today.**

O. Scholz: I think it is particularly important for peace activists to grasp the great danger inherent in the so-called Strategic Defence Initiative of the US administration and its impact on military-industrial structures. So far, the extremely precarious system of international security has been based on the ability of each side to deliver assured retaliation and missile defence issues have been subject to regulation under the relevant treaty; strategic stability was thus assured. Militarisation of outer space threatens to destroy this already fragile international mechanism.

Meanwhile, the conditions for launching a struggle against this new threat are better than those under which the peace movement was taking shape in 1979-1980. In the United States itself, many authoritative political figures, let alone the public at large, oppose the space weapons programme. In our country, the SPD consistently condemns militarisation of outer space—in contrast to its initial stand on the Pershing and cruise missiles. Several West European governments have also refused to fully support Washington's space programme.

But there are also causes for alarm. The United States is sure to try and use different ways for securing its allies' agreement with the new plans of arms build-up, especially in outer space. We have already seen how swiftly this is accomplished. For example, today there is talk about the alleged danger of a technological lag with

which the FRG may become saddled if it does not take part in the implementation of the SDI programme. In my view, this approach is a terrible mistake; it is important for the peace movement to conduct studies exposing the absurdity of these claims.

Current US policy is aimed at securing strategic superiority over the Soviet Union and at regaining lost ground and rebuffing threats from rivals in the competition with the other two major centres of capitalism—Western Europe and Japan. Washington is eager to involve their economies in the realisation of costly military schemes because, if left to its own devices, it would lose even more ground in this competition. To work vigorously to have West European governments refuse to support the moves leading to militarisation of outer space means to help frustrate the dangerous schemes of the US administration.

L. Volmer: I'd like to raise another important issue. I would say that the escalation of strategic armament programmes is constantly ahead of the knowledge and expertise of the peace movement. Take this example: soon after the medium-range missiles began to be deployed in the FRG, debate was opened on the Airland Battle concept. It proved much more difficult to explain the essence of this doctrine than that of the issue of the missiles. Our faction in the Bundestag published a special pamphlet on the subject at government expense, a discussion began—but as soon as it gained momentum, attention switched to the build-up of conventional armaments. Then the Star Wars programme appeared. In short, militaristic strategic concepts are developing so fast that the peace movement simply has no time to grasp their essence. The question is how to eliminate this lag.

I would say that this calls above all for efforts to fill the gaps in our knowledge so that we could tell people about the technical performance characteristics of weapons and about new strategic ideas. At the political level, it is important to keep up the struggle against the right-wing government of the FRG and against the parties represented on it; within those parties, there are powerful groups hoping for a revision of the frontiers. One task of the peace movement is to firmly and unequivocally uphold postwar realities and to resolutely oppose the revanchist forces active in the FRG. Finally, we should expand our international ties and hold more consultative meetings with our colleagues abroad; this means that we should also promote our contacts with independent groups of peace activists in the socialist countries.⁴

M. Buschmann: Do we really have to become experts in the details of armaments and military concepts? Frankly, I am not competent enough in these matters. I believe that our movement is so sensitive to the threat in question that it can grasp the essence of the issues raised without going into detail.

I fully agree that we should be more vigorous in promoting our international ties too, including ties with the public in the socialist countries. But what role do 'independent groups' play there? I think that in the socialist countries, we have a strong and authoritative partner—the powerful peace movement. Yes, it does support the peace policy of these nations' governments. But that is far from an exclusively socialist phenomenon. There have been cases when we in the FRG also supported the policy of the government. Take 1972, when the CDU proposed a Bundestag vote of no confidence in the Willy Brandt government which had just taken another step towards peaceful coexistence and detente. At that time we took to the streets demonstrating our support and making a considerable contribution to the outcome of the dispute. I think that we cannot truly arrive on the international scene unless we develop our contacts with the genuine peace organisations in the socialist countries.

A. Maske: As to unilateral disarmament, certain steps have been taken in this direction. In 1979 the Soviet Union withdrew, on its own initiative, a part of its military contingent and material from the GDR. That obviously helped the peace

movement but did not decisively augment its effectiveness. I think we should avoid any vague, abstract demands of unilateral disarmament.

One remark I'd like to make regarding the statement of Ludger Volmer. Of course, West German peace activists should seek cooperation with their foreign colleagues—but taking care not to interfere in the internal affairs of other nations. After all, we would not like anyone from abroad to tell us how we should develop our movement. The same is true for the other side as well.

—What are the main demands peace champions in the FRG are now advancing? Do you think there are untapped possibilities for expanding the peace movement? What do you think about the movement's prospects?

V. Deile: First and foremost we must, acting jointly with our Belgian and Dutch colleagues, do everything to step up resistance to the deployment of the Pershing and cruise missiles. Besides, by vigorously promoting specific unilateral disarmament measures (for example, replacement of offensive armaments with defensive weapons, cuts in the numerical strength of the armed forces and the like), one can give a certain impetus to disarmament in our country too.

Those of us who are active in churches concentrate our efforts on rebuffing the 'wave of restoration' and thus upholding the position won last autumn, when the Evangelical Churches came out for no first use of nuclear weapons, for a freeze on these armaments and for overcoming the concept of nuclear deterrence. We have also paid special attention to the 40th anniversary of liberation, striving to celebrate it in a spirit of peace. In this connection I'd like to say that our people have not yet fully grasped the significance of the colossal Soviet losses in the war—20 million human lives.

As far as our prospects are concerned, we consider it very important to get rid of the intransigence typical of anti-communism which ascribes all that is bad to the political opponent. This does not rule out criticism of the policy pursued by this or that country, but the criticism must be well-substantiated and, instead of erecting psychological barriers, it must be offered in the course of a serious and earnest debate. Unfortunately, one can still witness frequent cases when the word 'Russian' takes the place of a political analysis, and that happens in West German churches too. There is no doubt that one of the more urgent tasks is to bury this legacy of the past. Members of several of our organisations are working directly to achieve this goal. Many West Germans join us on our annual trips to Poland, the GDR and the Soviet Union, and I have good reason to say that meeting people and seeing what they see helps those who go on these trips to join the peace movement back home.

L. Volmer: The Greens are also fighting to at least deprive anti-communism of its status of the FRG's official religion. Today the right wing presents communism as the epitome of evil, as a yardstick by which all progressive movements are gauged and condemned as criminal. But—and in this I agree with the Rev. Deile—resistance to anti-communism does not mean that everything that happens in the countries where Communists hold power should be praised to the skies.

My last point concerns the prospects of the situation that obtains in the FRG. We regard extraparlimentary movements as one of the more important factors of domestic politics, and so we hope that in 1987 the peace majority will influence the outcome of the parliamentary elections and ensure a realignment of forces in the Bundestag. This would give an additional impetus to and open new opportunities for the peace struggle.

O. Scholz: I would single out two aspects in discussing the demands and the immediate prospects of the peace movement. First and foremost, the general

direction must be mapped out. I believe that our movement can contribute significantly to a revival of the policy of detente. The discussion of partnership in matters of security launched in the FRG by Egon Bahr⁵ is a major point of departure for such efforts. The second point is that the peace movement must learn how to oppose the Kohl government and its policy of arms build-up; for this, the movement must work out specific demands and slogans.

I hold that we should work to secure a freeze—that is, an end to the stockpiling of nuclear weapons and their gradual reduction in the FRG, in Europe and in the world. The freeze should include the demand that the deployment of the Pershing and cruise missiles be stopped and that the ones already deployed be withdrawn, as well as support for the four-continent initiative and for the Palme Commission proposal about creating a 150-kilometre nuclear-free zone along the boundary dividing the two blocs. It is important to promote the idea of no deployment and no storage of nuclear weapons in countries that neither possess nor manufacture them. Proceeding from this basis, one could find ways towards the creation of regional and all-European nuclear-free zones. Finally, we should support the appeal urging a ban on the testing and deployment of new nuclear missiles.

A freeze of the military budget is also a very specific slogan which makes it possible to simultaneously fight against the programme of overarming the Bundeswehr with the latest conventional weapons and everything necessary for the Airland Battle. It is perfectly possible for the trade unions and the peace movements to pool their efforts in this sphere. And finally, there must be no West German participation in the programmes to militarise outer space.

The peace movement should use the entire diverse store of action forms it has been using up to now. The strength of the movement is its diversity, and so we need both decentralised regional and nation-wide action.

There are other issues that concern our future. We lack an overall policy we could pursue jointly. It should be worked out in the course of a discussion and through a broader use of the opportunities offered by the various occupational action groups. The discussion should also make it clear how we can broaden our ranks by recruiting certain conservative quarters.

My last point is that the peace movement receives support from political groups and parties. This is important for its effectiveness. But the movement must not become dependent on the interests of individual parties, it has no right—and here I disagree with Ludger Volmer—to focus on discussions of the outcome of the next elections. Our task is to develop the movement at the grassroots level and outside parliament.

A. Maske: I'd like to add that it is very important for the peace movement to establish an order of priorities listing the subjects we should tackle first.

The demands to block militarisation of outer space, end the deployment of the Pershing IIs, prevent the installation of the cruise missiles, freeze and reduce military spending, above all on the latest types of 'conventional' offensive armaments, can be used to enhance political polarisation in the FRG. I am sure that we can secure considerable support for these demands among those who are on the side of the government and vote for it.

I share my colleagues' view that we should continue to enrich the valuable experience we have gained in resorting to different forms of action; we should not repeat them mechanically but try to stimulate imagination so as to reach our people's hearts and minds. The peace movement has always been very inventive; routine has no place in it. It is also extremely important not to wait for the outcome of the next elections but to consolidate the positive changes that have occurred in parties and major civic organisations. Otherwise setbacks may result.

M. Buschmann: I would single out three demands of the movement: firm rejection of

the US efforts to militarise outer space and of any Federal involvement in them; the struggle to have the US missile deployment stopped and the already deployed missiles withdrawn; and, as many speakers have already pointed out, a freeze on military spending. The further we advance in solving these fundamental tasks, the greater will be our contribution to the revival of the policy of peaceful coexistence and detente.

As to the growth of our ranks, my opinion is that we should emphasise even more vigorous involvement of the trade union and political working class movement in the struggle for peace; we should also recruit conservative forces. Preservation of our unity is extremely important. The reason is that we'll be able to attain all our objectives only if we act in concert. The peace movement can and will remain a stable factor if it does not allow itself to be used in self-serving interests of individual parties and if it preserves such unity.

H. J. Patzelt: About the latent potential of the peace movement. Our reserve is the entire population, including conservative quarters. We will succeed if we appeal to the specific concerns, interests and needs of people where they live and work, if we explain with even greater clarity the interconnection between mass unemployment, the policy of dismantling social gains and the siphoning off of resources into the military budget. Here, it is important to propose concrete alternatives, such as those of promoting housing construction, employment for youth and like. That is the only way to capture the attention of most West Germans because 90 per cent of our population work for a living as hired labour. They are the reserve of our movement.

¹ For an explanation of the essence of this concept, see Jürgen Reusch, 'Dangerous Transformations of the "Deterrence" Doctrine', *WMR*, No. 1, 1984.—*Ed.*

² According to the Airland Battle concept which was adopted as an official US doctrine in 1982, weapons of mass destruction are to be used in a surprise strike to the full depth of the enemy's defence. The aggressive thrust of this doctrine is clear above all from the fact that it stipulates the launching of a first strike. For more details, see Arthur Paull, 'The Road to Nuclear Omnicide', *WMR*, No. 7, 1983, pp. 118-123.—*Ed.*

³ The 'minimum consensus' refers to the unanimity of all currents in the West German peace movement about the inadmissibility of the deployment of US missiles in the FRG. There was no such unanimity on other issues.—*Ed.*

⁴ For an explanation of what the so-called independent peace action groups really are, see *WMR*, 1985, No. 5, pp. 101-103.—*Ed.*

⁵ For more details, see: Egon Bahr, 'Partnership Instead of Confrontation', *WMR*, 1984, No. 7, pp. 107-110.—*Ed.*

viewpoints

World-View, Talent, Creativity

Felix Kuznetsov – Doctor of Philology,
Board Secretary, Union of Writers of the USSR

An international congress in defence of culture took place in Paris half a century ago, in mid-1935. This was the first ever forum at which cultural workers of many countries and of diverse political affiliation made an attempt to combine their efforts in order to erect a barrier to the Second World War, whose approach was felt more and more tangibly following the nazi seizure of power in Germany. No barrier was raised at the time—many people were still unable to see the magnitude of the threat clearly. But advanced civic leaders, one of whom was Maxim Gorky, a classic of Russian and Soviet literature, distinctly saw how great the imminent danger was.

Soon after the congress Gorky, a founding member of the then newly-formed Union of Soviet Writers, printed an article under the heading 'On Cultures'. In it he reminded people of the First World War: 'In 1914 the European bourgeoisie sent thousands . . . of intellectuals to the firing lines as rank-and-file soldiers and compelled them to butcher each other. Before being maimed, poisoned by gas, or killed, the 'cultural workers' did what they could to lay waste to towns and fertile land and help to destroy culture.'

Gorky warned that a shambles was in the making: 'Innumerable towns and factories will be reduced to dust and ashes, splendidly made ships sunk, and land ravaged. Vast numbers of children will be killed. In the long run the criminal madness of the class of fat people will boil down to their compelling workers, peasants, and intellectuals to destroy the fruits of labour and engage in mutual annihilation.'

Regretfully, what Maxim Gorky foresaw came to pass. And it is to be regretted even more that humankind forgets the lessons of history and is today confronted sharply by the threat of another war that promises to incinerate the entire human race in a thermonuclear conflagration. Those who may kindle it are again those selfsame members of imperialism's extreme right-wing militarist circles. The forces of peace, who include the might of the entire socialist community, now unquestionably have an incomparably greater potential than half a century ago. But a section of the artistic intelligentsia of the West, which itself does not want war, maintains a passive stand, as much as to say that politics, even if it is a matter of preserving peace and life on earth, is not the affair of literature and art.

It is to them that our party addressed itself at a jubilee sitting of the Board of the Union of Writers of the USSR: 'Gorky's famous call—'On Whose Side Are You, Workers in Culture?'—today has a particularly disturbing and demanding ring about it, and the point is not, of course, simply of a choice between the USSR and the USA,

as is often claimed by the anti-communists. The point is of a choice between the life and annihilation of our civilisation. Here there is no golden mean: either you are with those who are preparing for war or with those who reject imperialism's adventurist policies and are fighting for peaceful coexistence, for disarmament.²

Soviet writers are constantly thinking of how to increase their contribution to the preservation of peace, of what has to be done to enable our art to help crystallise in people the readiness to oppose war with all their might. In reply to this I should like to begin from afar, with an exposition of our notions about the foundations of the very nature of artistic creativity, of its unbreakable link to ideology and politics.

In the heading to this article next to the word 'creativity' there are the words 'world-view and talent' because artistic creativity (I have chiefly belles lettres in mind) is determined by these two elements. It is the product, as it were, of their fusion, which in every case is complex and purely individual and produces glaringly dissimilar results.

In working out a correct attitude to artistic creativity Marxist philosophico-literary thought paved the way between the Scylla and Charybdis of ideological eclectics and vulgar sociology. The former most frequently manifests itself in the attempts to link two unbindable views of art—the materialistic and the idealistic. Materialism, of which Marxist philosophy is a part, interprets art as a *special* kind of social creativity nourished by the juices of real life and the human relationships that create this life. Idealistic concepts of art—there is no end to them—portray it as a sort of intercourse with an 'eternal spirit', an illusory communion with the unfathomable primeval world, and so on and so forth. Meanwhile, handing each a sop, eclecticism resorts to insinuation, ambiguity, and ornateness in its endeavour to link these two opposing attitudes. These efforts are futile and hopeless.

As regards vulgar sociology, it insists that it expresses no more than Marxist orthodoxy, crudely and insolently declaring that art is entirely dependent on the social milieu and class interests. The exponents of this theory have declared, for example, that Alexander Pushkin was the ideologue of decadent grandeur and that Leo Tolstoy was a spokesman of the middle gentry that made common cause with the aristocracy—and that this summed up their role in culture. Vulgar sociology thereby denies that the cultural heritage of the past is of value to our society and justifies primitive, schematic portrayals of life in art and literature, this being at variance with the demands of civilisation.

A correct Marxist-Leninist approach to artistic creativity, the main principles of which had been worked out by the founders of scientific socialism, reject both of the above-mentioned schools of thought. Embodied in the practice of the CPSU and other fraternal parties, this approach to art is based on the understanding that it is a *special*—let me re-emphasise this—a specific sphere of the consciousness developing in accordance with its own inner laws that differ from the laws operating in the economic and social spheres of life. To bracket them would be to vulgarise art, to try to measure artists with one and the same yardstick. Our party sees a norm in a solicitous and respectful attitude to the artistic intelligentsia, to its quests and diversity of creative individualities and aesthetic forms. We remain guided by Lenin's words that 'Literature is least of all subject to mechanical adjustment or levelling, to the rule of the majority over the minority. . . In this field greater scope must undoubtedly be allowed for personal initiative, individual inclination, thought and fantasy, form and content.'³

The CPSU deplores callous glorification of the new society's achievements, is set against primitive works whose creators discredit lofty themes and ideas, and censures drabness and lack of sensitivity in art.

In its preparations for its 27th Congress our party has reiterated that it attaches immense importance to literature and art, which are effectively helping to carry out

colossal tasks related to the building of the new society. 'All the best creations of Soviet literature and art,' it was noted by the CPSU Central Committee at its plenary meeting in April 1985, 'have always been inseparable from the main affairs and concerns of the party and the people. There is no doubt that the new tasks we are working on today will be worthily mirrored in artistic creativity, which asserts the truth of socialist life.'⁴

We regard a faithful portrayal of life as one of the principal criteria in evaluating a work of art or literature. Of course, the link between the world-view and work of the artist is much more complex than a mirror reflection.

The character of this relationship was understood clearly by Marx and Engels. The latter, for example, noting that in his political views Honore de Balzac was a legitimist and sympathised with a class condemned to extinction by history, wrote: 'For all that his satire is never keener and his irony never bitterer than when he sets in motion the very men and women with whom he sympathises most deeply—the nobles. And the only men of whom he always speaks with undisguised admiration, are his bitterest political antagonists, the republican heroes. . . . That Balzac thus was compelled to go against his own class sympathies and political prejudices, that he *saw* the necessity of the downfall of his favourite nobles, and depicted them as people deserving no better fate; and that he *saw* the real men of the future where, for the time being they alone were to be found—that I consider one of the greatest triumphs of Realism, and one of the grandest features of old Balzac.'⁵

The classics of Marxism strongly made the point that in their work the great writers of the past were guided by a *sense of artistic truth*, which is an inalienable element of real talent. This is what makes the works of the finest artists of the past unfading values in the human treasure-store of knowledge of the world through art. The society of free working people is the rightful heir to this treasure-store. It assimilates and multiplies its wealth.

Of course, in assimilating the heritage of the past socialism is not omnivorous. Some aspects of the works of the great artists of past epochs are cherished by us: the assertion of humanity, the desire for enlightenment, the call for efforts on behalf of the welfare of people; we are critical of other aspects—religious idealism, egalitarianism in art, the laudation of individualism, and so on.

Of the heritage of the past the works of Vissarion Belinsky, Nikolai Dobrolyubov, Nikolai Chernyshevsky, and other Russian revolutionary democrats of the mid-19th century are particularly dear to the practical workers and theorists of Soviet literature. They were not Marxists but had come close to scientific socialism, asserting materialism in philosophy, drawing near to the dialectics of nature's development, and advocating revolutionary methods for liberating the working people.

More, we see ourselves as the continuers of the revolutionary democrats in the development of some key principles of their philosophico-aesthetic doctrine, principles that were taken over from them and elaborated in detail by the Russian Marxists, by Lenin in the first place.

Well aware of the immense significance of talent to the success of an artist, Lenin wrote: 'Don't find fault, friends, with human failings! Talent is rare. It should be systematically and carefully supported.'⁶ However, the revolutionary democrats, the Marxist critics, and Lenin rejected the idea that art is *non-ideological*, and the assertion of some philosophers and artists that the world outlook is of no significance to artistic creativity.

Since words and the artistic image are in all cases vital and convey a distinct message and, consequently, have an ideological and philosophical significance, literature, Chernyshevsky wrote 'has to be the votary of this or that school of thought: this is a designation . . . that it cannot repudiate even if it wanted to'.⁷ The slogan of 'pure art', of 'art for art's sake', which is used in opposition to progressive views, is only

suitable, he wrote, 'when there is a need . . . to prove that a poet should not compose elegant odes and should not distort reality to suit various arbitrary and mealy-mouthed sentiments', in other words, when the writer's pen is put in the service of official lies. In all other cases the artist who believes that 'to serve any interests except one's own is humiliating and pernicious to art', turns it into an empty game, and deprives it of any 'sensible designation'.⁸

These thoughts are applicable to our reality in the same way as the persuasion that if art wants to be true and big *it must serve the advanced ideals of the age*. Ideals satisfying the pressing needs of the epoch not only give works of art a serious social content but also help the artist to acquire a profound and true understanding of reality. On the contrary, reactionary features in philosophy prevent talent from getting to the essence of the truth of life, hinder its development and, in the event they are absolutised take the artist to a grave, insolvable creative crisis and frustration in life as happened, for example, in the case of Nikolai Gogol. A misconceived world-view affects also the artistic level of work, lessening its aesthetic impact.

The role of the world-view in artistic creativity grows steadily as the political and social structure of civilisation becomes more intricate and the contradictions between the two main social systems—between socialism and capitalism—are aggravated. It is precisely the advanced, Marxist-Leninist world-view, which consists of a system of powerful, viable ideas scientifically expressing the most basic, most cardinal requirements of the day, advanced nations, and the whole of humankind, that gives the workers in culture accepting it a clear vision, confidence in the future, and optimistic faith in the human being's creative abilities. Here it must be noted that in art and literature the world-view asserts itself chiefly through the *creative ideal and attitude of the craftsman*. These may manifest themselves also in subtle nuances of the art structure created by him, nuances that lie hidden between the lines or surface boldly as in the work of Vladimir Mayakovsky.

But, by and large, the Marxists-Leninists feel that in the sphere of artistic creativity the main purpose of their philosophico-aesthetic, critical-literary, and practical organisational work is to help creative workers reveal their talents most fully and do more for the good of the working people. Our party implements these principles and this attitude through a harmonious and consistent concept of the folk character and partisanship of creativity envisaging the artists' conscious service to their society, to communist ideals. The basic form of such service is the creation of vivid and compelling images of advanced, active, and thoughtful people, who remake society in order to translate into life the socialist ideals of equality, justice, humanity, and internationalism, to elevate the people's spiritual requirements.

Workers in literature and art of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and many progressive artists throughout the world, who share our views, have chosen *socialist realism* as their artistic method. In the 19th century most of the leading writers employed the method of *critical realism*. One of its main distinguishing features was that it exposed the contradictions of exploiting society, that it showed the true face of the oppressors and championed the oppressed, working strata of the people. The artists and writers of our day value and develop the attainments of critical realism. They do not renounce criticism of everything that prevents the elevation of the human being. But in their critical presentation and artistic analysis of new developments in life the proponents of socialist realism are guided by the new society's ideals and by the party's concept of art.

While it highly values the advanced world-view in art, socialist realism is far from fetishes in the use of artistic means. It encourages freedom of quest in this sphere, a diversity of attitudes to, among other things, questions such as the interrelation between the world-view and the aesthetic element in a work, the deep-going dialectical relationship between a work's content and form, the elucidation of the

artist's philosophico-aesthetic ideal and moral, social stand. There are many debatable issues here. For instance, a debate is going on over what is the correct correlation between topicality and 'timeless' philosophical problems in a work of art. It happens sometimes that by pushing topicality just a little harder than needed on the scales of creativity an artist gives his work an undesirable touch of transience; if he increases the accent on these 'timeless' problems the nerve of contemporaneity is lost in his work and the forefront is taken by abstraction and cold calculation, which reduces reader interest. An intelligent and sensitive critical analysis made of a work from this angle helps the artist to develop the right method.

Perhaps even more controversial is the problem of evaluating formal quests and experiences that are going on constantly in the art of socialist realism. Which of these quests square with the main orientations of its development and which, on the contrary, lead the artists away from them? In what should fidelity to traditions be preserved and in what should they be jettisoned? Here much still demands an answer.

But, on the whole, in the entire range of such disputed issues most of Soviet philosophers and literary critics agree that it is futile to attempt dogmatically to define and thereby limit the creative methods of socialist realism. Our artistic method is an experience-based system of truthfully portraying life, a system that has absorbed advanced trends of the world's artistic process and is evolving new ways of expressing them. These ways have nothing to do with insularity and isolation from the people's life, with experiments for the sake of experimentation, or with the old game in 'pure art', which detaches art from life, causes it to lose the mass reader, listener, or viewer, and thereby leads to its suicide.

We have touched upon some fundamental theoretical issues that spring from the overall Marxist-Leninist aesthetic concept. But we began by addressing the practical tasks confronting workers in culture, notably tasks linked to the vitalisation of their struggle against the threat of war. I would say that meditation upon the significance of the world-view in creativity has a direct bearing on this question. The more profoundly an artist is aware of his role in such global movements as the defence of peace, the clearer will his understanding be of how strongly are linked the actual contradictions of life and the sense and designation of artistic creativity. Those who desire to be faithful to the true nature of art, do their utmost to sustain in people the striving for peace, to reinforce their fidelity to humanistic values, and fight anti-humane social currents.

Views of this kind constitute the very core of the interests of Soviet literature, because its focus is on the new citizen, on the moulding of the new citizen, which is a complex, conflict-laden, contradictory process. In addressing this constant theme, Soviet literature's most significant works distinguish its spiritual-moral aspect inseparably from the tasks involved in achieving the aim of the social reshaping of reality.

Space does not permit describing even the paramount attainments of this orientation. Some of them, like the novels and narratives of Yuri Bondarev and Vasil Bykov, who link together a person's responsibility to history, the motherland, and his own conscience, showing the conflict with examples drawn from the war years and our time. Others, for instance, the works of Chinghiz Aitmatov show the link between human development in faraway, legendary, almost prehistoric epochs and the present drive to enter the space age. The northern or Siberian rural community in the works of Fyodor Abramov, Vasili Belov, and Valentin Rasputin, and the modern town in the narratives of Yuri Trifonov—life in its many facets is described and examined in the Soviet multinational prose of our day.

While continuing the lofty tradition of past Russian literature, Soviet prose stirs the hearts of people with 'timeless' disturbing questions at the new spiral of history, at the stage in which developed socialism is being perfected. These questions are: Are you

living in the proper way? What is the sense of your life? How do you show your personal civil responsibility to society, the people, the motherland, and humankind as a whole?

The quest for the sense of life is put as basic in the system of common *spiritual values*, while the question of responsibility to one's conscience is basic in the system of *moral values*. In other words, literature brings to light the interdependence of two aspects—for the sake of *what* and *how* man lives. It maintains that if he gives priority to the satisfaction of material requirements, to success that is detrimental to the civil sense of activity, this leads to vanity, baseness, and a degeneration of behaviour. In effect, literary means are thereby used to analyse the 'mode of transition' of the sum of social relations, personified ultimately by man, into the living flesh of his spirit, morals, and behaviour, into how he realises in practice the concepts humanism, good, and conscience.

We admit that in their fight with idealism not so long ago some Soviet critics, philosophers, and even writers used humiliating inverted commas for these concepts, thereby implying their 'unsuitability' for our day. Society and literature have now rid themselves of 'exaggerations' of this sort, realising the full depth of the Leninist concept of communist morality, which combines the socio-class criteria of it with an understanding that simple norms of human morals and the wealth of the human spirit created by our civilisation in the course of millennia are of inestimable importance for the communist upbringing of the individual. The practical embodiment of the Leninist concept gets the scrupulous attention of Soviet prose writers.

It goes without saying that we do not forget that for centuries on end religion in its diverse cloaks and the idealistic-philosophical system based on it had the monopoly over the human mind, over the formulation and solution of spiritual-moral problems. Of course, say, 19th-century Russian literature likewise fearlessly raised 'timeless' spiritual questions, but even its giants—Gogol, Dostoyevsky, and Tolstoy—could not, in their quest for the answer to them, go beyond the framework of the religious world-view.

True, Dostoyevsky wondered whether the reply could be given by socialism, but in the end decided that while a socialist society ensured people with food and material equality, it would not teach them what to live for and how to live in accordance with the dictates of their consciences. In his novels people ponder over the fact that the discoveries of the exact sciences and the acquisition of creature comforts do not free them from the question: What is the purpose of life?

This question, which profoundly worried Dostoyevsky himself, is addressed, as it were, by him to present-day reality, notably to bourgeois consumer society, and also to us. Socialism and Dostoyevsky's own works furnish the reply: of course of the individual's alienation from society can be surmounted and a lofty sense of being with steadily improving welfare can be acquired only if society is restructured in accordance with lofty socialist ideals. The 'timeless' philosophical questions will then be resolved not in any illusory afterlife but here on earth, on a level that is increasingly worthy of man. Of course, this will not take place automatically. It is only society as a whole and each person by his or her all-sided labour that can turn possibility into reality. The mission of art and literature is to show artistically how this conversion is affected in practice, to inspire people, to give them confidence in their strength. However, literature should not simplify or ease the conflicts and contradictions that arise here.

An important regularity distinguishing socialism from consumer society is that the more conclusively it resolves the problem of 'daily bread', the more attention all its social institutions give to 'spiritual food'. For the novelty of its formulations of matters related to enriching the individual's spiritual life in the new conditions and for the depth of the decisions suggested by it socialist literature is today moving to the

very forefront of the world literary process.

Much as socialism's answer to Dostoyevsky's question is clear while by no means being simple, the answer offered by 'consumer society' is contradictory and, most importantly, in many ways anti-humane. On the one hand, this society in a way does not reject the religious-idealistic interpretation of the sense of life, promising bliss to pious people not on earth but only in the heavens and from here deducing traditional Christian moral values. On the other hand, it corrupts people with its propagation of an inverted hierarchy of values, where purely material, base consumer blessings are paramount. Thus, both hooks—religion and mercantilism—and everything else suit capitalism so long as it helps to divert the working masses from the path of true liberation, from exploitation by the propertied classes.

When the Communists delay giving argumented Marxist replies to questions linked to the arduous task of asserting the socialist system of spiritual and moral values, ideologically unstable people, including workers in culture, sometimes turn for an answer to the reactionary-idealistic traditions of the past. They seek 'spiritual values', but give this concept an idealistic rather than a historico-materialistic content, underestimating the revolutionary-democratic and Marxist ways of realising life's values.

The inverted hierarchy of values also has ways of attracting supporters. The principal of these is 'mass culture' relative to new social phenomena. Socialism's achievements and its might, demonstrated strikingly during the Second World War that 40 years ago ended with the victory of humankind's advanced forces, frightened those who ruled the destinies of the old society. This fear made them cede to the working people of their own countries a somewhat larger share than before of material sufficiency, but this was and still is accompanied by the robbing of hundreds upon hundreds of millions of people in the industrially undeveloped states. The owners of capital accompany their 'benevolence' by fostering consumer instincts and base passions among the masses—thirst for gain, cult of violence, sex, pornography, and the shoddy entertainment offered by subart. By sustaining this 'mass culture', capitalism difiles the values that it had itself put forward at the dawn of its history, in the 18th and 19th centuries: respect for human dignity, enlightenment, rejection of class rights, of the striving to live at somebody else's expense. In exploiting society, where 'mass culture' predominates, the realist writers who cherish these values find themselves in the status of outcasts.

We have to remember that we are living in a world that is in some ways similar to a system of bloodvessels. The bourgeois mass media are trying to sow the seeds of 'mass culture' also in the new society. These seeds often fall on soil loosened by survivals of the past and also by unresolved problems, and for that reason some sprout in the shape of ideological and cultural weeds. These weeds can and must be combated by truthful, vivid, profound, and captivating works asserting the great ideals of socialism, humanism, and a lofty sense of life—all the qualities that make human beings human.

We believe that works of this kind can be created by artists with lucid and noble spiritual guidelines. These are in all cases highly cultured and educated persons. Not a single day without reading, without thought, without work of the soul is a key condition for successful work by a serious writer. A writer worthy of the name is able to gain a deep understanding of history and contemporaneity from the standpoint of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, and in this is seen his committed stand in literature. The convictions of a person committed to his or her people and country are traditional for the Russian and Soviet writer. Egocentrism and apologetic aestheticism are alien to us. As I see it, a worker in culture in our society is in all cases concerned with politics, with affairs of state. I may be risking censure from aesthetes or, to be more exact, from literary philistines, but I will say that without politics there

can be no major literature.

The need for the politicisation of the thinking of a writer should not, of course, be read in the simplified, literary sense. Where writers ignore the specifics of literature, or artistry, their works are trivial, illusory, and superficial. It is not easy to combine the significance of a task and the sharpness of a theme with a high level of aestheticism, artistic innovation, and attractiveness. Experience, particularly the experience of the grim but heroic war years can help to cope with this problem. In those years Soviet literature and art inspired the people to rise to the summit of patriotism, which under socialism is inseparable from internationalism. It made people prepared to give everything, including their lives, in order to defend their socialist country. To understand one's task and tackle it in this spirit is, in our view, to be a politically committed and artistic writer in the real sense of the word.

Chernyshevsky spoke words that hold true to this day. They are: 'In all areas of human activity only those directions achieve brilliant development that find a live link with society's needs. That which has no roots in life remains flabby and pale, not only failing to achieve historical significance but being small-minded can have no impact on society.'⁹

Soviet society's fundamental historical needs are peace and labour with the all-sided perfection of developed socialism as its aim. By working for the sake of these lofty purposes and asserting and enlarging upon mankind's great humanist traditions, the artist has every opportunity to reveal and realise all of his or her talent.

¹ Maxim Gorky, *On Literature*, Moscow, 1955, pp. 833-834 (in Russian).

² *Pravda*, September 26, 1984.

³ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 10, p. 46.

⁴ *Pravda*, April 24, 1985.

⁵ 'Engels to Margaret Harkness in London, Beginning of April 1888', in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1965, pp. 402-03.

⁶ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, p. 99.

⁷ Nikolai Chernyshevsky, *Collected Works*, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1947, p. 30 (in Russian).

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1949, pp. 271, 274.

⁹ Nikolai Chernyshevsky, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 299.

Anti-Communism on a Rampage in Iran

Ali Khavari – CC First Secretary, People's Party of Iran

MORE than two years have passed since the imperialist-backed reactionary forces began their ruthless attacks on the People's Party of Iran. The campaign was carefully prepared and planned by the punitive agencies of the Islamic Republic of Iran with the active involvement of the intelligence services of capitalist states. Subsequent developments clearly revealed the true aims of the orchestrators of this crime, which struck a heavy blow at the glorious Iranian revolution.

In Defiance of National Interests

In a statement evaluating the government's sinister actions, our party noted: 'The PPI's 40-year history is evidence that any massive attack on the interests of the Iranian people, on their sovereignty, freedom, and democracy has always commenced with attacks on true revolutionaries. Since it was founded the PPI has time and again been subjected to brutal harassment by reaction. Many of the party's leaders and thousands of its rank-and-file members have been tortured to death in prisons, executed, or killed in pogroms organised by the authorities. The Iranian Communists have spent a total of over 20,000 years in prison.'

Experience teaches that a decline of the revolutionary process is in all cases preceded by harassment of communist and workers' parties. In this context, I should like to recall that as early as 1949, immediately after the PPI was outlawed, the shah's government entered into negotiations with Britain, whose monopolies sought a perpetual hold on Iranian oil. Quite obviously, the two sides saw the PPI as one of the main road-blocks to the implementation of their plans, which were prejudicial to the national interests of the Iranian people.

In 1953 imperialism orchestrated the overthrow of the Mussadeq national government and used local puppets to deal summarily with the Communists: hundreds were executed, and thousands were imprisoned. As before, world capitalism pursued the aim of gaining unchallenged control of Iran, of pumping its wealth into the safes of foreign corporations and banks, and using our people as cheap labour for the imperialist monopolies. As usual, to justify its anti-democratic, anti-national actions reaction dragged anti-communist and anti-Soviet slander out of its propaganda arsenal.

After the 1953 reactionary coup, Dr. Mohammed Mussadeq, the lawful head of the Iranian government and leader of the National Front, was arrested and imprisoned. While in prison he wrote in his analysis of the role played in these dramatic events by the USA and Britain: 'One can only question the honesty and goodwill of the big powers (Mussadeq meant the USA and Britain.—A.K.), who, on the pretext of a communist threat and having deprived the Iranian people of freedom and independence, counted on pillaging our oil wealth for another forty years.'

During the past two years anti-Sovietism and anti-communism have reached a dangerous, unparalleled magnitude. This is evidence that the leaders of the Islamic Republic have veered steeply to the right and virtually surrendered to the big Iranian bourgeoisie.

The imperialists have been pushing the new Iranian regime in this direction ever since the overthrow of the shah's government. None other than Zbigniew Brzezinski, at the time Assistant to the US President for National Security Affairs, recommended that the US Secretary of State should whip up an atmosphere of distrust between Iran and its neighbours. It was his contention that a cessation of Soviet support for the

Islamic Republic would inevitably undermine the Khomeini regime's standing in the world and make it more tractable. The present erosion of the relations between the two countries as a consequence of Teheran's anti-Soviet and anti-communist policies plays into the hands of Washington, and the latter is bending every effort to make the developments in Iran benefit the imperialists and conform to their political and ideological aspirations. The course steered by Iran's ruling circles conflicts with the policy of peace, friendship, and respect for national sovereignty pursued by the USSR relative to Iran.

On the basis of past and present experience it may be said with certainty that an anti-communist and anti-Soviet policy hurts Iran's sovereignty and progressive development, negatively affects the economy, and makes Iran increasingly dependent upon capitalist powers. To a considerable extent this policy is drawing Tehran's present rulers closer to the most odious imperialist circles, who have proclaimed a 'crusade' against communism and are, at the same time, endeavouring to trample the independence and freedom of all countries and peoples.

What caused this sharp shift to the right in the stand of the leaders of the Islamic Republic of Iran?

Following the revolution of February 1979 and taking advantage of the fact that our party and other progressive forces had been significantly weakened by the harassment under the shah, the clergy in fact monopolised political power. As the entire working class, the PPI found itself in a difficult position. The nation's administration fell into the hands of a group of clergymen, whose narrow class, sectarian interests and striving to Islamise society clashed with the aspirations of the people, who had launched upon a national democratic revolution.

This revolution hardly affected the big capitalists and landowners. With the support of imperialist powers they spun a web of intrigue and conspiracies in order to subvert the republic while it was still weak or compel its leaders to abandon some of the reforms that had been started under pressure from the people.

For its part the PPI was aware that the revolution's weakest link consisted of the leadership of the Islamic Republic of Iran, which, on account of its class narrow-mindedness, had renounced reliance on the revolutionary masses who represent the interests of the majority of the Iranian people. This ruled out the conditions for setting up a genuinely popular government. The further shift of the Islamic Republic's ruling circles to the right was also dictated by their fear of the people's desire for radical reforms, and this led to all-out attempts to prevent a growth of militancy among genuinely revolutionary elements. Moreover, they were pushed in this direction by the merchant bourgeoisie, which had visibly enhanced its economic and, consequently, political influence. The only way out of the dangerous situation created by the policy of the ruling circles was, in the view of the party, to organise a united front with the participation of all persons loyal to the revolution.

However, cynically ignoring the promises they had made to the people, Iran's new leaders ruthlessly set about suppressing the nation's progressive, democratic forces. Reaction struck its most savage blow at the PPI, which had throughout its history played a significant role in our society's political and intellectual life. The party has been and remains a proponent of the ideals of Marxism-Leninism, creatively developing them in relation to the specific conditions prevailing in Iran. It disseminated advanced social thought, a scientific approach to philosophy and sociology. Its members, among whom there are not a few scientists, writers, and poets, have made a large contribution to the development of science and Iran's distinctive national culture.

In the PPI's activities ardent patriotism combines dialectically with proletarian internationalism. It unflinchingly champions the interests of working people and the disinherited. It was under the party's leadership that Iran's largest trade union was set

up and the first ever strike by Iranian oil-workers took place. The PPI constantly stresses the link between actions on the domestic political scene with the struggle being waged by the peoples of our planet for peace and detente, against reaction, which is trying to impose its will upon humankind.

The People's Party of Iran was in the van of the struggle for national independence. Its activities were one of the main preconditions of the anti-shah revolution of 1979, and influenced the course and character of the popular movement. To this day, without succumbing to the blows raining down on it, our party focuses and directs its efforts on the formation of a united people's front capable of defending the ideals of the revolution against the attacks of internal reaction and tirelessly exposes anti-Iranian conspiracies and imperialist intrigues.

Apart from these 'sins' of the party, another circumstance inducing reaction to attack the party was that after the authorities had in fact rejected the grievances of the disinherited strata the concrete, scientific programme suggested by the PPI for society's transformation acquired growing attraction in the eyes of the masses.

The clear stand adopted by our party, which calls for an agrarian reform, the expropriation of the big landed estates, a government monopoly on foreign trade, and fair labour legislation, contrasts sharply with the hollow, religion-motivated demagogic rhetoric of the leaders of the Islamic Republic. The less they cared for the good of the people, the more bombastic they became. They urged the opulent, who had been robbing the people, to moderate their appetites, this being tantamount to begging a wolf to spare the lamb. From the poor they demanded staunch endurance of all hardships and thoughts not of happiness on earth but of bliss in paradise. Pronouncements of this are typified by a statement made by the republic's President Khomeini in the holy Shia city of Qum. He astonished his listeners with the allegation that the Iranian revolution had "erased the distinctions between classes and estates".

With pronouncements of this kind the Iranian leaders have exposed themselves in the eyes of the people. The PPI has skilfully shown the speciousness of the promises made by the ruling circles to improve the people's socio-economic condition and explained the causes of the crisis situation and the country's socio-economic backwardness. As a result, the working people, the workers in the first place, ceased to believe the regime's promises.

Repressions restricting the party's activities were started immediately after the revolution. Later, realising that the growing popularity of the PPI's socio-economic programme was undercutting their own influence, the country's leaders stepped up the violence of the attacks against the Communists. Under false pretexts or no pretext at all the government introduced various bans, arrested PPI members, harassed their primary organisations, and embarked on provocations. This odious work was relegated to gangs of fanatics, calling themselves Hezbollahi (members of the Party of Allah) and armed with clubs, knuckledusters, and even firearms. At first, fearing the people's anger, the leaders of the regime were reluctant to accept responsibility for the criminal handiwork of these gangs.

The reactionaries were also well aware of the important role played by the communist press in defending the revolution. For that reason our central newspaper, *Namee Mardom*,² was banned a year before the massive campaign against the PPI was started. Earlier, the Hezbollahi had seized and ransacked the party's Central House and its large library. More than 300 party members and activists were imprisoned before the authorities struck their main blow at the PPI. Our adversaries resorted to torture and blackmail in order to trump up charges against the Communists.

In addition to their preparations to dismantle progressive parties and organisations, the authorities intended to return property to rich counter-revolutionary landowners. In accordance with the spirit and letter of the shariat

(Islamic law), the Council of Guardians, a body monitoring compliance with the Constitution, sought out religious grounds for refuting any law that in any way protected the interests of the working people.

The regime endeavoured to divert the people from pressing social and economic problems and direct their disaffection against the Communists, generating an atmosphere of fear, abolishing the remnants of democracy, and thereby striving to protect itself from the rising tide of popular anger.

The regime saw as a grievous 'sin' our party's exposure of the foreign policy pursued by the government, which has adopted a hostile stand towards the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and is seeking to continue the war against Iraq, which Khomeini and his adherents are fighting with practically the sole aim of exporting their religious-political principles of state organisation outside Iran.

In this situation the PPI was not only an eyesore to the reactionary clergy and the big Iranian landowners and capitalists but also a major barrier to the realisation of the plans of world, chiefly US, imperialism, in our country. This is what ultimately led the regime to decide on a frontal assault on the Communist Party.

Realm of Horror

With the assistance of the CIA of the USA, the British Intelligence Service, and the Israeli Mossad, the newly-formed SAVAMA, successor of the shah's SAVAK, has started collecting 'documents' to vilify Iran's true patriots. But since no evidence has been found against them (for such evidence does not exist), their persecutors have changed their tactics: they are now trying to obtain 'confessions' from the prisoners themselves.

Much information on the horrors being perpetrated by the torturers has filtered out of the prisons where our comrades are held. There is every justification for saying that the Islamic Republic's torture experts have mastered the vast experience of the medieval Inquisition, the Gestapo butchers of Nazi Germany, the American sadists in Vietnam, and the Israeli invaders on seized Arab lands.

The purpose of a butcher is to break his victim physically and morally. Many prisoners are denied auditory and visual contact with the surrounding world. The prisoner's eyes are bound and he is kept in darkness for months on end. From time to time, his eyes are unbound in order to demonstrate to him the result of this 'experiment': and every time this happens the victim feels that he is gradually losing his sight, that he is on the verge of blindness. People are subjected to all sorts of indignities, beaten with wire, have their nails pulled out or needles driven under them, have bones broken, forced to lie down naked on an electric stove, have parts of their skin torn off, get blood drained until they lose consciousness, hung head down and then whipped, or have an electric current passed through sensitive parts of the body. Many women prisoners have been raped. Chemicals are used to damage the nervous system. Some prisoners are killed as an intimidation for others. Often mock executions are arranged.

This tragic listing can be continued endlessly. And it is all done at the bidding of those who call themselves 'custodians of the truth', fighters for the 'triumph of belief over unbelief'.

Although the Constitution denies recognition to confessions obtained by torture, the regime does not hide the fact that torture is practised in the Islamic Republic. Its representative at the United Nations Rajavi-Khorasani bluntly stated that the Iranian government was making no claim to compliance with human rights, and that the relevant Declaration³ and other documents were no criterion for the decisions adopted by the Iranian government. "We ask not to be criticised for violating what we do not recognise," he added with cynical candidness. As the chairman of the

parliament Rafsanjani sees it, since Islam recognises corporal punishment the methods used in interrogating prisoners cannot be regarded as torture. Fire, iron, awls, whips, wire, cable, and knives are 'instruments' used by torturers in the Evin and other prisons, where they are tormenting over 100,000 political prisoners in secret from world opinion.

An eloquent piece of evidence is that Emir Entezam, spokesman of the Bazargan provisional government (formed after monarchy was deposed), admitted that use was being made of much of the special equipment purchased for SAVAK by the shah at the cost of billions of dollars.⁴

As early as April 1979 the newspaper *Mardom* wrote that the 'new security agency has begun its work with the harassment of Communists'.⁵ SAVAMA includes the SAVAK's special anti-communist department, many members of which had received training in the USA and Israel in forging documents and methods of obtaining 'confessions'. Its personnel and resources serve the rulers of the Islamic Republic, who protect the interests of big capital and take an active part in the crusade against communism.

It is significant that imperialist circles began to have more confidence in the new Iranian regime precisely after the campaign against the PPI was started. This was seen, in particular, at the Williamsburg (1983) meeting of representatives of seven leading capitalist countries. Support and approval were voiced for the shift to the right in the policies of the Iranian leaders. When the meeting ended many Western businessmen, who had only recently asserted that Iran was in agony, began to see our country as the most profitable market in the Middle East.

Two months after the attacks on the PPI were started, the US press carried a report stating that according to information available to the US State Department several hundred million dollars' worth of weapons had reached Iran despite the boycott on the sale of all types of armaments to it.⁶

How Slander Is Concocted

The PPI had fought imperialism and internal reaction resolutely for many years. Our enemies were well aware that our party, which acted consistently against betrayal of freedom and independence, in defence of the working people's rights, could not be broken either by torture or prison. They did not conceal their fear of the attractive force of the PPI's clear and honest stand. An echo of this fear is to be heard in, for example, the words of ayatollah Jannati, a member of the Council of Guardians. A week after the attacks on the PPI were started he in fact acknowledged our party's strength and influence in Iran. "It has to be stressed," he declared, "that they (PPI members—A.K.) had conducted ideological and educational work for a long time. They maintained that this was serving the interests of poor people. And many of those who hate oppression and exploitation believe them, deciding that only being on the same side of the barricades as the PPI can help the workers and peasants defend the rights of the disinherited." At the same time, like other leaders of the Islamic Republic, Jannati tries to reduce the distinctions between us to differences between antipodal schools of philosophy, deliberately misrepresenting the content of the party's efforts to establish social justice.

The professional demagogues clothe their attacks on true patriots in religious garb. But today, thanks to the political consciousness acquired by the people during the years of revolution, the experience of struggle gained by them, and their ability to see through complex political and ideological collisions, reaction can no longer use religious subterfuges against the party as effectively as before. That is why in addition to the 'traditional' charge of atheism, the Iranian reactionary clergy are levelling the charge of 'espionage' at the PPI.

In this context it is asserted that our party is 'dependent' on the foreign communist

and working class movement. Exposing the lies being spread by Iranian propaganda centres, the PPI Committee in Exile noted in its statement of May 4, 1983: 'The myth about the party's policy being directed from Moscow and about interference in its internal affairs is not to the credit of either its inspirers in the Islamic Republic or those who are at the back of this organised foul farce. Humbug of this sort was resorted to by Hitler and Mussolini. The fact that the PPI's policy is close to that of other fraternal parties and organisations does not mean it is dependent upon them. Nor for the sake of the imperialists and their accomplices recognising us as 'independent' will we ever be at odds with the policy of peace pursued by socialist countries and fraternal parties, which are assisting national liberation movements, including our revolution.'

Our comrades who have been arrested are virtually outlawed. The butchers are cynically saying that unbelievers have no right to be legally represented. While denying political prisoners the possibility of using the services of lawyers and trying them behind closed doors, the regime is having recourse to yet another dirty business—so-called public repentance. These are being extracted by monstrous treatment of prisoners, by psychiatric and other means of suppressing their consciousness and will to resist. Nevertheless, the orchestrators of these judicial farces have tried to create the semblance of a fair trial, of the court's 'independence' of the 'Islamic justice' demanded by the authorities. All this is reminiscent of the Iranian proverb, which says that 'he will be pleased who goes to the judge alone'. The regime has indeed 'gone to the judge alone', taking the precaution to deny its victims the opportunity to expose it with the truth.

An analysis of films shown on Iranian television confirms the use of the latest pharmaceutical 'breakthroughs' purchased in capitalist countries. In these films victims who have lost the ability to think and reason spoke of their 'crimes'. Doctors who have seen these films are unanimous in the view that the way the facial muscles of the victims move and the way they speak leave no doubt that they have been treated with drugs and have undergone inhuman suffering.

A protest from the French Federation of Health and Social Services Workers to the Iranian ambassador in Paris declares that 'millions of French people witnessed the "confessions" extracted by means of physical and psychiatric compulsion. It is quite evident that the prisoners were under the effects of a huge dose of chemicals that suppressed and destroyed their personalities.'

Many progressive organisations, including the Association of French Democratic Lawyers, 196 prominent lawyers in the FRG, and others have stated their readiness to send to Iran representative groups of doctors, lawyers, and journalists to study the condition of political prisoners, including PPI members. However, the rulers of the Islamic Republic have rejected these offers, fearing any truthful information about the lawlessness reigning in Iranian prisons.

In order to 'Islamise' the country through the restoration of medieval practices, the ringleaders of the present regime are refusing to abide by any norms of humanity and morals. The former chief of the Tehran 'revolutionary' procurator's office and former chief warden of Tehran's Evin prison, Lajevardi, declared at a press conference that in order to enable Islam to flourish on Iranian soil it was quite permissible to destroy a million people. Ayatollah Khomeini, head of the regime and articulator of the Islamic Republic's official ideology, said in a talk with foreign 'guests' (among whom were bandits fighting the Afghan people) that he approved the imprisonment, torture, and even killing of people who were in his view not true Moslems: "It is said in the Koran: Be as a brother to Moslems, to those who believe in God. And of those who are not such, it is said: 'Beat, kill, and imprison them!'"

One involuntarily compares this attitude with the views and actions of the Inquisition in those sinister medieval times in Europe when those whom the Church

regarded as heretics were tortured and destroyed: Today, at the close of the twentieth century, the rulers of Iran are acting in the same way with the help of bayonets and petrodollars.

But our heroic people, who deposed the hated shah's regime, are rising ever more actively to fight the present regime. We are quite certain that the time will come when the butchers and those backing them will be made to pay for their heinous crimes. The time will come and despite the intrigues of enemies, freedom, social justice, and peace will triumph on Iranian soil. It is for this that the People's Party of Iran is today fighting against fearful odds.

¹ *In Defence of Dr. Mussadeq*, Teheran, 1981, p. 11 (in Farsi).

² In 1980 the PPI's newspaper was renamed from *Mardom* to *Namee Mardom*.

³ A reference to the United Nations General Declaration on Human Rights.—*Ed.*

⁴ *Mardom*, April 4, 1979.

⁵ *Mardom*, April 11, 1979.

⁶ *Time*, July 25, 1983.

Where the White-Collar Workers Belong

Gunnar Asplund — CC member,
Communist Party of Finland

THE continuous changes taking place in the social-class composition of the capitalist society are closely connected with modifications in the sectoral structure of the economy. In recent decades, employment in Finnish agriculture and forestry has greatly diminished, while employment in industry and building has been going up, even if at an ever slower rate. It has been increasing in the service sphere, transit, banking and administration. The shift of working people from agriculture to industry and the services has led to a substantial growth in the proportion of wage-workers among the economically active population: from 58 per cent in 1950 to 85 per cent in 1980. The increase in the numbers of salaried workers (also known as employees and white-collar workers) has been particularly noticeable and this is what makes a Marxist analysis of the place of this group in the class composition of society most relevant.

Statistics on White-Collar Workers

Official bourgeois statistics supplies no trustworthy information on the division of society into classes or the social changes under way in it. The censuses taken in our country every ten years only reflect the occupational composition of society. This is seen in the following table based on Finnish statistics¹ and showing changes in the proportion of diverse categories of people among the economically active population.

Continuing our series on the present condition and composition of the working class. See *WMR*, Nos. 7, 1984 and 1, 2, and 3, 1985.

	1950		1960		1970		1980	
	%	000	%	000	%	000	%	000
Workers	42	834	43	881	47	987	44	977
Managers and salaried workers	16	318	23	455	32	666	41	895
Farmers (including employers)*	36	713	28	569	16	349	10	218
Entrepreneurs	6	119	6	128	5	110	5	108

* Including helping family members.

It follows that the proportion of farmers and members of their families engaged in agricultural production has dropped noticeably (from 36 to 10 per cent). A group designated as 'employees' on the strength of their occupational status has moved into second place in the Finnish society (next to wage-workers).

This group has come to include the most diverse categories of working people whom statistics sets apart from wage-workers. Statisticians seem to suggest that 'employees' do not really work but do something else. Yet it is mostly a question of people engaged in relatively low-paid, monotonous and dependent work. Indeed, over half of them are women having received little vocational training or not at all. Many of them are the wives or daughters of wage-workers. In other words, they are ordinary working people in every respect even though some of them may not regard themselves as members of the working class.

At the same time, many of those classed as 'employees' consider themselves workers. The Statistical Centre of Finland, for its part, admits that in classifying the population by occupation, it is impossible to draw a precise line between workers and employees. Regarded as typical employees are office and merchandising personnel, specialists in various fields of education and public health, cashiers and other persons employed in the services. Consequently, 'white-collar workers' are seen as comprising both persons managing the production or commercial activity of an enterprise, office or collective body and all the other categories engaged mainly in 'non-manual labour'.

The term 'non-manual labour' is misleading. It would seem to apply to brainwork, primarily in assimilating and analysing new information, working out decisions and making them, but such an assumption would leave the group of employees a very small one indeed.

Actually the term applies rather to work requiring mainly the use of the senses and the nervous system, generally with insignificant expenditure of muscular energy. The work of shop cashiers or typists, for example, is considered 'non-manual', but while it does require constant concentration, it cannot be regarded as brainwork.

On the other hand, mechanisation and automation in industrial production nowadays tend to multiply monotonous operations that are chiefly a strain on the senses and the nervous system. For instance, cashiers and manual workers at capitalist enterprises turn out to have much in common; they all have to carry out numerous repetitive operations, they do no creative work, lack independence and so cannot make any decisions.

There exist even narrower definitions of the concept of employee than that adopted by Finnish government bodies. Experts at the International Labour Organisation have proposed restricting this category to comparatively small if fast-growing groups of scientific, technical and managerial personnel, i.e., those who

have received a higher or secondary specialised education and who perform duties of a strictly intellectual nature requiring a capacity for critical thinking, initiative and relatively great responsibility. In line with the ILO approach, the category of employees in Finland should be limited to definite groups of wage-workers (236,000 in 1980) while the rank and file (658,000) should be placed in some other category.

The term used by official statistics is merely a handy noun of assembly designating what is not a coherent social stratum.

A New 'Middle Class'?

Bourgeois leaders find it convenient to use a loose definition of 'employee'. After all, since statistics puts an ordinary technician and the managing director of a firm under the same head on the same grounds, in the context of the scientific and technical revolution, with the proportion of engineers and technicians growing fast, it leaves the impression that the capitalist society is now becoming a society of 'employees'. Anyone who is not a worker in the conventional sense of the term is automatically classed as an employee. Official data indicate that in the USA the latter category is now the largest group of persons working for a wage, who are more numerous than 'workers'. Economists in some other developed capitalist countries, have also rushed in to declare that a 'relative reduction in the numerical strength of the working class' has begun.

Non-Marxist interpreters of changes in the structure of the capitalist society, i.e., those who recognise the existence of classes at all—have announced the rise of a new 'middle class' in which they mix 'statistical' employees and small businessmen. As for the working class, it only comprises, in their view, 'traditional' workers by hand. Using such statistics, bourgeois sociologists claim that the 'new class' has already become or will soon become the leading force in the society, while the role of the working class is steadily declining. On the assumption that the novel social conglomerate tends to side mainly with the bourgeoisie, they declare the existence of capitalism to be reliably assured.

In Finland, these ideas began to gain currency as far back as the late 1940s. On the strength of years of computations, Heikki Waris, an authoritative postwar sociologist, described ours as a society with a growing 'middle class'. In the 1960s, Erik Allardt and Yrjö Littunen, noted Finnish sociologists who had adopted Waris's concepts, claimed in distortion of the Marxist theory that it ignores the role of the so-called intermediate strata and refers them only to either of the two main classes, the bourgeoisie or the workers. The advocates of scientific socialism do not, of course, assert anything of the kind. Revealingly, those who criticise the Marxist approach and contend that bourgeois society is becoming more 'middle-class', cannot offer a specific and convincing analysis of the society's class composition.

Prominent among sociologists who juggle with figures in carrying on an ideological struggle on the side of the bourgeoisie is Professor Väinö Luoma, who has advanced the idea of 'a Finland of employees'. He speculates on the fact that many people associate the term 'middle class' with an intermediate social status. The chief purpose of Luoma's eclectic concept (he is a member of the right-wing bourgeois National Coalition Party) is to help preserve and deepen the division among ordinary wage-workers and to separate the employees from the workers. He affirms that in the 1980s there will be a new regrouping on the labour market and in the society as a whole, and that a united, independent movement of employees will become step by step the dominant component of the trade union movement . . . so contributing decisively to the 'stabilisation of the Finnish society'.

Now it is hard to imagine how one could in real life group salesmen, cashiers, barbers, typists and hospital personnel, on the one hand, and managers and senior officials, on the other, in, say, one and the same trade union.

True, Luoma admits that employees consist of two categories: 'Some are in the group of leading personnel with diverse managerial and control functions (they range from top managers to foremen), while others are executors lacking any right to issue orders.'² However, manual workers, too, belong unquestionably to the latter group. Nevertheless, the Finnish professor, like other bourgeois scholars who are trying to invent a homogeneous and independent class or social stratum of employees, plainly exaggerates the distinctions between them and workers, while at the same time minimising or completely ignoring the gulf between top officials and ordinary clerks.

Many Finnish sociologists of the 1970s, who did some meaningful and interesting research, delved deeper than their predecessors into the social-class structure of the society, with the result that they rejected the tendency to overstate the numerical strength of the statistical category of employees by including in it diverse groups of workers whose labour is akin to manual labour. 'The postwar period,' they have to admit, 'has seen a numerical growth of both the working class and the middle classes, a trend suggesting that since World War II Finland has neither experienced any marked polarisation, nor moved closer to becoming a middle-class country. While the middle strata have grown in numbers, the working class has not diminished.'³

Important Reserve of the Working Class Movement

Finnish Communists consider that wage-workers are divided into a bourgeoisified top layer, and the rest of the employees along with the workers

Some politologists are of the opinion that one's social status is determined by, among other things, the environment in which one works, such as a factory or office; in other words, they suggest taking the workplace as the starting point. They point out that, unlike workers, employees are in permanent contact with the management and operate under its direct control. But then workers, too, are sometimes in contact with the foreman or engineer throughout the working day and carry out their instructions. What should rather be taken into account are these other facts: like workers, engineers and technicians are moving away from the top management as they grow in numbers. Besides, since modern industrial production needs highly specialised, occasionally isolated premises, workers employed in different shops, enterprises and industries tend to communicate less and less with each other. At large enterprises, clerks work without any direct contact with the management; they generally occupy a separate section or floor and take their meals in their own canteen. At small factories, however, workers and employees have closer links in the production process.

The situation at the workplace and the peculiarities of labour arising from it are conditioned by the object of labour and the type of production, but these factors create no essential distinctions between workers and ordinary employees. However, every large social group is divided internally. A comparison between the working conditions of a lumber-jack and a forestry technician or between an industrial worker and a technician (or junior clerk) reveals greater similarities between factory and office than between factory and forest.

Some consider that employees differ from workers in education and income. But Finnish statistics for 1980 show that while most executives have a higher education, it is an exception among all other employees (intermediate and junior clerks and workers). The families of the overwhelming majority of top managers and officials belong to the high-income group (100,000 markkas a year and over), but even official bourgeois statistics does not deny that the families of low-grade salaried and wage workers are among the least provided for (under 70,000 markkas). The gap in living standards between senior employees and ordinary white-collar and blue-collar workers sets them wide apart. The bulk of statistical 'junior employees' has far more in common with workers than with high-ranking managers. Masses of ordinary

employees merge with the working class.

To be sure, work in the sphere of trade, finance or management is not directly productive even though it ensures the transformation of surplus-value into cash and profit. Similarly, the activity of government and municipal bodies—with the exception of the material sphere they control—is not considered productive in the narrow sense of the word, yet it ensures a variety of general prerequisites for creating surplus-value. What happens in practice is that all wage-workers help to produce it, each in his own way. The overwhelming majority of them are exploited, for their earnings fall short of the value which they produce or can produce by their creative labour. Wages are generally fixed according to the state of the market where labour-power is bought and sold and where the bourgeoisie tries hard to depress its price. Here, unemployment aids capital while being a scourge for all those who work for a wage.

The division of labour into productive and non-productive is very important for a Marxist politico-economic analysis. Being connected with the social division of labour, it is reflected in the differentiation within the working class. But we do not think it is right to include in the working class only those who are directly engaged in productive labour.

The Communist Party of Finland favours a definition of the working class which refers to it the overwhelming majority of employees, and here it proceeds from Lenin's definition of classes in *A Great Beginning*. We refer different categories of employees to different classes, since classes are 'large groups of people differing from each other by the place they occupy in a historically determined system of social production, by their relation (in most cases fixed and formulated in law) to the means of production, by their role in the social organisation of labour, and, consequently, by the dimensions of the share of social wealth of which they dispose and the mode of acquiring it'.⁴

Thus, we class high-ranking executives as members of the bourgeoisie along with the owners of major means of production. We mean enterprise managers as the main organisers of the exploitation process, who get excessively high salaries for it, thereby appropriating a part of the surplus-value. This category also includes those who hold leading positions in government departments and the organs of coercion and who ensure the general conditions for the functioning and preservation of the capitalist system. For doing that, when it comes to redistributing the surplus-value, they, too, are paid salaries exceeding the normal commodity-value of labour-power many times over. In Finland, there are up to 20,000 such persons, and they make up a mere two or three per cent of those whom statistics classifies as employees.

Roughly one-third (over 300,000) of all Finnish white-collar workers should be classed as belonging to the intermediate strata. Their objective class status is most contradictory, for in the social organisation of labour they generally play the role of intermediaries who pass on orders from above and supervise their execution in the interests of the ruling class. We believe that this group includes foremen, shop superintendents, and department heads, among others. They are truly situated 'between the trunk and the bark', as the saying is in forest-rich Finland.

Let us note at this point that not every effort to organise work necessarily involves the role of intermediary. It assumes this social character only where an inspector or supervisor really defends the class interests of the bourgeoisie and where his functions directly express the exploitive character of the capitalist relations of production.

Considerable numbers of employees work in the mass media and at schools, i.e., components of the superstructure whose function is to strengthen the prevailing social system. The bourgeoisie does, of course, recruit this contingent of wage workers with due regard to its own interests. Even so, a class struggle is going on within this category, since it includes people who are in a subordinate position and

some of whom identify themselves with other exploited categories of working people. The position of these intermediate strata is a dual one. On the one hand, some circumstances draw them closer to the workers and they often join efforts in defence of their common interests; on the other, the ruling class puts pressure on them to draw them into its camp.

As for the majority of employees, we believe that they belong as a separate group within the working class. They are ordinary performers who are generally assigned monotonous mechanical work at capitalist enterprises and offices. Their pay depends on the commodity-value of labour-power. They are unionised and have lately begun to call strikes as a means of securing improvements in their working conditions. In Finland, this important and growing component of the working class numbers more than one-third of a million.

Most employees actively join other contingents of working people in struggles for their vital interests: higher pay and a higher standard of living, against unemployment, and for peace and social progress. That being so, we, Communists, give increasing attention to working among members of this social category, whom we help to organise actions in defence of their rights.

¹ *Suomen virallinen tilasto*, Vol. VI C (1980), Osa IA, Helsinki, 1983, pp. 336, 338.

² *Kanava*, Helsinki, No. 3, 1979, p. 135.

³ Tapani Valtanen, Risto Alapuro, Matti Alestalo, Riitta Jallinoja, Tom Sandlund, *Suomalaiset, yhteiskunnan rakenne teollistumisen aikana*, Juva, 1980, p. 167.

⁴ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 421.

For Genuine Equality Appraising the Results of the UN Decade for Women

Fern Winston – member, Women's
Rights Commission, Communist Party USA

THE year 1985 is the final year of the Decade for Women, proclaimed by the United Nations in 1975, on the initiative of the Women's International Democratic Federation (W.I.D.F.). The United Nations designated 'Equality, Development, Peace' as the goals of the Decade. A World Plan of Action was drawn up to assist in their implementation. The results of the first half of the decade were approved at the mid-term World Conference and the public Forum held simultaneously in Copenhagen in 1980. That was when a programme of action for the latter half of the decade was also adopted. The overall results of the Decade were reviewed and appraised at the World Conference and Forum convened in Nairobi, Kenya in July 1985.

Among the Decade's most significant accomplishments has been its success in raising world awareness of the conditions of women under different socio-economic stages and systems. Another very important achievement of the Decade has been the elaboration of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women and of the instrument on the Participation of Women in Promoting

International Peace and Cooperation, as well as the incorporation of provisions concerning women in the Declaration on the New International Economic Order. If ratified by a sufficient number of countries, these instruments will have the force of law. This will greatly facilitate full-fledged participation of women in the worldwide struggle for social progress, for equitable international relations, for peace and an end to the arms buildup. The preamble to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women says: 'The full and complete development of a country, the welfare of the world and the cause of peace require the maximum participation of women on equal terms with men in all fields.'

Now that the Decade is drawing to a close it is becoming increasingly evident that the policy of imperialism, in the first place, U.S. imperialism, has worsened the conditions of the working masses, including women, in many capitalist countries. Imperialism's moves to block and turn back the efforts of the developing nations to achieve complete political and economic independence have made implementation of the World Plan of Action there much more difficult.

The anticommunist crusade of the most reactionary section of monopoly capital, coupled with the U.S. pursuit of military superiority and domination over peoples and nations has led the world to the precipice of nuclear extinction. The need for unity of all forces opposing this threat is now greater than ever. A democratic international women's movement with a strong fighting spirit and a clear vision of the prospects opened by social progress can make an important contribution to the drive to ensure a peaceful future and improve the quality of life.

The Decade has helped in the promotion of a socially conscious outlook toward women's equality. Document after international document views the roots of women's oppression as political, economic and social. The means of women achieving equality is seen as inseparable from their active and ample participation in the struggle for national liberation, development, democracy and peace.

Since the Decade's inception, the U.S. government has invariably opposed this consensus. The Reagan administration has stepped up its attacks on women's rights, on their champions and especially on the democratic and progressive sections of the U.S. and international women's movement. The views of Washington officialdom are reflected in a policy paper developed by the Heritage Foundation,¹ a think tank closely allied to the Oval Office. The paper makes it clear that the White House is particularly incensed at the democratic position of the women's movement on urgent issues of today's world—such as ending the nuclear arms race, eliminating apartheid and all forms of racial discrimination, opposing imperialist interference and aggression, especially in Central America and the Middle East, and curbing the criminal exploitation of working people by transnational corporations. Imperialist policies force millions of women to wage a daily struggle for their very survival. However, the Heritage Foundation maintains that these are not the 'genuine concerns of women'. Artificially delineating 'specifically women's issues' and confining them to narrow questions involving only the family, the right-wing conservative ideologists are aiming to curb the socio-political activity of women without which specific problems cannot be solved.

The paper essentially rejects the main provisions of the action programme and supports imperialist foreign policy. At the very time the U.S.-armed Israeli army is conducting a bloodbath in Lebanon, the Heritage Foundation opposes solidarity with Lebanese and Palestinian women. South African racists stage a second Sharpeville by slaughtering defenceless schoolchildren in Uitenhage, but Washington's conservatives object to the elimination of apartheid. The blood of thousands of Indian civilians in the town of Bhopal is still fresh on the hands of one of the biggest U.S. transnational predators, but its ideological sponsors reject the New International Economic Order which is designed to protect the interests of

developing nations against the high-handedness of foreign monopolies.

Never have the reactionary forces been so active in their attempts to split the women's movement, to sever its socio-economic aspects from its political dimension, discredit participation in the struggle for racial equality and national independence, trivialise the life-and-death issue of world peace and generally deny women their right to fight for a better life for themselves and their children.

The modern women's movement in the United States began to develop in the 1960s as growing numbers of women entered the work force. Acting parallel with the civil rights movement, it made some gains in the status of U.S. women. It raised the question of equal pay for comparable work, affordable child care, and better access to education and health care. The women's movement began to forge bonds with the labour unions proceeding from the common conviction that discrimination of women in employment benefited only the employers.

With the advent of the current administration these gains began rapidly to erode. With what amounted to government backing, big business stepped up its discrimination of working women, especially those belonging to minorities. Women working outside the home, Reagan said, destroy family life.

The monopolies and bourgeois propaganda apply glamorous makeup to the true position of women in the United States. They lie when they claim that the administration has done much to promote women's equality, when they assert that the U.S. government record in this field has been 'imperfect but exemplary'. Naturally, they say nothing about the tens of millions of impoverished women in the United States, particularly those of African-American, Puerto Rican, Chicano and Native American origin, and dismiss their demands out of hand.

Racism is a major tool used to oppress working people. On an economic level, the racist super exploitation of women and nationally oppressed workers yields tens of billions in extra profits for the capitalists, and billions more as the wage levels are lowered for all workers.

Militarism and the arms buildup deal especially painful blows to most sections of working people. The 303 billion-dollar Pentagon budget for fiscal 1986 means further cutbacks in social programmes and deterioration in services to the poor. The cutbacks often assume a racist character taking social services away from the least affluent groups—the minorities and among them, first and foremost, women.

While billions are spent on war preparations, no money is forthcoming to maintain employment in the civilian sector. Virtual ghost towns are again a feature of the U.S. landscape: people leave them because the monopolies deliberately close unprofitable industries and shift capital overseas. In the first Reagan year, the jobs lost came to over 1.5 million. Today, the insane Star Wars scheme alone—at an estimated cost of 30 billion dollars—threatens to destroy more jobs. Women bear the brunt of the social burden of this military buildup. After all, the greatest job loss is in the fields where women are a significant part of the work force—54 per-cent of hotel and restaurant employees and clerks, 51 per-cent of state and local government employees, and 42 per-cent of those working in the industries producing consumer goods.

The deteriorating living conditions of large sections of U.S. working people adversely affect the position of children. According to a report of the Children's Defence Fund, a private nonprofit group, infant mortality in some parts of Detroit (mostly among African-American children) has hit 33 per 1,000 live births—the same as in Honduras, one of the poorest countries of Latin America.

Hunger, this disgraceful bane of capitalist society, is conspicuously present even in the United States, the wealthiest country of the 'free world'. A special commission that surveyed New England in February 1984 concluded that people there suffer from hunger, including the so-called silent under-nutrition which is not accompanied by

social protest.

Poverty has spread far and wide under the current administration. The November 1984 Pastoral Letter of U.S. Catholic bishops pointed out that 35 million Americans were poor by the government's own definition. In actual fact, another 20 to 30 million had so little that they had to be considered needy. While the annual rate of poverty declined from 14.7 per-cent in 1968 to 11.7 per-cent in 1979, it climbed to 15.2 per-cent by the end of 1983. The number of those living in poverty has increased by nine million over the past five years. The letter stressed that 'families with female heads now have a rate of poverty six times that of two-parent families. Many women are employed but are still poor because their wages are low.'

The United States is one of only two industrialised countries in the world (the other is South Africa) that has no national child care system. Six million families with working mothers—they account for 90 per-cent of all children under three—have to make do without any government assistance.

To complete the indictment of the utter lack of human rights and women's equality under monopoly capitalism, one can look at the almost three million homeless people who suffer more than anyone else from racial and national oppression, barely existing on the streets of so many U.S. towns and urban centres. All this makes an absurdity of Washington's attempts to monitor observance of human rights in other countries and to lecture these nations on how they ought to behave.

Earlier, I have referred to the monopoly and bourgeois propaganda efforts to limit the women's movement to purely 'specific' women's issues, blunt its political and social thrust and dampen the political activity of the women doubly or even triply oppressed in the world of capital.

In periods of severe economic and political crises, when the masses have begun, inevitably, to shift toward organised action, the bourgeois rulers move quickly to disarm them. Washington would like to reduce women's concerns to purely personal—family and emotional—problems. No wonder that the sympathies of the U.S. administration lie with the bourgeois feminist trend of the women's movement.

Feminist thought holds that women are oppressed by 'patriarchy' both in capitalist and in socialist societies. It is therefore claimed that it is 'patriarchy' or 'male chauvinism' (devoid of any substantive socio-economic reality) and not imperialism that is at the root of all violence in the world. It would be very convenient for the ruling class if women, instead of fighting against real, existing imperialist violence, would join in an ill-defined crusade against all males guilty of 'patriarchy'. This would obviously lead the women's movement into an impasse and serve the reactionary wish to split the masses, this time by sex, disorient them in social and class terms and, in the final analysis, weaken their resistance to capitalist exploitation.

Bourgeois feminism is often used as a guise for anti-communism, useful for quelling purposeful criticism of the imperialist system, the system that enables the monopolists to appropriate vast sums of public moneys and rob those who produce this wealth. The supra-class, ahistorical 'patriarchy' thesis is designed to lead working women away from political struggle against monopoly capital, the true enemy. And monopoly's rule, as the lives of working class women in industrialised capitalist countries show, is the greatest threat to women's aspiration for full equality. If unopposed, bourgeois feminist concepts may baffle women's efforts to develop a clear strategy against capital and the imperialist warhawks and turn the women's movement back from any clarity as to the real, that is, socialist path to full equality.

Washington officials often draw on feminist concepts to justify their advocacy of a 'depoliticised' women's movement. For example, they raise the issue of violence in the family—neglecting to add that this very real problem stems from social violence which is the norm in capitalist society.

The U.S. administration objects with particular vehemence against the women's

movement tackling issues of war and peace. 'There are those who speak of peace ad nauseum . . . wanting peace and disarmament in every resolution,' was the cynical comment of a State Department official on the eve of the World Conference in Nairobi.

Among those who have diagnosed the U.S. administration's pathological revulsion at the mention of peace is Edith Ballantyne, Secretary General of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. She wrote in the W.I.D.F. journal *Women of the Whole World* that the true reason behind the U.S. refusal to agree to a comprehensive test ban treaty was that the United States had too many weapons yet to be tested. 'We must see to it that governments,' she said, 'along with the people of the U.S., press the Reagan administration to stop the testing of its new weapons and enter into a test ban treaty. The U.S.S.R. has suggested a moratorium on all testing while negotiations take place. The question must be asked: Who is refusing to halt the arms race?'²

That question is being answered by ever more democratic women's, peace and civil rights organisations, but it is still far from understood by the vast numbers newly entering the people's movements. A recent memorandum of the W.I.D.F. states that 'much remains to be done to make the participation of women in the struggle for peace ever more massive, to increase the understanding among women participants in the antiwar movement of where the threat to peace comes from, to overcome prejudices and to contribute to mutual understanding between different political forces coming out for peace.'

Significantly, political action for peace was a priority at the Women's National Conference on Preventing Nuclear War held in Washington, D.C. in the autumn of 1984. It was the first conference of women leaders concerned with defining actions to prevent a nuclear war. 'Our first job,' said Eleanor Smeal, past president of the National Organisation for Women and founder of the Gender Gap Project, 'is to create a *political* focus in our movement to end the arms race . . . For public policy to change, you've got to get involved with politics.'³

It is now perfectly clear that the Decade has spurred more vigorous involvement of women representing different nationalities and socio-economic systems in political action for peace and social progress. It has also promoted the growth of political consciousness in the international women's movement and better coordination of the action taken by its national organisations, associations and groups.

For example, the 1984 peace marches from Stockholm to Moscow to Washington, led by a coalition of democratic, progressive and communist women's organisations in the Nordic countries, linked up with and greatly enriched the content of mass peace demonstrations in Europe and America. Many participants learned at first hand about the diametrically opposite policies pursued by the U.S.S.R. and the United States vis-a-vis the movement for peace and against nuclear war. In the Soviet capital they were welcomed as heroines in the struggle for peace, while the U.S. administration contemptuously ignored them and red-baited the entire peace movement.

The determined antimissile protests of women at Greenham Common (Britain), Seneca Falls (U.S.) and Comiso (Italy), as well as the leading role that women are playing in all peace movements and in the solidarity actions on behalf of their South African, Central American, Asian and Middle Eastern sisters help to raise the level of mass political consciousness. For the first time in the United States, the slogans of the April 1985 demonstrations linked demands against nuclear war and for lower military spending with the call for an end to intervention and aggression in Central America, to apartheid in South Africa and to racism at home.

Still, it is obvious that many people in our country are unclear about the imperialist source of the war threat and have not yet taken a stand with regard to the domination

of capital. Many, swayed by imperialist propaganda, misunderstand the class character of the socialist system and the fundamentally peaceful and progressive policy of the Soviet Union, the leading socialist country. This hinders the forging of joint action by militant fighters of the working class and of the women's movement. Concrete struggles that link the elimination of racism and anti-communism with the fight for peace are an effective means of overcoming the consequences of imperialist misinformation and building stronger class solidarity of working people.

Class-oriented joint action of women and men in capitalist countries has gained considerable momentum during the Decade. One might recall international solidarity actions of trade union members with the striking West German steel workers, the British miners and the trade unionists and other working people in South Africa, Chile and El Salvador. These actions are proof that workers increasingly understand the need for unity of working people in all countries to solve the problems of unemployment and to improve living and working conditions. Only concerted action can frustrate the transnationals' attempts to pit workers in one country against workers in another so as to reduce the living conditions of all.

It is essential to strengthen further the trend toward the politicisation of the women's movement and to create ever stronger bonds of international solidarity between the working women of the capitalist, the developing and the socialist countries. We must work to integrate the demand for peace more closely with the demands of national independence and full equality for all oppressed masses in the world of capital, irrespective of their race.

This year, as the Decade for Women draws to a close, it throws into bold relief the interconnection of its goals—equality, development and peace. The struggle for peace has moved to the forefront, for it is clear that neither economic nor social development nor women's equality can be achieved as long as societies are burdened with massive military expenditures that curtail what is necessary for life itself, as long as the arms buildup threatens the very survival of the human race. That is why millions of women on all continents are vigorously joining the peace movement as one of its biggest components. The forces of peace can securely block the imperialist policies of aggression and war and preserve life on Earth.

¹ The Heritage Foundation. 'A U.S. Policy for the U.N. Conference on Women', *Backgrounder*, Washington, D.C., February 25, 1985.

² *Women of the Whole World*, No. 4, 1984.

³ 'Women's Conference to Prevent Nuclear War', *Defense Monitor*, Center for Defense Information, No. 8, 1984.

UNDER THE SIGN OF THE WINGED HORSE

On August 15 the Democratic People's Republic of Korea commemorates the 40th anniversary of its liberation from colonial slavery. At the invitation of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, a WMR delegation went to that country where it had the opportunity to acquaint itself with the people's labour achievements and with the progress of socialist construction.

The following is a collective report of the visit by **Jerzy Waszczuk** (PUWP), **Rafic Samhoun** (Lebanese Communist Party), and **Mikhail Novikov** (WMR staff member).

Pyongyang is a city of high-rise buildings. The ruins to which US flying fortresses had reduced the city three decades ago have given way to buildings of 20, 30, and 40 stories. But as you drive into the republic's capital through its main gates, the Sounan airport, the high-rise buildings do not block the centre with its monuments on hills, luxuriant vegetation, and imposing newly-built palaces. From here fan out broad avenues with trolleys and buses vying with two subway routes. This is a handsome modern city.

"We are building socialism under special conditions," said WPK Central Committee Secretary Hwang Jang Yop, who received us. "The country is divided and we are harshly confronted by imperialist forces. The threat from the South compels us to be constantly on combat alert, which places a staggering burden on the people. The republic's whole life is organised in keeping with this. You should bear this in mind when you tour the country."

And we did look more closely at everything around us and noted with understanding that many of the people in Pyongyang were in uniform, and that most of the passers-by were very modestly dressed. And it no longer surprised us when we heard of housing difficulties, of gas not reaching every modern urban flat.

The words spoken by the CC Secretary made us give more profound thought to the many impressions we took away with us from our tour across this hospitable Korean land. They inspired us with greater respect for the remarkably hard-working people building the edifice of their new life with inexhaustible energy.

The fact that the people, who are creating material values with their own hands, are working with enormous enthusiasm was seen by us at the Rjensong Engineering Works in the environs of Hamhung.

Chong Pen Chung, secretary of the factory party committee for ideological work, related how in place of a small repair shop employing 200 persons the party decided to build a large engineering facility. This was in 1956, three years after the end of the war with the South Korean and US aggressors.

At this point it would be appropriate to interrupt our story and recall some of the history of Choson, Land of Morning Freshness as the Koreans call their homeland.

In 1910 the Korean peninsula was annexed by Japan. The country became a colony of its Eastern imperialist neighbour. Economically it was turned into a source of foodstuffs and raw materials for the Japanese economy. National culture was ruthlessly suppressed. In elementary schools—the only educational institutions open to the ordinary people—the Korean language was banned.

The unrelenting struggle of the people for national liberation developed into a partisan movement in the 1930s under the leadership of the Communists. It ended in victory in August 1945 with the decisive involvement of the Soviet Army, which crushed Japanese imperialism's assault forces. A national democratic revolution unfolded, with new organs of power being set up everywhere. But soon in the South

of the peninsula this process was nipped in the bud: US troops landed there and installed a reactionary puppet regime.

But in the North the progressive forces headed by the working class and its Communist vanguard took the country's destiny into their hands, directing its development along the road to socialism. The peasants received land as a result of an agrarian reform, industry, transport, communications, and the banks were nationalised, and education was democratised. The industrial facilities destroyed by the Japanese just before their surrender were rebuilt under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea. The People's Democratic Republic of Korea, proclaimed in 1948, not only healed the war-inflicted wounds rapidly: by 1950 the gross industrial output had exceeded the 1944 level by 25 per cent.

However, this onward movement was cut short by the aggression launched by the South Korean puppets and their US masters. In the course of three years the war inflicted incalculable losses on the country's industrial potential. Much had to be begun from the beginning.

But let us return to the Rjensong facility. It began manufacturing various machine-tools long before its reconstruction was completed. It then turned to the manufacture of heavy presses and equipment for the mining, metallurgical, and chemical industries. The facility's main assignment today is the manufacture of a 10,000-ton press. We were told that ordinarily the designing of such a press took 18 months, while the actual manufacture required between two and three years. The factory's designers completed the blueprints in three months, and planned to have the press finished in less than a year. This work is now nearing completion.

The factory employs 15,000 persons, of whom 1,100 are engineers and technicians. It has a higher design school and a vocational training college. The departments we visited teemed with activity. Small plywood flags bearing the figures 300%, 200% and 150% were fixed over many of the machine-tools. These indicated the commitments of the workers for their daily work quota.

A similar picture was to be observed at the February 8 Winalon artificial fibre plant, the Hamhung worsted materials mill, the Tean heavy engineering works, and a war veterans factory producing plastic articles.

Speaking in broader terms, the whole of the country's industry is oriented on accelerated development.¹ This is no easy task, of course, especially today with the heightened demand for sophisticated technology and the intensification of production. There is, for example, a strain in ensuring industrial facilities with electric power. For that reason each province has its own day off (Sunday in Pyongyang, Thursday in Hamhung, and so on). This allows regulating the electric power supply to the whole country. Korean comrades told us that there is still a lag in electronics, which is today vital for further progress in most industries. There also are difficulties in transport.

However, despite this (or perhaps because of this—in order to shorten the economic gap with industrialised countries) the new life is being built at a rapid pace, called Chollima—after the epic winged horse that carries its rider with fabulous speed to a land of happiness. A monument of a winged steed carrying a young man and maid towers over Mansu Hill in the centre of Pyongyang, symbolising the mass movement for society's swift development, highly productive labour, and the fulfilment of economic growth plans ahead of schedule.

The latest of these, the second seven-year plan, was completed last year with the following indices: gross industrial output increased by 120 per cent and the national income grew by 80 per cent. The capacity of hydropower and thermal power stations was doubled, and the output of the heavy engineering industry went up by 130 per cent. In particular, the country's fleet of tractors was increased by more than 50 per cent—in terms of per 100 chonbos² of arable land there now are seven tractors in the

plains and six tractors in foothill and mountainous regions. This is not the least of the reasons why last year the country produced 10 million tons of grain (the republic now has a population of over 18 millions).

Kwon Min Chung, deputy head of a department at the WPK Central Committee, told us that currently the people are working on ten long-term tasks formulated by the party's Sixth Congress (1980) for the period up to the end of the 1980s. Fulfilment of these tasks will enable the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to attain the national income level of economically developed European socialist countries.

What, despite all difficulties, allows carrying out economic tasks of this magnitude? The WPK leadership attaches significance to the political activity of the people multiplied by the party's purposeful organisational and ideological work. Of the three revolutions being accomplished in the country—ideological, technological, and cultural—the Korean comrades accord pride of place to the first. It is being expedited.

"It is our aim to have all members of our society transformed along the model of the working class," Kwon Min Chung said, "to give them an understanding of Marxism-Leninism and the ideas of *juche*.³ It is important that every person should feel he is the master of the country and its wealth, the master of production, and an active participant in social processes."

Of course, the revolutionary enthusiasm of the people expressed in conscientious labour and a broad socialist emulation movement is not all that is accelerating the Korean economy. The foundation of this acceleration is created by the totality of many conditions and circumstances that are taken into account and used in the party's policy.

Let's begin with what relates to external conditions.

When the Democratic People's Republic of Korea began restoring its economy after a devastating war of three years, the basis for this was the socialist world system. The fraternal countries supported this heroic people, who at great cost to themselves had defended their freedom, independence, and political system.

In the period from 1953 to 1960 the socialist states gratuitously extended nearly 750 million roubles' worth of assistance to the republic. This money was used to restore or build nearly 50 large industrial facilities that now form the backbone of the national industry. In 1960 only those that were restored with Soviet assistance accounted for 40 per cent of the electric power, 51 per cent of the pig iron, 22 per cent of the steel, 32 per cent of the rolled stock, and 67 per cent of the cotton fabrics produced in the country.⁴

In the same period the fraternal countries supplied—as aid and long-term credits—many sets of plant and a large quantity of equipment, all of which were installed at industrial enterprises, and transferred to Korea valuable technical documentation.

An act of friendly support by the socialist world was the training of technical and scientific cadres for the republic's economy. For instance, 2,000 Korean specialists were trained at Soviet institutions of higher learning.⁵

Such was the impulse received by the republic's economy essentially at the very beginning, and for that reason it was especially tangible.

But solely assistance from friends could not determine the republic's socialist development in accordance with the conditions obtaining in it and its national distinctions. In organising the restructuring of the economy, the party proceeded from the fact that the republic has large reserves of anthracite and lime, and that it has much more iron ore, hydropower, alloying metal, and graphite than many European states.

With all this taken into account the structure of industry was improved with priority for heavy engineering. The power engineering and chemical industries expanded rapidly. A technically backward country in the recent past, North Korea began to

manufacture modern metal-cutting machine-tools, turbines, generators, trucks, excavators, tractors, sophisticated farm machinery, ships, and diesel and electric locomotives.

The swiftly growing industry required management methods best suited to society's specific character and development level. These, according to the Korean comrades, are the qualities of the Tean system—named after the Tean Heavy Engineering Plant we have already mentioned. This system was developed and tested at the plant at the close of 1961, after which it was disseminated nation-wide.

We visited this modern facility, which employs 10,000 workers. We toured some of its 30 departments—each the size of five football pitches. The equipment is locally manufactured or imported. The deputy manager Li Chan Rok told us that the plant manufactures hydroturbines, generators, transformers, and other equipment for electric power stations, and machinery for the cement and chemical industries. Roughly 30 per cent of its output is exported to Bulgaria, China, Syria, and South-east Asian countries.

At present this plant (as are all other industries) is preparing for a further expansion of links with socialist states. There already has been an exchange of delegations with engineering industry executives of Bulgaria, China, Poland, and the Soviet Union to specify ways and means of promoting mutually beneficial cooperation.

The plant's own research institute and design department are helping to put out high-standard goods that can compete in the world market. High quality is ensured by the conscientious work of the personnel, with the tone being set by 6,000 Communists.

The Tean system was described by Li Chan Rok.

Under that system there is no one-man management by the director. The executive organ is the party committee, which consists of the director, chief engineer, and Communists from among the specialists and advanced workers. The party committee handles strategic issues related to the development of the given facility. Moreover, it determines the best and quickest way to carry out specific plan assignments and politically ensures their fulfilment.

Plans handed down from above acquire force after they have been discussed by the collective. At these discussions, organised by the party committee, additions and amendments are introduced in keeping with the actual situation and with the given facility's potentials. As a result, every worker sees the plan assignments as his own, as planned with his participation.

In the opinion of the Korean comrades the Tean system is consistent with the principles of collective work and a political approach and places the responsibility for a given facility's successful operation and the fulfilment of adopted plans on the Communists and the entire personnel.

"Through the correct use of this system," said Li Chan Rok, "we are fulfilling the plan assignments month after month, day after day. Our factory was restored and expanded after the war and started production in 1954. Since then our output has grown more than 20-fold."

Of course, plants like the Tean are the leaders of Korea's industry. They are the models for all the other industrial enterprises. This is what enabled industrial production to attain a mean annual growth rate of 12.2 per cent during the period of the second seven-year plan. On the basis of what has been achieved, the party has now put three programme assignments on the agenda of the technological revolution: to abolish heavy manual work, reduce the distinction between agricultural and industrial work, and free women from the burden of household chores.

In speaking of the people's work in production, mention must be made of material incentives. If a worker gives an enterprise his enthusiasm, strength, and knowledge, it is natural to ask what the socialist enterprise is giving him. The Rjensong engineering

plant we have already mentioned is indicative in this respect.

There, as at all other Korean industrial facilities, wages depend on the quantity and quality of work. The factors taken into account are the fulfilment of the plan, the saving of materials, and the effective use of equipment. Rationalisation and invention are encouraged with bonuses, which may amount to from two to ten months' wages.

An engineer just starting out gets as much as a medium-skilled machine operative. But upon passing the exam for the initial, 5th rating, his wage is increased by approximately twelve per cent. Upon attaining the top, 1st rating, his wage is double that of a skilled worker, or as much as the plant director receives.

This, in outline, is the pattern of wages. But a visible part of the real income of Korean working people consists of the benefits received from social funds. The Rjensong plant, for example, runs its own nursery schools, kindergartens, recreation facilities, and holiday homes. Accommodation is either free or requires a small payment that is an insignificant portion of the actual cost of the services. In kindergartens, for example, there is no charge: children are clothed and fed. Parents only give the kindergarten the rice ration card for the child (this product is still rationed in the republic). Incidentally, schoolchildren are likewise provided with clothes and textbooks free of charge.

Housing is provided through the local authority, and rents are purely symbolical. But since there is still a big demand for housing, the plant has its own housing construction programme: up to 150 flats are built for the personnel annually. Much is done also in the way of improving food supplies for the people. The plant has an ancillary husbandry: 100 chonbos of arable land is planted to maize, and there is an orchard of 30 chonbos. Also, the plant has four fishing vessels, and the fish brought in by them is sold to workers' families at the state price.

This information, obtained by us at the Rjensong plant, helps to get a picture of what is at the back of state statistics: the real incomes of factory and office workers during the past seven years went up by 60 per cent, and of peasants by 40 per cent, the volume of retail trade increased by 90 per cent, and the output of food rose by 120 per cent.

Citizens of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea have long ago forgotten the meaning of hunger, denial of rights, and poverty.

In the village of Chonsan we were received at the two-storied board offices of the Chonsanri cooperative, which is known throughout the republic for its efficient organisation of production. The cooperative's deputy chairman, Shin Chong Hoon, spoke of the cooperative's achievements and incomes.

He is a typical people's intellectual. And his life is also quite typical. He was born here 48 years ago, and now he works here. He finished a secondary school, served in the army, and then completed his education at the economics department of Pyongyang University. He was recommended for the post of deputy chairman by the villagers themselves.

Shin Chong Hoon is not the only member of the cooperative with a university diploma. The cooperative, which unites 600 households, has 33 agronomists with a higher education, and quite a large contingent of engineers, technicians, and machine operatives. Altogether more than a thousand people, nearly half of whom are Communists, work in the fields and livestock farms.

In the cooperative village there are two-storied brick houses, in which its members live. Here the real incomes of the peasants are higher than in towns. A family gets up to 1.7 tons of rice annually, and its cash earnings are twice as large as the two years' wages of a skilled factory worker. Over and above that, each household has an ancillary plot of land, on which it raises pigs and grows vegetables and fruit.

"Before we had the cooperative not even well-to-do peasants dreamt of such incomes," said Shin Chong Hoon. "We hardly made ends meet. And all that is within

the span of my memory."

In North Korea agriculture has always been intensive. The area of arable land in this part of the peninsula is not very large (the south has always been the breadbasket). Almost three-fourths of the territory consists of mountains, and there are many salt marshes in the valleys. For that reason every piece of land was carefully tended. Even after the agrarian reform, which abolished the remnants of feudal relations in the countryside, and despite the famed industriousness of the Korean peasants the small-commodity economy could not ensure extended reproduction of farm produce and, consequently, resolve the food problem. Farm production was advanced only as a result of irrigation, the use of fertilisers, and mechanisation. It became possible to combine these three factors only with the formation of cooperatives on the basis of broad support from the state and a dependable alliance with urban working people. This conclusion was drawn not only from theory but also from the living practice of a number of socialist countries.

The party's explanatory work on the need for cooperatives received a quick response from the peasants. Cooperatives were formed voluntarily and the work proceeded rapidly. The course towards the formation of cooperatives started in 1954 and yielded results within four years.

Much has been achieved since then. Selectionists evolved new, high-yielding varieties of rice, maize, and other grain crops, the seeds of which began to be supplied to the cooperatives. Chemists developed effective fertilisers, the production of which was started. Specialised machines were designed, and these reduced manual labour considerably: 20-fold in the planting of rice, 30-fold in the selection of rice seedlings, and 80-fold in the harvesting of rice. More than 1,500 water reservoirs were built, hundreds of thousands of protective dams were erected, and tens of thousands of kilometres of irrigation canals were dug.

As a result, the grain crop increased almost three and a half times compared with 1955. Advanced cooperatives, such as the Chonsanri, now grow eight tons of rice per *chonbo* (the average nation-wide is 7.2 tons) and up to nine tons of maize (the average being 6.3 tons). The Korean comrades estimate that irrigation, comprehensive mechanisation, and overall chemisation are at the consummating stage of development.

The republic has thus become self-sufficient in terms of food. But given the significance of what has been achieved, it must be said that rice, which is the staple food, is still rationed, as we have already noted. Much still remains to be accomplished to attain the targets for a further growth of agricultural production.

The wings of Chollima abut another symbol—the outspread wings of a stork. The span of these wings is fixed traditionally in the sloping, curved Korean roofs. At one time these crowned both palaces and huts. Now they are to be seen mostly on palaces, for instance, the People's Education Palace in Pyongyang, which dominates the Namsan elevation.

It would be hard to describe this specific cultural institution. A public library? Yes, indeed, and it is a large one at that, with a stock of 30 million volumes and 15 specialised reading-rooms, each sitting between 200 and 230 persons. Yet it is more than merely a library. It has lecture and audio rooms, and rooms where people can hear taped translations of works of fiction or scientific books, or lectures by distinguished academics. Lastly, there is a music room with record-players and earphones. Altogether, there are about 500 rooms fitted with high-tech equipment. At the palace there is a translation bureau employing 200 persons, and permanently functioning three-months' language courses, which people interrupt their work to attend.

The palace is never empty. Day-students, correspondence-course students, graduate students, and scientific workers study there. The palace caters daily to

nearly 10,000 people.

for knowledge and culture in People's Korea. The subjective factors are the long intellectual hunger and the inaccessibility of learning to the ordinary person in the days of feudal and colonial oppression. The objective factors are the need for a national intelligentsia, for skilled cadres, for an educated people without which the new society cannot be built. The shortage of cadres, especially of people with technical skills, was catastrophic after liberation. At that time in North Korea there were only 964 engineers and 4,721 technicians, and these had no production experience.

The party had all this in mind when it mapped out its policy in education, science, and culture.

In the republic an 11-year general secondary-school education (including a year of pre-school study at a kindergarten) is mandatory. Striking changes have taken place in the training of specialists with a higher and medium qualification. Whereas in colonial times there was not a single institution of higher learning, today there are 216, and also 576 vocational colleges. Education by correspondence is extremely popular—many industrial facilities run their own technical schools.

"The secondary schools, vocational colleges, and institutions of higher learning have a total body of 8,600,000 students," said Kwon Min Chung. "We now have an intelligentsia of 1,200,000 cadres. This is the country's biggest wealth, to quote Kim Il Sung. But the cultural revolution has higher aims. We are trying to turn every member of society into an intellectual. In the long term every citizen will attain the intellectual level of a graduate of an institution of higher learning."

This is unquestionably a lofty aim, but it is also not easy to achieve. We could assess the base that is being created for it from a visit to Secondary School No. 1 in Pyongyang. This school is housed in a building that was completed last year. Its rooms contain superb study aids and laboratory equipment ranging from mechanics to electronics. There are excellent workshops with modern machine-tools, and an excellent sports facility. The teachers are attentive and solicitous: as a matter of fact they periodically reaffirm their knowledge at exams and take refresher courses.

This is the harbinger of the schools now under construction in Pyongyang and in the provinces.

One morning in Kesong, we were awakened by gunfire. It came from the south, from beyond the demarcation line, which is just a short distance away. The gunfire disturbed nobody except us. A habit! Little wonder that Kesong is called a frontline city. Military exercises follow one another in quick succession on the other side. What we heard was the gunfire of the US-South Korean Team Spirit-85 exercise involving more than 200,000 troops.

The day before that we had visited the demarcation line and looked through binoculars at the US-built reinforced-concrete wall winding its way along the 38th parallel from sea to sea (height—5 metres; base thickness—10 metres). We saw a post flying two flags—the South Korean and the UN flag, which the USA is unlawfully using.⁶ At Panmunjom, where the armistice in the Korean war was signed, Captain Chi Men Cher told us that since the coming to power of the Reagan administration there has been a growing number of provocations by the US and South Korean military in the demilitarised zone.

Kesong is a city with a special atmosphere not only on account of its proximity to the demarcation line. Prior to the war it was part of South Korea. For that reason a large proportion of its 300,000 inhabitants are able, from their own experience, to compare the two ways of life: socialist and bourgeois, semi-colonial. It is said that these people are doubly patriots of their newly-acquired homeland. The bitter past cannot be forgotten.

And another thing: there are many divided families that have lost contact with their

There are, it seems to us, both subjective and objective factors sustaining the drive relatives in the South. The people of Kesong keenly feel (a feeling shared by all citizens of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea) the unnatural, intolerable division of a single nation, a single country into two parts.

Gunfire and the roar of high-flying spy jets are daily reminders of this division. For this division is symbolised not only by the grey reinforced-concrete wall and barbed wire barricade, but also by the military machine that is constantly threatening the North. And that machine, as the Korean comrades told us, is intimidatingly huge.

South Korea has the largest density of armed forces in the world. On a territory of about 100,000 square kilometres there are 40,000 US troops. The South Korean army, which is under US command, has more than a million effectives. In addition there is a local self-defence militia of nearly four million men. In other words, there are over 50 effectives per square kilometre. All these troops are armed with the most up-to-date weaponry. It is estimated that these armed forces have approximately a thousand units of tactical nuclear weapons with the equivalent number of carriers—missiles and F-16 fighter bombers. In addition, they have roughly 60 neutron bombs. At present preparations are under way to deploy Pershing II and cruise missiles in South Korea.

As we discussed the DPRK's foreign policy with Hwang Jang Yop, WPK Central Committee Secretary, in our mind's eye we saw Kesong and the grim wall extending along the slopes of mountains. The efforts of the Workers' Party of Korea and of the Republic's government to unite the country hold a prominent place in that policy.

In the view of the WPK unity must be achieved independently, without external interference, on democratic principles, and by peaceful means. On the part of the North there has been no dearth of proposals for reunification on the basis of these principles—the first such proposal in effect came from the moment the division took place. The following are only some of the recent proposals to end tension on the Korean peninsula and create the conditions for unification: replacement of the armistice agreement with a peace treaty; the holding of tripartite talks (with US participation); the creation of a Democratic Confederal Republic of Korea (with a single national government representing it on the international scene but with the preservation of the socio-political systems existing in the North and in the South); negotiations between the parliaments of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and South Korea with the purpose of drawing up a declaration of non-aggression.

However, the South Korean government and its US masters are oriented on entirely different objectives. They are out to conserve the status quo, secure the recognition of 'two Koreas' in international law, and bring North Korea and South Korea into the UN as independent and unconnected states.

Of course, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is emphatically against this stand, which is unacceptable from the standpoint of the Korean People's national interests and in the context of ensuring peace and security in the Far East. This foreign policy line of the Workers' Party of Korea has the understanding of the world's progressive forces and the firm support of the socialist world.

The WPK's course towards promoting friendly relations and traditional cooperation with socialist countries on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles and proletarian internationalism was reinforced by last year's visit to these countries by Kim Il Sung, General Secretary of the WPK Central Committee and President of the DPRK. The talks during these visits covered a wide spectrum of issues related to inter-party links and to political, economic, cultural, and other areas of cooperation. The results of these visits were highly assessed by the WPK Central Committee at its ninth plenary meeting.

"The struggle for peace and the struggle for socialism," said Hwang Jang Yop at the conclusion of our talk, "are indivisible. For that reason unfailing solidarity with the

international revolutionary forces is vital to us. This means, above all, inviolability of the party's line towards unity and friendship with socialist countries and the strengthening of the communist movement and of the unity of all the peace forces."

The Land of Morning Freshness is commemorating the 40th anniversary of its liberation from colonial dependence. In the short span of these 40 years it has gone through a ruinous war and rose from the ashes like the Phoenix. It is now continuing its advance along its chosen path of socialist transformations, despite the constant threat from the forces of reaction and imperialism, a threat that is compelling the people to keep their powder dry, carry the burden of additional difficulties, and deny themselves abundance, many of life's blessings.

But the advance is irreversible. This is a service rendered by the Workers' Party of Korea with its unique experience, a party that has been able to endow the people with the wings of a legendary steed and the stork wings of palaces of science and culture.

¹ Together with agriculture, industry accounts for three-fourths of the gross output.

² Chonbo—the Korean land measure equal to 0.99 hectare.

³ Juche means 'strength of one's own body'; the concept of the *special*, which together with the *common*, determines the tasks related to the building of socialism in the People's Democratic Republic of Korea.—*Ed.*

⁴ *Socialist Industrialisation in the People's Democratic Republic of Korea*, Moscow, 1966, pp. 88, 89, 214 (in Russian).

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

⁶ The UN General Assembly passed a resolution to withdraw its troops from South Korea as early as 1975, but the USA has given various pretexts to keep troops there under the flag of that international organisation.—*Ed.*

Control Over Use of Nuclear Energy is Possible

Hans Blix — director general, International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)

Verification and control to prevent diversion of nuclear energy to military uses is a factor of great political significance in today's world. The mission of the International Atomic Energy Agency is to play an important role in this sphere. The IAEA is the agency that deals with issues concerning the implementation of the Non-Proliferation Treaty,¹ a major instrument of international law signed by as many as 126 countries. The IAEA and the parties to the treaty conclude agreements on verifying their compliance with the obligations undertaken.

Following is an interview of Hans Blix, IAEA director general, to *WMR*, dealing with peaceful uses of nuclear energy and non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The interview was arranged upon requests from readers in several countries.

Hans Blix, Doctor of Law, Doctor of Philosophy, author of several books on international relations and former Foreign Minister of Sweden, has been in charge of the IAEA since 1981.

—What is the IAEA's role in preserving peace and promoting international cooperation?

The principal tasks of the International Atomic Energy Agency are to promote peaceful uses of nuclear energy and to assist in the efforts to prevent a further spread of nuclear weapons. In both respects the Agency's specific activities are mostly technical. They relate, for example, to the safe operation of nuclear installations, to the safe disposal of nuclear waste, to the utilisation of nuclear techniques in agriculture, etc. As these objectives touch on the broader aims of supplying the world with energy, of increasing food supply, promoting industry and helping in arms control efforts, all our activities attract a good deal of public attention.

The two principal aims of the IAEA are interlinked. If the spectre of vertical and horizontal² nuclear weapons proliferation could be removed, then there would be less hesitation about the acceptance of all the peaceful uses of the atom. At the same time, full access to the tremendous resources of the atom for power and heat generation and for agriculture, medicine and industry would help to create conditions conducive to peace.

The Agency is invited by parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty and the Latin American Tlatelolco Treaty³ to verify that their nuclear programmes serve only peaceful purposes. This verification creates confidence in a region and internationally that nuclear weapons are not spread to more countries. In this way the IAEA helps to preserve peace.

The Agency is a major centre for international cooperation in the nuclear field. Its hundreds of conferences, meetings, seminars, symposia, books, guidelines and recommendations serve as channels for exchanging experience on a broad scale.

—You have said that one of the IAEA's more important functions is to see to it that the countries that have ratified the Non-Proliferation Treaty abide by it. How would you assess the effectiveness of the IAEA system of safeguards in this sphere? What should be done to make these safeguards more effective?

It is now 15 years since the Non-Proliferation Treaty and 18 since the Tlatelolco Treaty were signed. Together they have helped to create a non-proliferation regime which has, to a degree, helped to prevent a further spread of nuclear weapons. The scope of application of IAEA safeguards has greatly expanded, and the countries involved have expressed confidence in our work.

As we approach the Third Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference⁴ we cannot fail to take note of an attitude of uneasiness among the non-nuclear-weapon parties to the treaty. Their decision to accede was undoubtedly made because this was in the interests of their own security. But it was also made in the hope that by their adherence they would promote negotiations on effective measures relating to a cessation of the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament and thereby further their own and global security. However, many are gravely disappointed by what is actually happening in this field.

We would like to hope that this year will see at least the beginning of some substantial progress in nuclear disarmament, as well as further efforts to provide the fullest possible access to applications of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes, in particular more assistance to developing countries in this field.

In substantive documents prepared for the forthcoming review conference the IAEA Secretariat has described the Agency's experience in carrying out safeguards and provided an overall picture of international cooperation in the nuclear field, including technical assistance in agriculture, industry and medical care.

—What, in your opinion, is the fundamental significance of the agreements between the IAEA and the USSR on placing some Soviet peaceful nuclear installations under the Agency's verification?

In the autumn of 1984 we negotiated an agreement with the Soviet Union following their voluntary offer to accept IAEA safeguards on some of their peaceful nuclear facilities. The agreement was signed in Vienna on February 21, 1985.

Verifying nuclear activities in the nuclear-weapon states is a novel and, in my view, highly significant development, even though this verification is still limited to selected civilian plants. Safeguards agreements with such states are most welcome. They broaden our safeguards experience and strengthen the precedent of verification measures being carried out in nuclear-weapon states.

—It is common knowledge that the drafting of many important agreements on arms limitation and disarmament (in the field of nuclear weapons) and on preventing the militarisation of outer space is being impeded under the pretext that 'effective verification' is impossible. How would you comment on this in view of the setting up and operation of a single control structure like the IAEA system of safeguards?

Verification is the rock on which so many disarmament proposals have shattered. The IAEA safeguards demonstrate that difficulties here can be overcome. Regular, sometimes even continuous on-site inspection by an international body has won almost world-wide acceptance.

I think that in considering whether the IAEA system of safeguards can be used to verify nuclear arms limitation or disarmament, several factors should be kept in mind:

—Safeguards are at present only exercised in installations used for peaceful purposes;

—Safeguards are at present exercised only at installations which have been identified by the country inviting the control. The concept of sovereign states inviting inspectors⁵ to roam freely around the entire country in search of unreported installations is less likely to be accepted.

In earlier disarmament negotiations there were many discussions about the possibility of a cut-off of production of fissionable materials. The installations at which such production takes place in nuclear-weapon states are not very different from the peaceful enrichment and reprocessing plants which the IAEA already inspects. Thus, a good deal of experience and techniques exist for the control over such installations. It is therefore technically feasible to also verify limitation or a complete cessation of the production of nuclear materials for warheads. Naturally, this would require a system of much broader safeguards than we now have.

Nevertheless, one can conclude that if the nuclear-weapon states really look for ways to verify the dismantling of some of the existing nuclear weapons, tried and tested safeguards techniques could conceivably be employed in verifying the transfer of fissionable materials to installations where they could be peacefully used or stored.

¹ The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons: an international treaty drawn up by the UN Committee on Disarmament to stop the proliferation of nuclear weapons and to reduce the possibility of an armed conflict in which such weapons could be used. Opened for accession in Moscow, Washington and London on July 1, 1968. Entered into force on March 5, 1970.—*Ed.*

² Vertical proliferation means the stockpiling of different types of nuclear weapons by one country; horizontal refers to the spread of these weapons to countries which did not possess them before.—*Ed.*

³ The Treaty of Tlatelolco (1967) which banned nuclear weapons in Latin America was the first attempt to secure, under international law, the status of a nuclear-free zone for a large and populous region. The Treaty was signed in the Mexican Foreign Ministry, located in the Tlatelolco district of Mexico City. As of today, the Treaty has been signed by 25 Latin American nations; 23 of them have ratified it and consider that it is now in force.—*Ed.*

⁴ To be held in August-September 1985.—*Ed.*

⁵ Under the system of safeguards set up under the Non-Proliferation Treaty, verification of exclusively peaceful uses of nuclear installations is entrusted mostly to the IAEA's international inspectors.—*Ed.*

Brief Commentary

REJECTING 'RADIO GOEBBELS'

CUBANS—and not only Cubans but also all Latin Americans and all honest people across the world—responded with indignation to the news that a special radio station operating under the aegis of the Voice of America began to beam its hostile broadcasts at the Island of Freedom.

It is important to stress that the studios and the transmitting equipment are not property of counter-revolutionary emigres; the station is an official mouthpiece of the government-controlled US Information Agency. It is the USIA that has earmarked over eleven million dollars to cover the needs of the subversive radio station this fiscal year. White House spokesmen have announced that future allocations are to increase substantially. The staff of the station is to total 178 people, broadcasting 14 hours a day.

In a characteristic display of cynicism that echoed the recent laying of flowers at graves of Nazi criminals, the Reagan administration, the architect of this project, has blasphemously named this pirate radio station after José Martí, the ardent revolutionary whose memory is cherished by all my compatriots at home. The Cuban people have aptly christened it 'Radio Goebbels', because we are dealing with an organ of imperialist propaganda, a source of scurrilous inventions, slander and misinformation.

The US authorities have spent several years trying to overrule objections raised by Congress, owners of radio corporations and sober-minded quarters of the public in a bid to institute an anti-Cuban subversive radio centre. But the fact that it went on the air on May 20, 1985 was still an unexpected development because prior to that, the first steps had been taken to ease Cuban-US tensions; specifically, immigration agreements had been signed. (Twenty-five years ago Havana's ties with Washington were, through the fault of the latter, at their lowest ebb, that is, severed through and through.)

The logical question is: why did the White House move so abruptly to block the path to normalisation?

Our government has pointed out quite logically that the only possible answer lies in the desire to create a situation of tension around Cuba and divert attention from its just proposals concerning the external debt which weighs heavily on Latin America and the rest of the Third World. The United States insists that Latin Americans should resign themselves to the deteriorating economic crisis, hunger and poverty, that they should accept the diktat of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and

shell out huge interest payments. Stubbornly and invariably, the IMF promotes schemes that inevitably result in bloodshed and suppression of indignant protests by the poor people—witness the events in, say, the Dominican Republic.

Speaking for Havana, Comrade Fidel Castro has told the truth about the actual state of affairs. The debt—which it is virtually impossible to pay back—has in fact been more than paid off because imperialism has been for decades raping the nations south of the Rio-Grande. Attracting West European capital by high interest rates, the United States is simultaneously robbing us of what is ours—through the extortion of debt payments and through the superexploitation of working people which yields huge profits to transnational corporations.

Washington is bent on continuing its bandit policy because this course enables it to gobble up vast amounts of others' resources and thus finance the runaway arms race now aimed at militarising outer space under the notorious Star War programme.

Cuba has voiced the demands of the nations struggling against the heavy debt burden—demands clear and close to all those dedicated to peace: that the creditor countries promise their banks to cover the debt by cutting their inordinately inflated militarist budgets.

This is what lies behind the decision to put the subversive radio centre into operation.

However, the launching of 'Radio Goebbels' into the air is not only an anti-Cuban move. It is also designed to further the policy of state terrorism pursued by Washington and its plans of a direct intervention in Central America to crush the heroic people on Nicaragua who have risen to defend the Sandinist revolution and the patriots of El Salvador who are waging a victorious liberation struggle. It is by no means an accident that a Nicaraguan 'contra' was invited to appear on the very first programme and that the US aggression against Grenada is praised to the skies in daily broadcasts.

The choice of the date on which the subversive radio centre has its 'debut' is also very revealing. Since Reagan named the newborn radio station after our great revolutionary, why was it inaugurated on May 20 and not, say, the day before, the 90th anniversary of our national hero's death in battle?

Simply because the ideas spewed by this poisoner of the air waves are, to put it mildly, far from what were our hero's views. Shortly before his death, that brilliant visionary José Martí, surrounded by Spanish troops, warned in his political testament known as 'The Letter to Manuel Mercado' that in the final analysis, the United States was the chief enemy of Cuban independence. All I have accomplished, he noted, serves one goal—to prevent the United States from dominating the republics of our America. 'This is a life-and-death issue. A mistake would be fatal.'

That was why May 19 was not the right day to bring a twin of Radio Free Europe into the world. But why May 20? That day in 1902 the neocolonial Republic of Cuba was proclaimed—after Washington had succeeded in imposing crippling obligations on our country, curtailing its sovereignty. This was in no way a triumph of the ideas that had inspired two million Cubans in their 30-year-long struggle against the 300,000-strong army of the Spanish Crown. Pseudo-independence was the result of the victory won by the US interventionists. We know that the United States launched the first imperialist war in history to seize Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines and other overseas possessions of Spain, a power that was then in decline.

The man in the Oval Office chose May 20 to show that his sympathies lay with the Cuba of the ignoble past, the Cuba where oppression and class, racial and other forms of discrimination reigned supreme, the Cuba that had no international weight at all. What Washington is nostalgically pining for is a Cuba where everything would be decided by the ambassador of Uncle Sam and where foreign monopolies would own the richest fields, mines, banks, telephone and electric companies—virtually the

entire wealth of our country—for a Cuba which, at the slightest hint of a desire to win independence, could be threatened by armed intervention from the forcibly occupied Guantanamo base.

But the new Cuba will remain completely free, independent and sovereign. Its people are fully resolved to defend their home; they enjoy the complete support of the socialist community and the solidarity of all progressive forces throughout the world. Our people scornfully reject 'Radio Goebbels', the name that is synonymous with blatant and malicious lies.

The Cuba of Martí and Fidel is invincible!

Raúl Valdés Vivó,
Central Committee member,
Communist Party of Cuba

¹ José Martí. *Obras escogidas*, t. III, La Habana, 1981, p. 577. José Martí exposed the ambitious plans of US imperialism and warned against their consequences in a message he sent to Manuel Mercado, a high-level Mexican government official, to draw Mexico's attention to those schemes.

A MILITARIST CONSPIRACY

NOT content with escalating war preparations on virtually all continents and in all oceans, Washington wants to turn outer space into a deadly proving ground too. The Star Wars programme announced by the US administration (and dubbed 'Strategic Defence Initiative' to deceive world public opinion) stipulates deployment of assault space weapons around Earth. Their advent would drastically upset the existing global strategic military balance and undermine the very foundations of the idea of stability, equality and equal security. By wrecking the Soviet-American ABM Treaty of 1972,¹ a large-scale ABM system with space-based elements would destroy the cornerstone on which nuclear arms limitation and reduction rests and boost the stockpiling of deadly weapons into an essentially new dimension. Instead of backing away from the brink of the nuclear abyss, mankind would be drawn considerably closer to it.

In a bid to dampen the wave of protest mounting throughout the world against the schemes to militarise outer space, Washington resorts to all kinds of tricks and manoeuvres. It is claimed, among other things, that so far we are only dealing with research conducted to verify the feasibility and reliability of a 'space shield'. But the allocations already planned for this purpose are around the 25 to 30 billion-dollar mark; this will give a powerful impetus to a process that could hardly be slowed down and reversed.

An expansive gesture has been made to make these unseemly schemes appear more respectable: several US allies have been officially invited to join the R&D efforts under the Star Wars programme. Aside from NATO countries, Japan, South Korea and Australia, this invitation has been also extended to Israel.

Prime Minister Shimon Peres and Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin welcomed the offer and hastened to express Israel's readiness to accept it even before the cabinet began to consider this step and its consequences. Government and semi-official press organs like *Haaretz* and *Davar* were just as hasty in advocating the 'advantages' of the offer and the need to accept it.

All this is additional proof that the 'special relations' existing between the United States and Israel are based first and foremost on broad strategic military cooperation in the interests of major imperialist monopolies and a small section of the Israeli bourgeoisie connected with the military-industrial complex. Remarkably, this cooperation began to expand and grow stronger since the latter half of the 1970s, when conditions were being prepared for the advent of a Republican administration in the United States and, in Israel, first of the Likud bloc and then of a government of 'national unity' comprising representatives of Likud and the Labour Party. Statements by high-level Israeli officials show that the two major partners in the cabinet and most of the smaller Zionist parties are in obvious agreement on the need for increasing Israeli involvement in Washington's aggressive militarist plans. Underlying this common view is the agreement the two countries have concluded on strategic military cooperation spearheaded above all against the Soviet Union and the forces of peace, national liberation and social emancipation in our region and beyond.

Significantly, US-Israeli cooperation in the field of aerospace technology is not at all starting from scratch. According to *Haarets*, a usually well-informed semi-official newspaper, 'Israeli scientists have been engaged for several years in research into subjects related to aviation and outer space. This research is financed in part by the US military.'² The paper has also cited several specific examples: research into subjects including rocket drives and aviation equipment, commissioned and financed by the Pentagon, is being conducted in the Haifa laboratories of the Technion University's Aviation College. Two years ago the Israeli space exploration agency and the US National Aeronautics and Space Administration signed an agreement on setting up a satellite laser tracking station near Jerusalem. Israeli scientists have joined the US programme to modernise the space shuttle. All this reflects only some facets of the visible tip of the iceberg representing the two countries' cooperation in the development and manufacture of armaments.

It is obvious that in inviting its NATO partners, Japan, South Korea, Australia and Israel, to take part in the follow-up of the Star Wars plans, Washington was mostly striving to secure its allies' support for this programme—support that would include political, military, financial and scientific assistance in its implementation. This was no doubt aimed at putting pressure on the opponents of the 'strategic defence initiative' both within the US ruling quarters and among the American public. While it does show interest in Israel's scientific potential, the White House is nevertheless pursuing a different priority objective: it wants the Peres government to influence its friends in and outside the US Congress and prevent their possible opposition to the project.

Alex Fishman, the military observer of *Al Hamishmar*, lists the following advantages the Israeli supporters of Reagan's programme expect to receive from participation in its realisation: those of raising Israeli-US relations to the level of a full-fledged alliance, ensuring Israel's continued military and technological superiority over the Arab countries, and securing additional outlays from the budget for their research establishments.³ Meanwhile, Avraham Schweizer, a *Haarets* political editor, notes that such involvement will open the way to the development of 'non-traditional', extremely destructive types of armaments Israel 'needs so badly' in its war against the Arab peoples.⁴ The journalist fails to explain what he is referring to, but it is obviously lasers, missiles and chemical weapons banned under international law. Statements of this sort reflect the views of the Israeli military establishment with its stake on retaining military and technological superiority over the Arabs as a tool of aggression and expansionism.

It is no secret that when he was director general of the Defence Ministry in the mid-1950s, Shimon Peres, currently Israel's Prime Minister, was one of those who

laid the foundation of the Israeli military-industrial complex. It is these military-industrial interests that hold the reins of power in Israel today. In the final analysis, the policy of the government is shaped by their narrow class self-interest and blind anti-Sovietism. Increasingly bull-headed, they are pushing the country closer to a dangerous limit, to full involvement in the implementation of the US administration's reckless plans that threaten world peace and run counter to the genuine interests of nations, including the Israeli people.

Together with all peace forces throughout the world, the Communist Party of Israel firmly opposes the programme aimed at militarisation of outer space; if realised, it would be a catalyst of an arms race along new, still more dangerous lines and would enhance the risk of nuclear war many times over. Any sane person is absolutely sure that Washington's fraudulently 'defensive' rhetoric is a smokescreen concealing an expressly offensive, aggressive concept essentially aimed at securing a first strike capability and an anti-missile 'shield' to avoid retaliation.

We and our friends in the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality are conducting the broadest possible mobilisation of our country's forces to prevent Israel's involvement in the drive to implement the schemes with which US militarists are threatening mankind. Members of the Democratic Front faction have raised this question in the Knesset and called on the members of MAPAM and the Labour Party, on all those in whom the sense of responsibility is still alive, to raise their voice in protest against such complicity in the conspiracy to wreck international security. Through its press organs—*Zo Haderech* and *Al-Ittihad*⁵—the Communist Party has appealed to all those who hold peace in our country and the world dear to firmly rebuff any attempts at any form of Israeli involvement in the diabolical Star Wars conspiracy.

Ibrahim Malik
member, Central Committee,
Communist Party of Israel

¹ The Treaty contains an outright ban on the creation of an ABM system for the national territory or of any space-based ABM systems.—*Ed.*

² *Haarets*, April 7, 1985 (in Hebrew).

³ *Al Hamishmar*, April 8, 1985 (in Hebrew).

⁴ *Haarets*, April 5, 1985.

⁵ See *Zo Haderech*, April 10, 1985 (in Hebrew); *Al-Ittihad*, March 28 and April 10, 1985 (in Arabic).

surveys, information and mail

Pages of History

THE CUBAN COMMUNISTS' FIRST PARTY

AUGUST 16 is an important date in the history of the Cuban people's heroic struggle for national liberation and social emancipation: it marks 60 years since the founding of the first Marxist-Leninist party in the country.

The reason for the broad interest in the first revolutionary party of the Cuban working class is its connection with that extremely important event in Cuba's life, a turning point in the century-old battle of the fraternal peoples of Latin America for independence and progress—the victory of the Cuban revolution on January 1, 1959, a revolution which not only put an end to the oppression of our homeland by US imperialism—the common enemy of all nations of the Latin American continent and the main force of international reaction and militarism—but also brought socialism to the Western Hemisphere. In a very short period of time that revolution has done away with the exploitation of man by man and, in line with the sovereignly expressed will of the Cuban people, has begun to build a socialist society with the leading role of the working class, its party, and Marxist-Leninist ideology.

What is the significance of the activity of the revolutionary proletariat's first political organisation in Cuba in the attainment of all these successes? Wherein lies the continuity between it and the party that presently governs in the country? The heralds of right and 'Left' revisionism abroad have been endeavouring to distort the historical truth about that in their efforts to crush Marxism-Leninism. And the truth, says the report to the First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba, is the following: 'The patient explanatory work, experience and example of the Communists, who had begun their activity in the glorious days of Baliño and Mella¹ under the influence of the victorious October Revolution, helped to spread Marxist-Leninist thought in such a way that it became an attractive teaching for many young people, whose political consciousness was awakening. Revolutionary books and literature . . . have played a role in historic events. The people themselves had to awaken some day to the profound truths contained in the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Meanwhile the task facing the new revolutionaries was to interpret and apply them in keeping with our country's concrete and peculiar conditions. It fell to the lot of the new Communists to do that because they were not yet known and in our society, where prejudices and control on the part of imperialism's police forces reigned, they did not have to experience the severe isolation and persecution suffered by the glorious revolutionary fighters of our first communist party.'²

From the very outset, at a time when the Machado tyranny was at its height in Cuba and fascism was endeavouring to come to power in the capitalist world, the first party was outlawed and its leaders were persecuted and given prison sentences. In 1926 Baliño died while preparations were being made for his trial. Three years later agents sent by the dictatorship and US imperialism murdered Mella in Mexico.

But despite the brutal repression the party was battling on and growing, winning the sympathy and confidence of the workers, peasants and urban middle strata. Its struggle, headed by Rubén Martínez Villena,³ the revolutionary actions of the whole people and the general strike of the working people in 1933 brought down the Machado dictatorship. But the new government which replaced it betrayed the people's revolution by submitting to the interests of US imperialism, the latifundistas and the sugar manufacturers. The communist party remained outlawed.

'After 1933', Fidel Castro has noted, 'the party ranks continued to grow. And when the civil war broke out in Spain this party stuck firmly to internationalist principles and sent almost a thousand fighters to defend the Spanish republic, thereby inscribing the most outstanding pages of proletarian internationalism in the history of our homeland.'⁴

The development of the democratic movement in Cuba and the Cuban Communists' creative application of the tactics of a united front against fascist reaction worked out by the Communist International made legalisation of the organisation possible in 1938. In 1940 it merged with the Revolutionary Union, which had been formed not long before that. The unification took place on the basis of the ideological and organisational principles of Marxism-Leninism. The new party, called the Revolutionary Communist Union, successfully participated in the elections to the Constituent Assembly, whose creation the Communists' selfless struggle had done much to bring about.

In 1944, taking into consideration the conditions that had taken shape during the peoples' battle against fascism, a battle in which the Soviet Union was playing the leading role, the crisis among the national reformist political groupings in Cuba, and the general rise in the socialist consciousness of broad circles of the working people, the party was renamed the People's Socialist Party (PSP).

When Batista carried out a reactionary coup in 1952, the PSP, in spite of the fact that the overthrown government's criminal persecution of it had resulted in the death of many leaders and rank-and-file Communists, called for support for the constitutional system and defence of civil freedoms. With great discernment and farsightedness the party exposed the bloody character of the military's power and, having profoundly analysed the problem, showed the pro-imperialist, anti-popular, anti-worker and anti-national essence of the tyranny that had emerged. The party called on the whole people to unite and struggle against it.

During the struggle to bring down the dictatorship the Moncado barracks was stormed on July 26, 1953, the main protagonists being the generation of 'new Communists' who, in the words of Fidel Castro, their organiser and leader, brought the revolution to a victorious conclusion.

'This was achieved not only thanks to the July 26 Movement,' the First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba pointed out. The Marxist-Leninist party, which united the best representatives of our working class, paid with the blood of its many sons who gave their lives for victory. Fighters of the Revolutionary Directorate carried out many feats, for example the storming of the presidential palace on March 13, 1957, and took an active part in the insurgency struggle. Such are the sources of our glorious Communist Party.'⁵

As the leader of the Cuban revolution stated on its 50th anniversary, from the very outset the proletariat's first revolutionary organisation followed a correct road, thanks to which the working people were able to have many important demands met

and the banner of struggle for national liberation and social emancipation was raised over Cuba, a struggle which has become a common cause inspiring millions of Cubans.

Terror, persecution, ideological pressure, slanderous fabrications—nothing could make the first party of Cuban Communists degenerate. They were consistent revolutionaries while in illegality and while persecuted; they remained honest and consistent revolutionaries when the party became legal, when its members took up state posts, led the trade unions and were in the front ranks of all undertakings.

'This party,' Fidel Castro has said, 'has done tremendous work to make our working class, our people conscious. . . . All progressive laws, standards or measures benefiting the working people, the peasants and the whole people during the pseudo-republic were wrested by the hard efforts and struggle of the first Communist Party of Cuba.'⁶

The first Marxist-Leninist organisation also made mistakes, which its leadership always admitted openly and self-critically and took measures to correct. But throughout its history there was not a single case of betrayal, not a single concession to the opportunists who adjusted their political position to suit their personal interests.

The ideals of the party, which had been formed in a period of pro-imperialist tyranny and whose membership numbered less than 100 at the time, triumphed 34 years later when yet another dictatorship at the service of a foreign master was swept away.

As Fidel Castro has said, following the overthrow 'of the Batista tyranny by the Cuban revolutionaries on January 1, 1959, a major battle still lay ahead—against US imperialism, which was seeking to put down the Cuban revolution. But yet another, equally difficult, battle had to be fought—against the prejudices, and against the anti-communism which had been drummed into us for decades by all possible means. And this final battle against imperialism, against anti-communism, against reactionary ideas, against the Bay of Pigs mercenaries, against the Escambray bandits, against the CIA saboteurs—that battle we fought together—revolutionaries from different organisations. At first we only coordinated our actions, unification came later. But we united on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.'⁷

These principles have triumphed in Cuba forever. They are the best monument to the numerous fallen heroes who were members of the first party of Cuban Communists.

Blas Roca

CC Political Bureau Member,
Communist Party of Cuba

¹ *Carlos Baliño* (1848-1926)—in 1892, together with José Martí, he founded the Cuban Revolutionary Party, which fought for independence from the Spanish colonial yoke. *Julio Antonio Mella* (1903-1929)—a leader of the Cuban and Latin American youth and working class movement—participated actively in the creation of the party of Cuban Communists. On his initiative the University Students' Federation convened a congress which voiced support for the Soviet Union and advanced the idea of creating a workers' University Centre (later called the José Martí University). The student movement was linked with the trade union workers' movement, thus facilitating the spread of Marxist ideas in the university sphere, which later produced a number of leaders of the July 26 Movement. A major influence on the student body was also exerted by Pablo de la Torriente Brau, a Cuban Communist hero who died in battle in the period of the civil war in Spain.—*Ed.*

² *Primer Congreso del Partido Comunista de Cuba*. Informe Central. La Habana, 1976, p. 26.

³ *Rubén Martínez Villena* (1899-1934)—political leader, publicist, and active participant in the communist and working class movement in Cuba.—*Ed.*

⁴ Ediciones OR, julio-septiembre 1975, La Habana, p. 76.

⁵ *Primer Congreso del Partido Comunista de Cuba*, p. 29.

⁶ Ediciones OR, La Habana, julio-septiembre 1975, p. 76.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

The Socialist Way of Life

A GUARANTEED RIGHT TO WORK

THE imperialist 'crusaders' are conducting a strident propaganda war against the forces of peace, democracy and social progress, with existing socialism being subjected to especially massive attacks. Their objective is to erode and undermine the unity and cohesion of the socialist community states and to discredit the fundamental advantages of the new social system.

These are futile attempts. In just short of seven decades since the world's first workers' and peasants' state came on the scene, history has repeatedly driven home the fact that the ideas of scientific socialism are irresistible. Peoples in many countries have already put into practice the great principles of social justice rejecting man's exploitation by man and the attendant inequality, poverty, lack of rights and every other form of oppression.

In contrast to the savage practices of capitalism, these peoples have established and have been steadily improving the socialist way of life, with its abiding values, such as the guaranteed right to remunerated labour, the society's concern for the human being from the cradle to the grave, broad access to spiritual culture, respect for the individual's dignity and rights, and steady extension of the working people's participation in management.

The following analytical survey of the right to work under socialism is based on facts and figures relating to the Soviet Union and other European socialist community countries.

Employment for All

No one who has grown up under socialism and is about to enter upon adult life is ever faced with the problem of finding a job. The right to work, i.e., the right to obtain employment with pay according to its quantity and quality is written into law. What is more, at the stage of developed socialism it is supplemented with the right to choose one's occupation or trade in accordance with one's inclinations, capacities, occupational training, education and, of course, with an eye to social requirements.

The matter does not, of course, boil down to legislation, for if it is to express and assert the actual state of things, it has to be based on definite objective conditions. The nature and extent of the population's employment and the available job opportunities are everywhere determined by the development of the productive forces and—which is equally important—by the social character of the society, that is, its social system.

Marx demonstrated that relative over-population and unemployment spring from the basic contradiction of the capitalist mode of production, so that only the establishment of social property in the basic means of production goes to create the necessary conditions for doing away with unemployment and for making the full employment of the able-bodied population in socially useful labour possible and necessary.

The possibility of full employment under socialism objectively springs from the fact that every member of the society can work because the means of production are the property of the society as a whole and do not confront its members as an alien force. Full employment is likewise objectively necessary because there are no exploiter social groups living off the unpaid labour of the working class. Every able-bodied member of the society must work, because the product is distributed according to labour: there is no participation in consumption without

direct or indirect participation in production. Simply put, he who does not work does not eat.

The objective potentiality for full employment is not, of course, realised automatically, for it requires a relevant economic policy taking account of the diverse factors of economic development and directing the process of reproduction in a balanced manner. Otherwise, there are bound to be complications in balancing out the 'supply of' and 'demand for' labour, i.e., between the scope of employment (the number of jobs) and the size of the able-bodied part of the population, a situation which has been known to occur in the experience of socialist construction in the world.

Let us now consider practice in the light of theory.

Before the 1917 revolution in Russia, unemployment affected a sizeable part of the working class, and the number of jobless in the major industrial centres in the country in 1913 alone came to 500,000. After the October Socialist Revolution, there was a growth of unemployment for more than ten years in view of the economic dislocation caused by the imperialist and the civil war. Unemployment reached a peak in early 1929, when there were nearly 1.75 million registered unemployed in the cities. Agrarian overpopulation presented a very difficult problem, for this form of latent unemployment affected 8-9 million landless and land-poor peasants, i.e., roughly one-seventh of the able-bodied population in the countryside.

Unemployment had also been widespread in a number of European countries which took the socialist way after the Second World War. In the late 1930s, latent unemployment affected 1.2 million people in Bulgaria, 0.8-0.9 million in Hungary, 5 million in Poland and 3 million in Romania. The problem could be fought radically only if its economic and social roots were extirpated, the basic means of production socialised, the country industrialised, agriculture cooperated and the socialist sector of the economy rapidly developed.

With some variations owing to the specific historical and economic conditions in each country, that is precisely how the socialist states have steadily increased employment until the working people were completely rid of one of the most vicious legacies of capitalism. In the USSR, that was done in record time. Urban unemployment disappeared at the end of 1930, and the agrarian overpopulation was soon wiped out as well. Similar processes ran a swift course in the other European countries of the socialist community.

Economic development in practice showed that if full employment is to be achieved that must be a blend of economic and social prerequisites as the basis for the fundamental solution of that problem in the form of a socialist (state and cooperative) sector of the national economy, which accounts for all the employed population in the USSR and Bulgaria, nearly all in Czechoslovakia and Hungary, for over 96 per cent in the GDR, and about 94 per cent in Poland.¹

Full employment of the able-bodied population is, therefore, an objective law of the socialist economic system, and the operation of the law tends to deepen as the productive forces are developed and the relations of production improved. First, an economically more optimal structure of employment is gradually shaped, the degree of its economic rationality is increased, and there is a tendency for ever more efficient use of labour resources. Second, as the general cultural and skill standards of the able-bodied population rise, there is a change in the attitude to work itself, as socially useful labour increasingly becomes every person's prime vital want, with the gradual reduction in manual, low-skilled and arduous operations being one of the conditions.

Full employment of the able-bodied population ensured by socialism which capitalism can never hope to match, and this is driven home by the scientific and technical revolution as more and more millions of working people in the bourgeois

'democracies' are doomed to unemployment and poverty. Employment in production has been reduced, while the absorbing capacity of the service industries has generally declined under the impact of the crisis processes in the late 1970s and early 1980s, which were most virulent in some of the 'basic' industries, of capitalist rationalisation, and the monopolies' offensive against the social gains of the working class. Here is one of numerous facts: from 1980 to 1984, the number of jobs in France officially dropped by 539,000. Similar trends are in evidence throughout the zone of developed capitalism. Even in many of its relatively 'luckier' parts, unemployment has topped 5-6 per cent of the able-bodied population, a point but recently regarded as critical. In Great Britain, where the army of unemployed has recently been growing at 10,000-15,000 a month,² unemployment is over 13 per cent, in Italy and Belgium—14 per cent, and in Holland—18 (sic!) per cent (in the spring of 1984). Those are the 'heights' now being scaled by some other capitalist countries as well.

Unemployment in the Leading Capitalist Countries
(% of the able-bodied population)

	1970	1975	1980	1985*
USA	5.0	8.3	7.0	7.3
Canada	—	6.9	7.5	10.9
Great Britain	2.2	4.7	7.0	13.1
Italy	3.1	5.8	7.4	12.8
France	1.2	4.1	6.3	10.3
FRG	0.8	3.6	3.0	9.4
Japan	1.1	1.9	2.0	2.4

* April

Sources: national statistics; *The Economist*, June 8, 1985, p. 99.

Incontrovertible evidence of the inhumane social nature of the capitalist society comes in the form of the 32 million now jobless in the industrialised capitalist countries alone (apart from the millions of discouraged people who have stopped going to register at the labour exchanges, and the young people who begin their adult life in a long and frequently hopeless search for work).

To Each According to His Work

Remuneration for labour is the basis of the incomes of those who are members of the socialist society. The attainment of full employment of the able-bodied population signified, apart from everything else, the creation of a solid basis on which these incomes are secured and steadily increased. Consider the period before the Second World War, when the Soviet Union was the only socialist state: with unemployment eliminated, and the shorter working day, real average per-head incomes in 1940 were 170 per-cent up on 1930 for workers in industry and building, and 130 per-cent up in agriculture.

The Soviet people's social progress was slowed down and in some areas retarded by the war, and that was quite natural in view of the vast manpower and material losses,³ which had a negative effect on living standards and the rate of their growth after the war. In 1945, the USSR's national income was 17 per-cent down from the prewar year of 1940, industrial production of consumer goods was 41 per-cent down, gross agricultural output—40 per-cent down, and state and cooperative retail trade—57 per-cent down.

It stands to reason that the Soviet people's living standards would have been much higher but for the vast outlays on rehabilitating the ruins of war, but even so the Soviet people's well-being has risen most substantially: in 1970, the real incomes of industrial and office workers per head were 190 per-cent up on 1940, and the collective farmers' real incomes—370 per-cent up.

The picture of postwar development is similar in the other European countries of the socialist community. One of its indicators is the growth of wages. From 1960 to 1983, the average monthly wages of industrial and office workers in the socialist sector of the national economy went up by 170 per-cent in Bulgaria, 210 per-cent in Hungary, nearly 100 per-cent in the GDR, 130 per-cent in the USSR and 100 per-cent in Czechoslovakia.

Apart from wages, industrial and office workers in the socialist countries receive payments and benefits from social consumption funds (a part of the national income going into social insurance payments, pensions, various aids, scholarships, free tuition and medical care, the cost of maintaining crèches, nursery schools, etc.). Together with these payments and benefits, the average monthly income of industrial and office workers is very much higher than the wage figure. In 1983, it was 254 roubles, with wages at 182 roubles, in the USSR. In addition, the state spends more than 300 roubles per family on the building of homes, schools, medical institutions, and cultural and everyday facilities.⁴

The development of the socialist way of life is closely bound up with the growing social homogeneity of the society, i.e., a gradual evening out of the distinctions between classes and social groups, since labour as a whole is based on social property in the means of production. That is not to say, of course, that there is complete homogeneity in view of the differentiated character of the labour—and so of the remuneration of labour—and of the living conditions of the various groups of working people and strata of the population. It follows that the regulation of distributive relations must be and is a highly important element in consolidating the socialist way of life and realising the second part of the basic principle of socialism: from each according to his ability, to each according to his work.

This problem is connected with the whole complex of the economic laws of socialism, and it is impossible in a short survey to show just how difficult and multifaceted it is. Let us merely note that there are two long-term trends in the sphere of wages as a component part of distributive relations: one is ever lesser differentiation as the number and share of low-paid workers doing unskilled and low-skilled work is reduced, and the other, a growing differentiation in consequence of the increasing complexity and responsibility of the work done.

The latter trend is heightened in accordance with the strategic line of intensifying production in every way, a line taken by the communist and workers' parties of the socialist community countries. The April 1985 plenary meeting of the CPSU CC emphasised, for instance, the need for effective measures 'to purge the distributive mechanism of mechanical egalitarianism, unearned income, and everything else that contradicts our society's economic norms and ethical ideals, and to ensure that the material condition of every worker and every collective depends directly on the results of their work'.⁵

The more effective use of the distributive mechanism, above all of wages, its key element, is a task that has not, of course, appeared overnight, for it involves improving the operation of the principle of remuneration according to labour on the basis of what has already been achieved in the assertion and development of the socialist way of life. The fact is that a great deal has been achieved: from 1961 to 1983, real incomes per head aggregated for the CMEA countries as a whole increased 2.5-fold.

Compare this with the state of affairs in the zone of developed capitalism: since 1960, nominal wages and salaries have gone up by 387 per-cent on average for the 24 countries within the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), but the bulk of that has been eroded by unabated inflation, so that the real increase has come to only 14.5 per-cent. Over the past several years, the growth of wages has declined in the major capitalist countries, and wages have actually dropped in some countries (for instance, the United States and Canada).

This trend is enhanced by a further drive to reduce 'unproductive' social costs which the reactionary ruling circles of the United States and a number of other imperialist countries have been conducting in order to boost military expenditures, which has a highly painful effect on the condition of broad masses of people.

It provides a dark backdrop to the vital advantages of socialism and the socialist way of life, for the great and irreversible achievements of the new social system, a key element among which is the real, universal and guaranteed right to work and a fair wage for work.

Working group,
WMR Commission for
Scientific Information
and Documentation

¹ *Statistical Yearbook of the Member-Countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, 1984*, Moscow, 1984, p. 367 (in Russian).

² *International Herald Tribune*, June 1-2, 1985.

³ See *WMR*, No. 5, 1985, p. 116.

⁴ It is not right, of course, to assume that the population's real incomes in these countries keep growing everywhere without letup, for their economic situation is affected not only by internal, but, undoubtedly, also by external factors (some countries being affected more, and others less) by such things as the crisis phenomena in the world capitalist economy, and the tense situation on the world market, which inevitably have an effect on their external economic ties and so on their social programme fulfilment, and the growth of their living standards, which on some points still fall short of those in some industrialised capitalist countries. So, the growth of real incomes tends to fluctuate, but the overall long-term trend and the level and quality of life enjoyed by the working masses in most of the socialist-community countries are obvious.

⁵ *Pravda*, April 24, 1985.

Diary

René Théodore, General Secretary of the United Party of Haitian Communists, has visited the *WMR* offices. At a meeting of the Editorial Council he spoke about the continuing struggle of the party and the people of Haiti against Duvalier's corrupt dictatorship, for democracy, for the country's national liberation and social emancipation, and for peace in Central America and the Caribbean.

* * *

Tijani Tayeb Baheqr, Secretariat member of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Sudan, has called at the *WMR* offices. Speaking at an enlarged meeting of the Commission on Issues of the National Liberation Movement in Asia and Africa, he examined the situation in the Sudan since the overthrow of Jaafar Nimeiry's regime and the activities of the Communists and other patriotic forces in the new conditions. He and the editor-in-chief discussed further cooperation between the CPS and *World Marxist Review*.

the book scene

Fighting an Octopus

Stanley Adams, *Roche Versus Adams*, Jonathan Cape, London, 1984, 236 pp.

'“Let conscience be your guide,” the proverb says. . . . This is the story of what happened when I followed my conscience, and of where it led me. It is a story of intrigue and ruthlessness, of betrayal and imprisonment, a story of politics and politicians, and of justice and injustice.’ This is the opening passage of *Roche Versus Adams*.

The chief protagonists of this non-fiction thriller are Hoffmann-La Roche, a giant transnational corporation with multibillion assets, and Stanley Adams, one of its 44,000 employees and author of the book. To borrow a phrase popular in the early 1900s, when the biggest capitalist tycoons dominating this or that field were referred to as steel, beef or railroad kings, Hoffmann-La Roche, or simply Roche, as it is called by the millions who buy its products, can be described as the king of pharmaceuticals and vitamins. It controls ten pharmaceutical manufacturing companies in Europe, seven in Latin America, three in Asia and several in Africa and Australia. A Roche subsidiary directs US and Canadian branches of the corporation.

Roche has its headquarters in Basle. This was where Stanley Adams, a 25-year-old businessman of Maltese extraction, a graduate of London and Oxford Universities with a good record of an agent of British and US companies in Africa and Latin America, was invited for an interview in the summer of 1964. ‘The Roche grapevine was very extensive. They had a complete dossier on me and seemed to know more about me than I did myself,’ the author says recalling his arrival in Basle (p. 4). From a rank-and-file employee of the Bulk Vitamins and Chemicals division, Stanley Adams worked his way up quickly and in 1972 became a World Product Manager.

As a member of the Roche corporate elite, Adams became privy to the illegal deals and machinations which ordinary employees knew nothing of and which Roche and similar transnationals use to dominate the capitalist market. ‘During my business career I had travelled extensively all over the world and particularly in poor countries,’ the author says. ‘I had seen the effects of the drug companies’ policies. I had seen so much poverty in the world and seen people unable to buy medicines and vitamins because of the price. I had also seen that within Roche, when news came to an influenza epidemic in, for instance, India, instead of putting vitamin C out in greater quantities and reducing the price, we would control the quantities going out to the market and usually increase the price. . . . As I looked around I became more

and more aware of the arrogance of Roche, of its impertinence in believing that it could do what it liked . . . because it had power and money and wanted more of both' (pp. 17-18).

All this is equally true of any of the 400 biggest transnational corporations (TNCs) operating in the capitalist world. Their impunity is guaranteed above all by their own financial power and the support they receive from capitalist governments. In the early 1970s these octopus-like monopolies controlled 90 per cent of all direct foreign investment, and their liquid assets were more than double the combined total of the foreign exchange held by major Western banks and international financial organisations. A decade later, TNCs accounted for some 40 per cent of the world capitalist industrial production, 60 per cent of foreign trade and about 80 per cent of research and development.

Powerful corporations manage to emerge unscathed even from the economic crises that shake the capitalist system. 'The [capitalist—*N.B.*] class, as such, must inevitably lose. How much the individual capitalist must bear of the loss, i.e., to what extent he must share in it at all, is decided by strength and cunning, and competition then becomes a fight among hostile brothers.'¹ Some of the techniques employed in this struggle are described graphically in the book, take, for instance, the so-called fidelity contracts—a favourite trick of Roche's, used to 'tame' the customers. A company is approached with an offer to buy its needs in this or that product exclusively from Roche; at the end of the year, the company is paid a 'fidelity premium'—a rebate of five to ten per cent. 'If a small company was foolhardy enough to challenge the major manufacturers, then it could be commercially killed by cutting prices to a level that made it bankrupt, when prices could go up again. The practices were illegal, but the advantages of eliminating competition were such that Roche did not appear unduly bothered by scruples. Where making money was concerned Roche was unscrupulous' (p. 15).

In 1970 the British government accused Roche of overpricing Librium and Valium, the psychotropic tranquilisers it imported into Great Britain. There, Roche charged 370 and 922 pounds a kilo for, respectively, Librium and Valium as opposed to nine and 20 pounds a kilo in, say, Italy. From 1966 to 1972, Roche made a profit of 22 million pounds in Britain. Similar operations were conducted in Denmark, the FRG, the United States and Canada. Later it was discovered that, preparing to manufacture these tranquilisers in India, Roche demanded, respectively, 19,246 and 27,890 rupees per kilo—an astronomical increase over the usual price of 380 and 462 rupees.

The corporation was still bogged down in the scandal in Great Britain when a new one broke out. This was the Stanley Adams affair. In early 1973 Adams decided to send information on Roche's illegal practices to the EEC headquarters in Brussels. 'At the time', he writes, 'I was naive enough to think the EEC, governed by the European Commission, would stand a better chance of controlling a multinational' (p. 20). Six months later he left the corporation and settled in Italy, intending to go into farming.

EEC experts acted on the information supplied by Adams, and legal proceedings were instituted against Roche. EEC officials promised to keep the source of information confidential, and Adams never suspected that a veritable tragedy was awaiting him and his family.

The family—Adams himself, his wife and three small children—went to spend the 1974 Christmas holidays with relatives in Switzerland. When he crossed the border, Stanley Adams was arrested and taken to prison. He was charged with divulging trade secrets and giving classified economic information to a foreign power. Under Swiss law, it is almost high treason. Mrs. Adams was told that her husband faced up to twenty years in jail. On January 11, 1975 Stanley Adams learned that, driven to

desperation by incessant police interrogations and intimidation, his wife committed suicide. On the day of her funeral which Adams was not allowed to attend, he was transferred, on Roche's insistence, to a prison in Basle. Adams managed to inform Brussels of his arrest through his fellow inmates, and three months later he was released on bail, paying a big sum raised by his friends and relatives.

EEC officials advised him to 'leave Switzerland as soon as possible', and he returned to his abandoned farm in Italy. But the long arm of Roche reached him there too. The Italian government agencies and banks that had earlier guaranteed him financial support soon went back on their word. The mortgage on his farm was foreclosed, Adams was driven bankrupt and imprisoned again.

But the real reason why the law was set on Adams in Italy was different. On July 10, 1976 a chemical factory supposedly making ingredients for perfumes and flavourings exploded in the Italian town of Seveso, venting a cloud of white fumes that contained dioxin, a toxic agent thousands of times more dangerous than cyanide. The factory was owned by Roche. Birds fell from the sky dead, domestic animals died in agony. There were also human casualties. The people who have since left Seveso still give birth to sick, deformed children.

The weekly output of the factory in Seveso was 70 tons of TCP (trichlorophenol), a substance which gave off dioxin when heated. TCP is the main ingredient of the defoliant 245T, better known as Agent Orange, the cause of severe injuries suffered by hundreds of thousands of civilians during the US aggression in Vietnam.

Adams knew that the products of the Seveso factory were shipped to a Roche subsidiary in Clifton, USA, but he did not know where it went from there. Some of these facts he reported to Italian journalists, saying, among other things, that the factory in Seveso had been built in violation of the law, after Roche had made a deal with a prominent Italian public figure. Any more questions why Adams was in jail again?

The outcome of the story is that, released on bail, Adams fled to Great Britain in 1981. The EEC refused to continue to support the cause of this courageous and honest man; it washed its hands of him after giving him a puny sum of 20,000 pounds, a fraction of the financial losses Adams incurred to say nothing of his moral suffering. To cap it all, he learned that the very EEC officials he had gone to looking for help and justice had betrayed him to Roche.

'I was realising,' Adams says towards the end, 'that the EEC had no interest whatsoever in the individual and was quite prepared to sacrifice anyone who got in the way.' He adds bitterly that 'the Rome Treaty which set it [the EEC—N.B.] up may have been written more with the interests of big business in mind, than the interests of the millions of voters in the European Community' (p. 180).

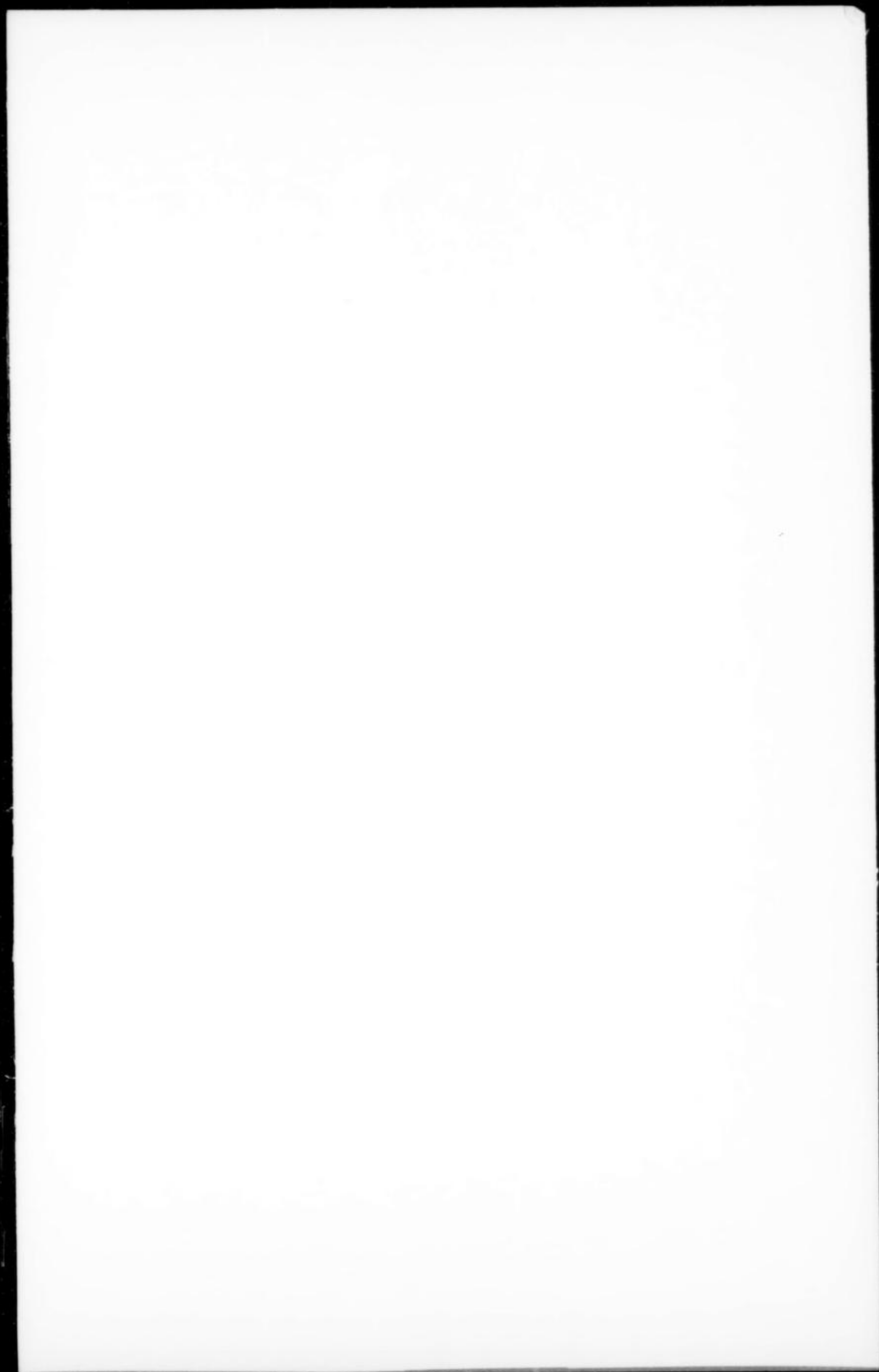
The ordeal the author has gone through is one in the multitude of examples of capitalist tycoons' disdainful and cynical attitude to the lives of individuals and of whole nations. Suffice it to recall the tragedy of Bhopal, India, where Union Carbide, a US chemical corporation, was responsible for an accident in which, on December 3, 1984, toxic agents were discharged into the air, killing more than 2,500 people and poisoning 200,000. This could have been avoided had the owners of the corporation with their huge profits not grudged the necessary funds to set up a proper safety and control system. Typically, after the catastrophe Union Carbide concealed from the local authorities the method of treating the poisoning because, in the opinion of the Indian press, the ways of neutralising the effects of highly toxic agents are classified military information. This is perfectly credible: Union Carbide has long been a major Pentagon contractor.

I would like to conclude by pointing out that *Roche Versus Adams* is unique both in the information it contains and in the very fact of its publication. So far, very few people in the West have decided to tell the truth about crimes committed by TNCs.

Significantly, the author addresses above all those who have not yet brought themselves to break the silence. 'Friends ask me now, "Would you have done it, if you had known everything that was going to happen?" That is an impossible question,' he writes on the last page. 'But, if you leave aside the death of my wife, then I would say without hesitation Yes, and mean it. Because if I answer No, and other people answer No, then what hope will there be for my children? and my children's children?'

Nicholas Barton

¹ Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, Moscow, 1962, p. 248.



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.



