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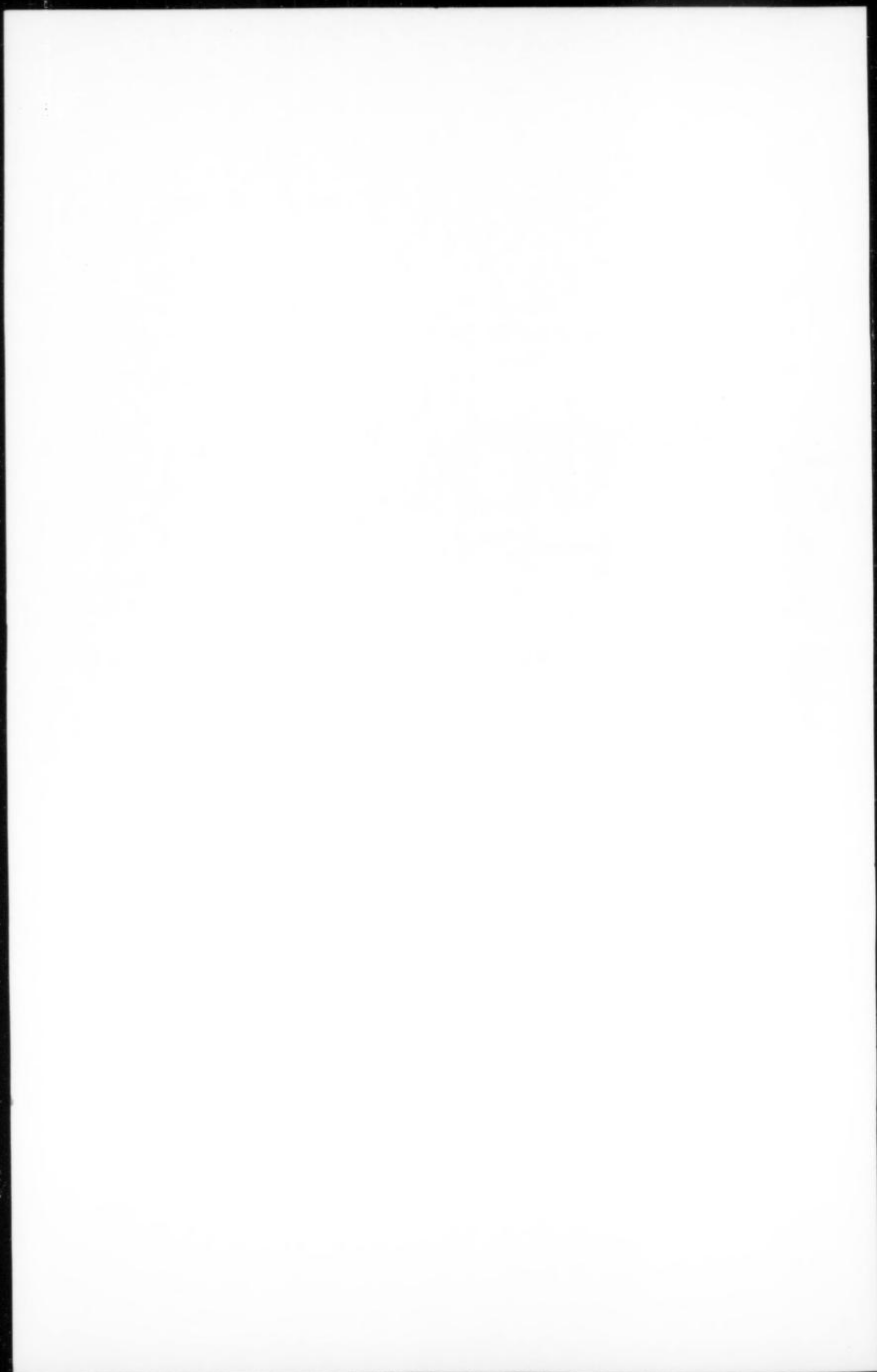
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features

Road to Freedom and Progress

Damdingyin Gombojav – Political
Bureau member, CC Secretary, Mongolian
People's Revolutionary Party

PEACE and socialism are indivisible. The emergence of the new social system opened a realistic way to true freedom, sovereignty, and fraternal cooperation among nations, and gave rise to the possibility of safeguarding our planet against devastating wars. This is borne out eloquently by the entire history of the homeland of the Great October Revolution and of the socialist community, which have asserted the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. The realisation of these principles is being violently opposed by the old world. Economic blockades, various sorts of 'sanctions', hostile ideological campaigns, and armed aggressions are the response of international imperialism to the policy of peaceful coexistence.

The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people against Nazi Germany and its allies was the sternest test of the solidity of the new system, of the viability of the lofty Marxist-Leninist principles of policy and ideology.

The peoples, armies, Resistance movements, and underground anti-fascist groups of many countries were involved in the fierce clash with the assault forces of imperialist reaction during the Second World War. All of them contributed significantly to the Victory. But the decisive role in this war was played by the Soviet people and their Armed Forces, who bore the brunt of the fighting.

From the very first days of the war forced upon the Soviet Union by Hitlerite Germany, Mongolia steadfastly sided with the world's first socialist state. Under the leadership of the MPRP a nation-wide movement unfolded with the slogan: 'All for the fraternal Soviet people, all for their victory!' The unstinting moral support of the Mongolian people and the utmost material help that they gave to the heroic people and Armed Forces of the Soviet Union were striking testimony of the unbreakable bonds of our friendship.

Soviet foreign policy was instrumental in forming the anti-Hitlerite coalition for the speediest defeat of the aggressors. As a result of the Victory, the peoples of many liberated countries were able to restore or acquire national statehood and sovereignty, and key problems of the world's postwar arrangement were resolved on the basis of just, democratic principles.

The Soviet people contributed immensely also to the eradication of the hotbed of war in the Far East. Following the defeat of Nazi Germany and its unconditional surrender, the Japanese militarists, who were among the first and most active instigators of the world military conflagration, continued their rampage in Asia and

the Pacific. Under cover of racist-nationalistic and anti-communist slogans they sought to bring a vast region of the world under their domination, and were a threat to the peace and security of peoples in Asia and other continents.

As early as 1927 the Tanaka Memorandum, which became the programme of the subsequent policy and strategy of Japan's rulers, laid down the course for Japanese expansion deep into Asia. Under the demagogic slogan of 'Asia for the Asians' they planned to seize China, Mongolia, Soviet territory, and territory in other countries. With both the overt and covert encouragement of reactionary circles in Western countries the Japanese imperialists launched upon the attainment of their aggressive designs in the early 1930s. Seizing Manchuria and other regions of Northeast China, their troops reached the frontiers of Mongolia and the USSR.

The defence by the Mongolian people of their revolutionary gains against the external imperialist threat became a significant element of the common cause of the peace forces resisting Japan's great-power ambitions. Implementation by the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party of its policy of strengthening the fraternal alliance with the USSR and the assistance that the latter extended to us allowed turning our republic into an impregnable fortress on the road embarked upon by the Japanese invaders. This was strikingly demonstrated by the brilliant victory of the Soviet and Mongolian armies in the vicinity of the Khalkhin-Gol river in 1939. They smashed the huge Japanese force that invaded our territory. This victory was tangible support for the liberation struggle of the peoples of East Asia, including the Chinese people. It had a beneficial effect on the international situation in the Far East, compelling Japan's ruling circles to abandon their plans for an immediate invasion of the Soviet Union.

The policy of the Western countries, which hoped to direct Japanese militarism against socialism and the revolutionary movement, boomeranged against them. Imperialist Japan extended the war in the Pacific and Southeast Asia, threatening the interests of the USA, Britain, and other colonial powers.

As I have noted, after Nazi Germany had been finally defeated its Asian ally continued to conduct intensive hostilities. In July 1945 the Japanese government rejected the surrender ultimatum from the USA, Britain and China, firmly intending to prolong the war and resist to the end. These calculations were backed up by the fact that it had 7,000,000 men under arms and quite considerable military-industrial resources, located chiefly on the Asian continent. Japan's main fighting group, the Kwantung Army, had nearly a million troops, two-thirds of Japan's tanks, and more than half of its artillery. The Japanese militarists prepared to use bacteriological and chemical weapons, building up and testing these criminal weapons in special units deployed in Manchuria. It was not for nothing that some Western political leaders were pessimistic about when the war in Asia and the Pacific would end, believing it would possibly last another eighteen months or two years.

A serious warning for Tokyo was the denouncing by the USSR on April 5, 1945 of the Soviet-Japanese neutrality pact. Japan had itself never complied with that pact: it had supported Nazi Germany and had only been waiting for a convenient moment to attack the Soviet Union. In early July 1941 its government had decided to begin preparations for war with the Soviet Union depending upon the development of the situation. Further evidence of its plans for aggression was the striving to form a 'Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere' that was to include all the eastern regions of the USSR up to Lake Baikal and the entire territory of Outer Mongolia. The threat of attack created a situation of constant tension along the eastern frontiers of the USSR and Mongolia, compelling them to maintain considerable troop contingents in this region.

In order to hasten the end of World War II, help to liberate enslaved peoples, and discharge its allied commitments, the Soviet government declared war on Japan on August 8, 1945. Two days later, on August 10, 1945, the Mongolian People's Republic

entered the war. Advancing simultaneously on three fronts, the Soviet Army committed 1,500,000 troops, 5,250,000 tanks and self-propelled guns, over 3,800 aircraft, and 26,000 pieces of artillery and mortars. The Mongolian Army took part in the hostilities in contact with units of the Soviet Trans-Baikal Front, piercing deep into the Gobi Desert and the Great Khingan Mountains. The route of the Kwantung Army and other units of the invaders by the Soviet Army with the support of the Mongolian People's Army was the decisive factor that hastened victory over Japanese militarism. This was acknowledged at the time of Japan's Prime Minister Kantaro Suzuki, who declared on August 9, 1945 that 'the Soviet Union's entry into the war this morning places US in a hopeless position and makes it impossible to continue the war any longer'.¹

The dropping of atomic bombs on Japan by the USA in August 1945 was not dictated by military necessity. This barbaric act, which took the lives of over 300,000 civilians in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, was undertaken by the US leaders with the objective of demonstrating US power and asserting US military superiority in the war. It signalled US preparations for a cold war against the Soviet Union and an assault on the national liberation, progressive movements.

The victory of the Soviet Army helped to end the foreign occupation of a number of Asian countries and facilitated people's democratic revolutions in these countries. For instance, favourable conditions took shape in China. Its economically developed northeastern regions were liberated and all the armaments and munitions captured from the invaders were turned over to the People's Liberation Army of China. Precisely from this military-strategic springboard the revolutionary forces were able to inflict paralysing defeats on the Kuomintang, and this led to final victory and the proclamation of the people's Republic of China in 1949. Korea's liberation by the Soviet Army in August 1945 ensured the successful culmination of the Korean people's long struggle against Japanese colonialist oppression and cleared the way for a people's democratic revolution in the northern part of the country.

Progressive, anti-colonialist processes were accelerated in Southeast Asia and other regions of the continent. The August Revolution led to the formation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. State independence was consolidated by the peoples of Burma, Indonesia, India, the Philippines, and other countries.

The process of the emancipation of peoples from colonialist bondage became irreversible. But it took approximately another 25 years before imperialism's colonial system was entirely abolished and more than 100 independent states appeared on its ruins. Many of these states adopted the socialist orientation because it is the only road to all-sided progress and the consolidation of state sovereignty, economic independence, and equitable international cooperation.

Stressing the Victory's revolutionising significance, Jambyn Batmunkh, General Secretary of the MPRP Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the Great People's Khural, noted that the decisive role played in this Victory by the world's first socialist state, the USSR, largely determined the character of the world's postwar development. The world socialist system that came into being became the determining factor of our day.

The Soviet Union's principled and consistent policy aimed at consolidating the positive results of the Second World War helped to draw up the programme for the democratic restructuring of the postwar world. This was reflected in the decisions adopted at Tehran, Yalta, and Potsdam and in the formation of the United Nations Organisation.

For the Mongolian People's Republic, the first Asian nation that shook off colonialist oppression under the direct impact of the Great October Revolution, the provision of the 1945 Yalta Conference on the preservation of the status quo of our country as the first of the conditions for the USSR's entry into the war against Japan

was of inestimable significance. The Soviet Union's immutable stand in defence of Mongolia's sovereignty and national interests along with our policy of peace and the contribution we were able to make to the struggle of the anti-fascist democratic forces compelled the major capitalist power to reconsider their long-standing policy of discriminating against Mongolia.

Relying on fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union and on its all-sided assistance, our republic was able to speed up the war-interrupted rate of peaceful construction and our society's transformation. Mongolia became a strong link of the world socialist community and consummated the final transition to socialism without going through the stage of capitalist development.

At the new phase the country substantially strengthened its economic potential and implemented important social programmes, thereby visibly raising the population's living standard and cultural level. To a large extent, this was facilitated by Mongolia's membership of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

The further expansion of cooperation and all-sided drawing together with the Soviet Union and other socialist community nations and the broader participation in socialist economic integration are significantly boosting the rate of progress in Mongolia. In the course of only four years of the current five-year plan period gross social output increased by 33 per cent and the national income rose by 30 per cent. The annual output growth rate was 9.8 per cent in industry and 14.6 per cent in agriculture (compared with analogous indicators for the previous five-year plan period). This dynamic increment is creating realistic conditions for the further gradual drawing together and levelling up of the economic development of the Mongolian People's Republic to that of the other CMEA member-states.

In this context we attach particularly great significance to the decisions adopted by the CMEA June 1984 Economic Summit in Moscow. This summit defined the cardinal objectives of long-term economic cooperation within our community, one of which is to bring the economic development of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, Cuba, and Mongolia up to the level of the other CMEA partners. At the 40th CMEA session held last June it was decided to give special consideration to the question of deepening cooperation with these three countries at a sitting of the Council.

The Soviet Union's great Victory and its efforts to preserve peace and ensure the conditions for the progress of nations have contributed enormously to the unprecedented enhancement of the role and significance of the liberated nations on the world scene. We have witnessed the full confirmation of Lenin's forecast that 'the period of the awakening of the East in the contemporary revolution is being succeeded by a period in which all the Eastern people will participate in deciding the destiny of the whole world, so as not to be simply objects of the enrichment of others'.² The voice of peoples who are upholding their freedom and independence with reliance on the powerful support of the socialist community is acquiring increasing weight. They are more and more actively advocating equal international cooperation, peaceful coexistence, and the strengthening of security because that is the only way to ensure the successful development of new states.

The new alignment of forces in the world, the successes of, in particular, the people's democratic revolutions and the national liberation movements on the Asian continent, and the reinforcement of their alliance with socialism are seen by the reactionary forces of imperialism, notably of the USA, as menacing the existing structures of international relations.

In this situation the US doctrine of 'containing communism', formulated in 1947 for Europe, has been spread to Asia and complemented with the concept of 'rolling back', i.e., the use of the most callous ways and means of fighting the forces of socialism and national liberation, including direct military intervention. Extreme manifestations of this policy were the undisguised aggressive actions in Southeast Asia and the Far East

against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The barbaric methods employed in these wars by the US militarists are well known to the world. The most shameless of these people time and again went so far as to urge the use of nuclear weapons. During the past 40 years Asia has witnessed more than 40 wars and major military conflicts and clashes undertaken by the imperialist powers themselves or by their local reactionary puppets.

Thanks to the determined and all-sided support from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and also from the democratic forces of the world the peoples of the new states have been able to repulse imperialism's policy of pressure and interference and forestall its plans for aggression.

In Asia the 1970s saw further major successes by the national liberation and revolutionary struggle. The quenching of the hotbed of war in Indochina was an event of exceptional significance. The victory of the Vietnamese people, the formation of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, and the success of the people's revolutions in Laos and Kampuchea, which embarked upon socialist development, dramatically changed the international political situation in the southeast of the continent. With the start of the process of eradicating the effects of the Indo-Pakistani conflict the prerequisites began to be created for good neighbourly relations and peaceful cooperation among the states in South Asia. The new favourable trends were seen in the break-up of the military-political Southeast Asian Treaty Organisation and the collapse of the bloc policy on the continent as a whole, in the triumph of the people's revolution in Afghanistan, and in the overthrow of the reactionary shah's regime in Iran.

However, for the US strategists Asia remains a key spring-board of confrontation with the forces of national liberation and progress. The US ruling circles have proclaimed vast territories as a sphere of their 'vital interests' and are trying to compensate for the decline of their influence by expansion and interference. Moreover, they rank Asia and the Pacific second to Europe as a theatre of military-political confrontation with the socialist world. For that reason they have here a network of military bases and strongpoints and maintain their largest, after their contingent in Western Europe, military force armed with the latest weaponry, including nuclear weapons.

A key role in forming an 'Eastern front' is assigned to Japan. On its territory there now are over 118 US bases and other military installations manned by more than 50,000 troops. The Japanese government has permitted US nuclear-armed warships to use Japan's ports and US nuclear-bomb-carrying aircraft to use its airfields. US F-16 fighter-bombers capable of carrying nuclear weapons have been deployed at the Misawa air base (in the north of Honshu) since last April.

Japan is increasingly becoming involved in the USA's global military strategy through the growth of its own armed forces which to this day are called 'self-defence forces' for purposes of camouflage. The territory of their operation is widening. Japan's armed forces are rated now the fifth or sixth most powerful in the capitalist world and their fire-power is far superior to that of the imperial army of World War II times.

Japan's intensive rearmament and its conversion into a US nuclear springboard are taking place in contravention of important provisions of its Constitution: renunciation in perpetuity of war as a means of settling international disputes; renunciation of the formation of any kind of armed forces; and the commitment to refrain from manufacturing, acquiring, or possessing nuclear weapons. All this is accompanied by a vocal campaign conducted by reaction with the purpose of revising the results of the Second World War and postwar political realities. Claims are being made to so-called northern territories, which are part of the USSR, and attempts are being made to whitewash the war crimes of the militarists who were in power at the time. Japan's ruling circles are moving towards the creation of a Washington-Tokyo-Seoul 'triangle'

and its conversion into the core of the planned broader bloc — the 'Pacific Community'.

The fact that imperial ambitions of this sort are being revived is making the peoples justifiably anxious. They still have fresh memories of the 'Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere' which the Japanese military tried to bring on their bayonets. A movement is gathering momentum in Asia and the Pacific against the imperialist alliance and the war preparations. It embraces the ASEAN and even ANZUS states and is making headway in Oceania and Micronesia. Progressive forces of the Japanese people, who experienced incalculable suffering on account of Tokyo's militarist gambles, are militantly opposing Japan's inclusion in the Pentagon's global strategy.

Ignoring the lessons of history, the US ruling circles have proclaimed another 'crusade' against communism. They are stepping up their war preparations, escalating the arms race, fanning revanchism in Europe and Asia, and trying to dictate their will to the peoples of the whole world. As we see it, in the present tense situation a dependable barrier to the monstrous plans of plunging humanity into a thermonuclear catastrophe can be created only by vigorous, united actions by all the peace forces.

The imperialist policy of aggression and war is opposed by the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries with a policy aimed at preserving peace and strengthening security. The efforts to promote goodneighbourly relations and peaceful cooperation between the states of Asia and the Pacific are an inalienable part of this policy. Precisely this is the objective of the Soviet proposals for confidence-building measures in the Far East, the Pacific, and the Indian Ocean. Concern for safeguarding peace in different regions of Asia motivates the constructive programme of Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea for turning Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, stability and cooperation, and the statements of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea urging a peaceful settlement on the Korean peninsula on the condition that US troops are withdrawn.

India and other non-aligned nations have come forward with initiatives to normalise the situation on the Asian continent.

Together with the fraternal socialist countries and other peace-loving nations, Mongolia is working tirelessly to safeguard peace and security. A concrete manifestation of this is Mongolia's proposal, made in May 1981, for drawing up and signing a convention on mutual non-aggression and the non-use of force in the relations between states of Asia and the Pacific. The considerations guiding the Mongolian government were set out in the Address of the Great People's Khural of Mongolia to the parliaments of Asian and Pacific nations, and also in messages to the heads of state and government of 50 countries, including the permanent members of the UN Security Council.

There was a wide response to this proposal as being consistent with the interests of peoples and countries and motivated by the present-day realities on the continent. It dovetails with the steps to build up confidence and promote cooperation among states in different parts of Asia and the Pacific. Underlying all these initiatives, advanced on a national, regional, and world scale, is the overriding striving to codify the principle of the non-use of force in international relations in and beyond Asia.

Today there is an urgent need for closer unity among all people who cherish peace in order to translate these constructive ideas into reality; practical bilateral and multilateral steps must be taken to achieve a global settlement of Asian problems. The proposals for a comprehensive approach to issues of security on our continent and for combining the efforts of Asian states to settle these issues made by Mikhail Gorbachov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at his recent meeting with Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi are of fundamental significance in this context.

There has been a wide affirmative response in many countries, including Mongolia,

to the new Soviet Initiative. 'In our opinion,' said Jambyn Batmunkh, General Secretary of the MPRP Central Committee, and Chairman of Mongolia's Great People's Khural, 'further concrete steps in this direction in a spirit of goodwill and cooperation can lead to an all-Asia forum for the joint consideration of the problems worrying the peoples of Asia.'³

The Soviet Union and other fraternal countries unfailingly support the national liberation struggle and repulse all forms of imperialist aggression. This course is now particularly significant when the reactionary circles, chiefly of the USA, are seeking to play the master in foreign countries, dictate their will to them, making claims to a 'right' to deal summarily with 'unsuitable' public movements and with whole peoples on the pretext of crushing 'terrorism'.

Any revolution, Lenin pointed out, can make successful headway only if there is 'the closest alliance' between the peoples taking the road of struggle for socialism and the working class that has already triumphed.⁴ Experience shows that without this it is impossible to stand up against the imperialist counter-revolution. The strengthening of the alliance and cooperation between the forces of socialism and national liberation is a historically objective process serving the interests of social progress.

Profoundly analysing the lessons and experience of the past war, the MPRP and the whole Mongolian people together with fraternal parties and peoples and with all other people of goodwill in the world are resolutely urging a further expansion and consolidation of the world-wide front of fighters against the diabolical intrigues and sinister designs of imperialist reaction, for the triumph of reason over madness, of peace over war. There is today no more important task than to safeguard our planet, the common home of humanity, against a nuclear holocaust.

³ *Japanese Militarism*, Moscow, 1972, p. 230 (in Russian).

² V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 160.

³ *News of Mongolia*, June 5, 1985 (in Mongolian).

⁴ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 146.

For a 'Bridge of Peace and Good-Neighbourliness'

Haydar Kutlu – CC General Secretary,
Communist Party of Turkey (CPT)

IN commenting on the place of Turkey in NATO plans, strategists of the bloc often refer to it metaphorically. Defence Minister Manfred Wörner of the FRG, for one, sees our country as a 'bridge between Europe and Asia which connects the links of a chain stretching to the Indian Ocean'.¹ With NATO politicians and generals, the stereotype 'strategic bridge' indicates the purely military role assigned to Turkey under the North Atlantic pact, its transformation into a bridgehead from which the bloc can threaten the security of neighbours and spread discord and enmity.

We are emphatically against this conception of the place and role of our country on the international scene. Assuming that Turkey is a 'bridge', we would like it to be a 'bridge of friendship, cooperation and peace'. 'To preserve peace is the most important global task today,' says the CPT Programme adopted by the Fifth Party Congress in

November 1983. 'The Communists, who are always in the forefront of the struggle against oppression and exploitation, are also among the foremost champions of peace and the most important human right, the right to life. . . The defence of peace is inseparable from the fight against imperialism and for democracy and social progress.'² Our party proceeds from this in assessing the situation in Turkey, deciding on its approach to diverse political forces and acting together with the masses in the anti-war movement.

Turkey finds itself entirely dependent on US imperialism, which is escalating the arms race, deploying offensive nuclear weapons systems near the borders of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, virtually militarising space and conducting a 'crusade' against socialism and peoples defending peace and fighting for national and social liberation. US imperialism imposes an adventurist, aggressive policy on Turkey. Our country ranks third after Israel and Egypt as a recipient of US military aid. In 1986 alone, Washington plans to grant Ankara 785 million dollars for 'military needs', or nearly twice as much as it granted annually five years ago.

This is, in effect, a handout to the Turkish government in recompense for allowing the USA to site on Turkish territory military bases directed against the Soviet Union, other socialist countries and Middle East nations. The number of these bases, including airfields and ports of call for ships of the US Sixth Fleet, radio intercept and radar stations, intelligence centres and dumps, has topped 60. An AWACS³ has been functioning at Karaman since 1983.

Most of the US military bases in Turkey cover a vast area encompassing the Eastern Mediterranean, Red Sea and Middle East. This is not merely a potential threat to peace. It is from Turkish territory that the USA has for years been carrying out military provocations and acts of piracy as well as planned large-scale actions involving the use of force. The US troops which landed in Lebanon in 1958 started from the Incirlik and Balikesir bases. In 1960 US planes sent on espionage missions over Soviet territory took off from Incirlik airfield. In 1970 'experts' and arms to be assigned for suppressing the Palestinian people's struggle were airlifted from US bases in Turkey to Amman. In 1980 Washington used Incirlik and Balikesir for a dismally unsuccessful attempt to 'free the American hostages in Tehran'. Lastly, when US Marines invaded Lebanon and US ships shelled Lebanese villages (1983), it was from Incirlik that the invaders were reinforced and supplied with ammunition.⁴

There are US nuclear weapons on our soil. New nuclear warheads and shells were first stored here after 1980. Dozens of US planes carrying weapons of mass destruction are based on our airfields. Turkish troops stationed around US bases guard them against our own people. Yet many bases are off limits to Turkish sentinels and even Turkish generals known for their devotion to Washington. To push a button in order to set off a nuclear weapon is the exclusive right of the United States. This implies that Turkey could be wiped out instantly as the result of a retaliatory strike. And facts of recent date suggest that the USA is going to build up and renew its nuclear arsenal in Turkey and not to reduce it.

The Pentagon has included the US military bases on Turkish territory in its space militarisation programme. One of the tasks of the US spaceship *Discovery*, now being tested, is to put Star Wars satellites in orbit over the Black Sea, according to Turkish press reports.⁵ These satellites are also serviced by US bases on Turkish soil.

The Turkish regime was among these that responded with servile alacrity to Washington's appeal to NATO countries to join in making and carrying out Star Wars plans. 'Turkey has said yes to Star Wars.' Defence Minister Zeki Yavuztürk stated. Foreign Minister Vahit Halefoglu was just as outspoken. 'We cannot stay out of Star Wars,' he said.⁶ Turkish opinion is understandably troubled by utterances of this nature.

Our country is tied to the USA by numerous treaties and agreements. The Pentagon

uses them in trying to chain Turkey even faster to the US war machine. Under a treaty signed on March 5, 1959 and still in force, the USA has a right to invade Turkey if its people bring to power a government that does not suit Washington. Immediately after the military coup on September 12, 1980, the new regime signed a treaty of 'defence and cooperation' with the USA virtually aimed at building up armaments and making Ankara act on instructions from overseas, since it provided for the preservation of the Pentagon bases on Turkish soil and the equipment of the Turkish army with US arms on onerous terms. In 1982 the military dictatorship signed a 'Memorandum of Concord' with the Reagan administration. This resulted in building new US multipurpose bases at Mus and Batman (north-eastern Turkey) to be used, in particular, as transit points for transferring US 'rapid deployment forces' to the Middle East.

The strategic location of Turkey, seen by NATO as unique because our country borders on socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union, controls the Bosphorus and Dardanelles straits and lies close to a number of Arab countries and to Iran, is used by leaders of the present regime as the chief trump card in bargaining with Washington and the NATO leadership. President Kenan Evren and other generals linked with the Pentagon and NATO headquarters, as well as Prime Minister Turgut Özal and his entourage, who have imposed on Turkey a set of commitments to international financial capital, have nothing against turning our country into a Pentagon outpost near the southern frontiers of the Soviet Union and Balkan socialist states, but this costs more and more money. 'If NATO wants to strengthen its southeastern flanks,' Özal said before his trip to the USA, 'it must help Turkey, which has a long frontier with the Soviet Union and Bulgaria. To this end we need more money than we have been getting from the USA.' Evren said much the same, if in hazier terms, by describing the US policy of militarising Turkey as 'common values and ideals' and further US handouts, as 'mutual assistance in the defence system we belong to'.⁸

N. Ürüg, Chief of the Turkish General Staff, shows particular zeal in serving Washington, so much so that the Reagan administration has decorated him with an order. Before the Turkish Prime Minister paid his visit to the United States, Ürüg's office prepared a report recommending to transfer to our country the US bases which the Greek people want to be dismantled. The report hinted at US subsidies, noting that 'every service must be paid for'.⁹ In short, the Turkish military are willing to put the country at the service of US imperialism. A manifestation of this policy was the proclamation of a separatist entity in northern Cyprus. The purpose of the move is to undermine the existence of Cyprus as an independent, territorially integral and non-aligned state, an equal member of the UN. All this incites chauvinism and plays into the hands of the Washington hegemonists.

In view of this situation, our struggle for peace is aimed specifically at abolishing the US bases in Turkey and abrogating its disgraceful, shackling treaties with the United States, which constitute a real threat to the security of our people.

It is evident that today the deliverance of Turkey from US control, the vindication in its policy of the principles of peaceful coexistence with neighbours, primarily the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, solidarity with the peoples of the region and the settlement of differences with Greece by negotiation are linked with the solution of the problem of restoring, defending and furthering democracy.

Turkey is a country where people defending anti-war ideals are persecuted with particular ferocity and where members of the Society of Peace Supporters are tried and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. The regime regards the defence of peace and the advocacy of friendship among nations as a common crime. It prohibits all mention of the ideals of peace at rallies and other meetings. At the same time, the official media spread openly and in the most diverse forms vicious lies and calumnies borrowed from US and NATO centres of psychological warfare. The regime allows the propagation of

chauvinist, racist and aggressively militarist views by any means.

The outsider may imagine that Turkey has parliamentary government. Actually parliament has no supreme authority. It is in the hands of a small group exercising power at will. As for the Constitution, it recognises no democratic institutions and enables the minority dictatorship to manoeuvre in order to prolong its rule.

There is no government body in Turkey on which one could rely for support in seeking democratic rights and freedoms or their maintenance and extension. Neither parliament with the parties represented in it and enjoying a privileged position by the dictatorship's will, nor the so-called Constitutional Court, nor yet other legal institutions may be said to protect democracy. They are not seen as such by either the forces demanding peace and democracy, or the Turkish people as a whole. The existence of the opposition parties barred from parliament, the trade unions which the regime has not yet dissolved and some newspapers is in permanent danger.

There is a ban on strikes, the public expression of opinions differing from the official one, free elections, rallies and demonstrations. Every citizen can be arbitrarily seized and jailed without trial for months or even years. Many of the arrested are tortured. Those who succeed in regaining freedom are not really free because the police has their 'political views' on file. Regardless of whether a person was a worker, office employee, student or university lecturer before his arrest, the authorities force him out of public life.¹⁰

As the result of reorganisation the Turkish state apparatus is centralised to the utmost and wields powers of a fascist-type state. The agencies directly controlled by the President of the Republic and the 'constitutional authority' vested in him enable him to interfere in the affairs of the government and parliament. The top military likewise enjoy unlimited authority. Persons heading administrative entities have the same powers as are granted to commandants under martial law. Not surprisingly, they proceed in an arbitrary manner, referring to 'authorisation' from higher up.

These are facts that the regime is at pains to conceal from world opinion. Such is the nature of Turkish 'parliamentary' government today.

However, no amount of terror or repression can break the will of real patriots or make them revise their views and convictions.¹¹ It is primarily they whose struggles and efforts help make Turkey a 'bridge of peace and good-neighbourliness'. Speaking to a military court (at a trial that dragged on from 1982 to 1984), Mahmut Dikerdem, Chairman of the Society of Peace Supporters, upheld the ideas of peaceful coexistence and emphasised the need to fight for a future without war, for life, against nuclear death. A courageous fighter, he did not give up an inch of his position. His example was followed by the other participants in the anti-war movement who were tried along with him.

At a second trial of members of the same society, in November 1984, Aziz Nesin, an author of world renown, said that he did not feel guilty in the least and would not hesitate to set up a new peace committee even though anti-war activity was punishable by long sentences¹². Patriots who fight staunchly, even in a courtroom, influence people's thinking and help disseminate the ideas of peace under dictatorial rule.

The people's protest movement against war was spurred by the fight against the deployment of nuclear arms on Turkish territory. The nuclear planning group of NATO held a regular meeting in Izmir in April 1984. The news that the group was discussing the problem of siting new nuclear weapons in Turkey caused a strong public outcry. Both Communists and other left-wingers condemned NATO's intentions. The three bourgeois opposition parties — the Social Democracy Party, Party of the Right Path and Prosperity Party — took a stand against the deployment of US missiles in Turkey, which poses a threat to national security and is fraught with involving the country in a nuclear war.

The militarisation policy meets resistance among the most diverse forces. The press

has criticised the regime's favourite proposition that to strengthen its defences, Turkey must modernise its army with US aid. Shortly before Özal's trip to Washington, Left Unity¹³ called on the people to oppose the prolongation of the Turkish-US treaty of 'defence and cooperation' which the two sides are now negotiating. Spokesmen of some bourgeois opposition parties condemn US 'military aid', which Washington uses, moreover, as a means of pressure on our country.

Turkey's Communists are in the forefront of the fight for peace under dictatorial rule. Over a thousand patriots have been sentenced to imprisonment (some for as long as 17 years) merely because they are CPT members. Our party constantly tells the people the truth about events at home and abroad and describes current trends, revealing the gravity of the war danger threatening the world and Turkey. The CPT shows that in our region this threat comes from the US Rapid Deployment Force, offered unlimited opportunities in Turkey for acts of aggression. Things have reached a point where US servicemen at the Pentagon's bases are entrusted with police functions. On March 13, 1985, US troops at Incirlik violated the law by attacking with dogs workers who refused to be searched. Nine workers were gravely wounded.

Risking arrest, torture or even death, Communists use their publications to tell the people about the ongoing fight for peace. Party activists in Adana and other southern cities prepared and circulated a leaflet on the utilisation of the Incirlik base for the transfer of US troops assigned to crush the struggle of the Lebanese people. In April 1984 the Izmir City Committee of the CPT produced, in collaboration with the local organisation of the Workers' Party of Turkey, a leaflet exposing the militarist aims of the meeting of the NATO nuclear planning group mentioned earlier.

Our party considers that the only way to transform Turkey into a 'bridge of peace and good-neighbourliness' is to combat anti-Sovietism and chauvinism. Operating under a brutal dictatorship, Communists open the people's eyes to the peace policy of the Soviet Union and the significance and prospects of Turkish-Soviet friendship. They are working to show that unquestioning nationalism over problems like those of Cyprus or Turkish-Greek relations only serves the interests of those who have made Turkey a plaything in the imperialists' hands.

The ideas of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism give Communists strength in their fight. Our party will celebrate its 65th anniversary this year under the slogan 'For a democratic Turkey and a stronger CPT'. On the occasion of the anniversary, we are carrying on a campaign under the watchword "Build up the CPT". The campaign began with a statement by veteran Communists saying that the party has 'never departed from the fundamental line of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, nor evaded defence of the interests of the working class and peasants or the national interests of the people'.¹⁴

As we see it, Turkey is ruled by a fascist regime. Experience has shown that even in these conditions there are many forces fighting courageously for peace. They belong to a very wide political spectrum ranging from the Communist Party and other illegal left-wing parties to legal bourgeois opposition parties. On analysing the situation, the Fourth Plenum of the CC CPT pointed out that these forces can and should conduct a dialogue and cooperate extensively on the basis of common demands. It stressed that we now have the prerequisites for uniting all who are opposed to the dictatorship and declare for a foreign policy of peace, the abrogation of fettering Turkish-US agreements and the development of relations with all countries, especially our neighbours, on the principles of equality and mutual benefit, for the solution of the Cyprus problem and the problem of the Aegean region by negotiation, the defence of national independence and the consolidation of world peace.

The Evren/Özal dictatorship is losing ground, as developments suggest. Attempts to disguise the nature of this regime by means of 'parliamentary' camouflage have miscarried. More and more important forces are rallying in support of the demand for

democratic changes. In these circumstances our party is striving to ensure that all anti-dictatorial forces from Left Unity to the bourgeois opposition parties act together to remove the regime and establish national democratic rule.

We realise that the measures which the CPT adopts are not enough for success. The class enemy is organised internationally as well. This is why, we too, need solid unity, close cooperation with the peace forces in other countries and constant fraternal solidarity to make a tangible contribution to the movement against nuclear war.

An issue highly relevant for our party is that of strengthening the unity of the world communist movement as the basis for the unification of all anti-imperialist forces. The CPT considers that to preserve peace, it is necessary to raise coordination of the work of fraternal parties to the highest plane. This will enable the forces of progress to resist all the more effectively the imperialist policy of 'social revanche', which is directed against both the international communist movement and the national liberation struggle. We attach great importance to the specific proposals for closer unity of the international communist movement unanimously approved in January 1985 by the conference of the Communist and workers' parties of the Eastern Mediterranean, the Near and Middle East and the Red Sea area.¹⁵

Operating underground, the CPT advocates the national unity of all democratic forces, as we have noted. Obviously, the stronger the communist movement and the closer its unity, the more convincing our call will sound inside the country. Conversely, there is ample evidence that the class enemy exploits any unsolved problem of our movement to spread anti-communist falsehoods and assail existing socialism. The regime takes advantage of these problems in an effort to intimidate us Turkish Communists who are fighting to break through torture our will for resistance. The same problems are misinterpreted by opportunists with a view to splitting the Left, which they have also tried inside the CPT.

World developments confront all the communist and workers' parties with new tasks in the fight for peace, democracy and social progress. How are we going to fulfil them? Collective discussion, exchanges of opinion and experience are imperative. To be sure, discussion can be fruitful only if it serves to strengthen unity against the common class enemy.

Imperialism and its propaganda media exert enormous pressure on some communist and workers' parties, trying in various ways to induce them to keep 'equidistant' from socialism and imperialism as well as from one another. Under the Turkish dictatorship, 'recommendations' of this nature are also made in disguised forms with regard to the CPT. The bourgeois press expresses in various ways the idea that the country needs a communist party keeping 'equidistant' from the two social systems and opposed to 'Soviet Marxism'. The best answer to this is to go on building up the unity of the world communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in the name of peace and social progress.

Our party contributes its share to this struggle by working to creatively apply Marxism-Leninism in Turkey, increase its influence on the left movement and foster proletarian internationalism in contrast to bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism. We popularise the historic achievements of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and show the decisive role which they are playing in today's world, in the fight for the social liberation of peoples.

The CPT position is clear — we consider that Turkey can be a 'bridge of peace and good-neighbourliness'. To this end it is essential to steadily extend left unity in the interest of the triumph of national democracy and to build up the cohesion of the international communist movement as a means of promoting peace in our region and throughout the planet. This is what we Turkish Communists want and what we are fighting for.

¹ *Tercüman*, March 29, 1984.

² *Türkiye Komünist Partisi. Program*, p. 16.

³ Short for Airborne Warning and Control System, adopted by the armed forces of some NATO countries. — *Ed.*

⁴ *Milliyet*, February 9, 1984; *Hürriyet*, February 11, 1984.

⁵ See *Günaydin*, January 30, 1985.

⁶ See *Cumhuriyet*, May 3, 1985, and *Milliyet*, June 6, 1985, respectively.

⁷ *Milliyet*, March 25, 1985.

⁸ *Hürriyet*, February 9, 1985.

⁹ *Milliyet*, February 27, 1985.

¹⁰ In June 1985 the Evren/Özal regime passed a law authorising the police to phone-tap, open private correspondence, close down theatres, ban public organisations, detain 'suspects' without charge and even fire on people where police believe this to be 'necessitated by the situation'.

¹¹ In spite of the harsh political conditions prevailing in the country, a 40,000 strong demonstration took place in Istanbul on June 9 last under the slogan 'We demand jobs, bread and democracy'. The square where the participants met was cordoned off with several lines of sub-machine-guns. Everybody who arrived for the action was subjected to a humiliating search. The police openly drew up black lists and photographed the demonstrators. About a hundred of them were held. Nail Gorman, deputy General Secretary of the Social Democratic Party, was jailed. Nevertheless, for the first time since the 1980 coup, the people came out openly against the hated regime.

¹² *Tercüman*, January 22, 1985.

¹³ A coalition formed in December 1984 and grouping, besides the CPT, the Vanguard Workers' Party of Kurdistan, Workers' Party of Turkey, Communist Labour Party of Turkey, Socialist Party of Turkish Kurdistan and Socialist Workers' Party of Turkey. — *Ed.*

¹⁴ *Atilim*, January 15, 1984.

¹⁵ For these proposals, see *WMR*, No. 4, 1985, p. 79.

Socio-Economic Development: Strategy of Acceleration

Academician Abel Aganbegyan —
Chairman, Commission for the Study of the
Productive Forces, Presidium, USSR Academy
of Sciences

THE Soviet society is going through a responsible stage of its advance: preparations are under way for the next, 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to be held in February 1986. It is to adopt a new edition of the CPSU Programme and to decide on the guidelines for the country's economic and social development over the twelfth five-year plan period (1986-1990) and for the period until the year 2000.

In the run-up to the Congress, work is proceeding on the starting positions of the party's economic strategy formulating some fundamentally new propositions in the light of the specific features of the present period, while retaining a measure of continuity.

A conception for accelerating the USSR's economic and social development was formulated by the April 1985 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU CC; it was further elaborated and argued in depth by General Secretary of the CPSU CC Mikhail Gorbachov in his report at a conference on accelerating scientific and technical progress, and envisages not only a substantial increase in the rate of economic growth, but also a new kind of growth, a revolutionary advance in the development of socialist

production, its switch to intensive lines, a major structural modification of the economy, a radical improvement of the whole economic mechanism and fuller solution of social problems.

The strategic line being elaborated is underpinned by our country's vast production, scientific, technical and personnel potential, and is closely bound up with the trends of the preceding period. Let us recall that after the Second World War, despite the ruinous damage, the Soviet economy advanced at a high rate: from 1950, the national income multiplied almost tenfold, and real income per head — fivefold; over the past three decades, we have, on the whole, been developing twice and three times as fast as the leading capitalist countries, that being a manifestation of the advantages of socialism with its balanced organisation.

From the early 1970s, there was a slowdown in the production-resources increase, an important factor behind the sustained high dynamism of the Soviet national economy, a process of which the following data gives an idea:

	Production-Resources Dynamic (five-year increment; per cent)		
	Ninth Five-Year Period (1971-1975)	Tenth Five-Year Period (1976-1980)	Eleventh Five-Year Period (1981-1985)x
Fixed production assets	52	43	35
Capital investments	43	28	16
Fuel and raw material output	25	10	7
Numbers employed in material production	6	4	2

x Estimate

We find that capital-investment-growth rate is down by more than 2.5-fold, the main reason being a shrinking of the share of accumulation in the country's national income owing to the need to ensure a more rapid growth of the consumption fund to raise the people's well-being, with the result that fixed-production-assets-growth rate has also been somewhat slowed down.

The increase-rate in the output of fuel and raw materials is down by over 3.5-fold, which is due to a worsening of geological mining and economic conditions of extraction, the depletion of old deposits in the European part of the USSR, and the need to relocate the extractive industry into sparsely populated northern and eastern regions.

With every five-year plan period, the number of persons employed in material production has tended to increase at an ever slower rate, mainly owing to the demographic consequences of the war. Just now the children of those who were born in the war years, when the birth rate had sharply fallen, are entering their working age; meanwhile, those who had not fought in the war are now retiring on pension, and they are twice and three times as numerous as old-age pensioners who are war veterans; as a result, in every five-year plan period we found ourselves short of roughly eight million working persons as compared with the previous one.

It is a well-known fact that the end results of economic activity are embodied in the national income, which is increased both through the operation of extensive factors (build-up of production resources) and of intensive factors (higher efficiency of social production).

Economists estimate the synthetic indicators of the USSR's national-income growth as follows:¹

Dynamic of National Income and its Growth Factors
(five-year increment; per cent)

	Ninth Five-Year Period (1971-1975)	Tenth Five-Year Period (1976-1980)	Eleventh Five-Year Period (1981-1985)x
National income going into consumption and accumulation	28	21	18
Production resources	21	13	10
Efficiency of social production	6	7	7
Share of intensive factors in national-income increment	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{3}$	$\frac{2}{5}$

x Estimate

The table shows that over the past 10-15 years, the economic situation has undergone a radical change. Some difficulties began to be felt in the country's economic development, the main reason being, as it was said at the April 1985 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU CC, that not enough perseverance was displayed in modifying structural policy, and forms and methods of management and administration, and that the measures taken were half-hearted, inconsistent and not carried to the end. As a result, momentum continued to carry economic development mainly on an extensive basis, and as the increment of production resources dwindled, the national-economic dynamic was likewise slowed down.

The programme for accelerating economic and social development provides an increase in the USSR's national-income growth from three to at least four per cent a year in the immediate period ahead, and subsequently to an even higher level. That is no easy task because the resource increment over the next, twelfth and subsequent five-year plan periods will continue to decline, and it follows that the desired acceleration can be attained only by making the economy more efficient, so as both to compensate for the decline and to increase the rate of national-income growth. The labour-productivity-growth rate is also to be raised substantially (1.5-2.0 fold), while the rate of fuel-and-raw-material consumption per final-product unit is to be reduced twice as fast, and the trend towards a lowering of the product-to-assets ratio in the national economy is to be overcome. The twelfth five-year plan period is to be a crucial one in every respect, it was stressed at the April 1985 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU CC.

Making the economy more dynamic, switching it to the lines of intensification, and boosting efficiency in every way are regarded as the crucial condition for the further development of the Soviet society and the main line of social progress. Our country has no other alternative. The USSR's historical fortunes and the positions of socialism in the world depend directly on the successful pursuit of the envisaged line.

The need for a substantial acceleration of economic and social development is dictated above all by the Soviet Union's internal requirements: solution of pressing social problems, further improvement of the quality of life, and consolidation of its socialist principles. The long-term objective is a substantial increase in the rate of growth of the population's real incomes. Our society is tackling such urgent tasks as attaining scientifically-grounded nutrition norms, more fully satisfying the demand for consumer durables, improving their quality, and expanding the sphere of the services and construction of housing, social amenities and everyday facilities. Much remains to be done for health protection and development of education and culture, and this will require considerable additional funds, which will also be needed for an increase in pensions and improvement of life for the elderly. Much also remains to be done for the priority improvement of the welfare of families with children, notably full satisfaction

of the demand for child-welfare institutions, where places will be available free of charge or at a discount.

The need to accelerate economic and social development is also urged by external circumstances, and in his lifetime Lenin kept stressing that socialism will exert its influence on the surrounding world mainly by its economic policy and its economic and social achievements.

The task has been set to raise social-labour productivity to the highest world levels, and to make the Soviet Union's economy a model of organisation and efficiency, an embodiment of the obvious advantages of the socialist economic system, providing the highest living standard and quality of life for the people.

If the USSR's economy is to be more dynamic, economic growth must be faster than that of the United States and other industrialised capitalist countries, which means a narrowing of the economic-development gap.

Another task is more rapidly to expand the USSR's foreign trade, involving deep structural changes to make export and import trade more progressive. A mutually advantageous international division of labour, primarily within the socialist community, is a realistic way to enhance the efficiency of production. Of the utmost importance is complete economic independence from the capitalist powers along strategic lines, and invulnerability to the discriminatory measures to which the United States and some other countries resort. Besides, the aggressive policy of imperialism makes the USSR strengthen its defence capability and maintain military-strategic parity with the United States, which entails considerable outlays.

The speeding up of economic and social development is, therefore, of primary political, economic and social importance for our society, both internally and internationally. Does the Soviet Union have real potentialities for such an acceleration? Can it be done?

Yes, we do have the potentialities, and we look with optimism to the future. What is our confidence based on?

First, it is based on technico-economic computations and substantiations.

The USSR Academy of Sciences and the State Committee for Science and Technology have worked out a complex programme of scientific and technical progress and its economic and social consequences for the next twenty years. It shows the vast potentialities of radical advances in enhancing the efficiency of production, both in the individual sectors and spheres, and in the national economy as a whole. Draft guidelines for the country's economic and social development for the twelfth five-year plan period and until the year 2000 have been worked out in the light of that document.

Second, historical experience of economic management in the USSR and a number of other socialist countries, and also the results of large-scale economic pilot schemes under way in our country show that these tasks are realistic.²

Thus, in the eight five-year period (1966-1970) the rate of national-income and social-labour productivity growth was markedly increased, the unfavourable trend in the lowering of the product-to-assets ratio was in the main overcome, and considerable savings in fuel and raw materials obtained through the mustering of economic organisation and social reserves and potentialities.

The pace of the country's economic development was markedly slowed from 1979 to 1982, following an especially tangible decline in resources increment, and a string of crop failures, besides the sharpening international situation. The decisions of the November 1982 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU CC and the speech delivered at it by Yuri Andropov were a call on the party and the people to overcome the negative trends, with emphasis on the use of reserves and potentialities involving the tightening-up of order and discipline and greater support of the working people's initiatives. The results were quick to materialise: in 1983 and 1984, industrial output was up by 4.2 per cent (in

1982-3.0 per cent). In 1983 and 1984, agricultural output, which had remained on the same level over the preceding period, was up by 9.0 per cent. The important thing is that development was speeded up solely through faster labour productivity growth in every sector of the national economy. In industry, for instance, it went up by 3.6 per cent in 1983, and by 3.8 per cent in 1984, as compared with 2.1 per cent in 1982, so making it possible to increase — within two years — real incomes per head by 5.0 per cent, and to overfulfil the plans for the construction of housing, social amenities and everyday facilities.

The fulfilment of the plan for product deliveries to other sectors was markedly improved when the independence and responsibility of associations and enterprises was extended in the course of a large-scale economic pilot scheme, with the increment in output coming only from labour productivity and without any increase in the number of personnel, costs were additionally cut and other technical and economic indicators improved. But the potentialities have been used to less than the full extent and a deepening of the economic experiment will yield better results.

Third, the resolve of the CPSU Central Committee and its Political Bureau in seeking to bring about a turn in the country's economic and social development and fully implement all the projected measures, and also the Soviet People's unanimous support of the line make it certain that the tasks set by the party can be fulfilled.

How can a marked acceleration in economic development be achieved? There are two interrelated instruments for intensifying the economy which determine the rate of its growth. The first is to set in motion economic-organisation and social reserves, and above all to invigorate the human factor, where the returns can be obtained with relative speed and at minimum cost. But these reserves and potentialities, lying as they do closer to the surface, are limited. The main strategic instrument of intensification is a radical acceleration of scientific and technical progress. It takes time and sizable outlays to obtain an effect from extensive application of the latest scientific and technical achievements to production, but then the results are more significant and longer-lasting.

The substance of our party's conception is to mobilise the economic organisation and social reserves without delay, thereby giving an impetus to the country's economic and social development, while simultaneously preparing the conditions for a radical dynamisation of scientific and technical progress designed to pick up and deepen the incipient growth in the rate of Soviet economic development. That will require a radical improvement in the whole system of economic management.

The CPSU believes that it is especially important to rouse the people, awaken activity and labour enthusiasm for economic rationalisation and to get everyone to work with the utmost efficiency in his or her workplace. There are numerous examples to show that better organisation, tighter discipline, and a creative approach to the job in hand have made it possible — in the same material conditions — most substantially to enhance the efficiency of production, sometimes by tens of percentage points.

The collectives of 46 shops and sections, including executive engineers and technicians and all the other workers, at 15 enterprises in the city of Novosibirsk, adopted, for instance, a collective-labour organisation scheme by way of experiment, with the aggregate wages computed by results and distribution within the self-managing collective in accordance with each member's performance. Within the year labour productivity had gone up by 15 per cent and average wages, by 6 per cent, as compared with only 5 and 2.5 per cent, respectively, in shops and sections working the old way.

There is now a drive throughout the USSR for high, competitive product quality, which is rewarded by increments to wholesale prices; there is certification of mark-of-quality products, and price discounts for low-quality, uncompetitive products. The idea is to do more to standardise products and increase the incentives for raising

quality at every stage, from design through production to consumer utilisation. High quality is seen not only as multiplied quantity, but also as a synthetic indicator of the efficiency of production and better use of resources.

The CC Plenary Meeting in April 1985 and the conference at the CPSU CC on accelerating scientific and technical progress elaborated a new policy aimed to bring about a radical advance in scientific and technical progress and to turn it into the principal instrument of intensification.

Scientific and technical progress is a complex and multi-faceted phenomenon, including both an evolutionary improvement of the hardware and technology in place, and a revolutionary switch to fundamentally new technological schemes and latest-generation technical facilities yielding the utmost efficiency.

Up to now this progress has been flabby and, in effect, evolutionary in many sectors of the USSR economy, producing an insignificant improvement of technical and economic indicators. There was a prevalence of the assets-intensive type of scientific and technical progress, in which labour productivity was increased through an improvement of technology and modernisation of machinery and equipment requiring additional capital inputs. Meanwhile, the yield from assets tended to decline.

In the new conditions, revolutionary shifts in the scientific and technical revolution should predominate, the task being to put it through with the use of inherently socialist methods making full use of the advantages of the planned economy and the creative effort of people free from exploitation.

The scientific and technical revolution in our conditions is designed to ease working conditions, to make work more meaningful and creative and to raise the people's well-being.

The personnel becoming redundant in some sectors and individual industries owing to the mechanisation and automation of labour will be transferred to other sections in an orderly manner, where the state plans to create the necessary workplaces, while providing the conditions for the retraining of personnel. That is why the speeding of the scientific and technical revolution, notably robotisation and automation, will not produce any unemployment in our country.

When deciding on the long-term ways of effecting the scientific and technical revolution, one has to regard it as a complex and intricate socio-economic process, involving not only the integration of science, technology and production, but also deep changes in investments and the structure of the economy. The revolution in education, and in the entire system of training and retraining of personnel is a key component part of the scientific and technical revolution because the new hardware and technology call for a new type of worker. Of equal importance is the revolution in management and administration, the switch of planning and organisation to a scientific basis, introduction of effective forms of the economic mechanism, and the underpinning of management and control with progressive technical facilities in the form of computers and other clerical and managerial aids.

The shaping of an integral technological system in the context of each type of production based on a meshing series of the latest-generation machines and equipment is a law-governed uniformity of the scientific and technical revolution at the present stage. In contrast to the preceding technical level, it involves a switch from multiple-operation technology to high-intensive and reliable technologies performing only a few operations, the introduction of low-waste and waste-free technologies and complex mechanisation and automation.

In the process, there is something like a meshing of the modern industrial system with microelectronics to produce qualitatively new, highly flexible automated technological systems. Nowadays, it is microelectronics, instrument-making, computers and communication facilities — everything now falling within the informatics industry — that are becoming the true catalysts and most important

engines of scientific and technical progress.

Integral technological schemes naturally require a new collective organisation of production and labour, and more sophisticated management. What is now emerging could be called complex technological-economic systems designed to multiply labour productivity many times over, radically to reduce unit fuel, and raw and other material inputs, to raise the product-to-assets ratio and make capital investments more effective. The assets-intensive evolutionary scientific and technical progress gives way to an assets-saving type of technological systems.

The hydraulic extraction of coal, which is being developed in USSR pits, multiplies labour productivity 3-4 times while reducing unit capital investments by 20-30 per cent, and halving and more than halving the metal-intensiveness of coal mining, while simultaneously bringing about a substantial improvement in the miners' arduous working conditions. Rotor and rotor-conveyer lines developed in our country for mass production in engineering multiply labour productivity 5-10 times, with sizable cuts in the assets-intensiveness of production and in shopfloor space.

The switch from the cutting to the shaping of metal yields a vast saving of metal, while multiplying labour productivity in engineering over and over again. Soviet technology makes it possible to use more widely component-rolling mills, specialised super-high-pressure mini-presses, energy-intensive forging machines and other progressive hardware. The revolutionary technology of the continuous casting of steel, which was developed in the USSR and first used in our country twenty years ago, has now been substantially perfected and will also be broadly introduced in metallurgy.

These examples could be multiplied, but if the switch to modern technological systems is to be a massive one, with a tangible national economic effect, a steep rise in production efficiency and national-income growth rates, there is a need to arrange the extensive manufacture of a complex of new-generation machines and equipment to realise these high-efficiency technological systems. That means priority development of engineering and all the allied industries.

In the twelfth five-year plan period, the rate of growth in engineering is already to be raised through a 80-100 per cent increase in the capital investments going into the sector, which is to be the starting point for the structural remodelling of the economy on the basis of scientific and technical progress, with priority technical reconstruction and re-equipment of engineering production itself through more elaborate specialisation and cooperation and a markedly new product mix.

Large-scale technical reconstruction and re-equipment of all the sectors of the economy are to be effected on the basis of modern hardware and technology, with obsolete fixed production assets to be replaced by new and efficient ones. The functioning-assets-replacement coefficient is to be doubled over the next few years.

The line of technical reconstruction of the whole social production calls for a new investment and structural policy. Whereas two-thirds of production capital investments are now going into new construction and expansion of production, and only one-third into technical reconstruction and re-equipment, the share of the latter is to go up to at least one-half in the twelfth five-year plan period.

The new investment-and-structural policy also implies a redistribution of capital investment away from resource-extracting to resource-consuming sectors, with the development of economical technologies.

In view of the growing cost of fuel and raw materials, it has turned out to be 2-3 times more advantageous to invest funds in saving rather than extracting them, and that is why we have taken the line of rapidly switching road transport to diesel engines, which yield 30-40 per cent fuel economies, of in-depth timber processing, more complex use of ores and chemical raw materials, and the utmost recycling of waste resources. These spheres are to be given priority development.

Highly efficient and less-capital-intensive methods of raising crop yields and animal productivity, biotechnologies, the use of herbicides and the microbiological production of protein are to be given priority significance in the agrarian sector.

There is an extensive quest in the country for the most efficient organisational forms for integrating science and production, with emphasis on the organisation of powerful science-and-engineering centres within research-and-design subdivisions and plants, such as that at the Paton Institute of Electric Welding. Such centres for developing and widely introducing scientific and technical achievements are to be set up along many lines of scientific and technical progress.

Our country has some interesting experience in the operation of science-and-production associations which concentrate research-and-development organisations, and engineering and batch-production plants.

With the front-ranking associations as a model, new ones are to be set up to develop and widely introduce highly efficient technological systems like those described above.

A radical acceleration of scientific and technical progress naturally entails a growing role for science, which has a prominent place and a special status in our country and is an object of constant concern from the party and the state. The task now is to carry on priority development of basic research as a source of new knowledge and theoretical basis for fundamentally new technologies. The USSR Academy of Sciences is to attach greater importance to developing such research in the field of the technical sciences. Serious tasks also face scientists at higher academic institutions.

In applied science, the task is above all to integrate it with production, to consolidate its factory sector through the inclusion of research institutes and design offices in large production associations (in particular, using the experience of combines in the GDR) and the establishment of science-and-production associations.

The party documents of the recent period have given ever greater attention to developing a new approach to the forthcoming in-depth remodelling of planning, management and the entire economic mechanism.

The main lines on which this is to be done have already crystallised. The important thing is to gear the economic mechanism to enhancing the efficiency of the economy, and accelerating scientific and technical progress for the fuller satisfaction of social requirements. Another need is to overcome the producers' dictates to consumers, to make good the shortages in various areas and effectively to gear production to consumer demand.

Addressing the CPSU CC conference, Mikhail Gorbachev said: 'We must move along the line of further strengthening and developing democratic centralism. The fundamental substance of the restructuring is to make the centralised element in management and planning more effective, to give enterprises and associations more leeway for economic initiative and assumption of greater responsibility, and make more active use of more flexible forms and methods of management, economic calculus and commodity-money relations, of the whole arsenal of economic instruments and incentives.'

The objective has been set to complete, as soon as possible, the elaboration of an integral system of economic management and administration, so as to switch all the sectors of the economy to the new methods in the twelfth five-year plan period. This work is to be started in the upper echelons of administration.

National-economic planning is to be substantially improved and the role and responsibility of the USSR State Planning Committee is to be radically increased as the central unit of economic administration, with scientific and technical progress turned into the load-carrying structure of the entire national-economic plan.

A new proposal has been substantiated to set up administrative bodies to run large-scale national-economic complexes such as machine-building, fuel and energy, transport, agro-industrial and others.

In these conditions, there will be a substantial change in the role and functions of ministries, which will eschew petty tutelage of subordinate enterprises and organisations to concentrate their attention on long-term planning and the use of scientific and technical achievements. That will make it possible to effect large reductions in the managerial apparatus and do away with superfluous units. The whole of day-to-day economic work is to be centred in the localities, associations and enterprises, with direct subordination to the ministries.

There is also to be a new approach to the whole system of economic incentives. An economic mechanism is to be introduced to hold out advantages to associations and enterprises working more efficiently and achieving greater success in speeding scientific and technical progress.

It is only fair that these should have more funds at their disposal for production and social development and remuneration of labour. This is to be done by radically improving price-formation and actually switching them to complete economic calculus. They must have full disposal of their financial resources, make their own choices of the most rational ways for economic operations and higher efficiency, and earn the funds they need to raise technical standards and produce quality and dispose of these funds as they see fit. This organically entails greater responsibility on the part of the associations and enterprises for the economic efficiency of production and product quality.

Special significance is attached to establishing close ties between the results of the work of the collectives and the system of labour remuneration. The principles of collective (team) contract are to be extended to the activity of associations and enterprises, thereby linking up the improvement of the administrative system being carried on from above with the working people's initiatives in moving on to collective forms of organisation and labour incentives.

All these measures will help to create an 'anti-cost economic mechanism' to stimulate the effective development of the economy on the lines of intensification and on the basis of faster scientific and technical progress.

Major changes are to be made in every sphere of the national economy, with the human factor being the chief one. In the present conditions, our party devotes main attention to this factor, seeking to bring about a change in the mind-sets and attitudes of personnel from top to bottom, effecting a psychological restructuring, teaching people to think and work the new way.

The modern approach to economic, social, scientific, technical, ideological and educational problems is being stimulated everywhere, with the promotion of initiative and creativity, with special emphasis on improving the whole system of education and training of personnel and their better employment.

Alongside the reform of the general-education school, the task is to improve higher and secondary specialised education and the training of high-skilled cadres equal to the demands of the scientific and technical revolution. Measures are being worked out to enhance social recognition of scientific and engineering work, to promote its creative elements and back it up with more technical facilities. Work is being systematically carried on to retrain economic, scientific and technical personnel in view of the headlong renewal of the conditions of modern production.

The task of consolidating organisation and order in every administrative unit has been brought to the fore in party work, with higher exactingness on personnel.

'We shall have enough strength and firmness to match our words with deeds, relying on the people's living creativity and consolidating the alliance of science and labour', says Mikhail Gorbachev.¹

¹ Human labour is the substance of every type of resource, since fixed production assets are produced by men and are an embodiment of their labour inputs. This is even truer of the extraction of fuel and raw materials.

while labour-power itself likewise displays its prowess in labour in the first place. That is why the various types of production resources can apparently be reduced to a single measure expressed in one synthetic indicator: labour inputs.

² For the purpose of adjusting the new economic mechanism, enterprises and associations in five ministries were placed in new economic-management conditions in 1984.

³ *Kommunist*, No. 9, 1985, p. 27.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

Information Imperialism: A Global Appetite

Hector Mujica – CC Political Bureau
member, Communist Party of Venezuela

AT the University, after I had delivered a lecture on new forms of imperialist domination in connection with the rise of the military-industrial complex, which has penetrated culture as well, one of the students asked me whether what I said should be taken to mean that the nature of capitalism had changed. I replied: 'By no means. Its exploiting essence is immutable. There is neither a good nor a bad capitalism. It remains such as it was defined by Karl Marx. But the point is that like a fox, capitalism is able to put on an act. In the age of the scientific and technological revolution and the massive utilisation of technical means of communication it has harnessed all the achievements in this area in order to perpetuate the system as such.'

My reply was based on a conclusion I had reached after long contemplation: for capitalism television is as much a 'motor' as the steam engine once used to be. In speaking of 'television' I have in mind not only 'mother-television', as it was succinctly christened by a French sociologist, but also 'father-transistor', 'uncle-satellite', and 'offspring-information', in short, the entire spectrum of scientific and technical means serving bourgeois propaganda.

How Presidents are Made

Of course, in the new conditions the laws of 'representative' democracy with its money-bag rule have not as a whole undergone any substantial changes. However, the recipes for winning wide public popularity in the capitalist world have become different. A presidential candidate does not now so much publicise his programme and ideological credo as *sell his image*. As in a commercial, in which use is made of all factors of influencing the buyer, the ability is needed to win votes with the aid of the image being imposed. I vividly remember how upon his election as head of the Republic of Venezuela in 1974, Carlos Andrés Pérez solemnly mounted the steps of the presidential palace of Miraflores after walking all the way from the Congress building where he was sworn in. Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, who was elected President of France in the same year, walked from the National Assembly to the Élysée Palace. Who copied whom? No one and nobody. It was simply a coincidence of recommendations by advisers.

Joe McGinniss, author of *The Selling of the President*¹, is right when he says that the North American voter, entrenched in his conviction about the supernatural nature of any power, stands firm on this faith and passionately defends the illusion that the rulers elected by him are cast of more noble metal than he. This aspect of philistine

psychology was expertly used, for instance, by the persons who brought Richard M. Nixon to power. Understanding that the candidate conveyed the impression of being no more than a good 'family man' his team got down to work, using television to give the future president the needed image to persuade the North American people that on their television screens they were seeing a statesman of giant stature.

The presidential candidate cannot afford the luxury of speaking poorly and incoherently, of being unable to articulate his own thoughts distinctly. But if such is the case, television will make good the deficiency. The main thing is to give the claimant a gloss, to smooth out any visible facial defects by means of plastic surgery, to teach him to smile and look attractive. As McGinniss justifiably notes, style becomes the key, the essence. The mass media, in this case television, are a sort of vote-winning cosmetic.

In capitalist countries, whether in America or Europe, Asia or Africa, many presidential candidates have assimilated the experience of the USA. Moreover US experts in opinion indocrination and television advertising gimmicks travel extensively, giving consultations to Christian Democrats and Social Democrats of all stripe. In 1978, when the Communist Party nominated me as its presidential candidate I had every reason to say figuratively that in the wake of the oil and mining industries we should *nationalise the presidential elections*, which, of course, did not happen. In 1983 North American advisers reappeared in Caracas to reinforce the election campaigns of the Democratic Action and COPEI² parties.

It may be argued that Venezuela is a developing country, and that this explains everything. But analogous methods are used by parties in industrialised states, as in the FRG, France, and Sweden among others.

The Reagan election campaign in 1984 is the latest and most vivid example of the 'cosmetic' might of television as an instrument for building a phony image. Had there been no television and had Reagan himself not been a professional actor, he would never have defeated Walter Mondale. It is now obvious not only to propaganda experts but also to large numbers of thinking citizens that under the impact of imperialist manipulation of public opinion many voters respond more to the image that is being created than to the candidate himself. Here is what Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the USA, writes on this score: '... If Reagan had run on his record or on the Republican Party platform he would have been defeated. . . The people did not vote for Reaganism or Reaganomics. Many voted for teflon-coated, TV-created character put over by TV commercials, movie clips and a \$50 million publicity campaign. . . They voted for a Hollywood-type communicator. The emergence of TV as a major factor in election campaigns has fostered this new image and concept of the presidency. Through TV the voters separate the man from his positions and policies and even from his party. . . In a sense there was a split in mass thinking between the person and his policies, between Reagan and Reaganism and a downgrading of the US presidency to a figurehead stature. Thus, Reagan got the popular vote.'³

This assessment is being borne out in the camp of imperialism itself: James Lake, chief public relations strategist in the Reagan campaign, stated in an interview that now 'pictures are more important than words'. Some 60 per cent of the public, he said, get their information from television and it is no longer relevant what words spoken by the speaker are written down by correspondents. More important are pictures of Reagan — a positive picture presentation.

In the long run it is a matter of artificially imposing presidents suitable to and preserving the command positions of the imperialist circles, thereby ensuring the existence and consolidation of capitalism as a system and the export of the North American way of life as a model. This aim has acquired such global dimensions that the names of the same political make-up experts of international 'repute' appear now in Israel, where help is needed to indoctrinate public opinion in connection with the undesirable effect of the genocide in Sabra and Chatilla; now in Manila, where support

is needed by President Ferdinand Marcos; now in Senegal to aid the followers of Leopold Senghor, a well-known apologist of capitalism; now in Bangkok, Buenos Aires, or Caracas.

From the Big Stick to a 'Global Fief'

Imperialism's penetrations of culture is dealt with in many works, including my 'Whither Goest Thou, Book?', an article which shows how the US military industry gradually gained control of leading US publishing houses. An analogous picture is to be observed in the FRG, Spain, France, and other countries.

At the present stage of capitalism's development, a *militarisation of culture* is essentially taking place in its sphere of domination. More than 30 years ago a report of the Communications Policy Board of the President of the United States stated that freedom of communication was one of the pillars of 'free' society. Its trade, education system, policy, spiritual integrity, and security, the apologists of capitalism claim, depend upon an 'unhampered and unbiased exchange of information and ideas'.

Here we have before us an old polemic: on the one hand, the demand made from, among other places, the UNESCO lectern, for a new world information order and, on the other, Washington's selfsame imperial policy in culture pursued with the aid of the mass media, transnational press agencies, comics, films, syndicated television programmes, and scenarios for thousands of radio stations broadcasting world-wide. The peoples are resolutely repulsing imperialism's claims to a 'free flow of information', which has become a doctrine preached not only by the big corporations monopolising the culture industry in the USA but also by the US Department of State. This information 'policy' is nothing less than the continuation by other methods of colonial expansion characterising developed capitalism since the close of the nineteenth century. After World War II, when the advocates of the American way of life proclaimed the 'down barriers' slogan, which they imposed as an official guideline of US domestic and external policy, the peoples of Third World countries were able to see from their own experience that Tarzan was appearing on the screen not only to entertain audiences but also as an exponent of specific ideas. And that, as a rule, seemingly harmless comics have been and are proponents of the ideology of imperial interference.

These are the factors that spurred the appearance of a movement for a new information order, which has now grown to the dimensions of an avalanche. The peoples of developing countries have realised that the time has come not only to listen but also to state publicly who they are, what they feel, and what they want.

The nature of capitalism has not changed at its imperialist stage. But today, in addition to its big stick it is using the most subtle ways of indoctrinating public opinion. While US marines and naval vessels hold exercises of intimidation along Nicaragua's frontiers, blackmailing the Sandinist government, US subversive services concoct slanderous fables about the policies of the people's government and the Sandinist National Liberation Front. In a score of Latin American republics private (CIA-influenced) television studios broadcast, at one and the same time, a monstrous, garbled montage of films and photographs about the genocide and atrocities of the Somoza epoch, giving them out as facts of today, and about the horrible crimes of the Salvadoran junta portrayed as happening in Nicaragua.

This disgusting spectacle is the handiwork of the military-industrial complex, which Dwight D. Eisenhower spoke about in his farewell address to the North American people in 1961. He said that this complex was exercising total influence on decisions concerning the nation's life. Currently, the situation is much more dramatic because the Republican administration is not only stepping up the arms race, having shaken the dust off the cold war axe, but also escalating the threat of a nuclear catastrophe. The military-industrial octopus has taken a hold on culture as well, and for that reason we

can now speak of a military-industrial-cultural complex.

The coupling of the interests of all elements of this complex is strikingly illustrated by the person of Frank Stanton, who was for many years simultaneously president of the Columbia Broadcasting System, which is the most powerful radio and television network in the USA, president of the United States Advisory Commission on Information, which supervises the operations of the United States Information Agency — in effect the US department for external propaganda — and president of the California-based Rand Corporation, which is financed by the US Air Force. This 'non-profit-making' organisation studies methods of dropping hydrogen bombs, operations against guerrillas, forms of counter-insurgencies, and so on. The Armed Forces Communications and Electronics Association, which links the interests of the nation's electronics industry with the needs of the military establishment, functions on an identical militarist foundation.

The USA's largest advertising network is controlled by the Pentagon and has nearly 4,000 employees. According to the Associated Press, the advertising expenditures of corporations working on defence contracts are paid by the federal government. It has been estimated that such services by the press to private companies cost taxpayers at least 200 million dollars annually, while the cost of broadcasting the rhetoric of the military cannot be estimated even approximately.⁴

If to this we add imperialism's military use of the COMSAT and INTELSAT systems, which have in fact turned the non-socialist party of the world into a 'global fief' of reactionary propaganda, it will become quite clear that what are involved are new forms of imperialist domination. More than 60 years ago Lenin noted: '... Of all the arts the most important for us is the cinema.' I would say that it can now safely be added: 'and television'.

Since the early 1960s NASA and General Electric have been photographing the surface of all continents round-the-clock, an action that many quarters regard as arbitrary, which is in fact a show of strength. With the 'down barriers' slogan on the cover Washington would not be averse to engaging in television piracy globally. But world opinion has emphatically denounced plans of this kind. In a declaration adopted in October 1972 UNESCO, acting on the principle of freedom of information, recognised the need for prior government-to-government agreement on direct TV broadcasting to other countries by means of satellites. The UN General Assembly backed this view with 102 votes against one — cast by the USA. The USA stand was justifiably described as 'information piracy' by the vast majority of UNESCO member-states. Finding itself in isolation the USA walked out of that international organisation.

Instrument of Ideological Pressure

North American imperialism's central propaganda institution, United States Information Agency, was set up in 1953. Under the Reagan administration this agency was restructured and a new department was added to it for transmitting TV propaganda to foreign countries. It prepares daily TV newscasts for the Worldnet satellite system.⁵ At present the USIA has 214 bureaus in 129 countries using these bureaus not only to disseminate television programmes but to arrange direct intercontinental 'telebridges', TV meetings, and press conferences. In the last fiscal year its budget was a record 885,400,000 dollars.

In addition, USIA has a very long 'radio hand' — Voice of America — which is on the air for more than a thousand hours a week in 42 languages. The USIA daily supplies propaganda material to some 10,000 newspapers and over 5,000 radio stations with an aggregate weekly broadcasting time of nearly 15,000 hours. Most of this material is given out as originating in the broadcasting studio as, for example, was the case with the canard that Venezuelan TV broadcast as a 'report from Nicaragua'.

USIA has allocated more than a billion dollars for the technical modernisation of the Voice of America over the next five years. It is intended to use this money to build new and re-equip operating radio stations in Europe, Asia and Latin America. For example, a radio station beaming subversive broadcasts directly to Cuba has recently been placed in operation,⁶ while powerful radio-relaying centres for ideological subversion against the USSR are under construction in Morocco and Israel.

Of the USA's three largest radio and TV corporations (ABC, NBC, and CBS), the Columbia Broadcasting System has the closest links to the Pentagon and is most 'transnational'. Its programmes are disseminated in over 100 countries, from India, to Greece, from Liberia to Ghana, from Argentina to Venezuela. CBS has investments in and supplies programmes to Latin American companies such as, for instance, Proartel in Argentina, Pantel in Peru, and Proventel in Venezuela. The two other corporations operate along the same pattern.

It would be safe to draw the general conclusion from the aforesaid that US imperialism regards its ramified communications network as a crucial factor of its claims to world leadership in the space age.

Military-related US penetration of the extremely complex world of information and communications is going on continuously. If it is borne in mind that of the North American communications system's total length of 30 million miles 24 million miles belong to or held under lease by the Defense Department, a clear picture will be had of the role played by the military in that system.

According to available information, the US Defence Department gives unrelaxing attention to the training of propaganda experts. In Fort Harrison, Indiana, the Pentagon runs a military information school that is annually attended by over 2,000 military personnel. For its part, the US Navy Department maintains close contact with 600 TV and 5,000 radio stations nation-wide, and hundreds of other mass media organs. Let me add that the Pentagon owns 250 radio stations and tens of TV centres scattered around the world, to say nothing of the fact that it publishes over 1,000 newspapers, nearly 400 journals, and various bulletins with a total single printing of more than 12 million copies. The US Defense Department's total expenditures on propaganda have grown 15-fold during the past 20 years.

The military-industrial complex, which is systematically rearming the US Army, Air Force, and Navy and actively penetrating the intricate world of TV and radio communication, is seen as the most reactionary political force. It is called the godfather of the John Birch Society.⁷ It has reared many diehard militarists and sponsored the elaboration of the 'security and defence doctrine' programmed in the Santa Fe document. This doctrine calls for the eradication of the Sandinist revolution and the massive invasion of Central America with the objective of crushing the Sandinist National Liberation Front, the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front, and the guerrilla movement in Guatemala. The military-industrial complex helped Reagan to win the presidency. And now it is recruiting warfare specialists into the Rand Corporation's think tank.

News Means, New Problems

The constant use by the ruling class in capitalist countries of all possible forms of propaganda, mass information, and electronics to brainwash public opinion, and the striving of the imperialists to turn the planet into their own 'global fief' by means of unprecedentedly sophisticated technology are, in the long run, part and parcel of the very intricate world of modern mass communications. In order to give an idea of how far the USA has gone in this area, it is enough to say that on overseas propaganda alone it today spends about 5,000 million dollars annually and employs over 350,000 people.

The concentration of such powerful levers in one pair of hands, the development of new and increasingly more subtle brainwashing methods, the use of diverse forms of

advertising and propaganda, the operation by the Pentagon of a mammoth computer-based communications system, and the presence in many countries of ubiquitous North American brain-washing experts manipulating voters — all these new circumstances and diversity of methods (which are shown by facts to be quite effective) induce thought and call for action. A political struggle with antiquated methods is no longer conceivable against ideological adversaries well-padded with money and lavishly funded by imperialism. The nomination by revolutionary forces of a candidate for presidential elections, for example, requires an efficient public relations support group capable of taking its bearings quickly.

Of course, we Communists cannot and should not imitate the tricks, forgeries, and other subterfuges of capitalist propaganda. This hardly needs comment. In our view, it is important to modernise stereotype methods of ideologico-political work, bring these methods into line with reality, take into account the laws governing the formation of public opinion, and avoid unprincipled confrontations. Naturally, we must defer to customs, habits, and national values, in short, to everything that comprises the concept of the soul and identity of the people. Needless to say, we should not remain passive when doubt is cast on or misuse is made of Marxism-Leninism's underlying principles. On the other hand, there are times when to defend these principles we have to face the system of values and concepts that took shape over the centuries. But even here we should have the expertise.

As regards the other key aspect of the problem, i.e., the study of the ways information functions and the acquisition of knowledge of the use of the media and of methods of effectively influencing public opinion, we have to be properly equipped, for those who today do not fully appreciate this are doomed to inevitable failure.

We are living in an age of an unusually rapid development of mass media, in which images and sound are predominant. The Capitalist world of the close of the twentieth century is a civilisation in which there is an abundance of iconographic means and in which the image prevails over the word. Those of us who grew up in the 'Gutenberg galaxy', i.e., in the period when the press flourished, sometimes do not feel at all cosy. Imperialism has to a large extent succeeded in imposing upon people unaccustomed, wild rhythms and images with the aid of television, films, illustrated magazines, and comics.

It is appropriate to ask whether in capitalist countries the image will prevail over content in the ideological confrontation between social systems, in the struggle between political parties and candidates for office in representative organs of power? Our definitive answer is in the negative because the force of truth is on our side and it is far from one and the same thing to deal in surrogates or offer a product of good quality. Our truth is that of the new social relations that have already triumphed or are triumphing in many countries. In terms of history, socialism is still very young, emerging relatively recently, but there already is a close-knit world system, which is mastering new forms and methods of propagating its ideas in the modern world and, together with the working class of the industrialised capitalist countries and the national liberation movement, is able to effectively repulse imperialism's information aggression.

¹ Joe McGinniss, *The Selling of the President*, New York, 1969.

² The Social Christian Party in Venezuela. — *Ed.*

³ *Daily World*, November 9, 1984, p. 3.

⁴ See H.I. Schiller, *Imperialismo USA en la comunicación de masas*, Madrid, 1977, p. 89.

⁵ This global television network was set up in 1983-1984 with the improvement of the space communications system serving the USIA.. — *Ed.*

⁶ See Raúl Valdés Vivó, 'Rejecting Radio Goebbels', *WMR*, No. 8, 1985.

⁷ A rabidly reactionary, anti-communist organisation set up in the USA in 1958. — *Ed.*

Commentary Advancing Together To A Common Goal

Gancho Ganev – BCP Central
Committee member, WMR Editorial Board
member

Badamyn Lhamsuren – MPRP Central
Committee member, WMR Editorial Board
member

THE peoples of the socialist community and the whole of progressive humanity celebrated the 40th anniversary of victory over Hitler fascism and Japanese militarism. That victory was a turning point, an event of world significance. It led off the formation and development of the world socialist system, quickened the pace of revolutionary processes and hastened the break-up of imperialism's colonial system. Today existing socialism is a mighty internationalist force, an irresistible factor for peace and progress, a dependable guarantee of world security.

In recent years the socialist community countries have substantially built up their economic, scientific and technological potential, carried out major social programmes improving the people's well-being and made further advances in science and culture. Cooperation among the members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance has gone deeper and become more varied, leading to considerable successes in the construction of the new society.

The fraternal countries of the new world are now passing through an important period. The ruling communist and workers' parties of some of them have already held their latest congresses while others are making preparations for theirs. They are making a comprehensive analysis and a realistic assessment of the work done of ascertaining the outlook for the next five years and the subsequent period and deciding on ways to perfect every aspect of society's life and strengthen mutual ties.

At the threshold of its 27th Congress, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has formulated the strategy of accelerating social and economic development, a strategy containing fundamentally new, important elements. The coming large-scale reorganisation of economic life in the biggest socialist community country, which possesses an immense fuel, raw material, industrial, scientific and technological potential, is bound to benefit cooperation among the fraternal states. A new approach to the main lines of the long-term investment and structural policy of the Soviet Union offers vast opportunities of implementing an ever wider range of mutually beneficial integrational measures and furthering cooperation among CMEA partners. This makes it all the more necessary to hold mutual consultations and coordinate the key lines of the fraternal countries' economic development and economic policy, primarily in fields involving cooperation.

The CMEA has been carrying on this work on regular basis. The 40th CMEA Session (Warsaw, June 1985) was a further socialist community summit. The round ordinal number of the meeting is symbolic in a way for it indicates that cooperation among the parties to socialist economic integration has a long-standing tradition. The recent session owed its significance above all to the context in which it met and to the tasks facing the socialist community.

For More Rapid Social Progress

The session took place one year after the CMEA summit marking the transition to a fundamentally new stage in economic cooperation among the community countries. The summit went a long way towards coordinating economic policy. Unanimously

approved and signed documents define the lines of economic cooperation and mutual assistance up to the end of this century and specify ways and means of solving major problems.

The summit described current strategic tasks in precise terms, listing them as follows: embarking the whole economy on intensive development and raising its efficiency by perfecting the structure of the economy and making judicious and thrifty use of all resources, including fixed assets and the scientific and technological potential; achieving a further increase in social production as the decisive factor for putting socialism on a more solid material and technological basis and improving the people's well-being; raising the technological standards, quality and durability of output, extending and promptly renewing the range of products and building up the export potential primarily in the manufacturing industries; distributing the productive forces more judiciously and hastening the gradual equalisation of economic development levels.

The participants in the recent session analysed the first results of the work done over the past year, the accomplishments and difficulties, and checked what has been attained against the long-term goals. Statistics demonstrate obvious progress. The national incomes of the CMEA countries showed an overall increase of 3.6 per cent in 1984 compared to 1983; industrial output grew by 4.4 per cent and agricultural output, by three per cent. Major housing, medical care and social security programmes were put into effect in all CMEA countries. Real per capita incomes grew by 2.6 per cent. The volume of mutual trade rose by 10.6 per cent.

Growth rates and volume indices are very important, but they are not all that is necessary for each socialist country, for the entire community, to implement their plans successfully. Attention at the Moscow Economic Summit centred on the issues of improving the quality of the national economies, intensifying production and effecting broad scientific and technological integration. Much has been done in this field too. Work on an Integrated Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress for the next 15 to 20 years is drawing to a close. Cooperation in engineering, electronics and other priority fields has become more vigorous. Major agreements on specialisation and cooperation have resulted in bigger exchanges of machinery and equipment, including electronic devices; joint production of industrial robots is developing. The session made an important new step in this direction by signing a general agreement on the creation of flexible production systems in engineering and their broad introduction into the national economies. Provisions have been made stipulating automation of technological processes in industry, transport and storage, as well as production of latest-generation technological equipment up to the best international standards, including technologies whose sales to socialist countries are artificially restricted by the United States and some other capitalist powers.

These measures reflect the increased striving of the socialist community to ensure high-standard application of the latest results of the scientific and technological revolution. Here, it is the advantages of the socialist system, which is based on public property in the means of production and planned economic management, that make it possible to accomplish a 'computer revolution' without crises, unemployment or other phenomena hitting the working people hard which are concomitants of this process in the capitalist world. Science and technology under socialism serve the people by improving their working and living conditions.

The national economic base of all countries has grown stronger thanks to more efficient use of internal resources and to mutual deliveries of fuels, energy and raw materials. Major projects are being built on a multilateral basis. These include the Krivoy Rog Mineral Processing Works, the main gas pipeline from Yamburg to the western border of the USSR, magnesite mining and processing facilities in Czechoslovakia and a similar project in Cuba for ores containing nickel and cobalt.

Bauxites in Vietnam, non-ferrous ores in Mongolia and coal in Poland are also mined jointly; nuclear power stations and electric power grids of great capacity are being built. Simultaneously, efforts are being stepped up in the struggle to promote thrifty use of raw materials. Changes for the better are already in evidence: production is gradually becoming less energy and material-intensive. However, the latent possibilities available here and yet to be realised are still great.

The session adopted a programme of cooperation in economising and making judicious use of resources. The programme, which extends to the year 2000, comprises over 100 provisions for the development and application of energy and material-saving machinery and equipment, control devices, automated systems, as well as progressive economical technologies and materials at the level of world standards. Greater use is to be made of byproducts, waste products, renewable energy sources and the replacement of liquid fuels with solids and gases. A general agreement has therefore been signed on the use of natural gas as fuel in transport systems.

In order to pursue a concerted economic policy, the participants in the session analysed the progress in the coordination of the CMEA countries' national economic plans for 1986-1990. Mutual deliveries of goods for the forthcoming five-year period have been outlined, and a number of major joint projects have been elaborated. Seventeen bilateral integrated programmes for economic, scientific and technological cooperation up to the year 2000 have been signed.

Potentialities for Intensive Development

While thinking highly of what has been accomplished, the community countries deem it necessary to concentrate on long term tasks and outstanding problems. They are far from painting today's socialist world in rosy colours alone. The establishment of the new social system and of the new type of international economic relations is a complex task calling for realism and a creative approach.

Most CMEA countries have entered a historically long period of creating and perfecting mature forms of socialism. To achieve their goals, they must accelerate scientific and technological progress, greatly increase labour productivity, perfect social above all economic relations, bring about further improvement in people's material, cultural and working conditions, make the entire system of political and social institutions more active and promote socialist democracy.

There are ample potentialities for more efficient use of organisational economic and social factors, so that each person would perform his job conscientiously and as effectively as possible. This alone often makes it possible to tangibly increase labour productivity over a comparatively short period.

As concerns the strategic motive force of intensification, a cardinal change in the productive forces is gaining prominence in a number of socialist community countries — not an evolutionary change but a revolutionary one, a transition to fundamentally new systems, to latest-generation technologies offering the greatest returns.

Hence the great attention which the CMEA countries pay to the manufacture of modern machinery and equipment that can increase labour productivity many times over, reduce the intake of raw materials and make the funds invested pay bigger returns. Product quality is to be improved drastically; this will make it possible to meet the existing requirements and popular demand for various goods more fully. Constant reference to the best products and increasing output capable of competing on the world market could be very useful, could help exclude products that fail to meet present-day requirements and are not in demand.

Considerable reserves are inherent in steps to perfect the economic mechanism. The Soviet Union, for one, is doing much to improve planning, extend the rights and independence of enterprises, and introduce the cost/efficiency approach. Measures are being drawn up to ensure direct dependence of the material conditions of

employees and work collectives on the results of their efforts; the distribution mechanism is being brought into conformity with the economic and ethical ideals of socialism.

Thanks to the fraternal parties consistent social policy, the working people of the community countries have attained a high standard of education and are steadily improving their proficiency. This immense potential of knowledge and skill provides favourable conditions for reaching current and future targets.

Thus the period of extensive growth is coming to an end in both international socialist integration and the economic development of individual countries. Cooperation is concentrating on lines determined collectively. The task now, participants in the session pointed out, is to show greater perseverance in carrying out decisions, which must be backed up with concrete targets and definite deadlines.

Additional possibilities are being searched for in production specialisation and cooperation. Wherever these ties are well-developed, it is the resources of the community that meet most of the demand. For example, the agreement on the manufacture of equipment for nuclear power stations covers more than 50 amalgamations and enterprises in several fraternal countries. The 440- and 1,000-megawatt power units installed in CMEA countries under this agreement save the equivalent of 50 million tons of fuel a year. A similar approach is used in the development of computers and electrical equipment. The most efficient forms of joint activity in production, science and technology are also gaining ground in other fields, first and foremost in electronics, radio engineering, instrument-making and machine-tool construction. The further development of these integrational processes benefits from ties between industry ministries, amalgamations and enterprises. Such contacts are already being maintained by over 4,000 enterprises and many research centres. Integrated forms of cooperation covering all stages — from the development of a new technology to its application in production to the marketing of output — are worthy of note.

Wider use of collective experience gained within the community offers boundless opportunities. This experience becomes particularly valuable in the course of the increasingly far-reaching integration which, objectively, brings the fraternal countries closer together and enhances the similarity of the tasks they tackle in a wide variety of fields. There are many examples of friendly contacts between socialist countries' world collectives. For instance, 27 industrial enterprises in the USSR and combines in the GDR analyse figures reflecting the consumption of metals, energy and manpower in the manufacture of over 30 lines of products; the best methods are chosen for practical application. The fraternal countries consider that such initiatives should be supported as vigorously as possible.

However, it would be naive to believe that economic activities in the CMEA countries follow a common pattern. The countries of our community differ in the scope of the tasks, in territorial size, in their natural conditions and resources. At the same time, the record has fully confirmed that for all the diversity of distinctly national features, there is a number of general laws common to all countries that have embarked on the road of building socialism.

The communist and workers' parties of the new world are independent in their economic policy, in choosing the forms and methods of implementing these fundamental laws governing the development of socialism. However, since they are pursuing common objectives, they are vitally interested in coordinating their strategy, studying one another's economic and managerial experience and exchanging information.

The Advantages of Relations of a New Type

The prestige of the CMEA is rising year after year, as well as its positive influence on

the economic activity of all its constituent countries. Today, the CMEA is a powerful economic body which accounts for some one-third of the world's industrial output and scientific and technological potential and one-quarter of the world national income total. The CMEA is the most dynamic economic force of today's world; its industrial growth rate has been almost three times higher than that of developed capitalist countries over the past 15 years. The accomplishments of existing socialism have yet again given the lie to the reactionary 'prophets' who used to refer to the community as a 'joint stock company of the poor' and said it was 'fated to collapse'.

Against the background of dictat and inequality in the capitalist world, of increased contradictions within the Common Market and in its relations with the United States and Japan, the advantages of the new type of international economic relations are particularly pronounced. These relations are based on principles of socialist internationalism, respect for national sovereignty and independence, full equality, mutual benefit and comradely assistance. Combination of common and national interests on a voluntary basis has remained the invariable foundation of these relations.

Another important factor should be mentioned. Life shows that in today's world, it is impossible for one country to master all types of production on the optimum scale and at the highest technological level. But this is feasible for a united fraternal community commanding a solid scientific, material and technological basis and rich collective experience.

This is particularly clear from the fact that national development levels are approaching a common level. For example, the gap in the per capita national income of the European GMEA countries has diminished from 200 to 50 per cent. The same task is currently facing Vietnam, Mongolia and Cuba, the countries that are building socialism in particularly complicated conditions and need international support. They enjoy priority development rates rooted, among other things, in preferential terms — credit privileges, stimulatory prices for their export goods, assistance in the development of science, in efforts to accelerate scientific and technological progress, in the training of indigenous personnel, etc. The European members of the community help them to create vitally important branches of the economy, including those producing goods for export.

Further promotion of these ties and the joint construction of new projects using surveyed mineral resources and raw materials in the SRV, Cuba and the MPR will serve as a reliable basis for these countries' vigorous involvement in the international socialist division of labour in the interests of all countries participating in it. Upholding the course adopted at the Economic Summit, the June session of the Council decided that closer cooperation with these three countries should be the subject of a special discussion at a CMEA session.

This approach differs fundamentally from the position held by the capitalist powers. For example, the steep rise of the US military spending and the budget deficit, the artificially inflated dollar rate, increased protectionism and the inequitable exchange have an extremely adverse impact on developing countries and compound the unbearable burden of their external debt.

The fact that representatives of different continents — from Europe to Africa and from Latin America to Southeast Asia — were present at the Council session vividly confirms the appeal of equitable cooperation. Attending the session together with the delegations of the ten CMEA countries and Yugoslavia were observers from Afghanistan, Angola, Ethiopia, Laos, Mozambique, Nicaragua and Southern Yemen. This proves a great deal — above all the depth of the progressive changes that have occurred in today's world.

The CMEA countries do not accept autarky; they steadily expand economic and cultural ties with all countries irrespective of their social system and on the basis of

mutual benefit and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

Cooperation with developing countries is deepening steadily. Here are a few facts. Some 3,900 projects have been built in more than 100 of these countries with economic and technical assistance from the socialist community; over 80,000 people from the developing world study annually in CMEA states, and another 15,000 people take occupational training there. Varied assistance on these lines will continue. It will serve developing nations as a means of strengthening their independence, making economic progress, consolidating the principles of national economic planning creating and expanding industrial and other projects and an agrarian-industrial sector with a view to solving their acute food problem.

The CMEA session reiterated its support for the developing countries' demand that the monetary and financial relations existing within the world capitalist economy be restructured on an equitable and democratic basis and that any methods of economic coercion and aggression be barred from the practice of international relations.

The socialist community countries also strive to promote mutually beneficial and discrimination-free trade, economic, scientific and technological relations with industrial capitalist countries. This can help to safeguard peace and security and to remove the threat of nuclear war. The session reaffirmed the readiness of the CMEA to establish relations with the EEC.

Main Factor for Peace and International Security

We are compelled to implement our development plans in the climate of a marked worsening of the international situation due to the policy of aggressive imperialist forces, primarily those of the United States, and their bid for confrontation, the achievement of military superiority and a stepped-up arms race; that is, aims whose pursuit makes for political and economic instability in the world and increases the danger of nuclear war.

The situation on the world market undergoes abrupt changes, with competition intensifying. US imperialism wants to overcome its contradictions and difficulties at the expense of the American people as well as the peoples of other countries. In the sphere of international economic relations, it resorts more and more often to the devices of diktat by using embargoes, boycotts, 'sanctions' and other discriminatory measures. Official Washington has mounted an economic blockade of Nicaragua, which means flouting elementary standards of international law and universally accepted principles of international relations. This is nothing but a manifestation of the policy of state terrorism.

The socialist community takes a common stand on international issues, steadfastly upholding the cause of peace and disarmament and the principles of peaceful coexistence. This was confirmed again when the Soviet Union made a major political move by unilaterally freezing all nuclear explosions as from August 6, 1985, and by calling on the USA to follow suit.

The socialist countries are the chief barrier to imperialism's dangerous ambitions. The Warsaw Treaty Organisation, a dependable shield of peace and international security, has a big role to play in this respect. For as long as peace is threatened, the WTO member-countries will continue doing all that may be needed to safeguard themselves against any encroachment.

The new society is being built on the basis of common national objectives and internationalist Marxist-Leninist ideals. Respect for the sovereignty of each country, mutual confidence and assistance are inseparable from the responsibility of the communist and workers' parties to their peoples and, at the same time, to the international working class movement and all freedom-loving forces the world over. Now as in the past, world progressive opinion sees the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as an embodiment of the working people's social aspirations, as a bastion of

peace and progress.

Existing socialism today commands a vast intellectual and material potential. It is in a position to solve the most complicated problems of our times, hold out against any pressure and defeat all attempts to hamper implementation of the development plans of our community. Further steps to perfect fraternal cooperation will help accelerate the economic and social progress of every country of the new world, raise the material cultural standards of their peoples and add to the strength, unity and cohesion of the whole fraternal socialist community.

the party

Boundlessly Confident In Our Youth

*José Ramón Machado Ventura –
Political Bureau and Secretariat member,
Central Committee, Communist Party of Cuba*

THE UN-designated International Youth Year has attracted the attention of the public and the government in many countries. Today, there are hardly any classes, parties or simply adults who experience no concern over the problems of the younger generation. Mankind regards this generation as a sort of projection of its own future.

It is perfectly natural for the Communist and workers' parties of the future-oriented socialist community to attach special attention to the problems of the younger generation. The Communists are convinced that the vital interests, as well as the material, spiritual and intellectual requirements of youth can be met increasingly fully only in the course of building socialism and communism. Only socialism enables young men and women to secure a worthy place for themselves in the social fabric, to fully develop their abilities and aptitudes and to apply them in practice.

Turning to the experience of the international revolutionary movement, we can see that concern for young people and the desire to channel their activities along the path of social progress have always been typical of Communists. During the first Russian revolution, Lenin urged efforts to 'recruit young people more widely and boldly'.¹ Youth, Georgi Dimitrov stressed, 'must be won over and involved in revolutionary battles; its interests must be upheld daily, and this struggle must be linked with revolutionary communist education'.²

A Cuban delegation was among those Central Committee secretaries of the socialist countries' communist and workers' parties who gathered to hold a meeting on party guidance of youth organisations and topical issues of work among young people, convened in Sofia in May 1984. As the meeting stated in its communique, the discussion showed that work among youth in each of the fraternal countries is conducted with due regard for the specific conditions of socialist construction. It was also stressed that the tasks of communist education of young people can be solved effectively only by creatively applying Marxism-Leninism as the new society moves further ahead.

These are the principles underlying the work of the Communist Party of Cuba to guide the youth movement in our country through a ramified and orderly network of the existing children's and youth organisations. True to Lenin's behests, the Communists regard guidance by the party not as petty tutelage young people often

resent but as efforts to ideologically influence and politically orient autonomous youth associations set up by age, group or occupation.

Children and young people make up more than half the population of Cuba.³ Central to the structure of the youth movement is the Young Communist League (YCL), established jointly by the young people who fought against tyranny in various revolutionary organisations. The YCL does not unite all young people but only the best, those who lead in work, studies, national defence and the discharge of the internationalist duties.

The Rules of the Communist Party of Cuba state that the Young Communist League is the organisationally independent vanguard of our youth. It advances its own initiatives and develops its activities guided by the party. The YUCL forges the future party cadre. Should a YCL member wish to become a Communist, the Rules stipulate, he does not have to undergo a trial period: a YCL recommendation and a YCL membership record of at least three years are enough.⁴ The YCL Charter, in turn, recognises the leading role of the party and reiterates loyalty to its cause and to Marxist-Leninist ideology.

Since the League is the CPC's reserve, its social composition should meet the requirements established by the vanguard of the working class. Preference in admitting new members is accorded to those employed directly in material production. It is no accident that, while a trial period of one or two years was introduced for students in 1979, young workers do not have to complete any trial period.

The ideological and political vanguard of Cuban youth, the YCL relies on mass organisations in its work — on the University Student Federation (USF) and the Federation of Secondary School Students (FSSS) which unite virtually all young people receiving a secondary or higher education. The federations are organisationally independent and recognise the leading role of the YCL and the party. Almost two million children and teenagers under the age of 14 — 99.5 per cent of all school children — are members of the José Martí Young Pioneers, the organisation that raises those who will become YCL members.

There are also three civic associations of over 7,000 young writers and art workers in our country. Associated in youth agricultural work teams are 10,000 young men and women employed in the agrarian sector. These teams work to introduce higher forms of organisation of production and technological advances in rural areas and to publicise the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. Cuba's youth is also active in other mass organisations — Committees to Defend the Revolution,⁵ trade unions, the Federation of Cuban Women and the National Association of Small Landtillers.

The Communists hold that it is their permanent duty to increasingly involve young people in the tackling of fundamental issues of economic and social development and in the management of government and public affairs, to comprehensively enhance the political overall culture, occupational skills and civic maturity of our youth.

According to the Constitution, young Cubans have the right to elect and be elected to National Councils from the age of 16 and to the National Assembly of People's Power from the age of 18. They exercise this right extensively: almost 25 per cent of those serving on the National Councils are under 30; young men and women comprise 4.6 per cent of the highest government body.

Youth technology work teams — voluntary associations of technicians and experts operating under the YCL aegis at factories, construction projects and offices — assist in promoting creative youth initiative in production. These teams conduct research and draw up improvement suggestions designed to solve problems related to production, training, the service sector, science, greater economic efficiency, as well as proper fulfilment of national economic plans.

Youth technology teams hold biennial exhibitions at the local and national level and annually stage 'Think, Act, Create' contests. Team members can win 'Shaper of the

Future' badges in recognition of exemplary efforts and a distinguished contribution to the development of the economy, science and technology. The government has instituted a number of special awards for teenage enthusiasts of technology and inventors.

As in other socialist countries, education of the younger generation has become a nation-wide concern in Cuba. In August 1978 the National Assembly adopted a Child and Youth Code identifying the functions of Government bodies, political and mass organisations, the mass media, the family, educators and society, as a whole in the work conducted among youth, as well as specific and mutually complementary ways, forms and methods of such work.

The revolutionary teaching methods that guide Cuba's educators in their efforts to instruct young people are based on a combination of studies and work. Senior grade pupils of general and specialised schools, as well as university students work at industrial enterprises and volunteer to spend part of their spare time helping in agriculture. The record shows that this makes it possible to wed theory to practice, studies to life, training to production, and promote the conscientious attitude to work typical of the new man.

As soon as a young man or woman takes a job, the party organisation, the YCL and the trade union begin his or her political education, striving to promote the young workers' commitment to discipline, frugal use of materials, rational organisation of working hours and careful handling of tools and equipment. Special ceremonies to mark the first day on the job produce good results: they not only symbolise the new mode of life but also make it possible to acquaint the young worker with his rights and duties.

There are 23 major industrial projects being built in Cuba on a priority basis. The YCL has assumed the role of their sponsor and is conducting a great deal of political and organisational work to recruit young people for these projects. There, young men and women mature as workers and as adults and become conscientious and enthusiastic participants in the efforts to develop the areas of special importance to the national economy.

Alongside schools, work collectives and civic organisations, the family plays a very important role in the shaping of the people who will be our country's citizens in the twenty-first century. Under the Rules of the Communist Party of Cuba, each Communist is to be a 'model of everyday behaviour and care for the members of his family'.⁶ The party does much to inculcate in parents a high sense of social responsibility for ensuring their children's intellectual, ethical and physical development and preparing them for adulthood in accordance with the fundamental provisions of the Constitution and the Family Code.

Our party, government and the entire people are working tirelessly to provide their successors with the necessary material conditions of work, studies, personal development and a rational and useful use of leisure. Suffice it to say that today, 3,100,000 Cubans of different age groups are covered by various education or training programmes. The nation's teachers and instructors total 258,000 people — on the average, one per 12 students. The order of the day is to improve the training of instructors and the entire process of education. In the field of higher education, where tens of institutions now operate (instead of only three universities in 1959), work is under way to correct certain flaws in scientific and technological training specifically by improving the level of instruction and introducing computers.

A whole network of kindergartens, Pioneer Palaces and sports facilities has sprung up in Cuba over the 25-odd years of popular government. Society has pooled its efforts and as a result we now have 270 Young Pioneer facilities where almost 1.3 million children engage in various pursuits guided by their Young Pioneer leaders — 80 per cent of all third- to ninth-grade pupils. The Pioneers take part in the activities of study

and training clubs and other interest groups.

The Young Communist League, the Young Pioneers' organisation and the federations of students and secondary school pupils are striving to promote amateur artistic work and other creative pursuits at schools, colleges, universities, enterprises and constructions sites. Artistic teams named after the YCL's 20th anniversary and after Raúl Gómez García and comprising prominent young writers and actors, as well as artistic contests, the New Troubadours movement which develops the traditions of Cuban folk music — these and other projects make it possible to raise the cultural level of our youth.

The party invariably focuses its attention on the development of physical education and sports. Sports schools have been set up in many provinces. They are well-equipped and staffed by competent coaches and instructors. The nation now has almost 18,000 specially trained sports instructors — seven times more than there were on the eve of the revolution. Athletic training groups function at enterprises, colleges and universities, and mass competitions are held. No wonder that Cuba's is a worthy place in Latin American and world sports. Since May 1981 we have been working successfully to implement the National Camping Plan.

Much is being done to satisfy the natural hunger of youth for knowledge. Scores of special radio and television programmes and nine newspapers and periodicals are produced and published for children and young people. *Juventud Rebelde* (Rebel Youth), a youth evening paper, has a daily circulation of 260,000 copies and on Sundays, of 400,000. It is an interesting newspaper which is in great demand with adults too.

It is very important for our youth to understand that all this is being done for it in a country that used to be a colony for 400 years and then, for another 60 years, continued under a neocolonial regime with an underdeveloped agrarian economy; in a country that is forced to build the new life in the extremely difficult conditions of an imperialist boycott, constantly faces the threat of aggression and has to devote a great deal of efforts and resources to the strengthening of its national defence.

The younger generation — the children of those who stormed the Moncada barracks and repulsed the bandit raid at Playa Giron — now has all it needs for physical and intellectual development — adequate food and clothing, books and manuals, medical and cultural services. But the state is not all-powerful. There are many things we still lack. For example, the equipment installed at some specialised schools is far from what we would have liked it to be. Civic activities to develop production and defend the country often leave little spare time for entertainment. But it is also clear that our young men and women cannot afford to cultivate consumer-oriented habits typical of some young people in developed capitalist countries where, one might add, the ruling class encourages these attitudes by plunging hundreds of millions of people throughout the world into hunger and poverty.

Cuban youth is assimilating the ethical norms of the new society and, as a whole, regards them as its own. Still, isolated cases of political irresponsibility and parasitism do occur. For example, speakers at the latest FSSS congress held in December 1984 cited lack of proper diligence in studies and cases of some pupils resorting to forged medical certificates to shirk socially useful work in rural areas. These and similar deviations from revolutionary ethics were unanimously condemned by the congress.

Nor can one ignore the fact that the younger generation is among the principal targets in the ideological infiltration campaign of imperialism. All sorts of methods are being used to corrupt this generation's socialist consciousness and disparage its political, moral, cultural and philosophical values.

A few dozen miles off our shores there lies the strongest and most aggressive imperialist country. We have confronted it since 1959 and, in the realm of ideological struggle, our party and people have always had a staunch ally in Cuban youth. One can

endlessly quote examples proving its readiness to rebuff enemy threats and various forms of ideological subversion over the revolutionary years.

The mass volunteer service of our youth with the territorial militia troops is a vivid expression of our young people's dedication to revolutionary ideals. Tens of thousands of young men enroll in the revolutionary Armed Forces and in the Interior Ministry forces. Under the system of mandatory universal military service, the Cuban people are conscientiously and assiduously preparing to discharge their duty defending their country. Students are being trained as reserve army officers.

Children and young people are linked with national defence efforts through military training societies. A society for patriotic military education has been in operation since 1980. Expeditions to historic battle sites; meetings with people who took part in famous revolutionary events and who share their memories and experience with young workers, students and schoolchildren; seminars to study the legacy of José Martí; as well as special history rooms and displays at enterprises are very useful in political education.

The tasks of enhancing political and ideological work aimed at ensuring national defence were discussed at the Tenth Plenary Meeting of the CPC Central Committee in December 1984. Patriotic military education of the people, it was noted, is the mission of the entire party and of mass organisations. 'Production and defence' is the current slogan guiding Cubans, including young people. At the same time, the meeting said in the document it adopted, we are still to ensure clear understanding by all of the political significance inherent in army service or broad public recognition of military training as an imperative. The Central Committee mapped out organisational, ideological and political measures designed to overcome such shortcomings.

The patriotism of Cuba's youth is linked closely to internationalism. Young people prove by their deeds their solidarity with the peoples fighting against imperialist aggression, for freedom and independence. Tens of thousands of young internationalists — soldiers and experts — are honorably discharging their duty. Examples of cooperation in the civilian sphere include the Che Guevara team of educators, the Frank País and Augusto César Sandino teachers' brigades working in Angola and Nicaragua, and the young doctors active in many countries.

The YCL strives to consolidate its bonds of friendship and cooperation with young people in the socialist countries, above all the Soviet Union, and with communist, revolutionary, progressive and democratic youth organisations all over the world. In August 1978 we enthusiastically hosted the Eleventh World Festival of Youth and Students. This year our young men and women prepared vigorously for the Moscow Festival and sent a representative delegation to the USSR. This delegation did what it could to help make this forum of the world's youth the remarkable success it was.

Preparations for the festival aroused great enthusiasm among young people. Artistic and athletic contests were held all over the country. At general meetings held wherever they worked or studied, young men and women nominated their candidates for the delegation — those who were best on their jobs, in studies, civic activities or national defence efforts. The motto of this drive was, 'All that is best, to Moscow'. Now, upon their return from the USSR, festival participants speak at factories and construction sites, in schools, colleges and universities, in towns and rural communities, sharing their impressions of the world youth festival and its spirit of anti-imperialist solidarity and struggle for peace and friendship among nations.

The Cuban people have every reason to be proud of their younger generation. But the Communists are far from regarding young people as infallible, from flattering or pandering to them. The relations between the generation of seasoned revolutionary fighters and their young heirs are devoid of any hypocrisy or insincerity. They are as honest, open and noble as the goals we are all striving to achieve.

The Communist Party of Cuba attaches great importance to further improvement of

the activities of youth organisations, to enhancing their influence on young people of all social strata and age groups, to promoting their initiative and sense of responsibility for the upbringing of the younger generation. The CPC proceeds from Lenin's advice that young people should be helped in every way possible, that one should show patience with their mistakes, and that these mistakes should be corrected gradually, mostly by persuasion and not coercion. These principles underlie our relations with the Young Pioneers' and youth organisations — the relations we maintain both via the Young Communist League and directly.

The CPC Central Committee told the Second Party Congress (1980) that 'our foremost goal is to ensure a situation in which the YCL, the Young Pioneers and the organisations of students and school pupils would continue to develop their independence, play an increasingly important role, and work with even greater vigour and enthusiasm to attain the objectives before them.

'Great attention should be focussed on the positive role and influence the party members working in the YCL governing bodies and grassroots committees can have. Our party should promptly reveal shortcomings in the YCL, Young Pioneers' and other youth organisations' activities, trace the causes of these shortcomings and help to overcome them. In this we should be guided by our knowledge and revolutionary intuition.'

Guidance by the party is the source of strength and the condition of success of youth organisations. We hold that of great importance here, are a flexible cadre policy, the strengthening of the party core among the leadership of these organisations, attention to prompt promotion of young comrades, as well as stability and continuity in our work. A positive effect has resulted from the decision of the CPC Central Committee Secretariat on the composition of these bodies in terms of age and on the correct placement policy under which younger people show their mettle at the grassroots level and are promoted to a higher level when their experience meets the necessary requirements.

Congresses of the Young Communist League and of the students' and school pupils' federations are invariably treated as landmarks not only in the life of the younger generation but also in the life of the party. The party helps to prepare these forums, to correctly assess the work performed, to map out major tasks for the future and overcome the difficulties that may arise. Comrade Fidel Castro always addresses congresses of youth organisations offering his advice. He and other members of the Central Committee Political Bureau and Secretariat attend the plenary meetings of the YCL National Committee. Party Leaders of all levels come to YCL and Young Pioneers' meetings.

Special sections to monitor work with the younger generation were established under the organisational departments of the Central Committee and local party bodies in 1973. Primary party organisations are playing an increasingly important role in these efforts: they regularly invite youth leaders to their meetings and to the meetings of their bureaus and committees and hold joint discussions of the problems of concern to young members of work and study collectives.

Speaking at the founding meeting of the Patriotic Military Education Society, Comrade Raúl Castro, Second Secretary of the CPC Central Committee, offered a very apt description of Cuban youth today and, proceeding from this, explained what the approach to it should be like. 'Today', he said, 'young people are, indeed, more demanding because they are competent, educated, knowledgeable and, above all, display a critical attitude to things. That is not a bad quality — quite the reverse. It would be a mistake to try and attain anything with the help of rigid models, banal methods or weak arguments. To be able to reach the hearts and minds of young people, to make them ideologically and politically stronger, to arouse their interest and encourage their intellect, we should not only expand political and ideological work but

also, and especially, deepen it and make it much more consistent and, above all, modern.⁸

Proceeding from this standpoint, the Young Communist League has, in recent years, introduced changes into its style and methods of work. Less frequent are meetings, presentations of reports and other superfluous events that, instead of helping to attain the necessary objectives, often diverted attention to minor matters, curbed initiative and hampered the solution of specific problems. Drawing on the experience of the party, the YCL has improved its structure so that the greater part of its cadre could concentrate on guiding and coordinating the activities of organisations at the grassroots level. Professional political workers are being sent to important production projects and major educational establishments where there are many young men and women. All these and other changes have helped to make the work among young people more effective.

The increase in the scope and complexity of the tasks arising in the course of socialist construction, as well as the aggravation of international tensions and the sharp exacerbation of the rivalry between the world of the old and the world of the new demand that the Communists be more vigorous in their efforts to raise the younger generation in terms of ideological, political, production and moral maturity, to instill in it an active attitude to life and a high sense of responsibility for the future of peace and socialism. 'Yours will be a great responsibility', Fidel Castro told delegates of the latest FSSS Congress. 'The Year 2000 is more your year than ours. The future is in your hands.'⁹ The conference hall responded by chanting, 'The new generation of Cubans is more resolute, more firm, more revolutionary, more internationalist and more dedicated than even the generation that has inspired and raised us! Let this be known to the living and to the future flowers: we are the undefeated, victory will be ours!'¹⁰

Our confidence in our youth is boundless for we know that it really will be better than we are, and that is the goal we are working tirelessly to achieve.

¹ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 8, p. 146.

² G. Dimitrov, *Works*, Vol. 9, Sofia, 1953, p. 496 (in Bulgarian).

³ As of January 1, 1985 the population of Cuba totalled about ten million people. — *Ed.*

⁴ See *Estatutos del Partido Comunista Cuba*, Havana, 1981, Articles 2, 8, 71.

⁵ Volunteer organisations uniting virtually the entire active population of Cuba. CDR members patrol urban and rural neighbourhoods, monitor compliance with requirements of vigilance, help maintain law and order, conduct education work in the spirit of revolutionary traditions, and take part in mass vaccination campaigns and other civic projects. — *Ed.*

⁶ *Estatutos del Partido Comunista de Cuba*, Article 15.

⁷ *Informe Central al II Congreso del Partido*, Havana, 1981, p. 102.

⁸ Raúl Castro, *Discurso de Constitución de la Sociedad de Educación Patriótica Militar*, Havana, 1980, p. 7.

⁹ *Granma*, December 9, 1984.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

They Fought For A Better Future

In September 1945 militarist Japan's surrender brought the Second World War to an end in Asia and the Pacific. Alongside the peoples and armies of the anti-Hitlerite coalition, patriots of countries reduced to bondage by the aggressor contributed to the defeat of Japanese militarism. The Communists were the heart and soul of the Resistance and the liberation struggle. Below participants in the struggle and party historians of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Democratic people's Republic of Korea, Indonesia, and the Philippines write of the course and lessons of this struggle.

Source of Inspiration

General Dam Quang Trung - CPV
Central Committee and SRV State Council
member, Commander, Military District No. 1,
Vietnam

FORTY years have passed,*but the revolutionary spirit of the period of the people's struggle against Japanese militarism continues to inspire different generations of Vietnamese.

My generation grew up in that period. We denounced the barbaric oppression and hated the imperialists and their lackeys. But it was only when we gradually assimilated Marxist-Leninist theory that we began to understand that the road to liberation, independence and freedom from exploitation, to a full-blooded and happy life lies through a revolutionary struggle.

For me this struggle commenced when I was 12. I attended school and after classes I helped underground workers, stood on watch when they held their meetings in a forest, scattered leaflets, and acted as a messenger. Older comrades told me of the crimes of the French colonialists, of the struggle of the workers for social and democratic rights, and of the peasant movement. From them I heard of the communist teaching and of the great Soviet Union. Having gone through my first school of revolutionary struggle I was admitted to the Communist Party of Indochina in February 1939.

The 6th, 7th and, in particular, 8th plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indochina¹ accentuated the need to fight for national liberation. This gave the people a powerful impetus. In my native province of Cao Bang the revolutionary movement developed vigorously thanks to the formation of Viet-Minh² organisations in many villages. In some localities the Viet-Minh held demonstrations and rallies, called upon the people to rise against the Japanese and the French, resist forcible enlistment into the army, defend democratic rights, demand the release of political prisoners, and so on.

Repressions were intensified after the Japanese invaders entered Indochina (September 22, 1940) and Japan signed an agreement with the collaborationist government of France. Some party leaders were arrested, and many revolutionary bases were destroyed. I was also seized, but in February 1941 I was released after a few months' detention because there was no direct evidence against me.

In July 1941 I began attending a political seminar. These were my first party courses. Lectures were delivered by Chairman Ho Chi Minh. Although the seminar lasted only seven days, after it ended each of us felt more mature and had a clearer vision of the aims of our struggle.

We understood at the time in what lay the might of the Soviet Union and the world democratic front, and why the peoples of Indochina had to stand shoulder to shoulder with them in the common anti-fascist struggle. The Soviet Union, Ho Chi Minh

declared, was a dependable ally of oppressed peoples. In order to win, he said, the revolution in Indochina had to move along the path blazed by the October Revolution in Russia and rely on assistance from the USSR and the other revolutionary forces of the world.

It was recommended that upon returning to our towns and villages we should strengthen and develop the primary party organisations, form partisan units, and help to activate the mass movement in order to prepare for the armed uprising that could be started at a suitable time.

In October 1944 some of my comrades and I were assigned to various provinces to speed up the formation of revolutionary armed forces and also to carry on propaganda in support of the Viet-Minh in order to unite the different strata of Indochina's population — workers, peasants, intellectuals, all patriotic people — in a common front of struggle against the Japanese invaders.

I helped to form an 'armed propaganda unit', which became the first regular unit of the Liberation Army of Vietnam. On February 4, 1945 my platoon attacked a Japanese garrison in Cao Bang, killing more than 20 enemy soldiers and seizing a large quantity of weapons. On March 9 we ambushed and annihilated a platoon of Japanese troops. In April we attacked the enemy in the Col Giang pass.

The Headquarters of the LAV Central Command was set up on May 15, 1945 in accordance with a decision by the party. An offensive was launched against Japanese positions along many directions. In August, together with other units of the Liberation Army, we fought for seven days and nights for Thai Nguyen. The town was liberated and the road to Hanoi was opened.

After the Red Army defeated the Japanese Kwantung Army in Manchuria, the CPI and Chairman Ho Chi Minh called for a general uprising: 'The decisive hour in the destiny of the nation has come. Let our compatriots rise throughout the country and liberate themselves with their own forces.'

A rising flared up nation-wide on August 14, 1945. On August 19 it triumphed in Hanoi, and on August 25 — throughout the country. On September 2 Chairman Ho Chi Minh read the historic Declaration of Independence, proclaiming the creation of the free Democratic Republic of Vietnam to the people and the whole world.

In keeping with the traditions of the August Revolution, our people and their armed forces, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam, fought for more than 30 years, making every sacrifice and giving all their strength to the struggle. And they won — first against the French colonialists and then against the US imperialists — upholding their national independence and freedom, uniting Vietnam, and taking the entire country to the road to socialism.

The glorious military traditions established during the years of struggle against French colonialism and Japanese militarism serve as a source of inspiration for our armed forces and our people at a time when, transcending enormous difficulties, they are engaged on two interrelated strategic tasks — and successful building of socialism and the dependable defence of the socialist homeland, thereby making a worthy contribution to the preservation of world peace.

We know from experience that war should not and cannot be an instrument for settling international disputes. To uphold peace means to fight actively for it, to close the road to aggressors, to disrupt their insane plans, and constantly perseveringly, and resolutely to counter the threat of war coming from imperialism. For the success of this struggle there must be unity and cohesion among the working class, all working people, all democrats.

Further experience teaches that the expansionist, hegemonistic ambitions of the aggressive forces have to be brought to light opportunely, that the orchestrators of aggression and wars should not be given the opportunity to seize important positions, that vigilance is vital relative to imperialism's intrigues. The curbing of militarism and

aggression is the cardinal task of all the proponents of peace and progress. The struggle for peace is a strategic task closely linked to the defence of national independence, democracy, and socialism. There is today no more important task on the international level for all the peoples of the world. Nuclear war — neither small, nor big, neither 'limited', nor total — cannot be allowed to break out. The warmongers must be stopped. This is demanded by the vital interests of all humanity.

Carrying Forward a Glorious Tradition

Che In Dok — Rector, Kim Il Sung Military Academy

Pak Yeony Sun — Director, Museum of the Korean Revolution

THE defeat of German fascism and Japanese militarism powerfully influenced the historical destiny of the Korean people. On August 15, 1945 our country acquired freedom after many decades of colonialist slavery. A new stage began in its development. The way was cleared for building an independent and flourishing society.

Joyfully marking the impressive achievements of the past 40 years in building a new life, the Korean people cherish the revolutionary traditions of the period of the anti-Japanese liberation struggle headed by the Communists and our great leader Kim Il Sung.

The education of the people in line with the revolutionary traditions of the Workers' Party of Korea is one of the key areas of our ideological work. The slogan 'Work, study, and live after the example of the anti-Japanese partisans' is to be seen everywhere in our country, and it mirrors the people's will to perpetuate and adhere to the revolutionary traditions born in the crucible of the liberation struggle. These traditions inspire the people to act vigorously, thanks to which a militant spirit, revolutionary romanticism, and dynamism reign throughout our society, and the inexhaustible energy and creative initiative of people are effectively brought to light.

In building the new life, the Workers' Party of Korea has used and continues to use the experience gained by the Communists during the war years. For instance, in the regions held by the partisans there was a new type of administration based on the alliance between workers and peasants and relying on the close-knit front of the people. People's Committees, which became a distinctive form of state construction and continued the tradition of the period of the liberation struggle, were formed throughout the country after liberation.

Take another example: during the years of the anti-Japanese Resistance Kim Il Sung noted that the Communists should be not only true patriots but also internationalists in the real sense of the word, and he educated the personnel of the Korean People's Revolutionary Army in that spirit. To this day these traditions of proletarian internationalism permeate the life of the Korean people, who have warm, friendly feelings for the peoples of fraternal socialist countries and all other progressive forces. They are determined to speed up the building of socialism in our country,

contribute to the world revolutionary process, and faithfully discharge their internationalist duty to history.

During the anti-Japanese struggle the Korean Communists were confronted with three closely related tasks — the strengthening of the party ranks, the formation of a broad national front, and the conduct of armed actions.

The party of the working class, as everybody knows, draws its strength from its unbreakable links to the people. In isolation from the people the party is helpless. Such is the historical lesson drawn from the initial period of the communist movement in our country. Founded in 1925 and having no mass base, the Communist Party consisted of several groups, with the result that it soon disintegrated, being unable to end the divisive actions of factionalists and withstand the repressions mounted by the Japanese imperialists.¹

Taught by bitter experience, the Korean Communists started laying the foundations for restoring the party, combining this work with the ideological education of workers, peasants, and other large sections of the population, uniting them in various types of revolutionary organisations. The League for the Rejuvenation of the Fatherland, founded in 1936, became an organisation of the anti-Japanese national front uniting workers, peasants, and other large sections of the population. The League's activities helped to temper many Communists and form a mass base for the future party.

During the years of the anti-Japanese armed struggle we had faith in our own strength, in the people. Guided by the principle that 'just as a fish cannot live without water, the partisans cannot exist in isolation from the people', the fighters of the Korean People's Revolutionary Army worked to unite all patriots.

The experience that was accumulated at the time enabled our party to start work among the people after the country's liberation, to bring large patriotic and democratic forces from various strata together in a United Democratic National Front,² victoriously consummate the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution and, in accordance with the concrete conditions of our country, begin tackling the tasks related to socialist construction.

Drawing upon the lessons of the united front today, we are seeking to reunite the dismembered homeland on the basis of the principle of national consolidation. Our party's proposal for the creation of a Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo is the most realistic and unprejudiced way of settling this issue.

Hitlerite Germany and Japanese militarism were defeated with the Soviet Union playing the decisive role. The USSR saved many countries from fascist bondage and made a tangible contribution to the liberation of oppressed peoples of the world.

Shoulder to shoulder with the Korean People's Revolutionary Army, the Soviet Army fought the Japanese imperialists. Many Soviet soldiers laid down their lives for the freedom and rejuvenation of our homeland. We always remember and highly value the liberative mission of the Soviet Union and cherish the friendship sealed with the blood of our peoples.

The factor of international solidarity in the struggle against aggression and oppression, so vividly seen during the Second World War, retains all its significance to this day, when US imperialism is reinforcing its aggressive plans in Asia and energetically forming a triple military alliance between the USA, Japan, and South Korea.

Troops of a Japanese 'self-defence unit', under the guise of an 'observer' took part in the joint 'Team Spirit 85' military exercises conducted by the US imperialists and the South Korean puppet clique last spring. The world's peace forces are quite justifiably enhancing their vigilance in the face of US intrigues and the revival of Japanese militarism, and protesting against the formation of the Washington-Tokyo-Seoul triangle.

The efforts our people are making under the wise leadership of the workers' Party of

Korea to accelerate socialist construction in the northern part of the country, defuse tension in the Korean peninsula, and achieve the motherland's independent peaceful reunification are linked directly to the cause of peace in Asia and the whole world.

The prevailing situation makes it imperative for the peoples of the world to work with determination to disrupt and cut short imperialism's bellicose plans, and preserve peace and security in the world. Here the most important thing is, we believe, to strengthen unity among socialist countries and all communist and workers' parties and closely coordinate their actions.

Bearing on high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, and anti-imperialist struggle, our people will bend every effort to promote and expand the traditional friendship and cooperation with fraternal socialist countries. Together with all progressive forces, we shall go on working to create a new world free of aggression, wars, and oppression of all kinds.

Taking Account of Past Experience

Satiyajaya Sudiman — Leadership
member, Communist Party of Indonesia

FOR three and a half years during the Second World War Indonesia, then regarded as a Dutch colonial possession and called Dutch India, was under Japanese occupation. Troops of the 'Empire of the Rising Sun' invaded Indonesia under the demagogic slogan of 'liberating the peoples of Asia from white colonialists'. Claiming the role of 'elder brother', Japan proclaimed that it was its intention to build a 'Greater East Asia' together with other Asian peoples. By means of slogans of this kind the invaders at first succeeded in deluding a section of the population. In this they were aided by local nationalists with chauvinistic leanings fighting for independence but at the same time harbouring a pathological hatred for communism. But the Japanese militarists soon made it plain that their business was by no means 'liberation' but a new and more ruthless colonisation. In the face of these revelations a mass movement of Resistance to the Japanese invaders began to take shape. The initiative came primarily from the Communists, who were able to draw upon the experience of their many years of struggle against the Dutch colonialists.

In the years preceding the outbreak of the Second World War, the Communist Party of Indonesia, then operating in deep secrecy in a situation of brutal harassment and terror, began actively implementing the decisions of the Seventh Comintern Congress, helping to form a front of national unity against the war threat, fascism, and militarism. Although this was extremely difficult and dangerous work, constantly attended by the risk of arrest, exile, or execution, the Communists were able to draw close to and begin cooperating with the revolutionary wing of the nationalists, including members of Islamic groups.

A legal form of cooperation came into being in the shape of the movement of the Indonesian People. Later named the Indonesian Political Alliance, this organisation coordinated the actions of various patriotic political groups in the struggle for national independence.

The experience of cooperation among Indonesian patriots was drawn upon once more during the Japanese occupation. The Communists saw their main aim in uniting in a single party of the working class, drawing up a programme for that party, and heading the Resistance to the invaders. However, this aim was not entirely achieved on account of the many years of repression by the colonial authorities, the savage terror unleashed by the Japanese invaders mainly against the Communists, the fragmentation of party cells and committees in various parts of the country and its islands, and the shortage of well-trained leadership cadres.

Nonetheless, the Indonesian Communists perseveringly and consistently implemented the line towards national cooperation in the anti-Japanese struggle. Establishing contacts with other patriotic forces, including those that were functioning legally, they operated actively among the workers, intellectuals, and students and other young people, endeavouring to rouse them for joint resistance to the invaders. They organised strikes and acts of sabotage at factories and protest actions by peasants.

The actions of the Resistance positively affected the legal political struggle waged by the revolutionary wing of the nationalists and other patriots headed by Sukarno.¹ In the prevailing situation the Japanese militarists had no alternative to promising 'national independence' to the people of Indonesia. However, freedom was not received but won by the people themselves in August 1945 after militarist Japan's main forces were smashed by the Red Army in Manchuria.

Today, when the Communist Party of Indonesia has once again to live and fight in secrecy, this time against a reactionary military regime, its past experience is seen as especially significant, particularly as regards the efforts to restore the party.

The anti-communist terror of 1965 inflicted enormous losses on the Communist Party at all levels — from the central leadership to primary cells. Revolutionary mass organisations were likewise smashed. Elements allied to us dissociated themselves from us out of fear of repressions.

In the face of these grim conditions and assimilating the lessons of the past, the Marxist-Leninist forces in the CPI were able in the early 1970s to restore the central leadership and then other links of the party. However, far from all problems have been resolved. On account of the ruthless blows struck by reaction and of the divisive policy of the Maoists many Communists prepared to continue the struggle are still outside the party organisation. At present, acting under the slogan of unity, the CPI is continuing to forge contacts with them, striving to help them to return to the party, which adheres to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

From our past experience we are also using the lessons of establishing cooperation of all democratic and patriotic forces in Indonesia. This is very difficult indeed, but as people begin to have a clearer picture of the anti-people and anti-democratic nature of the Suharto regime, its inclination to flirt with imperialism, its corruption, they are responding less and less to its anti-communist propaganda. The possibility is arising of vitalising contacts in order to enable the Communists to cooperate with other patriots and democrats.

At the present stage of the struggle for democracy, it seems to me that an important role may be played by the national patriotic bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia and, of course, the working people of town and countryside. These are the social groups that today constitute the foundation of the opposition actions, although often they are unfolding under the banner of Islam, which is professed by the majority of Indonesia's population and is legal throughout the country.

The CPI supports every action of the democratic opposition and is prepared to cooperate with it. We hold that the struggle will be successful only if all the democratic elements close ranks on the basis of cooperation or in a front guided by a joint programme aimed at the creation of a fully independent and genuinely democratic and peace-loving Indonesia moving along the road of social progress. In keeping with this

line, the party of the working class is championing the interests of the people and country and acting against imperialism and reaction.

On the basis of the lessons learned during Indonesia's occupation by militarist Japan and also of the party's experience after the country won national independence, we regard international solidarity among the Communists and all other progressive forces as one of the factors determining the successful outcome of the struggle for national independence, democracy, and social liberation.

In the Name of the People, in the Name of the Homeland

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

THE Communist Party of the Philippines was not surprised by the Japanese invasion. As early as at the close of the 1930s it alerted the people to this threat. Acting through trade unions, peasant organisations, and other democratic and patriotic organisations, the Communists urged public opinion to pressure the government¹ into doing everything in its power to reinforce the country's defence capability. But the authorities left this matter in the hands of the USA.

On January 2, 1942 the invasion troops entered Manila, the country's capital. The fortress of Corregidor, the last American stronghold in the Philippines, fell on May 7. The CPP was the only political party in the country to display a firm determination to resist. It had made advance provision for the corresponding disposition of its cadres, foreseeing the occupation and setting up a 'second front' of party leaders in case of the arrest of the first front. Developments showed how correct this step was.

The Communists called upon the people and all democratic organisations to form a united fighting front. The National Anti-Japanese United Front was formed in February 1942. The people's anti-Japanese army, the Hukbalahap, was formally launched in March 1942. Its backbone consisted of poor and landless peasants, and rural and industrial workers. There also were intellectuals, students and members of the petty bourgeoisie in it, as well as women, mainly of rural areas.

In the Hukbalahap the party organised regular political activity. The command of every guerrilla unit included a Communist political officer. For the guerrillas there were special courses, at which in addition to guerrilla warfare tactics they studied subjects related to the class struggle and the national liberation movement in colonies, and discussed ways and means of expanding the anti-Japanese people's front.

While giving priority to reinforcing and enlarging the Hukbalahap mass base, its links to the population, the CPP abolished peasant organisations and replaced them with the Barrio United Defence Corps as a reserve of the People's Army, as the main source of personnel replenishment for it. Its members gathered intelligence for the guerrillas, provided them with food and money, hid messengers and guides. The Communists acted also in towns, where they infiltrated Japanese-sponsored neighbourhood associations and turned many of them into reserves of the People's Army.

Our party adhered to a principle borne out by life, namely, that resistance to

invaders cannot be successful without the whole-hearted support of the people. The Hukbalahap leadership permitted the recruitment only of politically conscious and patriotic people and constantly guided the behaviour of the guerrillas relative to the population. In some rural localities the Communists protected the rural poor against landlord oppression, persuaded the latter to reduce the land rent, and helped the peasants to harvest their crops and hide them from Japanese confiscation.

As a result, the Huks won the esteem of the population, while the Communist-led People's Army became the best organised and most credible military force of the liberation movement. In early 1945 it had 10,000 soldiers and officers and a reserve of 30,000 men. By the time American troops landed on Luzon, the main island of the Philippines (January 9, 1945), the Hukbalahap had cleared the invaders out of many provinces. During the war it piled up a total of 1,200 engagements in which it killed nearly 25,000 enemy soldiers and also troops and police of the puppet government.

The Communist Party operated not only in the People's Army and in the regions controlled by it. It had underground groups in many towns on Luzon, where it conducted agitation among the population. The Japanese occupation authorities declared time and again that they regarded the Communist Party as their main enemy. They arrested the first front of the CPP leadership. (At that time Crisanto Evangelista, chairman of the party, was executed). And there was one occasion when they nearly seized the second.

This happened in March 1943. An important conference, attended also by me as acting head of the Political Bureau's Organisational Department, was being conducted in a forest in one of the provinces of central Luzon.

Two hours after the conference began our lookouts reported the appearance of a group of Japanese soldiers in the vicinity. When these reports were corroborated it was decided to cut short the conference and disperse in small groups. Two comrades and I were among the last to leave. In the early dusk everything seemed calm. But suddenly we heard shouts in Japanese. The soldiers were evidently combing the locality. All we could do was to lie flat in the tall thickly-growing grass. The Japanese passed virtually inches away from us.

We then met several other of our comrades and found that the area was surrounded by Japanese. For ten days we looked for a way out of the encirclement. We later learned that almost all the participants in the conference had safely escaped. Among those detained was my best friend Vitaliano Manansala, a Political bureau member who had recommended me for party membership. After he was seized by the enemy he was bayoneted to death before the eyes of local peasants as he was shouting out anti-Japanese slogans.

From the first days of the occupation the party established political cooperation with some other anti-Japanese movements, notably the Free Philippines organisation, which conducted patriotic propaganda and intelligence activities and contributed funds for the Resistance. The CPP formed a special Committee for the Establishment of Friendly Relations. On the whole, despite the anti-communist prejudices and pro-US feeling of bourgeois leaders, our policy of uniting all the anti-Japanese forces yielded results. A sizable section of the intelligentsia, members of the middle strata, and many patriotic elements of the bourgeoisie were drawn into the broad struggle for national liberation. This policy itself was largely an outcome of our party's participation in the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, which helped us to overcome tendencies towards sectarianism and dogmatism that were prevalent in the CPP since its foundation in 1930.

The influence and prestige won by the Communists during the Resistance years enabled the party, following the expulsion of the Japanese invaders, to become one of the nation's respected political forces despite the fact that the American authorities in the Philippines did their utmost to limit the CPP's influence. In line with its course

towards the unity of all patriotic elements, it joined the Democratic Alliance, a mass-based organisation. Formed in May 1945, it played a large role in promoting an anti-imperialist consciousness among the people.

To a large extent the CPP's current strategy reflects the experience of the people's anti-Japanese Resistance. It is aimed at forming an anti-imperialist patriotic front to fight for genuine independence for the Philippines, peace, democracy and social progress.

¹ The Philippines were at the time under US colonialist domination. In 1934 the country was granted autonomy for the 'period of transition', following which the USA promised to grant it independence. — *Ed.*

new experience

Our Interviews **A Struggle on the Rise**

Claire Dasyiva — Central Committee
member, Communist Party of Canada (CPC)

The bourgeois mass media have lately been bending over backward to prove that mass action for peace is on the wane in the NATO countries. What is the CPC assessment of the current state of the peace movement in Canada?

We, too, keep hearing assertions to this effect. Facts, however, prove the opposite: no matter what defence Minister Coates and the Pentagon warhawks might say, the peace movement in Canada continues to grow in numbers and extend its influence. There are now about 1,000 peace groups throughout Canada. Today the peace movement includes trade unions, women's and youth organizations, peace groups based on professions (artists, scientists, health care, etc.), community associations and educational institutions. Personalities in different fields of activity support peace efforts. That includes major church leaders, many parliamentarians and members of practically all political parties.

City councils across Canada have played an important role in widening the struggle against the threat of a world war. Over the past three years, referendums in 192 cities, towns, and municipalities show that over 70 per cent of the people are in favour of nuclear disarmament. Responding to the broad concern over the escalation of the nuclear arms race and nuclear proliferation, over 90 towns and cities and the entire province of Manitoba have declared themselves nuclear weapons-free zones.

The Peace Petition Caravan Campaign, which collected 430,000 individual signatures from all over the country, marked the beginning of a coordinated effort by peace movements in English and French Canada together with the organized labour movement around a common programme. The increasing involvement of the labour movement in particular in the struggle for peace is of special importance. This cements the mass base of the movement and makes it more effective. These facts — and the list could go on — justify our party's view that the peace movement in Canada continues rising.

Does the Canadian peace movement have an impact on the nation's politics?

To a certain degree it does. The peace movement forced debate on topical aspects of Canada's foreign policy during the September 1984 federal elections. There are signs of growing cleavages over foreign policy within the old line bourgeois parties. For

example, Liberal leader John Turner and other Liberal MPs such as Lloyd Axworthy and Warren Allmand are opposed to Star Wars and to the deployment of nuclear weapons on Canadian soil. Some Canadian military figures are also starting to speak out for peace, such as Major General Leonard Johnson,¹ former commandant of the defence college in Kingston, who is opposed to nuclear arms and even said Canada should consider dropping out of NATO. These cleavages within the ruling class may well widen as the peace movement takes on new strength and momentum. At the same time, the current strength of the antiwar protest movement in Canada should not be over-rated. After all, it has not yet become powerful enough to attain its principal task — win the adoption of a made-in-Canada foreign policy.

The coalition of the antiwar forces could become more powerful as a factor of domestic politics if it could arrive at a consensus regarding the true causes and source of the nuclear threat. The possibility is there: the vast majority of Canadians are deeply humanistic and antiwar in their feelings. However, because of the systematic campaign against the socialist countries orchestrated by the imperialist mass media, many Canadians still hold anti-Soviet views.

We Communists are aware that not all parts of the peace movement see US imperialism as the prime source of the war danger. We are also aware that some peace activists, although they know better, think it a good tactic to go along with the concept of 'equal responsibility.' In this way, they believe, they can widen the peace movement. However, acceptance of this claim plays into the hands of those who want war.

The Communist Party holds that experience will help Canadians come to the conclusion that the threat to Canada's security does not come from the Soviet Union but from the USA. While we need ongoing exchanges of views on this subject, we need as well to unite everyone possible in a country-wide campaign against the threat of nuclear war. Discussion on the source of the war danger should not lead to divisions within the peace movement. Patience and tact are called for.

We know that the Conservatives were the winners in the September 1984 elections. How did this influence the tasks and conditions of struggle of the peace forces?

The election of the conservative government of Martin Brian Mulroney created a new and more complex situation for the activity of peace champions. Having abandoned the proposals on curbing the arms race put forward by former Prime Minister Trudeau, the Conservatives swerved sharply to move closer to the United States and adopted a policy of a bigger Canadian contribution to NATO and bigger military spending. The people are already feeling the results of this turn: the testing of US cruise missiles in Canada is going full steam ahead; yielding to US pressure, the government is modernizing the radar early warning system in the north of the country; reports — and no denials from the Mulroney cabinet — have appeared about the Pentagon's intentions of storing 32 nuclear depth charges in different parts of Canada.

In this situation, it is not enough to talk about peace in general terms. The peace struggle is a concrete endeavour. That is why it is important to link distinctly Canadian demands with broader international action to curb the arms race and reduce nuclear arsenals.

First of all, we have the task of forcing the Tory government to stop the testing of the US cruise missiles over Canadian soil. Canada must come out in support of a nuclear weapons freeze as a first step toward nuclear disarmament. Canada should support the Soviet obligation on no first use of nuclear weapons. Peace champions also demand that Canada get a real guarantee that the US will not store nuclear weapons in Canada ever again. The Mulroney government should declare Canada a nuclear weapons-free zone and undertake appropriate agreements with the Soviet Union and the US on this

question.

The Star Wars threat is now a crucial problem facing Canadians as well as the whole planet. Unfortunately, as in the case of the cruise testing, the Mulroney government is supporting US Star Wars plans as allegedly 'only a research programme.' Meanwhile, a Senate Committee in Ottawa has just recommended that Canada start up its own military space programme if only for economic reasons. Naturally, public opinion in Canada is alarmed at all this. The Canadians could do a great service to mankind by forcing their government to steer clear of the US Star Wars plans.

The Communists support all these demands and work hard among the masses to explain the necessity of vigorous action for peace and disarmament. We also insist that Canada dissociate itself from the US nuclear strategy and thus pull out of NATO and NORAD.

Given the more difficult domestic political situation, how does the Communist Party assess the prospects of the peace struggle in Canada?

We believe that it is possible to broaden the peace movement, and enhance its unity. In order to meet the first task, the antiwar and anti-missile movement must be widened to include all sectors of society, mobilizing them around concrete issues. The second goal is also perfectly feasible. All groups need to be convinced to put aside their ideological differences in order to concentrate on the foremost issue of human survival. At the same time, we have to demonstrate patiently how anti-Sovietism is a serious danger and roadblock to a nuclear freeze, to disarmament and the easing of international tension.

An important step toward uniting the peace champions would be the formation of a bi-national all-Canadian peace coalition on the basis of a common program. This idea is beginning to assume a definite shape: different groups of peace activists have agreed to meet in Toronto in November to establish such a coalition. This is a welcome development with a great potential, that of uniting all peace movements under one umbrella around demands essentially aimed at transforming Canadian foreign policy into a factor of peace, of international and national security.

Documents

India

To Build a Mass Base

The National Council of the Communist Party of India (CPI) has discussed the political results of the March 1985 elections to state legislatures and adopted a document presenting a detailed assessment of the CPI organisations' participation in the elections and charting steps to consolidate and broaden the party's influence with the masses.

It is a matter of serious concern, the document notes, that the left parties, including the CPI, could not make a serious impact on the political scene during the elections, while most of the bourgeois opposition parties either retained or improved their positions. The CPI lost some seats narrowly because of organisational weaknesses which prevented its mass influence being mobilised for the polls.

The National Council has concluded that except in some states and areas, party units

are not conducting militant mass struggles. The rural and urban poor do not yet look upon the Communist Party or the Left for the defence of their interests. The intervention of the party in the day-to-day issues of the common people and building of mass actions for implementing the relief measures that the governments were forced to give, is very weak. There is lack of understanding in the party units in regard to the need for building, particularly in rural areas, strong independent mass bases of the party which can stand up to any momentary wave and caste, communal and chauvinist pulls. The document adds that no nation-wide struggles on issues like land reforms, price rises, and demands of the rural masses were fought during the recent period. There were no struggles on political issues to demarcate the Left, including the CPI sharply from bourgeois parties.

The CPI National Council believes that in order to strengthen its image in the minds of the toiling masses, the party must project its own independent socio-economic programme for the advancement of the country in the interests of the people and step up the struggle for solving their day-to-day specific problems.

In this connection the document stresses the importance of constant party support for agricultural labourers, the rural and urban poor, the quarry workers and the rest of the poorer sections of working people superexploited and oppressed by capitalists, contractors, landlords and rich traders.

The CPI, the document states, should also take part in the various relief schemes of the Central and state governments. Party units as well as mass organisations where our comrades are in leading positions should see to it that benefits are secured for the people and that self-seekers do not exploit these for their own ends. In the course of this work, it will be possible to raise the consciousness of the people that their problems cannot be fully solved within the present capitalist set-up and that they therefore have to fight for basic changes in the present system.

The National Council attaches great importance to the building of a broad, long-term political base of the party. The document notes that most modern Indian industries are built in backward regions inhabited by poor peasants, agricultural workers and tribal people. At present these industries are like an oasis in a desert, and the working class is forced to fight its battles in isolation. But if the working class is made conscious of its political role as the leader of other sections of the toiling people, the CPI will be able to win the political sympathies of the broad masses through its industrial base.

The National Council has also stressed that the party must change its present style of functioning and that the practice of 'passing the buck' must go. CPI leaders at all levels, at the all-India and stage levels, must directly participate in the mass movements and struggles and, along with their other responsibilities, must also give direct help in building up mass political bases of the party.

In the Mirror of the Press

Unsere Zeit

When readiness for dialogue is obvious

The newspaper of the German Communist Party (DKP) has published an article about the cooperation of Communists and Social Democrats in Ahlen (North Rhine-Westphalia).

Today one can say, *Unsere Zeit* notes, that a bloc of forces to the left of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) which dominated the local political scene since 1945 has emerged in Ahlen.

Until recently, the situation was different. The CDU commanded an absolute majority in the city council, and the Social Democrats often supported the policy it pursued contrary to the interests of working people. Both parties repeatedly made deals on specific issues and conducted an identical policy on them. And although, even prior to the 1979 communal elections, many voters expected the social Democrats to establish contact with the DKP, their leaders kept following the right-wing course.

But the Communists refused to sit back and do nothing, *Unsere Zeit* continues. They kept up their vigorous work both within the city council where they were represented and outside it. Specifically, the Communist faction voted against raising transit fares, was the first to support demands of a 35-hour workweek, fought vigorously against the deployment of US missiles and upheld the needs of working people in a variety of fields connected with the city's life.

The latest communal elections held on September 30, 1984 were a severe setback for the CDU. It managed to secure only 24 seats, while the parties to the left won 27 seats in the city council (the Social Democrats receiving 21 seats, the Communists four and the Greens two). As a result, the right-wingers turned into a minority, even though one of the Greens in fact sided with the CDU faction.

Despite its success however, the SPD could not have secured the posts of mayor and chief councilman (the person in charge of the administrative services) without the votes of the Communist members of the city council. The Communists supported the SPD out of the conviction that Social Democrats would show more care for the people's interests and respond to the wishes of the electorate better than right-wingers.

Today, *Unsere Zeit* emphasises, the SPD members of the city council show greater readiness for a dialogue with the DKP. For example, when the DKP faction proposed that one of Ahlen's streets be named after Max Reimann, a prominent leader of West German Communists, the Social Democrats voted in favour. Besides, the two parties are cooperating increasingly in the struggle for peace.

All this does not mean, the newspaper adds, that there are no longer any problems in the relations between the DKP and the SPD. During the communal elections, some Social Democrats worked to bar Communists from the city council. Nevertheless, the Communist faction and the leaders of the DKP city organisation hold that this should not prevent the party from cooperating with the SPD on all issues of concern to the people or from promoting the unity and strength of most forces to the left of the CDU.

In Brief

A Joint Initiative

A draft agreement on the creation of a European zone free from chemical weapons, drawn up by a working group of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the Social Democratic Party of Germany has been published in Berlin and Bonn. The governing bodies of both parties express the hope that the agreement will prompt interested governments to hold negotiations and will attract the attention of the Geneva Conference on Disarmament.

BRAZIL

The Brazilian Communist Party has announced its intention of joining other democratic forces to take part in the local elections scheduled for mid-November 1985.

CUBA

In view of the need to do a thorough job on important documents, above all the party programme, and to discuss them in the party, a plenary meeting of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee has decided to postpone the Third Congress of the CPC from December 1985 to February 4 to 7, 1986.

FRANCE

The nation's first Museum of the Resistance Movement has opened in the town of Champigny-sur-Marne in the 'Red Belt' of Paris. Construction was financed from the voluntary contributions raised by the Communists.

ITALY

The leadership of the Italian Communist Party has decided to convene a regular congress of the ICP in the spring of 1986.

JAPAN

A plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party has decided to convene the 17th regular Congress of Japan's Communists in the city of Atami in November 1985. Aside from a report by the JCP Central Committee, the congress is expected to discuss partial changes in the party programme and rules. The Central Committee has urged a recruitment drive to increase party membership to 500,000 and the circulation of the party press to four million.

MEXICO

Tens of thousands of Mexicans visited the traditional United Socialist Party of Mexico festival held under the slogan of a 'Struggle against Imperialism'. Urgent international and domestic issues of concern to the Mexican public were discussed at meetings with USPM leaders, debates and round tables.

POLAND

The PUWP Academy of Social Sciences has launched *Marxist Thought*, a journal to promote and publicise Marxism-Leninism in Polish society.

SPAIN

The Communist Party of Spain held its traditional festival in Madrid. Thousands of Madrilenians and numerous delegations from all over the country visited scores of booths of provincial party organisations, the exhibition of the CPS weekly, *Mundo obrero*, and the international pavilion with displays of the newspapers published by fraternal parties and national liberation movements. Spanish and foreign amateur and professional performers entertained the visitors.

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC YEMEN

On the eve of its Third Congress (October 1985) the Yemeni Socialist Party comprises almost 30,000 members.

¹ Leonard Johnson is a well-known activist of Generals for Peace and Disarmament, an international group of retired generals and admirals from NATO countries advocating disarmament, above all nuclear disarmament, and East-West dialog. — Ed.

exchange of views, discussion

LINK TO THE MASSES—EARNEST OF SUCCESS **International Symposium on the 'Prerequisites** **and Criteria of Effective Party Work'**

In 1983 and 1984 *WMR* carried articles on questions relating to the efficacy of party work and its conformity to present requirements¹. In these articles it was stressed that the diversity of the politico-ideological and organisational work of a Communist Party as a whole and of its individual units, functionaries, and rank-and-file members does not lend itself to direct measurement. Nonetheless, it is quite visible and is shown in the political stand of people, their way of thinking, consciousness and, above all, their actions.

What are the cardinal prerequisites and most dependable criteria of the efficacy of the work of Communists in diverse spheres, what do they see as indicators of success, and how can the party's mobilising influence in society be reinforced? In completing the discussion of these questions the *WMR* Commission on Exchanges of Experience of Party Work sponsored an international symposium in Berlin jointly with the Karl Marx Higher Party School of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED).

Eleven fraternal parties functioning under different conditions and in different continents were represented at the symposium: **José María Lanao**, CC member of the Communist Party of Argentina; **Nóe Gertel**, CC member of the Brazilian Communist Party; **Dimitr Ananiev**, CC section head of the Bulgarian Communist Party; **Agamemnon Stavrou**, CC member of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus; **Helmut Müller**, Berlin District Committee Second Secretary of the SED; **Heinz Mirtschin**, Central Auditing Commission member of the SED and CC Party Organs Department deputy head of the SED; **Rudolf Wiederänders**, HPS Section head of the SED Central Committee; **Kurt Fritsch**, Board and Secretariat member of the German Communist Party; **Rafic Samhoun**, CC Political Bureau member of the Lebanese Communist Party; **Domingos Lopes**, CC alternate member of the Portuguese Communist Party; **Raja Collure**, CC Political Bureau alternate member of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka; **Ahmed Salim**, CC Economic Commission member of the Communist Party of the Sudan; **Ali Ileri**, CC member of the Communist Party of Turkey.

Below is a summary of the discussions at the symposium.

In opening the symposium, **Manfred Herold**, CC alternate member of the SED and Prorector of the Karl Marx Higher Party School of the SED Central Committee, noted

that the manifold political, ideological, and organisational work of communist parties is determined largely by the prevailing historical situation. The prerequisites and criteria of the efficacy of party work differ for parties heading the building of developed socialism in their country from those for parties fighting for anti-monopoly democracy or for parties compelled to counter undisguisedly reactionary regimes and imperialist aggression. However, regardless of the specific situation in which a party functions its organisational and ideological strength and its influence on its country's social life are determined chiefly by the links it has to the working people. '... It is this contact,' Lenin wrote, 'that is the sole guarantee of our success.'² Lenin steadfastly insisted on verifying 'at every step... carefully and objectively whether contact with the masses is being maintained and whether it is a live contact'.³ Reliance on the people is the underlying principle of the work of Marxist-Leninist parties in countries where socialism has triumphed and in the non-socialist part of the world.

Resolving Tasks of Socialist Construction

The Bulgarian Communist Party, said **Dimitr Ananiev**, has elaborated and applies a system of evaluations of the efficacy of party work. However, this is not an immobile, fossilised system. It and the criteria listed in it are improved and enriched with the development of the party and the country, with the appearance of new conditions, problems, and tasks. This is a question of, in the first place, present-day requirements — socio-economic, political, and ideological — which are much higher than ever before. A correct account of these requirements creates the conditions enabling party work to influence society's development ever more effectively and play the role of a transforming factor of socialist construction.

The Bulgarian Communists are aware that the effect of party work cannot be correctly evaluated if its conversion into the social energy of the people is not watched and if its materialisation, the reification of its results is not taken into account. Hence, it is obvious that the higher the level of the creative activity, initiative, consciousness, organisation, and discipline of the working people, and more meaningful and effective becomes the work of the Communists.

The BCP's work among the people has grown more effective in recent years. The party has begun to study the interests, sentiments, and requirements of people much more comprehensively and has been able to give correct answers to matters worrying them. The Communists speak frankly with the people on all urgent national and regional issues. For instance, the draft of new labour legislation has been widely discussed. Meetings of working people have produced over 168,000 recommendations and observations. Central party and governmental bodies and the central organs of mass organisations have received more than 50,000 suggestions.

An integral system for comprehensively studying public opinion and the political sentiments of the people now operates and is being improved in Bulgaria. A card index is kept of suggestions and of the response to them, and there has been an improvement of the work with letters from citizens. The party leadership enlists scientists and experts into the collection of information and the drafting of resolutions on particularly important problems. There is a sociological information centre at the BCP Central Committee. Special departments have been set up at district party committees to collect and process party information and conduct sociological polls.

BCP primary organisations have begun to deal with the social problems of the population. They now give their attention to setting up consumer goods manufacturing enterprises, new trade outlets, services centres, recreation facilities, and sports grounds, enlarging ancillary husbandries, and improving the quality and reducing the price of food served at canteens. At 3,244 of the country's 4,500 production facilities trade outlets had been opened by 1984, while 1,374 now have every services centres.

The decisive condition for highly effective party work, **Dimitr Ananiev** noted, is that the party should pursue a correct political line. This line of the BCP, characterised by fidelity to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, is dynamic, phased, successive, creative, modern, scientific, forward-looking, and concrete. It was formulated at the CC plenary meeting in April 1956, which was presided over by Todor Zhivkov. A historic service of this line is not only that the Leninist principles of leadership and norms of party life were restored but also that the party's work was brought into conformity with the requirements of objective laws of society's development. As a result of compliance with this line, which was developed and enriched by subsequent party congresses, CC plenary meetings, and the day-to-day work of the Communists, the BCP lives a rich and full life: democracy is being extended, criticism and self-criticism are being promoted, and the principle of collective leadership is observed. Simultaneously, discipline and the ideological and organisational unity of the party are being reinforced.

Question. What are the basic ways of studying public opinion in Bulgaria?

Answer. In 1982 the republic's National Assembly passed a law regulating the rights and duties of government bodies and mass organisations and also of citizens in the preparation of decisions on the most important regional and national issues. It provides for two basic methods of addressing public opinion: poll and referendum. The aim of the first method is to learn people's opinion on this or that issue so that it may be taken into account by the relevant government agencies. When there is a referendum a decision is adopted directly by citizens of the republic or the inhabitants of a region through voting.

Question. What does the BCP's experience say of the correlation of internal and external factors when the efficacy of party work is evaluated?

Answer. Problems related to evaluating the efficacy of party work arise when individual indicators are emphasised. For example, the organisational structure, inner-party relations or the style of work are evaluated in the first place. This leads to innumerable reports and projects, and ultimately to formalism. Everything seems to be fine inside the organisation, but little progress is made in this or that area of society's life and the influence of the party is inadequate. Another extreme is to evaluate the party's work in accordance with the percentage of plan fulfilment, the growth of profits or of labour productivity. It is sometimes forgotten that the party itself does not create material and intellectual values. It uses political means to stimulate the activity of the people and of government and public organisations and through them it influences production, technological progress, labour productivity, and the cost and quality of output. That is why an administrative-managerial approach, which inevitably does not distinguish between the functions of party organs and those of government agencies, cannot be tolerated. The Bulgarian Communists are against both extremes and endeavour to evaluate the results of their work comprehensively, in the light of unity between internal and external factors.

Indispensable conditions for effective party work are the strength, unity, and ideological and organisational tempering of the party itself. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany, said **Heinz Mirtschin**, constantly concerns itself with improving the quality of inner-party life and ensuring strict compliance with Leninist norms, with the principles of democratic centralism. Where the primary organisation has an interesting, dynamic life, a climate of creativity takes shape in the entire work collective and the economic results are good.

What we call militant Programmes are a major instrument for enhancing the efficacy of the work of primary organisations of the SED: these define the specific tasks of Communists in politically ensuring the fulfilment and overfulfilment of economic development plans. In the discussions of the programmes for 1984 the leaders of party organisations spoke personally to 1,400,000 Communists. The contribution of each to

the attainment of the work collective's aims was determined. Systematic reports on the fulfilment of Militant Programmes at meetings and to the district committee give a clear idea of the level of an organisation's work.

The reinforcement of the party's strength is fostered by regulating the composition of its membership. In the period since the Tenth Congress of the SED (from 1981 to 1984), the party admitted 187,000 workers, 10,000 cooperated peasants, and 21,000 intellectuals. Of the new members 97.7 per cent are under age 30. The SED's structure shows that it is the most conscious and organised contingent of the working class and other working people of the GDR. The proportion of factory workers is 58.1 per cent, of cooperated peasants 4.8 per cent, of intellectuals 22.3 per cent, of office workers 8.2 per cent, and of persons from other social strata and groups of the population 6.6 per cent. The above-mentioned period saw the formation of 4,300 new party groups and 5,500 primary and shop organisations. The party's influence has thus been enhanced in all social strata.

The maturity of the party cadre has risen. More than half of the 468,000 elected members of the leadership of primary organisations are factory workers. Of these 71.8 per cent have completed a course of study at a party school and 51.7 per cent have a higher or secondary specialised education. The efficacy of the efforts of Communists has been and continues to be determined by the selection and training of cadres, by concern to have in the decisive sectors the most capable people implementing the party line in any situation with a sense of responsibility and with initiative, people who dare to take a reasonable risk, people who with conviction and organisational talent lead their collectives to the highest achievements.

Rudolf Wiederanders spoke of the ways and means by which the SED enhances the efficacy of its ideological work. The experience of district committees, primary organisations, and party groups shows how important it is for the Communists to maintain personal contact with the people. Effective oral agitation is acquiring increasing importance. Personal contact has not lost its significance in our day of electronics, radio, and television. The Communists attach priority to responding to new issues and to offering compelling arguments. For this it is imperative constantly to raise the level of one's own political training, to address acute problems regardless of how difficult they may be, and in working with people to show the maximum patience and ability to understand them.

The content of ideological work as such is determined chiefly by the party's strategy and tactics. At present the SUPG is working on two strategic tasks: to build a developed socialist society successfully and uphold peace dependably. One task is closely bound up with the other, because socialism's might is the chief guarantee of peace. That is why the economy has been and remains a key area of the party's work. But to tackle economic problems it is important to have a firm ideological foundation. The struggle for success begins with the ability to persuade people that the party's decisions are correct and necessary and to lead them in concrete matters.

The GDR is situated in the very centre of Europe, on the frontier between socialism and capitalism, and it is constantly and directly attacked by the troubadours of psychological warfare. Resistance to the alien views being injected from without requires that every Communist should adhere to strong class positions. It is the rule of SED members to repulse all of the adversary's attacks in a militant spirit, energetically. A major role is played by systematic and directed information that goes from the party leadership to the primary organisations, for instance, through the bulletin *What and How? (Wie und was?)* published by the public relations department of the SED Central Committee and also through well-trained propagandists and agitators. At party meetings and in the party education system the Communists acquire the ability to combat alien views successfully.

This question was enlarged upon by **Helmut Müller** with examples from the

experience of his Berlin district organisation. The Communists, he said, see historic achievement in the fact that the adversary's political, economic, and ideological attacks are helpless in the face of the party's Marxist-Leninist policy, that they have been unable to shake its links to the people. True, these attacks are causing difficulties for the GDR's development but they have never been able to halt or slow it down.

The party tempers its members and trains them to be militant on the ideological front. Here the party group has a large role to play. It works not according to a timetable but according to needs: if necessary it meets daily to decide how best to repulse this or that attack of the class enemy. In 85 per cent of the work collectives there are Communist agitators, and in the rest this work is done by trade union activists or YCL members. This helps people to take an active stand in life.

This work was shown with the example of Berlin's Elektrokohle plant, which the participants in the symposium had an opportunity to visit later. Prior to 1945 this plant, opened at the close of the 19th century, was part of the Siemens-Plania concern. It manufactures electrodes and other articles made of technical coal. Work at the plant has been and in many ways still remains arduous. But the overwhelming majority of the workers were not lured away by easy earnings at a time when West Berlin held out the temptation of higher wages and a range of goods then not available in the GDR. In 1984, a team leader at Elektrokohle named Siegfried Winkler initiated a movement called Berlin Calendar. The aim of this movement is to carry out the annual plan ahead of schedule, by December 21.

The SED, Helmut Müller continued, abides steadfastly by the principle that effective work for socialism benefits each and every person. At the above-mentioned plant output increased 8.5-fold in the period from 1949 to 1984. Wages averaged 322 marks; today they average 1,057 marks. The plant has increased its outlays 10-fold for cultural and social programmes. During the past decade it has re-equipped 1,600 workplaces with the result that arduous labour has been reduced.

From the standpoint of the efficacy of party work, said Helmut Müller, it is important to use people's own experience to persuade them: what the SED says does not conflict with what it does, and its attention is constantly focussed on people and their welfare. This makes people ready to follow the Communists and combat everything that obstructs progress. However subtle the means used by hostile propaganda it cannot shake the confidence of the GDR's citizens that the party and the workers' and peasants' state serve their vital interests.

For the Interests of Working People, Democracy and Peace

The platform currently guiding the work of the German Communist Party (DKP) was formed at its Seventh Congress in Nuremberg in January 1984. That congress, Kurt Fritsch recalled, was held at a critical time, when the deployment of US first-strike nuclear weapons commenced in the FRG, mass unemployment began to spread rapidly, and the government coalition of the parties of big capital were speeding up the political, economic, and ideological swing to the right. Of the documents adopted in Nuremberg, Kurt Fritsch singled out two as the most important: the DKP's action programme for peace and jobs and the decision to conduct a Thaelmann Enrolment into the party. The West German Communists concentrate on the fulfilment of these decisions.

What criteria does the DKP use to measure how effective its work has been in carrying out the Nuremberg decisions? First and foremost, the ability of the Communists to contribute to the attainment of the most pressing aim, that of enlarging and reinforcing the peace movement and its links to the working class movement. For this it is necessary.

first, to set up more factory peace initiative groups, to whose work a substantial contribution is being made by party cells;

second, to overcome the certain conservatism of a segment of the leadership of organisations affiliated to the Union of German Trade Unions on matters such as support for the peace movement and participation in anti-war actions;

third, to help create the conditions allowing the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), which in the autumn of 1983 reconsidered its acceptance of the NATO 'missile decision', to join actively in the movement against the US first-strike nuclear weapons on FRG territory.

To achieve their aims the Communists had to reinforce their contacts with the Social Democrats, chiefly at large industrial facilities and in the trade unions, and conduct an indefatigable fight for unity of working class action and for the development of democratic unions, whose motive force consists of the joint or concurrent actions of Communists and Social Democrats.

The past period has shown, Kurt Fritsch noted, that although not everything planned has been attained, there has been progress: the number of peace initiative groups has grown at industrial enterprises, and there is now a broader dialogue between the Communists and Social Democrats in the trade unions, where the slogan of 'Jobs, Not Missiles!' is winning steadily wider acceptance. It is indicative that the autumn 1984 peace campaign was officially supported by the relevant resolution of the SPD Board, and earlier — in May — the vast majority of the delegates to that party's congress again denounced the NATO 'double track decision'.

It may thus be recognised that the adoption and implementation of the Action-84 Programme have influenced public opinion and the political situation in the country, in other words, the efforts of the Communists have been effective in the given case.

The DKP seeks to be always in the thick of the class battles. For example, at its congress in Mannheim in 1978, the party demanded the introduction of a 35-hour working week with no cut in wages. In the autumn of 1984 printers and typesetters staged a strike under this slogan. Employers responded with lock-outs and the government used its repressive apparatus against the strikers. The party appealed to the entire working class to support this strike. There were many solidarity strikes and trade union rallies, one of which (in mid-October 1984) became the biggest to be held in the FRG in the past 30 years.

Although this clash with capitalism was only partially successful, it demonstrated the mobilising capability of the DKP, chiefly of its factory primary organisations. In the course of the struggle many trade union members saw that the Communists are the most consistent champions of working class interests. Some of them joined the party, others took subscriptions for its newspaper, *Unzere Zeit*. The most conscious young workers responded to the Thaelmann Enrolment and joined the party. Practice has once again borne out Lenin's thesis that effective work by the Communists among the people and the strengthening of the party are the two sides of one and the same coin.

The DKP considers that it is important to increase its membership but it does not regard this as an end in itself. It seeks to win more influence in the trade unions and the factory councils and trade union committees, among young people and women, and in elected legislative and local government bodies in which the party is still poorly represented on account of the various anti-democratic restrictions. The work of the Communists is effective when they continue to progress in these directions, overcoming all obstacles and public prejudices. For example, during the communal elections in North Rhine-Westphalia on September 30, 1984 the DKP focussed on a few districts and was able to increase its representation in local organs by one-third.

Question. Bourgeois propaganda gleefully reported the pronouncements of the SPD Federal Secretary Peter Glotz to the effect that it is hard to achieve cooperation 'between an elephant and a mosquito'. How do you respond to such specious theses that obviously prejudice unity of action by the Communists and Social Democrats?

Answer. Common class interests create the foundation for joint actions of the

working class. The Communists have always fostered the realisation of these interests by all working people, although this has been and remains a difficult matter. For the DKP unity of action is neither a subterfuge nor a tactic; it is a tested strategy of the German working class movement, a fundamental policy line from which the party will not be moved by any divisive theses. Our party has never linked the question of cooperation to whether a partner is big or small. Besides, the concepts of 'big' and 'small' are relative. However, the DKP is aware that the stronger a communist party is and the more influence it enjoys among the people the greater are the possibilities open to it for achieving unity of action. This is precisely why we are steadfastly working to enhance the efficacy of our work in all directions.

The Portuguese Communist Party, said **Domingos Lopes**, has the experience of working under diverse conditions — from the deepest underground to participation in governments. Long before the April Revolution, the PCP, which had only a few thousand fighters, sank deep roots among the people and enjoyed considerable influence nation-wide. In the course of the first two months after April 25, 1974 its membership rose to 30,000 and by December 1976 it had over 100,000 members. Its membership has since doubled, and almost 60 per cent of the members are workers. In the period from June to December 1984 the PCP admitted more than 10,000 new members. A large proportion of the new members are young people and women.

A serious threat has been hanging over the April gains since November 1975, when reaction and imperialism went over to the offensive. The working class and its party began playing a growing role in defending these gains when the Armed Forces Movement stepped down from the political scene. The PCP focuses special attention on work with the masses. Its efficacy is exemplified by the work of the Lisbon district party organisation, which has more than 50,000 members.

The Lisbon organisation has commissions that deal with trade union affairs, matters related to local organs of authority, and questions worrying young people and women, small and middle merchants, engineers, technicians, employers, cooperative members, pensioners, and invalids. Its coordinating commissions for peace and for information and public relations are working vigorously. Much attention is accorded to contacts with Catholics.

The commissions are assisted by 104 party centres, of which 27 are in the capital and 77 in the Lisbon district. Seventy per cent of the working people are organised in trade unions. Forty of Lisbon's largest trade unions affiliated to the umbrella Intersindical organisation have nearly half a million members, while the 11 yellow, breakaway trade unions have only 88,000 members. More than 1,500 Communists or their allies have been elected to serve in organs of local authority of various levels.

Further, in Lisbon there are over 300 commissions handling the affairs of the population, and these deal with matters related to transport, children's institutions, environmental protection and culture. Roughly 95 per cent of these commissions are headed by Communists or their allies. It is precisely because of this link to the masses that the PCP membership is growing, as is the number of people voting for the candidates nominated by it: at the municipal elections in December 1982 these people numbered 20 per cent of the electorate.

We, **Domingos Lopes** continued, are fighting for a basic reorientation of the country's domestic and foreign policies. None of the cabinets that have replaced one another since 1975 has committed itself to banning the deployment and transportation of nuclear weapons on Portuguese territory. That is why the apprehension articulated by the public on this score are fully justified. This concern has led to the appearance of a broad anti-nuclear movement.

The Communists are collaborating with all other anti-war forces and individuals. In the peace movement the Communists play an irreplaceable role whatever the circumstances in which the struggle against the nuclear threat unfolds. The efficacy of

these efforts depends largely on the extent to which they are linked to the aims of social progress, to the broad actions of international solidarity, and also to the strengthening of the solidarity of the anti-imperialist, peace forces, and of the internationalist unity of the Communists of the world.

Question. With whom and how does the PCP cooperate on a party-to-party level and what does this give?

Answer. At present the Portuguese Democratic Movement (PDM) is our main partner at this level. In pre-election and election campaigns both parties form the Popular Unity Alliance (APU) bloc, which is joined by many independent individuals and groups.⁴ This Alliance is more than an arithmetical sum of forces of the PCP and the PDM. It enables us to involve proportionately much broader social strata. For instance, at the 1982 municipal elections, which were our biggest election success, the APU nominated 60,000 candidates nation-wide, and of these more than half were people unaffiliated to any of the Alliance parties. There were Socialists among them. However, this wide composition of the lists is by no means evidence of any slackening of the PCP's decisive role in the alliance. On the contrary, it clearly shows the efficacy of the party's policy and election tactics and exposes the myth about the Communists' 'isolation' that was spread by reaction and by the right and 'left' opportunists.

Question. What is the PCP's approach to socio-economic problems?

Answer. Our party considers that the present government's policy of restoring the monopolies and the landed estates is responsible for the aggravation of the present financial-economic crisis and that the only way out of this situation is to safeguard the gains of the April revolution. The party constantly discusses these questions with the participation of workers and technical specialists, including those who are not its members.⁵ First and foremost, the PCP wants to develop ways of meeting the most pressing demands of the working people. For instance, at various levels — from parish and municipal councils to the Assembly of the Republic — the Communists are suggesting realistic alternatives to the closure of factories and the growth of unemployment. A mass struggle — with the active participation of the trade unions — is under way for these alternatives: strikes with the occupation and non-occupation of industrial facilities, hunger marches of protest, demonstrations in front of governmental offices, the blockading of streets, and so forth. Success — complete or partial — is not a rarity. And what is also important is that thousands of more people are acquiring the experience of militant political action. This, too is an indication of the efficacy of the party's work.

Can the number of votes polled by a party at national or local elections be regarded as a criterion for evaluating the efficacy of its work? In answering this question, José María Lanao noted that this is a very important criterion for the Communist Party of Argentina. After the restoration of democratic institutions elections became one of the major events in the life of the republic. They play the role of accelerator or decelerator of the process of giving shape to a front of national and social liberation, on the formation of which the efforts of the Communist Party are now focussed.

Election results, José María Lanao said, are unquestionably a significant indicator showing the growth or diminution of the Communist Party's prestige among the electorate. But it is far from always suggestive of the actual influence enjoyed by the Communists among the people. Such was the case at elections held in Argentina at the Close of 1983 when the polarisation of forces around two political parties⁶ to the detriment of the others exceeded all expectations.

Apart from some political circumstances that influenced these elections, it would be useful to analyse the factors that shed light on the efficacy of the election campaign. A generalisation of the accumulated experience is made all the more important by the fact that in the 67 years since it was founded the CPA has rarely managed to win the right to participate in elections. In this area the bourgeois parties are much more

experienced.

Driving to make their election campaigns more effective, the Argentine Communists are drawing the following conclusions for themselves:

- it is vital to understand the specific features that public relations and publicity acquire in these campaigns;

- under conditions where most of the mass media are in the hands of bourgeois parties, the Communists should work directly with people, persuade them to vote for the party, and begin this work with those whom they know personally and who respect them as true champions of the people's interests, in other words, the trustworthiness of information should be reinforced with the moral prestige enjoyed by the agitator;

- at the latest elections the Communists elected in the different districts and towns had one feature in common; the electorate had an intimate knowledge of their militancy in the struggle for the people's interests and of their participation in various public organisations; it is important to rely on candidates of this stamp;

- the modern mass media make new demands of candidates: a single appearance on television can win thousands of additional votes or, on the contrary, forfeit these votes, and this means that CPA candidates with access to television need special training, such as the one that bourgeois parties skilfully provide.

Another key criterion of the effectiveness of the Communist Party's work, José María Lanao noted, is the ability to mobilise the people for the struggle for peace, to avert a thermonuclear catastrophe and counter imperialism's aggressive policy.

Argentina, he said, is situated in the southern cone of the American continent and geographically it was far removed from the theatre of the two world wars. This, it would seem, provides the ruling circles with ideal conditions for keeping the people away from anti-war actions and from international solidarity. However, on account of the complex interlacing of developments and the problems confronting the nation — political destabilisation, economic crisis, the burden of servicing the external debt, 'social partnership', the disputes over the status of the Malvinas, and so on — there is a growing relationship between national and international factors.

An event that may be described as unprecedented in Argentina's history occurred in mid-September 1984. It bears out the above assertion and is evidence that the CPA is able to combine the national aspects of its struggle with the fulfilment of common internationalist tasks.

A US naval squadron that entered Puerto Madryn (Chubut Province), situated some 800 kilometres away from Buenos Aires, was, under pressure from popular actions, obliged to move out and anchor more than a kilometre from the shore. In spite of promises from the Argentine government, the squadron was unable to obtain supplies of food and fuel. About 5,000 demonstrators (the town has only 20,000 inhabitants) gathered in the harbour to protest against the presence of the unwelcome visitors. The Puerto Madryn Municipal Council proclaimed the US marines *personae non gratae*, while the dock workers denied the crews all services. This protest action was organised on the initiative of many political organisations in the town, and the demonstration was headed by the Communists.

The question arises whether this was a spontaneous eruption of the people's feeling. Why had the working people, pre-occupied as they were with their day-to-day concern about their daily bread, joined in a purely political action? To what extent is this event testimony of the efficacy of the Communists' struggle against US imperialism's aggressive policy?

The Communist Party notes the close link between this action and the war over the Malvinas, during which large segments of the people saw who were their friends and who their enemies. Within a few days people acquired vast experience and saw the role that Argentina had to play on the world scene. To a large extent this was facilitated by the explanatory work conducted by the Communists.

Question. How does the CPA use its access to official mass media?

Answer. The authorities were pressured by the people into giving us this opportunity. As the bourgeois parties, the CPA now has unhampered access to the state radio and television networks. Party representatives not only expound to a huge audience their understanding of national problems but also propagate the cause of peace, disseminate accurate information about existing socialism, denounce imperialism's attacks, and call for solidarity with Cuba and Nicaragua. This is our effective contribution to the moulding of public opinion.

A distinctive feature of the status of the Brazilian Communist Party, described at the symposium by Noé Gertel, was that under the National Security Law, passed when the military dictatorship was in power, citizens could not be punished for holding communist views but the formation of the Communist Party was regarded as a crime. In this situation the Brazilian Communists used various means to fight for a legal status for their party as part of the struggle for democracy and revolutionary progress in Brazil.

For the party its former experience of underground work proved to be inadequate. To carry out the new tasks effectively it is now drawing upon the collectively elaborated Organisation Project. This document reflects and takes into account the situation in the Communist ranks, the political situation and its development, the operating laws, and the country's regional specifics. Further, it charts the areas of immediate actions.

The efforts of the Communists are yielding results. They have become an acknowledged force of the democratic alliance, which has been joined even by some representatives of the military regime, who have broken with the latter over serious differences.⁷ As regards the party's influence and prestige among the people, more than six decades of participation in social and political battles have had a good effect despite the serious difficulties encountered by the Communists, especially after the fascist coup of 1964.

The Communists have in effect emerged from underground, but the BCP holds that only full legality will enable it to fight effectively for power in order to direct society's progress along the road to socialism and ensure the viability of the proletariat's political hegemony in a broad bloc of democratic and national forces. In the present situation the party does not orient itself, as it did formerly, exclusively on a worker-peasant alliance. While relying on the proletariat, it uses class positions to elaborate decisions consistent with the interests of all the anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly, and anti-latifundista strata. For this it is not necessary to have two parties: a legal and a clandestine one. Full legality, Noé Gertel said in conclusion, is the BCP's fundamental line.

Question. Does this formulation of the question not entail some risk in view of the fact that profound reactionary tendencies are implicit in Brazil's ruling class?

Answer. For the Communists there can be no absolute security in a capitalist state. But we believe that within limits — and this is exactly how this problem should be considered — their security depends on the militancy of the masses, on the conquest of basic political freedoms, particularly, the inalienable right of the working class to have its own party. It is also evident that legality removes one of the causes of harassment of Communists on the pretext that they violate laws. No potential threats can compel the BCP to abandon voluntarily its determination to obtain the most favourable possibilities for participating in the mass struggle.

In his analysis of the experience of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka, Raja Collure dealt with the question of the efficacy of the policy of alliances. The success of party work, he said, is often measured by criteria such as the growth of membership, electoral successes, increases in the circulation of the party press, and so on. However, these indicators lose their significance if the party makes no progress towards the

attainment of its basic aims or towards the creation of conditions conducive to the attainment of these aims. Here a large role is played by a correct policy of class and political alliances, as well as by the enlistment to the side of the party of people from strata for which its long-term or immediate objectives are important.

The CPSL considers that the struggle for national sovereignty (endangered by the Sri Lankan government's growing involvement in the military-strategic plans of US imperialism), democratic rights and liberties, and national unity is the immediate task. Of course, this has to be combined with the day-to-day struggle to defend the vital interests of the people.

The development of cooperation among the left and radical parties, including the CPSL, during the past year has helped to intensify the popular struggle and added new vigour to the work of Communists and other progressive forces.⁸ In order to ensure broader interaction among the democrats to meet the present tasks we feel that it has now become important to resolve the question of cooperation with the bourgeois opposition Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) led by Sirimavo R.D. Bandaranaike.

In developing countries the Communists often have to cooperate with bourgeois strata, as the CPSL did in the period from 1968 to 1977.⁹ In such conditions we were guided by the principle of unity and struggle. However, in retrospect the party is not satisfied that it had in all cases maintained a proper balance between the two nor that it determined correctly, in practical terms, when the struggle was to be extended and when the emphasis was to be on unity.

The fact is that in a multi-class alliance each class strives to advance its own interests. The struggle for common goals pushes class contradictions to the background, but they still simmer. Often the non-proletarian forces attempt to push the working class aside and to weaken its positions and its influence. That is why it is so important for a Communist Party to preserve its identity.

Upon entering into an alliance, the party of the working class cannot lose either its identity or orientation. This implies its right not only to independent existence and organisational freedom but also its right to chart a policy of its own. Yet it remains an honest partner: it supports and defends the commonly adopted positions and fights to promote unity in attaining the objectives for which the alliance has been established.

Since a policy of alliance may involve compromise and limitations imposed on efforts to uphold class positions, the Communist Party of Sri Lanka seeks to keep the masses constantly informed of its own position, of what it is doing and what it strives to achieve. For if the Communists lose their distinct political identity, people often desert them for other, stronger partners in the alliance.

The failure of a party to be a good tactician, to promptly adjust its policy to changing conditions sharply lowers the efficacy of its work and may lead to an 'explosive' situation in its ranks. The CPSL, for instance, failed to recognise in time the turning point past which the anti-imperialist potential of the national bourgeoisie began to wane. As a result, certain mistakes were made between 1970 and 1977 and had to be corrected later.

Upon closely analysing its achievements and miscalculations, the CPSL draws the conclusion that effective work by the party and real influence among the people are not achieved by pushing for popularity at all costs. A strict class analysis of the existing situation, the determination on this basis of correct tactics and strategy in, among other things, the question of relations with actual or potential allies, and the mobilisation of the Communists for the attainment of set objectives are important, though not the only, prerequisites of successful progress.

Our work, Agamemnon Stavrou said, is effective only if we make a correct assessment of the distinct conditions in which a party is waging its struggle and discharging its historical mission — that of being a genuine champion of the interests of the working class and all other working people, of putting an end to capitalist exploitation. Now

that almost 40 per cent of our country's territory has been occupied by Turkish troops for over ten years and numerous military bases and monitoring spy stations dot the map of Cyprus, AKEL holds that the socialist transformation of the country is not an immediate task.

Thanks to the Communists' persevering work among the people, Agamemnon Stavrou went on, the left-wing trade union movement in Cyprus is the largest and best-organised force playing a decisive part in socio-economic and political affairs. The order of the day is to ensure joint action and then attain organisational unity of all of the country's trade unions. Also, the party ceaselessly demands an agrarian reform, the confiscation of the estates held by big landowners and the Church and their distribution among rural working people. The party is working to ensure the modernisation of lifestyles and production and gives its backing to peasant cooperatives.

Without diminishing its attention to the urgent problems of the working people, AKEL accords priority to the political task of ensuring the survival of Cyprus as a state. The immediate objectives of the day include the withdrawal of Turkish and other foreign troops; the dismantling of foreign bases; the preservation of the country's independence, sovereignty, non-alignment, and territorial integrity; assurance of the republic's international status and the implementation of the relevant UN resolutions; and convocation of an international conference on the issue of Cyprus with Soviet participation. Large segments of the island's population respond to and support the party's patriotic platform and the indefatigable efforts of the Communists to implement it.

AKEL firmly supports the process of inter-communal talks and rejects the adventurist policy of armed confrontation with the Turkish troops. The current alignment of forces rules out military methods as they would be catastrophic to our independence. We advocate a peaceful political settlement of the Cyprus issue with the vigorous participation of the UN Secretary-General and the two Cypriot communities.

Question. How does AKEL use its status of the country's biggest party in and outside parliament?¹⁰

Answer. AKEL has no government posts, but the country cannot be governed without it, let alone in defiance of it. This has been the situation in which we have cooperated with the ruling Democratic Party of President Spyros Kyprianou. This was based on a minimum programme of steps, signed jointly in April 1982, aimed at resolving the country's more pressing domestic and external problems. This cooperation was never easy. Swayed by imperialist and right-wing pressure, the President's actions, both in terms of socio-economic transformations and, most importantly, in what concerned a peaceful and just settlement of the problem of Cyprus, lacked consistency. As a result, a split occurred in late 1984, caused by what amounted to a refusal by Kyprianou and the leadership of his party to meet their obligations under the minimum programme. The situation deteriorated seriously. As to its parliamentary activities, the AKEL faction has always worked to secure the adoption of legislation benefiting the poorer sections of the population. For example, the parliament has decided to ban rent rises. Communist proposals are also aimed at democratising various aspects of the social fabric. A case in point is the bill submitted by our parliamentary faction to restrict interference by the authorities in the cooperative movement and to promote the role of democratic control in it. All this is enhancing AKEL's prestige and influence among the people.

Against Aggression and Reactionary Dictatorships

The situation in Lebanon, said Rafic Samhoun, is characterised by the fact that the country has become the victim of undisguised intervention (June 1982) by imperialism and zionism, which sought to destroy the Palestina Resistance Movement, crush the

local national patriotic forces, weaken Syria, and attain unchallenged supremacy in the Middle East. This aggression was undertaken against the background of a civil war that has not ceased since 1975 although there have been periods when the fighting died down. The war was provoked by fascist-confessionalist reaction in an effort to abolish democratic rights and liberties, divide the nation along the lines of religious-communal affiliation, and detach the country from the Arab world.

The civil war and the Israeli invasion led to the country's division into three distinct zones. One of them (a section of the Lebanese mountains and East Beirut) was controlled by units of the fascist Kata'eb Party (Phalangists); another (the central and northern regions, the rest of the Lebanese mountains, and West Beirut) — by national patriotic forces; and the third (south of the Awali River to the international border and the western part of the Bekaa Valley) — by the Israeli invaders and their puppets from the so-called army of South Lebanon.¹¹ In keeping with the specific situation in each of these zones, the Communist Party worked out and employed the most effective forms and methods of struggle.

For instance, on territory held by the Phalangists the party operated underground, setting up small organisations, which maintained secret communication with the party leadership. The Communists were assigned the task of protecting the interests of the people with the help of the trade unions, promoting the party line with all available means, and uniting the democratic Christians against the fascist forces.

In the South, occupied by the Israeli aggressors, the LCP structure was automatically transformed to consist of organs of underground resistance. Small armed units were formed. Utilising guerrilla warfare tactics, these strike daily at the invaders and their myrmidons, the collaborationists, destroying the enemy's manpower, equipment, and infrastructure.¹² These attacks are accompanied by powerful popular actions involving all sections of society — from workers to peasants, from students and women to members of the clergy. In both these zones the Communists circulate the party newspaper and leaflets and endeavour to sustain the population's militant spirit.

Lastly, in areas controlled by the national patriotic forces, the party organs have been turned into headquarters conducting political, military and ideological work simultaneously; where the official authorities do not or cannot do so, they install telephone communications and supply the population with water, electricity, medicines, and food.

In this new situation, Rafic Samhoun declared, not only the methods of work but the party's character has undergone a fundamental change. Whereas initially military operations were conducted mainly by specially trained comrades, the course of events (the US-Israeli invasion and the intensification of attacks by fascist reaction) later demanded the prompt implementation of the resolutions of the LCP's Fourth Congress (1979), namely: to extend the military training of cadres, involve the entire organisation in the armed struggle, and turn it into a mass fighting party.

In the civil war and in the fighting against the Israeli aggressors the Communist losses were 700 dead and more than double that number in wounded. But the sacrifices have not been in vain. Operating in the face of enormous difficulties, the Communist Party has become a major factor of national resistance and made a tangible contribution to the historic successes of the Lebanese people — the expulsion of the US marines and their NATO allies from the country, the annulment of the disgraceful Lebanese-Israeli agreement of May 17, 1983, and the formation of a government of national unity. The LCP owes its successes to the circumstances that it was able to adopt the needed slogans opportunely, at every stage coupling correct policy with the corresponding organisational methods and forms of struggle, painstakingly giving consideration to local and broader factors. The prestige of the Communists as the vanguard of the working class and all other working people of Lebanon is a result of

the fact that their actions match their words, that they are always where things are hardest and most dangerous, that they draw the people by personal example.

Question. How effective is the LCP's policy of alliances?

Answer. In order to liberate Lebanon from US-Israeli occupation the Communists proposed the creation of the National Salvation Front, which, apart from the LCP, was joined by its principal and constant ally — the Progressive Socialist Party — and other patriotic forces, as well as some leading uncommitted personalities (for instance, Lebanon's former President Sulaiman Franjiya and the present Prime Minister Rachid Karame). The LCP and the PSP have been able to establish total coordination between their armed units. The unity of the Lebanese patriots, the firm alliance with Syria, and reliance on the Soviet Union have resulted in historic victories over US imperialism, its Israeli accomplice, and local reaction. In 1984 the Lebanese anti-imperialist forces took another step forward, announcing the formation of the National Democratic Front,¹³ whose programme envisions the expulsion of all the invaders, the restoration of the nation's integrity, an end to dependence on imperialism, the extirpation of confessionalism, and the establishment of a genuinely secular power structure.

Question. How has the need to combine legal and clandestine work affected the structure and functioning of the LCP organs?

Answer. After 1969, despite the decision to extend the scope of legal work, the party preserved its underground apparatus. When the Israeli aggression of 1982 commenced our comrades of this apparatus were the first to open fire on the invaders in Beirut, setting in motion a powerful resistance movement that within only a week compelled the invaders to pull out of the city. In parallel, the Communists continued acting in the trade unions and other mass organisations. In the face of difficulties, the party was able to avoid arrests among its members and did not violate the principle of collective leadership. Several leading centres were set up. When the full CC was unable to gather together, sittings were held in each of these centres, and then representatives of the leadership met in the Political Bureau to consider pressing matters and make decisions. This form of work proved to be effective at the time. The need for it fell away with Israel's withdrawal from Beirut and a part of South Lebanon. Under all circumstances the LCP has unflinchingly complied with the Leninist norms of party life, notably the principle of democratic centralism.

Question. What is the role of international factors in your struggle?

Answer. Our party never separates itself from the national patriotic forces in the Arab world headed by fraternal communist parties, from all the champions of freedom, peace and progress, whose vanguard consists of socialist countries. We link the success of our struggle to the growth of the Arab national liberation movement, to an all-embracing settlement of the crisis in the region. The LCP sees a living dialectical bond between global and national problems. We are certain that the removal of the threat of a destructive thermonuclear war would be a triumph for all the anti-imperialist forces, to the same extent as every victory won over imperialism and its sycophants is an important contribution to the consolidation of peace.

The Communist Party of Turkey, said Ali Ileri, has been underground for over 50 years. Today it is fighting a regime of open terror that strives to exterminate the party physically and, at the same time, builds up an anti-communist campaign to isolate the party from the people. However, the positions won by the CPT in the trade unions, among youth and women, and in the peasants' cooperative movement enable it, to this day, to conduct political work quite effectively.

How does the party consolidate its ties to the people in these difficult conditions?

First and foremost, through underground party organisations — cells and committees on the shop floor, in workers' neighbourhoods, and at universities. For their operation coordination and regular contacts at all levels are of great importance. In 1982 the police struck a brutal blow at this network, which had taken the party years

to build: hundreds of comrades were arrested; others found themselves in isolation. In late 1983 the CPT held its Fifth Congress. The preparations for the congress and the congress itself helped to heal wounds and to restore party discipline and its organisational structure, thereby increasing its capability.

Party organisations live and fight on. Running the risk of being thrown into a torture chamber or killed in the street, our comrades are distributing *Atilim*, the central organ of the CPT, *World Marxist Review*, other communist publications, and tens of thousands of leaflets, this being an important indication of effective work in underground conditions. The party's voice reaches the people. This is borne out by the letters the CPT paper and the party radio station receive from all over Turkey, from people of different political views. During political campaigns the Communists functioning underground appeal to the people by means of postcards and telephone calls, explaining the party's stand and slogans.

The establishment, jointly with five other parties,¹⁴ of the Left Unity coalition in December 1984 was an important advance for the CPT. A search is currently under way for the possibility of a dialogue with the three bourgeois opposition parties, the only ones not outlawed. This is of great importance for promoting activity among the people and for creating a broad front to act against the dictatorship. Of course, a dialogue involving forces operating in such different conditions is no easy task. The Communists hold that their specific contribution is to state, on every important political occasion, the party's opinion and the views which coincide with those of its allies; for this purpose a form is chosen which the working people following the bourgeois opposition can also grasp.

Ali Ileri then touched upon some problems and shortcomings in the CPT's work among the people. Because of the terror and demagoguery unleashed by the regime the working class is not as active as it used to be; it is only building up strength. Besides, the party itself is still inexperienced in this form of struggle; sometimes revolutionary restraint is lost and mistakes are made. Work among peasants — oppressed, backward, and deprived of all rights to organisation — is the hardest challenge. Here, with a policy of alliance, the Communists try to tap the potential of other anti-dictatorial forces with traditional influence in rural areas, of migrant workers with firm ties to their villages, and of village schoolteachers and technical experts.

Vagueness in the identification of our 'addressees' among the masses, *Ali Ileri* continued, is a serious mistake. The 'masses' is a broad concept. Depending on the task in question, it is important to identify precisely who we are addressing — industrial workers, salary earners, or, say students. For example, where the peace struggle is concerned the party gets its biggest response from intellectuals, while legally sanctioned associations in the form of sports clubs address primarily young people.

The level of mass consciousness and organisation is the most reliable criterion of how effective the Communists' work is. In Turkey it is still too early to speak of the possibility of 'feeling the pulse', of measuring these factors. But the results of the CPT's efforts can be perceived indirectly. For example, in June 1984 slogans advanced by the CPT were supported by a meeting of 10,000 working-representatives of the Turk-Isk legal trade union federation.

Question. Could you name nation-wide political campaigns in which the CPT played a perceptible part?

Answer. The CPT strives to advance and publicise slogans on topical issues of concern to the democratic public at large. For example, in April 1984, when the NATO Nuclear Planning Group was meeting in Ankara, the CPT put forward the slogan 'No to US Bases and Missiles', and it was widely welcomed by the public. Even bourgeois opposition politicians, usually reluctant to commit themselves on this matter, came out against the deployment of new missiles on Turkish soil.

Or take the following developments. In 1982, when the junta was trying to impose an

anti-democratic constitution on the people, we urged them to vote against it. Many people supported the Communists, although they did not show in the falsified results of the referendum. In 1983 the number of those who voted against the regime (the number of 'invalid votes') in the so-called general elections reached 1,500,000. And in the 1984 communal elections, over 40 per cent of the votes went, on CPT advice, to the legal opposition parties.

In July 1972, one year after brutal reprisals were started against the Communist Party of the Sudan, said **Ahmed Salim**, a plenary meeting of its Central Committee confirmed that the restoration and reorganisation of the party had, in general, been completed. In this connection and Central Committee charted a number of tasks concerning the training of cadres, the strengthening of the party leadership, and the creation of highly effective mechanisms for clandestine activity. Further, the Central Committee pointed out that greater attention should be devoted to work among the people.

During the period of defensive tactics, while it was gathering strength, the CPS was mostly engaged in propaganda efforts to expose the policy of the Nimeiri dictatorship and explain the immediate tasks and the party's main political objectives to the working people. Then the process commenced of improving the party's class and ideological structure and creating a broad network of mass organisations around it.

Stability within the party and more vigorous and diversified work among the people are the two main prerequisites of effective party building, of clandestine activity, and of making the party safe from reprisals. In order to meet these conditions it was imperative to gather up the experience we have gained, sum it up, and disseminate it among the Communists. This was what the party organs focussed their work on.

At the stage of the struggle against the dictatorship it is of paramount importance to uphold the political and economic rights of the people and to overcome the attitudes of isolationism, of withdrawing into a small world of day-to-day personal concerns. It is important for people to realise clearly that any democratic gain, no matter how small, is a step forward which opens new opportunities.

The Communists constantly explain their programme, party Rules, and slogans to the more advanced people, bring them round to understanding the general principles of Marxism-Leninism and the embodiment of these principles in the national context, and persuade them to join the party of the working people. Such contacts between the party cadres and ordinary people both strengthen the CPS and help to revolutionise the mass consciousness.

The people proceed from their own experience in developing new ways of struggle. But the success of the struggle depends to a great degree on who leads the masses. While spontaneous eruptions of discontent reflect the political will and resolve of the people to rise against the dictatorship, the role of the working class is to direct day-to-day action through its political and economic organisations.

The CPS reached a higher plane of activity after it had largely overcome the effects of a difficult period of its history, after it had proved its viability in victory and in defeat. Priority is now given to the policy of broad democratic alliances and the skilful combination of legal and clandestine forms of struggle in which party organisations invariably maintain close contacts with the working people and uphold their rights and interests.

The politisation of the people and the accumulation of strength to shake and depose the reactionary regime are the key criterion of the effectiveness of the Communist Party's work in such circumstances.¹⁵

Question. What is the attitude of the Sudanese Communists to the forces operating in the South of the country?

Answer. the problem of the South is a legacy of colonial rule: in it there is a national minority (six million people out of a total of 22 million) which differs from the

northerners ethnically, culturally, and in religious terms. Our party did not support the southerners' idea of separate statehood for their area; we held that this unwarranted partition ran counter to the interests of both the national liberation and the working class movements. However, we have always been in favour of genuine autonomy for the South, of respect for the traditions and identity of the people who live there. In 1972, after the relevant agreement was signed in Addis Ababa, the Khartoum regime consented to grant autonomy to the south, and hostilities there ceased. But the central government soon went back on its own promises and flagrantly interfered in the affairs of the southerners, the culmination of which was the enforcement of Islamic law (the Shariat) throughout the whole of the Sudan. The liberation forces had to resume resistance, including armed resistance, not to partition the country but to overthrow the pro-imperialist regime and create a government of national unity. That is why the CPS began a dialogue with these forces, convinced that joint action by opponents of the dictatorship in the North and in the South offers a better guarantee of success.

In rounding off the discussion, **Roland Bauer**, CC member of the SED and member of the *WMR* Editorial Board, said that given the diversity of the experience presented at it the participants in the symposium accentuated the need to persuade the working people that the party's policy is correct and provide them with leadership. Here the main indications of success are actual positive changes that the parties are working for in the name of and together with the working people of their respective countries.

In the papers that were presented it was noted that the effectiveness of a party's work is closely linked to whether or not its policy has a scientific basis. Lenin constantly warned against simplification in evaluating the many processes of society's development and insisted on an unceasing study of the experience of the people's revolutionary-transformative activity, a systematic verification of theoretical conclusions in practice and of the correctness of political decisions, and the timely introduction of corrections where this was required by life.

Proceeding from the well-known Marxist postulate about the theoretical, political, and economic spheres of the class struggle, being 'in harmony and in . . . interconnections',¹⁶ it may be said that realistic, scientifically-substantiated party work presupposes the unity of its three main components. This means studying the actual situation and working out strategic concepts; defining prospects and current aims and the ways and means of attaining them; fulfilling set tasks by mobilising the forces of the working class, of all the working people.

At the symposium concrete examples were used to show how imperative it is to translate into practice the pithy slogan calling for closer unity between words and deeds, i.e., between the party's ideological and organisation work. This task cannot be carried out once and for all. It requires constant effort in keeping with the changing situation, with emphasis on the perfection of the entire style and atmosphere of inner-party life and on opportunely giving substantiated and realistic answers to the questions posed by life.

The Communists attach considerable significance to strengthening their parties, to strict compliance with the international Leninist principles of party building and leadership of social processes. The principle of democratic centralism, which spells out free expression of opinion and unity of action in conducting agreed policy, remains paramount under all conditions.

In drawing up and implementing their political line, the fraternal parties proceed from the assumption that a close link exists between national and internationalist objectives.

Today, when imperialism is vigorously coordinating its anti-communist actions, when its most aggressive circles are trying to put the further existence of life on earth in question, united internationalist actions by the working class, by all the working people are vital to safeguard peace and the democratic rights and liberties of peoples

effectively and raise a durable barrier to the attainment of the imperialist plans.

The problem of effective party work, Roland Bauer said in conclusion, can never be exhausted. Every new task and every new objective of the Communists, every change in the situation and the conditions of struggle, and every new success or setback pose that problem all over again. The journal will go on giving unrelaxing attention to the study and discussion of this problem in its various aspects.

¹ See *WMR* Nos. 1 and 7, 1983, Nos. 1, 2, 4 and 12, 1984.

² V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 19.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 19, p. 409.

⁴ In March 1985 the PCP and the Portuguese Greens decided to join forces in the APU. — *Ed.*

⁵ The economic situation in the country and the ways and means of ending the crisis were on the agenda of, for instance, a conference held by the PCP at the close of March 1985 with the participation of representatives of some fraternal parties and of our journal. This is discussed in Sergei Tsukasov, 'Assuming Responsibility', *WMR*, No. 6, 1985. — *Ed.*

⁶ These are the Radical Civic Union, which won the election, and the Justice Party, founded in 1947 by General Perón. — *Ed.*

The information given by Noé Gertel refers to the close of 1984. The candidate of the democratic alliance was elected President of Brazil last January. In May the National Congress passed a bill lifting the ban on a number of political parties, including the Brazilian Communist Party. — *Ed.*

⁷ This cooperation began in the spring of 1984, when the CPSL, the Sri Lanka Equal Society Party (Lanka Sama Samaja Party — LSSP), the Sri Lanka People's Party (SLPP), and the United Front came together to hold a joint May Day rally and demonstration on the basis of common slogans agreed on in advance. — *Ed.*

⁸ Founded in 1968, the SLFP-LSSP-CPSL United Front formed a government in 1970. The LSSP was a member of that government until September 1975. The Front virtually disintegrated in February 1977 when the CPSL pulled out. — *Ed.*

⁹ At the May 1981 parliamentary elections AKEL won the biggest share of the votes (about 33 per cent) and has more seats (12) in parliament than any other political party. — *Ed.*

¹⁰ This was the situation at the close of 1984 before the forced pull-out of the Israeli troops commenced. — *Ed.*

¹¹ At the first national conference in support of the struggle for the liberation of South Lebanon it was noted that in the period from July 1982 to April 1984 the losses of the invaders in Lebanon were 764 killed and 1,368 wounded. From October 1982 to November 1984 the patriots conducted more than 1,000 combat operations in the south of the country. Also eloquent is the fact that the two-year occupation of South Lebanon cost Israeli 3,500 million dollars. — *Ed.*

¹² This Front consists of the LCP, the PSP, the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party, the Syrian National Social Party of Lebanon, and some other organisations. — *Ed.*

¹³ The Socialist Party of Turkish Kurdistan, the Vanguard Workers' Party of Kurdistan, the Workers' Party of Turkey, the Communist Workers' Party of Turkey, and the Socialist Workers' party of Turkey. This is dealt with at some length in *WMR*, No. 10, 1984. — *Ed.*

¹⁴ In April 1985 after several days of strikes and turbulent action the army took over power in the Sudan. It was announced that the Nimeiri regime had been deposed, that political prisoners were being released, and that efforts would be made to resolve the problem of the South peacefully (see Tijani Tayeb Babeqr, 'After 14 Years Underground', *WMR*, No. 8, 1985). — *Ed.*

¹⁵ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 2, p. 170.

Changes in the Wage-Labour System

Robert Steigerwald — Board member,
German Communist Party (DKP)

SOME serious ideological problems are posited by the structural changes which are now under way in the capitalist society and which have an effect on the workers' conditions and social make-up. Below are considered some lines in the study of these processes by social scientists at the Institute of Marxist Studies in Frankfurt on the Main in the FRG.*

Concerning the Revolutionary Subject

Whenever Marxists nowadays take a stand for the fundamental proposition on the historical mission of the working class, our critics, both 'right' and 'left', declare that to

be dogmatism, arguing that the gist of the problem is, after all, not whether the working class *was* a revolutionary subject in the 19th and the early 20th century, but whether it has remained such in the industrialised capitalist society to this day. Why, they ask, should 'new social forces' not assume the role of revolutionary subject today? In the FRG, for instance, these are the forces most actively protesting against the negative manifestations of big capital's social and economic policy, while the workers are allegedly engaged mainly in safeguarding jobs, raising living standards, and improving working conditions within the framework of the capitalist economy. That being so, should Marxists not think again on this key problem of revolutionary subject?

Such arguments may appear to be not quite groundless. Indeed, everything, including the working class, develops and changes, producing new and still unprobed problems. One will readily see, however, that our critics' arguments based on that premise are, to say the least, oversimplified, for they seek to reduce the problem of revolutionary subject to identifying a potential that is ready-made and joined in battle. Actual political activity of this or that social force is their yardstick. It is perfectly obvious that such an approach has no theoretical depth to speak of. Indeed, students do now and again protest and shout political slogans, while the workers appear to demand only an improvement of the economic situation, but it does not follow that the working class has shed its historical mission. The problem has much deeper roots, and such a superficial approach cannot help to bring them out.

In broad historical terms and from the standpoint of Marxism, it is the popular masses as a whole that are the revolutionary subject, with the working class having no exclusive prerogative to revolutionary initiative. Lenin says that 'revolution... cannot be anything other than an outburst of mass struggle on the part of all and sundry oppressed and discontented elements. Inevitably, sections of the petty bourgeoisie and of the backward workers will participate in it — without such participation *mass* struggle is impossible, without it no revolution is possible.'

The conclusion also holds true for the FRG where the various social strata join in the anti-imperialist movement and bring in their own demands, ever more often taking action against capital, staging spontaneous riots, and taking various democratic initiatives. The forms of protest objectively aimed against the policy of the ruling monopoly class are highly diverse, but sharp action by this or that stratum of the population does not yet indicate who in the present period is capable of becoming the 'intellectual and moral motive force and the physical executor'² in transforming the capitalist society into a socialist society.

Only a class antagonistic to big capital which can exist without capitalism (whereas the latter cannot do without it) is capable of acting as such a 'motive force', such an 'executor'. It must also unite and lead the other strata opposed to capital. Those are qualities which the working class alone has in the capitalist society.

What Lenin once said still holds good: 'The overthrow of bourgeois rule can be accomplished only by the proletariat, the particular class whose economic conditions of existence prepare it for this task and provide it with the possibility and the power to perform it. While the bourgeoisie break up and disintegrate the peasantry and all the petty-bourgeois groups, they weld together, unite and organise the proletariat. Only the proletariat — by virtue of the economic role it plays in large-scale production — is capable of being the leader of *all* the working and exploited people, whom the bourgeoisie exploit, oppress and crush, often not less but more than they do the proletarians, but who are incapable of waging an *independent* struggle for their emancipation.'

Definite modes of production have been created — and can be created — in contemporary society either by the bourgeoisie or by the working class, so that the objectives of the various social strata entering upon the social arena ultimately tend to

coalesce with the aspirations either of the bourgeoisie or of the proletariat. Non-proletarian groups rejecting big capital's economic and social policy are variously inclined because of their objective position in the society to absolutise their specific interest, which is frequently at odds with anti-monopoly alliance objectives — and that is their main distinction from the proletariat. By contrast, no proprietary interests of any kind are being defended in the struggle of the working class, which is why it is its leading role that can help to create the conditions for curbing and overcoming the power of monopoly capital, and ultimately also for socialist transformations.

The historical role of the working class is determined by the fact that its antagonism to capital is not confined to some single aspect of the exploitive society. The demands of the working class do not boil down to securing some 'package' of its own rights which it insists on defending, while neglecting the problems of other social groups. As the working class comes out against the capitalist system as a whole and emancipates itself in the course of the struggle, it also emancipates all the other exploited and oppressed strata of the population. This class is deprived of property in the basic means of production. It does not set itself the aim of extracting surplus-value and looks to social forms of property. The working class standpoint alone gives a view of the contours of the new society which is free from exploitation. Another thing to reckon with is its organisational potential (the working class is brought together, united and organised by the bourgeoisie itself). All of that, taken together, enables it — given due political organisation and class consciousness — to act vigorously in fighting the bourgeoisie, regardless of time and place.

In this problem of revolutionary subject, the motive force of the revolutionary process cannot, in short, be identified by pragmatic considerations such as: "The main thing is to have someone fighting, the rest being a tribute to dogmatism." To reason on such lines is to succumb to facts taken out of context, and to crawl to these facts, without analysing them theoretically. (In terms of world-view, that is not Marxism but positivism!).

What has been said, does not yet, of course, provide an answer to several other questions such as: do the working class and the other social forces themselves develop, and if they do, precisely in what way? Hence the need for further in-depth studies of social processes under way in the working class and the various social strata and also of the effects of these processes.

The Working Class and its Social Environment

Structural changes within the wage-labour system are yet another problem which is of great interest to our social scientists.

Let us recall that the scientific and technical revolution tends to cause important qualitative transformations within the system of knowledge, technology, labour-power and objects of labour. The development of the productive forces provides the main impetus to changes in every sphere of material production, distribution and superstructural relations of state-monopoly capitalism, and that in turn causes shifts in the structure of the working class. What precisely do we mean?

First of all, the growth in the ranks of the working class and the enlargement of the social basis of the whole working class movement, phenomena which are determined in our country by the proletarianisation of the small and middle owners of the means of production (mainly peasants, since artisan groups are relatively stable) for reasons that were already considered in detail by Marx, who linked them with the mechanism of capital accumulation.⁴ It is a mechanism that operates to this day. At the same time, an additional factor has appeared: big capital's use of scientific and technical achievements also tends to erode the old forms of small-scale production, so that the intermediate strata are proletarianised. Back in 1971, the Dusseldorf Congress of the DKP stated that considerable section of technical employees was directly involved in

the production process, i.e., in the creation of value and surplus-value. Objectively, most employees are a part of the working class.⁵ The theses for the next party congress in 1986 say that 'in social status a considerable section of the intelligentsia has moved closer to the working class, and that is an important prerequisite for a growing number of its members being involved both in the trade union and political working class movement and in the activity of the democratic forces'.⁶

However, the following reservation needs to be made: it is a process that cannot be regarded as a 'one-way street', for capitalism inevitably keeps creating a whole spectrum of 'middle strata'⁷ which are also filled by some members of the working class. The movement of some workers into the 'middle strata' has serious ideological consequences, such as producing illusions about an improvement of the workers' conditions under capitalism.

The realisation of profit is a process that requires an expansion of the system of transit and trade, whose role is accordingly increased. The state-monopoly bureaucratisation of social life on the whole tends to inflate the economic management apparatus, which is ever more frequently filled from the ranks of the workers. The apparatus of suppression is also expanded in order to defend and safeguard the foundations of the crisis-ridden capitalist system, and there again members of the working class are 'recruited'.

The growing role of science as a productive force in its own right furthermore entails the need to train more engineers and technicians. The number of students in the FRG over the past 20 years has gone up to more than one million; there are 500,000 engineers, and this is a profession which, like the teacher's and the technician's, has long since become massive. It is true that here one also has to note the opposite trend: the specialist's technological knowledge is 'materialised' in computers, and he tends to become redundant to production.

The productivity and intensity of labour are substantially increased, and this requires the development of a system of general and technical-trades education, information, public health, etc., and a reform of the 'people's schools' (fewer pupils in the classroom, but more teachers). All these are highly controversial issues, because big capital, for its part, seeks to conduct an education policy to meet its own interests alone (in particular, a policy to make 'alliances' with monopoly capital attractive for the middle strata of the population).

These processes result not only in structural shifts within the working class itself, but also in changes in its social environment, sparking off numerous discussions with the arguments not always being adequately grounded. One view, for instance, is that the 'traditional' working class tends to disappear because of the shrinking share of manual labour in production as a whole, giving way to some kind of 'new class' of technicians.

Such views have the following methodological shortcomings, to say the least:

First, the basic social processes within the working class and the 'middle strata' are not studied by them in terms of their actual origins and as an aggregation with all interconnections, or are altogether ignored (in terms of world-view, it is the same old positivist approach).

Second, the social importance of this or that class or stratum is determined on the strength of its numbers, so that if the share of manual labour shrinks, we are told that the role of the working class is reduced accordingly. But if that kind of 'arithmetical' approach were true, it would be even truer to say that under present-day capitalism the bourgeoisie has no influence on social development, which is demonstrably untrue.

Third, the problem of identifying the chief producer of material wealth is declared to be unimportant.

Those who take such an approach, moreover, ignore problems like the status of the working person in the production process, the inner dialectic of manual and mental labour, and their interconnection with the relations of distribution and the size of the

working person's income. Finally, class membership is determined only by type of labour or type of connection with technology, which is nothing but a specimen of the 'technological determinism' methodology and another version of the 'industrial society'.

In short, a close look at these constructs shows an obvious confusion in defining the concept of 'class', without a clear-cut approach to which one cannot hope to have a true assessment of the ongoing social processes, let alone anticipating their further development and consequences.

Meanwhile, since 1960 the numerical strength of the working class in our country has gone up to 76 per cent of the economically active population, whereas the share of other groups of persons engaged in wage-labour has grown from 7.6 per cent to 12.4 per cent. It is safe to say, therefore, that the wage-worker has become the numerically predominant social type in the FRG society.

Those who make up the vast conglomerate of persons engaged in wage-labour are paid either wages or salaries for the performance of their duties. How are they to be classified in social terms?

Far from all of them belong to the working class. The chief physician of a hospital who receives a salary, for instance, is obviously not a proletarian, while a nurse, who is also paid a salary, is definitely a member of that class. There is a clear distinction between the labour-power of the proletariat and of the other strata engaged in wage-labour.

It has to be noted that higher education continues to be a factor paving the way for privileges even under present-day capitalism, for it helps the working person to tackle specific tasks in the process of reproduction and also to hold higher posts within the division-of-labour-and-cooperation system. That is also due to the higher value and price of the labour-power of that group. Whenever a person with a higher education performs administrative functions, he receives an income which is larger than the worker's wage.

But this category of wage-workers (with the exception of managers) does not belong to the bourgeoisie either, because its members are not among those who make a living by appropriating a part of the labour of others. It follows, therefore, that this category of persons — together with the wage-working intelligentsia — makes up the present-day middle strata engaged in wage-labour. These middle strata tend to grow, while the old ones still in possession of the means of production and carrying on petty-commodity production on that basis are being ever more definitely eroded.

So, while they do live by selling their labour-power, are given the necessary training and are engaged mainly in mental labour, the new middle strata are not, after all, a part of the proletariat. There are, of course, the distinctions between those who merely take orders from above, and those who issue the orders, even if they do so simply in fulfilment of the capitalist's will; between those mainly doing manual work, and those mainly doing mental work. The size of the incomes of employees and their proximity to the higher reaches of the production hierarchy are yet another demarcation line. Such distinctions could produce real contradictions between members of the middle strata and the workers.

The distinction between the individual strata of workers engaged in wage-labour is an objective reality, the Marxists cannot afford to lose sight of it, for awareness of such differentiation is of essential economic, social, political and ideological significance. The fact that the new middle strata, together with the working class, belong to one large social group engaged in wage-labour tends to bring them closer together, on the one hand, while, on the other, creating the possibility of workers being infected with elements of a non-proletarian ideology that is alien to them but that is still prevalent in the middle strata.

The Youth Problem

The condition of young workers is yet another problem which, we think, deserves to be discussed on the pages of *WMR* in the context of our subject-matter.

Here one should bear in mind that it is the protest by non-proletarian strata that tends primarily to involve the active section of the young workers or that prepared for fightback, because, we think, young workers shape their own views in discussions with members of other strata of the society not only on the shop floor but also outside their class environment.

What is also important is that a peculiar concept of democracy has taken shape in the ongoing anti-monopoly protest. On the one hand, young people (but not they alone) resist state-monopoly regulation and bureaucratisation, and on the other (if only at first), the assertion of proletarian discipline, an approach to democracy that is typical of the middle strata. But it would be altogether wrong to ignore the fact that it is precisely within the working class movement (for instance, wherever the influence of the Social Democrats is prevalent) that the battle-ready proletarian youth have to face an obvious deficit of democracy. That is why these young people display an inclination to accept non-proletarian conceptions of democracy.

There is a growth of division among workers outside production in the FRG. The typical slums no longer exist (the slums of the foreign workers are there). Proletarian young people live in the same neighbourhoods and houses with young people from the middle strata, and it is quite natural for them to establish diverse ideological, political, cultural and social points of contact with each other.

Together they feel the anti-social consequences of the policy of state-monopoly capitalism in the reproduction of the commodity labour-power. Both working class young people and those from the middle strata are affected by the worsening of the housing conditions and of the public utility, cultural and social services (nursery schools, secondary schools, recreation centres, etc.). Besides, there has been a drop in the number and prestige of specifically workers' organisations (from consumer unions to cultural societies and movements) which had once had an influence on the proletarian masses.

Many young people, including those from the midst of the working class, are equally moved by the urge of young people of their age from other strata and classes to escape from the stuffy world of family ties, making efforts to create forms of existence like 'communes' in which young people from the working class and middle strata find themselves in even closer contact. But the fact is that because of their educational advantages, it is the young people from the middle strata that tend to assert the ideology in the 'communes'.

Production and life now tend to generate qualitatively new requirements; this has the strongest effect on the young, and is reflected in the whole system of values, notably ethical and aesthetic values (as will be seen from the origination and spread of a 'youth' culture). It is a problem that Marxist scientists would evidently do well to analyse in depth.

All of this taken together requires better practical work by the party among young people on whom a positive influence is exerted by the fact that young intellectuals in the DKP or in allied organisations make up a relatively high percentage. Account here is taken of the fact that, in the economic crisis some working class youth seeking to find a way out of the existing situation are very actively involved in diverse 'alternativist' movements. Indeed, keener awareness of environmental problems, of the effects on youth of new technologies and the problem of the 'glass man',⁸ tends to increase the potential of this group. The success of the Green Party in the FRG's parliamentary elections has also had a substantial effect on working class youth. The Communists take into account all these aspects when arranging their relations with young people, especially working class youth.

We find, therefore, that there is a 'mixing' of various groups of persons engaged in wage-labour in the sphere of production, in the residential areas and in the recreational pursuits, but 'capitalism would not be capitalism if the proletariat *pur sang* were not surrounded by a large number of exceedingly motley types, . . . if the proletariat itself were not divided into more developed and less developed strata, if it were not divided according to territorial origin, trade, sometimes according to religion, and so on'.⁹

This scientific conclusion is also relevant to working out the right approach to problems arising from the expansion of the sphere of wage-labour whose solution is of exceptional importance for the Communists, as otherwise they find it hard to give the workers the right bearings, to determine the subjects of their alliance policy and to give it precise ideological facets. It is a task which life itself objectively sets before the Communists in the FRG, for these problems are based on processes that have been in progress for a long time and that involve a sizable part of the population.

* For earlier contributions on the contemporary working class see: Ron Bellamy, 'Changes in the British Working Class Movement', *WMR*, No. 7, 1984; Michael Graber, 'The Working Class Movement. New Perspectives', *ibid.*, No. 1, 1985; José Maria Lanao, 'Strength of Class Solidarity', *ibid.*, No. 2, 1985; Harald Werner, 'The Workers' Class Consciousness: Trends and Evolution', *ibid.*, No. 3, 1985; Gunnar Asplund, 'Where the White-Collar Workers Belong', *ibid.*, No. 8, 1985.

¹ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 356.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. 21, p. 71.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 25, pp. 403-404.

⁴ See, for instance, Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1956, pp. 453-455, 613-615.

⁵ See, *Protokoll des Düsseldorfer Parteitags der Deutschen Kommunistischen Partei*, Düsseldorf, 1971, p. 338.

⁶ *Entwurf der Thesen zum 8. Parteitag der DKP*, Düsseldorf, 1985, p. 63.

⁷ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 15, p. 39.

⁸ The proliferation of political surveillance in the FRG has now fed into police computers (and also into the computers of insurance companies, hospitals, etc.) the most detailed information on just about every man and woman in the country, who feel transparent enough to warrant talk of 'glass man'. — *Ed.*

⁹ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 74.

viewpoints

At the Beginning of a Difficult Stage

Mohammed Ibrahim Nugud – CC
General Secretary, Communist Party of
the Sudan

THE class and political struggle in the Sudan has entered a new stage. For sixteen long years our people sought an end to autocratic rule and the restoration of democratic freedoms and national sovereignty. The March uprising led to the fulfilment of the fundamental slogan of the period by bringing into being a broad front for democracy and national salvation. The tyranny fell and there began the dismantling of its political, legal and other institutions; the State Security Service, or the principal repressive agency of the regime, was disbanded. A number of its executives and other prominent men of the May regime¹ found themselves behind bars. The people regained freedom of speech and assembly and the right to form trade unions, political parties and other associations. Foreign policy, too, underwent changes, if partial ones.

The intensity of the struggle revealed the utter indefensibility of the views of petty-bourgeois elements, who questioned the feasibility of a mass action, tried to influence the popular movement according to their subjective estimations and notions and called for a wait-and-see attitude or even spread a mood of hopelessness. The victory won by the people provided objective conditions for bringing a wider range of social forces close to a national democratic revolution and winning their support for its programme. The popular movement made new advances and it is now important to prevent the slightest reversal.

However, it would be wrong to affirm that the uprising fully attained its aims. Many structures and institutions of the May regime are intact; the state apparatus was neither purged, nor reorganised. The repressive laws enacted under Nimeiri are still in force and so are agreements curtailing our independence and national sovereignty. Many other big problems await solution.

This is due to the weaknesses of the popular movement, above all the disunity of the opposition, which failed before the people acted to reach agreement on joint efforts and a common platform. Al-Umma, the Democratic Unionist Party and other right-wing parties have stubbornly refused to sign an agreement with the Communists although we worked steadfastly for the formation of a broad opposition front and for the overthrow of the regime through a mass action. The only explanation for these parties' stance is their reluctance to ally themselves with the CPS and recognise its right to exist as a legitimate political organisation after the removal of the dictatorship. Their aim was to get rid of Nimeiri without rousing the people to an

action that would have entitled them to a fitting role under the new authority. What they banked on was salvation through either a military coup, or intervention by the USA, Saudi Arabia and Egypt, since these countries were reportedly looking for a man to replace the bankrupt dictator.

Another major weakness of the movement was that the working class, far from taking the initiative of organising a political strike, joined in it but belatedly as an organised force although numerous workers played an active part in demonstrations. The Allied National Forces for National Salvation (ANFNS), which led the uprising, included no labour union. This was because the May regime, by suppressing trade union democracy and constantly persecuting all progressive, militant elements in the proletarian movement, had brought the trade union leadership under its control, dissociated it from the working people and integrated it into the bureaucratic power apparatus. A further negative factor was the weakened positions and reduced influence of the CPS among the workers, especially in the capital, due to the regime's repressive policy. Peasant associations, too, kept out of the struggle; under the dictatorial regime, their leadership was taken over by the rural rich and big merchants.

As a result, the uprising was led by petty-bourgeois members of the trade unions of white-collar workers, doctors, lawyers, teachers and engineers as well as by students. The ANFNS itself was formed on the initiative of the unions of Khartoum University students and teachers. Now as in the past, these people consider that it is for them to fulfil the mission of real leaders of the opposition because the traditional parties, including the CPS, are allegedly lagging behind the popular movement.

It was in these circumstances that the army appeared on the scene. The high command of the armed forces took power and set up a Transitional Military Council. This body comprises people holding diverse, mostly right conservative political views. Speaking generally, however, we regard it as a product of struggle, of the operation of many different factors in and outside the army.

The most facile approach would be to step out of the struggle and wash one's hands, saying that the army command carried out a palace coup with the blessing of the USA, Saudi Arabia and Egypt, which had decided to sacrifice Nimeiri in order to preserve the regime and bar radical popular forces from power. By claiming in this way that the uprising had failed, one could give in to bitterness and disappointment and proceed to merely watch developments.

Yet this would be a superficial approach ignoring the actual situation. The April events, which culminated in the emergence of a military administration, were not in the nature of a pre-arranged, preventive action. They cannot be compared to either the coup effected by General Ibrahim Abbub in 1958, or the May 1969 coup. On these occasions the people were not prepared to topple the regime and in both cases the military went ahead on their own. This time, however, there was a popular uprising and the armed forces command had no intention of either backing Nimeiri, or taking a stand against him. It was compelled to step in primarily under pressure from the rank and file, NCOs and junior officers.

This lower echelon played an important if not decisive role in the people's action. It did not revolt unlike the rest of the people. But it ensured that the troops assigned to guard strategic objectives were sent back to the barracks; it resisted the imposition of martial law, which would have implied entrusting the army with police functions, and emphatically condemned the security forces' savage treatment of demonstrators. Lastly, it demanded the removal of Nimeiri. The army command had to choose between taking over and stepping back with the dictator.

There is more than one reason for the fact that the role of the army lower echelon did not go any further. To begin with, the disunity of the political opposition and the lack of a common platform also affected the military. Second, sustained harassment

and persecution, coupled with the activity of numerous agents of the State Security and Military Intelligence Services, weakened the organised and politically committed forces in the army. Third, most of the democratic and patriotic servicemen entertained the simplistic notion that their sole task was to prepare for and carry out a coup. They did not believe in a successful popular uprising and were not psychologically prepared to search for ways and means of supporting it. They were willing to take power provided the people backed them, which meant that they expected popular action to come after and not before a coup. As a consequence of this mood in favour of a coup, they missed a rare opportunity: when hundreds of thousands took to the streets in Khartoum, the military could have joined them, could have merged with the people to ensure that power passed directly into the hands of representatives of the popular movement.

Now we concern ourselves with weak spots and negative facts in terms of how they may affect the subsequent course of the struggle and what we must do to eliminate them. An analysis of shortcomings must not be reduced to barren complaints or a passive statement of facts, which is so typical of petty-bourgeois thinking.

For all its weaknesses, the March uprising was a major advance in the revolutionary process under way in the Sudan and exceeded the October 1964 revolution in scope and depth.² To minimise its significance would mean helping undo what has been achieved and making the movement dependent on the military authorities and the internal and external forces which are hostile to the cause of freedom, democracy and national sovereignty.

The democratisation process is threatened from many sides. Plotting inside the country are the parasitical bourgeoisie, who fear that they may lose their sources of enrichment; the Moslem Brothers, who are dead against the repeal of the 'Islamic legislation' of 1983 intended to serve the autocratic regime as both a prop and a cover; remnants of the May regime, above all the sadly notorious State Security Service.

That agency was 45,000 strong under Nimeiri, with 25,000 operating in Khartoum. They had the most up-to-date techniques and weapons at their disposal, such as even the armed forces did not boast. Everyday supervision of the activities of the agency as well as the Military Intelligence Service was exercised by the CIA, which had set up in the Sudan its regional centre in charge of operations in East and Central Africa. US agents were planted all over the country; there were camps training anti-governmental elements from Libya, Ethiopia and Democratic Yemen. Following the overthrow of the dictator and the decision to dissolve the State Security Service, the Americans took steps to rescue as many of their agents as possible. Thousands of these still possess arms and ample funds and pose a real threat to the process of change. They are perfectly equal to launching an action on instructions from their one-time chiefs or overseas masters.

The attention which the USA pays to the Sudan is not accidental. Our country holds a strategic position in the Arab world and on the African continent. Situated here are US naval and air bases and strong points for 'rapid deployment forces'; large-scale manoeuvres involving US troops have repeatedly been carried out. Washington also has very important economic interests here and is certainly not going to renounce them without further ado. Its agents wield considerable influence on the Sudanese army and police, on the entire state apparatus, the media, educational and cultural institutions, and even the trade union movement.

Operating in close contact with the CIA are the secret services of other NATO countries and Israel. They foment anti-communist sentiment and try to make people believe that the 'experiment in democratisation' has failed. They bribe political movements and parties, trade unions and newspapers. It may well be that the enemies of the Sudanese people will try by means of subversion to plunge the country into chaos in order to have a pretext for the imposition of a military dictatorship, the

complete suppression of democratic freedoms and the abolition of the people's gains.

The grave financial and economic situation of the Sudan suits conspirators well. The Nimeiri regime reduced the economy to a state of complete dislocation. Burdened with a foreign debt exceeding 10 billion dollars, the country cannot service it. The current famine is a result of both drought and the disastrous policy of the previous regime. Encouraging agricultural production for export, the Nimeiri regime cut the area under food crops and disrupted food supply. One in every four Sudanese is starving.

This state of affairs is most dangerous for the popular movement. Economic dislocation, unbearable hardships and hunger may lead—even without intervention from outside—to a decline in the revolutionary energy of the people and exhaust their forces. Contrary to bourgeois and petty-bourgeois misinterpretations of Marxism, we consider that poverty and hunger cannot in themselves bring about revolutionary action. Starving people are not in the mood for politics and the March uprising furnished added evidence of this: those hit by undernourishment hardest of all stayed out of the uprising.

It must also be borne in mind that imperialist powers readily take advantage of food deliveries to exert pressure. The Sudanese know by experience how the USA goes about it. Under Nimeiri they demanded in exchange for grain military bases or assistance in the illegal transfer of Falashas.³ Nor is Saudi Arabian aid gratuitous. Along with Egypt, these two states constitute the main external source of danger to the democratic development of the Sudan.

Even without minimising this danger in the least or shutting our eyes to the strength of the enemies of democracy, we look ahead with confidence and optimism. After all, there are many internal and external factors of a different, positive nature. First among them is the uprising itself; it gave the people new confidence in their strength, heightened their revolutionary elan and added to their experience of struggle.

Also worthy of note is the upturn in the mass democratic movement in the South. For the first time in the modern history of the Sudan, it is playing a positive part in the development of the Sudanese popular movement as a whole. Previously political forces in South Sudan showed no interest in what went on elsewhere in the country, and limited themselves to defending their local demands. Today the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) and its military arm, the Sudanese People's Liberation Army, which did a very great deal to aggravate the crisis of the May regime and for its overthrow, advance a clear-cut programme under which they distance themselves from the separatist trends that predominated in the South earlier, stress the need for constructive participation in national affairs and urge all Sudanese to join more actively in the struggle for the democratisation of various aspects of national life.

A factor of great importance is the growing political commitment of patriotic members of the armed forces. They resist rightist trends within the high command and help extend the national democratic movement.

We may list as favourable external factors the activity of the Egyptian opposition, which resists those who are plotting against the Sudan on its northern border; the consolidation of the positions of the Ethiopian revolution, which has ended a monarchy that always supported the forces of stagnation and reaction in our country; the progress made by the distinctive revolutionary process in Democratic Yemen, which is highly important to the Arab world. The Sudanese people were strongly influenced by the victory of the Lebanese patriotic resistance, which took a stand against the Israeli aggressor in common with the democratic forces of the Palestinian revolution and with the support of Syria, a country showing staunchness and courage, and forced the US and NATO invaders into withdrawing ingloriously.

International solidarity has always been invaluable to our people's struggle. This

struggle benefits from the activity of the communist, workers and revolutionary democratic parties of Arab and other countries and from the growing might of the socialist community countries, primarily the Soviet Union, a resolute champion of peace and national freedom.

In this situation it is particularly important to shape and implement a realistic policy based on an objective analysis of reality and ruling out all oversimplification. This kind of analysis was made at the extraordinary meeting of the CC CPS on April 20 last. The meeting stressed that the main thing today is 'popular action and the role of the alliance between popular forces and the army in preserving achievements and defending them against enemy attack'.⁴

This explains why we abide, if in a new historical context, on a new level and from advanced positions, by our policy in favour of the broadest possible unity in order to defend and fully restore democracy and national sovereignty. To unite the people, it is essential to extend the composition of the ANFNS according to its Charter by bringing in the parties and trade unions which really took part in the political strike and popular uprising. On becoming more representative, the ANFNS will have to function as a political power organ of the people realising their will and prepared to use the weapon of political strike should the popular movement be threatened with new dangers. This would make it possible to end the situation arising from the fact that power has been assumed by the high command of the armed forces, so that all legislation finds itself in the hands of the Transitional Military Council, while the cabinet of ministers (formed later) has executive powers only and the prerogatives of the ANFNS have not been formalised in any way.

Our party hailed the statement of the high command that the army was not going to replace autocratic rule by a new military dictatorship and that the reins of power would be handed over to a civilian administration within a year. We are positively against the military staying in power after the one-year period of transition. The CPS is just as emphatically against any attempt to effect a coup either on pretexts typical of the Right, such as 'the country is in a state of anarchy', 'the parties have demonstrated their incompetence' or 'resolute steps are needed to affirm the norms of Islam', or under cover of 'carry forward the uprising', 'save the revolution' and other leftist slogans.

During 22 years out of nearly three decades of independent existence, the Sudan has been under military rule. The result is economic dislocation, a fast-growing parasitical bourgeoisie, the suppression of democracy and the disruption of national sovereignty. There is no difference in this respect between the Abbud dictatorship, which adhered to a right-wing position, and the Nimeiri regime, which hypocritically advanced progressive, leftist slogans, while attempts to justify it were made by opportunists using a Marxist vocabulary (such as the splitters' group that had broken away from the CPS), narrowminded technocrats who like to talk about 'modernising society' and promoting 'universal development', and people gambling on religion.

What is needed is something more than the overthrow of the autocratic regime. To fully re-establish democracy, it is necessary to repeal all the laws curtailing it, including the 1973 Constitution (which has only been suspended), the 'Islamic legislation' of 1983 and the state security law. The demolition of the May regime, especially its State Security Service, has yet to be completed. This work must not be shackled by bureaucratic limitations, as is the case now. The people must be drawn into it, with the ANFNS, the Transitional Military Council and the judiciary guiding their action.

There is no destroying the despotic regime completely without reorganising the state apparatus, the army included, and re-instating the dismissed and former exiles. To prevent reorganisation from degenerating into a settlement of personal accounts and leading to the adoption of shortsighted decisions, it is necessary to help civil

servants carry it out and to work out rigid standards which must be cleared with the trade unions and applied under their control. Persons guilty of repression, of persecuting people on political grounds, have no right to enjoy freedom. Our aim in saying so is to defend democracy against the dictator's underlings and not to suppress it.

The problem of eliminating the legacy of the May regime is also very acute in the economic sphere. Measures must be adopted without delay to stop its decline. It is essential to cut excessive spending on the state apparatus and use the funds released as a result for extending relief to the starving and for improving the people's condition. The first part of this task has been fulfilled to a degree by abolishing the apparatus of the presidential palace, the State Security Service, the Sudanese Socialist Union, which was the only political organisation authorised under Nimeiri, the legislative and executive bodies of the past in the capital and the provinces. However, the second part of the task, the positive one so to speak, has yet to be carried out.

Early action is needed to expand the area under grain crops and raise productivity in order to improve the food situation, deliver people from hunger and lessen dependence on foreign aid. This aid cannot be dispensed with yet but it must be so distributed as not to provide the top bureaucracy with a source of enrichment at the cost of the disinherited.

To evolve ways of ending the crisis situation, we propose holding a national economic conference of not only scientists and experts but spokesmen of the political parties, trade unions and other public organisations. One of the main items on the conference agenda should be how to resist IMF pressure and blackmail. The CPS rejects the recommendations and rules dictated by the IMF. We are convinced that the thirteenth devaluation of the Sudanese pound, effected in February, should be the last. The IMF demand for a further reduction of jobs as a means of cutting government expenditures can be countered by referring to the fact that the president of the republic and his camarilla have forfeited their posts and that this has saved the Treasury an appreciable amount of money.

We Communists appeal to all patriots to take a common stand on this issue so as to ensure that the struggle does not involve the top level alone but assumes a mass character. The alternative to dependence on international financial institutions controlled by imperialists is joint action with other Third World countries hit by the policy of diktat (the Sudan could assume the role of initiator in this matter); it is also reliance on the socialist community countries, with which relations were kept at freezing-point for a decade and a half.

The Sudan should proceed as an independent, sovereign and non-aligned state. It should reject whatever is at variance with this policy. This applies primarily to the establishment of US military bases on our soil. Nimeiri made the relevant decision personally, without submitting the matter to the cabinet, the National Assembly or any other body. Such deals are not binding on the people or the state. Our country has no quarrel with its neighbours and needs no foreign bases. Washington would do well to remember that the Sudan is not Texas.

For historical reasons, Egypt holds a special place in the Sudan's foreign relations. The CPS has always been in favour of the close bonds between the Sudanese and Egyptian peoples forged in a joint struggle. No danger threatens or will ever threaten Egypt from the south. But this circumstance does not in the least run counter to our national duty to seek a rectification or the removal of what we consider wrong and harmful in relations between our countries. Taking advantage of the weakness and isolation of the Nimeiri regime, Cairo concluded with it agreements on economic integration and joint defence. And now Egypt has granted exile to the overthrown ruler and is putting pressure on our country in an effort to prevent it from normalising

its relations with Libya and Ethiopia.

That is a dangerous and harmful policy. Prompted by the interests of both nations, we demand an end to it and the abrogation of the unequal agreements. We are certain that the future of Sudanese-Egyptian relations will depend on Cairo's renunciation of its claim to the role of guardian of the Sudan and on its consent to treat it as an equal.

The struggle is only just gaining momentum. Countless battles lie ahead. In carrying them on, we will be inspired by the memory of our dead comrades, of all who gave their lives in fighting for democracy and national independence. We derive revolutionary energy from the glorious experience of Communists, which is full of examples of staunchness and self-sacrifice in repulsing enemy attacks, maintaining the purity of the ideology of the working class and defending the unity and cohesion of party ranks.

¹ The regime under Gaafar Nimeiri seized power through a coup in May 1969.—*Ed.*

² The action launched by the people in October 1964 resulted in overthrowing the Abbud dictatorship.—*Ed.*

³ Meaning the transfer of Ethiopian Jews to Israel by Israeli Secret Services through the Sudan.—*Ed.*

⁴ *Extraordinary Plenum of the CC of the Communist Party of the Sudan, April 20, 1985, p. 8 (in Arabic).*

Panama: the Torrijos Process and the Military

Carlos Francisco Changmarín — CC
Political Bureau member, People's Party
of Panama

'THAT the Canal Zone is held in a vice by imperialism is the deplorable result of truncheon policy and dollar diplomacy.'¹ These words, which best describe the essence of Panama's problems over a period of more than 80 years, were spoken by the eminent statesman, political leader, and ardent patriot Omar Torrijos (1929-1981). The process of progressive socio-economic reforms that went on for 16 years and was named after him began under his direct leadership in 1968.²

The political situation in Panama underwent a change last October. The highlights were: first, President Jorge Illueca, in fact the 'last runner' in the relay of revolutionary governments, stepped down; second, ex-Vice-President of the World Bank and protege of the oligarchy Nicolás Ardito Barletta became the new head of state; third, the military announced that they were 'withdrawing to their barracks'.

It may seem that the period of Panama's history when in the person of the National Guard the military were the predominant power has ended. But this is not at all the case. The military intend to go on playing a role of no little significance in society—the evidence being the many statements by the present commander of the republic's Defence Forces General Manuel A. Noriega Morena, who was closely associated with Torrijos. We therefore feel that the change of administration, which calls itself the champion of 'new democracy' (meaning traditional bourgeois democracy, of course), will be accompanied by contradictions between the military and civilian authorities in the course of a more or less long period.

To understand what this may spell out we should take a close look at the philosophy

of the present Defence Forces, which are permeated with the spirit of Torrijosism.³ Torrijos once said: the National Guard 'is proud that it sides not with the exploiters but with those fighting them'. On several occasions he asked: 'Where is our enemy? Does the threat come from Panama's neighbours? No, our enemy is hunger, disease, unemployment, and illiteracy.'⁴

Similar sentiments are today articulated by General Noriega Morena. In a speech on October 9, 1984 (approved in advance by the General Staff and the middle-rank officers) he expressed and subsequently often repeated the view that the armed forces had given a powerful impetus to the country's development, and have been and remain the 'defenders of the disinherited', and the guarantor of sovereignty and independence. As regards national security, it cannot be ensured without further, stable development, without the reorganisation of structures in keeping with the imperatives of the day and with due regard for Panama's specifics.

An analysis of the present situation leads to the unequivocal conclusion that despite the decline of the Torrijos process and the fact, as was noted in the resolution passed on October 19, 1984 by the CC Political Bureau of the People's Party, that the Barletta government 'has entered upon its duties without committing itself to continuing the Torrijos policy', the realignment of forces that took place after the general elections will give new life to the process started by Torrijos.

Taking all this into account, the PPP has set the Communists two main targets. The first is to unite all the social and political forces prepared to go on fighting to consummate the process of national liberation, for which the beginning was laid by Torrijos. Second, to stand firm in protecting the working people's socio-economic gains against encroachment by imperialism and reaction.

Changes Were Coming

To assess the role of the military and the significance of the Torrijos process correctly, it is important to have a knowledge of the Communist strategic guidelines laid down at the PPP Central Committee's ninth plenary meeting in 1962. At the time the character and form of the Panamanian revolution were characterised as popular, anti-feudal, democratic, and anti-imperialist. Its purpose was 'to crush the political and economic strength of the oligarchy, regain all of the wealth, including the Panama Canal, usurped by imperialism, ensure the nation's territorial and political integrity, and expel the North American authorities and their armed forces from the Canal Zone'.⁵ It was assumed that there were two phases of the revolution. The first would see the 'removal of the oligarchy from power' for, as was underscored by the Communists at the time, it was the principal source of contradictions. The second was to 'put an end to the imperialist presence on our territory, nationalise the canal . . . and create a solid economic foundation for the transition to socialism'.⁶

The revolution, we felt, had to be accomplished under the leadership of the PPP provided there was unity among all the anti-oligarchic forces, including a segment of the national bourgeoisie. However, in 1968 there was a coup that brought the military to power. They were the ones who started giving effect to changes, in the course of which some of the aims of both stages of the revolution, aims that our party believed were vital, were achieved.

The Torrijos process objectively mirrored the intention to depose the oligarchy and attain full national independence. Carried out under the leadership of the armed forces, the changes in the country and in its foreign policy reflected the interests of the middle strata, small businessmen, and nationalist groups of the local bourgeoisie. In enforcing reforms, the military relied chiefly on the poorest peasants and, to a lesser extent, on the workers because they had some distrust for the latter.

As distinct from their Peruvian counterparts, the Panamanian officers had no clear-cut programme of revolution. The coup was triggered by the circumstance that

the government of the pro-fascist President Arnulfo Arias Madrid did not comply with the established procedure of conferring rank and promotion. But its actual motivations were to prevent an aggravation of the crisis and restrain popular actions. Many military men did not have a clear understanding of what their role should be. The exceptions were Torrijos himself and his closest associates. As the General extended his links to the working masses and the left forces and established international relations they began increasingly to see the essence of their mission. Gradually the chains were torn by which imperialism and the oligarchy had in the past turned the military into an obedient instrument.

In the Colonial Vice

The preconditions of the Torrijos reforms were created by objective factors of our society's development and the steady accumulation of a democratic and revolutionary potential in it. These factors may be characterised as follows.

First, although imperialism has ceased to play the leading role globally, it continues to hold strong positions in Panama (area—77,000 square kilometres; population—two million). Here the USA maintains armed forces that come under its Southern Command. In 1968, as distinct from most Latin American republics, in our country national statehood was still in the formative stage. Under the 1903 treaty signed by Panama and the USA, a key region of the country was reduced virtually to the status of a colony in the real sense, with a governor heading the administration.

Taking advantage of Panama's weakness, for it had then only just seceded from Colombia, the USA curtailed our sovereignty (acting as it had done in the case of Cuba on the strength of the Platt Amendment⁷) by usurping the country's main natural wealth—the inter-oceanic waterway. Under the Mallarino-Bidlack treaty signed in 1846 by Colombia and the USA, the latter received the right of unrestricted action on the Panama isthmus. Our struggle has thus always been not only national and anti-imperialist but also anti-colonialist.

Second, apprehensive of the very possibility of the new-born republic asserting itself, the USA compelled it to disband its military units. The 1903 agreement, signed on its behalf by the French adventurer Felipe Bunau Varilla, and Panama's 1904 Constitution gave Washington the right to intervene openly in our affairs. At first glance it seemed that Panama had no army or, to use Frederick Engels' expression, a 'public authority', without which no state can, of course, survive. In fact, this was not so, because these functions were performed by the North American occupation forces. Whenever the oligarchic authorities felt they had to put the people down and suppress social actions, they called upon the military units in the Canal Zone to intervene. Such intervention came even when it was a question of electing a candidate to the office of head of state.

On the eve of the Second World War, acting under pressure from the mounting struggle of the masses, the government of Panama entered into negotiations with President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who was implementing his New Deal policy. As a result, the 1903 treaty provisions permitting imperialism to intervene militarily in our country's internal affairs were annulled.

The oligarchic regimes followed this up by taking over repressive functions. They began modernising the numerically small law-enforcement force. To them this became a pressing need with the development of capitalism and the growth of the struggles of the working class, the peasants, and the students. In the 1950s, when the war in Korea was raging and the government of General J.A. Remón Cantera was in power, a National Guard was formed on the model of a similar body run by the Nicaraguan tyrant Somoza. Senior military cadres were trained with the assistance of the North American army. Because there were no military schools in our country, young officers got their training mainly in the USA and also in Venezuela and other

Latin American states.

But there is something that has to be borne in mind, and it is that the abolition by the USA of Panamanian armed units had consequences of no little significance: in effect, the Republic of Panama has not had the milieu nourishing military traditions, a caste spirit, the idea of a special predestination, and so on. Since service in the police did not carry social prestige with it, the local bourgeoisie did not seek to let its children serve in it and give them the corresponding education. At the time of the 1968 coup, all but one of the senior officers came from the people—from impoverished middle strata and the peasantry.

Third, the Cuban revolution, which broke one of imperialism's links on the continent in the early 1960s, fostered the growth of revolutionary consciousness among the Latin American peoples and made a powerful impact on the liberation processes. In turn, the USA intensified counter-revolutionary activities: it orchestrated coups, proclaimed the Alliance for Progress programme, infiltrated many CIA agents, and interfered in the internal affairs of sovereign republics.

In this situation the Panamanian model of economic and political dependence (there is a North American colonial enclave on its territory) was hit by the crisis. The contradictions between imperialism and the nation continued to exacerbate. While a huge proportion of the surplus value created by inter-oceanic transportation was appropriated by the USA, which kept occupation troops and a naval force in our country (in the period from 1915 to 1970 the North Americans made a profit of nearly 1,220 million dollars from their operation of the waterway), Panama was annually paid the ludicrous rent of 1,930,000 dollars.⁸

The canal complex, to which the entire economy is subordinated, was a state-monopoly corporation. Meanwhile, the country lived in semi-feudal backwardness and could take only timid steps towards the promotion of the services industry and trade. The small-scale manufacturing industry got an impulse during World War II, but its growth was inhibited by the model of dependent economic development imposed upon us. It was then that having gained its feet the local bourgeoisie began to make its own specific demands.

The innumerable attempts by the USA to surmount the exacerbated socio-political crisis by signing new, likewise anti-Panamanian, treaties ultimately only undermined the position of the oligarchy and led to a sharp aggravation of the contradictions between its various groupings on the eve of the 1968 election campaign. Matters went so far that at some moment after the elections the republic had two presidents.

The situation was compounded by imperialism's interference and by its military presence virtually two steps away from the capital. In this situation the National Guard undertook the role of arbiter of the nation's life.⁹ Among the people there was no political force that could unite and rally the masses for a struggle for power. This explains why the military accomplished a coup in 1968, in a way filling the vacuum.

Choice of the Way

By 1968 the forces of public law and order had become no longer, as at the time the republic was formed, merely a police force. They had been restructured and became better armed. The senior elements had learned methods of repression and counter-intelligence, receiving their training chiefly at an infamous school hypocritically named the 'School of the Americas'.¹⁰ The National Guard acquired a spirit of corporativism and began claiming the leadership.

The coup brought young officers to power. This came as a complete surprise even for the US Southern Command, which had eyes and ears everywhere. In view of the anti-communist sentiments among the military, it hoped to direct developments into a channel that suited it, while giving haven, against all eventualities, to the deposed President Arias. The coup's leaders had no clear guidelines. Some civilian advisers

tried to portray it as an action to 'restore order', while others described it as a measure to forestall 'chaos', or a revolution on the Cuban model. North American propaganda saddled precisely this hobby-horse at the time. The attitude of the imperialists to the coup was by no means neutral. Wishing to reinstate their puppet, the former President Arias, they played all their trumps, up to undisguised threats of interference in Panama's affairs.

The factors determining the stand of the military are obvious. First, the unresolved national problem compounded over a long period of time by imperialism's direct presence; its colonial domination was felt tangibly by the people, not merely in theory. Second, the oligarchic administration was in crisis. Third, and last, there was the nature (pre-eminence of men from the people) and also the character of the Panamanian armed forces. Despite their training in an anti-communist spirit, they subsequently steered a course towards a collision with the oligarchy and imperialism with the abolition of colonial domination as their central aim.

It must be noted that had it not been for our party, much more serious difficulties might have arisen on this road that has become known as Torrijosism. Despite repressions, the PPP saw the overall significance of what was happening and began pursuing a lucid policy, convincing workers, students, peasants, and intellectuals of the need for mutual understanding with the military, who had seized power. Soon the latter, as might have been expected, found themselves confronted by the beginning of contradictions with the oligarchy and imperialism. In a number of documents the Communists noted that such a turn of events was possible and correspondingly oriented the masses by their explanatory work. The stand adopted by the party ultimately drew officers, among whom there was no consensus and clarity on many issues, into a dialogue with the popular movement. The Communists, who were being harassed at this time (almost the entire Central Committee was in prison), were able to assess the prospects correctly and did not act against the military, although in some cases the latter displayed shortsightedness, directing repressions against workers, students, peasants, and democratic left-wing intellectuals. Had the party failed to take this stand, the coup (among whose participants there were CIA agents and pro-fascist elements) would have played into the hands of some circles of the oligarchy, whose spokesmen went to the army barracks to declare their readiness to cooperate. At the same time, this would have given the North American embassy and the US Southern Command the opportunity to control developments and make this a traditional coup of Latin American 'gorillas'.

To this day the way the People's Party of Panama, headed by CC General Secretary Ruben D. Souza Batista, acted in that situation and its perspicacity have not been properly evaluated by some of our country's political forces.

Content of the Torrijos Process

Torrijos always made the point that the banner raised by him was stained with the blood of preceding generations, who made every sacrifice and accepted hardships to defend the nation's sovereignty, and took pride in the memory of the heroes who fell in January 1964.¹¹

The struggle of the Panamanian masses against the oligarchy and imperialism developed under the influence of left-wing forces, of Marxist ideals, with the outcome that it became possible to found a Communist and a Socialist party in the 1930s. The anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchy struggles of the working people had repercussions in the hearts of military men, among whom were people like Torrijos, who had come to the army from the student movement (as a student in the 1940s he was a member of an anti-fascist youth organisation). Although law-enforcement units were generally used as an instrument of repression, the officers learned much in the collisions with the people. "As head of law-enforcement units," Torrijos recalled, "I do not

remember a single case of right not being on the side of those against whom we directed our bayonets."¹²

In a letter to Gabriel García Márquez, Torrijos briefly enunciated part of a programme that had already been put into effect: 'Return of the US Rio Hato military base to the country; nationalisation of the power engineering industry and communications; cooperation of urban transport; the formation of state banana, sugar, and cement corporations; the adoption of a new labour code and a law on housing; a reform of education, and an increase of the number of schools; the country's electrification; an agrarian reform; the setting up of peasant asentamientos;¹³ strengthening of the trade unions and an enhancement of their role; realisation of many other projects in combination with a revolutionary foreign policy.'¹⁴

To this must be added the Torrijos-Carter treaties that marked the abolition of the colonial enclave;¹⁵ the setting up of new organs of authority, including the convocation of the National Assembly of People's Representatives consisting of 505 members, most of whom are peasants and small proprietors; and the pursuance of a policy of non-alignment.

Torrijos restored relations with socialist Cuba. He said: "Fidel is our good friend. To a large extent it is on account of the Cuban revolution that we are now able to sit at the negotiating table and talk eye to eye with the North American government. After the victory of the Cubans all the peoples of our Hemisphere felt freer."¹⁶

The formation of a public sector in the manufacturing industry, shipping, and the agroindustry, control over prices, the market, and foreign trade, and the suggestion to draw the working people into the management of private enterprises contained elements aimed at curtailing capitalism's sphere of operation and the power of the international monopolies.

Compelling the military to address society's needs, Torrijos made it a practice of regularly touring different parts of the country and had direct contacts with the people and the organs of people's authority formed as a result of elections (true, without the participation of political parties). Among members of the General Staff and middle rank officers Torrijos inculcated a sense of solidarity with peoples fighting for liberation. In the opinion of some sociologists, his role in supporting the Sandinist fighting the Somoza dictatorship and also other Latin American patriots prompted the USA to 'settle accounts with him', and this happened in the plane 'accident' on July 30, 1981 that cost the General his life.

Unquestionably, the content of the Torrijos process reflected the interests of the democratic, national liberation revolution.

Unlike those of Peru, the Panamanian military preferred to appoint civilians to posts in the government. The vacuum that formed after the oligarchic bureaucracy was removed from power was filled mainly with specialists belonging to the middle classes. These were progressive people with experience of fighting for democracy and of battles for a university reform. But, as I have already noted, the leading role in society was played by the military, who were active in the most diverse areas of its life. Responding to invitations, they attended meetings of workers, peasants, students, and intellectuals, and also forums of fighters for peace and sovereignty; they voluntarily joined in harvesting and in campaigns to abolish illiteracy and to protect health; they established good contacts with the Indian population. Much attention was given to raising the technical and cultural level of the armed forces. A school providing retraining was opened. Senior and middle rank officers studied economics, history, sociology, domestic and foreign policy, and relations with the USA. After political parties were legalised their representatives, including PPP Political Bureau members, toured army barracks with lectures.

In his relations with the masses Torrijos maintained a style that had some features

of populism and paternalism. The people called his administration a 'benign dictatorship'.

Under the new Torrijos-Carter treaties all North American troops without exception are to be withdrawn from Panama by December 31, 1999. This has evoked the need to restructure the 'law-enforcement forces' well in advance—they are now guarding the Canal Zone jointly with US units, and in the year 2000 they will begin performing this duty independently. There is a new military institution the Defence Forces, which are comparable to an army, having taken over the function of defending the country against any external enemy. They number 16,000 officers and men, and include land troops, an air force, and a navy.

The constitution of the Defence Forces was objectively a component of the programme for completing the formation of a nation-state, whose development was from the very beginning inhibited by the North American enclave.

Some Results and Further Prospects

It was often said that Torrijos was a Bonapartist, a moderniser of capitalism, and a populist. This description was current chiefly among the ultra-left intellectuals. In turn, trying to discredit Torrijos, some reactionary elements asserted that he was a toy in the hands of imperialism. In fact, under Torrijos the military carried out a portion of the tasks related to national liberation.

Our experience is further corroboration that the army can take part in the revolutionary battles of the people.

In this course of the anti-colonial struggles the Panamanian military were able to form an alliance of heterogeneous forces ranging from workers to some groups of the national bourgeoisie. However, they fell short of this aim when it was a question of settling the contradictions between the oligarchy and the people. At the decisive moment of confrontation, in order to assure themselves of support from without and at home, the senior officers made concessions to the conservative circles. For instance, the right to resume activities was received, along with others, by the parties of the oligarchy.

As progress was made in the anti-colonial struggle, growing influence was acquired by reaction over the Torrijos process as a whole and over the government in particular. Alongside with the weakening of the positions held by the military, this circumstance led to the further deformation and decline of the process. A concrete confirmation of this is the fact of the incumbency of the present government of the neocolonialist bourgeoisie. Thus ended one of the cycles of the struggle started by Torrijos.

On the ideological level the military took a step forward—from anti-communist convictions to democratic, 'pluralistic' positions and a display of sympathy for peoples and the national liberation movements. Of course, in the armed forces there have been and still are other currents antipodal to those we have described. But these cannot be regarded as predominant.

Nevertheless, the reforms enforced by the middle strata and the petty bourgeoisie with the support of the army bore the stamp of duality implicit in these social categories and the section of the bourgeoisie collaborating with them. As I have already noted, the military preferred to rely on the peasants rather than on the workers. They declared their readiness to promote a multisectoral economy, to give an equal role to the public and the private sector. Lastly, in individual cases they showed an inclination to participate in the management of commercial and industrial enterprises. The bourgeoisification of the military and of the civilians cooperating with them was one of the hallmarks of the process in which they lost their prestige. Torrijos understood the situation better than the others and bluntly stated that it was vital to become gradually accustomed to life containing some elements of socialism.

But the dynamics of development at that stage was inclined towards a 'third' position. The Bonapartism or populism attributed to Torrijos was seen only in his methods and forms of activity, whose content was of a liberative character.

Under Torrijos anti-communism was not official policy, although it manifested itself to one extent or another in a process involving forces of a motley composition. The participation of the Communists on the side of the military, on account of our country's occupation by US troops, was assessed by some people as a serious threat to 'democracy'. (In the Santa Fe Document Torrijos was accused of establishing an 'ultra-left, extremely aggressive dictatorship'.¹⁷) In the early 1970s some of Torrijos' associates made an attempt to turn the PPP into a purely 'national' Communist Party. As a result, a large group of young people split away from our organisation.

Despite everything, the Marxists-Leninists reinforced their support for Torrijosism. Following the General's death, when discord began in the movement and some of its participants went so far as to abandon his ideas, the People's Party of Panama drew up a programme for the May 1984 elections calling for the continuation and development of the Torrijos process and advanced the slogan: 'For Panamanians Torrijos is what Sandino is for the Nicaraguans'.¹⁸

The disintegration of the Torrijos process was brought on by factors such as pressure from imperialism, the weakness of the forces heading this process, their ideological duality, their tendency to make concessions in order to preserve a balance. At first these were tactical concessions and then they were followed by strategic concessions. However, the motivations must be sought not only in the stand adopted by the military and by those directly associated with them but also in all the other social groups supporting the movement. Moreover, there were factors such as the numerical weakness and organisational fragmentation of the working class and its inability to form an alliance with the peasants and properly reinforce the mass organisations, chiefly the parties called upon to lead them. A widespread mistake was that much more attention was accorded to work at the top than to work at the grassroots, among the masses.

In Panama today there is no Torrijos-type government. The military have proclaimed their departure from the scene. The USA is trying to retrieve its former position with the help of a government prepared to abide by the model programmed by the International Monetary Fund.

However, forces experiencing the life-giving impact of Torrijos' ideas are operating in socio-historical processes. There is the possibility that there will be a new eruption of battles for national independence and progressive democracy. The earnest of this are the experience of Torrijosism, of the working class, the organised peasantry, the military, and also the section of the national bourgeoisie opposed to the World Bank's plans.

Of course, all this will take place at the next stage and under a different alignment of forces.

¹ O. Torrijos, *Papeles del General*, Centro de Estudios Torrijistas, 1984, p. 177.

² See Ruben D. Souza Batista, "The Dynamic of the Revolutionary Process", *WMR*, No. 5, 1983; Ruben D. Souza Batista, "For Panama's Complete Independence", *WMR*, No. 2, 1978; Felix Dikson, "Panama: A New Stage", *WMR*, No. 6, 1979; Felix Dikson, "The Chief Battle of General Torrijos", *WMR*, No. 6, 1982.

³ The system of views enunciated by Torrijos. It is discussed below by the author.—*Ed.*

⁴ O. Torrijos, *op. cit.*, pp. 186, 189.

⁵ *Documentos históricos*, Partido del Pueblo, Panama, 1971, p. 67.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

⁷ The Platt Amendment was an onerous commitment imposed upon Cuba by North American imperialism in 1901. It restricted that country's sovereignty and signified the establishment of an unofficial US protectorate over Cuba.—*Ed.*

⁸ X. Gorostiaga, *Panamá y la Zona del Canal*, Buenos Aires, 1975, p. 16. The Canal Zone covers a territory of 1,432 square kilometres. In it are several military bases, military schools, "research centres" for developing

methods of jungle warfare, several towns, various enterprises, and ports on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts.

⁹ See *Documentos históricos*, p. 221.

¹⁰ See *WMR*, No. 6, 1979, p. 92.

¹¹ A reference to the case where in the Canal Zone US troops fired on a peaceful demonstration demanding sovereignty for the country.—*Ed.*

¹² O. Torrijos, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

¹³ Peasant cooperatives.—*Ed.*

¹⁴ O. Torrijos, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

¹⁵ Torrijos often said that there was a need for the "maximum collective utilisation" of the funds formed following the transfer of the canal to its rightful owner, and for steps to prevent the canal from passing into the hands of new exploiters. "Do not imagine," he noted, "that we are going to replace the North American masters with local masters."—O. Torrijos, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

¹⁷ *Estudios*, No. 78, 1981, p. 26.

¹⁸ *Manifiesto del Partido del Pueblo*, Panamá, March 1, 1984, p. 2.

Economic Restructuring in the Interest of Capital

Jenny Warren — Economic Committee
member, Executive Committee, Communist
Party of Great Britain

THE mid-1980s are a crucial testing period for British capitalism. For a full decade now, the national economy has been struggling against a severe crisis gravely exacerbated by the Tory government policies. The government-encouraged economic restructuring put into effect by inhuman capitalist methods has resulted in a wave of bankruptcies, hundreds of shutdowns, mass unemployment, and a drop in the living standards of many, and has curtailed the rights of working people. But while the latter experience difficulties and hardships from such efforts to ensure economic 'recovery' in Britain, the monopolies reap new and bigger profits.

In their continual drive to intensify exploitation of working people in order to increase their profits, capitalists strive for further concentration of production and apply the latest technologies. This leads to changes in the structure of employment. In the free-for-all conditions of private capitalist enterprise, the influx of capital into new spheres eventually creates extreme imbalances between sectors and between supply and demand. This, in turn, gives rise to crisis phenomena, with all the concomitant negative consequences for working people.

The Motive Forces Behind the Restructuring

Up to the mid-1970s, structural changes occurred against the background of continuous economic expansion, although growth rates were low. With the advent of the far-reaching crisis of 1974-1975, Britain's national income fell for the first time since the war, and unemployment began to rise sharply. The new crisis of 1980-1981 assumed proportions comparable to the Great Depression of the 1930s. By mid-1981 national income had dropped by 8 per cent, output in manufacturing had plummeted by 20 per cent, and 2 million jobs had been eliminated. In the years that followed, production revived somewhat, but this was accompanied by a continued rise in the level of unemployment. Continued high interest rates serve merely to promote a feeling of insecurity.

The severity of the drawn-out crisis and the fact that British capitalism generally lagged behind its competitors put it under extreme pressure to accelerate the restructuring process in order to improve its competitiveness, both nationally and internationally. The internationalisation of capital through the formation of multinationals, as well as the scientific and technological revolution are the principal factors affecting this process.

By now the 100 largest industrial and commercial companies, chiefly British but also foreign-owned, have established their domination of the British economy. Many UK firms operate on a multinational basis, producing a good third of their total manufacturing output outside the UK. Of the top 500 West European firms, about half are British-based multinationals, some of them the largest in Europe. At the same time, foreign corporations operating in the UK produce as much as one-fifth of its total manufacturing output. Both British and foreign-owned companies increasingly base their decisions on international rather than national considerations. For example, the British subsidiary of the Ford Motor Company is shifting foundry works out of the country in search of easier profit abroad. As a result, substantial changes in the sectoral structure of the economy occur through shifts in the international capitalist division of labour and due to the competition between multinationals.

A salient feature of the internationalisation of production has been the change in Britain's position from being the world's major colonial power to ranking only third among Western Europe's industrialised economies. The loss of the colonial superprofits was a severe blow. After the collapse of the British Empire, British capitalism's need was to reinforce its position in the world economy on a European rather than a colonial basis. Since the 1960s, therefore, Britain tried to join the European Economic Community (EEC) and, in 1973, finally succeeded. As a result, there was a significant shift in overseas investment from the former colonies to the EEC.

By the end of the 1970s, only 20 per cent of British foreign investment was located in the Third World (down from 35 per cent two decades earlier), the bulk fairly evenly distributed among the EEC, the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. About 60 per cent of foreign investment in Britain was still American, but again the EEC had significantly increased its share to 20 per cent of the total. Thus Britain's multinationals which first grew strong on colonial trade and investment had to look for new markets in the industrialised countries and in doing so have changed their collective profile from colonial raw-material production and trading firms to multinational manufacturing enterprises. The very fact of this change in the role they played in the international division of labour produced a commensurate impact on the structure of the British economy. Multinational manufacturing companies have relocated a large part of their production activity to the industrialised countries. There, they face tough competition from monopolies free from a colonial past.

The discovery and the exploitation of the North Sea oil deposits in the 1970s left a serious imprint on the entire British economy. The country not only became self-sufficient in oil but also turned into a major oil exporter, although it contributes only four per cent of total world production. The exploitation of the North Sea energy sources had a positive impact on the British economy and its structure of production. There was progress not only in the extraction but also in the processing of oil. A new impetus was given to the chemical industry. The export of oil and petroleum products brought in considerable revenue for investment in other sectors.

In recent years, the structure of investment has been strongly influenced by the scientific and technological revolution. Investment in manufacturing dropped sharply: in steel, chemicals and mechanical engineering it fell by at least a half from 1979 to 1982. However, a great deal was invested in the new technology used in the oil

and gas and motor industries and in the financial services sector where real investment rose by 70 per cent between 1979 and 1982. The electronics-based 'sunrise' industries have begun to transform old-established 'sunset' industries through the application of microchip technology—from informatics to robotics. While total investment in the old industries fell, investment in their plant and machinery embodying the new technology rose by an annual average of three per cent. Even in the engineering industry, where the level of such investment is unremarkable, the vast majority of large companies now use computers for design and manufacture. Nevertheless, the vulnerability and weakness of the British electronics industry is borne out by its continued heavy dependence on the components supplied chiefly by Japanese and US corporations. For example, ICL, the only major British computer firm, relies to a crucial extent on foreign technology deals.

Under the impact of conflicting pressures from the internationalisation of production and the application of the new technology, the overall sectoral structure of the British economy has changed considerably over the last two decades. The share of manufacturing has dropped from a third to a quarter, while both energy and financial and business services have developed into important economic sectors. Each accounts for over 10 per cent of the gross domestic product. The North Sea oil and gas industry has shown a particularly dynamic rise in output since 1976, when oil first came on-stream. It now accounts for over 15 per cent of industrial production, 20 per cent of total exports, and about £5 billion in tax revenue a year (12 per cent of the income tax). The financial and business services sector has registered steady growth since the 1960s, reflecting the important role of the rapid influx of the new technology. The supplier of the new technology—the electronics and informatics sector—contributes 5 per cent of the gross domestic product and employs about 1 million people.

Meanwhile, manufacturing output had declined sharply since the mid-1970s, especially since 1979. This happened in the motor industry despite considerable investment, and in the steel, textiles and clothing industries hit by competitive pressures. The absolute fall is, of course, partly due to the economic crisis; still, structural changes are the principal reason. In 1983, Britain, once the 'workshop of the world', showed a deficit in its manufacturing trade for the first time since the 1930s crisis, and, for the first time in its industrial history, imported more engineering goods than it exported. This is a clear indication of the uncompetitiveness of the British manufacturing industry in the changing international economic situation.

What Is Happening to Employment?

Application of the new technology has laid the basis for a significant increase in labour productivity, realised through a ruthless shedding of labour. An average improvement in productivity of 3 per cent a year since the beginning of 1981 has been surpassed in the steel, shipbuilding, chemical and oil-refining industries, as well as in some branches of engineering. The simultaneous shedding of labour cannot be attributed solely to the economic crisis experienced in that period. Displacement of labour is continuing at the present level of output. For example, BL Rover plans to maintain its 1979 level of output with only about two-thirds of its original workforce. The company's operations are being concentrated on a single integrated site equipped with the latest technology. In coalmining, the mineworkers' union has completed a study which indicates that half the job losses in the industry are due to the introduction of new technology in the pits.

Besides, our working class now faces a completely new situation: multinationals are transferring production—and, consequently, jobs—to other countries where cheap labour or other factors promise greater profits. An analysis of the way some

large UK corporations operate in the manufacturing industry has shown that since 1979, employment at their foreign-based enterprises is growing at the expense of the situation at home.

Clearly, restructuring which has culminated in crisis has had a tremendous impact on labour through growing mass unemployment. There are now 3.5-4 million unemployed in Great Britain, or 13 per cent of the labour force, of whom over a third have been unemployed for more than a year. With the advent of the crisis, employment in manufacturing dropped by a third. This reflects the fall in output but also the impact of labour-saving technology.

While the North Sea oil and gas industry has been expanding rapidly, it has had minimal effect on employment since it is a high-technology industry. Only 15,000 people are employed direct in the fields; another 100,000 are employed in the offshore supplies industry. Aggregate employment generated by North Sea oil is nevertheless far less than in, say, coalmining, which itself has suffered a massive loss of jobs in recent years.

Employment has grown in the newly equipped financial and business services sector, where 1.5 million had jobs even in the crisis period. Together with employment in the social services (health, education) and government administration, the service sector now accounts for over a half of total employment, or 13 million people, nearly double the total number employed in production and construction.

Reflecting these changes in the composition of the labour force, manual workers have formed a declining proportion of the workforce over the last two decades, though they still constitute a half of the total 23 million in employment. Clearly the emergence of science as a productive force has led to an increase in the number of white-collar technological and managerial workers. Even so, 'operatives' still constitute 70 per cent of the manufacturing labour force.

Trade union membership was growing steadily in the 1970s; the crisis of the 1980s brought about its decline in absolute terms since many unemployed stop being trade union members. But there has been no relative reduction in their numbers, as there was during the Great Depression of the 1930s, for the ratio of union members to total employed remains stable. Trade union membership now numbers 10 million, of whom the majority are organised in large and powerful unions.

Tory Help

Margaret Thatcher's Tory government sees its main task in providing as much help as possible to British capitalism in general and to the multinationals, specifically, in helping them to restructure the economy so as to gain ground in competition. The present stage of capitalist development can therefore be described as state-multinational-monopoly capitalism.

The Tories are using tools of government policy to help the monopolies to curb wages and employment, thus increasing profitability and competitiveness. The introduction of the new technology is used to intensify exploitation. The Thatcher government has concentrated its efforts on passing anti-trade union legislation and increasing the repressive apparatus in order to severely reduce workers' hard-won rights. The 1980, 1982 and 1984 Employment Acts dealt a blow to the right to strike, to picket and to take other solidarity action and weakened the protection of strikers from dismissal. The courts have begun to impose swingeing fines on trade unions for contraventions of this legislation. The police have acquired formidable new 'anti-riot' equipment and have taken greater legal powers to use force. The police draw on the experience they have gained in Northern Ireland—as it was clear from the way they dealt with the striking British mineworkers. In addition to these direct attacks on organised labour, the government's cheap-labour job-training schemes for the young

unemployed are an extremely important supplementary measure to undercut trade union wage rights and working-practice standards.

The government vigorously helps the monopolies to restructure the economy through state assistance in the introduction of new technology and industrial reorganisation. Its single biggest R and D programme after defence is in advanced computer technologies. The government also takes on the reorganisation of sectors such as special steels where there is no large firm or firms powerful enough to tackle the problem.

The Tory government's privatisation programme is a tremendous 'windfall' for the capitalists since it hands over to them a whole range of previously nationalised basic and infrastructure industries (in transport, energy, telecommunications and special steels) which have already been successfully restructured 'at public expense'. The sales of the state-owned shares in British Petroleum, Britoil, Cable and Wireless, and British Aerospace are increasing. The five-year programme of privatisation has already seen the sale of major companies such as British Telecommunications, British Gas and British Airways. By now, state-owned assets worth £3 billion have been 'returned' to the private sector. In addition, the Tories plan to receive another £10 billion for denationalised industries by 1989.

The privatisation—the selling off at giveaway prices, by the state to the private capital sector—of publicly owned industries, enterprises and assets, is now being extended to public services, too.

Thus Mrs. Thatcher in her irrational obsession of anything publicly owned involving accountability is suggesting that the management of such social institutions as hospitals, the central feature of the National Health Service, should be farmed out to private firms of management consultants, to run and manage the hospitals. No doubt if she succeeds in this ideologically motivated unsocial act, it will be followed by other institutions such as universities handed over to private managerial firms, whose object and motivation will be not service to the users and clients of the institutions, but drastic cuts in public spending at the expense of the quality of the service. The result is therefore three-fold: a deteriorating service, increased unemployment, and cuts in the living standards of those remaining in employment. While of course the profit potential of the private sector is on the increase. Implementation of these reprivatisation plans represents a considerable strengthening of the economic power of British capitalism.

The government is accused of 'creating unemployment' by its refusal to reflate the economy. This refusal fully accords with the Tory belief that the crisis should be allowed to 'work itself out', although this means privation for millions of working people. Finally, Tory foreign policy is aimed at promoting the interests of UK multinationals on world markets and thus at assisting in the restructuring of the British economy. This is reflected in the commitment to the membership in the Common Market, in the development of relations with the Middle East and sub-Saharan Africa (traditional spheres of British influence) and in the 'special relationship' with the United States in the face of the growing trade and economic rivalries in the West.

Working Class Fightback

Faced with economic crisis and mass unemployment, Britain's Trade Union Congress (TUC) decided to renew negotiations with the government and seek compromise solutions. In a situation where capital is not short of labour power, the readiness for decisive action by working people to promote their interests is somewhat inhibited. However, despite the TUC's 'new realism', providing for class collaboration, the trade union fight against the Employment Acts and to preserve jobs is the only way of restraining the capitalists' efforts to solve the problem of crisis by mass unemployment, low wages, greater exploitation and cutbacks in social services. It is

no accident that some key trade unions have organised crucial challenges to the present strategy of economic restructuring.

This was especially clear from the British mineworkers' strike that lasted a full year. On March 12, 1984, the overwhelming majority of mineworkers walked out and demanded that the plan to close a number of pits as allegedly unprofitable and thus begin by depriving 20,000 people of their jobs be abandoned. Instead, the miners proposed their own solution to the problem, envisaging a substantial increase of investment in the coalmining industry and drawn up fully in concert with the 'plan for the coal industry' with which the unions were in agreement. The strike displayed remarkable determination in the face of all forms of coercion—police reprisals, arrests, anti-trade union legislation and huge fines. The authorities failed in their attempts to arouse public opinion against the miners: the workers' just struggle gave rise to a sweeping wave of solidarity at home and abroad. Twelve months later the miners returned to the pits unbroken, and although, for a number of reasons, they failed to force the authorities to give up the pit closures plan—and this was a serious setback for the miners and the rest of the working class—the strike showed that the working class would not accept plans to restructure the economy at their expense without a struggle.

Two other major strikes held at the end of 1983 also challenged the two main planks of the Tory economic policy—the anti-trade union legislation and the reprivatisation programme. In the first case, the National Graphical Association (NGA) printworkers' union, which fought to negotiate new technology agreements to limit job loss and obtain adequate recompense for increased productivity, challenged the Employment Act by organising solidarity strikes to support the workers of one of the printing-houses. Immediately, the union had to pay a heavy court fine from its funds. In the second case, the POEU tele-communication workers' union brought its members out on strike against the government's plans to privatise British Telecom—and it, too, was immediately fined by the courts, the pretext being that the strike was for 'non-economic' aims. The half-hearted position of the TUC, which extended only limited support to the strikers and inadequate agitation and explanation aimed at involving the broadest movement, prevented these actions from evolving into a struggle to resist the entire anti-labour policy of the government. Later, at its 116th annual conference held during the mineworkers' strike, the TUC, under pressure from the rank-and-file and despite the efforts of its collaborationist wing, approved the action taken by the mineworkers—the advanced section of the working class—and called on other unions to support it. Generally, however, lack of political will and commitment in the struggle to uphold working people's rights is much more often the case with leaders of the British working class movement. But it is not only the attitude of the leaders, but also the inadequate ideological efforts at all levels that is an obstacle in the way of transforming the struggle into a class-oriented policy.

Another form of challenge to the Tory course has been the proposal of alternative solutions to economic restructuring, demanding greater accountability to business and government to workers and their organisations. For example, at a biscuit factory in Merseyside and at a major steel works in Scotland, the trade unions, acting jointly with the Labour-controlled local government authorities, drew up their own job-creation schemes as an alternative to unemployment. After conducting its own study of the motor industry, the TUC lobbied to increase investment and control imports as an alternative to the privatisation of British Leyland, the only nationalised British firm in this sector. True, these alternative solutions do not challenge the capitalist system but they express an incipient independent class approach to running the economy and often raise the crucial issue of whether production serves the goal of private profit or socially useful output.

There is no doubt that, despite the setbacks the working class movement has

suffered in recent years, working people are more determined to preserve jobs, win better pay and better working conditions and expand democratic control over production.

Whatever the immediate prospects of the British economy, the fundamental contradictions between capital and labour at this stage of multinational capitalist domination are becoming much more acute. The growing economic dominance of the multinationals aggravates the irreconcilable conflict between the increased internationalisation of production and the interests of working people, on the one hand, and the capitalists' pursuit of the biggest possible exclusive profits on the basis of private property, on the other. The increasing application of the new technology serves only to underscore the issue of the differential access to the newly created value on the part of labour and capital. Mrs. Thatcher talks of creating a 'capital-owning democracy'—through a derisory increase in 'personal company share-holdings'. This new version of 'popular capitalism' runs completely contrary to the increasing socialisation of production forces which objectively demands a different type of property.

Despite all the government's assurances that their economic strategy is 'working', unemployment is remorselessly rising month by month, while inflation, the one achievement of this government at the terrible price of galloping unemployment, is one more on the increase. The restructuring that has been achieved is far from adequate to make Britain competitive with her main capitalist rivals. The economy continues to be in decline.

Despite the setback of the miners' strike there is no evidence that the working class has been cowed and demoralised. The rate of industrial action over the past two years has been on the increase—a rise of days lost in strikes of nearly 30 per cent since 1982. All the recent polls both with regard to voting intentions as well as attitudes to some of the basic policies and attitudes of the Thatcher government, show an erosion of support for the Thatcher government and increased support for both Labour and the alliance parties, with the Tory Party having in some polls even dropped to third place.

The 1980s are a period when the British working class is reasserting its role as a hegemonic force in society, intervening forcefully against the bourgeois strategy of economic development in its own class interests and increasingly in the national interest.

Whither the Vatican?

Vasil Bejda — Czechoslovak journalist

One of our readers in France, André Simon, wants to know about the current trends in the Vatican's policy and the attitude of the Communists in socialist countries to religion and believers. Here a Czechoslovak journalist reflects on the Vatican's 'new line' and on participation by believers in socialist construction in Czechoslovakia.

There is nothing ambiguous about the Communists' attitude to religion and believers. Considering the social function of religion, Engels says that 'all religion . . . is nothing

but the fantastic reflection in men's minds of those external forces which control their daily life, a reflection in which the terrestrial forces assume the form of supernatural forces'.¹ We are atheists, and we believe that the patient, consistent and factful spread of atheism is one of the ways leading to the working people's spiritual emancipation from the religious notions which are an impediment to their full understanding of the realities of the modern world, of their own class interests, and of the programme for realising them. However, we have always eschewed the primitive anti-clericalism, which was, incidentally, manifested in the process of some bourgeois revolutions, and we shall always continue to shun it.

The Communists are guided by Lenin's insistence on the need to keep spreading the scientific world-outlook: 'It is essential for us to combat the inconsistency of various "Christians"'. But that does not mean in the least that the religious question ought to be advanced to first place, where it does not belong at all; nor does it mean that we should allow the forces of the really revolutionary economic and political struggle to be split up.'²

The imperialist sponsors and organisers of the current 'crusade' against socialism rely on religious circles in trying to keep in place the unjust social system and to give it an aura of sanctity. However, the modern inquisitors' efforts to rally virtually the whole non-socialist world for the fight against 'godless communism' have turned out to be counter-productive, and the adventurist line of the US and NATO leadership is now being opposed by an unprecedentedly broad front of diverse forces, with numerous strata of believers, activists of religious organisations and even a considerable section of the clergy of various denominations forming a part of this highly multifarious social, political and ideological spectrum.

The reactionaries keep accusing the Communists of godlessness, but they have merely exposed their own objective of splitting up the revolutionary forces and turning the different attitudes among the working people to religion into artificial barriers. There is also another reason for the great urge on the part of imperialism to make active use of clericalism and fundamentalism. The fact is that the crisis of the bourgeois ideology has now reached a point at which its 'rational arguments' miss their mark again and again. The ideologists of imperialism rely on religious feelings because they want to give their policy what it lacks most of all, namely, 'moral credit' and mass support for a policy that threatens the world's destiny.

One should take note of US President Reagan's assertion that the course of world developments does not depend on people but on god, because it exposes the gist of the moves by means of which imperialism has been trying to capitalise on religion. Nor is that, incidentally, the first attempt to justify, by references to 'god's will', aggressive military plans fuelled by the drive for profits and the urge to drown social progress in blood.

Washington's 'religious card' explains its growing interest in cooperation with conservative clerical circles, primarily the Vatican's rightists, whose present political line meets the hopes of the most reactionary forces of imperialism.

A short retrospect at this point seems to be in order.

When the Archbishop of Cracow, Cardinal Karol Wojtyla, was elected head of the Roman Catholic Church in the autumn of 1978, he chose for himself, like his predecessor (who was pontiff for just over a month) the name of John Paul, so signalling his intention to ensure the continuity of the policy conducted by John XXIII and Paul VI. The activity of both these pontiffs, especially that of John XXIII, was marked by an urge for church reforms, and realism in foreign-policy matters, notably an understanding of the need for detente in international relations, and a readiness to cooperate with all the peace forces in the defence of peace, a fact reflected in his well-known encyclical 'Pacem in Terris', which was also highly appreciated in the working class movement.

But Wojtyla's choice of a name combining those of his two predecessors did not at all signify that the new pontiff was about to embark on the same way. The activity of John Paul II shows that, far from becoming an advocate of the liberal tendency at the Vatican, he has, in fact, shown himself to be an avowedly conservative, right-wing religious leader and an active proponent of the anti-communist and anti-democratic line (while claiming to be the spiritual pastor of the oppressed masses).

Despite his assurances just after his election that he intended effectively to promote the cause of peace and international justice, it soon became clear that his deeds failed to match his words. No wonder even the Western press says that Pope John Paul II's policy is one of 'orthodoxy' and 'restoration',³ i.e., the restoration of the Vatican's old conservative line under Pius XII.

A minor 'earthquake' shook the Vatican in April 1984, when the Pope reshuffled the Roman Curia to strengthen its conservative wing. A recent official announcement said that John Paul II is to call a special synod of bishops in Rome in November of this year for the purpose of 'deepening the understanding' of the decisions of the Vatican (Ecumenical) Council of 1962-1965. Liberal-minded Catholic circles believe that the Pope would like to revise the changes which the Council introduced into the life of the Catholic Church. Indeed, under John Paul II, the Vatican has already departed from most of the earlier liberal reforms. A drive against dissident theologians got under way. (The Pope has strongly supported the Church's entrenched medieval views on divorce, abortion and birth control.) The old Latin mass has been brought back (after its post-1965 substitution by a more modern version), and discipline in monastic orders has been tightened up. Conservatives find their way open to the highest ecclesiastical posts.

These leaders, whose hopes are now being voiced by the Pope, support the efforts of the Pope and Cardinal Ratzinger, who heads the Vatican's Congregation on Dogma, to return the Catholic Church to the old pre-Council days.

Let us note that the backtracking under the pretext of a 'religious revival' is above all political, for it involved active interference by right-wing clerical circles in the affairs of states, as will be seen, for instance, from the struggle in some West European countries between state and church for control of the educational system. Let us recall that the frenetic action of all the right-wing forces, notably the right-wing clerical circles, in France last year in support of 'private schools' and their 'religious character' did something to sharpen the internal political situation. In Spain, the reactionary forces are carrying on a fight for the restoration of the old regime behind a barrage of criticism of the educational reform law, so that it is apparently no accident that the demonstration staged there on November 18 of last year in support of the private education system in Spain was a replica of a similar demonstration staged in Paris on June 24 of that same year.

The Vatican has been acting ever more vigorously on the side of the most reactionary forces. In April of this year, John Paul II met with 15 right-wing deputies of the European Parliament, among them the leader of the pro-fascist French National Front Jean-Marie Le Pen, and the head of the neofascist Italian Social Movement (MSI) Giorgio Almirante. The Pope urged them to 'combat the decline of morals in Europe', a call, the press noted, which makes the European fascists just short of being champions of civic morality. But that is precisely how the ultra-rightists themselves saw the Pope's support. Here is what Almirante told a rally staged by European rightists in Rome the day after an audience with the Pope: 'Our movement is a national and fascist tradition, but it is also a Catholic tradition. We expressed our respect for the Pope in St. Peter's Square, respect on behalf of the whole MSI, for a Polish Pope, respect of the European right-wing forces for a Pope who, in accordance with the great ecumenical mission of the Roman Catholic Church, cannot forget about the great Christian mission with respect to the Europe still languishing in chains

and yearning for freedom.⁴ While that may well be a piece of wishful thinking, it is dangerous to underestimate such concepts, for they reveal the interlocking of neofascist and clerical slogans, the Reagan administration's calls for a 'crusade' against 'godless communism' and the Vatican's 'new Eastern policy'.

The Pope's speech in the town of Loreto on the eve of the May administrative elections in Italy also testifies to his political sympathies and ambitions. He called on Catholics to be 'united' for the 'supreme good of the nation' and urged every Christian and citizen to take a 'responsible and well-considered decision'. No wonder the press saw this speech as Vatican's interference in the internal affairs of the Italian state and as a thinly disguised mandate to devout Catholics to vote for the Christian Democrats.

The reverse side of the coin is likewise noteworthy. While ever more frankly supporting the reactionary circles of the capitalist states, the Roman Curia under John Paul II has been most intolerant, of any attempts by realistically-minded ministers of the Catholic Church to question, let alone criticise, the acts of imperialist reaction. Everyone still remembers the Vatican's displeasure with the bishops of the United States, who dared to disagree with Reagan's nuclear policy. They were forced to blunt the critical edge of their pastoral letter.

The Vatican's campaign against the 'liberation theology' has a patently reactionary ideological character, and is actually, though not officially, anti-communist. It is a trend in religious thought which initially originated in Latin America in the 1960s and took less than two decades to spread across the Latin American continent and—in a somewhat modified form—in the developing countries of Africa as well. The advocates of the new trend in the modern Church believe that in a world riddled with capitalist exploitation and masses of working people suffering from poverty, lack of rights and injustice, they have no right to stand aside from the social struggle. They believe that Christians have a duty to support the rights of the poor and the oppressed.

Nor have many Latin American clergymen been silent over the social upheavals caused in their countries by the policy of imperialism, although they are guided by a world-view that is totally different from that of the Communists. As a rule, the more flagrant the outrages of local reaction in Washington's service, the more vigorous the clergymen's protests. Brazilian Archbishop Helder Camara wrote in this context: 'The day will dawn when the masses of Latin America will awaken, whether with us, or without us, or even against us. When the day comes, woe to Christianity if the masses are convinced that their hard lot is the result of Christianity having been at one with the propertied and the rich.'⁵ Some advocates of 'liberation theology' even urge revolutionary transformations in the Third World and recognise the positive significance of Marxism. 'Liberation theology' differs from the orthodox religious frame of mind in its emphasis on social change. Those who develop this theory hold that if economic and social justice is to be achieved, especially in areas where the inequality is scandalous, there must be action to change the existing structures.

That is precisely the kind of views for which the Brazilian Franciscan Leonardo Boff, a lecturer at the Catholic University and the author of 32 books, was summoned to face trial at the Vatican's Congregation on Dogma. Following the 'brainwashing' he got at the Vatican, he told a West German magazine: 'The Church concluded a historical pact with the ruling circles. In Latin America, we have started to breach the pact. We are distancing ourselves from that part of the Church which is in alliance with the upper strata of the society. This also naturally tends to produce tension between the members of the hierarchy, on the one hand, and the "people's Church", on the other. . . . Most Latin American bishops stand for the liberation theology. . . . We think of the oppressed people and of how they can be freed from oppression. After all, oppression did not fall from heaven. It originated in the course of historical

development. When considering its origins, we are confronted with capitalism and its mechanism.⁶

Since the reprimand by the Vatican's Congregation on Dogma had no effect on the recalcitrant clerical, the Vatican pulled out of its medieval arsenal a different sort of penance: the Franciscan friar was sentenced to a year of 'penitential silence': he is not allowed to publish books or take part in discussions.

The condemnation of 'liberation theology' by the Roman Catholic Church adds grist to the mill of the US administration, which is carrying on a fight against the 'Marxist infiltration' of Latin America. The Vatican has been putting crude pressure on the Nicaraguan priests who are taking an active part in the economic and social transformations. Let us recall that three government posts in Nicaragua are now held by priests: Miguel D'Escoto is Foreign Minister, Fernando Cardenal is Minister of Education, and Ernesto Cardenal is Minister of Culture. They were all actively involved in the struggle for the overthrow of the dictatorial Somoza regime, and after the victory of the revolution, in building a new society in Nicaragua. It was demanded of all three priests holding ministerial office that they should either resign from the government or abdicate their holy orders. By so harassing the Nicaraguan priests, the Roman Curia was signalling other members of the Catholic clergy involved in the national liberation movement that they must abandon the progressive policy and stop defending the rights of the oppressed and dispossessed.

The Pope's anxiety over the emergence of a 'church of the poor' in Latin America and mass participation by believers in the anti-imperialist struggle was also expressed in the fact that in the almost six years of his pontificate, John Paul II has paid six visits to that continent in an effort to support the declining prestige of the conservative Roman Curia. Let us note that his latest trip coincided with the step-up in Washington's anti-Nicaraguan provocations.

It is no accident at all that there is now talk of a 'Reagan-Wojtyla political alliance'. Diplomatic relations were restored between Washington and the Vatican under the present Pope, and their political lines have drawn closer. Western press reports say that Washington has been regularly supplying the Vatican with specially prepared files, which are among John Paul II's main sources of information about world developments, primarily about the socialist countries.

There is also much in common in their approach to the most important human rights, the Christian view of social justice, and love for one's neighbour, while devout Catholics who take the Pope at his word are instantly accused of 'sliding down to Marxism'. But is not that also unwitting recognition that Marxism, and it alone, provides a consistent programme for social liberation?

What the Vatican has been doing against the socialist community countries, including Czechoslovakia, can also best be understood in the overall context of the Vatican's role on the side of imperialist reaction in our class-divided world. Imperialism has used the most diverse means in its efforts to disrupt our people's dedicated labour and to destabilise our society. Initially that was done under the pretext of 'renewing democracy' and then of establishing some kind of 'better socialism'. The failure of these plans was followed by slanderous campaigns over alleged violations of human rights, suppression of culture, and so on, in our country. However, none of these have met with support in Czechoslovakia, let alone finding some kind of base. The enemies of socialism thereupon decided that the Church and its devout members were the only prop that they could use maliciously for their political ends. Our country became the target of fierce attacks by clerical anti-communism, with strenuous efforts to spread inventions about 'lack of religious freedom' and 'forcible suppression of religion and the church' in Czechoslovakia.

Any fair-minded person will see for himself that such assertions amount to nothing but vicious slander. Freedom of conscience and freedom of religion are fully

guaranteed in our country. More than 8,000 churches are open. Over 5,000 clergymen work in the church communities of 18 denominations, and some of them were, incidentally, awarded high government orders on the recent 40th anniversary of Czechoslovakia's liberation.

The juridical norms which provided the basis for determining the attitude to believers and churchers in Czechoslovakia in the late 1940s have fully justified themselves. Gustáv Husák, General Secretary of the CPCz CC and President of Czechoslovakia, says: 'The socialist state takes account of the religious feelings of believers and respects the fact that the overwhelming majority of them honestly take part in building socialism.'⁷

In our country, believers have the unlimited right to profess their religion and enjoy equal civil rights with non-believers, something many bourgeois-democratic institutions are unable to guarantee to this day. The Czechoslovak state does not interfere in the church's internal affairs and respects in good faith its internal principles and norms. It is quite natural, therefore, that the state cannot allow the church to interfere in its own affairs either. Incidentally, these principles were not formulated by Communists: they originated in the earlier stages of anti-feudal bourgeois revolutions.

Clerical reaction has falsified incontrovertible facts testifying to freedom of religion in Czechoslovakia in its efforts to distort the substance and methods used in attaining our goal, which is development of our people's social emancipation into their complete spiritual emancipation. The Communists' purposeful efforts in spreading the scientific world-view are based on the transformation of the material conditions in which our people live and have yielded ever more noticeable results. The blind fanaticism and religious obscurantism which were characteristic of some parts of Slovakia and Moravia before the socialist revolution have in the main been overcome.

Sociological studies repeatedly carried out in our country bear out the shifts in the social consciousness, as people are convinced that Nature, the society and man himself develop in accordance with objectively-governed uniformities, instead of the acts of supernatural forces. A recent poll of our population showed, for instance, that almost 80 per cent of Czechoslovak citizens believe that it is inappropriate to give children religious instruction at school, and that in our republic the family, the schools and the society as a whole must influence the young generation in the spirit of socialist morality. It is this approach resulting from the educational influence of the new society which is highly noble in content and method, that reactionary clerics, together with Washington, label as a 'mortal sin'.

The second line of the propaganda efforts by the Vatican elite against Czechoslovakia is likewise fully in accord with the plans of imperialism. Here the objective is a far-reaching one: the idea is to turn the Catholic community into a potential political centre of anti-socialist opposition. These plans, which initially lashed the objective to an isolated handful of so-called dissidents, have obviously failed, which is why there are such frenzied attempts to involve the legally existing Catholic church in the country in acts aimed to weaken and destabilise socialism.

However, that has not worked either, and has not the slightest hope of success. Our people, including the overwhelming majority of believers, have some very bitter experience in getting to know 'political pluralism'. Political machinations by dozens of parties, including clericals, in the bourgeois Czechoslovak Republic were no more than a transparent screen for the monopolies' dictatorship and the exploitation of the working people. The 'political pluralism' which began to emerge in our country under the impact of the right-wing and counter-revolutionary forces in the late 1960s likewise posed a threat to the foundations of socialism. Under the slogans of 'democratisation', the enemies of socialism arbitrarily attacked and forced to shut up

every consistent champion of the working people's vital interests. A clerical group styling itself the 'Councilium Revival Opus', which made no secret of its bellicose anti-communism, likewise had a considerable role to play in that reactionary practice.

The forces which refuse to abandon the plans for reviving political clericalism will never find any common ground with the Czechoslovak Communists, but it does not follow from our steadfast stand—as the adversaries of socialism claim—that the activity of the church and religious communities is being curtailed in Czechoslovakia. Their activity requires this single prerequisite: under socialism, servants of the church must display their capacity for adaptation, they must remain loyal to the socialist system and respect its laws. That does not at all require priests to display the servility to which they are forced even today by the ruling circles of the society based on class antagonisms and exploitation. The CPCz does not in any sense force priests to take part in the propaganda of the ideology which prevails under socialism or to spread the scientific world-view contrary to their beliefs. In our conditions, the state has no need to rely on the church in ensuring stability and developing the society, as the state had to do in the past, and as it still does in the capitalist countries even today.

Socialism is neither the 'work of the devil', nor the 'empire of evil'. It is the result of revolutionary struggle and dedicated labour by workers, peasants, and intellectuals, both atheists and believers. It is an embodiment of man's age-old aspirations, and of the ideals of social justice.

The Communists are aware of their role and responsibility. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will continue to do its utmost to make the programme for the further development of the socialist society a programme for all our citizens, including believers. Socialism and peace are indivisible. In the struggle to preserve peace, we shall not flag in our efforts to strengthen mutual understanding and joint action of all the anti-war forces, including the broadest strata of the religious public, church activists and clergymen.

In view of the fact that objectively the Vatican has increasingly acted in support of the aggressive circles of imperialism, the struggle for peace and social progress, we believe, implies a resolute fightback against reactionary clericalism. That is necessary for freeing the masses of believers from the shackles that hamper their participation in the struggle for a solution of the cardinal problems of our day.

¹ See Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Moscow, 1959, p. 435.

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

³ See *International Herald Tribune*, May 15, 1985.

⁴ *Panorama*, April 21, 1985.

⁵ Quoted in *Expres*, No. 6, February 9, 1985, p. 6 (in Slovak). —Ed.

⁶ *Der Spiegel*, September 17, 1985, pp. 154, 156, 157.

⁷ Gustáv Husák, *The 15th Congress of the CPCz*, Svoboda, Prague, 1977, p. 82 (in Czech).

Artists in Struggle Promoting the Radiant Ideals

Roger Somville – Belgian Artist

The station Hankar of the Brussels metro is probably unique among the subway stations of Europe's biggest cities. What makes it unique is a huge and striking mural at its entrance. 'Our Time' (as the mural is called) literally makes a stranger who has never been here before stop in his tracks and momentarily forget whatever urgent business may be on his mind. Everything is striking about this twentieth-century fresco in concrete—its size (600 square metres), its riot of colour and its giant, elongated shapes that seem to rush at the passenger from the height of nine metres. Still, the most remarkable thing is the way the great mural was painted, its inner dramatic dynamics through which the artist wanted to express the contradictory nature of our time.

On a trip to Brussels Sergei Yastrzhembsky, a *WMR* staff member, met the man who painted the famous mural—Roger Somville, a foremost Belgian artist and a Communist. Following is a condensed transcript of their talk.

—Even before you painted 'Our Time' you were well known as a mural artist with a preference for realistic, large-size paintings. But the concrete fresco at Hankar must be in a class by itself among your works. Could you tell us about the way it was executed, about the meaning behind each of its many figures? Also, how typical is this genre of Belgian painting today?

I'd rather begin with the last question because it raises a very important issue of contemporary Belgian art. Our very social system with its domination of a privileged class and with private considerations prevailing over the public interest does not encourage art for the masses. Artistic expression and distribution of works of art follow the laws of the market. Inevitably, this restricts the artist's social role and drives him into a 'cultural ghetto'. Therefore, I would say that painting for the people is still an exception in Belgium. The mural in the Hankar station is only one swallow that does not make a summer, as they say.

It was this rare opportunity to create a monumental mural for the masses that determined its epic form. My intention was to create a graphic representation of the uneven pulse and rapid march of our time, of the struggle of the world of working people for a society of greater economic and social justice.

The mural is made up of several autonomous themes, each of them reflecting characteristic features of our era, both positive and negative. I started my work at the time of the Chilean tragedy—the fascist putsch and the overthrow of the Allende government—and so one of the figures is Pinochet, the monster of war, and next to him, in the beam of a floodlight, a man symbolising the drama of Chile, depicted in homage to Victor Jara, brutally tortured to death by the junta, and as a sign of solidarity with all peoples oppressed by US imperialism.

Another detail of the mural is a motorcycle in a headlong rush. The cyclist is dead but continues his insane race. By this I mean that there are people in our time who flee responsibility and try to burrow into a world where a cult of man-made things, of modern technology reigns; they do it to evade the job of tackling the pressing social problems that our planet faces. But this is an ostrichlike attitude which as history tells us, is both useless and fraught with great danger.

A focal point of the mural's message is the giant figure of a man with a wounded hand. It is the symbol of human progress, of the way man marches forward going through thorns and severe trials. Another detail is a public manifestation, showing that the masses are continuing their struggle to transform the world. The mural also

includes scenes from everyday life—'a night cafe', 'an artist in thought', or 'on the beach'.

The work on the mural lasted for two and a half years and demanded the efforts of six artists, formerly of my studio. We wanted to execute a picture not for the habits of varnishing days but for the man in the street who, in the press of his day-to-day cares, is often deprived of an opportunity to experience the impact of art. I think the main goal has been attained: today, almost nine years since its creation, 'Our Time' is still conducting a dialogue with people, prompting them to reflect on the problems of our era.

Details of the Artist's Portrait. To better understand the artist's inner world, let us pause for a brief outline of his biography. Roger Somville was born into the family of a craftsman, an inlayer in wood, in Brussels 62 years ago. His father died young, and the boy had an early encounter with money problems and humiliating poverty. Roger Somville's first understanding of history and the contemporary world came from the works of Karl Marx and V.I. Lenin, from the books of J. Vallès, Victor Hugo, André Malraux and Bertolt Brecht. These authors and the epic tragedy of the Spanish Republic ("At the age of 14," Somville recalls, "I lived through the defeat of a revolution") made a profound impact on his view of the world.

From 1940 to 1945 Somville studied painting at the Royal Fine Arts Academy and at the Higher National School of Architecture and Decorative Art in Brussels where his teacher, the painter Charles Counheye, set him on the road to realism and mural art. In 1943, when Belgium was overrun by Nazi troops, Somville narrowly escaped arrest for violating the invaders' regulations. Then Liberation came. The young artist gravitated towards the Communist Party of Belgium and joined it in 1950.

Many facets of Somville's talent came to the fore as early as the first postwar decade. His style was equally fresh and vivid when he worked on canvas and on concrete, when he decorated aluminum and ceramic objects. His portraits, drawings and murals were equally successful. One is struck by Somville's vibrant energy, by his constant readiness to respond to various social challenges. The founder of numerous artistic associations, cooperatives and movements of painters who shared his artistic philosophy, teacher and then director of the Fine Arts Academy in Boitsfort, author of pamphlets and books on art, a vigorous fighter against the war threat and a member of the World Peace Council—Roger Somville is all that.

—From the very first steps you took as a painter, you have invariably declared yourself to be a realist. Still, the opinions of students of your art differ on this point. Some hold that you are rather an expressionist or even a symbolist. What is your understanding and interpretation of the realistic method in art?

I will begin with a quotation from Picasso, an idea I find very close to my philosophy. "I have always been a realist," the great artist said, "even when I was a cubist. But we should first agree on the meaning of the terms. . . . There is always a share of the abstract in art. But you shouldn't confuse it with non-representational art."

As I understand it, realism is the artist's attitude to the world around him, transformed by his talent, experience and imagination. For example, everything created by Sergei Eisenstein was firmly linked to the October Revolution without which the 'Eisenstein phenomenon' in film art would never have materialised. I think that imagination is the only source of a film director's creative power, but it is rooted in the objective conditions of the society he rejects or admires.

I do not think that realism is one single school. Realism can be classical, romantic, lyrical or critical. It is fluid and has many faces, just as the reality the artists portrays.

I am convinced that realism develops thanks to those who, by their hearts, minds and even instincts, see the world in its organic unity and diversity and not as an immutable pattern; those who express vastly complex human relations which, as we know, are shaped by socio-economic factors.

To be a realist today means to help the new world come into its own by one's art, to see the future as socialist because one has grasped objective reality. This, I think, is the reason why the realism that is based on the philosophy of historical and dialectical materialism is called socialist realism.

The mission of an artist who expounds this realism is to be particularly truthful, passionate and unswerving in reflecting the strength of the most progressive class which has the greatest capability for ensuring human progress and for translating man's dreams of a just and humane society into reality. In other words, art, including painting, must be wedded to popular aspirations and to the class struggle.

Details of the Artist's Portrait. Here one should stress Roger Somville's artistic loyalty to a trend chosen once and for all. In 1947 abstract art literally flooded the salons and exhibition halls of postwar Belgium and other West European countries. For fifteen long years Somville and many of his colleagues who shared his artistic philosophy were completely shut out of the nation's cultural life. They were in a vacuum. At that time, Somville recalls, he was told many times, 'You're finished as an artist, Monsieur. You're dead. Today, abstract art is the only art, the great new art. It is the art of tomorrow.'

Up to the early 1960s Somville did not earn a single franc by his painting, did not sell a single picture (that was when he turned to work in ceramics). But he refused to give up. He kept attacking his opponents, wrote pamphlets and books on realism and took part in debates. He became a symbol of resistance to segregation in Belgian painting, to the intellectual terrorism of 'market art'. This situation lasted until 1963, when the decline of abstract art began in Western Europe.

Somville's world renown was not only a sign of appreciation of his talent and skill but also a reward for his fortitude. From 1963 to 1985 several scores of personal and retrospective exhibitions of his art were held in Amsterdam, Paris, Los Angeles, Cologne, Moscow, Budapest, Berlin and Havana. Today, his pictures grace the halls of virtually all major museums in Belgium and of centres of world art such as the Leningrad Hermitage, the Pushkin Fine Arts Museum in Moscow, the Dresden Neue Galerie, the museums of modern art in Mexico City and Sofia, the Museum of Art and History in Saint-Denis, etc.

—Roger, few people in Belgium would now deny that you have added a bright chapter to the chronicle of modern Belgian art. Your works are admired; salons and exhibitions welcome them. But, speaking in broader terms, what is the position of the artist and, in still broader terms, of culture in bourgeois society?

That is a question that is both simple and complex. Artists in the capitalist world are politically uneducated and, as a rule, they themselves have a vague notion of their position in society, believing that they 'stand apart from ideology'. In actual fact though, it is perfectly clear that on our art market, an artist either becomes a 'star' (this calls for docile adherence to the aesthetic ideology of the bourgeoisie) and his works command high prices and sell well, or he is dumped on the ash heap and quickly forgotten. In Belgium, a country that has never appreciated or believed in its intellectuals, this mechanism operates with particular cynicism. You may recall that when Charles de Coster, our greatest author, died, he was accompanied on his last

journey by three people and a dog. As far as my position now is concerned, I rather think it is an exception to the rule and, more than anything else, the result of stubborn struggle.

However, to make the position of the artist in the West completely clear, one should consider another important aspect of the problem—the interrelationship of art and society. It is common knowledge that art has never led to revolution. But—and examples of such cases abound—it can contribute to success in the struggle for social transformations by awakening popular sentiment and awareness. There is no doubt that genuine literature, painting and music do influence the mores and ethics of a society, the way of thinking. I would even say that culture is a particularly important battlefield in modern class struggle which covers all facets of our lives.

Bourgeois ideologists have long been aware of this fact, and they are trying to neutralise progressive political currents in the artistic community and to make it serve bourgeois interests. Artists are spied on; great pressure is exerted on them to condition them to concepts of 'pure art'—in short, everything is done to prevent the new way of thinking from taking root, to uphold the ideals of the ruling class.

Unfortunately, one is forced to admit that the low level of political consciousness among artists in the capitalist world, including Belgium, plays into the hands of the bourgeoisie and in fact furthers its goals. Taken as a whole, intellectuals are the most vulnerable social group in capitalist society. They need more support and solidarity from progressive political forces. Much depends on what left, progressive parties can do, on how effectively they defend democratic intellectuals. Nor, obviously, should one underestimate the personal role of those cultural figures who put their talent at the service of the progressive class in these very difficult conditions.

Details of the Artist's Portrait. Somville is an 'artist under contract', under contract to socialism. Even the titles of his paintings and murals make his social stand clear: 'Triumph of Peace', 'America, I Write Your Name: Vietnam', 'Homage to the Paris Commune', 'A Trade Union Meeting', 'The Left in France', 'Girl Demonstrator' and so on.

Somville made his choice in politics 35 years ago, and, come rain or come shine, he has been with the Communist Party ever since. He is a member of the CPB Cultural Commission and of the *Cahiers marxistes* journal support committee and takes an active part in designing the traditional festivals of the *Drapeau Rouge* newspaper. Many artists who graduated from the Boitsfort Fine Arts Academy where Somville is in charge have followed their teacher's example and joined the CPB.

"Sometimes people ask me why I remain loyal to a party that does not play a foremost role on the Belgian social scene," Somville says. "But this question has never existed for me. And that's not only because of my political convictions and sympathies but also because in the party I have found the noblest people."

—You have been head of the Fine Arts Academy in Boitsfort since 1958. What is it like and how does it differ from other art schools?

First of all, it is a night school attended by students who have already been trained in some occupation. Prior to 1970 we received funds from the government, which made it possible to provide the students with the necessary supplies—canvas, pigments, enamels, paintbrushes, etc. But then our financial position deteriorated. The government now pursues a policy of reducing the number of night schools where the students are mostly people from the underprivileged social strata.

Our troubles are a consequence of the grave crisis which hit many spheres of Belgium's socio-economic life as early as the 1970s. While the situation in the nation

was relatively good, the ruling class could afford the luxury of spending money on education and culture. But as soon as things got worse, the mask was discarded and the real, profoundly anti-democratic image of bourgeois society came into view. Powerless witnesses to the degradation of the education system, to the cultural crisis and the massive offensive of capital against social gains, many Belgians are now coming to the painful realisation that their former notions about the order of things in the country where they were born and raised have turned out to be essentially false.

—Today, even the bourgeois press often admits that many distinctive national cultures of Western Europe are in danger of being swallowed by US 'Cultural imperialism'. What do you think can be done to counter this pernicious trend?

Naturally, US imperialist policies cover the field of culture too. Belgium is a case in point, being one of Europe's most 'colonised' countries in this respect.

The beginning of the cruise missile deployment is a clear indication of the degree to which our country has lost its sovereignty and national independence. Besides, there is a US cultural imperialism which floods Belgium with its moronic products and dictates our cultural policies. This results in great damage to various fields of artistic endeavour—film art, the fine arts, music and literature.

The effects of this influence are there for all to see. Since 1976, the number of the subjects taught and the duration of the courses has been declining steadily. Hit first are, of course, the subjects that are best suited for teaching people to think and analyse the socio-political situation—history, literature, art and the like. The motives behind these moves by the ruling quarters are clear: they hold that the spread of a progressive culture poses a grave threat to the capitalist system. That is why I have long declared that US imperialism and its policies are the worst enemy of humanity.

It is the duty of a real artist to use every means at his disposal to oppose this overwhelming US ideological pressure. For example, a painter can do it with the help of his art, by writing for the press and taking part in action aimed against his government if the policy of this government is—as the case is in Belgium—in subjection to US imperialism.

—In the early 1950s, at the dawn of the nuclear age, the famous American author William Faulkner uttered his famous words: 'I refuse to accept the end of man. . . . Man will not simply survive, he will prevail.' Today, however, the hypothetical catastrophe Faulkner refused to contemplate has, unfortunately, become a tangible possibility: there is the imperialist nuclear threat. In this connection, are you sure that we do have a future? What do you think we should do for man to really survive and prevail?

I am convinced that thanks to world socialism, humanism will eventually triumph over warmongering and put an end to flagrant social injustices. And so I fully agree with Faulkner.

We *must* prevail, for otherwise it will be the end of the human race, and all our debate will be pointless. The peoples of our planet Earth can and must have a happy future. After all, despite the setbacks it has suffered, mankind has never despaired. This historical optimism is clear proof that people want to change their world and make it more just.

How can the artist take part in the struggle to transform the world?

I have already said that art furthers revolutionary sentiment. The foremost duty of the artist is to respond, through art, to the world's most important problems. That has been the way of the great masters—of Brueghel, Michelangelo, Rubens, Caravaggio, Goya, Siqueiros and others.

The artist must extirpate the deep-rooted idea promoted by ideologists of our ruling class—the idea that the artist keeps aloof from ideology, politics or economics. His place is among those who fight for peace and social justice. His mission is to be the starting and rallying point of such action, to influence mass consciousness by his

convictions.

At a meeting of the World Peace Council I once proposed the construction of a Peace Palace which would display works by all of the world's artists who are fighting against the war threat. That may be expensive. But peace is worth the cost. I am sure that should this idea be raised as a practical proposal, major modern artists would support it.

surveys, information and mail

A Socialist Way of Life **State Benefits to Man: From the Womb to the Tomb**

'I have heard that a substantial part of the goods and services consumed in the socialist countries comes from the state free of charge or at a discount. Please give more details.'

Christophe Danielle
Belgium

The following survey was prepared by the working group of the *WMR* Commission for Scientific Information and Documentation on the basis of statistical data from a number of European socialist countries.

Living standards comprise many components, including, of course, cash income,¹ but also normal conditions for work, rest and leisure, general education and occupational training, decent housing conditions, health protection, and care of children, young people and the elderly in the society. These vital components of living standards are assured under socialism through the wide use of social consumption funds consisting of appropriations from the state budget and deductions from the profits of state enterprises and organisations.

The social meaning of social funds is that under socialism man is regarded by the society both as a worker and as a citizen enjoying equal rights with other citizens to education, medical care, housing and low rents, security in sickness, old age and disablement, and so on. These funds provide a reliable material basis for the key social guarantees of the socialist state. With the growth of the social wealth their share in the population's aggregate real incomes tends steadily to grow, so making it possible to tackle an ever wider range of social tasks.

Here are some figures testifying to the scale, dynamic and importance of social outlays on raising the material and cultural standards of those who live in the socialist countries. In the GDR, more than one-third of the budget appropriations are used for these purposes; in 1981, funds for the population totalled more than 58 billion marks; in 1982, over 61 billion; and in 1983—almost 62 billion. In Bulgaria, the volume of various payments and benefits per head of the population increased in 1984 by 3.9 per cent, and in Romania by 4.9 per cent. In Czechoslovakia, social consumption funds account for roughly one-third of the population's real cash incomes. In the USSR, the average working class family receives free of charge from such funds goods and services worth 23 per cent of its budget.

In socialist countries, social concern for man begins before birth, with care for the expectant mother. Labour legislation provides for heightened protection of her

health; she is allowed long leave with pay (up to 26 weeks in some countries) for the period of pregnancy and parturition, and a lump-sum state allowance (usually amounting to a month's pay and regardless of seniority).² She subsequently enjoys the right of taking additional leave and receiving an allowance to care for the child (from one to three years), with the assurance of her service record and job. In Hungary, for instance, this allowance is to be converted into a cash payment coming to 75 per cent of wages. Families with preschool and school-age children are paid monthly allowances and increments covering up to 20 per cent of the cost of the child's necessities.

In the socialist countries, goods for children are available at relatively low prices, and the differential between the retail price and the costs of production and marketing of these goods is covered with subsidies from the state budget. All children, without exception, enjoy free medical care in specialised health protection institutions with 60 per cent of all surgery visits being made for disease-prevention purposes.

The socialist state defrays the bulk of the costs incidental to the maintenance and education of children in preschool institutions, such as creches and nursery schools. In the USSR, for instance, parents pay only 20 per cent of the total outlays for these purposes. In the GDR, the discount comes to between 25 and 100 per cent, depending on family incomes; in 1983, more than 82 per cent of preschool age children had places at such institutions.³

Universal secondary education is provided by the socialist state to school-age children free of charge; the textbooks and study aids are as a rule free as well. Extended-day schools, at which pupils are either completely or partially exempt from paying the cost of meals, have been set up everywhere to aid families. Boarding schools, in which the state undertakes virtually all the concerns for education and the maintenance of children, are widespread: in some boarding schools in the USSR parents pay only six per cent of the actual costs.⁴

Some data for the Soviet Union show the socialist state's concern for the physical and spiritual development of children and the bringing out of their creative capabilities. There are now almost 5,000 palaces and houses of Young Pioneers and schoolchildren; 2,800 young technicians' centres and clubs; 9,000 school forestry centres; over 900 young naturalists' centres; 500 young pilots and cosmonauts' clubs; more than 7,000 specialised (music, art and dance) schools; over 6,700 sports schools; children's parks, children's railways, shipping lines, race tracks, and so on. The country has 8,000 children's libraries, while more than 70 publishing houses issue books for children in 52 languages of the peoples of the USSR. A large number of magazines and newspapers, with a total printing of 40 million copies, is published for children.

Early occupational advice and special training for entry upon a working life are highly important for everyone. In the socialist countries, this is handled by the state, which finances a wide network of technical-trades, secondary specialised and higher academic institutions.

Special training and education of young people are free of charge at every level. What is more, the overwhelming majority of students and pupils of production schools receive state grants (they may also receive additional grants depending on family income and academic record). These grants are not subject to repayment upon graduation.⁵ Students are offered cut-price meals (with discounts of up to 50 per cent) and reduced public-transit fares. The state provides students from other cities with accommodation at hostels with only token payment (in the USSR, for instance, it comes to no more than two-three per cent of the minimum state grant, and includes the charges for electricity, gas, the use of furniture, bed-linen, etc.).

In some socialist countries, students are entitled to additional family allowances

and increments from state funds: in Hungary, when young family members continue full-time education up to 19 years; in Poland, to 25 years; and in Czechoslovakia, to 26 years. Those who study while on the job likewise feel the concern of the state: they are allowed paid leave for examinations and degree work.

There is no problem in finding a job for young people in the socialist community countries, whether graduates of specialised secondary or higher schools, or school-leavers. Planned economic and social development not only rules out unemployment but keeps creating demand for more labour-power.⁶ Enterprises in the USSR, for instance, have a special ten per cent reserve of jobs for young people under 18 years; special job-placement offices for young people operate in every town. Those who are under 18 years, work shorter hours, but are paid as much as older industrial and office workers of the same grade and skill working a full day. The young also have the right to longer vacations.

The socialist state sets aside large material resources to organise the young people's recreation, develop tourist travel, physical training and mass sports. In the GDR, for instance, 46 youth clubs and 215 sports facilities are being started this year alone.

Young families are an object of special concern under socialism. In Czechoslovakia, newly-weds under the age of 30 years are offered long-term low-interest credit with a state subsidy to buy a flat and household goods, with a sizable part of the credit being written off as children are born. Similar benefits are available to newly-weds under the age of 26 years in the GDR. In Bulgaria, in addition to a loan for building or buying a home, young families are allowed easy credits for other purposes, which the state fully or partly writes off as the family grows. Under a 1982 decree in Poland, one-half of the credit to newly-weds for household purposes is paid by the enterprise, provided one member of the family has worked there for at least five years.

Care for human health and creative powers and provision of due working, living and recreation conditions are among the tasks of the socialist society and the state. How are they being fulfilled in practice? Let us look at some Soviet figures.

Soviet citizens, like citizens of other socialist countries, pay nothing for medical care and services, be it ordinary treatment or the most intricate operation in a major specialised clinic. What this costs the state can be easily calculated: say, it expends an average of 1.22 roubles per surgery visit; according to statistics, the number of such surgery visits comes to more than 3 billion a year; every year more than 67 million men and women in the USSR receive free treatment with hospitalisation averaging 15-16 days; every in-patient costs the state seven-eight roubles a day; add to this the fact that the maintenance of one hospital bed comes to 2,216 roubles a year; the number of hospital beds in the country is over 3.5 million; an ambulance call which is free for the caller, costs the state six-seven roubles; and the number of emergency ambulance calls a year is 37.5 million.

In the GDR, even the most expensive medicines are provided free of charge; in Czechoslovakia they cost the patient only one crown, and if he is hospitalised, all the medicines are provided free, at the expense of the state.

Social insurance systems, financed from the state budget or by the enterprises, are designed to provide material security for the working people and members of their families in the event of disablement in all the socialist countries. Those who are unable to work receive a daily sickness benefit, which comes to between 70 and 100 per cent of wages; 100 per cent of wages is paid in the event of disablement in consequence of shopfloor accident or occupational disease, and the sickness benefit is paid throughout the whole period of disablement or, when it cannot be cured, until the award of pension. When a working person is hospitalised, he also receives material support.

Accommodation at health resorts is made available primarily to those who perform

arduous operations, such as mining or steel-smelting, and also to women with children, and people working staggered shifts. Staying at specialised health resorts for the purpose of treatment does not usually reduce the annual holiday and those involved are provided the same kind of material security as they are in cases of disablement.

The socialist state makes large appropriations every year for building, remodelling and modernising holiday homes for working people. Most holiday-makers pay only a part of the actual cost of staying at a holiday home (in the GDR, for instance, an average of 28 per cent).

The greater part (roughly two-thirds) of the cost of housing maintenance (housing is provided free from the state housing stock) is also met from the state budget, so that rents, together with public-utility services, average no more than four per cent of average family incomes of industrial and office workers in the CMEA countries.⁷ The state also defrays a substantial part of the cost of public transit (in the USSR, for instance, almost 50 per cent).

The largest outlays from social consumption funds are those going into payments to those who are at the 'post-working' age. In most socialist countries, pensions are paid at 60 years for men and 55 years for women. Depending on the nature of the work or specific social conditions, pensions may be earned at an earlier age. Thus, workers in the mining, chemical, metallurgical and some other industries in the USSR may retire on pension at 50-55 years (men) and 45-50 years (women). In Bulgaria, all women having five or more children may retire at 40-45 years after working for 15 years.

It should be emphasised that the provision of pensions to those who have retired for reasons of age (and also disablement) is effected in most socialist countries entirely from state funds, without any preliminary contributions from the working people's personal incomes.⁸ The services required by pensioners are fully or partially also organised at the expense of the state. Let us consider Czechoslovakia.

In that country, old age pensions are set at 50 per cent of the highest monthly income over the past five or ten years with a 25-year service record, and one per cent of the income is added to the pension for every year worked over and above that service period in accordance with special schemes. People of pension age who continue to work (and about 50 per cent of them do) receive both wages and pensions (fully or partially). Those who have worked less than 25 years have smaller pensions, and those who have worked under ten years (or have not worked at all) are awarded what is known as a 'social pension'. All pensioners are provided additional material assistance in the form of various aids, discounts for public-catering meals, fuel and dietary products, free urban transit (for people of 70 and over), and so on.

Old age pensioners' homes with a total of more than 40,000 places have been set up in the country for elderly citizens requiring full care. Social day-boarding houses for the elderly are widespread, as is also a guardianship service run and subsidised by the local authorities. Enterprises and organisations provide their former employees with cut-price accommodation at holiday homes and sanatoriums.

* * *

Such in general outline are the examples of what is being done by the socialist state for every citizen throughout his or her lifetime. What has been gained does not mean, however, that all the problems here have been solved. New and wider measures are being taken for further raising the wellbeing of the masses and strengthening the guarantees of social certitude for one and all.

¹ On the remuneration of labour under socialism, see *WMR*, No. 8, 1985.

² In the capitalist countries, pregnancy and parturition allowances are, as a rule, paid only to those with a

two-year unbroken service record, a practice which discriminates against unemployed women or those who have changed their jobs, school-leavers, etc. What is more, in the United States, for instance, there is no officially established right to any paid leave in connection with childbirth.

³ According to US statistics, preschool institutions can accommodate one child in 375, with the parents paying an average of \$1,500 a year; less than ten per cent of the children in Great Britain have places in nursery schools, and less than five per cent of toddlers in France are placed at creches.

⁴ It has been estimated that the cost of bringing up and educating a child until graduation from college in the United States comes to between \$58,000 and \$85,000, that being mainly the direct outlays by parents.

⁵ In the FRG, the whole grant is made available as a long-term loan which the student has to repay upon graduation. The arrangement is similar in the United States and several other capitalist countries.

⁶ It has been variously estimated that in the industrialised capitalist countries, unemployment among young people is on the whole two or three times as high as it is among adults, and in some countries, even six times as high.

⁷ Similar expenses incurred by working people in the capitalist countries, according to generalised statistical data, come to one-third of family budgets.

⁸ State participation in the pension fund in the FRG comes to only 14 per cent; and in Great Britain, to about 13 per cent; in France, the state does not subsidise the fund at all. In the capitalist countries, pensions are largely based on compulsory contributions by the working people themselves throughout their working life.

Diary

George Hawi, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Lebanese Communist Party, has called on *WMR* offices. At an Editorial Council meeting, he spoke about the situation in Lebanon and in the rest of the Middle East and about the struggle waged by the Communists and all other Lebanese national democratic forces against imperialist, Zionist and reactionary forays. George Hawi and the editor-in-chief discussed future cooperation between the LCP and the journal.

* * *

Nayef Hawatmeh, General Secretary of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, visited the *WMR* offices during his stay in Prague. Received by the editor-in-chief, he set forth the DFLP position with regard to the developments in the Middle East and dwelt on the continued struggle of the Arab people of Palestine for their inalienable national rights.

the book scene

The Pentagon: Pushing its Way into Space **A Survey of Books and Pamphlets Published** **in the United States**

'IN March 1983 Reagan had astonished the world, including some members of his own administration, by proposing an all-out Manhattan Project-like campaign to develop comprehensive space-based antiballistic-missile defenses for the US. . . . To many, however, the President's proposal promised to lead only to the militarisation of space and a surge in the arms race.' This is how Strobe Talbott, a US journalist, describes the initial reaction of politicians and the public to the new military programme in his book *Deadly Gambits*¹ (pp. 317-318). Significantly, the official name of Washington's space plan—'strategic defense initiative' (SDI)—has failed to catch on. Both in the United States and in other countries, the scheme was immediately dubbed the Star Wars programme.

Essentially, Reagan proposed that the United States create a large-scale ABM system with space-based elements to intercept intercontinental ballistic missiles in flight at various stages: immediately upon launch, at the time the warhead breaks into individual re-entry vehicles, during their free flight in space and finally, during their re-entry over the United States. In other words, it would be a new, assault weapon system designed to destroy targets in space and from space on Earth. These weapons would include various types of lasers, neutral particle-beam generators, Earth- and satellite-based interceptor missiles that home in on their targets themselves, electromagnetic guns, orbital combat stations and the like.

The prospects of the arms race extending into outer space gravely alarmed large sections of the public, scientists and many political figures both in the United States and abroad, including NATO countries. Piqued by the rapidly mounting wave of criticism and protest against the Star Wars plans, the US administration hastened to defend them.

The campaign 'to explain things,' placate US and world public opinion, secure congressional support and involve the NATO allies in the follow-up of the scheme was sparked off by the publication of a Pentagon pamphlet entitled *The Strategic Defense Initiative*.² The pamphlet presented the US space programme as a sure way to prevent nuclear war. The expectation was that the man in the street, knowing little about politics and complex military problems and dead tired of his fears that the world may perish in a nuclear holocaust, would be ready to seize upon anything that promised salvation.

Eight months later—evidently aware that the lip service the Pentagon's generals paid to peacemaking failed to produce the desired effect with the Americans—the

White House published its own pamphlet, *The President's Strategic Initiative*,³ with an introduction by Ronald Reagan himself.

The pamphlet would have the reader believe that militarisation of outer space would 'eventually eliminate the threat posed by nuclear-armed ballistic missiles . . . provide a better basis for deterring aggression, strengthening stability . . . and pave the way for creating a more stable and secure world' (p. I). In defiance of facts, the President claimed that the SDI was 'consistent with all of our treaty obligations, including the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty' (ibid.) and that 'the United States seeks neither military superiority nor political advantage' (p. II).

Then a broad publicity campaign was launched around the April 1985 report of the Pentagon to Congress, drawn up to bring pressure to bear on the congressmen and force them to agree to new multibillion-dollar appropriations under the military space programme. Other publications appeared to convince the public that the new armaments, allegedly capable of making all the stockpiles of nuclear weapons useless, were really 'peacemakers'. Only the gullible can be convinced by claims of this sort. Even the White House pamphlet makes it clear that Reagan's plan by no means offers an alternative to the arms race. It states unambiguously that 'the SDI programme in no way signals a near-term shift away from the modernisation of our strategic and intermediate-range nuclear systems and our conventional military forces. Such modernisation is essential to the maintenance of deterrence' (p. 5).

The arguments marshaled in these pamphlets to justify Star Wars outraged, rather than placated, world public opinion—all the more so because serious studies soon appeared in which prominent scientists, military experts and journalists demonstrated quite graphically that the course aimed at militarising outer space would make nuclear arms control extremely complicated, raise the threat of global war to a new order of magnitude and weigh heavily on the national economy.

Deadly Gambits, the book I quoted at the beginning, was one of the first studies of this kind. The author, the diplomatic observer of *Time* magazine, is well known for his numerous monographs on international relations. His previous study—*The Russians and Reagan*,⁴ an analysis of the strategy pursued by the current administration vis-à-vis the Soviet Union—was commented on widely in the academic community of the United States and other countries. *Deadly Gambits* can be viewed as a look at the same topic from another angle: Strobe Talbott examines the US position on nuclear armaments in close connection with the Star Wars programme. 'when Ronald Reagan became President,' he writes, 'the arms control enterprise came into the hands of a group of people who were extremely critical of the results of that enterprise as it had been conducted by the previous three administrations. . . . A number of key officials in the new administration believed that arms control had been, in their phrase, "bad medicine" ' (p. XII). The author adds that 'Reagan and his administration came into office not really wanting to pursue arms control at all' (p. 7).

Referring to the US record at the nuclear arms limitation and reduction talks and at the negotiations on medium-range nuclear arms limitation in Europe, Strobe Talbott notes that the administration did not agree to them of its own accord. It was the result of the pressure exerted by world public opinion, the position taken by West European nations and the demands of the American public. It was political expediency, the author notes, that forced Ronald Reagan to take on the issue. The President believed that the United States must find a way of pursuing an American arms buildup simultaneously with cutbacks in Soviet forces.

'The US leadership was determined to change not just the name of the game in nuclear arms control but the rules and objectives as well. Some officials questioned the desirability of any agreement that entailed accommodation with America's principal adversary and limitation of America's military options' (p. XII). The

reasoning was that 'the US might more freely acquire and deploy new pieces on its side of the board and position itself, if necessary, to make winning military moves against the Soviet Union' (ibid).

The Pentagon's space scheme, rooted in the desire to upset strategic military balance and gain an advantage over the Soviet Union, was conceived as such a 'winning move'. The plan, Talbott believes, deals a blow to the 1972 permanent US-Soviet treaty on the limitation of ABM systems—the treaty that forms part of the foundation underlying US-Soviet relations. 'Despite administration disclaimers to the contrary, an all-out R & D programme on military space technology would surely violate ABM' (p. 318). One might recall that under Article 1 of the treaty, the sides undertake not to deploy ABM systems on their territories or create a basis for such defense and, under Article 5, not to develop, test or deploy sea-, air-, space- or mobile land-based ABM systems or components.

Deadly Gambits made an impression on the nation. It was quoted in the press and at congressional hearings and discussed at public meetings and on campuses. By citing specific facts, the author proved that the Star Wars concept was another step along the overall course pursued by the current US administration and aimed at spurring on the arms race, above all the nuclear arms race, and at wrecking arms limitation.

Washington's consistently aggressive policy is also traced in another book, published somewhat earlier, before Ronald Reagan proclaimed his 'initiative', and entitled *SIOP. The Secret US Plan for Nuclear War*.⁵ The acronym Peter Pringle, Washington based correspondent of the *British Observer*, and William Arkin, nuclear arms research programme director at Washington's Institute for Policy Studies, chose as the title of the book stands for 'Single Integrated Operations Plan' and shows 'how close we are to nuclear war' (p. 17).

The authors recall that when they visited a Minuteman silo at a US Air Force base they asked the officers if they had ever stopped to think where the missile would go. The reply was, 'Gentlemen, we couldn't care less. Our job is to launch them.' But the top brass in the pentagon knows full well what the weapons they have stockpiled are targeted on. While in the late 1940s, when the United States had only a few atomic bombs, strikes were planned against the biggest Soviet military and industrial centres, the SIOP-5D of 1980 earmarked over 40,000 targets in the USSR and other countries for destruction. 'Because the SIOP is a contingency plan for general nuclear war, it also includes targets in other Communist-controlled countries. There are, for example, thousands of targets in the Warsaw Pact nations, in China, in Cuba, and in Vietnam, and even some targets in unspecified "allied and neutral territory"' (see pp. 44, 186-188).

US warhawks have long felt the lure of outer space. The authors recall the hysteria that spread through the Pentagon after the Soviet Union launched the first man-made satellite: 'The US embarked on a huge programme of top secret space enterprises, laying the foundations of a spy satellite and early warning system that would become an integral part of the SIOP' (p. 86).

Another study that stresses the danger of militarising outer space is *The Fallacy of Star Wars*,⁶ published by the Union of Concerned Scientists. The list of authors includes the atomic scientist and Nobel Prize winner Hans Bethe, professors of physics Kurt Gottfried, Henry Kendall, Victor Weisskopf and Richard Garwin, the astronomer Carl Sagan, the military strategy expert Richard Ned Lebow, professor of chemistry Franklin Long and foreign policy expert John Steinbruner. Also collaborating on the book were Noel Gayler, a retired admiral, and Herbert Scoville, formerly CIA deputy director for research.

The questions posed in this serious and scientifically substantiated book are whether the SDI can remove the threat of nuclear extinction and end the arms race,

whether the deployment of weapons in space may, on the contrary, increase the risk of a nuclear conflict.

The authors refute the White House claim that a large-scale ABM system with space-based elements (the book introduces a general term to describe it—Ballistic Missile Defense, BMD) can help in the creation of a reliable space 'shield'. Noting that BMD is virtually powerless against cruise missiles and several other currently available, let alone future types of offensive armaments, the scientists stress that 'a fully effective, invulnerable defense against nuclear weapons . . . cannot be built now or, in all likelihood, ever' (pp. 153-154).

It is 'difficult to understand how anyone can believe that this is the path toward a less dangerous world. A direct and safe road is there for all to see—equitable and verifiable deep cuts in strategic offensive forces and immediate negotiations to ban all space weapons. We must abandon the misconception . . . and illusion that ever more sophisticated technology can by itself remove the perils that science and technology have created. We must instead recognise the overriding reality of the nuclear age' (p. 45).

The scientists also dismiss as false the argument that Reagan's proposal implies merely some harmless research and development: 'Although the administration characterises the SDI as simply a research programme, the scale of effort envisaged and the presidential imprimatur with which it was launched stretch the usual meaning of the term considerably' (pp. 25-26).

Like Strobe Talbott, the authors stress that the Star Wars plans are absolutely incompatible with the ABM Treaty: 'Pursuit of such a defense would be destabilising and would preclude limitations on offensive nuclear forces. . . . Unilateral abandonment of the treaty by either country would be tantamount to a rejection of the arms control process per se, and would have highly damaging political and military consequences for the US-Soviet relations' (p. 168).

The book explodes as fallacious the assertion that the new Pentagon programme is a sign of a switch to defensive weapons in the US orientation. A space defense system, the study says, 'would be of questionable utility against a full-scale attack, but may be quite effective against a retaliatory strike' (p. 161). 'It is apparently seen as part of an American effort to acquire a first-strike capability—the ability to launch a devastating attack against Soviet strategic forces and to defend effectively against . . . a Soviet retaliatory strike' (pp. 154-155). This points to the aggressive essence of the Star Wars plan which the US administration tries to pass off as defensive. The strategic objective is clear—to hide behind a space-based ABM shield and hope to launch a nuclear attack against the Soviet Union and its allies with impunity. It is no accident that the deployment of a space-based defense is accompanied by the buildup of offensive, first-strike weapons such as the MX, the Midgetman and the Trident II, and by Washington's paeans to the doctrine under which a nuclear war can be fought and won.

The scientists conclude that under Reagan's scheme, 'virtually the entire arms control process would be swept away by the abrogation of the ABM Treaty, the launching of a new round of the arms race, and the extension of the arms race into space' (p. 175). They warn that all this will 'radically transform the context of US-Soviet nuclear relations, setting in motion a chain of events and reactions that would leave both superpowers much less secure and could even lead to nuclear war' (ibid.).

A similar concern over the future of the human race is evident in *If You Give a Damn About Life*,⁷ written by Harold Freeman, professor emeritus at the MIT, and published this year. The author shows that the true goal Washington is pursuing is to hang a 'nuclear sword' over the world, not to create a shield for defense. Freeman backs his conclusion by quoting General Richard Henry, deputy commander of

Space Command, USAF who said that 'space is the new high ground of battle' (p. 41).

Harold Freeman points out that while in 1983, the US administration planned to spend 15 to 18 billion dollars on space weapons over the next five years, in 1984 the estimate was upgraded to 26 billion dollars. It follows that Washington by no means intends to confine its efforts to harmless research; what we are dealing with is a long-term programme for a total militarisation of outer space (see p. 42). For example, the plan is to place 432 combat space stations in orbit; their number may then be increased to 1,100. 'The Pentagon speaks of a three-level laser space defense system. The cost would be incredible: likely close to one trillion dollars' (p. 43).

You do not have to rack your brains to understand who will profit from this new round of the arms race. One can easily name the companies who will receive millions and even billions of the taxpayers' dollars assigned to finance the Star Wars programme. These companies include the biggest US military-industrial firms with close Pentagon connections—Lockheed, MacDonnell-Douglas, Hughes Aircraft, General Dynamics, Boeing, Ford Aerospace, Northrop and General Electric. Their laboratories are already busy developing lasers, electromagnetic guns, interceptor missiles and the like.

In discussing these new weapons systems, the author quotes a very authoritative source—Dr. Robert Bowman, head of the US Air Force space programme in 1976-1978: 'All violate one or more of the existing treaties. . . . All would be more effective as part of a first strike than against one' (p. 44).

The reader cannot escape the conclusion that all this is 'another major step on the road to accidental or planned nuclear war' (p. 45).

The debate over the Star Wars programme has split the Americans into two opposite camps. One comprises advocates of a 'positions-of-strength' policy in the Reagan administration, the Pentagon brass and the owners of military-industrial monopolies. The other is made up of champions of peace and disarmament and representatives of various peace movements. As noted in *The Fallacy of Star Wars*, 'seldom has an arms issue moved as quickly from the periphery to the centre of the policy arena as the space weapons issue' (p. VII). The camp of opponents of Star Wars is growing steadily, absorbing even those who supported the administration's foreign policy only yesterday. That is understandable: people do not want to live under the constant threat of a nuclear Apocalypse. They realise increasingly that what leads to peace and security is arms limitation and elimination, not arms buildup.

Michael Setton

¹ Strobe Talbott, *Deadly Gambits*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1984, 380 pp.

² *The Strategic Defense Initiative*, Washington, April 1984.

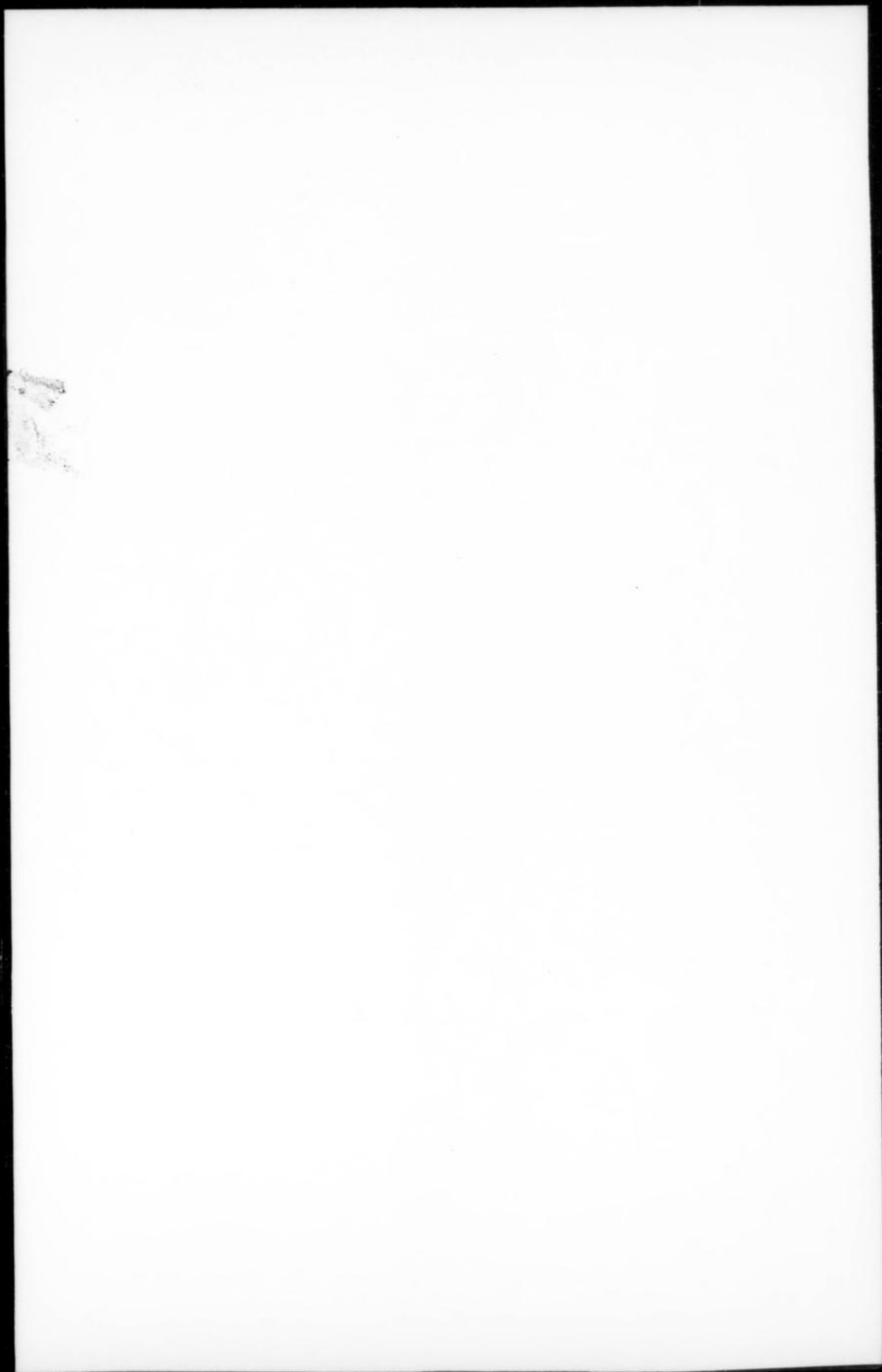
³ *The President's Strategic Initiative*, Washington, January 1985.

⁴ Strobe Talbott, *The Russians and Reagan*, Vintage Books, New York, 1984, 140 pp.

⁵ Peter Pringle and William Arkin, *SIOP. The Secret US Plan for Nuclear War*, W. W. Norton and Company, New York, London, 1983, 287 pp.

⁶ *The Fallacy of Star Wars*, Union of Concerned Scientists, Vintage Books, New York, 1984, 293pp.

⁷ Harold Freeman, *If You Give a Damn About Life*, Dodd, Mead and Company, New York, 1985, 88 pp.



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