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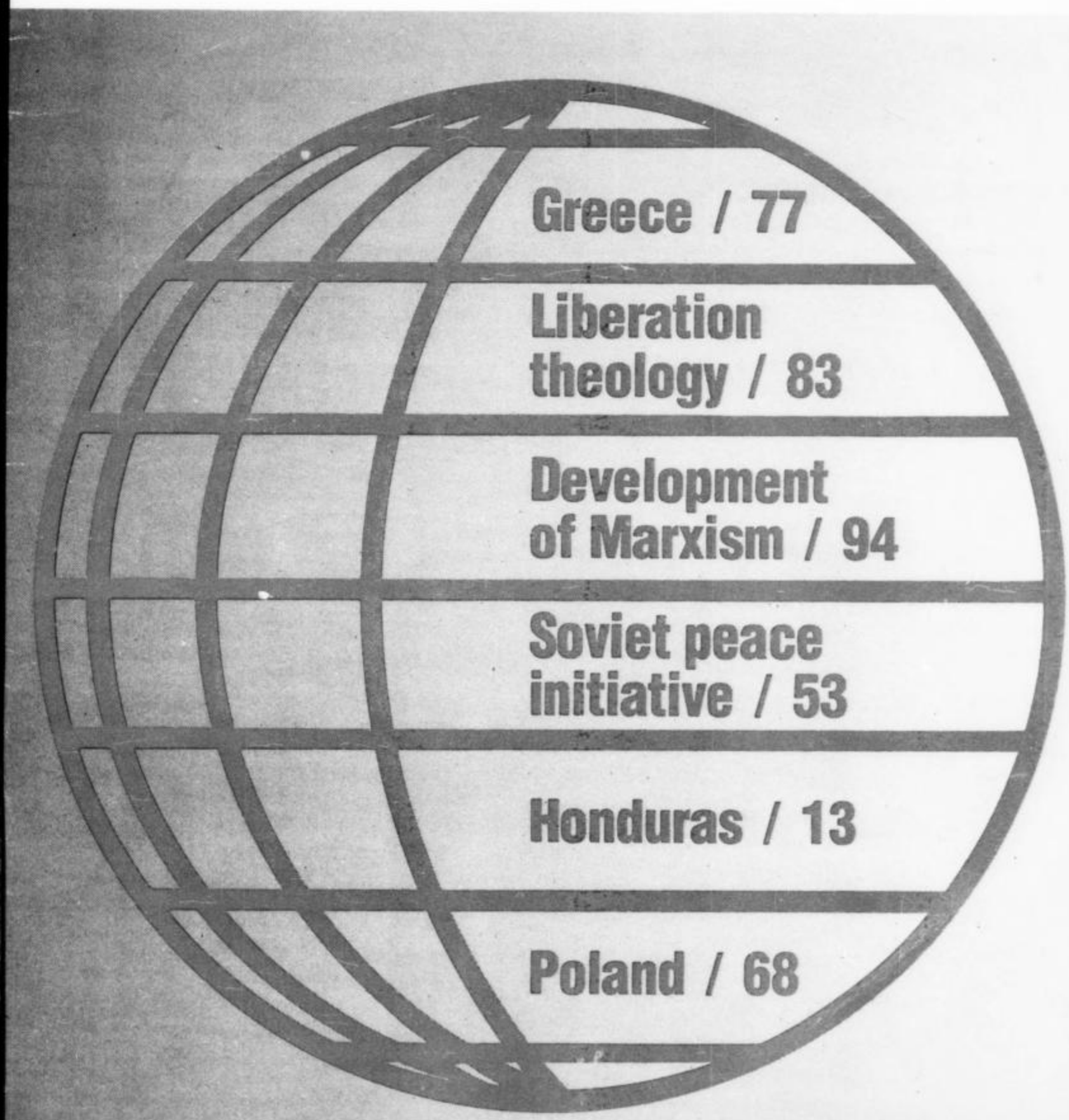

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The Roots of Our Optimism

Milko Balev – CC Political Bureau member, CC Secretary, Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP)

THE communist movement, which sprang from the objective requirements of social development, a movement started by men profoundly committed to human progress, is essentially a vehicle of historical optimism, with its participants being convinced that their chosen way is right and fruitful, that their new society will triumph, and that mankind has a radiant future before it. The old world has never given up its attempts to extinguish the communist flames of optimism, but the abiding verdict of history, the impartial judge of all times, is that our optimism cannot be put out because it is rooted in history, because it lives today and will continue to live in the ages to come.

Historical optimism and confidence in the future have always been intrinsic to creative social action, and there is now an even more profound awareness of this truth, as the intricate and multifaceted problems of our day cry out for new solutions, for the creative approach, for active volition and conscious participation by Communists and all other working people in social construction.

That is a demand which springs largely from the fact that the socialist community countries, including the People's Republic of Bulgaria, are entering upon the next stage of their development. Party congresses have an important role to play in the formulation and fulfilment of its qualitatively new tasks. Such congresses have already been held in some socialist countries, while others are in preparation. The February 1985 Plenary Meeting of the BCP CC decided to convene the party's 13th Congress in April of this year to sum up the achievements of the Eighth Five-Year Plan period, and to discuss and approve the tasks in Bulgaria's economic, social and cultural development in the Ninth Five-Year Plan period, and along some main lines, all the way to the year 2000.

The Bulgarian Communist Party had done a great deal in the more than 40 years of our socialist construction, but that does not mean that the way ahead will be less difficult. We are aware that important and responsible work has to be done at every subsequent stage. The fraternal parties of the socialist countries strive to help man's creative genius to mature, ever more fully displaying his creative endowments. We, for our part, are sure that this will be done, because the people are capable of creative endeavour, the party has the necessary experience, Bulgaria and the whole socialist community are gaining in strength, and we have the support of the international working class movement.

The parties and the peoples of the socialist community have a common communist ideal, which is why they join together in planning their future, ever more actively exchanging experience and cooperating with each other in other ways. Our attention is focused on the innovative initiatives of the CPSU and the Soviet Union, and on their lessons, which are of world-wide historical importance. This is an attitude that is now even more pronounced as we look to the 27th Congress of the CPSU approving the fundamental documents of the new stage: the new edition of the CPSU

Programme, the proposals for changes in its Rules, and the guidelines for the USSR's economic and social development in the 1986-1990 period and until the year 2000.

The very fact that the fraternal parties and states, associates in a common endeavour, are now planning—in concert, confidently and concretely—their people's future until the third millennium clearly testifies to the Communist's deep sense of historical optimism.

Many people in the world now regrettably think, with a sense of bitterness: how can one hope for a better future when the world is faced with this fatal alternative—to be or not to be? An irreversible chain reaction of mankind's self-annihilation and the destruction of all life on the Earth could well be triggered by someone pushing one nuclear-missile-launcher button—and there are now thousands upon thousands of missile launchers all over the world. That being so, is there any room for optimism?

These doubts are compounded by the fact that many people in the world profess what is known as ecological pessimism, and believe that man's conflict with Nature will ultimately result in human beings themselves destroying the conditions for their survival on the Earth and possibly in space as well. Doomsday, the Apocalypse and eschatological gloom are in the offing.

That differs very little from the notions of those who preach religious optimism, those who are convinced that from this conception man is doomed to suffering, but that, in return, his soul has the promise of paradise in the next world.

Some also preach a technological optimism, pinning excessive hopes on technology.

Our philosophy has nothing in common with such views. The Communists have their own good reasons for being profoundly convinced that *we can be optimists, we must be optimists, we are optimists.* Todor Zhivkov says: 'Mankind must not, cannot perish, and it will not perish! Our Earth will go on travelling along its orbit around the Sun, in ever greater beauty and in lasting peace!'[1] That is a sentiment which the Bulgarian Communists and all the other Bulgarian people wholeheartedly accept.

What then is the basis for the Communists' historical optimism?

There is, first of all, the confidence that the world has developed and continues to develop on its material basis and in accordance with its own laws, a confidence which is borne out by an unbiased view of human history. Man has it within himself to realise his nature, his own self, primarily in *creative labour*, and the freer, that is, the more conscious, productive and fruitful this human labour is the more fully will man be able to realise himself as a personality. The working class has the key roles to play in the *emancipation of labour*, and this was demonstrated by Marx in his *Capital*. Individuals and parties which have committed themselves to realising the world-wide historical liberatory mission of the working class find it to be a powerful source for shaping and deepening the optimistic view of life and faith in mankind's happy future.

Our optimism and our confidence in the correctness and fruitfulness of our chosen way have solid grounds: the scientific knowledge of the objective laws of history and mankind's social development discovered by Marxism-Leninism; the scientific analysis of the realities, potentialities and prospects for social progress with the aid of these laws; and finally, the historical practice and experience which effectively confirm the truth of the communist theory.

We remember that the banner of the world's first socialist revolution—the banner of the 1917 October Revolution—was raised in a single country. It was subjected to monstrous trials by the old world. But the Soviet Union stood its ground, and, like a mighty young forest, the world socialist system rapidly rose round it and consolidated itself in a socialist community.

Young independent states emerged on the ruins of colonialism, whose collapse had been predicted by Lenin, and some of them took the way of socialist orientation.

Today, our historical optimism is that of the more than 80 million Communists

exerting an influence on the historical process with a colossal force.

Existing socialism has been established as the social alternative to capitalism, and has passed the test of life itself. Despite its complexities and diversity of phenomena and processes, the world has developed and will continue to develop according to the anticipations of Marx, Engels and Lenin. That we regard as the prime source of the Communists' optimism, which, besides, has its own roots in each country.

In our country, the socialist movement originated more than ninety years ago, when the economic conditions were not yet ripe enough to make the Bulgarian working class numerous. But Dimitr Blagoyev, the founder of scientific socialism in Bulgaria, and our party's founder and first teacher, demonstrated by means of his brilliant Marxist analysis of social development that even our nascent proletariat had the task of carrying the country to socialism. That was a remarkable instance of faith in the future.

True to its principles, the BCP has demonstrated the power of its optimism in developments that were exceptionally difficult and decisive for it and for the revolutionary working class movement. Having taken the way of Leninism, it succeeded in preserving itself after the defeat of the September 1923 Anti-Fascist Uprising, to establish itself as a new, Leninist type of party, to lead our people to a triumphant socialist revolution and guide them in the building of socialism.

The letters of revolutionaries and fighters incarcerated in the fascist torture-chambers and concentration camps, and the words pronounced under the gallows or before the firing squad are being read today and will continue to be read by future generations with emotion, amazement and admiration, because they do not breathe of fear or despair, but of the radiant communist faith in the future and the loftiest sense of humanism.

The period of the anti-fascist struggle and advance towards the socialist system was a testing time for our optimism, and also a time of its enrichment and translation into practical deeds, a period forever linked with the name and endeavour of Georgi Dimitrov, a great son of Bulgaria and the Bulgarian working class, and a prominent leader of the international communist and working class movement.

Looking back, the Bulgarian Communists are well aware of their achievements and of their failings. Historically, socialist revolutions have so far won not in the most developed capitalist states, but in the medium-developed and less-developed countries, of which Bulgaria was one. That is why the Bulgarian way to the new society has also been steep and hard. Apart from the objective difficulties, there were also the subjective mistakes, but every honest and fair-minded person will see the scope and depth of the revolutionary changes that have taken place in our country.

The April 1956 Plenary Meeting of the BCP CC was a turning point in realising the party's guidelines. The party's general line, forged at that plenary meeting, and carried into effect over the past three decades under the leadership of General Secretary of the BCP CC Todor Zhivkov, a true son of the Bulgarian people, a prominent revolutionary, a leader of the international communist movement, and a creative Marxist-Leninist, is the theoretical and practical basis for our achievements. It has helped successfully to complete the transition from capitalism to socialism, it has ensured the triumph of the socialist system, enabled the party to formulate a new programme, and to get down to building a mature socialist society along a broad front. The 12th Congress of the BCP in 1981 characterised this Leninist general line, which in our country is known as the April Line, as follows: 'The BCP's April Line is Marxism-Leninism in action in our country's specific conditions, and the living unity and interaction of creatively developing theory of scientific socialism and the concrete historical and social practice of the working class and broad popular masses in the struggle for the construction and development of socialism in our country.'[2]

The Bulgarian Communists have every right to be proud of the results in

implementing this line. We have completed the collectivisation of agriculture, amalgamating the cooperative farms and forming modern agro-industrial complexes. We have built up an industry that is a powerful one by our standards, so have turned ours into an advanced agrarian-industrial country developing at a high and stable rate. Fixed assets were worth 11.5 billion levs in 1956, and should reach 112.5 billion in 1986—a more than 10-fold increase. In that period, national income is to increase roughly 8-fold; industrial output, 14-fold, including engineering, 68-fold, and chemical output, 45-fold; and agricultural output—2.5-fold. Living standards have gone up steeply, and there is rapid development in education, science and culture. Our people are rallied round the party. There is unity of action and fraternal cooperation between the BCP and its ally, the Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union. Assessing the results of the past two five-year periods alone, one could say, metaphorically speaking, that we have built up a second Bulgaria over the decade between the party's Tenth and Twelfth congresses. That is the outcome of the party's Leninist April Line in action.

At the present stage, the April Line has been enriched and concretised by the Twelfth Congress of the BCP and the subsequent projects and decisions, resulting in an economic strategy whose thrust is a resolute switch to mostly intensive methods of national economic development.

The party's policy of intensifying the economy and accelerating economic and social development is multifaceted, and provides for, among other things, the raising of the quality of products and workmanship, stringent economies, and the rational use of raw and other materials. Let us note that a national party conference on the problems of quality was held in 1984 to formulate our long-term policy in this field.

The Bulgarian Communists' historical optimism is expressed at the present stage in their revolutionary and creative comprehension of the new problems of social development, an approach worked out and brilliantly applied by the February 1985 Plenary Meeting of the BCP CC, defining the scientific and technical revolution as the 'super-key' to further progress. Its decisions could be expressed in the following formula: in our conditions, the scientific and technical revolution now means the building of a developed socialist society; if we reverse the formula, building a developed socialist society means carrying out the scientific and technical revolution. These ideas were further elaborated at the January 1986 Plenary Meeting of the BCP CC, and are the basis for the multifarious work in preparing for our party's 13th Congress.

The party is now working for a fundamental change in the planning and management of the national economy, and for the creation of adequate economic, organisational, social and political conditions, so as to give even greater scope to the working people's creative potential in developing their country on the basis of scientific and technical progress. Along these lines there is a tireless quest by the party and state leadership, and efforts to concentrate the energies of the country's entire intellectual potential. This helps more deeply to cognise the objective law-governed uniformities in the development of the society and to improve the mechanisms for their use.

We seek to perfect the very core of the socialist social relations in the light of the fundamental tenet that the state, empowered by the people to act on their behalf, is the owner of the socialist property, while the work collective is its master. That being so, we seek to create the conditions for a more meaningful dialogue between socialist economic organisations and state bodies as the plan is drafted, because this helps to harmonise individual and collective interests with those of the society.

That is our approach in seeking mechanisms for a fuller mastery and more efficient use of commodity-and-money relations, which we believe to be an objective law-governed uniformity operating in the present conditions of socialist construction.

Much work is being done to create and apply a new economic approach and economic mechanism: an integral system of means to influence economic processes is being applied in practice. The main thing just now is to use this system for establishing new economic links between socialist commodity producers (organisations, enterprises, teams) so as to orient them towards scientific and technical progress and technological renewal of production, cost-cutting and high-quality output, and to create a new economic, political and ideological climate in the economy and the society as a whole. Another concern of ours is to raise the role and functions of state planning to a new level, releasing it from the tasks which are inappropriate to it, to more consistently pursue the economic policy of the party and the state, and to turn the enterprises, combines and economic associations into self-managed producer units.

In the recent period, the party and the state have taken a number of concrete steps to enhance the role of the grassroots units and gradually to turn millions of working people, once an object of the management of production and social affairs, into its subject, in accordance with the law-governed growth of the requirements in unfolding socialist democracy and perfecting the political system. Thus, work is nearing completion on a new Labour Code, which is to help invigorate the human factor in production, and to accelerate that which is known as individual human progress, which means above all enabling the individual to develop fully and assert himself on the shop floor within the work collective.

What has been said does not at all imply that the optimistic view of life prevents one from seeing the contradictions in the development of socialism. Agreeing with Hegel, Marxist-Leninist dialectics says the development 'proceeds by contradictions, and living contradictions are so much richer, more varied and deeper in content than they may seem at first sight to man's mind'.[3] But contradictions cannot be left to develop without control, in the hope that they will go on to ripen to a point just short of the critical stage. They need to be identified and resolved in due time, and here the subjective factor—the party itself—has an active role to play.

The existence of contradictions is not an indication of some 'crisis of socialism', which has been invented by its ill-wishers, and which, they claim, is now in evidence in Bulgaria too. We make no secret of our difficulties. Thus, we have reported that from 1981 to 1985, we suffered material losses from a three-year drought, the most severe in the past century, in addition to some of the complications caused by the condition of the international markets and the discriminatory economic measures taken by the imperialist states against the fraternal countries, among them Bulgaria. That is why there has been a shortfall in the production of cereals and other farm produce. Our hydro-electric power plants were, for all practical purposes, idle. In pre-revolutionary Bulgaria, all of that would have meant starvation and impoverishment for the working people and an unbearable external debt. Nothing of the sort has happened in our socialist country.

This has been a difficult period indeed, but we have maintained the supply of the prime necessities to the population on the attained level, although we have been forced to raise the prices of some other commodities. Electric-power consumption has not, on the whole, dropped. Industrial output in 1985 was 3.5 per cent up on 1984, and in engineering, which is the hub of technical progress, the increase was 11.6 per cent. In that period, the real incomes of the population went up on average by 2.5 per cent.

Under the new national economic plan, we are seeking to create the necessary conditions for high national income growth this year, a rise in the productivity of social labour and in real incomes, and an extension of the working people's social gains.

Experience shows that the establishment of a socialist system does not of itself make it possible to immediately and entirely organise society in the spirit of the lofty

ideals of communist social equality and justice. Our optimism does not spring from a notion that the ideal which Marx, Engels and Lenin saw in communism as the ultimate goal of social progress has already been attained. Our optimism is based on the fact that we have been advancing step by step in practice to this ideal, with our every victory being a new stage in the steady ascent to it. Man's exploitation by man has long since been eliminated in our country, which is ruled by the principle 'from each according to his abilities, to each according to his work'. Our optimism has no room for self-complacency, but our successes in building the new society are there, and the Bulgarian people are justly proud of them.

We now know better than before that every stage in socialism's advance entails not only achievements but also various difficulties. Such is life, and it has to be reckoned with. We are optimists, but that does not prevent us from being critical and self-critical. The Leninist style of work, the style of the April Line, implies intolerance of empty rhetoric, ostentation, formalism and bureaucratic practices. It would be right to say that we are simultaneously optimists and realists.

Our optimism has its beginnings in the heroism and example of the Paris Communards, the workers who first celebrated May Day in Chicago, and the Spartakus fighters in Germany; it is an optimism which reflects the faith and ideals of working people all over the world. Such people are capable of realising the most radiant accomplishments of the twentieth century. At the close of it, at the stage of the STR, the fraternal parties, both in the capitalist and in the socialist countries, have to work in new conditions calling for bold and creative approaches. Our optimism is historically justified to the extent to which we have found and will continue to find them. It is a frame of mind which is inseparable from the development and strengthening of friendship and cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries and their parties. Here, the dialectical unity of the principles of socialist internationalism and of socialist patriotism is of exceptional importance.

Our April Line of all-round integration and cooperation with the Soviet Union, always an important factor in the successful solution of the main problems at every stage of socialist construction in Bulgaria, and our party's consolidation, is of especial significance for us. The BCP's adoption of the ideas of Leninism has ensured its growth and historical successes. The achievements of Lenin's homeland have helped the Bulgarian Communists to win over the masses. Soviet films on our screens and Soviet books were major events for party members, for progressive-minded men and women and for all the working people back in the 1930s. The example of Soviet collectivisation of agriculture subsequently helped the party to set up 50 cooperative farms even before the socialist revolution triumphed in Bulgaria, thereby preparing the peasants for cooperation ideologically and psychologically. The socialist revolution in our country broke out in a situation created by the Soviet Army's victories over the fascist oppressors, and our subsequent socialist reconstruction is inseparable from the USSR's fraternal support, and from the mutually advantageous cooperation between the two countries.

New and life-giving impulses have been given in the recent period to the traditional and vital Bulgarian-Soviet friendship and our further cohesion in the pursuit of our common goals and tasks. The visit to Bulgaria in October 1985 by General Secretary of the CPSU Mikhail Gorbachov was of great importance, and we are inspired by what he said as he was returning home: "Cooperation between the Soviet Union and Bulgaria is . . . a major and important factor in strengthening the socialist community, international cooperation and the positions of the peace forces."[4] The BCP will go on basing its activity in the international sphere on the premise that attitudes to the CPSU and the USSR is the touchstone of proletarian, socialist internationalism.

We attach much importance to the CPSU's new programmatic document, which sums up a wealth of experience in socialist construction that is of abiding world-wide

historical significance, a document clearly testifying to the capacity to combine optimism in formulating goals and tasks with realism in assessing what has been done, continuity in policy with innovation, and enthusiasm with exactingness, criticism and self-criticism.

The broad prospects for the fraternal countries' socialist economic integration are for us a source of profound satisfaction. The peaceful and creative programme for scientific and technical progress until the year 2000, which was approved by the Extraordinary 41st Session of the CMEA in December 1985, is another source of well-justified optimism, because its purpose is to accelerate economic and social progress in the fraternal countries and to raise the working people's well-being and living standards. But there is no hint of any social or political egoism here, the countries which have signed the programme stress thay they want to be actively involved in the international division of labour, to extend assistance to less developed countries, and to engage in the broadest cooperation exclusively for the peaceful uses of the revolutionary achievements in science and technology. The socialist world is concerned not only with its own prosperity but also with mankind as a whole. While imperialism seeks to widen the development gap between leading powers of the capitalist system and the majority of poorer countries in that system, our community is working hard to achieve accord, develop cooperation, and assert equality among nations.

Socialism strives for peace, and all the efforts of the fraternal parties and peoples are aimed to safeguard it. All the problems of social development are now focused on the tasks of averting a thermonuclear catastrophe, the paramount issue, and the prime concern of the progressive forces and all the peoples of the world.

Peace and optimism are two concepts that are closely bound up in human thinking, in life and in politics. There can be no optimistic view of the future without the certainty that war can be averted, and the alternative of war or peace is an absurdity in the nuclear age.

The present international situation is a complicated one. Imperialism is to blame for the continued nuclear arms race. The imperialist forces keep stubbornly developing new systems of weapons of mass destruction and insist on realising the so-called Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), by means of which the arms race is being transferred into space.

But even in these difficult conditions, the Communists are sure the international balance of forces fully bears out this conclusion: world war is not fatally inevitable. A military-strategic parity has been established between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, and imperialism is faced with a mighty community of socialist states. The policy of a large part of the less developed countries is aimed against the imperialist circles' dangerous course, while a group of neutral capitalist states taking a common sense stand has not sided with militarism.

The optimistic approach in assessing the international situation today helps to inspire new efforts, produce new peace initiatives and add vigour to the struggle for peace. The period in which the nuclear threat has not developed into an actual nuclear war has now lasted for decades. Peace has been maintained in the explosive atmosphere of the 'cold war'. A number of highly acute international crises have been surmounted.

The greatest credit for this goes to the active peace policy of the socialist community countries, and above all to the consistent, flexible and constructive policy of the Soviet Union. The numerous proposals of the USSR and its allies are aimed to ensure peaceful coexistence of states with different social and political systems, and to avert a nuclear catastrophe. One need only recall the Statement by General Secretary of the CPSU CC Mikhail Gorbachov containing a full-scale programme for ridding the globe of nuclear weapons before the end of the century, completely

liquidating chemical weapons and the industrial facilities for their manufacture, and releasing mankind from the horrors of war. In connection with this exceptionally important document, Todor Zhivkov declared: 'We, citizens of socialist Bulgaria, are proud that this inspired programme has been drawn up by our comrades, Communists, and that it shows once again with tremendous power the greatness of Leninism, the humanism of our communist ideas and ethics and the solid connection between words and deeds.'[5] The citizens of Bulgaria fully share the Soviet plan and strive to make a contribution to the defence of peace. Let me note in this context our own, Bulgarian, initiative to turn the Balkans into a zone free from nuclear weapons, and the joint Bulgarian-Romanian proposal for turning the region into a zone free from chemical weapons.

Our top leaders, attending the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty's Political Consultative Committee in Sofia last October, declared: 'Active cooperation between states, including those belonging to different social systems, is necessary and possible in the struggle against aggression and war, and for peace and universal security. This needs to be done before it is too late, before the bombs have started falling and the missiles flying.'[6]

The meeting between General Secretary of the CPSU CC Mikhail Gorbachov and US President Ronald Reagan in Geneva was an incontestable and universally recognised expression of our community's sincere desire for peace. It can be assessed with satisfaction as an important success for the fraternal countries' concerted policy of peace. The USSR has made an exceptional contribution to the attainment of the positive results reflected in the Soviet-US Joint Statement, in itself a major success.

We believe that the peace front is a mighty one because it involves the most diverse public movements and organisations, parties, leaders, governments, and states. We believe that the idea of setting up the broadest possible front of all the peace forces with the goal of averting a thermonuclear war has a great future before it, and here one should note the processes under way within the democratic parties, including many social democratic parties, and other organisations, and also the powerful anti-war movements in some capitalist countries. There is a steady strengthening and growth of the forces making an important contribution to the cause of peace.

Those who are aware of their personal responsibility for the destinies of the world in this trying period, those who seek to give their pacifist attitudes an active form, and who are afraid of the word 'communist' should, we say, have a closer look at what the Communists propose; read and think that over with greater attention and you will see that it is easier to find common ground with the Communists than it is with their main adversaries, who keep referring to the Christian morality, but are prepared to blow up the world in a 'nuclear crusade'. We, for our part, have always responded with attention and respect to any reasonable proposal and any constructive idea, whatever its origins, provided it was advanced to uphold peace.

The inexhaustible historical optimism of the Bulgarian Communists and of all our other working people was very aptly expressed by Todor Zhivkov, when he said: "The Bulgarian people have never lacked faith. Whether in time of might and supreme spiritual elation, or in time of suffering, oppression and decimation in servitude, forgotten by the rest of mankind, our people have never lost faith in their creative powers and their future. This age-old faith is now our communist conviction, which is strong and vibrant in our hearts."[7]

These words epitomise the roots of our historical optimism and express its depth and life-asserting power.

[5] Todor Zhivkov, *Selected Works*, Sofia, 1984, Vol. 32, p. 244 (in Bulgarian).
[6] *The Twelfth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party. Verbatim Report*, Part One, Sofia, 1981, p. 482 (in Bulgarian).

[3] V. I. Lenin. *Collected Works*. Vol. 34. p. 403.
[4] *Pravda*. October 26. 1985.
[5] *Rabotnichesko Delo*. January 28. 1986.
[6] *Pravda*. October 24. 1985.
[7] Todor Zhivkov. op. cit.. p. 228.

Democratic Essence of the Struggle Against Militarism

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

WE are living in the age of transition from an antiquated socio-economic formation to a new society. The Marxist-Leninist theory of building this society has been tested in practice on a world scale, and socialism has become established in vast areas of the globe. Its indisputable advantages have been confirmed by the example of a whole group of countries. Under the impact of these advantages, many people are drawn to the new type of political organisation and social relations, which have already taken shape in the socialist community. Existing socialism is an important international factor for human progress.

However, there is also an antithetical factor, that is imperialism with its growing reactionary role and its aggressive nature. It is not by force of example but by force of arms and through economic pressure and political blackmail that imperialism is striving to consolidate its positions in countries lying on the periphery of the capitalist world. Yet the preservation of imperialist domination is a drag on social advancement.

With due regard to the difficult problems of today and to Honduran reality in the context of the main content of the present epoch, we deal in this article with three points which we consider particularly important. First among them is the further deterioration of the crisis of the social, economic and political foundations of society typical of nearly all countries of our Latin American region. Attempts to end through bourgeois reformism the crisis situation created by imperialism and domestic oligarchies usually miscarry, making for an upsurge in the anti-imperialist liberation struggle. Second, we examine the situation in Honduras, whose problems interlock closely with the situation of military conflict all over Central America and the Caribbean fraught with a threat to world peace. Third, we touch on social development alternatives in the conditions prevailing in our country and on some problems of the liberation struggle which is part of the regional and world revolutionary process.

Impasses of the Crisis

Never before has the socio-economic situation in Latin America been so tense, nor has the gap in development levels between Western industrial countries and the Latin American states within their sphere of influence ever been widening so fast as today. There remain vast areas of backwardness, poverty and hunger on the continent. Taking advantage of the unequal position of these states in the world capitalist economy, imperialism is mercilessly exploiting them, levying an exorbitant economic tribute upon them. There huge external debt has become a major lever of imperialist domination. It is a heavy burden on the continent, which is in debt for over $360 billion. Payment of usurious interest on loans and the flight of the trans-

nationals' profits are bleeding Latin American countries white. The external debt, once an economic problem, has become a political one, a factor central to the formation and expansion of our anti-imperialist resistance front which is merging objectively with the common struggle of peoples for freedom, peace and social progress.

What are the causes of the deepening crisis of the socio-economic model imposed on most of Latin America's peoples in the last century? How does it manifest itself? Speaking generally, it is due to the fact that capitalism in many countries of the region has barely attained a medium level yet may be said to have passed its peak. Still bound by the shackles of a feudal past the latinfundium system—capitalism in these countries found itself dependent on US monopolies. Power in several countries is wielded by a venal bourgeois and landowner oligarchy plus a corrupt military bureaucracy whose every step is controlled by monopoly and US embassies. In other words, Latin Americans are experiencing twofold oppression—imperialist and oligarchic—and a twofold crisis in the form of the decay of society's outdated structures, compounded by the general crisis of the world capitalist system.

The situation in Honduras took a marked turn for the worse under Roberto Suazo Cordova, the former president. Here are some figures. GNP growth, which in the 1976-1980 period made up 7.3 per cent, stopped completely between 1980 and 1983, and there is an unmistakable trend towards a further decline in production. The budget deficit went up by a notable margin. The government did its utmost to stop this gap, in particular by emitting banknotes and bonds and by using reserve funds of the Central Bank and private banks. But the measures adopted by it merely led to greater inflation. Our monetary unit, the lempira, which was officially worth $0.50 for years, depreciated. Currently its real value is 2.7 for $1.

The balance of payments deficit shop up. This was due to increased prices for fuels and industrial products (imported chiefly from the United States), a decrease in the market price of traditional exports—bananas, coffee, lumber and meat—and an excessive increase in military purchases, especially from 1980 on. Military expenditures trebled. The outflow of capital is continuing. The more affluent members of the bourgeoisie, landed proprietors, government bureaucrats and military men have remitted about $1.2 billion to foreign banks since 1979, with a severe shortage of foreign exchange as a result.

Successive governments invariably took loans from foreign banks, thereby causing a steep rise in the external debt, which went up from $538 million in 1977 to $1,736 million in 1983. The external debt of Honduras is now estimated at $3 billion. As regards secret remittances made by the CIA and the Pentagon to finance military projects, the activity of paramilitary formations, the Somozist contras and the group of foreign advisers, their proportions are only known to the 'creditors' themselves, and as for us, we will have no idea of them until after the bill has been presented to the government.

At the same time, about 600 small and medium enterprises have gone out of existence for lack of funds needed to purchase plant and raw materials. As no new jobs were created and as the Suazo Cordova government pursued a policy of layoffs, the number of jobless people has lately risen to 450,000. Some analysts consider that unemployment (full or partial) affects two-thirds of the economically active population.

Inflationary processes are leading to a visible decline in the living standards of the working class and other working people and to a polarisation of poverty and wealth.[1] Employers firmly reject demands for higher pay while the authorities resort to repression. Stagnation in the field of agrarian reform prompts the peasants to act, demanding that the unused land of big proprietors be made available to them, but they are held down by the army.

There is no denying that the rulers have been searching for a way out of the crisis resulting from the traditional economic model which imperialism imposed on Honduras in the past, assigning it the role of exporters of farm produce under the undivided domination of the monopolist 'banana enclave'. In the 1950s, the regime began to modernise the economy in order to extend the range of exports and put an end to monoculture. This assured the powerful US monopolies great material privileges and political leverage. Sugar cane, cocoa and cotton production and stock-breeding revitalised the economy somewhat. However, it was still fettered by dependence and affected by price fluctuations on the world market and by the imperialist quotas policy.

In Honduras, the past 30 years have seen the testing of at least three new development models. One of them was desarrolism,[2] which is based on a bourgeois reformist theory. The exponents of this theory—Raul Prebisch, Felipe Herrera and others—considered that Latin American countries could accelerate their development and win economic autonomy under the capitalist system by effecting an agrarian reform and building up the public sector with the aid of foreign capital, while at the same time limiting dependence on it. At regional level, the theory was most widespread in the 1950s and 1960s, as a result of the efforts of the UN Economic Commission for Latin America. Its application, however, clashed with imperialism's policy of subjugation and the resistance of the landed oligarchy.

Then came another bourgeois reformist if more radical model proposed by a group of Honduran military men under Lopez Arellano. From 1972 to 1975, the group tried to modernise and expand the production apparatus and to make it competitive. The model was torpedoed by the monopolies, the oligarchy and Somoza, the Nicaraguan dictator, who meddled brazenly in the internal affairs of Honduras. As in some other states of the region, the military reformers' failure in our country deprived the domestic bourgeoisie for a long time to come of a chance to search independently for a way out of the impasse.

Later, a third, 'neoliberal' model was evolved in line with the postulates of the Chicago School, the IMF and imperialist financial institutions. Its components are a market economy, an open-door policy in favour of US private capital, a drastic restriction of the public sector, cuts in social spending, a reduction of the administrative apparatus, and the development of an infrastructure with US government investments. This model, which has already fallen through in several Latin American republics, proved in our country as elsewhere completely powerless to solve development problems or prevent the crisis from going deeper. It made Honduras more dependent, so much so that last year 43 per cent of budget expenditures had to be met out of US 'aid'. The model turned out to be so disastrous to the working people that the repressive measures adopted by the military clique under General Gustavo Alvarez Martinez[3] failed to deter our people from defying 'anti-terrorist' legislation and the death squads by taking to the streets to make not only economic but also political demands.

The day of deliverance from imperialist and oligarchic domination is not far off. The prerequisites for a revolution are maturing objectively within Honduran society and throughout the region, for revolutions depend on definite historical conditions of economic development, as Marx wrote.[4] But this is not enough for carrying out radical changes. The country needs a situation similar to the one that developed in Chile in 1970, when Popular Unity came to power through the most democratic elections ever held in South America, or in Nicaragua in 1979, when the people toppled the hated Somoza dictatorship by force of arms. The development of the explosive situation in Honduras and some other countries today is largely conditioned by the fact that US imperialism's military presence prevents the winning of freedom and social progress.

A Seat of War Menace

Experience has shown that the more strongly the people resist imperialist and oligarchic intrigues, the more aggressive the policy of reactionary forces becomes. Refusing to reckon with present-day realities, in particular the sovereign will of the peoples of the subregion, these forces are trying to deny them the right to shape their destinies by themselves, and are threatening their national security. Actually, this is the main cause of the current military conflicts in the region. The United States has declared Central America an area of its 'vital interests'; it imposes unequal relations, backs repressive regimes and ostracises governments which it does not favour, thereby disrupting economic and political relations between states, as it has done in the case of Honduras and Nicaragua.

Shortly after the Sandinists' victory, the Pentagon began to modernise the Honduran armed forces while the CIA busied itself setting up strong points intended to carry out subversive operations, chiefly against Nicaragua. Honduras gradually became a foreign military base, the Pentagon's main bridgehead for the suppression of liberation movements. Ever since 1981, it has been the scene of diverse, increasingly frequent and protracted war games during which it is virtually occupied. The presence of US troops is increasing (their strength has risen from 1,500 to 2,000); the United States has established a vast strategic zone of interlinked strong points and a ramified infrastructure for combat operations and their logistical support.

Honduras today is something of a test range where troops and materiel are being readied in case of armed intervention in 'a neighbouring country'. Just what country is meant was revealed once again by last year's war games: first by 'Big Pine 3', during which a mock 'enemy' tank attack was launched on the Nicaraguan-Honduran frontier, and then by 'Universal Track', which involved the landing of Marines and airborne troops. During the joint US-Honduran war games code-named 'Cabanas 85', the task set was to beat off 'aggression' from the Sandinist people's army. Further activities of a similar nature are to take place in the first half of this year.

In Honduras, the Pentagon and the CIA pay special attention to the construction and modernisation of airfields. First among these was Mocoron, an airfield in the east of the country, in an area hard of access. It was from there that planes took off to supply and support gangs of the contras invading Nicaraguan territory. Subsequently US army engineers widened the runways at Puerto Lempira and San Lorenzo in the west, not far from the strategic Fonseca Bay washing the shores of Nicaragua, Honduras and El Salvador. Eight airfields were re-equipped. The Pentagon attaches great importance to the setting up in the coastal area of a base at Puerto Castilla to ensure control of the Caribbean and the conduct of landing operations. The programme for the continued militarisation of Honduras includes several other projects.

The following example gives an idea of the scale of this activity. In February 1985, an all-weather runway was completed at Palmerola. Eyewitnesses say that it is situated amid a huge cantonment with camouflaged air-defence positions, dumps, repair shops and a field hospital. It can receive any aircraft, including the gigantic C-5 and C-141 transport planes and the latest fighters.[5]

Two radar systems covering a vast area of the air space were delivered to our country. One of them was installed at Cerro de Hule, 12 miles from Tegucigalpa, and the other, on El Tigre Island in Fonseca Bay, not far from the Nicaraguan littoral. Ever since then, planes sent on spying missions and bombing raids against Nicaragua have used homing stations in Honduras. Most of the planes involved in these operations are equipped with up-to-date electronic and infra-red photography devices; they service the espionage network set up by the CIA and the US National Security Agency.

For a long time now, dozens of US warships have been patrolling Nicaragua's

territorial waters in the Caribbean and the Pacific. Frigates, destroyers and even aircraft carriers on alert sail occasionally to within eight miles off Sandino's republic. As for the contras, they are waging a real war against it, mainly from Honduran territory.

These are all glaring violations of international law and the principles of the UN. The Honduran government, too, is directly responsible for the acts of armed interference in the affairs of the adjacent state, for it has allowed contras' camps on our soil and support Washington's policy of aggression.

The attitude of the authorities, the domestic oligarchy and the top leadership of the army, who approve of the transformation of Honduras into a major US base, discredits them in the eyes of the people and adds to their discontent. Even some sober-minded political and military leaders consider that neither the Sandinists nor the Salvadoran insurgents are a threat to our sovereignty, which is flouted by the United States and local patrons of the Somozist cutthroats. More people are coming to realise that the war against Nicaragua and El Salvador and Honduras' complicity in it may get its makers into trouble; they tend to favour political and not military solutions to the problems of Central America.

Thus the aggravation of the conflicts in our region by imperialism and its agents has a negative impact on the inner political situation. Militarism, Lenin wrote, is the chief instrument of class oppression.[6] Coupled with the US military presence, this raises a serious obstacle to the liberation struggle. On the other hand, militarisation and occupation make for the growth of anti-US and anti-Somozist sentiments among large sections of society, for increasingly strong protest against recurrences of imperial thinking and against the attempt to deny the Honduran people the right to shape their own destiny. This is why we Communists, as well as keeping a watchful eye on the slightest changes in the political atmosphere, are doing our best to give the right trend to the activity of progressive, democratic and patriotic forces, to the whole mass movement.

We think Mikhail Gorbachov voiced a most relevant idea after the Geneva summit by saying that world developments have reached a juncture where particularly responsible decisions have to be made and where inaction or procrastination would be criminal.

Political Development Alternatives

World reaction's attempts to consolidate its positions tend to sharpen the inherent contradictions of the capitalist system. For all the frantic efforts of imperialism and domestic oligarchies to stamp out the liberation processes under way in Latin America, these are gaining ground. In many countries, reaction is faced with a relatively young but fast-growing working class, the main revolutionary force of our times. The political maturity and organisation of this class are growing and so is its role in the mass anti-imperialist movement; it uses increasingly effective forms in pursuing its policy of class alliances. In these circumstances, Latin America's Communists are well aware of their historical responsibility. They see their national and internationalist duty in ensuring the accomplishment of immediate and long-range tasks.

On November 24, 1985, a general election took place in Honduras, with nine candidates of four parties contesting the Presidency. But while it might seem to be a major event in the political life of the republic, there was no question of different electoral platforms even though the candidates were lavish of both mutual criticism and promises. The point at issue was to pick a man suiting Washington. The choice fell on Jose Azcona, the Liberal Party candidate. Almost unanimously, the international press described the election results as a 'change of settings'. The Spanish newspaper *El Pais* commented that the election campaign gave the lie to

those who make out Honduras to be a democratic state. US propaganda's chief argument against the Sandinists, *El Pais* wrote, is what it describes as 'lack of democracy' during the 1984 elections in Nicaragua. To resort to this kind of accusation against that country and to extol the Honduran regime is absurd to say the least, and very far from a reasonable assessment of reality.[7]

The whole campaign, the nomination of a man acceptable to the United States and not too conspicuous among the rest but still certain to win, and the holding of unconstitutional preliminaries were skilfully orchestrated. Nor was that all. The electoral 'marketing' operation cost $6 million. The US Embassy did not scruple to use Pentagon helicopters for the election campaign in the provinces. In fact, the campaign had all the trappings of a show. The forecast of the Communists, who had said that there could be no free elections under virtual occupation, came true.

Freedom is certainly impossible in a country where all truly democratic, progressive parties are outlawed. The Communists are operating in strict clandestinity; referring to me, local commentators point out that my 'whereabouts are unknown'. But wherever we may be in our own country and whatever the difficulties we encounter, the relatively young Communist Party of Honduras is a component of the nation's political life and a catalyst of anti-imperialist activity.

The change of President altered nothing in the alignment of class and social forces. Power is still in the hands of a regime unquestioningly serving the objectives of imperialism and the oligarchy. However, the forces which in 1984 removed Alvarez Martinez, a man with dictatorial ambitions, from the political scene likewise continue playing a positive role. They comprise patriotic army officers, who see the US military presence, the training of Salvadoran punitive forces on Honduran territory and the presence of contras as an affront, these sections of the bourgeoisie which do not want the conflicts in Central America to go from bad to worse, and above all, needless to say, the working class and the mass of the people, who are fighting for their vital rights and demand the restoration of democracy and national sovereignty.

Jose Azcona's accession to the Presidency is a sign of consolidation of the liberal militarist model of 'limited democracy'. Nevertheless, the Communists are not inclined to give in to pessimism. There is no denying the likelihood, CPH documents stress, that in view of the present instability, the armed forces as an important national institution will again begin to seek an end to the crisis situation through 'modernisation' in order to lead the nation out of the impasse. Such attempts were made, if without much success, a decade ago, as we have noted. Of course, experiments of this nature will invariably be inspired by bourgeois nationalism, nor will they ever go beyond the bounds of capitalist development based on a mixed economy. They will produce results only if the opposition relies for support on a people inspired by the Left.[8]

Nor does the party rule out the likelihood that, as a result of the isolation of today's liberal militarist rulers, growing economic contradictions and the people's firm refusal to tolerate the US military presence any longer, power in Honduras will be taken over by a democratic, multi-party government declaring for neutrality, respecting the right of neighbouring nations to self-determination and advocating a programme for socio-economic changes. This acceptable alternative of political development would enable the country to play a role different from the one favoured by the Pentagon and CIA. In that case the government would enjoy widespread support among the masses, and the Communists would be ready to fight its enemies and to mobilise the working people for action in support of further democratisation. We would do this while preserving our political independence.

A key task in any case is to consolidate the broad opposition front against the regime and achieve left unity in alliance with other political forces. The conditions for this are there. New socio-political forces are joining in the fight against militarism and

interventionism. In addition to the opposition parties operating legally, they include human rights committees and associations campaigning for the release of political prisoners and kidnapped citizens; they also involve the church and many noted public figures.

In view of the ideological diversity of our potential allies, the CPH is doing its best to intensify agitation and propaganda and to make clear that the deterioration of the crisis in the country is a direct consequence of the rulers' submission to imperialist dictates, a traitorous conduct and corruption in all echelons of power, and the complicity of Honduras in the interventionist designs of the United States. In the process, we always distinguish between interests of the moment and long-range, strategic ones. Occasionally we have to remove, as we go along, shortcomings in our work which are due in the main to the fact that the party is working in conditions of illegality. For instance, some CPH documents are not circulated widely enough, and this deprives party branches of a guide helping them take their bearings in complicated circumstances.

In assessing the situation in Central America, we allow for yet another variant of political development in Honduras. We do not consider it unlikely that irresponsibility will win the upper hand over common sense among the rulers, making them join in imperialist aggression against our neighbours. The implications of such a development are hard to foresee, for the country would find itself on the brink of national disaster. The Communists are also prepared to face a most undesirable development such as that, being certain that they will be able to react in a fitting manner. To use Lenin's words, we have learnt, at least to a degree, an 'art that is essential in revolution, namely, flexibility, the ability to effect swift and sudden changes of tactics if changes in objective conditions demand them, and to choose another path for the achievement of our goal if the former path proves to be inexpedient or impossible at the given moment'.[9]

Those who are daydreaming of a military pushover on the territories of neighbouring countries are badly mistaken if they imagine they can defeat the revolutionary people. They are forgetting that nowadays every local conflict threatens to develop into a nuclear one. It is no longer a question of merely removing the war menace in this or that area of the planet but of preserving civilisation and life itself on earth. This makes it more imperative than ever that all parties and movements should do their political thinking wisely, that the contending forces should carry on an unbiased dialogue, and that all disputes should be settled by negotiation and not by force of arms.

The Honduran Communists' recent Fourth Congress advanced a democratic and patriotic minimum platform calling above all for the following: restore national sovereignty; abolish the US military bases and put an end to the presence of US troops and Somozist mercenaries on our soil; stop repression and release all political prisoners and 'missing' citizens; dissolve all paramilitary bands, purge the repressive apparatus, and mete out exemplary punishment to the initiators and executors of the kidnapping, torturing and killing of popular leaders. The party declared in favour of putting the national economy on a sound basis and of refusing to pay the external debt; of full respect for democratic and trade union freedoms; of an independent foreign policy, respect for the right of peoples to self-determination, and a political settlement of the current conflicts in Central America and the Caribbean. The Communists stand for giving the agrarian reform a new incentive, spending more for social purposes and cutting the military budget. We insist on seeking an end to the arms race and on striving for detente and world peace. Honduras should become a sovereign, democratic and neutral state, with political parties operating freely.

Such is the position of the CPH. In the present difficult period, this is the most complete, sensible and constructive political platform, one shared by the majority of

Hondurans because they realise the danger threatening the country.

The possibility of ending imperialist and oligarchic domination in our country is conditioned internally and, to a still greater extent, internationally. This is a manifestation of the dialectic of national and internationalist factors in the liberation process. By defending our country's sovereignty, the Honduran Communists are supporting socialist Cuba and revolutionary Nicaragua as well as the just struggle of the peoples of El Salvador, Chile and other countries against imperialism, and contributing our share to world peace. Whether we succeed in preserving it by joint efforts will depend on the solution of the most acute social, economic and political problems of our country and region.

The Communists of Honduras follow with keen attention this year's congresses of the fraternal parties of the socialist community. Some of these forums of builders of the new society adopt programme documents which make us particularly conscious of the greatness of the present epoch and of our part in the struggle for the communist future of humanity. These documents, above all those of the communist parties of the Soviet Union and Cuba, the first socialist state in the Western Hemisphere, are also of tremendous importance to us. We think highly of the consistent internationalism of the fraternal parties of the socialist countries, approve of their home and foreign policy, and support their strategy of peace and construction, for it is also *our* strategy.

[1] In the case of the agricultural population, per capita income has already sunk to a beggarly 120 or at best 200 lempiras a year, or to between $60 and $100 at the official rate.

[2] From Spanish *desarrollo*, development.—*Ed.*

[3] The clique virtually ruled the country from 1982 to March 1984, using fascist methods to quell mass discontent.

[4] See Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, in three volumes, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1969, p. 411.

[5] Palmerola is the main base of a task force formed in 1983 to train Honduran troops, carry out war games and support the US military missions stationed in the area. The instructor corps includes 'counter-insurgency' experts from Israel, Chile and other countries.

[6] See V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 13, p. 80.

[7] See *El Pais*, November 27, 1985, p. 10.

[8] See 'Impulsar el movimiento de masas para hacer avanzar el proceso revolucionario de Honduras' (documento aprobado en la Reunión Plenaria del Comité Político, de Mayo de 1984), *Trabajo*, No. 6, 1984, pp. 4-23.

[9] V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 58.

Class Consciousness, or the Dead Ends of 'Class Cooperation'?

Ib Norlund – CC Executive Committee and Secretariat member, Communist Party of Denmark

COOPERATION is a fine word, implying noble sentiments like mutual respect, trust and a readiness to help, and it beckons to the time when 'all men will be brothers'. Many want to feel that all problems will be solved once people reach out to each other. There is some truth in such visions but these are, after all, no more than visions, which may be either heart-warming or highly soul-destroying. There is, after all, the story of Little Red Riding Hood, whom the Big Bad Wolf urged to 'cooperate' at her own peril.

Descending from the fairy-tale world to the world of hard social realities, one finds that it is not at all enough to speak about cooperation in general, except with the deliberate purpose of spreading ideological confusion in people's minds. We live in a class society in which cooperation is a notion that becomes real and valuable only

when the following is clearly stated: *Cooperation with whom and what for, and against whom or what?*

The capitalist society is based on man's exploitation by man and on the appropriation by capital of the surplus-value created by the working people. Bourgeois economists deny that that is so, but their denials are not convincing in the light of the capitalist reality. More frankly than ever before in the past, capital is now demanding a growth of surplus-value and profit, without which, it claims, there is no escape from the crisis that its own system has produced. The result is that the working class and all the other working people are subjected to ever greater exploitation. The conditions in which they live lead them to the idea that they have to act together and cooperate, but to cooperate as the exploited *against* the exploiters. That is one of the elementary conclusions dictated by the experience of the working class.

The advocates of the bourgeoisie have never worked harder to make the working people forget that conclusion, claiming that 'the time of class struggle is past', that workers and capitalists have become 'social partners', and that the time has come for 'cooperation between labour and capital'. But what does such cooperation between antagonistic class forces signify? It signifies no more than the recognition of the power of capital over production and the society, and 'class cooperation' or 'social partnership' is one form in which the working people are bent to that power. Such cooperation has nothing to do with the hopes for a universal brotherhood of men.

The bourgeoisie has been stridently preaching 'class cooperation' not because it intends to halt or relax its own class struggle. Its main concern is to spread 'social partnership' illusions within the working class movement and among the other working people. Its task is made easier by the long years of reformist influence and the practices of social democracy, the ruling majority in many capitalist countries. Within the working class movement, social democracy has long been the vehicle of the ideology and policy of class cooperation, and as such, and regardless of the subjective wishes of its leaders, it serves as a channel of bourgeois influence on the working class, inducing it to abandon the class struggle for the sake of the 'solidarity of all the members of the society'.

The Social Democrats who were in power in Denmark, say, in the relatively favourable conditions of development in the 1950s and 1960s, more or less managed to keep the working class movement within the framework of the cooperation of classes, which was backed up with social concessions by the bourgeoisie. Such a situation was fairly widespread, and in the various countries it was effected under diverse slogans, among them 'social partnership', 'civic peace', 'welfare state', 'people's capitalism', 'economic democracy', and 'social solidarity'. Meanwhile, the very idea of class struggle had been dropped from the social democratic programmes in Denmark, as it was in other countries of Western Europe. But the fact is that the struggle itself had never died down, and developed into large-scale and open class conflicts, despite the reformists' strenuous efforts.

The period of relatively tranquil development of capitalism gave way to new crisis upheavals in the 1970s, as the heaviest postwar economic recession rippled throughout the capitalist world in 1974 and 1975. The crisis of the early 1980s was almost as deep and comprehensive. In Denmark, for instance, the growth of production fell from 4.6 per cent in 1960-1973 to 1.9 per cent in 1974-1983; unemployment multiplied more than tenfold: from 22,000 in 1973 (0.9 per cent) to 280,000 in 1983 (10.7 per cent); by then the real wages of all categories of wage-workers and salaried employees were 15-20 per cent down from 1975, with the heaviest fall in the public sector; the living standards of the unemployed and all other aid recipients markedly declined; the crisis has also been evident in the considerable cutbacks in investments, the decline in the number of jobs, the balance-of-payments deficit, and the growing internal and external debt of the state.

Despite the economic growth of the past two years, the problems produced by the crisis continue to be just as acute. Unemployment has not fallen below the 250,000 mark, real wages have dropped by another six per cent since 1982, and the balance-of-payments deficit remains on the level of some 20 billion krones. The grave crisis phenomena in Denmark are being compounded by its membership in the Common Market, whose agencies exercise their supranational powers to give the transnational monopolies opportunities for controlling the country's economy, and to prevent the conduct of an independent national policy in combating the crisis.

The Danish Social Democratic Party, both as the ruling party and as the leading member of government coalitions, has been invariably guided in its policies by the interests of capital, in the spirit of 'class cooperation'. Its measures for combating the crisis amount to nothing but an 'incomes policy', which means that they were aimed to reduce the working people's real wages, to cut back spending on social needs and, accordingly, to ensure monopoly profits.

The realities of the crisis and the consequent sharpening of class contradictions have once again shown the interests of labour and capital to be irreconcilable. The workers' class consciousness has once again become fully manifest, despite the efforts to blunt it with talk about 'social partnership'. Protests are being generated by the very condition of the working class within the system of capitalist production, where it is ranged against capital extracting surplus-value from the exploitation of wage-labour. The workers' class consciousness impels them to cooperate and display solidarity—*not* with the exploiters, but *against* them, and to stand up for their own interests and for those of all the other working people.

The honeyed talk of 'class cooperation', which has always had a false ring, is now regarded in the working class and trade union movement as something quite irrelevant to the actual state of life in crisis. The working people of several countries have mounted unprecedently large-scale and protracted class battles, with vivid manifestations of international solidarity. Let us recall, for instance, the British miners' remarkable year-long struggle for their jobs in the face of savage police terrorism, or the West German metal-workers' action for shorter working hours without any cut in wages. The strike struggle in Denmark was lately also sharply intensified, culminating in the 'Easter riot' of 1985.

The Danish Social Democrats have tried to get big capital to acknowledge their services to it in getting the working class movement to take a 'conscious attitude to the crisis', i.e., a readiness to shoulder its burdens. In response, the demand in the 1980s was for more resolute measures along these lines, and the Social Democrats could think of nothing better than to make way for a right-wing bourgeois coalition in government, even without appointing a new election: since 1982, the country's government has been headed by the Conservative P. Schluter. The gap between the Social Democrats' traditional policy of 'class cooperation' and the right-wing government's course turned out to be not so wide after all, and the latter was able to use some of the projects which it inherited from the former. What is more, calls for 'class cooperation' have been voiced ever more loudly by the right-wing forces and the monopoly associations: the right-wing bourgeois government seeks to present itself as a 'saviour of the nation' rallying all the strata of the society.

The bourgeoisie's present accent on 'social partnership' is due above all to the deepening crisis of the capitalist system, and its political representatives pretend that they will be able to resolve the crisis problems. They claim that such 'partnership' is necessary to bring about an 'economic revovery'. How? It turns out that this can be done by giving capital a free hand in its drive for profits, on the claim that everything that is good for the big monopolies is good for the society as a whole. One has to bear in mind that this old idea has never justified itself, although it has always helped to increase monopoly profits: in Denmark's industry, for instance, they went up from

4.4 billion krones in 1980 to 15.4 billion krones in 1984.

The bourgeoisie's talk of 'class cooperation' means not only 'friendly' calls, but also tough demands on the working class to give up the defence of its interests. What if it refuses to do so? That is when the machinery of coercion is set in motion. The courts rely on anti-democratic 'labour legislation' to sentence trade unions to million-krone fines, while the workers are being told that they have to 'learn to cooperate'. Capital and the authorities are simultaneously prepared for direct confrontation with the working people in order to intimidate them, to break down their resistance, and to force them to accept such 'cooperation'.

When Schluter took over as prime minister of the right-wing bourgeois government, he launched an 'optimistic' propaganda campaign, claiming that everything would be better if business got higher profits. He himself later admitted that there had been no objective grounds for such optimism, and that his sole purpose was to produce a 'psychological effect' on the society in order to bring about an economic recovery. Let us note that the optimism ploy did yield a political effect in a population tired of incessant talk about depression.

Meanwhile, the rightists demanded a narrowing down of the public sector, a transfer of the social services system to capital, and larger appropriations to private enterprise for the purpose of releasing the market forces. The calls for cooperation to overcome the crisis implied the working people's acceptance of the burden of getting out of the crisis, since the government measures envisaged a regime of 'moderation' on wages and 'austerity' in the social sphere. Accordingly, big business took a tough stand. There was ever more pronounced discontent with the right-wing bourgeois government's policy within the working class and trade union movement.

The collective-contract bargaining in late 1984 and early 1985 enabled the working people to demand—through their trade unions and shop organisations—that the employers and the government should increase the number of jobs, introduce a 35-hour week without any wage cuts, and stop encroaching on their social gains. These demands were rejected by the employers in the hope of support from the government. They were not mistaken: the Schluter government resorted to anti-labour legislation to dictate the terms of the new collective contracts limiting wage increases to 2.0 per cent in 1985, and to no more than 1.5 per cent in 1986. With inflation running at 5-6 per cent, this means a further slicing of the working people's real incomes, and they responded with powerful protest actions. Strikes staged last spring paralysed virtually all the enterprises, and mass demonstrations were held everywhere; three were held in Copenhagen within a week, each drawing 100,000-150,000 participants.

The Communist Party of Denmark is not represented in parliament, but it has had an important role in enhancing the authority of the trade unions, and helping markedly to raise the working people's class consciousness. Many working people have come to understand the Communists' view of the critical state of the society and of the ways of surmounting it. The contrast between the sharp class conflicts and the sweet talk of 'class cooperation' became obvious, showing the working people that it is an ideological weapon of the bourgeoisie, and an attempt to camouflage the policy of capital seeking to break down or reduce the resistance it has to face.

The militant action against the anti-people line of the right-wing bourgeois government has involved not only workers but also other groups of working people, and that for a number of reasons. The crisis has produced unparalleled mass unemployment, which is becoming chronic and affecting virtually all the strata of the population. It is having the worst effect on the young generation, depriving it of any prospects for the future, and having a negative impact on the life of the society as a whole. There is a spread of the 'new poverty', which means countless human tragedies. That is why the workers' actions are being supported by everyone who

regards them as a struggle for a society capable of assuring everyone of a life in human dignity.

The last thing the bourgeoisie wants is to have this comprehension prevail over faith in 'class cooperation'. That is why the ideology of 'class cooperation' is being refurbished, with speculation on the problems arising from scientific and technical progress. 'Social partnership' is now being motivated by the need to 'modernise' the society, while scientific and technical progress is being mythologised and presented as some kind of supernatural force which commands docility. The monopolies, with their large-scale concentration of capital, it is argued, need a free hand on high technology, which means that wage workers and salaried employees must give up the idea of having any say on their working conditions as modernisation proceeds, leaving it to the management to take the high-tech decisions, in return for vague promises of being styled 'colleagues' of the employers. The monopolists insist on the right to demand the necessary capital in the form of subsidies from the state, that is, ultimately from the pockets of the working people, for the purposes of 'social partnership'.

None of the problems in technical progress can be solved by such updated versions of 'class cooperation' (once again at the expense of the working people). 'Technological unemployment' has resulted from the automation and rationalisation of capitalist production. At the early stages, the installation of high technology led to the emergence of new industries, above all the electronics industry, and that was advertised as evidence of the vitality of capitalism. But the electronics and allied industries now face a crisis of overproduction on the world capitalist market, so that some enterprises have to be shut down while others go to the wall. Here again, despite the 'modernisation', 'class cooperation' leads to a dead end.

Following the sharp class confrontation in the spring of 1985, the bourgeoisie in our country expects the working people to accept the lower living standards imposed on them. Prime Minister Schluter, chairman of the Conservative People's Party, told its congress last September that some urged a broad ideological confrontation in the Danish political arena with the social democratic model of the society. He himself did not agree, because it would be dangerous to call for such a broad confrontation, since it could give socialism its best chance ever. When the head of the right-wing government calls for a civic peace with 'socialism', as he sees it, the working class movement obviously faces an alternative, and it is this: either to accept the fetters of 'class cooperation' or to start an independent struggle for the people's interests and for a renewal of the society on democratic lines.

The reformist circles want to see a return to the old 'social partnership', believing the right-wing government to be a 'slight case of indigestion' which will take care of itself. While having supported—under mass and trade union pressure—the campaign against the right-wing bourgeois government's line, the Danish Social Democrats are being inconsistent once again in their counter-programme boiling down to the same 'incomes policy'. The only difference is that they proposed to have it discussed with the trade unions, instead of ramming it down the people's throats, as the Schluter government has done. Such a programme cannot, of course, be a democratic alternative to the policy of the monopolies and the authorities.

There is a growing comprehension of the need within the trade union movement and broad strata of the working people that there must be a break with 'class cooperation' which has yielded nothing except a right-wing government. A majority of the population is now inclined to see the Schluter government overthrown, and last November's local elections showed that it was losing its electoral support, but, as it has been shown above, the Social Democrats are incapable of offering a genuine prospect for positive change.

In this situation, the CP Denmark has called on the working people, their

organisations and other progressive forces to start a broad discussion on what needs to be done to put a stop to the rightists' anti-social abuses to bring in a new policy and start combating the crisis 'after Schluter'. Our slogan is 'Unity Against the Right' based on a complex of democratic and anti-monopoly measures which are to ease the burden of the crisis for the working people without delay. We have proposed the creation of new jobs and shorter working hours to reduce unemployment, a restoration of the social rights of which the working people have been deprived, a redistribution of taxation in favour of the working people, and democratic transformations in the economy, including nationalisation of the banks and insurance companies, and control over the movement of capital abroad. These measures are part of the anti-monopoly policy paving the way for a socialist perspective, and their immediate goal is to win democratic positions to resist the monopolies. We have stressed that the interests of democracy require anti-monopoly measures for a start on social change and to make the struggle for power a task of immediate relevance.

The right-wingers' interest in 'class cooperation' in Denmark today springs from the fact that the country is faced with important foreign-policy problems, which, together with security problems, have traditionally been decided in a spirit of accord by the Social Democrats and the big bourgeois parties, a practice that has in the past repeatedly benefited NATO, for one, at the expense of the national interest. These circles would now like to do the same thing, but under the influence of the growing activity of the people's democratic forces, there are rifts in the traditional consensus of the political and economic elite of the society, and it now has to some extent to reckon with the country's national interest.

This primarily concerns Denmark's relations with the EEC. Since 1973, when our country was involved in the EEC by certain forces by means of a package of false promises and pressure from big business, a large section of the population has continued to object to these relations. The people were assured that entry into the EEC would not result in Denmark's inclusion in the process of military and foreign-policy integration, but they now find themselves deep in negotiations on the establishment of a European Union. The EEC heads of state and government meeting in Luxembourg in December 1985 dealt with 'advance towards a European Union' and, in that context, with a review of the present treaty basis of the Common Market and the coordination of its members' foreign policy. Such plans are being increasingly resisted by the people, who regard them as a threat to Denmark's independence. Public opinion polls indicate that only 6 per cent of respondents endorse the idea of a European Union, with 80 per cent of the social democratic electorate firmly opposed to it. This is having a noticeable effect on the positions of the political parties, and after the Luxembourg meeting most members of parliament have come out against any extension of the powers of the EEC.

The social democratic leadership, which is also responsible for Denmark's policy within the Common Market, has modified its attitude to the plans for its development, officially announcing its opposition to the European Union and to any curtailment of the right of veto within the EEC. The bourgeois Radical Left Party took a similar stand, and this was reflected in the Folketing's decision. A plenary meeting of our party's Central Committee on November 30, 1985, declared: 'An important and inspiring victory has been scored in the struggle against the policy of the EEC. The Communists welcome with satisfaction that a majority of the deputies in the Folketing and its markets commission have finally admitted that the plans to set up a European Union will harm Denmark's independence and must be rejected for that reason. Despite any form of pressure, it is now necessary to take a firm stand for rejecting the plans for a European Union.'

An involved struggle over our country's future stand lies ahead, and there is no certainty that this stand will be maintained. The rightists are seeking behind-the-

scenes deals with the Social Democrats in the spirit of 'class cooperation', and much will depend on the resolve of the working class and its allies to resist the planned drive and the propaganda campaigns in favour of the EEC. The will of the working class for action in defence of national independence will be highly important in frustrating any possible plot at the top.

The struggle over the maintenance of peace, the vital problem of our day, has brought about a marked rift in the system of political power. The peace movement in our country has assumed such extensive proportions that it has come to exert an influence on the attitude of parliament on key issues. A majority in the Folketing rejected the Star Wars plans and the policy of siting new US missiles in Europe; it approved the proposal for a moratorium on nuclear weapons tests and the demand for the creation of a nuclear-free zone in Nordic Europe.

The government disagrees with the parliament's decisions, but has to accept them because it finds itself in a minority. While clinging to power, it hopes to re-establish the old accord on foreign-policy issues in a spirit of 'class cooperation'. Such schemes can be frustrated above all by independent action by the working class and its allies for peace. How the advocates of NATO in Denmark fear such actions will be seen from the fact that the large-scale strikes in solidarity with the peace movement in October 1984, which were supported by Denmark's Central Federation of Trade Unions, were described as subversive in intelligence-service documents. News of this led to a public scandal, because the authorities wanted to cast doubt on the perfectly legitimate and noble activity for peace.

Summing up, one has to say most definitely that the 'class cooperation' strategy is the bourgeoisie's most important weapon against the working class, with the ideological function of refuting the conclusions about the need for the workers' class struggle, and with the political function of bending the working class to the monopolies and getting the exploited to accept government for the benefit of capital.

Resistance to the ideology and policy of 'class cooperation' can no longer be confined to the working class, since no struggle for the rights of the working people can succeed without broad alliances based on unity of action for satisfying the people's immediate aspirations and long-term democratic and anti-monopoly objectives, and for peace and socialism. The class struggle and the alliance policy are inter-related, and it is against the vital interests of the masses to abandon them in favour of 'social partnership'. The forces necessary for success in the crucial battles of our day for peace and socialism can be mobilised only on the basis of independent action by the working class in alliance with the other democratic forces.

Commentary

International Role of the Builders of the Socialist World

Jose Maria Lanao – CC member, Communist Party of Argentina, *WMR* Editorial Board and Editorial Council member

William Somerset – National Executive Committee member, Communist Party of Ireland, *WMR* Editorial Council member

IN the kaleidoscope of international life there always are some fundamentally significant, landmark events that have a long-term effect on world development. This

is precisely how we assess the congresses of the ruling parties of socialist countries.[1] Currently they are taking place at a complex and crucial time, when the question is being decided whether humankind is to go on drawing closer to a nuclear catastrophe, to devastating Star Wars, or whether the ray of hope that came with the Soviet-US summit in Geneva will take the peoples to the road of enduring peace.

It is highly important that at this critical time the Communists of the socialist community countries are doing all in their power to preserve peace, normalise international relations, and end the arms race.

World opinion's focus on the objectives being set by the congresses taking place this year is made all the more concentrated by the fact that they are ushering in a qualitatively new stage of socialist society's advancement. A number of fraternal parties have submitted to their highest forums fundamental programme documents and economic development plans for the coming five years and for a longer term up to the year 2000, underlying which is the aim of accelerating progress in all areas of society's life. Socialism is taking a further rapid stride into the future, and its impact on world processes is becoming increasingly active and substantial.

One of the specific features of our time is the aggravation of global problems. Their solution is only possible if there is peace, if there are peaceful coexistence and cooperation among all states and peoples. The dialectical relationship between ensuring peace and achieving social progress now has a new dimension that requires profound and comprehensive understanding. The forums of the fraternal parties are distinctive precisely because they focus on these key issues.

In this context the programme documents of the 27th Congress of the Soviet Communists have a significance that, we feel, ranges beyond the Soviet Union itself because they not only give a summation of what has been attained and chart innovative plans for the future but also contain an in-depth scientific analysis of current problems of world development, including those of its aspects that have a long-term significance. The analysis offered in these documents of the competition between the two systems, the capitalist and the socialist, that differ from each other in class content and social nature, and also of the prospects of this historic competition, is indisputably valuable. Of particular importance is the assessment of the motive forces of the ongoing world revolutionary process, the growing significance of proletarian and socialist internationalism, and the need for interaction between all anti-imperialist and liberation movements.

To us Communists of the capitalist world it is clear that by accentuating the tasks of socialist society's planned and all-sided advancement, the present congresses of the fraternal ruling parties are giving a new, powerful impetus to the competition between the two world systems. Capitalism is still a strong and dangerous adversary of social progress, but the exploiting system has passed its zenith. Capitalism's general crisis is growing deeper. Its sphere of domination is shrinking inexorably, and that it is historically doomed is becoming increasingly evident.

Throughout the world—from Ireland with its almost 800-year history of colonial oppression, with its unquenchable yearning for unity and economic independence, of which it is denied, to Argentina trammelled in debt burden and the gore of years of dictatorship—a struggle is gathering momentum against capitalism, compelling it to look for new forms of dominance, because the old ones no longer serve.

In Ireland, for example, a new accord of the right-wing circles and British imperialism strives to contain the tide of revolt against the numbing debacle of unemployment and economic stagnation. However, the Irish people are rejecting this accord and demanding an end to British interference in their affairs. They will not be denied.

An unbiased look at Argentina's relations with industrialised capitalist states, on the one hand, and with socialist countries, on the other, shows that the former are

based on the principle of might is right, under which even aid becomes a means of plunder. Evidence of this is Argentina's external debt, which has reached colossal dimensions and is condemning the Argentine people to hardship and privation. Relations with the socialist world, on the contrary, bring considerable benefits to Argentina's economy and working people. It is therefore not at all surprising that in Argentina a steadily growing number of people from different social strata and of different political persuasions is condemning the imperialist policy of domination pursued by the USA and its European accomplices. The brutal nature of this policy is now seen very distinctly. Socialism, on the contrary, is attracting growing interest and support. Many of the anti-Soviet stereotypes used by the imperialist apparatus of psychological warfare, stereotypes that could formerly delude people, are now losing their effectiveness.

The experience and achievements of existing socialism in resolving major economic and social problems are becoming a key factor exercising a revolutionising influence on large numbers of people in the capitalist world. More than ever before we can today see the profundity of Lenin's words that socialism will influence people mainly by the force of its example.

The new social system has been able, even before outstripping capitalism in the economic competition, to demonstrate its historical advantages impressively. Within a short span of time the socialist countries achieved striking economic, scientific, and technological progress, although on this road they have had and still have to surmount many difficulties and resolve complex problems. Nevertheless, they have never backed away or stagnated. On the contrary, they advanced inexorably towards the objectives they set for themselves. The development rate of socialism has always been higher than in the capitalist world.

Let us compare the following facts: for a whole decade all Latin America has been in the grip of an economic decline, but socialist Cuba has increased its gross social product on the average by 7 per cent annually during only the past five years. An analogous picture comes out of a comparison of indicators related to the two major world economic groups—the CMEA and the EEC. In 1981-1985 the national income of the CMEA states rose by almost 18 per cent, while in the EEC states the increase was 6 per cent.

While highly assessing socialism's achievements and its beneficial impact on the surrounding world, we do not, of course, close our eyes to the problems that are encountered by the fraternal parties of the socialist community countries. The new system develops by resolving the contradictions implicit in it. Life raises urgent questions and demands answers to them. Socialism did not get any ready-made inheritance and nobody created the most favourable circumstances for it. On the contrary, as in the past, reactionary forces are trying to erect obstructions. However, the new social system has the capacity to transcend barriers. This, too, is an instructive lesson of history. The experience of existing socialism is important in its entirety, in its dynamics and dialectics.

The present congresses of the fraternal parties are being held in an atmosphere of principled, constructive criticism and self-criticism. This is noted with malice by socialism's adversaries: look, they say, the Communists are themselves testifying to their own weakness. Indeed, there have been errors and miscalculations, and this is stated openly. But is such an acknowledgement an indication of weakness? 'A political party's attitude towards its own mistakes,' Lenin wrote, 'is one of the most important and surest ways of judging how earnest the party is and how it fulfils *in practice* its obligations towards its *class* and the *working people*. Frankly acknowledging a mistake, ascertaining the reasons for it, analysing the conditions that have led up to it, and thrashing out the means of its rectification—that is the hallmark of a serious party; that is how it should perform its duties.'[2]

As we familiarise ourselves with the plans being drawn up by the fraternal parties for the immediate future and a longer term, we see that in effect they form a coherent, innovative programme for the socio-economic progress of the socialist community, helping the new system to shorten the distance in the competition with capitalism.

The Soviet Union, for example, plans to create before the beginning of the third millennium an economic potential equal to the one that was built up during the entire preceding period of its existence. In Czechoslovakia the national income is to grow by more than two-thirds during the next 15 years. A particularly significant point is that the socialist countries will achieve their targets chiefly by boosting labour productivity, which is to be approximately doubled by the CMEA countries by the year 2000. Everything created by the labour of the people will be used for the good of the people. The fact that socialism sees its loftiest aim in fostering the welfare of people is regarded by all progressive forces as the paramount condition of its definitive victory in the competition with capitalism, a victory that is steadily drawing closer.

The fraternal ruling parties of the socialist community countries are re-emphasising at their congresses that this can only be a peaceful competition. War, the threat of which has again grown alarmingly acute in recent years on account of the policies of US imperialism's most aggressive circles, would bring no victory to this or that social system but the annihilation of humankind. The Communists are not submitting to the military threat. They are patiently looking for possibilities for normalising the international situation, preventing a nuclear holocaust, and consolidating peace.

In our view, the continuity of the stand of the fraternal parties of socialist countries on the key problem of war and peace merits the highest commendation. Let us recall that at its 20th Congress in 1956 the CPSU drew the conclusion, significant in theoretical and practical terms, that war was not fatally inevitable, that it could and should be averted. This conclusion was then reasserted and enlarged upon at the subsequent congresses of the Soviet Communists and at congresses of the other parties of the community, and embodied in the widely, internationally supported Peace Programme of the CPSU for the 1970s and the 1980s and in the many peace initiatives.

The struggle to avert war is today proceeding under new conditions of a sharply increased imperative for political settlements of acute international problems. Responding to this imperative, the CPSU and the other fraternal parties of the socialist countries are putting this question in the following way: there is not only no fatal inevitability of war but there is also no fatal inevitability of a policy of confrontation.

But this can only be attained if a new type of political thinking, dictated by the realities of the nuclear age, prevails in world affairs. The question of new political thinking has today become a pivotal issue of international relations. The Soviet-US summit in Geneva has made this abundantly clear. It demonstrated that the policy of confrontation,which has become a dangerous anachronism, can give way to dialogue and negotiations. In this dialogue, enlarging upon the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence, the Soviet Union has advanced innovative foreign policy ideas and initiatives that have been brought together in a coherent programme asserting peace in the world. The peoples have seen that unlike the ruling circles of the USA the Soviet leadership is in fact working to preserve and consolidate peace and save our planet from nuclear destruction.

This concept is embodied in the wide spectrum of foreign policy initiatives spelled out in the Statement made by Mikhail Gorbachov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, shortly before the 27th Congress of the CPSU. It encapsulated what is sought and desired not only by the Soviet Communists but also by all other peace forces.[3] The proposals made in this document creditably opened the International Year of Peace proclaimed by the United Nations. It is important that

this year should be marked by concrete actions enabling humankind to welcome the third millennium under a peaceful sky, to deliver it from the fear of nuclear, chemical, or any other threat of destruction.

The strength of the programme for lasting, just, and democratic peace upheld by the communist parties of socialist community countries is that it reflects humanity's highest aspirations and asserts the cardinal demand of every inhabitant of the Earth—the right to life. Far from being an expression of good intentions, this programme is based on concrete measures, thereby affirming that the foreign policy pursued by the parties heading socialist states is guided by the genuinely internationalist principles inherent in the world communist movement ever since it emerged.

We highly value the fact that in the present complex situation the congresses of ruling fraternal parties are tangibly contributing to the consolidation of our entire movement's internationalist unity and solidarity. The documents of their congresses stress that the Communists of the socialist countries are acting as an inalienable component of the world communist movement. The experience that has been accumulated proves irrefutably that despite the diversity of the specifics in each country, despite the different historical and national traditions underlying the work of each party, and regardless of whether they are in power or not, in the long run the Communists are united by identical class interests and by common aims. Consequently, what unites is central and must prevail over what may divide.

Creatively utilising the potentialities for unity of action and the internationalist cohesion of their ranks, the Communists are exchanging information, holding bilateral and multilateral meetings, and participating in regional and broader international conferences convened when necessary. For example, of late there were meetings of communist parties of Western Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean, and the Arab East. The Conference of Communist Parties of South America, held in Buenos Aires in July 1984, stressed: 'We are an active component of the world communist movement based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We are part of the powerful force that is changing the course of history and building a new society free of oppressors and oppressed.'[4]

The participation of foreign Communists in the proceedings of the congresses of ruling fraternal parties is a vital form of exchanges of information and experience outside the framework of any special organisational structure. We are aware how important it is to help people in the capitalist world to appreciate the actual significance of the new tasks that are being advanced for socialism's domestic and foreign policies at party forums and to explain the essence of the programme documents adopted by them.

In this context, the assessment given in the programme documents of ruling fraternal parties of the role of mass democratic movements under capitalist conditions and of the struggle waged by the peoples against imperialist domination, for the attainment of full independence and social progress is of special significance for the Communists of the non-socialist world. A steady aggravation is to be observed in our countries of the antagonistic contradictions between local and transnational monopolies, on the one hand, and the overwhelming majority of the population, on the other. The working class is unfolding broad actions against capitalist exploitation. The objectives and slogans of its struggle are winning the growing support of other social groups and strata in this struggle—petty and middle bourgeoisie, farmers, intellectuals, ethnic minorities, women, young people, and students. All this creates possibilities for vitalising the mass battle against imperialism, for a better life, for peace.

The new nation states that sprang up on the ruins of imperialism's colonial system and are fighting to reinforce their independence, put an end to economic backward-

ness, and improve the living standard of their peoples, are likewise sources bountifully nourishing the powerful revolutionary torrent. Their legitimate aspirations counteract neocolonialist policy aimed at preserving and tightening imperialist control of the Third World. Many countries that achieved political sovereignty relatively long ago but subjected to hardening pressure from the monopolies of the USA and other capitalist powers are acting together with the newly-free nations. With the 'East-West confrontation' as its pretext, imperialism in some cases overtly and in others covertly supports dictatorial and anti-people regimes, acting against countries that do not submit to its strategy. The long history of imperialism's crimes is well known to many peoples, including those of Vietnam, Cuba, Lebanon, Afghanistan, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Grenada, South Africa, Palestine, and Libya.

In defending the right to decide their own destiny, the peoples are vitally interested in the maintenance of peace, in an easing of international tensions. The practice of international relations provides evidence that a successful struggle for peace clears the way for the growth of the national liberation movement and strengthens the positions of young independent nations. For their part, successes by Third World peoples reinforce the anti-war movement.

In their party documents the Communists of the Soviet Union, Cuba, and other socialist countries reaffirm their steadfast solidarity with their class brothers in the capitalist world, with the national liberation forces, and with the non-aligned states.

The congresses of ruling fraternal parties and the resolutions passed by them give us the opportunity to show the peoples more eloquently than ever before that there is an inseparable link between socialsim and peace. It is today particularly important that all of us, the Communists, in our countries, in our specific conditions, should make the maximum use of the documents of these congresses to spread and assert the ideals of communism, strengthen our own parties and their ties to the people, and set up the broadest possible front of forces acting for peace and disarmament, for democracy and social progress.

The peoples need the truth about existing socialism's achievements, about the difficulties and problems that the new system has to contend with in the process of building the new life, and about the aims and tasks of the domestic and foreign policies pursued by the fraternal parties. This truth helps the working class and all other working people of the capitalist world to uphold their rights more effectively and step up the struggle against the imperialist threat of war.

[1] Following the congresses of the Romanian Communist Party and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party held earlier, this year witnesses congresses of the Communist Party of Cuba (February 1986), the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (February-March), the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (March), and the communist and workers' parties of Bulgaria, the GDR, Mongolia and Poland.—*Ed.*

[2] V.I.Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 57.

[3] This point is considered in detail in an article in this issue under the heading 'Into the Third Millennium: Without Nuclear Weapons' by Roald Sagdeyev.

[4] *Nueva Era*, Buenos Aires, No. 17, 1984, p. 23.

International Year of Peace

The Voice of the Masses on the Scales of History

Romesh Chandra – President, World Peace Council (WPC)

WE are living in an age in which the pace of historical development has quickened to an unprecendented extent and the problem of ways and means of resolving social contradictions has gained in acuteness. In the lifetime of one generation, imperialism dragged the planet into two world wars. The Great October marked the beginning of a break with this trend. As a result of popular revolutions in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America, the world socialist system came into being; colonial empires collapsed. Dozens of new states fighting for their complete economic, political and cultural independence entered the international arena.

Great social changes are coming about against the background of a tremendous acceleration of progress in science and technology. The scientific and technological revolution has ushered in the space and nuclear era for humanity. The closing decades of the twentieth century are witnessing a new stage in the STR, a technological revolution bringing about qualitative changes in the application of microelectronics, astronautics, biotechnology and informatica and paving the way for peaceful uses of thermonuclear energy. Snowballing scientific discoveries and their massive introduction into everyday life are eroding old structures shaped over the centuries, giving rise to new production technologies and structures, to new fields of human endeavour.

These changes have a strong impact on people's lives. On the one hand, achievements in science and engineering offer humanity unprecedented opportunities to solve the age-long problems of shortages of food, homes and schools and inadequate medical aid, and open up magnificent prospects for social and cultural progress. On the other, they pose new, extremely grave dangers never known before. The greatest of these dangers is that of self-annihilation.

People have made weapons of enormous destructive power and are developing new, still more terrible ones. The arms race is invading new spheres, swallowing immense material resources. Humanity must stop this trend if it wants to live and develop; it must find ways and means of reducing and destroying its deadly armouries and evolve a dependable and powerful mechanism of self-preservation. Thus the very course of world development faces the peoples with that old question—'To Be Or Not To Be?'—in the sharpest and most undisguised form ever. However, it is politics and not science or technology that must decide on this.

For centuries, politics was held to be the prerogative of rulers—monarchs and subsequently presidents and prime ministers. Nowadays the shaping and implementation of policy is ceasing to be a privilege of the select few. Public opinion, the voice of the masses, who realise that it is futile to pin hopes on the big stick because in this nuclear age there can be no reasonable alternative to peaceful coexistence, is playing an increasing role. Political wisdom consists in taking account of the realities of today's world, of their vast variety, of the existence of different, often contradictory or even clashing interests defended by states, and in subordinating the settlement of international disputes to the attainment of the chief goal, which is to stave off a nuclear holocaust.

In short, wise politicians who are faced with a choice in favour of peace and life or

war and mutual destruction see peace as the only option.

The atmosphere which helps one make this choice requiring a proper sense of responsibility is more favourable now than a year or even six months ago. The Geneva meeting between Mikhail Gorbachov, General Secretary of the CPSU CC, and President Ronald Reagan of the United States showed that, all distinctions in position notwithstanding, mutually acceptable solutions in favour of a radical cut in nuclear armaments *can* be found. The chief result of the meeting was the two leaders' statement in the joint document released by them that nuclear war shall never be started. They stressed the importance of preventing any war between the Soviet Union and the United States, whether nuclear or conventional, and agreed not to seek military superiority. They came to terms on expediting the talks on nuclear and space armaments in order to avert an arms race in space and stop the arms race on earth. The two leaders declared for the early achievement of progress, specifically in areas where the positions of the two countries show similarities.

The WPC Presidium Bureau pointed out at its meeting in Stockholm late in 1985 that the Geneva summit was a momentous political event paving the way for improvement in Soviet-US relations and in the world at large. We called on all international, regional, national and local anti-war organisations to proceed in the spirit of Geneva.

At the same time, the WPC serves warning to all peace supporters that it would be wrong to demobilise themselves, to sit back and hope that everything else will be done without them. The policy of peace needs the support of the masses more than ever if it is to succeed. Also, there is a greater need than ever for joint efforts and vigilance to prevent militarist insanity from gaining the upper hand over reason, from trampling the shoots of hope of a peaceful future for humanity.

The Soviet Union, carrying forward the fundamental principles worked out at the Geneva summit, have made new, highly important proposals in a Statement by Mikhail Gorbachov, General Secretary of the CPSU CC. Their essence consists in completely eliminating all nuclear arsenals and other weapons of mass destruction, chemical ones included, substantially reducing and limiting conventional armaments and the strength of armed forces, and establishing an integrated system of security measures taking account of the interests of all countries and peoples; it is proposed that these measures be adopted stage by stage, within the 15 years separating us from the end of the century. By way of example, the Soviet Union has prolonged for another three months its unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions which expired on December 31, 1985, and reaffirmed its readiness to ban all nuclear weapons tests completely and for ever provided the United States joins in this initiative.

Thus it is now up to the US side. The peoples expect the US leaders to muster the strength and courage needed to renounce a militarist way of thinking. Yet some of their attitudes and moves give peace-loving opinion cause for serious fears. Repeated statements by US administration officials made after the Geneva summit and expressing the intentions to continue nuclear testing, is an alarming development. The facts show that influential quarters in Washington have no intention whatever of abandoning attempts to achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union. On the contrary, they persist in spinning the gigantic flywheel of the Star Wars programme to make it virtually impossible to stop it, and are furthering by every means their aggressive policy of 'new globalism', whose purpose is to subordinate development in all regions of the globe to the interests of US imperialism.

Facts attesting to this are near at hand. Literally the day after it had been declared at the Soviet-US summit that both sides would refrain from seeking military superiority, General James Abrahamson, head of the Pentagon's Star Wars programme, turned up in Brussels. He told a news conference that even if the United States and the Soviet Union were to come to terms on reducing strategic armaments,

his country would press forward with that programme. Yet it is an open secret that the programme is the main obstacle to curbing the arms race and to eliminating the nuclear menace.

The press in the United States and other NATO countries has carried numerous articles and comments which, as well as sladerously misrepresenting, as usual, the Soviet position on the issue of ending the arms race and on disarmament, allege that the difficulty of reaching agreements is no fault of Washington's but is due to Soviet 'inflexibility'. These allegations reflect the desire of certain quarters to undermine the results of the Geneva summit. The fusion of state power in the United States with military-industrial quarters, a development first noted in that country by President Dwight Eisenhower, has gone further than ever in the past two and a half decades. Economy and politics are, in fact, becoming Pentagonised, with the result that arms manufacturers make billions in profit. At least six million Americans hold jobs in the enterprises and offices of the military-industrial complex, which employs from one-third to half of all American scientists. The expenditures of the US Defence Department, which stood at 138 billion dollars in 1980, had reached nearly 300 billion by 1986.

The Star Wars programme, for its part, holds big profits for dealers in death. Estimates indicate that to date the Pentagon has put up more than two billion dollars for research alone in this field by signing over 1,500 contracts with diverse companies and research centres. As regards the total cost of the project for the creation of space assault systems, it is expected to reach at least one trillion dollars.

Of course, the Pentagon hawks and the bosses of the missile and space industry, who want their billions in profit, are dissatisfied with the results of the Geneva summit and have no intention of reckoning with them. They will spare no effort—any more than they do now—to undermine whatever is conducive to detente and peaceful cooperation. It is for this reason that while all sincere friends of peace are hoping for a healthier international climate in the wake of Geneva, spokesmen of the more reactionary imperialist forces are tying to start a new wave of artificially fomented anti-Sovietism and spy sacare, of 'authentic' reports fabricated by the CIA and the Pentagon about the 'insidiousness of Moscow', alleged to be out to impose its way of life on humanity.

Yet the facts show that the Soviet Union does not impose anything on anyone. Indeed, ever since it came into existence, ever since the Decree on Peace was published, the Soviet state has championed the right of peoples to choose their development paths and to live in a world without wars and without arms. And ever since 1922, when Soviet foreign policy emerged on the big international scene by attending the Genoa Peace Conference, it has sounded the alarm over the arms race, which is leading humanity to disaster. By contrast, whenever there was a sign of improvement in the world situation, imperialism resorted to every manner of provocation or falsehood to discourage the peoples from believing in the possibility of peaceful coexistence and to impose its way of life upon them.

Many instances of that activity of imperialist agencies have been largely forgotten by now, and so I would like to remind the reader of some of them. In the 1920's the notorious 'Letter of the Comintern', concocted by British ultra-Conservatives, and the Sacco and Vanzetti[1] case, forged in the United States, went a long way towards poisoning the international situation and complicating the process of diplomatic recognition of the Soviet state. In the 1930s, the main sources of anti-Soviet lies and provocations against peace shifted closer to the capitals of the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis, and shots fired by a fascist terrorist in Marseilles killed the first timid attempts of West European politicians to meet the Soviet idea of collective security half-way.[2] In the early 1960s, Powers' provocative spying flight nullified the prolonged preparations for a summit of the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain and France

in Paris, and made the summit impossible. In the early 1980s, an anti-Soviet, anti-Bulgarian, and generally anti-communist hue and cry was raised over the 'Antonov case', forged by US and Italian secret agents. The purpose of the provocation was to help US militarists force through Congress plans for build-up of nuclear arsenals and a programme aimed at extending the arms race to outer space.

It is by the same tried and tested devices that tensions are being built up even today. At this writing, the upsurge in acts of state terrorism by the United States and Israel against Libya and Syria, the continuing undeclared aggression in Nicaragua, and frankly bellicose statements by militarist leaders such as Weinberger cause particular concern. Nor is there any doubt that if the Soviet-US dialogue makes headway, this will embitter the adherents of the imperialist 'war party' still more and add to their readiness to stage any provocation.

Social development is uneven. People in various countries and on various continents live amid dissimilar political, economic and social realities. They have dissimilar ideas of the future of their countries, and differ in political views, ideologies and religious convictions. The peace camp today comprises Communists and Socialists, members of bourgeois political parties, atheists and believers, peoples building a classless society and peoples who did not win freedom from colonial oppression until recently. The peace supporters would hardly have made any gains in their struggle had they wasted their energies in debates on the merits and demerits of the way of life in this or that country. We must live, work, fight, and defend our ideals in the kind of world that is there, with all the peculiarities proper to each particular nation, and not in the imaginary world which some visualise, each in his own way and according to his convictions and aspirations. All who cherish peace irrespective of nationality, race, political allegiance or religious convictions are called upon to answer in the affirmative a question arising from today's realities: 'Can countries with different systems coexist peacefully?' To answer it in the negative would imply that wars are fatally inevitable.

To be sure, there are more or less serious contradictions between diverse countries. But this is not to say that they cannot come to terms, that representatives of the two social systems existing on the planet cannot arrive at agreements taking account of the interests of all the countries and peoples of the globe. To this end, it is important to renounce once and for all attempts at a forcible solution of these contradictions, to recognise that the only way is to talk, to seek agreement, which is often slow to come and hard to achieve but is necessary and ultimately benefits everyone.

We believe that in defining the possibilities which friends and supporters of peace can use to force politicians who refuse to reckon with present-day realities into lending ear to the voice of reason, it is essential to take account of past experience as well. The older generation of peace fighters still remembers the reverses of pacifist movements and actions by other peace forces in the 1920s and 1930s (in fact, some of them took part in those efforts). Why was it that they could not stop Hitler and avert war?

The chief reason was, as I see it, their refusal to act together against the Nazi aggressor, to establish a united front. Disunity among the anti-fascist and anti-war forces gave the Hitlerites a free rein. Had these forces united in time, World War II might have been avoided and so might the death of 50 million people. The anti-Hitler coalition came too late to prevent the war.

There was also another reason. The peace movements of the time were unable to rouse the masses, to organise their actions. These movements relied mostly on political leaders and prominent scientists and cultural figures, seeing them as a force capable of concerning themselves with the problem of staving off war and preserving peace. Of course, ordinary supporters of these movements might back or refuse to back their leaders, might agree or disagree with them, but they hardly ever took part

in decision-making or in the actions that were organised. By joining a peace movement, they confirmed their desire for peace and not their resolve to fight for it. The leaders proved unable to make clear to everyone who was convinced of the need to prevent war that it would *also depend on himself* and his activity whether this goal was attained.

The situation is different now. The growing war menace has brought about an unprecedented upsurge in mass actions in defence of peace. The development of the media has prompted large sections of the population that had stayed out of all political activity to take greater interest in these actions. The cause of peace has won millions of friends and supporters who are willing to assume *personal* responsibility for it, to defend it *personally*, as a vital cause of their own.

The masses' increased political activity and sense of political responsibility came out, for instance, during the traditional Disarmament Action Week in October 1985. Powerful mass demonstrations and rallies swept the planet. In London, the Hague, Tokyo and other cities, demonstrators carried placards bearing slogans such as 'Freeze Nuclear Armaments', 'Stop Nuclear Testing', 'No to Star Wars', 'Follow the Soviet Example, Renounce a Nuclear First Strike', 'Get Medium-Range Missiles Out of Europe'. Mass actions in support of the demands of peace fighters in Western Europe, Japan and the United States were held in the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries; they drew many millions of participants.

Last year we all marked the 40th anniversary of the defeat of Hitler Germany and militarist Japan. We also commemorated the 40th anniversary of the tragic atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by the United States. The memory of these events is both a lesson and a warning. The lesson reminds us of the fact that the aggressors' defeat was ultimately a result of united action by all opponents of fascism irrespective of social and political distinctions. The warning makes us stop to think that a still more tragic fate may befall the globe unless the hand of the ideological successors of those who are guilty of the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, destroyed by the flames of the world's first nuclear conflagration, is stayed.

Indeed, experts estimate that world military spending has soared to an astronomic 800 billion dollars a year. One in every 43 inhabitants of the planet is a soldier now. The fire power of conventional weapons has increased 200 times over in four decades and as for today's nuclear arsenals, they are enough to kill 58 billion people, or twelve times more than the population of the globe.

The more the masses draw on the lessons of their own experience and the more unity, efficiency and diversity their efforts show, the surer the outlook for lasting peace and life without wars will be. However, for all the vast dimensions of the struggle for peace, the anti-war forces have yet to achieve unity on their goals and tasks. Meanwhile militarists and arms dealers are doing their utmost to divide the opponents of nuclear war.

The contemporary peace movement is not unlike water running down a mountainside when the snow has begun to melt. Some rivulets merge into rivers flowing to the ocean. Others run dry on the long and hard way. The peace supporters must see well the actual goals and the concrete dangers generated by militarist policy and propaganda. They need this in order not to lose their bearings in the quagmire of chauvinist, militarist, anti-communist propagada, and to overcome by joint efforts the difficulties and obstacles that pile up in the course of the complicated development of international relations.

In calling for this, the World Peace Council does not at all aspire to a special role or a monopoly on the struggle against war. Our only aspiration is to contribute in every possible way to the preservation of peace. This task is now a requisite, something of a common denominator, needed to solve all the national, social, economic and other problems affecting the lives of peoples. The more closely every step in support of

national independence and sovereignty, every solidarity action in protest against imperialist aggression, every action in defence of democracy and of economic and social justice, is linked with the fight for peace, disarmament and the prevention of nuclear war, the more successful it will be. In turn, the stronger the connection between actions by peace supporters and the struggle of peoples for national liberation, democracy, and political and economic rights, the more powerful and effective they will be.

The militarists would be only too happy to make the masses forget this. It would suit them well if a group of people were to hold a street demonstration against, say, apartheid while another group demonstrated against unemployment in a neighbouring street and a third group—one opposed to nuclear arms—demanded a nuclear-free Europe in a third street. But we must not allow the enemies of peace to shunt mass protest on to diverse tracks, to disunite and neutralise it.

The anti-war forces are increasingly aware that they will be unable to remove the nuclear threat if they act separately. This awareness leads to the next step, namely, realisation of the need to compare views in order to ascertain the points on which agreements on large-scale joint actions can be reached. This is the aim of representatives of the most diverse movements and currents of supporters and friends of peace, who are going to hold a World Congress in Copenhagen this year.

If public opinion realised this and succeeded in joining forces, it would be easier to seek reasonable solutions to all the problems agitating the peoples and to put them into practice. The time to act is now, before it is too late. Histroical experience tells us that we must not wait until the fatal hour strikes but must do our utmost to bring about unity of action among all opponents of the war menace. This unity could be based on a joint struggle and cooperation encompassing not only all peace movements but also the overwhelming majority of the peoples and governments of the UN member-states. Despite the difference in social systems, all peoples and countries can settle international disputes by peaceful means, through substantive negotiations on an equal footing.

There is no doubt that the year 1986, proclaimed Year of Peace by the UN, will see millions of people on all continents step up their activity and win greater political influence. The UN programme for this year covers a wide range of problems relating to disarmament, peaceful development, and the struggle against armed intervention, colonialism, racism and apartheid. The World Peace Council, which now comprises peace movements of 141 countries, will contribute its share to this process. The regional and national actions, continental meetings, meetings by professions, and other activities which it is now planning will unquestionably make for the growth of the world peace movement and strengthen the unity of action of its various components.

We are strong enough to save the planet from complete destruction, provided we act together. It would be a tragic mistake not to use our strength. In this late twentieth century, it is time to discard the outdated logic of the past, which said: 'If you want peace, prepare for war.' In the nuclear and space era, peace supporters say: 'If you want peace, defend it.' It is time to discard the traditional notion that none but those vested with power are equal to solving political problems while the man in the street can do nothing. Let the voice of the masses, who want to preserve their right to life, weigh more and more on the scales of history in order to turn them definitively in favour of peace.

[1] Niccolo Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, revolutionary workers, were executed in the United States in 1927 on a false charge of robbery and murder. The judge, who had to admit that Sacco and Vanzetti were not guilt. trie, nevertheless, to justify the death sentence by declaring that the two convicted men were enemies of the US system.—*Ed.*

[2] One of the victims was the then French Foreign Minister, Louis Barthou, who had called for closer relations with the Soviet Union in view of the threat of war.—*Ed.*

the party

Towards a Real Multiplication of Forces

Kurt Fritsch – Board Presidium and Secretariat member, German Communist Party

THE German Communist Party (DKP) is advancing to its Eighth Congress, which is to be held in Hamburg in May to mark the centenary of the birth of Ernst Thaelmann, chairman of the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) and a prominent leader of the international communist movement who was killed by the German fascists. The preparations for the Congress are proceeding under the slogans of 'Halt the Slide to the Right!' 'Disarmament, Jobs and Social Rights!' and 'Strengthen the DKP!'.

Efforts to mount an even more powerful popular movement against the US Star Wars plans, to intensify pressure on the Federal government to make it withdraw from participation in realising these plans, to help prevent the militarisation of space and to effect disarmament on the Earth are among our primary tasks, all of which we seek to tie in with our struggle against social dismantling, mass unemployment and the poverty it causes under the slogan 'Jobs Instead of Space Weapons!'. The numerous demonstrations staged on September 1, Anti-War Action Day, the major measures on August 6, Hiroshima Day, and the broad public meetings of 'Workers in the Arts for Peace', and 'Sportsmen for Peace' were among the highlights of the autumn 1985 drive. The main contingents of the working class made known their attitude in the course of the week of action by the Federation of German Trade Unions.

New forces, including more than 150 chairmen of factory councils and employee councils at enterprises and firms in the FRG, have voiced their protest against the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI)—Star Wars—on behalf of their work collectives, and demanded the creation of jobs instead of participation in the SDI programme. The plans to militarise space were publicly condemned by an influential group of scientists, by steering groups of judges, public prosecutors and members of other professions.

Such a situation makes even higher demands on our party as the force mustering and organising the masses. We have recently been making a considerable contribution to the defence of working class and trade union rights, especially the right to strike, to the struggle against the unconstitutional jobs ban, for an end to the shift to the right, and for a new policy.

The image of the DKP as the revolutionary party of the FRG's working class was clarified and made more definite for the working people and all the other democratic forces, among whom there is a growing comprehension of the fact that the country needs to have more Communists and a strong communist party, a frame of mind which helps us to recruit new members into our ranks, notably through the Thaelmann Call, which was issued at Nuremberg,[1] as the main task in preparation for the forthcoming Eighth Congress of the DKP.

The party is being ideologically and politically consolidated alongside the numerical growth of its ranks. The Communists have carried on an active and committed discussion of the draft Theses for the Eighth Congress adopted by the Sixth Plenary Meeting of the DKP Board in 1985. These are based on our party's 1978 Programme, whose basic assessments and propositions have been borne out by life

and remain valid. Meanwhile, developments in the very recent period have confronted the Communists with many new issues which need to be dealt with. We have tried to do this in the pre-Congress document which is now being discussed.

In the process, general theoretical propositions are being closely tied in with current practices, and this gives all party members an opportunity to tackle the basic political and ideological issues, for, as the draft Theses says, 'the doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin makes it possible to take the scientifically-grounded working class approach to the problems of everyday life and to history. It helps to resist the influence of the anti-communist and anti-Soviet inventions by the class enemy and to maintain one's stand and commitment to one's communist convictions even in the most trying situations.'[2]

The strengthening of the DKP, a new type of party, in the spirit of Thaelmann's precepts is a complex task, for it involves the further development of the party of peace, labour and socialism, the party carrying on the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist traditions of the working class movement in our country. At the same time, being the revolutionary party of the working class, the DKP takes a consistent stand for its demands and carries on a fight for their satisfaction. It combines defence of the people's national interests with action in the spirit of international solidarity and proletarian internationalism.

It is the Communist's duty to drive home to the FRG working people these truths about the substance of the party, to invigorate their work among the masses and their democratic alliance policy, while tackling the strategic task of large-scale recruitment of new party members. As they discuss the Theses, party members gain a deeper insight into the party's general line and the ideological content of its strategic and tactical propositions, and are motivated for concrete work among the masses, which, for its part, makes it possible to increace our membership.

The report-and-election drive in the run-up to the Congress is now proceeding on consistently democratic principles. Postitive experience is summed up and the causes of shortcomings are brought out in contstructive discussions. The Communists analyse their own activity in a critical and self-critical spirit, and try to understand why some groups and district organisations lag behind others, despite being placed in roughly similar conditions, and discuss the best ways for righting the situation. They adopt work plans setting forth militant, challenging but realistic goals. The unanimity displayed in the election of the governing bodies at the various levels has shown our party's ideological and organisational cohesion.

Preparations for the Eighth Congress, DKP Chairman Herbert Mies says, are not confined to the party itself, and serve both further to develop inner-party life and to activate the Communists' involvement in the political and social battles of our day. They help to make a critical assessment of the way we have travelled and to map out new areas for further struggle in implementing our programmatic goals and tasks.

The criteria of effectiveness of party work are a question which inevitably arises here. Some of these, it was rightly said in the course of the relevant discussion on the pages of *WMR* and at the summing-up symposium held in Berlin, the capital of the GDR,[3] are of a general and abiding character, while others are brought to the fore in this or that concrete situation.

We in the DKP assess the effectiveness of our efforts today in the light of how far we have advanced in realising the party's programmatic goals and political propositions, the extent to which the requisite forces are being shaped, and the results achieved in directly consolidating the party ranks.

The Communists' influence, says the draft DKP Theses, 'is expressed in the growing support by broad popular movements for their political demands. This refers above all to the efforts to avert a thermonuclear catastrophe and to assert the principles of peaceful coexistence. There is also the defence of social and democratic

rights in a package with anti-monopoly demands. This also relates to the struggle against colonialism and racism, for national independence, and democratisation of international political and economic relations.'[4]

The impact of our policy is most visually manifested on the question of peace. 'Peace Must Win! Jobs Instead of Missiles—Here and Now!' was the slogan of the Seventh Congress of the DKP, and it was not chosen at random, but deduced 'from the totality of specific features of a definite political situation'.[5]

This call was taken up by various forces and helped to turn action for peace into the broadest popular movement since the establishment of the FRG. We have undoubtedly also been instrumental in bringing about the present opposition to the SDI by the Social Democratic Pary of Germany (SDP), which earlier on supported the deployment of Pershing II and cruise missiles. Important contingents of the working class have been involved in the struggle with the establishment of defence of peace initiative groups in industry, while the Federation of German Trade Unions has switched from a wait-and-see attitude to resisting the Star Wars plans.

Many of the demands which we have brought into the class struggle were adopted by trade unions in the course of action against mass unemployment, in defence of existing jobs, and for the creation of new ones. Here is one example. When a few years ago the DKP called for a job-creation programme at a cost of DM 100 billion in order to overcome the unemployment, there were indulgent smiles in trade union circles over what was believed to be the voice of one crying out in the wilderness. It is now part and parcel of the list of demands of the Trade Union Federation and many of its affiliated unions, which has the support, however partial, of the SDP as well. Like us, the trade unions now insist on a treasury-funded job-creation programme to be financed by switching funds from the military budget and raising taxes on big business.

We face considerable objective difficulties in the struggle for our more general goals because, among other things, of the still low level of class consciousness among the workers and the paralysing effect of anti-Sovietism and anti-communism on our citizens' hearts and minds. It is important, therefore, to help the working people to develop in various forms a class and friendly attitude to existing socialism, notably the Soviet Union, and to open their eyes to the vast social progress which has been made possible in the USSR, the GDR and the other socialist community countries by the power of the working class in alliance with the other forces.

This is being done by our party's central organ, the newspaper *Unzere Zeit*, and by several hundred monthly factory, city, district and higher-school newspapers and many political publiations. We had a successful 'Week of Existing Socialism' in November 1985, with the participation of speakers from the Soviet Union. It involved 140 functions and drew 15,000 men and women.

The Communists are engaged in extensive ideological work at the enterprises, in the working class neighourhoods, and at newsstands which we erected in the central thoroughfares of cities. Tens of thousands of FRG citizens learn the truth about existing socialism from their meetings and conversations with members of delegations which we had sent to the USSR, the GDR and other socialist countries to find out about them at first hand. And these delegations include both party members and sympathisers.

There are some positive shifts in the public consciousness, as will be seen from the fact that forces in the trade unions which are guided by class interests have displaced some of the influence of those who favour 'social partnership'. The attitude to the countries of existing socialism has also been changing, above all in the assessment of their stand on the issue of peace, as will be seen from the polls taken by bourgeois institutions for the study of public opinion. We believe that these signs of a reorientation of attitudes among the FRG population from West to East are an

important indicator of the effectiveness of our work.

When considering ways of making our work more effective, we have to stress above all the following point made in the draft Theses:

'The greater the conviction with which we bring home the truth about the peaceable policy of socialism and its historic achievements, the more difficult will it be for imperialism to deceive anyone with its 'threat from the East' myth. Our propaganda of socialism must be continuously carried on along three lines: explanation of the ideas of scientific socialism, of the theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin; portrayal of the socialist countries' historical advance and success in building the new society; and demonstration of the fact that our country needs socialism, and presentation of the DKP's concrete concepts of a future socialist FRG.'[6]

Cohesion and the shaping of counterforces to the domination and power of big capital so as to effect a turn towards democratic and social progress in the FRG is the strategic line of our party's struggle to attain the goals set forth in its Programme. 'The rise in the movement for peace and the workers' struggle, the positive changes in the trade unions and the SPD, the development of the Green and alternative movements, and also the political action by religious people in the light of their Christian tenets are all evidence that favourable prerequisites are emerging in the pattern of forces for the struggle for a democratic swing.'[7]

The Communists have done much to create these new opportunities by their active, well-considered activity at every level, from the party Board and its regional committees to the district committees and the primary organisation. It is true that the returns on such effort can be evaluated only later.

The most diverse world views and political attitudes confront each other within the framework of alliances, and here it is not only we who influence the other forces, but they, too, who influence us. In such conditions, party members need to be politically flexible, while being ideologically firm, and this, in particular, implies that they always take their stand openly as Communists, and never forgo their principles for the sake of compromises which are often inevitable in cooperation with their partners and in the arrangement of concrete joint action.

'The idea of compromise must not be renounced," Lenin used to say,[8] and this adds importance to the principled approach to compromises in order to give effect to the united-action and alliance policy designed to shape the forces capable of realising our programmatic goals. We make no concessions to reformist attitudes when trying to overcome the barriers between Communists and Social Democrats, and to bring out the common interests. Out joint action with the SPD and its organisations invariably serves the revolutionary task of creating the core of a future anti-monopoly alliance on the basis of united working class action.

The development of such unity and democratic alliances not only in breadth but also in depth depends above all on the capability of primary organisations to implement the party's general line.

Factory party cells have a special role to play. The German communist movement has always attached primary significance to work at enterprises and in the trade unions. 'It is crucial in determining the relation between the party and the class. The practical solution of this problem requires at least 75 per cent of the efforts of the whole party,' Ernst Thaelmann said at the Tenth Congress of the KPD in 1925.[9]

The DKP's attention is still centred on work at the enterprises and in the trade unions, which is aimed to gear the working class for the fulfilment of its historical mission. The further development of the West German society crucially depends on whether the majority of organised workers will be able to shed their reformist stereotypes in thinking and behaviour, to become aware of their true interests, and to start a struggle for them. The DKP's influence at the enterprises and in the trade unions is an indicator of the results of our efforts in this crucial sector.

The party's parliamentary influence is an important but not absolute criterion of the effectiveness of its work. Here, the DKP still falls short of the demands of political development in our country, and that for a number of objective causes. For twelve postwar years (1956-1968), as under fascism, there was no legal communist party in the country. The FRG now has an anti-democratic rule that if a party wins less than five per cent of the poll, none of its votes are counted, which is why even some of those who are on our side do not vote for the DKP for fear of their vote being lost. The influence of the unconstitutional jobs-ban policy cannot be discounted either. Finally, the party has virtually no access to the state-owned mass media. All these together result in a situation in which the DKP has been receiving—and will probably go on receiving for a long time to come—fewer votes than are required in the elections to the Bundestag and the povincial assemblies.

We find a different picture in the cities and the communities. We are represented on numerous city councils, and have a total of more than 100 seats. Some of our members are council deputies in Hannover, Mannheim and Nuremberg. There are communist party groups in the municipal councils of such major working class centres as Bottrop, Gladbeck, Hattingen, or Ahlen, and in university towns like Oldenburg and Marburg.

We have had visible and noted success in our defence of the working people's interests on the local level, but our party intends to go on attaching primary significance to extra-parliamentary struggle, to which our class adversaries have also given attention. One big monopoly newspaper has issued the following warning: 'Those who tend to judge only on the strength of election returns are inclined to regard the DKP as a party of 'fractional percentage points', a view also widespread in the top echelon of the SPD. But votes do not tell the whole story about the party's influence. The DKP should not be underestimated.'[10]

Our party's on-the-whole positive development is not a homogenious process, and there is now and again a lag here and there in the mosaic of political struggle. Omissions and shortcomings in the activity of individual Communists and party workers, and of collectives have been taken note of, the basic cause being inadequate knowledge of and failure to practice Lenin's norms of party life, without which the DKP cannot conceive of itself as a Marxist working class party. Our Programme says:

'The principles of the DKP's inner-party life are determined by the Marxist world view and the community of its political goals. This community unites all the members of the DKP in a militant body of fighters sharing the same commitment and acting on the basis of unity and solidarity. The Communists are always guided by the principle that only joint action by all the members of the party make it competent and strong. That is why broad inner-party democracy in the DKP is closely bound up with the principle of joint and centralised actions. Participation by all party members in discussing and formulating DKP policy, and the accountability of elective party functionaries and boards go hand in hand with a recognition that the decisions of the party's congresses and Board are binding for the whole party, just as are the decisions of higher-standing elective bodies for the lower-standing party organisations. The formation of factions is incompatible with the party's united actions. The Communists always seek to have their party life detemined by a spirit of collectivism, together with the individual responsibility of each, by an atmosphere of comradeship, trust and mutual assistance, criticism and self-criticism, frankness, and a high state of class vigilance and morality.'[11]

These principles make up the code for the Communists' behaviour and their public activity, and are basic to the education of party members, the shaping of their personalities, and the steady raising of the level of party leadeship in the DKP. The extent to which these laws have been mastered is one of the crucial conditions for the effectiveness of all our party work.

Without in any way minimising the role of objective factors, let us note that the fuller use of the subjective factor is the main reserve for directly strengthening the party. This means, above all, the leadership of the elective bodies. The DKP Board, its Presidium and its Secretariat have always given much attention to these problems. We sum up the experience of our successful efforts in a sober and workmanlike manner, without fuss, without trying to embellish the state of affairs or being pessimistic about it, while seeking to bring out and overcome the causes behind the shortcomings discovered in the functioning of the party and its individual units.

Helping party organisations to develop the ability to conduct the political line mapped out in DPK decisions in the light of the conditions existing in the localities and the actual balance of forces, and to set the goals for the short, medium and long term are, we think, an important aspect of leadership. In so doing, we keep trying to tie in the organisational tasks with political and ideological issues which always present themselves in a different light, reflecting the demands of the class struggle, the development of the democratic and peace forces, and international processes.

The shaping, marshalling and correct deployment of the Communist forces are of primary significance in realising the DKP's policy and its programmatic goals. Leadership is provided successfully when the governing bodies manage to involve all party members in the practical implementation of commonly formulated tasks, and here it is highly important to have a precise, realistic and controllable work plan with an indication of dates, individuals and collectives responsible for the matter in hand. The party leadership seeks to help the lower-echelon units and the comrades who head them to translate the instructions coming from the centre into the language of their plans with an eye to the concrete conditions and potentialities of every regional, district or primary organisation.

The DKP, as I have said, has given constant attention to recruiting new party members. The 'whole chain' in Lenin's well-known formula,[12] we believe, is broader influence in the masses, and the 'crucial link' in it—the influx of fresh forces into our ranks, an even more rapid growth in the numerical strength of the DKP with a further consolidation of its positions in the mass movements, more vigorous pursuit of the policy of united action and alliances, work at the enterprises, and the ideological seasoning of the Communists.

That is in line with Thaelmann's Call, which I quoted above. It is being realised in the form of emulation between regional, district and primary organisations, and has been conceived as a wide-ranging dialogue between the FRG Communists and the party's supporters, voters and friends, with our comrades in our work and trade union affairs, and our partners in the alliances and movements. There are also individual and collective conversations.

Meetings with prospective new members have well justified themselves in the work of the primary cells. Two or three Communists meet together with a small group of men and women who have shown an interest in the party, and have a relaxed conversation with them, their aim being to break down the existing barriers and to help these comrades to come closer to joining the DKP. The results achieved surpass those of the past.

Together with orientation towards the working class in industry, systematic work among young people and women has yielded results in increasing the party ranks. Although far from all the reserves here have yet been tapped, roughly 30 per cent of new members are under the age of 25 years, and 47 per cent are women. These are not bad as indicators go.

Some tend to assume that numerical growth is just about the only yardstick of the effectiveness of our efforts, but one should also see the problems which arise with the influx of new people from the standpoint of ideological steadfastness and the party's organisational unity. Indeed, very few people have become Communists by studying

scientific socialism and the programmatic documents of the DKP, since most of the new members come from diverse movements in which they have had their first experience in clashing with the capitalist state. Many came to know about the DKP in the course of concrete actions and clashes, in which the Communists stood up for their immediate interests and dealt with their concerns and problems. Others joined the party because of an inner urge. Our most important task is to involve all of them in the life of the primary organisations on the basis of the DKP Programme and Rules.

That such an approach is necessary is suggested by our experience, which shows that no one becomes a Communist on his own, outside the party framework. In order to become a Communist one has to find one's place in the party, and to join in its struggle with the support of the primary organisation, a militant community of equally committed men and women. Only then will the new members be firmly attached to the party and develop the qualities the Communist needs. That is why we do not regard numerical strength as an end in itself, but take account of its actual effect—that which multiplies our forces in the class battles.

Such are some of the problems we have been reflecting on in our efforts to determine the objective criteria for assessing the results of our party's work. It is a part of our constant quest aimed at systematically improving the activity of the governing party bodies and of all the Communists so as to raise its level up to the demands in the struggle for peace, jobs and socialism today.

[1] The Seventh Congress of the DKP was held at Nuremberg from January 6 to 8, 1984, when the party had more than 50,000 members.—*Ed.*
[2] Entwurf der 'Thesen zum 8. Parteitag der DKP', p. 99.
[3] See *WMR*, Nos. 1 and 7, 1983; Nos. 1, 2, 4 and 12, 1984; and No. 9, 1985.
[4] Entwurf der 'Thesen zum 8. Parteitag der DKP', p. 94.
[5] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 183.
[6] *Entwurf*. . . ., p. 101.
[7] Ibid., p. 61.
[8] See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 492.
[9] Ernst Thaelmann, *Reden und Aufsaetze*, in two volumes, Berlin, 1955, Vol. 1, pp. 199-201.
[10] *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, August 5, 1985.
[11] *Programm der DKP*, p. 87.
[12] See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 502.

new experience

Our Interviews

Age-old Prejudices are Receding

Fatima Akhmed Ibrahim — CC member, Communist Party of the Sudan, and leader of the Sudanese Women's Union

Allow me to begin with a purely personal question. The life of a Communist in a country like the Sudan has always been hard. For you it was evidently doubly so,

for in a Moslem society a woman electing to travel the road of social struggle inevitably encounters innumerable prejudices impeding her political activity.

YES, you are right, of course. But from the very beginning I have been fortunate: I was born into a family in which a woman was accorded every respect. My father, an educated man with democratic views, treated the interests and opinions of his sons and daughters with consideration. From childhood I was under the influence of my brothers, who were active in the Communist Party. They let me read Marxist literature, explained things I had difficulty understanding, and introduced me to Abdel Khalid Mahgoub General Secretary of the CPS Central Committee. I joined the party in 1954.

True, I had at the time serious differences with my father, who felt that membership of the CPS meant a rupture with the Islamic faith and that pary work was incompatible with the traditional views about the piety of women. The Moslem Brothers[1] gave my father virtually no peace, demanding that he compel me to resign from the party. It took long talks to persuade him that the struggle for justice and equality, against the exploitation of man by man was not a crime against Islam. These talks untimately got my father interested in the work of the Communists and he became a sympathiser. My mother, too, gradually joined in public life and even helped to organise the collection of donations for our party.

I soon married a wonderful person, who was a leader of the CPS. His name was Shafie.[2] We had what you might call a genuinely communist family. My husband was of immense help to me. He always said that the road we had chosen was not strewn with flowers, that, on the contrary, it was packed with danger and suffering. He was executed by the Nimeiry military regime. This was a heavy blow to the party, to say nothing about me personally. When I was told of the death of my husband my grief was so great that I could not even weep.

The dictator Nimeiry wanted to put me behind prison bars. But I was ill, and under public pressure my imprisonment was replaced with house arrest.

There is something else. When people learned that I had lost my husband and had been left with a baby son, parcels and cash remittances began arriving from all parts of the Sudan and even from abroad—from trade unions in Syria, Kuwait, and Cyprus. When Shafie died we did not feel along for a single day. For this I am indebted to my people and foreign friends. Our struggle continues, and I am happy to be participating in it.

Would you say a few words about the contribution of the Communists to the development of the women's movement in the Sudan.

From the day it was founded in 1946 the CPS has kept its doors wide open to women; for them access to other parties was virtually closed at the time. The Communists were the first to suggest the formation of a woman's organisation in the Sudan. The consistent stand maintained by the Communist Party later led to a clear-cut division between the democratic and reactionary forces in the women's movement. Its core consists of the Sudanese Women's Union, a progressive organisation in which I began working before the Nimeiry dictatorship came to power.

In the union our guideline is that a radical improvement to the condition of Sudanese women is inseparable from the solution of the problems worrying society as a whole. We are therefore directing our efforts towards restructuring and democratising society's life and creating conditions more conducive for transcending the bitter effects of rule by the military dictatorship. Actions for women's rights are an aspect of the national political struggle of the Communists and all of the nation's other progressive forces.

I should like to stress that our Union was directly involved in paving the way for toppling the Nimeiry regime. In 1971, when the authorities ordered the disbandment of the Sudanese Women's Union, we set up an illegal organisation that combined open actions with underground and semi-underground activities.

The resistence to the dictatorship assumed a diversity of forms. We organised marches by housewives with a cut in the price of stable foods as their demand conducted work among families with relatives or close friends in prison, and worked to secure the release of political prisoners and the repeal of the reactionary laws enforced by the regime. Women were mobilised to demonstrate for the legislation of the SWU and other democratic organisations and protest against the establishment of military bases on Sudanese soil. The Union printed its own underground periodical, which exposed the dictatorship and its pro-imperialist policies, and explained why the nation's problems could not be solved through capitalist development. All this undoubtedly helped to promote and enhance the prestige of the women's movement in the Sudan.

What are the orientations of the work of your Union at present, following the overthrow of the military regime?

The SWU is now functioning legally again and this has, of course, revitalised its work. We are affiliated to the Association of National Forces of Salvation, which unites most of the political parties (including the Communist Party), the trade unions, and public organisations. We plan to take part in the general elections scheduled for April 1986.

One of our principal policy objectives is to win equality with men for Sudanese women. A provision to this effect is contained in the Provisional Constitution adopted last year. But we are still far from witnessing its implementation in practice. The complexity of the women's problem in the Sudan is due largely to the influence of Islam. Religious circles, particularly the Moslem Brothers, were opposed to the emancipation of women and tried to prevent any progressive innovation in legislation on the family.

In order to refute their contentions we have had to address Islam. We meticulously studied the various religious interpretations and came to the conclusion that the main obstacle to the emancipation of women was not so much Islam as the interpretation placed on it by reactionary clericals. The SWU uses this conclusion in campaigning for a reconsideration of legislation on the family. We have succeeded in getting progressive amendments introduced into this legislation, for example, a law giving girls a measure of independence in choosing husbands.

A task today is to turn the SWU into a mass organisation and an effective school training cadres for work among women. A serious obstacle to the growth of the movement is the low cultural and education level among women. That is why we are paying so much attention to education. We are conducting illiteracy abolition classes and organising lectures on various aspects of the women's problem, the problems confronting families, health protection for women, and so forth.

The radio and television can be of considerable assistance here. We have already made arrangements for cultural and educational programmes for women. Moreover representatives of our organisation have been given the opportunity of speaking twice a week on radio and once a week on television, and also of taking part in special programmes on public health or housekeeping, among other subjects.

Regrettably, it is not all that easy to awaken the interest of the average Sudanese woman, influenced by archaic notions about the woman's place in society, in something new, to divert her from her day-to-day routine. Women respond more eagerly to our undertakings linked to their direct concerns. For instance, sewing

classes are attended much more willingly than illiteracy abolition classes. As yet many women do not feel any attraction for learning, for reading books and newspapers. For them, it is quite another thing to learn to sew. The advantage is seen at once: one cannot only sew clothes for the family but also earn some money on the side.

We do not overrate the influence of classes of this kind on the consciousness of women. Nevertheless, these give them an opportunity of meeting more people, of moving out of their monotonous life at home. These are, after all, the first steps towards their gradual involvement in various forms of social activity.

Everything I have named constitutes the part that the SWU plays in mobilising women for the nation-wide struggle to restructure society democratically and improve the life of the entire people, including the condition of women.

[1] A reactionary religous organisation.—*Ed.*

[2] Shafie Akhmed ash-Sheikh was a member of the CC Secretariat, Communist Party of the Sudan, and President of the General Federation of Workers' Unions of the Sudan. He was arrested and executed in July 1971.—*Ed.*

Organising the People's Resistance

Erol Cantekin – CC member, Communist Party of Turkey

What is the situation in which your conducts its public relations work in Turkey?

ONE of the first acts of the military junta brought to power by the 1980 coup was to put a ban on all left, progressive publications, arrest their editors and confiscate their property, and close a number of printing houses. Tens of thousands of books were taken from private and public libraries and many were burned. At present, on account of the repressions, those who want to articulate the people's problems in the press are condemned to silence.

The vast majority of the big bourgeois press mirrors the darkness into which the military regime has driven the nation. The hallmarks of this press are undisguised nationalism, anti-Sovietism, and anti-communism, and the striving to divert people from the country's realities. The daily press, which had a circulation of three million copies, has in recent years suffered a circulation loss of 850,000 copies. The situation is in no way better in the other mass media: as a result of some steps by the government and a thorough purge, the Radio and TV Broadcasting Association of Turkey has become the regime's mouthpiece.

All these circumstances place a particularly large responsibility on the left, including communist press published in and outside Turkey.

How is the communist press printed and circulated in Turkey today?

Atilim, organ of the CPT Central Committee, has been published illegally ever since it was founded in 1974. In recent years there has been an intensification of repressions against Communists and democrats. But despite the serious losses taken by our party, it has not halted the printing of the newspaper. Neither the persecution nor the brutal terror can hinder the publication of *Atilim*. In fact, by a decision passed at the party's Fifth Congress (end of 1983), since March 1984 *Atilim* has been appearing twice a

month instead of once as was formerly the case. We plan to make it a weekly in the near future.

People found by the police with a copy of *Atilim* are now sentenced in Turkey to at least five years' imprisonment if before the trial they do not die in the torture chambers. In spite of everything, *Atilim* is distributed regularly not only in the large cities, where the factory workers are concentrated, but also in rural areas, throughout the country, including Turkey's Kurdistan, where the government is giving effect to a policy of massive chauvinistic terror. One copy of our newspaper is read by from 10 to 15 people, which means that a growing number of people are getting truthful information. Every new reader is one more brick in the edifice of the people's resistance to the dictatorship, an edifice that our party is perseveringly building. By publishing and distributing *Atilim*, the Turkish Communists are striving to put into practice Lenin's words, 'A newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and a collective agitator, it is also a collective organiser.'[1]

The party studied the wide response received by *Atilim* from the working class and shortly before its Fifth Congress it began publishing a quarterly journal *Yol ve Amac*. The party organisation of Istanbul, Turkey's proletarian centre, has its own monthly publication, *Proleter Istanbul*. *Ileri*, journal of progressive young people participating in the struggles of the working class, is printed regularly. For nearly three years it has carried the motto: 'All young people opposing imperialism and fascism, unite!' All of the party's illegal newspapers and journals are printed in a format convenient for distribution: they fit into the palm of the hand. And they penetrate everywhere, even prisons.

In addition to regular publications, the Communist Party issues documents of its congresses and plenary meetings, brochures ('Pages from the History of the CPT', 'Champion of the People: The Communist Party—Hope of Our People', and others), statements, leaflets, and placards.

What matters are addressed in party publications and what receives priority attention?

We write of the most vital grievances of the working masses, their indignation over the rising cost of living, the unemployment, and the economic policy of the government, which subserviently carries out the orders of the International Monetary Fund and is ruining the nation. We tell of the anger of the Kurdish people, who are subjected to national oppression and have of late become the victim of aggression started by reactionary chauvinistic elements. We report the struggles conducted by the workers for trade union rights and the actions of patriotic intellectuals for peace, democracy, and freedom of thought. All these currents of the people's protest are converging in *Atilim* and other publications as the tributaries of a subterranean river.

The motto 'The Ozal Government Must Go—Mid-Term Elections!' was advanced in the Communist Party's publications in early 1985. This motto is making it possible to work for unity of action by all the anti-dictatorship forces, not only by the left parties but also by the legal bourgeois opposition. Every advance along this road is a blow to the reactionary regime. Further, the CPT publications show the relationship of the everyday demands and the actions for democracy with the preparations for the socialist revolution in the future.

The party's publications focus considerable attention on international developments, and inform their readers of the Soviet peace initiatives, of life in socialist countries, and the efforts of the international communist movement and the broadest public circles to allow peace and security to reign throughout the planet.

Atilim and the other party publications expose the close links that the reactionary

forces in Turkey maintain with international imperialism and seek to direct the outrage of the patriots with the government's actions that are increasing its dependence upon the USA and NATO into the channel of militant opposition. Further, the communist press exposes the immorality and corruption of the ruling elite, and the cosmopolitan pseudo-culture and slavish morals that imperialsim is trying to force upon Turkish society. We are safeguarding our people's historical and national values, their revolutionary traditions, and their rich cultural heritage.

Is the communist press succeeding in maintaining communication with its readers, and if so, how?

We feel that the press can measure up to the tasks before it only if it is a real 'platform of the people'. Soon after the party's Fifth Congress the Central Committee decided to start a campaign to widen contacts with readers. In particular, readers were asked to send letters, articles, and information to an address in a West European country. This address is printed regularly in our publications. It is now receiving an average of ten letters daily. This is no small response even compared with the mail received by legal bourgeois newspapers. Besides, it must be borne in mind that the people writing to us do so at considerable risk to themselves.

The contacts of the communist press with the population are gradually expanding. These contacts are not only with urban inhabitants but also with people living in rural communities. We are getting a growing number of letters from members of left movements who want a dialogue with the Communists, and even from people influenced by bourgeois parties. We see this as evidence of the growing impact of the CPT's policies. The campaign to encourage people to write has already now led to an improvement of the contents of party newspapers and journals.

Our explanatory work in the party press is gaining momentum as the party wins ever stronger positions. In turn, the communist press is contributing to a more efficient functioning of the party mechanism, to the activation of all its links, and providing it with contact with the masses. And this is the main condition for organising nation-wide resistance to the dictatorship and for carrying out the tasks advanced by the party's Fifth Congress.

[1] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 22.

Documents

Argentina

WITH UNITY AS THE FOUNDATION

The CC Political Commission of the Communist Party of Argentina issued a statement analysing the partial elections to the Chamber of Deputies in November 1985 and their impact on the political situation in the country.

THE fact that nearly 85 per cent of the electorate went to the polls reflects the democratic aspirations of the Argentine people, most of whom demonstrated their opposition to the plans of reaction, this statement declares. The stronger positions won by the left forces are seen in the formation of a Popular Front of Communists, Peronists, and Socialists, as well as some other groups. The Front's emergence bears evidence of the will for joint action of large sections of the Argentine people, notably

of workers, Peronist working people, and participants in left movements.

During the 45 days of the vigorous election campaign and hard-fought political and ideological debates, the Popular Front broadly presented its anti-oligarchy, anti-imperialist, and democratic programme. It enunciates the pressing demand of the-people for a freeze on the repayment of the external debt. This progamme was instrumental in uniting forces in the struggle to reinforce and promote democracy.

Although the Front was formed shortly before the elections, its candidates were supported by more than 350,000 voters, mainly in the Greater Buenos Aires industrial zone. In that zone it polled half of the total number of votes gained by it.

With the formation of the Popular Front and in view of the results achieved by it at the elections, there are now better prospects for setting up a National and Social Liberation Front as the people's alternative to the incumbent government. The CPA, the statement declares, will make every effort to extend the conditions for this prospect. The Communists are relying on concerted actions with all the participants in the Popular Front and on the militant work of thousands of its committees. The CPA will continue its actions in defence of democracy, for higher wages and a reduction of unemployment, and in opposition to the intentions of some quarters to stop the investigations into the activities of the persons responsible for human rights violations when the military regime was in power. The struggle is continuing for a ten-year freeze on the repayment of the external debt and for unity and anti-imperialist solidarity with the other Latin American peoples, notably the people of Nicaragua.

During the preparations for the elections, the statement notes, the Communist Party frustrated the attempts to isolate it from the people and from its allies. It acquired considerable experience and won wider influence. Through joint efforts, in which the Communists participated with their usual energy, the Popular Front reinforced its positions, its participants got a better knowledge of each other, and they were joined by new forces. The CC Political Commission of the CPA, the statement says, sends militant greetings to all who made these results possible and calls upon them to redouble their efforts to form a National and Social Liberation Front.

In the Mirror of the Press

l'Humanité

A NEWSPAPER'S RENEWED IMAGE

SINCE October 1985 *i'Humantié*, newspaper of the French Communists, has been appearing in a renewed form. Its format has been reduced and the number of pages has been increased from 10-12 to 24-30. But this is only the external side of the change. The main thing, writes Roland Leroy, director of *l'Humanité* and Political Bureau member of the FCP, is to make the newspaper more effective in popularising the FCP's policies, countering bourgeois propaganda, and explaining crucial domestic and international issues, in other words, capable of satisfying the most diverse reader requirements.

For this purpose it has increased the number and volume of its permanent columns, thereby permitting regular coverage of many questions related to economics, society's revolutionary transformation, history, culture, the development of social thought, and so forth.

In response to suggestions and wishes stated by readers, the newspaper now devotes several pages to mail. It prints literary portraits of party militants, engineers, workers, and people of the artistic community—of participants in the new type of unity of the majority of the people that the FCP seeks to create and strengthen.

Moreover, *l'Humanité* is now more effectively involving a growing number of readers in its work. With their assistance, Leroy notes, it is more perceptibly becoming an active element of the nation's social and political life. Responding to exhortations carried in *l'Humanité* they have taken a militant part in the actions against dismissals, helped to bring out special issues of the newspaper devoted to human rights and the Communist Party's role in the Resistance, and supported the campaign for the release of the South African patriot Nelson Mandela.

The Communists hoped that *l'Humanité*'s renewal of its form and content would increase its circulation. This hope has been justified. In only October 1985 the demand for the newspaper, judging by the new subscriptions and the street sales, has risen by 23.5 per cent. The reader increment is at present chiefly in the large cities: Bourdeaux (45 per cent), Le Havre (50 per cent), and Rouen (39 per cent). This means that there is still a large potential for winning more readers.

The mail received by the newspaper indicates that the steps taken to renew the newspaper may be regarded as having been successful, Leroy writes. Readers find the newspaper sharper, more forceful, and more militant, and that it now enunciates the FCP's ideas and propositions more clearly. Much still remains to be done, Leroy points out, to popularise the party's policies more effectively at factories and residential neighbourhoods, thereby helping to unite the broad forces, whose aspirations and interests it articulates.

At Reader's Request

COMMUNISTS AT FACTORY LEVEL: CONDITION FOR PROGRESS

Many readers are writing to request more features on the experience of party organisations at industrial enterprises, agricultural associations, and individual offices in the socialist countries. With these requests in mind we are offering a contribution from *Dieter Düring*, party committee secretary of the Engineering Works at Schkeuditz, GDR, about the activities of Communists at the factory.

I think that party activities among the workers of a factory should promote dedication to the socialist system and its ideals, the readiness to work selflessly and, of course, ensure that the collective as a whole functions efficiently. Now about the ways our party organisation furthers these purposes.

We do this above all by making each worker aware (through meetings, personal contacts and discussions on the shop floor) of the meaning and significance of the SUPG's economic decisions and state's plan targets. The record shows that in the drive to make production more efficient, the role of the human factor is growing. Before one starts working, each must realise what he is working to achieve and how his own specific contribution helps to strengthen the entire socialist economy. Aside from efforts to explain things, other methods assisting in this drive include a well-organised socialist emulation campaign, exchange of experience between workshops, publicity of the accomplishments achieved by foremost workers, and regular reviews of work records.

Party organisations strive to make workers feel responsible masters of their own factory. The management invariably consults these organisations about ways to raise

labour efficiency and product quality and sounds out the workers' opinions before implementing new production tasks. The secretary and members of the party committee meet with workers regularly and discuss everything that concerns their jobs or affects their personal lives (for example, which shift suits the worker best). That makes us aware of the workers' interests and requirements; in turn, they are effectively involved in tackling important issues of production.

We hold that it is important not only to explain the indelible links between the tasks set by the party and the vital interests of the workers themselves but also to do our utmost to encourage the more conscientious workers. Improvement of working and living conditions is an important incentive promoting greater creative initiative and activity in production.

The combination of these methods in the work of the party organisation yields results. Over the past five years, the annual increase in labour productivity has averaged ten per cent at our factory. The innovators' movement has expanded: 43 per cent of all those employed at the works now take part in efforts to streamline and modernise production. This was one of the major reasons why we beat by a year the 1985 five-year target deadline for introducing robots.

The prime condition for effective political direction of production by the party organisation is its own militant efficiency. Our works employs 3,500 people. About 25 per cent of them are SUPG members, and their number is growing steadily (it has now reached 30 per cent among the research and technology staff). Party cells operate in virtually all of the factory's workshops and departments, and this is very important for the effective functioning of the party organisation.

Proceeding from a discussion of the state plan and from the remarks and recommendation of workers we adopt what we call a Militant Action Programme for a given period. We also pay much attention to drawing up a long-term political and ideological direction of economic porocesses. This is based on the decisions and guidelines adopted by the party for the five-year period in question, and on the plans concerning work among the people, the training of a cadre, the cultural programme, and improvements in working and living conditions. True, to draw up a programme or a long-term plan is only half the job; the important thing is to follow them up. And so the party committee strives to assess what we have achieved as constructively as possible. Each year we conduct an all-factory analysis of the efficiency of the entire party organisation and of each of its 17 shop organisations and 59 party groups. This analysis enables us to take a differentiated approach to party cells and to give them whatever assistance they need. The results of the analysis are examined in detail at joint meetings of the party committee and the management, at which further progress is mapped out.

The difficulties our party organisation encounters from time to time stem mostly from the fact that the principles I have listed are not always observed. The party committee of the factory focuses its attention on correcting these shortcomings, on adding to and expanding the experience we have gained.

In Brief

BELGIUM

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belgium has decided to convene the 25th regular congress of the CPB on April 18-20, 1986.

BOLIVIA

At a plenary meeting held in La Paz, the country's capital, in December 1985 the

Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bolivia decided that the first extraordinary congress of the party, originally scheduled for January 1986, would be held in late April.

COLOMBIA
The Colombian Communist Party took part in the founding congress of the Patriotic Union, a broad front of political and social forces working for democracy. By the time the congress was convened (December 1985), the union had 2,200 local committees.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA
In January 1986 a seminar of the CPCz ideological activists was held in Prague to mark the 65th anniversary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. A paper was presented on the party's history and struggle for the revolutionary transformation of society and for the building of socialism.

FRANCE
By the end of 1985 the French Communist Party had more than 600,000 members. In January the FCP's weekly *l'Humanité dimanche* reported that the steady influx of new members, especially young people, is continuing.

GDR
As of the beginning of 1986 there were over 2,293,000 members and probationary members in the SUPG, 58.2 per cent of them industrial workers. Over the years that have elapsed since the Tenth Congress (April 1981) the SUPG membership has increased by 121,000 persons.

ITALY
The Italian Communist Party has concluded its annual membership cards exchange campaign. Referring to its results, *l'Unità* reports that in 1985 the ICP membership figure was 1,593,795 persons (down by 26,000 from 1984).

viewpoints

Peace Initiative
Into the Third Millennium: Without Nuclear Weapons

Academician *Roald Sagdeyev* – USSR Academy of Sciences; Deputy Chairman, Committee of Soviet Scientists in Defence of Peace, Against the Threat of Nuclear War

The beginning of 1986 — the International Year of Peace — was marked by another highly important step taken by the Soviet Union to strengthen peace, remove the threat of a nuclear catastrophe which hangs over mankind, and bring about a definite turn for

the better in the international situation. A Statement by General Secretary of the CPSU CC Mikhail Gorbachov set forth the proposals of the CPSU CC Political Bureau and the Soviet Government addressed to the whole world community of nations and calling for a number of major and fundamental foreign policy acts, which spring from the need to overcome the negative, confrontational tendencies that have been building up in the world over the past several years. They translate into practical solutions the problem of clearing the way to curtail the nuclear arms race on the Earth and to prevent one in space, to bring about a general reduction in the war danger, and develop trust as an indispensable component of relations between states.

These proposals follow from our party's programmatic document put before its 27th Congress, which says: "In the interests of mankind and for the benefit of the present and future generations, the CPSU and the Soviet state stand for an extensive and constructive programme of measures aimed at ending the arms race, achieving disarmament and ensuring peace and the security of the peoples."

What exactly does the Soviet Union propose should be done? What will the realisation of its innovative large-scale initiative give the peoples?

The first thing to note is the complex character of the proposed measures. The chief of these is a concrete 15-year programme for liquidating nuclear weapons throughout the world. A start on its phased implementation could be made this year, as the USSR proposes, to enable mankind to enter the third millennium without nuclear arsenals. For all its complexity, such a task is feasible, if it is tackled without delay and on the broadest possible basis.

Here is how the proposed procedure for ridding the globe of nuclear weapons — both delivery vehicles and warheads — looks in practice.

The first stage. This could last 5-8 years, a period in which the Soviet Union and the United States would set an example to the other nuclear powers of the constructive approach to ending the arms race and gradually liquidating the nucelar arsenals. Both sides would have their nuclear weapons reaching each other's territory, each leaving no more than 6,000 warheads on their remaining delivery vehicles.

That is, understandably, feasible only with a mutual renunciation of the development, testing and deployment of space strike weapons. The Soviet leadership believes that their development would frustrate the hopes for a reduction of nuclear weapons. Besides, there is a need for the USSR and the United States to agree on a halt to all nuclear explosions, and to call on the other states to accede to this moratorium as soon as possible.

Here is another important point. The question of completely liquidating the medium-range missiles of the USSR and the United States in the European zone — both ballistic and cruise — is to be tackled at the first stage. We regard the achievement and realisation of such a decision as the first step in ridding the European continent of nuclear weapons. Here, the United States must undertake a commitment not to supply strategic missiles and medium-range missiles to other countries, and Britain and France, not to build up the respective nuclear weapons, thereby erecting definite barriers to the quantitative growth of nuclear weapons in the world.

The second stage should begin not later than 1990, and last 5-7 years. In this period, the other nuclear powers would join in the nuclear disarmament, undertaking a commitment to freeze all their nuclear weapons, and also not to have them on the territory of other states.

Meanwhile , the USSR and the United States are to continue the reductions on which they agreed at the first stage, and also effect further measures in eliminating their medium-range nuclear weapons, and freeze their tactical nuclear weapons. Both countries are to complete the 50-per cent reduction of strategic weapons. After this, yet another radical step could be taken: all the nuclear powers are to liquidate their tactical nuclear weapons, i.e., weapons with a range of up to 1,000 km.

At this second stage, the Soviet-US agreement on the prohibition of strike space

weapons must become multilateral, with the unfailing participation of all the leading industrial countries. All the nuclear powers are to cease testing nuclear weapons. A ban is to be established on the development of non-nuclear armaments based on new physical principles which in strike capacity approximate nuclear or other means of mass destruction.

In short, at the second stage the process of checking the nuclear arms race, and of disarmament is developed in breadth and depth, involving more and more states and affecting ever new spheres of military production.

The third stage is to begin not later than 1995. In the course of it, the liquidation of still existing nuclear weapons is to be completed, so that no nuclear weapons at all remain on the Earth by the end of 1999. A universal agreement is worked out: these weapons are not to be revived ever again!

The Soviet proposals are aimed at working out special procedures for the destruction of nuclear weapons, and the dismantling, re-equipment or destruction of their delivery vehicles. In the process, the quantities of weapons subject to liquidation at each stage, the place where they are to be destroyed, etc., are to be agreed. There would be no difficulty of control over the weapons destroyed or subject to limitation: it can be effected both with the aid cf national technical means, and through on-site inspections. Our country is prepared to reach agreement on any other additional control measures.

It is evident, therefore, that realisation of the measures proposed by the Soviet Union would enable mankind to get rid of nuclear weapons by the third millennium. If the US administration is committed to the goal of eliminating nuclear weapons completely and everywhere, as it has repeatedly declared, it has an opportunity to do so in earnest. Instead of wasting the next 10-15 years on the development of new weapons in space, which will allegedly make nuclear weapons useless, but which are extremely dangerous for mankind, the USSR proposes to get down to destroying these weapons — and ultimately reducing them to zero — on the basis of mutually acceptable and stringently controlled agreements.

Yet another practical step of ours springs from the urge to strengthen peace and security. The Soviet Union has extended for another three months its unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions, which expired on December 31, 1985, and has reiterated that this moratorium will remain in effect, if the United States, for its part, likewise ends nuclear tests.

A reduction in nuclear arsenals not backed up with a ban on the testing of nuclear weapons does not — it is generally known — reduce the nuclear threat, because the remaining part is modernised, leaving the possibility of developing ever more sophisticated and lethal weapons. An end to testing is undoubtedly a practical step towards the liquidation of nuclear weapons.

Washington does not have any serious arguments for refusing to end all nuclear explosions on a mutual basis. I repeat: due control of compliance with the moratorium can be fully ensured by national technical means, and also by means of international procedures — and with on-site inspections, whenever necessary. Such a procedure clearly puts the USSR and the United States on an equal footing, ruling out the possibility of either side "outwitting" or "outplaying" the other, and overturns the favourite screen the opponents of nuclear disarmanent try to use as a cover. We resolutely insist on the moratorium becoming a bilateral and then a multilateral act, and strive to resume the trilateral negotiations (with the participation of the USSR, the United States and Great Britain) on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapons tests. Our country is also prepared to start, without delay, multilateral negotiations on the prohibition of testing within the framework of the Geneva Disarmament Conference, with the participation of all the nuclear powers.

The Soviet decision to prolong the unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing gives the US administration additional time to weigh these proposals and to give a positive

reply. That is the kind of response the peoples of the world expect of Washington. It was, understandably, far from easy for the USSR to take that decision. After all, it cannot endlessly go on displaying one-sided restraint. But we believe that the stakes are much too high and the measure of responsibility much too great to fail to take every opportunity for exerting an influence on the position of others through the power of example.

Implementation of the USSR's programme for reducing and liquidating the nuclear arsenals will naturally require the setting in motion of the whole existing system of negotiations, above all the Soviet-US negotiations on nuclear and space weapons in Geneva, their acceleration in accordance with the understanding reached during the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachov and Ronald Reagan.

All the peoples expect the United States to display a constructive approach to the problem of preventing the transfer of the arms race into space. It is in the interests of mankind to keep space peaceful. Strike weapons must not be deployed in space, and it is inadmissible to develop them. As on the question of ending nuclear tests, our country, moreover, proposes the establishment of the most stringent control, including the opening of the respective laboratories for inspections.

It is the Soviet Unions's profound conviction that the third millenium should not be entered with a Star Wars programme, but with large-scale projects for the peacful exploration of space through the efforts of all the peoples. And we propose a practical start on the elaboration and realisation of such projects. This is one of the most important ways for ensuring mankind's progress and shaping a reliable security system for all.

Success in the negotiations on nuclear and space weapons is also necessary for solving the European aspect of the nuclear problem. It cannot but be a source of alarm that, contrary to common sense and in defiance of the national interests of the peoples, US first-strike missiles are still being deployed in some countries of Western Europe. The Soviet Union has long since proposed that Europe should be rid of nuclear weapons — both medium-range and tactical. This proposal continues to be valid.

The new package of Soviet peace initiatives also sets the task of completely liquidating such barbarous weapons of mass destruction as chemical weapons before the end of this century. Its solution is quite realistic, as a number of circumstances show.

First of all, there is evidence of some advance at the negotiations on chemical weapons under way within the framework of the Geneva Disarmament Conference. The USSR wants more intense negotiations on the conclusion of an effective and controllable international convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons and destruction of all the existing stockpiles, as it was agreed during the Geneva Summit.

Furthermore, our country is prepared to ensure the timely announcement of the location of enterprises manufacturing chemical weapons and a halt to their manufacture, a start on the working out of procedures for destroying the respective production facilities, and also to get down, soon after the convention enters into force, to the liquidation of chemical weapons stockpiles — all that under stringent control, including international on-site inspections.

Some intermediate steps would also promote a radical solution of the problem. There could be an agreement on a multilateral basis, for instance, on the non-transfer of chemical weapons to anyone whomsoever, and on their non-siting on the territory of other countries.

Together with the withdrawal of weapons of mass destruction from the arsenals of states, the Soviet programme provides that conventional weapons and armed forces should also be up for agreed reduction. Agreements at the Vienna negotiations on troop and arms cuts in Central Europe, and also at the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building, Security and Disarmament Measures in Europe, could be a beginning in this direction.

The new historic Soviet proposals are addressed to the whole world, but there is good reason why a large part of them are addressed to Europe. In effecting a sharp turn towards the policy of peace, it could have a special mission in acting as construction site for detente. For this, Europe has all the necessary and, one could say, unique experience. One need merely recall that the Helsinki Final Act was hammered out by the joint efforts of the European states, the United States and Canada. In many ways, it sets a concrete and tangible example of the new thinking and political mentality in the approach to the problems of peace, cooperation and international trust.

The initiatives of the Soviet Union, a major Asian power, are also consonant with the mood of the peoples of Asia, for which the problems of peace and security are as acute as they are for the peoples of Europe. One should not forget that it was Japan and its cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki that fell victim to the atomic bombings, while chemical weapons were used against Vietnam. Realisation of the Soviet peace programme would bring about a radical change in the situation in Asia and would rid the peoples of that part of the globe of the nuclear and chemical threat, so raising security in the region to a qualitatively new stage.

Advance to active steps in ending the arms race and reducing armaments is also a necessary prerequisite for solving the ever more acute global problems: ecology, energy, raw materials, economic and social backwardness, hunger and disease. The militarism-imposed principle of armaments instead of development must give way to the reverse order of things: disarmament for development. The Soviet Union believes that it is necessary for every measure aimed to limit and reduce armaments, every step on the way to getting rid of nuclear weapons not merely to bring greater security to the peoples, but also to help allocate more funds for improving living standards.

It is extremely important that the disarmament measures should not be made contingent on a settlement of so-called regional conflicts. Such linkage indicates an unwillingness to disarm and an urge to impose an alien will on sovereign peoples for imperial purposes. The Soviet approach is that regional conflicts should not be inflated, but should be eliminated through collective efforts on the principles of justice as soon as possible.

The broad package of proposals set forth in the Statement of the General Secretary of the CPSU CC is designed to enable mankind to ring in the year 2000 under peaceful skies and space, without fear of a nuclear, chemical or any other threat of annihilation, and with firm confidence in its survival and continuation of the human race. Soviet scientists, the Soviet public and the whole people have given full and undivided support to the resolute acts in defence of peace and for an improvement of the international situation.

The Soviet people hope that the response to these new peace proposals, which, we are sure, meet the interests of all the peoples, will not come in the form of words or declarations in favour of peace, but in the form of concrete deeds. It is perfectly obvious to any fair-minded person that no one stands to lose, and everyone stands to gain from a realisation of these proposals. And the sooner a beginning is made on translating the Soviet initiative into the language of practical measures, the more realistic will be mankind's entry upon the twenty-first century without any nuclear or chemical weapons, and the more secure and better will life be on the Earth.

Priorities of the Women's Movement

Freda Brown – President, Women's International Democratic Federation

Anxiety for the destinies of humanity and hopes for a better life, concern for the future of their children and grandchildren, and faith that it is possible to create conditions for a life of dignity for all people — such were the thoughts and feelings of the millions of members of the women's movement as the International Year of Peace got under way. The situtation in the world is making women of different countries see the need to mobilise in order to avert the nuclear threat, stop the American Star Wars plans, end the arms race, and return to the path of detente. Concern for consolidating peace is uppermost in their minds as they mark March 8, International Women's Day, the day of solidarity and struggle for their rights, which can only be guaranteed if the basic rights of every person, the right to life in the first place, are ensured.

A disturbing situation has taken shape in the world in recent years. Tension is rife in some parts of the planet and there is a real danger of a nuclear catastrophe. Particularly great alarm is generated by the prospect of armaments being deployed in outer space — in my opinion history has never before known such a reckless undertaking which brings humanity right up to the line that simply cannot be overstepped. Never before has the world community been confronted with such an acute demand for radical and determined steps towards a turn for the better in international relations.

At the close of last year and early this year hopeful signs appeared in the situation. The Soviet-US summit in Geneva and the understandings reached there inspired people with optimism. I would say that the joint statement about nuclear war was being impermissible and about the sides having no desire to achieve military superiority is particularly significant. There has been a colossal response to the new Soviet peace initiatives, which constitute a wide-ranging programme for improving the international climate, including the Soviet decision to place a moratorium on all nuclear tests and the call on the USA to do the same.[1] Of course, the concrete proposals, put forward in the Statement made by Mikhail Gorbachov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on abolishing nuclear and chemical arsenals in the period up to the end of the century and thereby ending the arms race in the interests of all humanity are of exceptional significance.

However, the emergent positive changes have encountered fierce resistance from reactionary imperialist forces. The latter do not want the implementation of the Geneva understandings and the conversion of the "spirit of Geneva" into a "process of Geneva". They are doing everything they can to drown the sweeping, constructive Soviet proposals in torrents of falsehood. Under pressure from right-wing, reactionary circles the US administration, regrettably, holds back from responding to the Soviet Union with regard to the question of a moratorium on nuclear tests, perseveres in its refusal to abandon its so-called Strategic Defense Initiative or Star Wars programme, and continues to deploy new missiles in Western Europe and take other steps to spur the arms race.

By rejecting the far-reaching peace initiatives of the USSR and other socialist countries and the constructive ideas put forward by neutral and non-aligned nations (for example the leaders of Argentina, Greece, Mexico, India, Tanzania, and Sweden), and ignoring the will of the anti-war movements, the US ruling circles are challenging the whole of humanity. At the present critical moment the world community of nations has but one choice — the option between survival and the threat of annihilation. In this situation it is natural that international opinion, including the women's movement, should demand a halt to the slide into war and make its choice in favour of peace. We consider that under these circumstances the priority task is to curb the forces of militarism and war and ensure lasting security and enduring peace for the present and

future generations.

The international women's movement is keenly aware of its responsibility for the destiny of civilisation. It is beyond question that the significantly increased contribution being made by women is one of the most salient hallmarks of the present struggle of the peace forces. In some cases, women's organisations play the paramount role, and this is something that has no analogy in the past. Their courageous and persevering actions, such as in Greenham Common, against the deployment of new American missiles undoubtedly galvanised the anti-missile movement in Britain and throughout Western Europe. Greenham Common, Seneca Falls, and Pine Gap[2] are names that hold pride of place in the chronicle of the anti-war struggle as synonyms of the courage and determination of women.

Problems of peace and disarmament have in recent years acquired priority not only in democratic but also in liberal bourgeois women's organisations; in many countries there are now hundreds of associations, autonomous groups, and movements pledged to eliminating the threat of a nuclear war and ending the arms race on Earth and in outer space as their main aim. In the capitalist world this process developed most rapidly in North European countries, the Netherlands, Britain, the FRG, Canada, and the USA. For instance, Women for Peace, a new movement founded in Denmark in 1980, has evolved into a militant force in North European countries. At the time its participants collected more than half a million signatures under an appeal for peace and an end to the arms race. This appeal was formally handed to the UN Secretary-General. Later, women organised three marches across Western Europe, the Soviet Union, and the USA. Currently, women are conducting the struggle in the most diverse forms for a nuclear-free North.

Mothers for Peace, Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament, Peace Links, Women's Initiative for Peace, and various other women's anti-war organisations are now functioning in the USA. The credit for initiatives like the collection of signatures under the appeal to freeze nuclear armaments with the motto Million Mothers belongs to women. They set up the first peace camp on American soil near the Seneca Falls military base, the depot for Pershing II missiles earmarked for deployment in Western Europe.

In the FRG women are taking part in large demonstrations under slogans such as "Jobs, Not Missiles", collecting signatures under appeals against the deployment of Pershing IIs, picketing US military bases, and protesting against the Star Wars plans.

Growing attention is being given to problems of peace and disarmament by women's organisations in Asian, African and Latin American countries.

In the Soviet Union and other socialist countries women have in recent years become not only active participants in but also in many cases initiators of anti-war actions.

For 40 years the Women's International Democratic Federation has been in the vanguard of the women's anti-war struggle and of their efforts to improve their condition. Its founding on December 1, 1945 was linked directly to protests against the horrors of war, to the great victory of the peoples over German fascism and Japanese militarism. It united women of different social backgrounds, religion, and political persuasions, women of countries with different social systems so that they may work together to win and defend their rights as citizens, mothers, and workers, to protect children and to ensure peace, democracy, and national independence.

The lofty aims of our Federation were consonant with the vital interests of women. It called them for the attainment of the most humane, most pressing, and most just demands. The WIDF has evolved into an influential force: 40 years ago its programme was accepted by 41 national organisations, but today its membership numbers 135 organisations in 117 countries.

The spread of the anti-war actions of women was the principal subject of discussion at a WIDF Council session that took place in Prague at the end of November and beginning of December 1985. Very close attention was focussed on the results of the

Soviet-US summit in Geneva. Welcoming these results as the start of a dialogue between the USSR and the USA, the participants in the session declared their determination to press ahead more energetically to end the arms race, the nuclear-missile race in the first place, on Earth and prevent an arms race in outer space. We proclaimed our aspiration for mutual understanding with all persons desiring peace regardless of ideological differences.

For this purpose a group of international and national organisations, including the WIDF and national associations in more than 60 countries, issued a call for a World Congress dedicated to the International Year of Peace to be held on October 15-19, 1986 in Copenhagen. The aim of this congress is, on the basis of an open, free exchange of views, to develop new effective ways of furthering joint actions for peace and progress. Women will be directly involved in preparing for and conducting it.

Moreover, we are planning preparations for a major event, namely a Women's World Congress to be sponsored by the WIDF within a year in Moscow. This forum is to help resolve a key task confronting the women's democratic and peace movements, namely, to unite the various organisations, while recognising their distinctions, and to determine the ways and means of bringing them into the mainstream, chiefly anti-war, movement.

It seems to me that we have reached a stage at which we have to analyse our experience, chart plans for further actions,and regroup our forces. I am quite certain that the current International Year of Peace may see women advancing fresh ideas and new ways and means of work for a peaceful present and future.

The women's anti-war movement has its own, specific problems For example, our view of peace problems differs from that of political leaders and military experts, for we link them more often to the problems of everyday life.

Another specific is that in our movement there are many women from developing countries, where the illiteracy rate is high and famine, disease, poverty, and oppression prevail. In these countries it is very hard for women to see the link between their daily requirements and the need to prevent a nuclear war. In particular, this concerns women in the national liberation movement. For instance, in South Africa women constantly hear the whistle of bullets and the swish of police batons, while in Nicaragua they daily expect attacks by "contras". Under such conditions it is not easy to understand why today the basic task is the struggle against nuclear war, against the Star Wars plans. Many of them say: "The main thing for me is to obtain water and food for my children, and to get more weapons to fight the oppressors."

This is a big problem. We explain and will go on explaining that if the struggle for peace is successful and funds are switched from the manufacture of armaments to civilian production, the possibility will appear for removing many of the problems worrying women. Such were the explanatory objectives, of, for instance, the peace marches in Nicaragua, Angola, and India.

Another problem is how to draw into our movement the women working at armaments factories. Can we frankly say to them: "Come, let us fight armaments together"? A response to such a call would signify the loss of jobs for them. This means that we have to explain the relationship existing here and what way out of the situation can be taken. This is not always easy to do.

A distinctive feature of the international women's movement is the independence of its actions. A major achievement of recent years is that women have developed their own ways of fighting the war threat, ways that suit and attract more participants to our movement. This is extremely important for every contingent of the peace forces.

Another fact I should like to note is the militant actions of feminist groups in the interests of peace in many West European countries, North America, and Australia. Having reached a considerable dimension in the previous decades the feminist movement had, until the beginning of the 1980s, stood aloof from the problems of peace and disarmament, but in recent years it has contributed tangibly to countering

the threat of war. This movement was being manipulated by radical elements only five years ago. But then radical feminism, which was out to counterpose women to other groups of the population and to divert them from the class and anti-war struggle, began to lose its positions. Growing influence is being won in this movement by democratic organisations, the consciousness of its members is awakening, and they are more actively joining such organisations or working in parallel with them. This is making it possible to unite women of different political affiliation and draw them gradually into actions for peace and against imperialism, colonialism, and exploitation.

There are forces seeking to halt the mass, including women's peace movement. The movement is being attacked from without and within. Provocations are organised against peace fighters and in some capitalist countries they are being made the victims of ruthless repressions. As the peace forces acquire growing strength, their enemies are resorting to increasingly more subtle and brutal methods.

In the women's peace movement there are organisations that have proclaimed their independence. This is usually a synonym for an anti-Soviet stand. If we want our movement to be effective it is important to repulse those who are trying to hurt our unity. From this it follows that the broadest cohesion of forces cannot be achieved without the ability to counter the lies, falsifications, and distortions being used to mislead our movement and split our ranks.

According to UN statistics, women constitute the majority of our planet's inhabitants but they comprise only about one-third of the world's economically active workforce. In many countries it has hitherto been much harder for them than for men to receive an education or simply learn to read and write, find a job, and enjoy the benefits of socio-economic progress. Women and children become the first defenceless victims of any armed conflict, of any act of aggression. They are the hardest hit by the effects of the policy of imperialist brigandage and expansion, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism, apartheid, and foreign occupation.

That is why the broad anti-war activities of the women's movement are closely linked to the mass participation of women in the national liberation movement, to the struggle for economic, political, and social rights, and to concern for the welfare of children and for maternity protection. Solidarity with those who are acting against imperialism, neocolonialism, and all forms of racial discrimination has been and remains one of the key tasks of our movement, which extends diverse assistance to women in the developing world, particularly the Middle East, Southern Africa and Central America.

In capitalist countries equality is virtually not ensured even where it has been proclaimed by legislation. According to the International Labour Organisation, three-fifths of the registered jobless in these countries are women. Wage discrimination against them brings the capitalist monopolies a profit of tens of billions of dollars annually. In these countries women are poorly represented in organs of power, the state apparatus, and economic management. Under these conditions working women are acting with growing determination against exploitation, social injustice, and impingements upon their rights: they take part in strikes, hold demonstrations, and work militantly in trade unions.

An example of resolving the women's problem is provided by the experience of existing socialism, a society where women are ensured broad and equal participation in all areas of public life. Respect and concern for them stem from the new system's very nature and have become an inalienable element of state policy. For example, a large spectrum of measures to ensure a further improvement to the working and living conditions of women is spelled out in the new edition of the CPSU Programme and the Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and the Period Up to the Year 2000.

The world community's enhanced attention to women's problems has been

expressed in the now-ended Decade of Women proclaimed by the 30th session of UN General Assembly under the motto: "Equality, Development, Peace". In 1975, in the International Women's Year, a UN World Conference was held in Mexico at which a Declaration and a World Plan of Actions were adopted. The indivisible link between the three components of the Decade's motto was expressed in these progressive, anti-imperialist documents. The fact of its proclamation was evidence, on the one hand, of the recognition of the role and responsibility of women in society and, on the other, of the need for greater attention by parliaments, governments, and society to improve their condition.

In Copenhagen in 1980 the UN convened a World Women's Conference to consider the fulfilment of the World Plan of Actions during the first half of the Decade, identify the main obstructions to the plan, and map out ways and means of removing these obstructions. The Conference adopted a programme of actions on the national and international levels up to the year 1985. The decisions of the Copenhagen Conference gave a fresh impetus to stepping up the struggle to achieve the objectives of the Decade.

Then there were UN-sponsored regional conferences in 1984-1985: in Tokyo for countries of Asia and Oceania; in Baghdad for countries of Western Asia; in Arusha, Tanzania, for African countries; in Havana for Latin American countries; and in Vienna for European countries. Lastly, a World Conference was held in the Kenyan capital of Nairobi in July 1985 to review and assess what was achieved during the Decade of Women.

The preparations for and the Conference itself, which was the most significant undertaking in the history of the international women's movement, proceeded in an atmosphere of unremitting political struggle between the forces of progress and reaction. Imperialist circles, chiefly of the USA, tried to prevent the Nairobi Conference from considering acute present-day problems such as peace, the arms race, national independence, the security of nations, social justice, and democracy. They urged that the conference should confine itself to "purely women's problems". However, nothing came of their labours. Major problems of universal significance held pride of place in the debates and in the Conferences's final document.

More than 2,000 delegates from 157 countries gathered in Nairobi. The Conference drew up long-term strategies for action to improve the condition of women and specific measures to remove the obstacles to the attainment of the aims and tasks of the Women's Decade for the coming period from 1986 to 2000.

In parallel with the UN governmental conference in Nairobi there was the public Forum-85, which attracted nearly 15,000 representatives from all continents. It is symbolic that many of its participants from capitalist countries spoke from positions that clashed with the stand of official delegations.

Our Federation was active in the open, wide-ranging debates that mirrored the principal interests and problems of the women's movement. Although WIDF representatives constituted a small minority at the Forum, they were able, on account of their unity and organisation, to accomplish an immense amount of work, explaining our ideals to all the participants and thereby promoting cooperation. The results of the two weeks' meeting of women of the whole world in Nairobi were testimony of significant success by the forces of progress.

In assessing the results of the Decade, note must be made, above all, of the fact that pressing issues of the condition of women are now being raised for discussion in the world community. Exchanges of experience are taking place between countries with different socio-political systems and different socio-economic levels of development; coordinated decisions are being worked out in the form of conventions, recommendations, and resolutions in order to influence national legislation and judicial practice. A large role has been played here by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. In particular they initiated the tabling and elaboration of basic international documents linked to the condition of women. The most important of

these are the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, passed by the UN General Assembly (1979) and the Declaration on the Participation of Women in Promoting International Peace and Cooperation (1982). The convention has now been ratified by more than 70 countries. It is indicative that the USA is not one of them. The most valuable outcome of the Decade is unquestionably the fact that many thousands of women have acquired a better understanding of their responsibility for the solution of the urgent problems, of their larger potential for influencing the destinies of the world, and of the need for concerted actions.

We are happy to note that in the past period there has been a substantial growth of attention to the women's movement on the part of communist and workers' parties and also of trade unions of many countries. For example, the Programme of the German Communist Party, adopted at the Mannheim Congress in 1978, included substantive demands on the women's question. This portion of the programme was later enlarged and adopted by the eighth plenary meeting of the party's Board in August 1983 under the heading "For a Democratic Women's Policy: Principles and Demands of the GCP". The 25th Congress of the French Communist Party, held in 1985, proclaimed: "Our party is the party of the liberation of the women." A study of the programmes, materials, and documents of the congresses of the communist parties of the USA, Denmark, France, the FRG, and some other countries brings to light common features in the policy of the Communists relative to the present women's movement. A hallmark of this policy is its in-depth analysis of the conflict between the growing role played by women in all areas of capitalist society notably in the economy, and the continued discrimination against them. The Communists are emphatically demanding equality for women in economic and socio-political life, their enlistment in trade unions, and a considerable enlargement of women's representation in governmental posts and in the leadership of public organisations.

Recent years have shown that the attainment of the objectives of the Decade of Women has been a much more complex and contradictory process than was probably imagined by the international community in 1975. It has as yet not been possible to attain charted objectives on account of the pernicious policies pursued by imperialism, notably by US imperialism. There can be no genuine equality when the interests of large sections of the working people are sacrificed for the benefit of the monopolies. There can be no successful social development and no peace when hundreds of billions of dollars, needed to create jobs, promote education and public health, and help mothers and children, are spent on a senseless arms race that threatens the whole of humanity. That is why the cardinal task requiring absolute priority among all the problems worrying women remains the struggle against the threat of war, for the abolition of the stockpiles of armaments, of nuclear weapons in the first place.

Growing confidence in our own strength, in the strength of the forces of peace and progress permits us women to look to the future with optimism and work for the attainment of the lofty ideals of our movement with redoubled energy.

[1] The moratorium was effective in the period from August 6, 1985 to January 1, 1986, following which it was prolonged for another three months. — *Ed*

[2] US military bases respectively in Britain, the USA, and Australia around which there were peace camps that won world renown. — *Ed.*

Italians Oppose Star Wars

(Leafing Through *l'Unità*)

For more than a year *l'Unità*, newspaper of the Italian Communist Party, has carried a column headed "Star Weapons" in which it regularly prints up-to-the-minute features about Washington's Strategic Defence Initiative. The attention given this subject mirrors the growing awareness of its place among pressing international issues. At a plenary meeting of the ICP Central Committee held in July 1985 it was noted that the "militarisation of outer space has now become the cardinal issue".

Although Galileo's native country has as yet not become a "space power", does not launch its own satellites and space stations, and has no astronauts, since the mid-1980s there has been increasing talk in the Apennines about developing and utilising circumterrestrial space. The Italians have been offered entry into the space era as Star Wars armour-bearers.

In Italy, as in other NATO countries, a vigorous campaign is to be observed peddling the militarist astrology of the Pentagon strategists. The massive effort to indoctrinate political personalities and the population at large is combined with growing direct diplomatic pressure on government agencies, the evidence of this being the innumerable visits to Rome by emissaries from across the Atlantic. In exchange for promises to share the latest technologies they seek to make use, in their own interests, of the scientific, technological, and economic potential of Italy, as of the whole of Western Europe, and harness their allies more tightly to their global strategy. "Star Wars," *l'Unità* writes, 'has already broken out on Earth, and it is being fought not with laser and beam weapons but with the signing of dollar contracts and the theft of brains."

Italian progressives refuse to believe the assertions about the "defensive designation' of space weapons or the assurances that the US programme provided for nothing more than research. Expressing these sentiments and noting the speciousness of contentions of this kind, the Italian Communists describe SDI as "double deceit". In a foreign policy document adopted by the ICP Leadership in 1985 it is stated bluntly: "Nobody should underrate the catastrophic effects that could be produced by Star Wars weapons systems. The spread of nuclear rivalry to and militarisation of outer space would increase the danger of an accidental, 'error-triggered' outbreak of war, and encourage those who count on making a nuclear first strike with impunity. Moreover, this would generate an unparalleled growth of military spending and strengthening of military-industrial complexes to the detriment of the socio-economic development of all countries of the world, chiefly of the poorest and most backward countries where hundreds of millions of people are dying of hunger and epidemic diseases . . . In the present situation, when alongside the continuing grave danger there is also the possibility of change for the better, it is of the utmost importance for the people to speak up, for all working people, for all citizens to join the struggle in unison."

l'Unità cites many examples to illustrate that criticism of and protests against the Star Wars plans are mounting in Italy. People of the most diverse political convictions, professions, and social strata are articulating their deep concern for the future of the human race.

There have been angry denunciations of the American plans at the Rome Assembly of Italian Peace Committees (July 1985), of which there now are over 3,000. Last year there was an impressive mass anti-war demonstration in the Italian capital under slogans condemning the Star Wars plans; it was timed to coincide with the 40th anniversary of the country's liberation from Nazi occupation. Among the

This survey is based on articles published in *l'Unità* in the period from February to December 1985.

demonstrators were thousands of young men and women who warmly applauded the handshake between the Soviet cosmonaut Oleg Makarov and the American astronaut Edgar Mitchell, who participated in a lunar expedition. In August the mayors of hundreds of Italian towns appealed for world-wide action against nuclear-missile weapons and their deployment in outer space and urged unity of action among all the forces of progress.

l'Unità's festival in Ferrara, a small town near Bologna in the nation's Red Belt, was an important landmark in Italy's political life. The principal theme of this grandiose festival, which attracted nearly two million people, was the struggle for peace, disarmament, and non-militarisation of outer space. At the rally the ICP's General Secretary Alessandro Natta noted: "It is pure madness to count on achieving absolute military superiority . . . We demand that Italy clearly state its opposition to another spiral of the arms race and to the militarisation of outer space."

The people's emphatic non-acceptance of another arms race spiral was demonstrated in October 1985 by the fourth Perugia-Assisi peace march. Tens of thousands of people from all over the Apennine peninsula took part in it. This traditional march has always been indicative of the viability of the anti-war traditions that have their roots in the war-time Resistance. Such was the case in the early 1960s, when massive strikes and rallies were held in solidarity with the Cuban revolution during the days of the Caribbean crisis. The struggle against war and aggression flared up with renewed vigour in solidarity with Vietnam. In the early 1980s the peace movement acted in defence of detente and against the deployment of new nuclear missiles in Europe, including Comiso, Sicily. The present struggle is against the Star Wars plans and it involves people from all sections of Italian society. The manifesto issued by the sponsors of the Perugia-Assisi march states: "In the prevailing situation it must be demanded with growing insistence that Italy does not join the US Star Wars project. Vital resources must be used for civilian requirements, for the nation's scientific and technological development."

Mass protests against the Washington administration's dangerous plans marked the commencement of a new stage in the development of the peace movement in Italy. As Alessandro Natta pointed out, the October demonstration was evidence of the movement's powerful growth: "The second phase of the struggle for peace has started. The anxiety generated by the Star Wars project and the close attention given to the talks in Geneva . . . helped to move out of the impasse and reacquire purpose and the ability to respond quickly to problems. This is a major positive fact." Commenting on the events linked to the peace march, *l'Unità* wrote of the interest that its participants showed in the message received from Mikhail Gorbachov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Underscoring the Soviet leader's words that political and ideological differences take a back seat when life on Earth is at stake, the newspaper wrote: "This is a very important, open message, as open as the peace march itself."

L'Unita prints contributions on problems of war and peace written by persons of the most diverse political persuasions. Despite the different attitude of each, there is the common desire to prevent the arms race from spreading to outer space and Italy's involvement in this sinister American project. Even the former prime minister Amintore Fanfani, a Christian Democrat, said he was worried that Washington's "space shield" idea might be an impediment to talks between the USSR and the USA. While the talks at Geneva were in progress Monsignor Ciavacci of the Gregorian University in Florence expressed the hope that Soviet-US relations would take a turn for the better, and that the cessation of the arms race and its prevention in outer space would release huge material and manpower resources for development, for surmounting poverty and economic backwardness on our planet. Roberto Fieschi, ICP Central Committee member, stated: "The Star Wars project gives no certainty of greater security. On the contrary, it signifies a large-scale build-up of offensive and defensive systems. Hence, it leads not to the elimination or reduction of the nuclear

threat, but to endless, ruinous, and dangerous rivalry." The physicist Carlo Bernardini writes: "The perseverence of the atttempts to moderate the fear-inspiring name Star Wars by making it more technical — Strategic Defence Initiative — is typicel . . . This gambit, accentuating the magical work 'defence', is obviously aimed at allaying the suspicion of aggression or of the intention to militarise outer space."

The newspaper notes the two antipodal tendencies in world politics: "While one side is suggesting moving from control of the arms race to gradual, balanced and mutual disarmament on the basis of former accords and through the conclusion of new agreements, the steps being taken by the other side may in fact let armament get out of control. While one side is seeking to reduce nuclear armaments world-wide and rule out any form of militarising outer space, the other side is planning to combine space armaments with nuclear arsenals (the so-called 'space shield' or Strategic Defence Initiative more accurately defined as the Star Wars programme). While one side endeavours to limit the nuclear equilibrium, to reduce it to a defence minimum and, in the long term, radically solve the problem of banning all nuclear armaments, the other side urges the erasure of all boundaries between defensive and offensive armaments (both nuclear and space)."

In this situation the Communist Party insists that Italy should clearly state its negative attitude to the American project. The Communists are taking steps to invigorate the struggle against Italy's involvement in the space arms race. Seeing the attitude to the Star Wars plans as a touchstone for every political personality, the ICP has called for debates in parliament on this issue. This approach has acquired specific significance under conditions where some forces are preparing to ensure a de facto association of Italian firms and institutions with the SDI even before the government passes an official decision and parliament declares its attitude to the US administration's proposals. A group of Communist senators has issued a statement alerting the Chairman of the Council of Ministers to this danger. Moreover, the Communist Party has urged the government to do its utmost in NATO to prevent the militarisation of outer space.

Questions linked to the struggle against the Star Wars plans are accentuated in the draft documents of the 17th Congress of the Italian Communist Party. The Programme Proposals of the ICP underscore the link between these questions and the task of totally abolishing weapons of mass destruction. The threat of military rivalry spreading to outer space, a threat that conflicts with the interests of peace, is an obstacle to agreement on nuclear disarmament. For that reason, state the congress theses approved by a plenary meeting of the CC and the CCC in December 1985, renunciation of the intention to militarise outer space, of which a concrete embodiment is the American SDI, is the first and indispensable condition for balanced and verifiable disarmament. "But even this is not enough. The existing agreements on arms limitation must be reaffirmed and complied with in full and, above all, effective measures must be taken to ensure gradual and balanced disarmament in the direction of substantial reductions of all nuclear arsenals." In this context there is a positive assessment in the precongress materials of the results of the Soviet-US summit. The Italian Communists consider that the Geneva talks have created an atmosphere conducive to "concrete action with the purpose of slowing down and reversing the arms race".

Italy's progressive forces are rejecting the SDI, pondering the alternatives to militarism, and discussing and looking for ways of promoting constructive cooperation between different countries within the framework of creative rather than aggressive projects.

It is extremely indicative that Italian scientists, those who were almost the main targets of the American plans for another "rape of Europe", were among the first to declare a negative attitude to the Pentagon's space ambitions. Considerable interest was aroused, in particular, by a statement published in *l'Unità* by Emilio Segre, a

world-famous associate of Enrico Fermi of the Rome school of nuclear and neutron physics. The 80-year-old Nobel Prize laureate and discoverer of the anti-proton defined the space "defence" plans as a disturbing design: "This project instils no certainty. I am sure that it only makes the situation more dangerous throughout the world. The development of increasingly destructive weapons systems does not reinforce confidence. On the contrary, it only fosters distrust and fear: the time for making decisions is steadily growing shorter. As regards the attainment of science-benefiting results in this manner — I do not believe in this."

Segre is not alone in thinking along these lines. In July 1985, his compatriots in the Scientists for Disarmament Union (among whom there are Communists) published a document stating their attitude to the SDI and the American proposal for enlisting Italian industrial corporations and scientists into it. Two circumstances were mentioned by them as particularly unnerving: the development and deployment of space-based armaments and anti-satellite systems would torpedo the ABM systems and rule out any prospect for an agreement on the non-militarisation of outer space.

The danger of rechannelling scientific and technological investments, this document says, is particularly serious in Italy, whose structures in this area are fragile and where the need for an intelligent and modern scientific, economic, and industrial policy has hitherto been almost entirely ignored. Under these conditions, the scientists note, the impact of such a massive militarist programme would be extremely dangerous. They stress that it would be of much greater benefit to channel investments directly into economic development instead of waiting for progress in civilian industries as a side-effect of military research programmes.

l'Unità points out that another source of widespread apprehension is the prospect for the further militarisation of science: "He who is thinking of what choice to make ought to remember that the means of destruction he will help to develop by his labour may be used regardless of his will by virtue of decisions over which he will in all probability have no influence." Hence the question of the moral responsibility of scientists for their own work and for the destiny of their country.

This was the subject of a discussion in September 1985 between the physicist Carlo Bernardini, the sociologist Fabrizio Battistelli, the biologist Alberto Oliverio, and the Lawyer Stefano Rodota, chairman of the group of left independents in the Italian parliament. *l'Unità* summed up this discussion as follows: "A caste concentrating all knowledge in its hands and using it arbitrarily cannot be permitted to exist. The scientific world must reassume its image and comply with rules that prevent it from having its head in the clouds and compel researchers to deal with social problems."

Prominent cultural personalities have not remained aloof from the broad peace movement. They write in *l'Unità* about the growing threat of the militarisation of social thought and of intellectual activity as a whole. Among them are the authors Alberto Moravia, Natalia Ginzburg, Paolo Volponi, and Ernesto Balducci. People demonstrating against the Star Wars plans carry transparencies that, as in the past, reproduce works of the classic modern Italian painter Renato Guttuso.

The articles printed in *l'Unità* show that the traditional watersheds in a nation's political life can change in the course of a debate on questions related to the militarisation of outer space.In urging other parties to advance a joint initiative on these questions, the ICP stresses that the "attitude of the Italian government to the attempts to draw Italy into the Reagan Star Wars policy will unquestionably become a watershed in the relations between the political forces of our country".

Of course, the active discussion over the past few months of the problem of using outer space has identified not only many adversaries but also some influential proponents of the Pentagon's way of thinking. Those who responded to Washington's calls include the prominent CDP Senator Mariano Rumor. Speaking on behalf of his party at a meeting of NATO MPs, he lauded the Star Wars idea and hypocritically appealed to the "lofty demands of morality". The Republican Giovanni Spadolini,

Defence Minister, tried to persuade his compatriots that the SDI was a research programme instead of a final politico-strategic decision. It is extemely symbolic that the American plans have the support of Italian neofascists.

It is not hard to see, writes *l'Unità*, who in Italy and other West European countries benefits above all by the new, space spiral of the arms race. The SDI pleases, as might have been expected, the big military-industrial corporations, each of which has been promised an outlet into space and a share of the latest technology and of the corresponding profits. The SDI has been approved by circles that are always eager to extol any, even the most adventurist US plans.

These elements are opposed by millions of people demanding the planet's security. They are speaking up louder today than yesterday. "May solely stars of peace shine in the heavens" — this call of the anti-war demonstrations expresses the aspirations and hopes of the Italian people.

Antonio Boffi
Alessandro Monti

A Political Report
Climbing the Ladder of Renovation

Rafic Samhoun – Political Bureau member, Central Committee, Communist Party of Lebanon

William Stewart – Member of the Central Committee Executive, Communist Party of Canada

Bronislav Kholopov – *WMR* staff member

It appears that the best way to describe the social changes that occur on a national scale would be to register them in a sequence, at certain intervals, viewing them from a definite angle. That is the approach adopted by *World Marxist Review* to cover developments that have occurred in the Polish People's Republic in recent years. The angle chosen reflects the position of an international communist periodical: the spotlight has been on the situation in the PUWP, on the efficiency with which it discharges its function of social leader, on the strength of the ties linking the Polish party with the working class, the main revolutionary force of socialist society.

In its efforts to help *World Marxist Review* carry out this task the PUWP Central Committee has been inviting *WMR* delegations to come to Poland on fact-finding tours. These resulted in collectively written political reports.

The first article in this series was published in 1982,[1] when Poland was still under martial law, whose imposition was rooted in the need to find a way out of the acute political and economic crisis the country was facing. We will not repeat an analysis of its causes here: *WMR* has done that already.[2] Leafing through the earlier reports at this juncture, one can see our comrades noting that even in a complicated situation; Polish Communists did not lose their confidence in the future, although they were bitterly and painfully aware of the mistakes committed and of the difficulties which arose. At that time, the counter-revolutionaries were still making threats: "The winter is yours, the spring will be ours." But in the spring, too, Poland remained socialist.

The second report, the one that appeared in 1984, was written after *WMR* representatives met with miners and steel workers of Silesian-Dabrowski Basin, the industrial heartland of the country.[3] Numerous difficulties still persisted in those days,

too, but the authors of the report concluded that "what we saw and heard drives home the conviction that the process of economic, social and political normalisation is truly under way in Poland."

The Polish Communists have a more precise word for normalisation. They call it a process of socialist renovation. The articles we have mentioned registered the first steps on this ladder. At the end of 1985 renovation took another important step.

The results of the elections to the Sejm, the national assembly, are the new step we are referring to. It was not the numerical turnout of the voters that was important to us but the fact that they were a convincing indication of the way Polish society was developing.

On the eve of the elections, the counter-revolutionaries claimed that only 50 to 60 per cent of the electorate would take part — less than in the elections to the local councils held a year earlier.

In Warsaw, we learned how the people expressed their will from Jerzy Majka, at that time chief of the information department of the PUWP Central Committee and now editor-in-chief of *Tribuna Ludu*. Almost 79 per cent of the electorate cast their votes — more than in the previous elections. A total of 460 deputies were elected to the Sejm: 53 per cent were PUWP members, 23 per cent belonged to the United Peasants' Party and some 8 per cent, to the Democratic Party, Politically unaffiliated Sejm members make up 16 per cent of the total. The PUWP estimates that the social base of the Sejm and the government has expanded considerably. The election programme was supported by 20.5 million out of the 26-odd million adult Poles. We asked Comrade Majka how he interpreted the fact that 21 per cent of the voters nevertheless refused to exercise their right.

"The party has no intention of exaggerating its success," he replied, stressing that the PUWP shaped its political work on the basis of sober assessments and that the latter were supported by sociological surveys of public opinion. The results of the elections could be deduced from extensive opinion polls alone. For example, in 1984 40 per cent of the people surveyed said they trusted the party; a year later their share increased to more than 50 per cent. Simultaneously, the proportion of those who trusted the government rose from 56 to 70 per cent and of those who trusted the army, from 78 to 83 per cent. Our enemies account for eight per cent of those who did not take part in the elections; the remaining 13 per cent are politically passive. The work must be conducted among the latter category, explaining that only socialism offers the prospects of a better future to our people. And most Poles believe this.

The authenticity and strength of socialist democracy were already evident in the course of the election campaign. This could be clearly judged by everyone. This point was stressed by the people we talked to both in the Warsaw committee of the PUWP and at the factories we visited. We will attempt to summarise the arguments they marshalled.

More than 400 civic organisations belonging to the Patriotic Movement of National Revival (PMNR) — the bloc that comprises all major parties and even the Hunters' Union and the like — were entitled to nominate candidates in the Sejm elections. One half of these organisations exercised this right, and so at the first stage more than 2,500 candidates were nominated for the 460 seats. The nominees held election meetings, explained their views of the mission a Sejm member should perform, stated what they intended to do, and the people decided whose names should remain on the ballot. Over five million people took part in these meetings and submitted 40,000 proposals. Most of the proposals could be divided into two principal categories: the first concerned ways of overcoming economic difficulties and the struggle against negative social phenomena; the second was aimed at maintaining the integrity and honesty in production relations, at observing the principles of work ethics, of social justice.

The final electoral roll contained the names of 820 candidates, plus 50 government candidates nominated by the PMNR. Aside from prominent political leaders and

public figures, the government's roll featured members of the cultural and scientific community, workers and peasants. The voters elected those they considered the most deserving by secret ballot. In order to ensure greater representation of working people in the Sejm, the PUWP Central Committee nominated only half the party's top-level leaders and only two cabinet ministers.

We were told that numerous difficulties had to be overcome in the course of the election campaign. Ill-wishers abroad mounted concerted idealogical attacks against the party's policy both through radio stations and via scores of other channels. The counter-revolutionaries within the country received considerable financial support from these forces. Poland's Church also took a dim view of the elections.

"Distinctive historical and national features of Poland's development have turned the Catholic Church into an influential social force," Jerzy Klica, deputy chief of the social and legal department of the PUWP Central Committee, told us. "The Church proclaimed its neutrality in the election campaign. But that was an inimical neutrality. Only 25 per cent of the priests and monks took part in the elections. The extremist quarters of the clergy, supported by the Vatican and connected with the anti-socialist opposition conducted — and still conduct — propaganda against the PUWP and the government. We estimate that such clergymen, those who are at loggerheads with us, make up only a small percentage of the total. Most uphold the tradition of political neutrality. There is also a small group of clergymen who strive to cooperate with the government."

"Our party's policy vis-a-vis the Church," Comrade Klica said, "is based on the opposition of our materialist ideological philosophical world-view to idealism, on observance of the constitutional freedom of religion and separation of the Church from the state, and finally, on a search for ways towards dialogue and cooperation in those fields where all social forces can, by working together, benefit the country — for example, in the struggle against social ills. The Church now teaches 'Marxism' in the seminaries and tries to find arguments to refute it. On the other hand, a new subject is introduced into the Polish school curriculum — analysis of religion — let our kids learn to judge religion from materialist, Marxist positions."

In several subsequent talks we were told that the Church's alliance with the anti-socialist opposition and extreme clericalism were eroding its prestige with the masses.

Waldemar Rosloniec, an engineer, maintained that "political extremism and ties with the quarters which played a vigorous reactionary role during the crisis and are now increasingly losing influence will not benefit Poland's Church. Many of its supporters are already aware of this".

The election campaign highlighted another complicated aspect of the political situation in Polish society. It showed that so far, the policy of the party and the government has failed to secure support among some intellectuals and students. What sort of work is being conducted among these social groups?

"The Polish Communists have learned their lesson and are now well aware that ideological processes cannot be left to develop spontaneously," Jerzy Mazurek, ideological secretary of the PUWP Warsaw Committee, replied. "The Communists of our region[4] were active in the election campaign. Twenty thousand of them conducted an explanatory and canvassing campaign in which 300,000 activists helped. Still, percentage-wise, participation in the elections was much higher in the industrial districts of the capital than in downtown, 'intellectual' Warsaw. This means that we should step up the search for different ways of approach to different social groups. The party is searching for — and I am sure will find — ways to reach the minds of the intellectuals."

Do all Poles accept the election results as absolutely authentic? We know that the leaders of former Solidarity have made public their own figures which allegedly reflect the election results and which are much lower than those quoted officially. Here is what factory workers think about this: "Mere inventions. And we've got more important

things to think about now. Who takes these self-proclaimed book-keepers seriously?"

Here is Wieslaw Krasiewicz of the Praga-South district: "I was on the staff of a local electoral commission which comprised six politically unaffiliated members and five Communists. In our district, the turnout was 84 per cent of the voters. There were these two people who showed up and said, 'We were living abroad, and arrived too late to register, but we want to exercise our right.' Of course, we responded with understanding. Or take another case: there was this woman who came with her daughter's ID card and said her daughter was sick and could she cast her daughter's ballot. We went to her daughter's place with a portable ballot box, and she herself cast her ballot. And generally, you know, there are people in our district who know next to nothing, but virtually no one's left who would agree with what used to be Solidarity."

We have quoted several facts describing the situation in Poland. But one major question remains unanswered: How can one reconcile growing political consolidation with the still difficult economic situation persisting in Poland?

This question is not one you could answer readily. Let us begin with several essential figures reflecting last year's record. In 1985, the national income and industrial output increased at a lower rate than planned, but progress was obvious. It is important that the housing construction target was exceeded. Regrettably, cash incomes were growing faster than the volume of the goods on the market, especially durables.

The following figures were quoted with reference to the food problem by Stanislaw Szczepanski, deputy chief of the agricultural department of the PUWP Central Committee: "We have harvested a comparatively good crop — 23 to 24 million tons of grain with an average yield of 2,900 to 3,000 kilos per hectare. The potato and beet crop reached a decent level too. Though there was a drop in meat production due to fodder shortages, government purchases of meat increased. The shortage of meat is offset by milk and egg deliveries, but the milk yields are still low — 2,600 to 2,800 litres per cow per year. Nevertheless, all food ration cards have been abolished except the meat consumption quota. Food supply is generally improving, but rapid population growth does create certain bottlenecks. From 1945 to 1985 the population grew from 24 million to 37 million people, with an increase of two million within the past six years alone."

We asked whether the existing way of rural life prejudiced the productivity of agriculture. "True," Stanislaw Szczepanski said, "2,800,000 personal farms own 76 per cent of all arable land. Small and scattered plots, manual labour, and inadequate use of agricultural machinery are in the way of increased output. The party's agrarian policy is oriented on stronger ties between family-run farms and the planned socialist economy. Evolution in this direction is to expand the use of machinery and technological innovations, increase the output of produce and raise the cultural level of the peasants. The structure of agriculture is to gradually change. Public agricultural enterprises will set an example in this regard. Today, government-run farms have established a good record. Previously, many of them showed no profit but today, of the 1,260 government-run farms which own 19 per cent of the country's arable land, only 50 remain unprofitable. State-run farms harvest bigger crops, attain greater milk yields and are better equipped with machinery than many family farms."

As far as Poland's economic difficulties are concerned, we can note that the 28 billion-dollar external debt, the legacy of the previous period, weighs heavily on the Polish economy. The Western creditors are trying to use the debt as a means of political pressure on socialist Poland and prevent the expansion of Polish exports to their markets. Over the past year, exports to capitalist countries dropped 5.4 per cent, while the imports from these nations increased 5.9 per cent. However, exports outweigh imports.

At the same time, the people we talked to stressed that the economic relations within the CMEA — relations based on the principles of internationalism, fraternal assistance and growing socialist economic integration — exerted a beneficial influence on the

Polish economy. Exports grow faster than imports within this framework, and this will help to effectively adjust the lopsided balance of foreign trade.

Zbigniew Messner, the new Chairman of Poland's Council of Ministers, spoke before the Sejm reporting on the economic programme based on economic reform, intensive methods of production, accelerated introduction of scientific and technological advances and further cooperation within the CMEA framework. He laid particular stress on the commitment of the party and the government to establish, comprehensively promote and strengthen a creative atmosphere in Poland. Well aware of the difficulties, the head of government expressed the generally felt confidence that they would be overcome.

This confidence which, as we could see, is now typical of many Poles, is based on the fact that most working people are sure that the party has chosen the right path. They hold that the remaining contradictions are surmountable, albeit acute; and open public discussion of these contradictions wins the masses over to the side of the PUWP. Working people realise that much in overcoming these difficulties depends on themselves, that their efforts are approved and responded to properly by the leaders who work together with them.

We spent a week at two factories — the Karol Swierczewski Tool Works and the Paris Commune Telephone Equipment Factory. These factories may be better off than some others. Their products are in demand and are exported abroad; the factories are government contractors and, as such, are well supplied with raw materials. During the crisis years, however, both were in flux: strikes were held and Solidarity was very active; so one can hardly describe these enterprises as invariably successful.

Although the two factories differ in the line of their products, they have a great deal in common. Born at the turn of the century and expected to be run by skilled staff, both were completely plundered and destroyed by the Nazis during the war. Considerable modernisation was introduced in the 1970s, especially at the telephone factory. To this day, it remains one of the best and most efficient enterprises of its kind within the CMEA framework. Both the tool works and the telephone factory are the leaders of their respective associations — VIS and Telkom, each comprising ten or more factories, design offices and research centres. Each association employs more than 10,000 people; the figures for the factories are 3,200 for the former and 4,200 for the latter.

The Swierczewski Works retains its old name — VIS, an acronym for Wilniewicz and Skrzyniewski, the designers of a pistol produced here in the 1930s. Today, the employees of this civilian factory specialising in tools and electronic instruments hold that VIS stands for Viability, Initiative and Strength.

We had never heard of the VIS handgun, but we knew about the Walther pistol. Although it was not a Polish make, General Walther was the name under which Karol Swierczewski commanded an international brigades division that fought against the fascists in Spain between 1936 and 1939, General Walther began his career as worker and revolutionary in this factory's metalworking shop. Poland's organised socialist movement which is now over 100 years old was already active there. Those claiming that socialism is incompatible with the Polish national spirit would do well to remember this date. The PUWP draws on these traditions as an important part of its idealogical and political education.

Let us turn, however, to economic viability, initiative and strength — to the sphere of production and social relations. The viability is clearly there: both factories are highly profitable enterprises. Stanislaw Krawczuk, technical manager of the Swierczewski Works, told us that its profit rate reached 35 to 40 per cent. As much as 25 per cent of the output is exported to 50 countries, and the works gets a share of the export earnings. The same is true of the telephone factory. The output growth rate is some 25 per cent a year, and most of the products are exported to the Soviet Union. In 1984 alone Polish-made telephone exchanges made it possible to add 500,000 new

numbers to Soviet networks.

The economic activity of the factories is based on what the workers refer to as the "triple S": self-reliance, self-management and self-financing. Let us take a look at the latter principle. For all the self-reliance of the factory, the state receives 72 to 75 per cent of the gross income which includes the profits (the percentage of the income handed over to the government differs from industry to industry and from factory to factory: the more export items you produce, the bigger share of the income you can retain). The remaining 25 to 28 per cent is distributed among different funds — the development fund, taking care of modernisation and restructuring of production; the remuneration and material incentives fund, the one used to pay wages and bonuses, and the social fund — housing, the factory clinic, day care centres, recreation and the like. The factory is entitled to build up these funds in accordance with its own requirements. The workers are generally aware of the fact that all of the income cannot be spent on material incentives because that way one can go broke fast. You simply have to improve production.

And that is what the factories are doing. At the Swierczewski Works, Wlodzimierz Goliszek, director of the association's research centre, showed us new automated lines used to produce complex tools. Some of these innovations increase labour productivity 30 and even 40 times over. The factory invests both its own funds and government-supplied credits into automation. The economic effect of the reconstruction will make it possible to pay off the loans promptly.

The telephone factory is putting less money into the development fund now, but there will be changes made here soon. Mechanical switchboards are a fine product, but life decrees a complete transition to electronics. Modernisation calls for investment — both of the factory's own funds and of government credits.

The workers benefit quite substantially from all this. Growth of output by one per cent increases wages by 0.6-0.7 per cent. Appropriate organisational forms have been adopted, providing a more clear-cut link betweeen greater labour productivity and increased remuneration, the former always to outstrip the latter. Earlier, we were told, both factories used a complicated and ineffective system of remuneration by numerous indicators — for quality, for rush jobs, for skills, etc. As a result, the worker could not understand why he earned the sum he received. Today, everything is simpler, and the workteam method, borrowed from Soviet industry, has proved particularly effective in this regard. At the tool works, we talked about it with Adam Mata, a team leader elected by the workers themselves:

"We manufacture broaches, complex, intricately shaped tools that require some ten different operations to produce. Not too long ago, the wage of each worker performing this or that operation was paid individually. Coordination was absent. It's all different now. The team concludes a contract with the management: they undertake to supply us with materials and tools within a certain period, and we pledge to fulfil and overfulfil the planned quota. As a result, our output has increased 20 per cent and will continue to rise. Eight per cent of the team output's worth goes into wages. Remuneration is distributed by the team council I have been chosen to chair. We do it by agreement with the team, depending on the contribution made by each member."

This is the way Soviet experience is used, and people show great interest in it, although, we have been told, it was noticeably on the wane two or three years ago. Even traditional ties with the Moscow-based Kalibr Works were going to seed. This time, however, we met three Kalibr experts at the works, led by V. Chetverikov, deputy industrial manager of the Moscow factory.

"There are things we could learn from our Polish colleagues," he said. "Their product quality is high. We, too, can offer valuable experience. The important thing is to think about promoting direct ties between our two factories, about where we could establish coproduction."

In the triple S of the reform, all three elements are closely interconnected. We have

touched on self-financing, and as far as self-reliance is concerned, it means that each entity deals with the problems within its sphere of competence: a factory tackles its own tasks, and so does an industrial association or a ministry. True, the question of ensuring effective contacts between these elements is yet to be solved.

And now about self-management. A factory's management — an entity representing the government — acts only in contact with the self-management bodies, that is, the assembly of workers' delegates and the workers' council. Engineer Sylwester Radulski, member of the Swierczewski Works workers' council offered this description of the role played by these bodies:

"The assembly of workers' delegates is a kind of Sejm, with several hundred people elected to it. The 'Sejm' discusses and decides all questions related to the factory's development prospects. The workers' council is our elected 'government'. It takes part in the decision-making process concerning current issues of management and production organisation. The council members are not relieved of their jobs: their service on the council is a civic assignment. One can also describe the workers' council as the factory's collective manager. Without it, no important decision can be taken."

Sylwester Radulski told us all this during our meeting with the workers' council on which some 30 members served. Marek Modrzejewski, secretary of the factory's party committee, added another definition: he called them "our collective wisdom".

Significantly, the current workers' councils were elected prior to the imposition of martial law; most of their members were active in Solidarity; but the composition of the councils has remained unchanged to this day.

"We were right to oppose old management methods at that time," Fidelis Sylwestrzak, president of the workers' council at the tool works, said. "But we were wrong to think that Solidarity leaders would lead us to a better life. The methods they proposed were pushing us towards economic dislocation. But today we run the factory together with the management and we realise that the way we live depends above all on ourselves."

As our Polish comrades confirmed, "depends on ourselves" is a phrase reflecting a radical turn that has occurred in the thinking, the social psychology of working people. In 1979 they confronted the management with demands of higher wages and other benefits, not taking account of the fact that they themselves created the benefits. They are well aware of it now. Is there a capitalist country that can offer industrial democracy at a level this high to working people?

The new Polish trade unions are playing an increasingly significant part in the system of democratic management — both of the economy and of the social fabric as a whole. Our meeting with union activists was conducted by Isabella Skwarczynska, economist and deputy chairman of the union committee at the Swierczewski Works.

The activists told us about the difficult birth of the new trade unions in 1982. At that time, only eleven people joined them at the factory, but former Solidarity activists staged such a hostile campaign against them that all but two backed out of the new union. Nevertheless, workers began to realise that they would need new unions which would be organised by trade and really do their work and not merely tick off items on a list of activities for show. In April 1983 there were 60 members in the trade union organisation already, and 20 to 30 people joined each subsequent month. Today, the union comprises 40 per cent of the factory's labour force — 1,100 people — and keeps on growing.

Last year, the new Polish trade unions were active at enterprises comprising 88 per cent of the public sector. Their total membership was 5.5 million.

"But why haven't all workers at your factory joined the union?" was our question to the Tool Works union committee. "We don't drag in those who don't want to join," Isabella Skwarczynska told us. "We don't want any passive people. We want all our members to be conscious and active."

The factory committees have lot to do. They tackle social questions as well as issues

of production. They also face a great deal of difficulties. For example, money is in short supply. The union dues are 0.5 per cent of the wages at the Swierczewski Works and one per cent at the Paris Commune Factory. So far, social questions are tackled mostly by drawing on the factory's social development fund.

Mieczyslaw Rutkowski, the labour manager of the Paris Commune Factory, stressed that the factory was short of workers and turnover was great: "Every year, one thousand workers leave and as many are hired. This means that we must offer fringe benefits to attract people. The wages we pay are relatively high, but how do we ensure the purchasing power? We've opened our own butcher shop, and we also sell fruit and vegetables. We have a factory polyclinic, a holiday centre, youth summer camps and a kindergarten. A health resort is under construction on the Baltic seacoast. Workers are entitled to sizable vacation benefits. Still, all this is not enough."

It follows that a lot remains to be done for the management and the trade unions in the social sphere. Besides, is everything functioning smoothly? We thought that relations among trade union organisations at different levels were not sufficiently well defined. Anna Bienkowska from the telephone factory union committee remarked that four independent federations were active in their industry, all affiliated in the All-Polish Trade Union Association (which is now a member of the World Federation of Trade Unions). The process of integration is continuing, but factory committees do not recognise the decision taken at a higher level as binding. But then why is it that the principle of democratic centralism which, if it correctly combines democracy and centralisation, is always effective, has not yet found its full expression in the life of Poland's trade unions?

"Because," we were told, "we are wary of going back to what has outlived its usefulness. The emergence of what is new is continuing. We are in the process of a development which cannot be spurred on by hastily or arbitrarily taken decisions."

"We are in the process" was a phrase we heard particularly often from young men and women belonging to factory organisations of the Polish Socialist Youth League. The youth problem is an acute issue in Poland. During the crisis, groups of young people flung themselves passionately into the orgy of social destruction, without thinking about what was to be built to replace the old or how this was to be done. As we were told in the Warsaw committee of the PUWP, ideological and political education of youth was neglected and the youth movement suffered heavy losses during the crisis. In Warsaw region, only 50,000 people remained members of the Socialist Youth League; the membership of the Polish Harcerz Union, the organisation of children and teenagers, dropped to 55,000 and that of the Polish Student Union, to 4,000. This last figure is quite alarming. Annually, 12,000 students graduate from Warsaw's colleges and universities. What philosophy have they acquired on the threshold of adulthood?

"Ours is a young society," Jerzy Mazurek reflected when we spoke to him in the PUWP city committee. "People under 30 make up more than half the population in Warsaw Region, but only four per cent of this age group are party members. True, young people are facing quite tangible difficulties. If it's difficult for a newly married couple, say, to find an apartment, the enemy is right there telling them, 'Leave Poland, you won't even find a place to live in here'. We work to solve this problem by setting up youth housing cooperatives. But young people themselves must prove that they are willing and able to overcome difficulties. We strive to establish a dialogue between the party and young people. The generation of their grandfathers saw national liberation as their mission, and we want today's younger generation to be dedicated wholeheartedly to a different positive mission — the mission of productive work, of useful studies, scientific pursuits and artistic endeavour for the good of the country. Party influence among young people must be enhanced."

Party influence is gaining ground in Polish society. The PUWP plays the leading role in all the processes we have mentioned. But the going is still rough for party organisations at the factory level. Their membership was cut in half during the crisis.

There are now 550 party members at the Swierczewski Works (17 per cent of the labour force) and 290 at the Paris Commune Factory (7.5 per cent). Small percentages, but made up of Communists who have withstood severe trials. The record shows that those PUWP members who used to be admitted haphazardly were the first to resign from the party. As we were told, many of those who turned in their party cards would like to recover them now. But this is possible only after a thorough examination of the case.

On the whole, the number of applications for party membership is increasing. In 1985, 35,000 people were admitted as probationary members within seven months. The party now totals 2.1 million members.

The Polish United Workers' Party is preparing for its Tenth Congress, to be held in June 1986. Members of the Warsaw Committee of the PUWP believe that the precongress campaign will be more difficult than the pre-election period: the people are facing extremely complex economic problems.

"Our most important accomplishment," J. Patorski, the committee's economic secretary, said, "is that we are working not only with our activists, the way it was two or three years ago, but also with a broader spectrum of party members. Still, much remains to be developed and improved. The economic reform has stopped at the factory level. Self-reliance is sometimes interpreted as license. But a factory is part of the nationwide system, and one must be able to combine the interests of the factory with those of the nation. We are all for initiative and enterprise, but awareness of national tasks is also essential."

In the Warsaw Committee, we examined a well-considered programme of the Communists' efforts to ensure implementation of the economic reform, a programme that featured many interesting projects. For example, a competition has been held for the title of the best party organisation as far as realisation of economic policy is concerned. The title was won by the organisation at the Paris Commune Factory. The city committee instructs Communists at factories to draft the solution to this or that economic problem and receives interesting proposals from them. Economic study courses have been set up for the party cadre. In other words, the committee has turned into a headquarters working to consolidate the leading role of the PUWP in production.

A similar programme has been adopted in the field of ideological education too. Maria Bartold and Josef Adamski, secretaries of the Praga-South district committee, told us about a club of Communist members of the district council and about the search for the best ways to approach teachers and young people. For example, the district committee holds open-door days for senior grade students. A whole class comes to the committee, and anyone is free to open any door and ask any question: it will be answered, no matter how unexpected it may be, by any official, up to and including a committee secretary.

Our meetings with our Polish hosts in Warsaw concluded with a talk in the party committee of a working-class district. And that was when we felt an acute need to discuss many more things. For example, Maria Bartold told us how the Warsaw Communists strengthened their international ties with their friends in other socialist countries and how much was yet to be done to rally different social strata to the tackling of major political tasks, above all that of preserving peace. The PUWP regards it as a vitally important issue, while Catholics still keep somewhat aloof from it. This is where much remains to be done.

Life in Poland is still fraught with difficulties, but it is also full of promise, of hope. There are higher steps to be climbed on the ladder of socialist renovation. The Tenth Congress of the PUWP which is to approve a new Party Programme is the closest such step. This is how Wojciech Jaruzelski, First Secretary of the PUWP Central Committee, sums up the essence of the programme: "Our policy aim is to shape the party after Lenin's model, to make it idealogically monolithic, militant, critical, vibrantly alive and responsive, discussing its decisions boldly and implementing them

unanimously."[5]

We wish the Polish Communists every success.

[1] Jeronimo Carrera, Doningos Lopes, James West, "A Hard Road", *WMR*, No. 7, 1982.
[2] Wojciech Jaruzelski, "The Message of the Polish Experience", *WMR*, No. 11, 1983.
[3] Raul Valbuena, Georg Kwiatowski, Ahmed Salem, Marina Pavlova-Silvanskaya, "A Working Class Area", *WMR*, No. 6, 1984.
[4] Warsaw Region comprises Greater Warsaw — the capital and its suburbs — with a population of 2-4 million, 1.5 million of them living in Warsaw proper. — *Ed.*
[5] *Trybuna Ludu*, November 29, 1985.

In the Grip of the Monopolies
New Factors Behind Economic Dependence

Yannis Dragasakis – CC Alternate member, Communist Party of Greece

The Greek state has been dependent on foreign capital since its establishment in the 1820s. The forms and mechanisms of this dependence have undergone many profound changes, as Greek capitalism developed, while its substance has remained the same. Similar changes are now also taking place under the impact of internal and external factors rooted in the multi-faceted structural crisis, which is characteristic of capitalism in our epoch.[1]

Capital has continued its international expansion and has even intensified it in some respects in its state of crisis. The capitalist division of labour which has taken shape over the past several decades and the system of imperialist exploitation resting on it are, however, being broken up in many ways and subjected to sharp changes under the impact of the class struggle. These changes are also most keenly felt in Greece.

Foreign transnational corporations (TNCs) mounted a massive invasion of Greece from 1955 to 1975, with direct investments preferably in sectors with the highest labour productivity, especially in industry. As a result, foreign capital has come to control the most efficient industries and their key enterprises (here, the assets of 10 major enterprises in each industry). Foreign capital controls 15 per cent of the assets in mining, 21 per cent in plastics, 30 per cent in chemicals, 59 per cent in transportation, and over 90 per cent in metallurgy and several other industries.[2]

In that period, such enterprises increasingly expanded their activity, but from the mid-1970s there was evidence of an absolute reduction in foreign direct investments in Greek industry, and some of the TNCs even closed down their subsidiaries or sold them to the state. Does this mean that dependence on foreign capital has lessened or has it been developing in new forms?

Specialists use various indicators to determine the size of investments coming into a country from abroad. We feel that the most appropriate one is the ratio of foreign funds to total invested basic capital. Table 1 gives the relevant figures for Greece (US$ mln).

The table 1 gives a picture of the growing foreign investments in Greece, which have increased from an annual average influx of $51 million from 1954 to 1959 to $2,080 million from 1980 to 1983, or a 40-fold increase![3]

Table 1

	Influx of Foreign Capital	Annual Average Influx	Total Capital Investments	Ratio of II to IV (per cent)
1954-1959	308.5	51	2,510	12.3
1960-1969	1,748.5	175	12,440	14.1
1970-1979	9,813.3	981	41,140	23.9
1980-1983	8,318.0	2,080	32,800 25.4	

Sources: Greek Bank and National Statistical Bureau

Besides, if one considers the total basic investments as an indicator of the rate of internal accumulation, one will find that the share of foreign capital came to 12 per cent in the first period and then grew steadily to 25 per cent, i.e., to one-quarter of internal accumulation. In other words, the economy's capacity to provide accumulations from local sources tends to decline, with a corresponding wider recourse to foreign capital, a trend sharply intensified after 1973-1974, when the economic crisis broke out.

In view of the suspension of foreign direct investments, where has the incoming capital been going? Table 2 provides the answer.

Table 2

Structure of Capital Coming into Greece (per cent)

	Direct Investments	Investments Through Banks
1960	69	31
1980	39	61
1984	25	75

Source: Greek Bank

These figures show a sharp switch from direct investments (and the purchase of property) mostly to the granting of loans through the banks.

Foreign transnational banks (TNBs) gradually began to infiltrate the Greek credit system in the 1970s and to set up their own subsidiaries and branches. There were only 2 foreign banks with 5 subsidiaries in 1967, as compared with 19 banks with 46 subsidiaries in 1981.[4] They now control about one-fifth of all banking operations. But the main thing is that these banks operate as leaders or members of consortia extending loans to the government and private enterprises, which means that they exert an influence on the economy which is much greater than their actual participation in producer activity.

The dependence on foreign capital has, therefore, gained in depth and merely assumed new forms, with external borrowing gradually becoming the main one.

Such a state of affairs is an outcome of the type of dependent capitalist development which has proceeded since the war. It is characterised by a twisted economic structure, lack of any full-cycle production, irrational inter-sectoral links, almost complete technological dependence, a perennial balance-of-payments deficit, and, of course, large profits for foreign capital. All these features tend to deepen as the economy develops, a fact made clear by Table 3.

Table 3

(US$ million)

	Annual Average Flight of Profits and Other Payments	Annual Average Foreign-Trade Deficit	Annual Average External Loans
1950-1959	24	12	14.6
1960-1969	85	170	101.2
1970-1979	638	809	716.0
1980-1983	1,851	2,106	1,887.0

Source: The Greek Economy, Vol. 2, Athens, 1982 (in Greek) and other Greek Bank publications

These data testify to a sharp increase in the average annual outflow of profit, in the foreign trade deficit, and in the external debt.

The figures in the second column include the repatriation of profits, interest and dividends, licence fees, and other payments, through the Greek Bank, but do not include the large amounts being extracted in illegal ways (mainly through machinations with export-import permits).[5] But even so, one gets an idea of the scale on which the Greek people are being exploited by foreign capital and of the situation in which new loans have to be contracted, with all the consequences that this entails.

The country's external debt went up from $3.5 billion in 1973 to $15.5 billion in 1984, or almost 42 per cent of the gross domestic product, and has continued to grow rapidly.[6] But the most serious thing here is that 75 per cent of the new loans go to repay old ones, while a sizable part of the rest is used to cover shortfalls in consumption. The International Monetary Fund has estimated that from 1986 to 1990 Greece will have to borrow more than $16 billion merely to pay the interest on its earlier loans.[7]

The external debt has, therefore, grown very rapidly and the country's super-indebtedness and the ways of reducing it are a problem which is beginning to dominate political life.

Foreign influence is also exerted on the dependent economy via other mechanisms. International capitalist organisations say that the transfer of technology and know-how, development of managerial services and marketing constitute the latest trend in the activity of the TNCs.[8] Technological agreements have been most widespread in Greece since 1970: that year, they were concluded by 188 enterprises, and in 1981 — by 650. Besides, more and more big private and government-owned enterprises have been inviting foreign TNCs to handle some of their functions.

A closer look shows that these forms of activity are not, in practice, "independent", but are closely bound up with the activity of finance capital, and that they are, as a rule, promoted, financed and realised with the direct involvement of the TNBs. That is why it is the local enterprises signing agreements on the transfer of technology, know-how, etc., that have the closest ties with foreign banks in the most diverse forms. This applies, for instance, to Greece's rapidly developing arms industry. Such major industries as aircraft manufacture, the enterprises of the Stayer Ellas company, and the armaments factories variously exist on loans from TNBs, operating on the basis of technology made available by imperialist countries, according to models bought from their arms industry, and under contracts largely backed with agreements with NATO, the United States or individual arms monopolies.

It is important to stress that these are merely particular manifestations in a country like Greece of the general trends that are characteristic of the development of some aspects of present-day imperialism.[9]

The influx of foreign capital constitutes the material basis on which the system of economic dependence is based, and changes in the basis cause shifts in every sphere of

dependence and in the functioning of state-monopoly capitalism itself. The result is the growing influence of foreign finance capital in Greece's economic and political life.

A country exporting capital skims the cream, says Lenin,[10] and that is even truer today than it has ever been in the past. Foreign capital is especially favoured in maximising profits in such crisis conditions as they are today.

Foreign capital is, as a rule, invested in strictly defined areas, and this selective approach is characteristic of every aspect of foreign bank activity. Together with their local subsidiaries, they seek out the most profitable sectors of the economy and then map out the concrete targets, so establishing control over the most dynamically developing and most profitable part of the economy. In other words, while direct investments used to create small profitable enclaves in the surrounding alien sea, finance capital shapes a web of dependencies and mechanisms for the extraction of profits from the economy as a whole. Our powerful merchant fleet, for instance, largely operates as a subcontractor for foreign banks. Foreign control is also being rapidly spread to tourist travel, and the import trade.

The data relating to the establishment of new joint-stock or limited-liability companies are also characteristic.

Fifty-eight per cent of the major enterprises set up in industry from 1951 to 1970 were foreign, and only 29 per cent of those set up from 1971 to 1980, but the number of foreign-monopoly affiliates operating in Greece went up from 420 in 1971 to 843 in 1981, that is, it doubled. The number of foreign companies represented in the country increased from 3,040 in 1970 to 8,090 in 1981 (these being mainly import offices or agencies representing the interests of foreign firms). These figures show that foreign capital is switching its attention from production, notably industrial production, to commerce, the tourist industry and the services generally.

The state sector of the economy comprising many major enterprises is an important sphere of foreign capital investment, and the dependence of many of these enterprises has been growing so rapidly that foreign capital now appropriates almost the whole of the surplus-value being created in this sector. Thus, in 1984, the State Energy Corporation, the country's largest enterprise, paid out 29 billion drachmas in wages, and 37.7 billion as interest on loans, of which almost two-thirds went to foreign banks, mainly US and West German banks.[11]

When extending loans, foreign capital not only earns interest but also exerts an influence — in some cases, a crucial influence — on the supply and planning of the operations of state enterprises and their development. Advantageous proposals from the socialist countries have now and again been rejected as a result of obvious behind-the-scenes pressure.

What is going on at the state enterprises is also manifested within the state as a whole, for it has increasingly assumed the role of guarantor of foreign-capital ventures, of regular interest payments. The growing dependence is having an effect not only on the economy, but also on every aspect of politics, and this has evolved in practice into an anti-people economic line making the bourgeois state more anti-democratic and authoritarian.

There is, therefore, an interlacing and coalescence of the factors of economic, political and military dependence on imperialism. The economic dependence, especially the external debt, makes for the continued retention of US and NATO bases on our territory and has an influence on Greece's domestic and foreign policy. The presence of the bases and the membership of NATO and the Common Market, for their part, impose on our country alternatives which meet the interests of foreign capital. It is no exaggeration to say that as a result of the dictates of NATO, the EEC and the IMF, the greater part of the functions of the national state falls under the influence of these organisations.

Greece's entry into the EEC has had a marked impact on its position, for it has imposed on the country institutional and organisational patterns cut according to EEC

cloth. The dependence, in a sense, tends to become "internal", and this is having the direst economic, social and political consequences.

These processes are being intensified under the influence of the local monopoly bourgeoisie, which has historical and class ties with foreign capital. These ties are being intensified in consequence of the rapidly progressing internationalisation of the interests of the local oligarchy. It finds fresh opportunities in the crisis for the profitable investment of its funds on the international capitalist market, and especially in the centres of imperialism, in more flexible and modern forms than can be provided by Greek capitalism. This acts as a further drain on the country's foreign currency reserves, limits the potentialities for internal accumulation, and increases the need for foreign capital.

Despite the intrinsic antagonism with foreign capital (over the sharing out of the surplus-value), influential local monopoly groupings are so closely bound up with it and its outfits that, instead of resisting the growth of the country's dependence, they are in fact promoting it through their political representatives. That is why Greece's ruling class was in favour of joining the EEC, despite the grave consequences this decision has had for some groups of the local bourgeoisie itself. The right-wing parties, representing mainly the economic oligarchy, regard dependence as a factor consolidating the capitalist system in the country, and want to preserve and deepen it.

Resistance to foreign capital and imperialism is a component part of our people's struggle, and it has broadly adopted anti-imperialist slogans. Those were the slogans put forward by the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), which was founded in the early 1970s, and which under the leadership of Andreas Papandreou, won the 1981 elections, and again the 1985 elections. But has PASOK been able to cut short these processes in practice? What has been said shows that it evidently has not.

There have been many general declarations against the policy of imperialism, but, as Lenin says, a " 'fight' against the policy of the trusts and banks that does not affect the economic basis of the trusts and banks is mere bourgeois reformism".[12]

PASOK has not even managed to make a dent in the system of dependence. Indeed, it has surrendered one position after another, after having backed them when running for office, and has eventually come to regard dependence on imperialism as something that is invariable and there for good. As the Communists anticipated, PASOK has confined its policy to the narrow framework of tolerance of imperialism.

Being aware of the people's strong sentiments for peace and against imperialism, the government has come out with some anti-war initiatives, which enjoy our party's full support, whatever their ultimate motivations may be. But we believe that even these initiatives will not become solid and will be continuously eroded, since the government's activity is circumscribed by dependence. Our apprehensions are, regrettably, being borne out by life.

Imperialism has, indeed, always striven to adapt the Greek government's line to suit its own purposes, and despite the general declarations, PASOK's policy, essentially preserving the external fetters, tends to weaken its own action against imperialism, so that it increasingly approximates that of imperialism. This is a line which does nothing but exacerbate the country's problems.

The working people have been intensifying the struggle against dependence, being aware of its dangerous consequences and its manifold forms. The Communist Party is in the frontline of this struggle and insists on the dismantling of the US bases and on the country's withdrawal from NATO and the EEC. It was the first to point out the dangers arising from the external debt, and these are now recognised by all the other parties. The CP Greece is the only body to formulate any comprehensive proposals for solving this relatively new problem.

Our party has exposed the roots and the interconnection between the various forms of dependence to show that a radical solution is possible only through a policy of change with a socialist perspective, a policy that could help to realise a new type of

development: independent development meeting the new, democratic, anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist criteria.

Within the framework of these proposals, the CP Greece has formulated the concrete measures which could help to ease the country's dangerous super-indebtedness, along these two main lines.

First, measures must be taken to release the economy's development potential from the control of the monopolies, and to use it for the benefit of the working people, ultimately limiting the dependence on foreign capital and reducing the need for borrowing. This goal can be attained by means of every aspect of economic policy, above all resistance to EEC dictates, with the prospect of a withdrawal from the community, and the pursuit of an independent defence policy, which could help to limit spending on armaments. It is highly important to extend our ties with the socialist countries, including the establishment of mixed enterprises and coproduction on mutually advantageous terms. There is a need to restructure and develop our foreign trade on a balanced basis (balancing out imports and exports), and establish national control over government procurement policy, so as to make it a factor of development, instead of a channel for deepening dependence. Foreign-currency-earning sectors and enterprises (especially in the mining industry) should be nationalised, and the health of the state sector of the economy improved through the working people's effective participation in management and the application of democratic and anti-monopoly criteria. It is high time to mount a struggle against the economic crimes of the monopolies, in particular their tax evasions and their machinations with export and import permits, and to impose stringent restrictions on currency remittances.

Many of these measures are being included in the working people's demands in their struggle at individual enterprises and in entire sectors of the economy.

Second, our party insists that the external debt is not a purely economic problem. It also has political and international aspects, so that there is a need to concert action with the working people of other countries facing similar problems. Such coordination on an anti-imperialist and mutually acceptable basis could strengthen the position of the dependent states in their negotiations with the credit organisations of imperialism.

Our country's working people are aware that there is good reason for resisting the imperialist policy, and have watched with interest similar processes in Latin America and other regions. They are aware that their own class battles could be enhanced by concerted action. The exacerbation of the external debt problem is a relatively new issue, and we are, undoubtedly, only at the beginning of a harsh and protracted struggle closely bound up with action for peace, for a new international economic order, and against imperialism in all its manifestations.

[1] The historical evolution of the forms in which foreign capital has invaded Greece has generally run along lines reminiscent of those in Latin America.

[2] These estimates were made by P. Rumeliotis, who is now deputy minister of the national economy. *Problems in the Greek Economy*, Athens, 1984, p. 145 (in Greek).

[3] Some of these are local funds first taken out of the country and then returned in the guise of "foreign" capital; others are funds remitted by Greeks resident abroad to buy real estate. In both cases, the funds come into the country as "foreign". Any hiatus in their influx has to be filled by means of external loans if economic activity is to be sustained.

[4] See Tassos Yannitsis, *Foreign Banks in Greece*, Athens, 1982, pp. 60-63 (in Greek).

[5] The Price Control Council (a government agency) has estimated that almost $1 billion escapes from Greece every year in this way.

[6] The exact size of the external debt is not clear, and the published figures are being questioned. The figures given here are taken from a report by the Institute of International Finance for August 1984.

[7] *Ta nea*, October 9, 1985 (in Greek).

[8] See Charles Oman, *New Forms of International Investment in Developing Countries*, OECD, 1984, pp. 14-21.

[9] Meaning above all the major quantitative and qualitative changes under way in the monopoly concentration and internationalisation of finance capital, the consolidation of the positions of monopolies related to high technology and arms manufacture, a process that has a crucial impact on the evolution of the international expansion of capital today.

[10] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 232.

[11] See *Bulletin of Economic Data of the Ministry of the National Economy, 1985;* and M. Nikolau, *The State Energy Corporation: For the People Or For the Monopolies?*, Synchroni epochi, 1985, pp. 45-48 (in Greek).
[12] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 271.

Theology of Liberation: A New Heresy?

Alvaro Oviedo – CC member, Colombian CP

Professor *Stepan Mamontov* – WMR staff member

Latin America, now swept by a spreading popular struggle for a better future, has almost 42 per cent of the world's Catholics. Considering the continent's high social dynamism and the novel religious practices and theological ideas, one can well understand why it is an increasingly salient factor in the Vatican's strategic calculations. It also appears to be perfectly natural that Latin America has offered a breeding ground for the latest religious trends which are regarded in Rome with suspicion as dangerous free-thinking. Religious institutions, among them those in the service of Catholicism, have always developed in close connection with the economic, social philosophical and political history of the peoples in whose bosom they originated.

In the course of its five centuries in the region, the Catholic Church has reflected the most general stages on the way of its peoples to social emancipation, passing through two major and completed periods and entering upon a third incipient period.[1] The first (1492-1810), from the discovery of America to the War of Independence, was marked by the Conquista, colonialism and feudalism; the second (1810-1959), ranging over the entire period of the anti-Spanish struggle and the subsequent nominally independent existence of the Latin American nations, was marked by a less than serene development of local capitalism under the neocolonial domination of the imperialist powers, the United States in the first place. At both stages, the Church had its non-conformists and rebels who sided with the dispossessed and the oppressed, such as Bishop Bartolome de las Casas (1474-1566), who stood up for the Indians and fought the ecclesiastical dogmatists, or the fighters for Mexico's independence, the priests Miguel Hidalgo (1753-1811) and Jose Maria Morelos (1765-1815), who were executed with the blessings of the "Holy See", i.e., the Vatican.

The victory of the Cuban Revolution ushered in even more "troubled" times in the history of Latin America, and also of its Church, leading to the appearance of new "rebels" and new "heresies" among the Catholic clergy, including some episcopal circles.

The General Crisis of Capitalism and the "Aggiornamento"

From the standpoint of the criticism of ecclesiastical dogmas, this latest period abounds in novel approaches to religious questions, and changes in the everyday life and attitudes of the Church, which has to reckon with the realities of the world. Mankind had changed by the end of the 1950s: an ever more favourable balance of forces was being created for peace, democracy and social progress by the emergence and strengthening of the socialist community, the disintegration of the colonial system, fresh pressure from the working class and all the other democratic strata in the developed capitalist countries, and the rise of the national liberation movement.

It is not surprising, therefore, that important events also occurred in the life of the

Catholic Church in the two subsequent decades: the pontificate of two unusually "free thinking" Popes — John XXIII (1958-1963) and Paul VI (1963-1978), and also the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965), which passed under the sign of what is known as the "Aggiornamento", which is, simply speaking, the adaptation of an increasingly senile ecclesiastical organism to the new realities of the latter half of our century connected with the successes of socialism and the threat of a nuclear war.[2]

The general crisis of capitalism, interlaced with the harmful effects of the dependent state of local capital, became especially acute in Latin America in the early 1960s and affected every sphere of social life. In economics, it was expressed in the collapse of the "Latin American model" of industrial development, which fell victim to rapid penetration by transnational corporations (TNCs), and to the neoliberal monetarist conceptions with an abrupt worsening of the working people's condition. In politics, the crisis was signalled by the incapacity of the propertied classes to rule by means of the old and mainly parliamentary and reformist methods — in a majority of the countries in the region, at any rate. In that period, military dictatorships, a product of the notorious "national security doctrine", were established for a long time in response to the revolutionary upswing in the republics of the Southern Cone: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Uruguay and Chile. In social thinking, the growing impoverishment of the masses and the impressive victories of the Cuban revolution reduced the erstwhile influence of bourgeois, including national-reformist, ideological trends, and caused the wide spread of left-wing, revolutionary ideas, largely formed by Marxism-Leninism, in all the strata of the society.

In those conditions, the Catholic Church, one of the principal pillars of the exploitative system, intimately linked with the ruling elite of the Latin American countries for centuries, could not escape deep internal changes either.

The prime cause of the changes within the Church will not, of course, be found in any evolution of views among the churchmen themselves; it lies in the strategy of the most liberal and dynamic sections of the bourgeoisie, striving to overcome the backwardness of the countries of the continent, to win a gradual modernisation of economic structure within the framework of capitalism.[3]

The Church made a noticeable step towards meeting the demands of the time at the Second Vatican Council, and even began to denounce the abuses of power by the rich, and to take an open stand in defence of the most deprived section of the population. But this was a level of criticism that did not, of course, imply anything but a reformist alternative of social development. It was, at root, an effort to get more believers to take part in the system, which was presented as modern "advanced, liberal and technologically developed" capitalism.

The Origin of the New Theology

In the early 1960s, there was a rapid spread of understanding of the true workings of the mechanisms and causes of underdevelopment in nearly all Latin American countries. It was becoming evident that this was not just a technical or a political problem, but a congenital effect of capitalist development itself, within a system whose core consisted of highly industrialised states, mainly those within NATO. The well-known Brazilian theologian Leonardo Boff says: "In order to maintain the levels of acceleration and accumulation which they have attained, they have to establish profoundly unequal and unfair relations with partners who are technologically more backward but rich in raw materials. The result is that the latter are doomed to underdevelopment, which is the reverse side of development."[4]

Latin America's economic enslavement sparked off mass action by the working people and radicalised broad strata of the intelligentsia and the students, who seek to act together with the people and to support its demands and struggle, which has assumed the most diverse forms — sometimes the form of armed struggle — depending on the national conditions. That is the period in which the struggle was first joined by

many young Christians, and entire organisations of believers in some countries.

The most outstanding personality in the "rebel" Church in that turning-point period was Camilo Torres Restrepo, professor of sociology and chaplain at the National University of Colombia, who formulated a revolutionary alternative for the country in the light of his religious convictions. His example gave many food for thought and met with a response among thousands of priests, who united into numerous clerical organisations and movements seeking to democratise and renew the Church, which was on the whole alien to popular revolutionary aspirations. Even some members of the higher clergy did not quite escape the influence of these new theological trends.

Even before the Latin American Episcopal Council Conference (CELAM), which met in Medellin (Colombia) in 1968, the Manifesto of the Bishops of the Third World, supported by 800 Latin American priests, became widely known. It sharply criticised the inhuman economic and social practices and spoke in favour of socialism. Just before the Medellin meeting opened, 1,000 priests throughout Latin America addressed an open letter to their bishops to put on record the fact that the cause of the popular suffering was the "existing political, economic and social system" and urging Christians to display solidarity with the struggle for the rights of the working people and the establishment of a more just society. At Medellin, the Latin American bishops on the whole took a favourable attitude to "the liberation of the peoples of the continent from the age-old misery, dependence and oppression, and came out without reservation in favour of eliminating the conditions of exploitation and injustice".[5] All of this inevitably had an impact on the processes of renewal in Catholicism, and markedly strengthened the positions of their advocates.

Soon after the Medellin meeting, the principal tenets of the theological trend which later came to be known as "liberation theology" began to crystallise and take shape as a system. Its founders then said that that was a "moment of reflection" under the impact of the changing ecclesiastical practices. Let us now consider, if only in most general terms, what the new social practice of the Church consisted in and what it suggested to the renewalists.

Grassroots Christian Communities

These communities first emerged because of the shortage of priests (in Latin American countries, there is one priest per 7,000 Catholics as compared with one per 880 in the United States). Grassroots Christian communities emerged in the early 1960s in the poorest districts of Brazil, mainly within large parishes, some of which had as many as 10,000 parishioners, a number much too large for one priest, with the result that small groups (from 10 to 30 persons) were formed under some literate lay person who had had an elementary course of religious instruction. Such a man from the people became a kind of spiritual pastor for his mini-community under the direction of the parish priest.

It would be naive to assume that these innovations were introduced without the Vatican's or its local representatives' knowledge. From the outset, the emergence of grassroots Christian communities in Latin American countries proceeded under the attentive, but far from always benevolent eye of the national episcopates, who had perforce to reckon with the growing activity of the Catholic grassroots. This activity was largely promoted by the Medellin decisions, which called on the clergy and the laity to take part in the transformation of the society on fairer lines, and which proclaimed a "preferential option for the poor".

The senior clergy regarded these communities not only as a possibility for easing the great shortage of the lower clergy in the Latin American backwoods, but also as a powerful instrument for evangelising the population, a means of bringing the Church closer to the masses, in short, as an important instrument of the "aggiornamento". But in practice everything proved to be much more complicated. At first, the tasks of these communities were formulated as "the spread of faith internally, the preparation of

liturgy, the sacraments and life in piety". But the members' mutual assistance in facing the problems of life subsequently came to the fore, as they came to realise that their problems sprang from the elitist organisation of the society, private enrichment and, ultimately, from the economic and social structure of capitalism itself. That was an invasion of politics into the realm of religious reflection and religious practice, while the question of moral purification was invested with concrete historical meaning.

"It is no longer a matter of liberation from sin (from which we must always liberate ourselves), but of liberation in historical terms (economic, political and cultural)," says Leonardo Boff, adding: "Such liberation as a process requires a more detailed analysis of the society, of how wealth is produced and distributed, and of the place of each human being in the "capital — labour — participation relationship."[6] A community which has awakened to an understanding of this is already aware of why human rights are being violated, why there is a structural poverty and social injustice which do not spring from the ill will of the master, but from the system itself that is generally presented as good, Christian, democratic and so on.

While there are still no exact data on the number and geography of the grassroots Christian communities, by the end of the 1970s virtually the whole Latin American region had become a field of their vigorous activity, while their total number exceeded 150,000, with more than one-half in Brazil, where they have roughly three million parishioners. Several thousand communities are in Chile, Peru and Central America, and hundreds in Colombia, Paraguay, Uruguay, Mexico, Ecuador, and other countries. It is well known, for instance, that they had, and still have, a noticeable role to play in the revolutionary process and in building a new life in Nicaragua and in the liberated area of El Salvador.

It is important to note that the activity of these communities in coordinated on a continental scale as well: two inter-American meetings of community activists have been held — one in Brazil (Sao Paulo, 1980), and another in Ecuador (Cuenca, 1984). The Cuenca resolution said, in part: "We are organising ourselves against the oppressors, against the system which exploits us, and which tries to keep us disunited and everyone fending for himself.[7]

In this context, much significance also attaches to the final document of the First Ecumenical Meeting on Pastoral Theology of the Southern Cone countries (Brazil, July 1982), which was attended by prominent leaders of the Catholic and other churches of Latin America. It said: "We believe, first of all, that the communites should not be transformed into elitist groups in the midst of the people, and that their religious experience, and the warm sense of inner fraternity, should not absorb their members to such an extent that they should remain unconcerned about the lot of their compatriots." The document goes on to formulate as one of the tasks the need "to articulate the ecclesiastical communities with the other popular organisations, especially those whose objectives and strategy bar political... We must strive to have the communities support these organisations, whenever necessary, and show respect for their goals and autonomy, without substituting for each other. It is also necessary that every Christian, and the various groups of believers should gradually move towards a living synthesis between their faith and their ecclesiastical affiliation, on the one hand, and *their class solidarity and political commitment*, on the other."[8] (Emphasis added. — *A.O., S.M.*) These ideas are not, of course, shared by the entire Church hierarchy. Most of its dogmatists, such as the Guatemalan Cardinal Casariega, has pinned the label of "Judas" on the priests working with these communities, and has accused their members of having "communist sympathies".

The real attitude to the grassroots communities on the part of the Latin American establishment and the official Church was most vividly formulated by the French missionary Michel Piton, who lived for many years in Central America, and is not a Marxist by any stretch of the imagination. He says that the men in power regard it as a "silent, peaceful but very real subversive activity, and the fear which it inspires is all the

greater because no one knows how it can be stemmed, since there is no plausible pretext for any repression".[9]

Three Rounds of Discussion

The new religious practices involving the establishment and the broad spread of grassroots Christian communities with their heightened social activity, their inherent rejection of the injustice and immorality of the bourgeois society, and their vigorous theological thinking, have led some of the lower clergy to develop a system of views generally known as "liberation theology". One of its founders and its "godfather" (and the author of a book of that name) was the Peruvian priest Gustavo Gutierrez, who, like many of his associates and followers, believes that theological constructs must start not only from a consideration of the "great social movements of our epoch", but also from the incontrovertible fact that most Christians belong to a "social class exploited by another class". Hence the need to "side with those... who come out against the perpetrators of man's exploitation by man".[10]

We do not set ourselves the task of analysing in detail the "liberation theology", which has its national aspects in different Latin American countries. Let us merely formulate three sets of problems constituting its discussion core and presenting a special interest from the standpoint of Marxism, namely, the renewalists' view of the Church's attitude to "politics"; defence of human rights, freedom of conscience for believers; and, most importantly, the class nature of the present-day capitalist society. The new line of arguments on these problems is exemplified by the writings of Leonardo Boff, who has now become a prominent spokesman for the latest trends in Catholic theology.

On the Church's participation in "politics", he relies on the distinction made by a conference of the Latin American Episcopal Council at Puebla[11] between Politics (with a capital P) and politics in the conventional sense of the term. The former is taken to mean the quest for the common good, the promotion of social justice and civil rights, and the exposure of corruption and violation of human dignity; "politics", with a small p, signifies the activity of individual parties which should not concern the Church as a religious institution, but which can be of interest only to the laity as a part of it. Boff believes that the Church cannot afford not to take part in Politics "on the grand scale", i.e., "it cannot be indifferent in the face of the justice or injustice of a cause, it cannot remain silent in the face of the people's open exploitation, for there is no neutrality in Politics on the grand scale: is is either in favour of changes towards a more democratic society or for the preservation of the status quo, under which a large part of the population is marginalised in many countries, as it is in our country."[12]

Concerning the attitude of the church hierarchy to human rights, Boff starts from the general theological tenet that human dignity is scared and inviolable. On the strength of that he criticises the Church on some points and stresses that these are not occasional abuses but practices stemming from the distinctive church organisation, although the contradictions producing violations of human rights are not inherent to the Church itself but subordinate to processes occurring in the society, and it is there that one should look for their prime causes and denounce and combat injustice.

Among the aspects being criticised are: first, the way elections are held for senior church office, without any regard for the opinions of the lower clergy, while the ecclesiastical authorities, from top to bottom, are in fact imposed on the communities at the will of a handful of influential persons. Second, the fact that the Church discriminates against women, who make up more than one-half of the faithful, with the number of women in religious orders ten times large than that of men. Nevertheless, they are not entitled to hold any ecclesiastical office, with the exeption of semi-technical ones. Third, the virtually inquisitorial control over Catholic publications and the mass media. Fourth, the Vatican's disciplinary practices and doctrine aimed against internal "dissidents", which are long standing and incompatible with human

rights.

Of most interest to Marxists are the ideas of the "liberation theology" on the place and role of the Church in the bourgeois class society seen from the historical standpoint. Boff writes: "In the West and in Latin America, we live in a society with an asymmetrical mode of production. It is capitalism, which is characterised by the private property in the means of production held by a permanent minority... and by an unequal distribution of the final products of labour. This asymmetrical mode of production produces a class society with an asymmetrical distribution of power, with the classes having divergent interests and locked in relations of domination... The ruling classes, in their strategy of hegemony, want the Church to serve the amplification, consolidation and legitimation of their domination, helping them to preserve and legitimate their power... But there is no fatal inevitability for the Church to adapt itself to those who historically happen to be in power. For their part, the oppressed classes also look to the Church, and it is quite capable of effecting and justifying its break with the powers that be and putting itself at the service of the revolutionary cause. The faithful will be found on both sides of the barricades, which is why the Church, inevitably rent by class conflicts, can assume either a revolutionary function, or the function of consolidating the positions of the class in power. Which of these two alternatives is chosen does not depend either on human will or whim, but on the kind of relations the religious institutions have established with the various classes in the course of the socio-historical process."[13]

Until the Medellin meeting, the Church, as a social institution, remained relatively united in Latin America and was invariably on the side of the oppressors. From the early 1960s on, the renewalists say, historical conditions took shape for the emergence of a new church originating in the midst of the oppressed people, a church reflecting its demands and aspirations, having made a "preferential choice in favour of the poor", without, however, forgetting its universal mission, that of "justice for all, rights for all, participation for all". That is why the grassroots Christian communities have not closed in upon their narrowly practical and religious interests, being open to everyone who stands for justice, and supporting their struggle.

The liberation theologians believe that capitalism, as a system, with its prevailing "social asymmetry", and expressing the interests of one class, is an impediment to the Church's "universality". Boff writes: "A democratic and socialist society offers better objective conditions for the fullest expression of the catholicity of the Church."[14] In other words, under capitalism the catholicity of the Church often has a hollow ring, with the use of the same symbols but with a different content, depending on class status.

The Pentagon and the Vatican Against the Renewalists

From the outset, the new religious practices and their theological comprehension were closely watched by Washington. In 1969, President Richard Nixon sent Nelson Rockefeller on a "friendship tour" of Latin America. The result was the "Rockefeller Report", which said that the modern mass media and education, with their influence on the minds of men, have also had a tremendous impact on the Church, turning it into a force dedicated to change, and of necessity, to revolutionary change. It urged caution with respect to the Latin American Church, which was bound to infringe on US interests, if it acted in accordance with the Medellin decisions.[15]

The Banzer Plan, worked out with the direct participation of the CIA, was put into practice a year later. It bore the name of the then dictator of Bolivia, and was first applied only in that country, and then on the scale of the continent as a whole. The first provision recommends that no attacks should be made against the Church as a religious institution, but only against its more progressive part, while point 7 says: "(Black — *A.O., S.M.*) listed priests should be apprehended in deserted streets or in the countryside. The agents should be in civvies and in taxis taken for the purpose."[16]

The Episcopal Council at Puebla heard far from complete data showing that in the 1970s alone, more than 700 priests and monks had been imprisoned, tortured, exiled or killed. Since then, the figure has multiplied, the persecution, killings and attacks having been turned into a system, some of whose victims are bishops, such as the head of the Catholic Church in El Salvador Romero, who was shot while officiating in church. It is not surprising that even Father Arrupe, General of the Jesuit Order, has bitterly declared that the crimes against Christians and entire peoples are not being committed by "atheistic regimes, but by governments claiming to be Christian and Catholic".[17]

The well-known Santa Fe Document, which has become the gospel of imperialism on the continent, says: "US foreign policy must confront the liberation theology (now and not retro-actively). The role of the Church in Latin America is vital for the ideals of liberty. Regrettably, the Marxist-Leninist forces are using the Church as a politial weapon against private property and the capitalist system of production, infecting the religious community with ideas which are less Christian than communist."[18]

Meanwhile the liberation theology has had little sympathy from the Vatican, among whose latest innovations are the official recognition of the ultra-conservative Opus Dei[19] and the reactivation of the Inquisition under the name of the Congregation for the Doctirne of the Faith. Since Wojtyla's election as Pope, attacks on the liberation theology have multiplied, and the hopes of its votaries have been subjected to serious trials. After the Medellin meeting, the ecclesiastical authorities at once started a covert campaign against them, with the support of such well-known Colombian bishops as Alfonso Lopez Trujillo (now cardinal) and Dario Castrillon de Pereira. A part of this campaign has been the establishment in Bogota in 1973 of a Centre for Church and Liberation Studies, one of whose aims was to pave the way for the condemnation of the liberation theology. But these plans failed because, as the prominent specialist on Latin American Church affairs Enrique Dussel said, "the Church cannot destroy itself. The popular strata within it are much too strong for anyone to expect that."[20]

Then followed yet another attack, this time directly from the Vatican: Leonardo Boff, one of the more prominent liberation theologists, was invited for a "talk" to the Congregation for the Doctine on the Faith in 1984. While his writings were not officially condemned, he was ordered to refrain from making any public statements for a year. At the latest meeting of the Vatican Synod, where there was a sharp polimic on the liberation theology (December 1985), the Brazilian Bishop Eugenio de Salles said it was "putrid meat that had to be taken off the market".[21]

For his part, Pope John Paul II has applied sanctions against the progressive Nicaraguan priests Ernesto Cardenal and Miguel d' Escoto,[22] being highly active in spreading his far from "renewalist" views, and appointing prelates most loyal to him to the most responsible posts in the church hierarchy. There has been a generous flow of funds from the coffers of Catholic foundations in the FRG and the United States to finance publications critical of the liberation theology and to train priests in the same spirit.

Let us note, however, that the Pope has been highly cautious when it comes to open or blanket criticism of the new trends in Catholicism, for he is aware of the actual balance of forces. The Vatican has countered the "liberation theology" with its own "theology of reconciliation", which has been most rabidly supported by the bishops of Colombia. Criticism of Marxism and "Marxist influence" in the ranks of the Church are the gist of it: anti-communism is once again being used in the efforts to divide the masses.

One of the first to come out against the policy of dividing the working people was the revolutionary priest Camilo Torres Restrepo, who issued a bold challenge to anti-communism for the sake of unity. At a meeting of Colombian Communists, he delivered a speech which clearly reflected the mood of many believers: "We are beginning to break with much precedent, when a priest with origins in the bourgeois

class, but honest in his intentions, presents himself before the Communists, without losing his faith or demanding that they should give up their convictions. For if the people's needs have been made urgent through the fault of the oligarchy, the people themselves seek the forms of revolutionary unity. I am not unaware that my presence here will arouse the ire of the oligarchy, but if I had not come I would have allowed myself to be blinded by anti-communism, the banner of the oligarchy under which the people are exploited and oppressed. Anti-communism is being implanted among the people by the exploiters, because it suits their mean interests. Let us, therefore, fight against anti-communism!"[23]

These words have a most meaningful ring today. The liberation theology, of which Camilo Torres was a striking herald (he died for his people twenty years ago), provides fresh evidence that atheists and believers, Marxists and Catholics can and must act in a united front against imperialism, their common enemy.

[1] See P. Richard, "A Igreja latino-americana entre o temor e a esperança, *Gadernos do CEAS*, No. 69, 1980, p. 38.
[2] Pope John XXIII, for instance moved away from the cold war policy and supported the idea of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. He recognised the need and usefulness of contacts and dialogue between Catholics and Communists; he abandoned the practice of excommunicating clerical "dissidents" and recognised the right of various groups, trends and opinions to exist within the Catholic Church. Pope Paul VI helped to improve the Vatican's relations with the socialist countries and came out in defence of peace; on the occasion of the signing of the nuclear test ban treaty he cabled messages of greetings to the heads of the governments of the nuclear powers, including the first friendly message to the Soviet leadership since the establishment of the USSR. The Second Vatican Council, which was held under John XXIII and Paul VI, effectively reaffirmed the Catholics' right to freedom of conscience, and for the first time came out in favour of a dialogue between believers and atheists. See I. Grigulevich, *The Papacy. The Twentieth Century*, Moscow, 1978, pp. 352, 370-371, 382-383, 414 (in Russian).
[3] This bourgeois-reformist theory, presented in various nationally frameworked modifications, emerged after the Second World War and was most widely spread in the 1950s and 1960s under the general name of "desarrollismo" (*desarrollo* being the Spanish for development). Among the demagogic slogans of the "desarrollist" bourgeoisie are "justice", "participation" and "free development" for all.
[4] Leonardo Boff, *Iglesia: Carisma y Poder*, Bogota, 1982, p. 22.
[5] Documento de Teólogos Alemanes, *Chile-America*, No. 37-38, 1977, p. 19.
[6] Leonardo Boff, op. cit., pp. 23, 193.
[7] *ALAI*, September, 1984, p. 18
[8] Respuesta teológica a los desafíos del Cono Sur, *Chile-America*, No. 80-81, 1982, pp. 123, 124.
[9] *Le Monde Diplomatique*, June 1984, p. 9.
[10] See J. Rosales, *Cristo y/o Marx*, Buenos Aires, 1984, p. 113.
[11] A conference at Puebla in Mexico in 1979, where there was a showdown between the conservatives and the renewalists, and which continued the "aggiornamento" line on some issues.
[12] Leonardo Boff, op. cit., p. 48.
[13] Leonardo Boff, op. cit., pp. 163-164.
[14] Ibid., p. 177.
[15] *Solidaridad, Aportes cristianos para la liberacion*, No. 57, 1984, p. 2.
[16] Ibid.
[17] *GIAS*, April 1978.
[18] *Solidaridad . . .*, p. 2.
[19] A politico-religious organisation (founded in 1928) with headquarters in Rome. Among its members are those who wield actual power and are prepared to mount "a new crusade" against communism.
[20] "Los cristianos despues de Puebla", *ALAI*, No. 15, 1981, p. 171.
[21] *Granma*, December 5, 1985.
[22] They were stripped of their pastoral functions for refusing to resign from their ministerial posts in Nicaragua's revolutionary government.
[23] See J. Rosales, op. cit., p. 104.

Inquisitors of the Twentieth Century

The world is aware, even if insufficiently, that a cruel and bloodthirsty regime run by the fascist general Alfredo Stroessner has been in existence in Paraguay, in the very heart of South America, since 1954.

For more than three decades now, torture, sufferings and torments have been a source of pleasure for the corrupt and sadistic president, who in many cases personally directs the torture of patriots. That is what he did, for instance, in 1975, following the arrest of Miguel Angel Soler, CC Secretary of the Paraguayan Communist Party (PCP). A number of political detainees, police functionaries and senior government officials have testified that Soler was clubbed to death by order of the president of the republic.[1]

Stroessner was born in a typical German colony in Encarnacion, like many others in the country: they provided the base on which — six years before Hitler's takeover in Germany — the first Nazi party was set up abroad, followed by a secret military organisation created in order to suppress democracy by terroristic methods. In 1937, its members assassinated Felix H. Aguero, leader of the Young Communists. Stroessner was an active member of the storm troopers. During the Second World War, he boasted of his Nazi views and distributed Hitler's *Mein Kampf* among his officer friends in the army.

All of this explains why, following the coup of Stroessner and his clique 32 years ago, people detained for "political motives" in Paraguay keep being subjected to torture, which has become commonplace and a hallmark of the tyranny. A great many democrats and patriots, outstanding personalities and ordinary people have died in the "Pantheon of the Living"[2], in the investigation police, in the commissariats, and in the barrack-rooms.

One irrefutable testament is the open letter from Bishop Demetrio Aquino of Ka'akupe addressed to the dictatorship's minister of the interior. It says: "You personally witnessed my anxiety over the fate of Arturo Bernal[3] and a group of peasants from Perivevui, who were arrested on one and the same day. I called on you at 17.30 hours on May 20 and personally spoke in favour of these Christians of my diocese. I reiterated my request . . . on June 30. In both instances, you took note of my request and promised to deal with it personally . . . And here is your answer: the corpse of Arturo Bernal, the bereavement of a peasant family, the despair of the widow and five orphaned children. And there is no doubt that you bear a tremendous responsibility for the cruel death of yet another citizen in the torture-chambers of the ministry in your charge."[4]

It is hard to describe these tortures without a sense of horror. One of them, for instance, is called the "tub". The victim is tied hand and foot and is plunged into a tub filled with filth, vomit and excrement. In the course of such a "session", he is interrogated by beasts masquerading as human beings. The victim faints, but is revived by a violent kick in the stomach, while water and blood stream from his mouth, nose and ears. The "session" is then continued. The unfortunate victim is given only a few seconds to decide: either to save his own life by betraying his comrades, or go on resisting and die without stigmatising himself as a traitor.

These inquisitors also resort to other forms of savage torture, such as hanging up the victim head down, crucifixion on the bars of a window, placing the victim tied hand and foot on an anthill, the tearing out or grinding of fingernails, teeth and even of tongues, keeping victims in the scorching sun, clubbing and knocking victims till they are down, and then kicking them.

At the very beginning of his 20-year long captivity in the "Pantheon of the Living",

Julio Rojas, now our party's acting CC First Secretary, was subjected to 100 lashes of the "teyuruguai"[5], for refusing to do forced labour in a stone quarry. In order to keep the sting in the lash, the torturers took turns at whipping the Communist, but they were unable to break his will. His sacrifice was not in vain: his stoic behaviour was an inspiration to the other political prisoners and their common resistance brought about the abolition of the slave labour.

Maria Margarita Baez, a 35-year old working woman, was arrested in the street and brought to the investigation department, whose chief, Pastor Coronel, notorious for his sadism, ordered his men: "Do to her what you will, tear her apart!" When she was later released, Baez gave an interview for *El Pueblo,* a newspaper of the Revolutionary Febrerista Party. She declared: "I was first arrested on August 17, 1976. I was then four months pregnant. I was tortured for six days and nights. They broke my head; my fingers were burned with lighted cigarettes, and I was beaten on the soles of my feet with sticks and swords . . . I defended myself with my hands, and broke a finger. They kept hitting me in the stomach, and I suffered acute pains. Twenty days later I had a miscarriage . . . I was all skin and bones, my back was black and blue, and I was almost deaf."[6]

Many years have passed, but no one in Paraguay has forgotten that during the armed struggle in the 1960s[7] under the direction of US Green Berets sent in from the Panama Canal Zone, arrested patriots were hurled down live from aircraft and subjected to the most bestial tortures.

Antonio Maidana, First Secretary of the PCP CC, who disappeared without trace in 1980, declared in the short period of his freedom, that hundreds of political detainees in Paraguay had died in the torture-chambers, others had been killed by the police in public places or in their homes, and many had disappeared after being arrested. Among them PCP CC Secretary Miguel Angel Soler, leader of Paraguay's Young Communist Federation Derliz Villagra, trade-union leader Ruben Gonzalez Acosta, and others.

Antonio Maidana gave the following facts to prove that the Stroessner dictatorship used physical torture and mental and moral torments: "After we had spent in prison an absolutely unjustified term, we were transferred to the third department of the commissariat. There, we slept on the floor for more than 15 years. We were prohibited from reading any books, magazines, newspapers, from having pencils, paper, etc. We had no doctor or dentist. We were not taken out into the sun. During the first three years, we were kept in a cell measuring 2 by 4 metres, and then transferred to another one measuring 5 by 6 metres, where there were 16 political prisoners."[8]

Terrorism is certainly evidence of the weakness of the ruling camarilla. Stroessner has a panic fear of any rise in the democratic movement and so has been trying to stem it and to keep his regime going by any means. But our people are fighting against the brutal repression and have no intention of tolerating the dictatorship's betrayal of the national interests and its conversion of the country into the imperialist monopolies' backyard.

In defiance of the explicit urge of the Paraguyan public for the unity of all the anti-dictatorship forces, there is , unfortunately, an attitude of conciliation with the regime among the leadership of the legal opposition. Illusory hopes are being pinned on the US administration, which allegedly has the intention of changing the Paraguayan government in part or even wholly, although naturally with the country being kept dependent on imperialism and tied firmly to the International Monetary Fund.

Meanwhile, the popular masses have been taking to the streets demanding an end to the hated dictatorship. Our party believes that success can be achieved only through a union of all the democratic and patriotic-minded citizens and military circles without exception.

The prisoners of the "Pantheon of the Living", incarcerated in the torture-chambers for political and social motives, are in need of greater international solidarity. Among

them is a political prisoner who has the longest "prison record" in Latin America. He is Paraguayan army Captain Napoleon Ortigoza, who has been in prison for 23 years. World public opinion must do its utmost to secure the release of the arrested and disappeared, among them our party's leader Antonio Maidana, Dr Augustin Goiburu, Dr Esther Ballestrino, and many other prisoners. They are being kept in secret cells built on the territory of the estates of fascist generals, as former jailers have testified.

During Stroessner's rule of Paraguay, there has been a succession of seven administrations in the United States, and they have all supported and continue to support the inquisitors of the twentieth century, who have turned my people and my country into martyrs. The international democratic forces must act urgently to put an end to the savage repression and persecution, to tie the hands of the executioners, and so to save the lives and free hundreds of political prisoners who are dying a slow death in the inferno of the Paraguayan dictatorship.

Rogelio Gonzalez,
CC member, Paraguayan CP

[1] See Hugo Campos, *"Paz y progreso" en el Paraguay,* Sabia Press, p. 37.
[2] See "Prisoner of the 'Pantheon of the Living' " by Rogelio Gonzalez, *WMR,* No. 4, 1984.
[3] Agrarian Leagues' leader assassinated by Stroessner's executioners. — *Ed.*
[4] *Coeyú Paraguay, Centro de información del Paraguay,* May-June 1978, Caracas, Venezuela.
[5] In the language of the Guarani, it means the "tail of the lizard", the name for another terrible form of torture, when prisoners are lashed with a leather whip tipped with a steel knot or ball.
[6] *Adelante,* No. 224, 1985.
[7] A guerrilla movement in some parts of the country against the regime. — *Ed.*
[8] *Maidana, Alcorta, Rojas denuncian,* p. 5.

To Save the Patriots' Lives

The authorities of the Islamic Republic have been conducting mass reprisals against the People's Party of Iran, the vanguard of our working class, for three years now. Having betrayed the ideals and goals of the anti-imperialist popular revolution and acting in violation of the country's truncated laws, the ruling quarters have executed tens of thousands of fighters — Communists and other democrats and patriots — without trial. There are more than 100,000 political prisoners in Iran's jails. The only thing they are guilty of is their commitment to freedom, progress and justice.

Information is leaking from behind bars about the inhuman way the jailers treat people who are now in their hands. The authorities cynically refuse to say anything about the fate of the prisoners even to their relatives. The names of most victims of the terror campaign have not been made public.

Nevertheless, the public is in possession of incontrovertible evidence proving the terrible plight of Communists and other prisoners. The news that our comrades Taghi Keymanech and Reza Chaltuki, members of the PPI Central Committee Political Bureau, were tortured to death gave rise to a new wave of protests in many countries. Each of the two had spent twenty-five years in prison under the Shah. Although no official information has been provided, there is reason to believe that the regime has already murdered Rahman Hatefi and Ghaghik Avanessian, members of our party's Central Committee, and professor of philosophy Abdolhossein Agahi.

Mohamed Reza Ghabrai and Razieddin Taban, leaders of the Organisation of People's Fedayan (Majority) went before the firing squad. Many activists of the Kurdistan Democratic party, of the Mujaheddin-e-khalq and other progressive, democratic organisations have been executed or have died under torture.

We are again addressing world public opinion, all those supporting the struggle of our people with the appeal to act to end the bloodbath our country has been struggling against for several years now and to save the lives of the fighters for freedom and democracy who are buried alive in the prisons of the Islamic Republic.

Mahmoud Azad
People' Party of Iran representative on *WMR*

exchange of views, discussion

The Development of Marxism and its Modern 'Critics'

Some Problems in the Struggle of Ideas on the Theoretical Front

Communists, consistent fighters against dogmatism and revisionism alike, have always focused their attention on the methodology of cognition based on the theoretical legacy of Marx, Engels and Lenin. The need to "develop" Marxism has, however, also been lately urged by some bourgeois ideologists. The intricate questions which this tends to produce in the context of the ideological contest were considered at an exchange of opinion between Marxist scientists arranged by *WMR* Commission on General Theoretical Problems. Among those who took part were Professor *Artur Kiss*, Dr. Sc. (Philos.) of Hungary; Academician *Alfred Kosing* of the GDR Academy of Sciences; and Professor *Marian Orzechowski*, Dr. Sc. (History), and alternate member of the Political Bureau of the PUWP CC.

How is one to assess the fact that some bourgeois ideologists now turn to problems in the development of the Marxist theory?

Marian Orzechowski. The growing authority of Marxism-Leninism as a scientific world-view and theory being successfully translated into reality cannot but have an influence on the present ideological situation as a whole. Bourgeois ideologists ever more often voice "wishes" (and even demands) for a development of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, while still openly attacking it behind a barrage of claims about the existence of some "dogmatic forms" of Marxism, such as "Engels' Marxism", and "Eastern Marxism" (meaning the ideological foundation of the existing socialism built in the USSR and other countries). The scientific world-view of the international communist movement is contrasted, in this sense, to "Western Marxism", which, its supporters claim, has its origins with Marx, but which purportedly follows in the "creative" and "humanistic" tradition initiated by the reformist leaders of the Second International.

Robert L. Heilbroner, a US bourgeois Marxologist, was not so very far out when he

wrote: "Today there are Marxists who defend Marx's work as it stands and Marxists who would change nearly all of it . . . Marxists who wish to reach out to religion and psychoanalysis and Marxists who feel that these are mere bourgeois diversions; Marxists who proudly call themselves orthodox and others who feel that Marxism has degenerated into ideology and is itself the chief obstacle to the attainment of a humane socialism."[1] Nothing could be plainer: the number of those who wish to "develop" Marxism has been markedly enlarged with the inclusion of those who, like Heilbroner, would like to change "nearly all of it".

That is why the criteria for the development of the Marxist-Leninist science is a problem that has now become more acute ideologically than ever before; the question is: which innovations are to be regarded as its true enrichment, and which are not, despite the claim of their being "the latest word".

What could be seen as the main criterion in the development of the Marxist theoretical knowledge?

Artur Kiss. One needs to take a Marxist approach in order to find the answer to that and other questions relating to the development of the scientific theory of Marxism, because our doctrine includes a very definite general philosophical conception which brings out the universal law-governed uniformities in the development of Nature, society and thought. Marxism regards the reality both as preservation and stability of objects, and as change and transformation. It refers the dialectical principle of stability and change in their inter-relation to its own content.

In the light of this principle, novelty, i.e., the constant enrichment of content with data revealing new aspects of reality, should, we believe, be regarded as the prime criterion of the development of scientific knowledge. The Marxist-Leninist methodology formulates the question of novelty, therefore, above all in view of the need for a deeper cognition of the objective world. It is the question of how fully and accurately our knowledge reflects the substance of the phenomena and uniformities of the reality, and to what extent it can provide a basis for practical transformative activity.

As the socialist society develops, our concepts of the internal mechanisms of its functioning and ways of its refinement are enriched and specified. On the eve of the proletarian revolution in Russia, Lenin said: "We do not claim that Marx knew or Marxists know the road to socialism down to the last detail . . . What we know is the direction of this road, and class forces that follow it; the specific, practical details will come to light only through the *experience of millions.*"[2] Much has changed since then; at every stage of subsequent historical development, and with the accumulation of experience, the concept of socialism has been filled with a concrete and living content.

The new edition of the CPSU Programme, which contains a creative development of many propositions of Marxism-Leninism as applied to present-day conditions, the material of earlier congresses and precongress documents of a number of other fraternal parties concentrate the attention of social scientists on various aspects of the dialectics of the productive forces and the relations of production, of the state and democracy, of the material and the spiritual spheres under socialism, and the law-governed uniformities underlying the shaping of the communist formation and the ways and means of its steady advance to its higher phase. If the socialist society is to be further perfected in every way, there must be a scientific analysis of its objective contradictions as the source of its development, and the formulation of well-grounded recommendations for resolving these contradictions in the light of reliable economic and social prognostications.

Marian Orzechowski. The movement to a deeper level of cognition as the general criterion for its development, which Artur Kiss noted, is also characteristic of the Marxist-Leninist philosophy. Bourgeois Marxologists and "Western Marxists" have accused it of being "dogmatic" and "metaphysical" on the pretext that it operates with

some kind of absolute and allegedly metaphysical concepts, such as necessity and fortuitousness, space and time, matter and consciousness, etc., so depicting dialectical materialism as a dogmatised version of Marx's views allegedly originating in the writings of Engels and then of Lenin, and serving as the basis for contemporary "Soviet Marxism".

"Western Marxism" imputes to Engels the fault that he did not regard questions about "the great totality of things", the "ultimate" substance and "ultimate" cause as superfluous questions. As a result, says Maurice Cornforth, "Marxists have been misled into producing a dogmatic and doctrinaire doctrine of 'dialectical materialism', asserting the 'materialist' constitution of the universe in opposition to 'idealism', and pretending to have all worked out and ready for application and service what Engels called 'dialectics' or 'the science of the general laws of motion' ".[3]

Let us bear in mind, however, that the Marxist doctrine of matter, its motion and development shuns the notion of "ultimate" cause, "ultimate" substance, etc. The content of the categories of materialism and dialectics, which are truly of universal significance, is being substantively enriched in the light of the facts of modern science, with the relation of the *absolute* and the *relative* in this content being brought out ever more fully. The concepts of the interrelation between necessity and fortuitoussnes were, for instance, considerably concretised and specified in the light of the theory of probability; the various fields in which the theory of relativity (both special and general) was applied have shown in greater depth the integral unity of space, time, matter and motion.

Science has not yet given any ground for abandoning the fundamental philosophical categories, but, in the light of the meaning of some modern natural-science hypotheses,[4] it is Marxists who have considered the possibility of generalising some philosophical categories and principles (instead of dropping them). This means going on to more general categories reflecting the fundamental properties not only of the macrocosm and the microcosm, but also of the sub-elementary and mega-levels of the structural organisation of matter. The future will show whether these hypotheses are or are not confirmed, but the fact is that Marxist philosophers are in the forefront of modern science, seeking to elaborate the methodological reference points that are most adequate to its demands and to map out the promising lines of scientific quest.

"Western Marxists" frequently urge the need to include in the Marxist theory the new advances in the particular social or natural sciences. Marxist analysts naturally take into account the ideas and facts of cybernetics, the theory of information, anthropology, systems analysis, biology, and so on, but what our critics seek is not to make the Marxist-Leninist propositions more concrete but quietly to substitute an aggregation of particular concepts of various sciences and a set of empirical facts and generalisations for its fundamental principles and categories. That ultimately leads to universalised empirical generalisations and particular-science conceptions, so inordinately extending their meaning and significance to the level of general philosophical, politico-economic and sociological uniformities.

Does the application of the Marxist-Leninist theory to concrete conditions imply the need for its development?

Alfred Kosing. Marxism-Leninism is not a collection of general propositions, but a theory closely bound up with life and with the practices of the international communist and working class movement. That is why it not only has to reflect the changing content of objective processes, but also *to reckon with the changing conditions in which they proceed.* That also makes it possible to concretise theoretical propositions and to describe the diverse forms in which general uniformities are realised. An analysis of the specific conditions in which this or that general proposition of theory is applied helps to sum up the diverse experience in the activity of the communist and workers' parties

and their meaningful tasks at the given moment of historical development. That is the basis on which new theoretical propositions — both particular and general — are formulated.

Lenin describes it as follows: "We do not regard Marx's theory as something completed and inviolable; on the contrary, we are convinced that it has only laid the foundation stone of the science which socialists *must* develop in all directions if they wish to keep pace with life. We think that an *independent* elaborationof Marx's theory is especially essential for Russian socialists; for this theory provides only general *guiding* principles which, *in particular,* are applied in Britain differently than in France, in France differently than in Germany, and in Germany differently than in Russia."[5]

Marxism has elaborated a well-functioning mechanism for interrelating theory and experience, which is a reflection of the dialectics of the general and the particular. Each fraternal party makes an independent analysis and assessment of the state of affairs in its own country and in the international arena, and independently determines its strategic line and policy, and chooses the ways of struggle for its immediate and more remote goals and for its communist ideals. The experience gained by the Communists adds up to their valuable international asset.

Bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologists have frequently charged that the GDR was copying the experience of the USSR. But that is either a profound misconception or a deliberate distortion of the facts. It is true that in theory and in practice the SED has always acted on the premise that the CPSU's rich experience helps to solve many problems faster and more effectively than would have been possible without such experience. But we are perfectly well aware that this experience is an interlacing of the general, international and the particular, specific. The concrete historical conditions in which socialism is being built on German soil are different, being determined, in particular, by the fact that our republic neighbours on the FRG. The socialist state in the GDR emerged on the basis of a broad anti-Hitlerite, anti-fascist bloc. In the course of our joint struggle, we came to realise that overcoming fascism at root meant eliminating the big bourgeoisie and big landowners (Junkers) and creating a socialist society. There is an inner logic in that line of reasoning, and it induced the anti-fascist parties in the country to go along with the SED. That gave rise to the conception of a socialist state conforming to our conditions. There have been mistakes and reverses in realising it, but the party was capable of overcoming them and successfully advancing along this way.

What is the bourgeois theorists' approach to continuity in the development of the Marxist-Leninist theory? What is the role of this principle as a criterion of its development?

Artur Kiss. The very fact that some bourgeois ideologists have recognised the connection between Marxist propositions formulated at various times shows that the developing criterion of continuity in Marxism's development, of what needs to be preserved in its content, and how, is not an idle question at all. Some bourgeois scientists and pseudo-Marxists are prepared to admit, for instance, the historical value of Marxism as an economic analysis of classical capitalism. Others even recognise Leninism, but only as a reflection of Russia's specific experience and history. Some agree to accept Marx's doctrine as a system of ethical views. Reflecting the latest trends in bourgeois Marxology, one of the most bellicose anti-communists in the United States, Sidney Hook, writes: "The intellectual historian of the future will be challenged by a striking phenomenon of the latter half of the twentieth century — the second coming of Karl Marx. In this second coming he appears not in the dusty frock coat of the economist, as the learned author of *Capital,* nor as the revolutionary *sans-cullote,* the inspired pamphleteer of the *Communist Manifesto.* He comes robed as a philosopher and moral prophet with glad tidings about human freedom valid beyond the narrow circles of class, party or faction."[6]

However, Marxism has never been merely an economic, or political, or ethical

doctrine. Nor has it ever been a reflection of some single country's specific features. It is a scientific world-view providing the basis for revolutionary transformative activity, and what the bourgeois ideologists resent most is the practical programme which follows from it. That is why they reject the actual integrity and universality of the communist world-view and keep stressing that continuity, as the Marxists-Leninists see it, allegedly amounts to no more than a canonisation of names and texts, or tribute to a tradition based on dogmatic thinking, with the Marxist doctrine, by which the communist movement is guided, amounting to blind faith in *Capital* and the *Communist Manifesto,* as a set of holy scriptures.

It is important, therefore, to show not just the continuity in the development of the Marxist-Leninist theory, but also its objective grounds. What is modern is not necessarily always truly new, and that which appears to be new, is not always modern. In science, some truths discovered centuries ago may be modern: it would be absurd, for instance, to reject Newton's laws simply because they were discovered in the seventeenth century, while a claim to the discovery of, say, a perpetual-motion nuclear engine could not be regarded as genuinely novel, because it would be not more than a mistaken, unscientific claim. This cursory illustration of an, on the whole, fairly intricate matter, shows that truth and the development of continuity and the meaningfulness of knowledge, in general, and of the Marxist-Leninist theory, in particular, is a problem requiring a more profound approach, without the processes involved being classified merely as old or new. As they run their course, there also exists in them something that is preserved, that is stable, and, one could say, abiding, and it is not new, but modern and contemporary.

The dialectico-materialist concept of scientific cognition as it has been said, makes a direct connection between the concept of what is new in theory and the question of truth. This implies the bringing out of what is *objectively* new, what is above all a peculiar product of well-known objective tendencies and stable uniformities. That is why what is new in Marxism reflects the *necessary course* of the historical process. But even here, the Marxist standpoint requires a *concrete* analysis of the problem and a consideration of the dialectics of the absolute and the relative in the concepts of "new" and "old". It is easy to slide down to the subjectivist view of the new unless the newly observed phenomena and objects are correlated with the uniformities discovered by Marx, Engels and Lenin.

That is the kind of subjectivist approach to the new as having nothing in common with the old, that is characteristic of bourgeois and pseudo-Marxist theorists. Dogmatism, in effect, consists of the "absolutely new" blinkers, although the dogmatists themselves prefer to claim that it lies in the Marxist principle of continuity. One "Western Marxist" in the United States, Stanley Aronowitz, has an epigraph in one of his books, clearly borrowed from the anti-communist Karl Popper, which says: "Theoretists have interpreted Marxism in various ways; the point, however, is to change it."[7]

Among the elements that our ideological adversaries insist on including in Marxism as being new is, for instance, Freudism. Thus, Aronowitz asserts: "While Marxism has no critique of everyday life, particularly cultural and sexual relations, I believed these omissions to be subject to amendment. Marxism needed what psychoanalysis had discovered about the individual and the family, it required a theory of consciousness not umbilically tied to the economic infrastructure, and it needed a theory of the relative autonomy of the state."[8] Let us note, in this context, one particular conclusion derived from this "new" standpoint by Aronowitz, such as the explanation of the nature of fascism not as a terroristic dictatorship trying to fetter the workers' class struggle against the exploiters, but as a movement that gripped the masses because it apparently offered a way "to meet their need for freedom, which was always tied to questions of sexuality".[9] This example shows that abandonment of all the old propositions and inclusion of "absolutely new" ones into the Marxist theory paves the

way not only for pseudo-scientific but also for blatantly reactionary inventions.

Consequently, what is meaningful and modern from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism also includes stable and sustained tendencies, and the new which emerges on their basis. That is a view with which Marxist-Leninism, as a scientific theory, is itself completely in accord.

There is an intrinsic, i.e., indissoluble, connection between the categories of novelty and continuity in Marxism: it is impossible to establish the true novelty of a proposition without agreeing it with the fundamental principles which constitute a kind of theoretical system of coordinates that has been established by the previous development of cognition. The general principles of the Marxist-Leninist theory are not some kind of ballast that must perforce be borne. In the context of the contemporary reality, they assume a new form and a new expression, and that is why we say that development is the form of the existence of Marxism.

Marian Orzechowski. I should like to add that the criterion of continuity in Marxism-Leninism also has another objective ground — practice. The renewal of any theory, of any scientific knowledge, is generally known to imply a timely surmounting of obsolete views and notions, and the new always asserts itself as these are overcome. But one should not forget that practice alone can confirm what it is that has actually become obsolete in our knowledge and what needs to be reviewed and reassessed or completely discarded. In saying that practice is the ultimate instance for verifying the correctness of this or that step in the development of Marxism-Leninism we have in mind above all the aggregated experience of the communist and workers' parties.

The CPSU's new programmatic document and the material brought up for discussion at congresses by other ruling parties in the socialist community countries are of especial significance in formulating pressing problems, as also in overcoming some obsolete views. The elaboration of these documents and material signifies an important step in the development of Marxist knowledge, and they are valuable above all because, in defining the large-scale tasks in the refinement of the socialist society, they are an expression of the collective wisdom, the Communists' well-knit activity and generalisation of their experience and views, in short, they are a form in which theory and practice are directly fused. While being a concentration of the achievements of Marxist thinking in the recent period, these documents simultaneously contain a critical assessment of some studies not aimed to reflect the actual processes in social life.

The continuity of the fraternal parties' programmatic theoretical and political propositions is multifaceted. It is manifested in loyalty to the fundamental tenets of Marxism-Leninism and to revolutionary traditions, and is an expression of the objective link between the basic stages of world history, above all the history of socialism as an ideological trend, a social movement and a social system.

The theoretical, practical and political foundation of Marxist studies in our day is markedly extended through the pooling of efforts by the fraternal parties in studying and applying experience in building the new society, invigorating collective theoretical thinking, and ever wider exchanges of spiritual values, and cooperation in the sphere of the economy, science and culture. The CPSU's programmatic document says, for instance: "The party considers it its most important duty to continue creatively developing Marxist-Leninist theory by studying and generalising new phenomena in the Soviet society, taking into account the experience of other countries of the socialist community and the world communist, working class, national liberation and democratic movement, and analysing the progress in the natural and social sciences."[10]

In building and perfecting socialism, the fraternal parties have accumulated multi-faceted experience, which also contains some negative elements. Some bourgeois and petty-bourgeois doctrinaires seek to inflate these in order to smear the realities of existing socialism, as a pretext for casting doubt on Marxism as a whole. They are busy churning out volumes about "bureaucratic socialism", "egalitarian socialism", "state

capitalism", and so on, but what they do not have at all is an analysis of the actual experience of socialist construction. They concentrate on picking out various mistakes or miscalculations so as to hyperbolise and caricature them.

It will be clear to every fair-minded person, however, that the realisation of a grand project, such as the building of a new society, even despite the fact that this is done purposefully and in a balanced manner, may well involve mistakes, attempts to outrun events, or temporary retreats. Far from refuting the Marxist-Leninist theory, the practice of existing socialism and the experience of the communist and working class movement have, in fact, shown that it is correct and valid and is capable of providing the required answers to the questions posed by the epoch. They have confirmed the truth and abiding value of materialist dialectics, of the materialist view of history.

No Marxist will, of course, object to having more profound knowledge about socialism as a whole, as of the various aspects of this social system, of its general law-governed uniformities and specific development of each socialist country. But we reject the speculative approach and the attempts by some theorists to construct artificial and highly abstract "models" of socialism. The socialist world has a wealth of positive experience in building the new society, and anyone who seriously wants to ponder the future will have to reckon with this experience.

How do you assess the urge to "supplement" Marxism with philosophical and methodological ideas borrowed from bourgeois social science? Are any additions to Marxism at all possible or necessary?

Alfred Kosing. While the Marxist-Leninist theory certainly has an extensive compass of the reality, it cannot cover the entire immensity of it, i.e. the whole infinite and boundless sphere of cognition of qualitatively diverse world processes. Let us bear in mind that the classics of Marxism-Leninism lived at a time when many of today's problems could not yet have been on the agenda, so that additions are evidently necessary, the whole point being *what kind* of additions are appropriate, and *how* they are to be included in the structure of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

Some bourgeois Marxologists propose, for instance, that it should be supplemented with structuralism, on the pretext that the structuralist approach (in particular, the writings of Claude Levi-Strauss) has allegedly yielded a new method of scientific analysis. But these assertions are simply incorrect. It is not true to say, for instance, that this method was discovered and elaborated only in the recent period, for Marxist studies have shown very well that Marx's *Capital* was the first scientific laboratory of systematic-structural analysis.

The self-appointed tutors of our doctrine claim that Marxism had initially lost sight of the problem of man, of the individual, apart from what Marx had written as a young man. But that is a deliberate distortion of the facts, for it was Marx and Engels who laid the foundation of the truly ascientific, materialist approach to the problems of man's spiritual world and solved the main problems of its nature and social qualities and of the properties of consciousness. The fundamental ideas on the nature and substance of man were produced by the classics of Marxism-Leninism.

There are two lessons to be drawn from such blunders on the part of bourgeois Marxology. First, all innovations should first be considered in the context of what has already been done by the founders of Marxism and achieved by the common efforts of Marxist analysts in our day. No discovery is ever made twice in science, and the common rule is to know and use what one's predecessors have done.

The second thing that appears to be necessary in this context is to consider not only the well-known theoretical propositions but also the methodological principles. Thus, the approach to the problem of man in the Marxist-Leninist doctrine has differered from that of the bourgeois and pseudo-Marxist ideologists in that it has always been analysed in concrete terms, namely, with an eye to the immediate practical tasks that needed to be tackled for man's real emancipation.

It is quite natural that the first thing that had to be done was to create a social system

satisfying the individual's vital interests, but not of some abstract "individual in general", but of the working man. As the socialist society develops, as it become socially more homogeneous and as the communist ideals are gradually realised, ever more independent significance will attach to matters relating to the formation of individual requirements, interests, the individual's activity and responsibility, the role of the human factor in social production, and so on. Under communism, the free development of each would become the condition for the free development of all, as Marx and Engels predicted.

Apart from this new social context, the problem of the individual in present-day conditions is being brought to the fore by the factors of the scientific and technical revolution (automation, robotisation of production), and new and concrete material for its solution has come from the sciences developing intensely in the recent period: social psychology, genetics, neuropsychology, psychophysiology, etc. Their data need to be comprehended from the philosophical and historico-materialist standpoint and that, of course, must substantively add to the Marxist-Leninist conception of man. But that should not be done by means of any mechanical combinations, but through a synthesis of the particular-science and philosophical knowledge.

While accepting some Marxist propositions, bourgeois and pseudo-Marxist theorists on the whole shun its "living soul", that which constitutes its methodology, and that is the origin of their attempts to blend totally incompatible elements. Structuralism, Freudism, and "philosophical anthropology" pose a number of problems which truly spring from practice and in that sense contain a rational kernel, but they also spread false views. The result of their eclectic confusion with Marxism is ultimately the preaching of repudiation of the very principles of materialist dialectics and attempts to push philosophical, economic, social and political thinking into an idealistic interpretation of social phenomena which is practised by bourgeois ideology itself.

Marxism-Leninism is not a closed or dogmatic system, as its opponents claim. It is a creative and constantly developing theory which is open for everything that is valuable in the cultural legacy of mankind's past and present achievements.

Is the structure of the Marxist-Leninist theory in the process of change? If it is, what are these changes?

Marian Orzechowski. The dialectics of novelty and continuity considered in our exchange of views implies the *actualisation* of various propositions of the Marxist-Leninist theory in the process of its development. The changing concrete historical conditions make the study of some problems the most meaningful in the given historical period, for they tend to command special attention. The structure of the Marxist-Leninist philosophy is not some kind of rigid frame into which new knowledge has to be forcibly "injected". Young shoots and branches sprout within the structure and some earlier boundaries are eroded. I would compare it with the normally growing and fruit-bearing tree of knowledge.

This kind of growth does not signify any change in the basic and fundamental principles or any disruption of the integral logic underlying the development of the Marxist-Leninist theory. Its enrichment on the whole proceeds consecutively and consistently. That is why there is no ground for the assertions by some bourgeois ideologists and "Western Marxists" that Marx, Engels and Lenin or, say Antonio Gramsci, worked out special "types" of Marxism, since each of them concentrated his attention on matters that were most meaningful in this or that period, temporarily putting others aside or leaving them for the future.

Bourgeois ideologists and revisionists now charge that Marxists have, for instance, forgotten about the problem of alienation, allegedly the most important one for Marx. The highlighting of this problem goes hand in hand with an attempt to prove that it is everlasting, and that man remains alienated from the means of production and from the society generally, even in socialism.

Leszek Kolakowski, who broke with Marxism a long time ago, has tried to present it as another version of Fichteanism, on the plea that Marx's dialectics turned the individual's subjectivism into "an absolute point of departure" in the philosopy of history.[11] He gives Marx's concept of alienation the same kind of subjectivist and idealistic treatment, killing its class content and reducing the problem to the individual's "depersonification" under capitalism. He claims that the Marxist theory of socialism boils down not to changing the material conditions in which the oppressed class lives, but to seeking the lost subjectiveness and overcoming the dehumanisation. Kolakowski says that communism is not a collectivist system, but only a society "reviving" individuality in which "man can determine his own development in freedom, instead of being enslaved by material forces which he has created but can no longer control."[12]

Kolakowski also regards modern man ("man in general") through the prism of individual alienation, and voices abstract regrets about the individual not yet feeling himself to be the centre of the universe and the architect of its own acts. The "unalienated man" is a kind of points system for assessing existing socialism, about which he has nothing to say except levelling charges of totalitarianism, bureaucracy, etc., just because it has yet to attain the "absolute freedom of the individual" which Kolakowski demands. This subjectivist treatment and absolutisation of the concept of alienation give Kolakowski a convenient handle for mixing Marx's views with those of the philosophers of the Frankfurt school and of Christianity, and with revisionist distortions, as a basis for advocating what is essentially an anarcho-syndicalist conception of socialism. There we have an obvious distortion of the structure, of the course of development, and of the very content of the Marxist theory.

It is important to state most emphatically that the Marxist-Leninist doctrine does not develop in some kind of spontaneous process. The transformations, the change of accents, the actualisation of individual questions have always been determined by the requirements of practice and scientific cognition. The tree of Marxist thought has now become highly ramified, and there are active processes of differentiation and integration within it, as there are in scientific cognition generally. There is probably not a single more or less important proposition of the Marxist-Leninist theory that has turned out to be unmeaningful in view of the exceptionally expanded sphere in which theory is applied, and of the whole range of problems facing mankind.

Concerning bourgeois Marxology and "Western Marxism" as a whole, I venture to draw the following conclusion: their approach to the development of Marxism is so abstract that it enables them arbitrarily to manoeuvre within the theoretical space. On the one hand, on the pretext that Marxism is growing "old", they reject everything which they regard as being most dangerous; on the other, they impose on it such "innovations" which fundamentally contradict its theoretical and methodological principles. This relativist and subjectivist attitude rests on their denial of the objective content of the Marxist-Leninist theory, its formulations of the law-governed uniformities of nature, society and thought. One has to note that such an approach — deliberately couched in abstract terms — has a very definite practical purpose: it is far from abstract in the sense that it is ideologically aimed to fulfil an obvious ideological function, that of discrediting Marxism-Leninism and undermining its foundations.

The CPSU Programme stresses that the Communists have always favoured the bold quest and competition of ideas and schools in science, and discussions and exchanges of opinion when these are truly inspired by the search for the truth.[13] Whenever there are differences between Communists on some matters, it is useful to carry on comradely discussions to gain a better apprehension of each other's views and formulate mutually acceptable assessments. But when it comes to the revolutionary substance of Marxism-Leninism, the substance and role of existing socialism, the Communists will continue to take a principled stand in rebuffing any manfestations of revisionism and dogmatism. That is what determines our attitude to any attempts to

kill the class meaning of the Marxist-Leninist theory and to distort the revolutionary nature of the goals and means of struggle for their achievement.

[1] Robert Heilbroner, *Marxism: For and Against*, New York, London, 1980, p. 19.
[2] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 281.
[3] Maurice Cornforth, *Communism and Philosophy. Contemporary Dogmas and Revisions of Marxism*, London, 1980, p. 57.
[4] Such as the existence of quarks, super-light particles, the "Big Bang" theory, etc.
[5] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, pp. 211-212.
[6] Sidney Hook, *Revolution, Reform, and Social Justice. Studies in the Theory and Practice of Marxism*, New York, 1975, p. 1.
[7] Stanley Aronowitz, *The Crisis in Historical Materialism. Class, Politics and Culture in Marxist Theory*, New York, 1981, p. 1.
[8] Ibid., p. 4.
[9] Ibid.
[10] *The Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, Draft (New Edition), Moscow, 1985, p. 73.
[11] See Leszek Kolakowski, *Main Currents of Marxism*, Vol. 1, Oxford, 1978, p. 50.
[12] Ibid., p. 180.
[13] See *The Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, Draft (New Edition), p. 80.

Economic Backwardness: A Global Problem

Walter Baier – Central Committee member, Communist Party of Austria

In Austria, as in other capitalist countries, we are witnessing a remarkable phenomenon: the internationalist consciousness of peace champions is growing. This is seen in the understanding of the dialectical, vibrant interconnection linking the struggle for detente, universal disarmament and peaceful coexistence of the two systems with solutions to several urgent global problems of our age. These problems include the issue of overcoming the socio-economic backwardness of Third World countries.

The concern displayed in this connection by Austria's peace champions, especially young people, is reflected in the discussion of various political and strategic concepts that offer this or that way of ending the crisis in the relations between industrialised capitalist nations and developing countries. Essentially, this is a search for substantiated solutions capable of preserving peace in accordance with the vital interests of all peoples.

Taking part in these discussions (which have already spread beyond the framework of the peace movement itself and now involve the bourgeois and social democratic press), Austria's Communists strive to promote and strengthen the peace champions' awareness that they and the peoples opposing neocolonialist exploitation and dependence and working for genuine democratisation of international economic relations pursue common goals. The following is an examination of some aspects of this global problem with reference to its discussion in Austria.

A Dangerous Dead End

Essential political conditions for the socio-economic progress of the Third World resulted from the collapse of the colonial empires after World War II, from the attainment of national independence by the oppressed peoples and from the

increasingly intensive struggle of Latin American, Asian and African countries for an independent choice of the development path. Forms of international organisation that enabled these countries to jointly uphold their interests also emerged. The non-aligned movement, the Group of 77,[1] the progressive position of the United Nations on many issues and the formation of raw-material "cartels" (with the OPEC as the most significant) are important landmarks in the process of decolonisation and in the strengthening of the newly free peoples' political independence. Increased activity by the international and national forces advocating the elimination of neocolonialism has carried this struggle to a new stage. To overcome economic and social backwardness by putting an end to imperialist exploitation and plunder is emerging as the immediate objective of this struggle. Certain results have already been achieved in this field over the past decades.

However, positive trends of economic progress in Third World countries have failed to produce any fundamental change that could ensure stable, all-round development independent of the imperialist diktat or freedom from the increasingly tight, viselike grip of the crisis. In the early 1980s, the output volume of the developing countries was five to seven times smaller than that of the leading industrialised capitalist powers. Since the mid-1970s, the barriers which are built into the world capitalist economy and which preserve and even strengthen imperialist domination have been increasingly hampering the economic growth of agrarian and raw-material regions. In the 1980s, general economic problems in a number of Third World countries aggravated so much that this has pushed many of them to the brink of catastrophe.

The obvious fact that these countries enter the era of the scientific and technological revolution late and very slowly gives rise to new forms of dependence. As production is stepped up in industrialised capitalist nations, the economic structure of developing countries deteriorates in relative terms. There still exists a great gap between these groups of countries in the per capita value of the national wealth and gross national product. Unemployment is extremely high in Third World regions; hunger affects vast areas; housing conditions for working people are awful; the necessary systems of medical care and education are absent; the living environment of billions of people is rapidly disintegrating.

The situation with regard to key economic parameters such as *foreign trade* and the *external debt* is also deteriorating; here, the crisis has reached an explosive stage.

Most countries of the former colonial periphery are usually overwhelmingly dependent on the exports of a small range of commodities and on the imports of many other goods. All these countries, including the oil-exporting states, are caught in the vice of the price discrepancy: raw material prices keep falling, while prices for finished manufactured goods, general and electrical engineering products, that have to be imported are rising. Deterioration of the terms of trade has been a growing trend over the past decades. For example, in 1960 the money earned from the sale of one ton of coffee could buy 37.3 tons of mineral fertiliser and only 15.8 tons in 1982; in 1960, the proceeds from the sale of one ton of bananas were enough to import 13 tons of oil and only 1.6 tons in 1982; in 1959, the price of one 60-hp tractor could be covered from the sale of 24 tons of sugar, while in late 1982 it took 115 tons to buy such a tractor.[2]

The developing countries' position is growing worse each year because the big imperialist concerns have a monopoly on regulating these nations' exports and imports. For example TNCs control 85 to 90 per cent of the copper market, 90 to 95 per cent of the iron ore market, 50 to 60 per cent of the world's phosphates, 85 per cent of all cocoa sales, 70 to 75 per cent of all banana sales and 85 to 90 per cent of the coffee market.[3]

Contrary to the feigned naivete of bourgeois propaganda which claims that these facts are the results of slumps in marketing, the years of cyclical upswings do nothing to improve the economic position of raw material exporters. *Die Presse*, a conservative Austrian bourgeois newspaper, argued that "theoretically, the upsurge in the United

States and Western Europe should have produced an increase in the demand for raw material and a rise in raw material prices".[4] In actual fact however, it is precisely market fluctuations that deal particularly painful blows to economically dependent countries. The actual record has refuted the US government forecast made at the latest UNCTAD to the effect that the economic upsurge in the United States would lead to greater prosperity in the developing world. *Die Presse* had to admit that in June 1984 the raw material price index fell to 84.4 points compared to 1980 and that there was a sharp fall in the price index for metals (down to 75.5 points), etc. Naturally, this has considerably reduced the foreign exchange earnings of many newly independent countries. Zambia is a case in point here: with copper exports accounting for 90 per cent of its foreign exchange earnings, that country found that the prices for this export commodity fell 22 per cent between August 1983 and August 1984.

These difficulties are compounded by ever-present factors such as imports outweighing exports and the inequitable terms of trade with industrialised capitalist powers; this adds to the already huge trade deficit of the developing countries. In the 1973-1981 period alone, it increased to 355 billion dollars. This either exhausts the foreign exchange stocks of the overwhelming majority of the weaker partners in international trade or makes these stocks insignificant and unstable; domestic accumulation sources are severely limited; loans are growing and so are the debts to private banks in the former colonial powers and to the imperialist-controlled international financial agencies such as the International Monetary Fund.[5] We all know that these countries' external debt passed the 800 billion-dollar mark in 1984 and keeps growing.

Meanwhile, debt servicing terms are becoming increasingly unfavourable. On the one hand, short-term and expensive credits replace cheap ones virtually at gunpoint, the share of private loans with interest rates higher than those set by government credit agencies is growing, and periodic easing of credit terms changes nothing in the ruinous essence of the credit policy pursued by finance capital. On the other hand, the increase of interest rates compounds the plunder of the peoples caught in the web of the imperialist financial system. From 1970 to 1980, overall private investment in the underdeveloped regions was 62.6 billion dollars, while the profits transferred to the creditor countries totalled 139.7 billion dollars. In other words, the transnational corporations and their home base made a huge profit per dollar invested.

In 1965 the overall external debt servicing payments made by the non-oil-exporting Third World countries accounted for 67 per cent of the investment they received in the form of loans from the OECD nations; in 1981 interest payments alone swallowed up 90 per cent of this investment. If this trend persists, by 1990 up to 80 per cent of all foreign exchange earnings of this group of countries will be used for interest payments and credit servicing. Many Asian, African and Latin American countries are in fact already bankrupt: the semblance of their solvency is maintained solely by the deferments the creditors are forced to grant. As far as the oil producers are concerned, they bear the brunt of the burden that falls on the Third World in the form of repayments of foreign investment. The incomes of the oil producers are relatively high, but this does not alter the system of their exploitation by the Western oil consumers, nor does it prevent sharp drops in prices or abrupt rises of budget deficits; as a result, countries such as Saudi Arabia have been plunged into economic crisis in recent years.

As for the main obstacle barring the developing countries from radically increasing their economic potential, it is their exploitation by transnational corporations and banks, their discrimination in international trade and the policy of imperialist-supported anti-popular regimes that encourage the comprador bourgeoisie and backward social relations. The existing world economic order ensures comprehensive advantages for capitalist monopolies. It is this order that the current foreign economic policy of the United States serves to perpetuate.

US Policy Provoking an Explosion. A Search for Solutions

It is a major trend of our time that the sphere of imperialist domination is progressively contracting (exclusive leadership of the United States remained the mainstay of this domination to the end of the 1970s). Objectively, the world economy is facing the problem of creating a new system of international economic relations which would take the interests of the developing countries into account and reflect the need for peaceful coexistence between the two social systems.

However, the foreign economic strategy of the world's imperialist forces, above all of US imperialism is hampering the shaping of a new international economic order. Holding forth on the need to return to an era of "economic liberalism", the US ruling quarters are in fact combining destruction of the commercial and financial mechanism other countries use to protect their national interests with increased protectionism in US foreign economic policy. This course underlies the "nationalist" strategy of the current US administration, the strategy which takes the form of a tough foreign economic diktat.

Aside from increased dependence of the developing countries on imperialism, purely economic advantages are one of the consequences of this diktat. Up to 40 per cent of the US budget deficit are covered from the inflated exchange rate of the dollar and from the deliberately high interest rates. As a result, capital flows from other countries to the United States. It is no accident that the economic recklessness of the current US administration encounters resistance even in those bourgeois quarters of the capitalist world which share its views on matters of principle. Many Western political figures doubt that US military and political hegemony can heal the world economy. While almost all NATO governments support the US policy of increasing the global aggressiveness of contemporary imperialism and attaining military superiority over socialism, influential political and business interests in Western Europe and Japan increasingly challenge the practice of US diktat in external economic relations. International economic initiatives of the USSR and other countries of the socialist community generate ever broader response among the masses and support on the part of the leading quarters in various countries.

This explains why programmes for restructuring the world economic order that offer alternatives to the US strategy are advanced in the West increasingly often. Of these, the concept put forward by the Socialist International can be described as the most important. For all its traditional social-reformist orientation on preserving the sway of monopoly capital, the Socialist International reflects the deep-running contradictions between Western Europe and the United States, the two centres of imperialist power, and expresses the West European business interests' fears of a collapse of the world capitalist economy.[6]

Typical views of this kind are presented in the Brandt Report. It paints an objective picture of the desperate economic position of the developing countries[7] and proposes a series of urgent steps to expand the possibility of granting them credits through the International Monetary Fund, to regulate relations on market of raw materials, remove protectionist trade barriers, introduce a "code of conduct" for the TNCs, increase government aid, etc.

There is no doubt that these steps can alleviate the acute situation that has emerged. But it is also obvious that the authors of the report refrain from expressing themselves on what social changes are necessary in the Third World itself so as to make better use of the improved international economic conditions. At the same time, the report recommends far from credible "cooperation" with international finance capital. True, in accordance with social democratic traditions, the capital to be dealt with is supposed to be "tame" and "humane". This leads to groundless statements that "the ill feelings which existed between developing countries and private investors have been mostly overcome lately"[8] and that one should strive for "international agreements on private

investment which would be satisfactory both to capital investors and to the recipient countries".[9] One must not forget that over the past decades, international "social partnership" has actually led to technological backwardness, dependence and lopsided development in the newly free countries and, last but not least, to a global and rapid destruction of the environment. The view that transnational capital is the best source for the accumulation of national capital is refuted by the fact that 70 per cent of the profits made by the TNCs in the Third World are siphoned off into the home countries of the corporations.

Normalisation of international credit and trade relations largely depends on the unity of the developing countries, on their cooperation with the socialist states and on progress as far as democratisation and social relations are concerned. Unfortunately however, these questions are not discussed in the Socialist International paper. Moreover, opposite recommendations are put forward. For example, the report notes critically that the negotiating style of Third World countries "could be more successful" if it were less oriented on "group system forms" and if these countries put an end to "decision-making by a majority of votes".[10] Accordingly, the advice is to rely on the "possibility of summit meetings between like-minded countries of the North and South whose composition would make it possible to expect greater understanding".[11] This is an obvious attempt to split the front of the struggle against neocolonialism by the lure of "accords among a limited number" of participants and to isolate progressive states, especially socialist Cuba — as demonstrated at the Cancun meeting.[12]

As concerns the "TNC code of conduct" advertised in the report, its essence has been exposed by Fidel Castro. "From the political point of view," he writes, "this code stipulates no protective measures beyond those the country that is a recipient of foreign investment could take for herself. If a developing country with an independent government firmly in power and safeguarding the national interests needed such a code, she would proclaim it herself, without discussing the matter internationally. Therefore, the crux of the matter is in those measures that are connected with the political orientation and the character of economic development."[13]

Of course, some of the measures proposed by the Brandt Commission, especially those concerning credit terms and reforms of the world trade system, could play a positive role. Of great positive importance are, specifically, Brandt's statements favouring cancellation of the debts incurred by the newly free countries and lower interest rates on the credits they receive. This is the basis on which the positions of the Socialist International and the socialist community are beginning to converge in relation to the need for equitable cooperation between developed capitalist and developing countries so as to help defuse conflicts and solve the global problems of our age. Practical cooperation can certainly produce changes for the better. Still, there remains the question of the search for a promising development path and of filling the demands for a new international economic order with a social content, with due regard for the political realities. This search calls for an examination of the fundamental political economy of neocolonialism and of the salient features of the developing countries' exploitation by transnational capital.

Essential Social and Political Conditions

The anti-imperialist struggle has traversed several stages. During the period ushered in by the victory of the October Revolution, the task of the colonial peoples was to win political independence; those already independent could mount a struggle for independent economic development. However, advances along this path failed to put an end to imperialist exploitation. On the contrary, the contraction of the sphere of imperialist domination, the exacerbation of inter-imperialist contradictions and the current attempt of the US ruling quarters to shift the burden of their arms build-up policy onto the shoulders of others have even intensified the expansion of the

monopolies into the Third World.

Obviously, given equitable terms of international trade, Third World problems could be resolved tangibly and effectively, although so far, the solutions would be limited in social terms.

These limitations are a product of the capitalist relations of production dominating a large part of the world economy. *Inequitable* exchange in the field of foreign trade — that is, artificially depressed prices for goods produced by the developing countries and deliberately high prices for the products of developed nations — secures, as it did decades ago, billions of dollars in profits for the latter. Add to that the factor of a *monopoly* on profits. Its role is particularly great today because, as Lenin determined, "typical of the old capitalism, when free competition held undivided sway, was the export of *goods*. Typical of the latest stage of capitalism, when monopolies rule, is the export of *capital*."[14]

The monopolies of the leading capitalist powers use the export of capital to dependent regions and former colonies as a way of making superprofits; they rely on their sway over production, scientific and technological progress, and marketing. Everywhere, monopoly capital is striving to exploit labour with greater intensity, to "oust" the unmonopolised groups of capital and to secure a redistribution of the aggregate capitalist profits in its favour. In international economic relations, these trends produce a system under which foreign monopolies extract superprofits from the discrepancy between the relatively low wages of workers in the developing countries and the marketing prices that are favourable to the monopolies. The fixing of excessively low prices for the raw materials used by the corporations and of excessively high prices for the goods and services of the monopolies themselves helps them to appropriate part of the profits made by unmonopolised national companies and small businesses. The same purpose is served by the monopolisation of scientific and technological progress in the economic centres of capitalism, by the transfer of environmentally destructive production to the Third World, by the plunder of the Third World's natural riches and by the "brain drain", that is, the luring of highly skilled experts away from their countries.

We believe that in terms of political economy, this adds up to a category of *"neocolonial profit"* — a distinctive form in which monopoly profit exists and develops today. As such, it is the economic realisation of the sway of foreign capital in the developing countries under the existing international economic order.[15] The formal recognition of the Third World countries' sovereignty by the imperialist powers does not rule out but, on the contrary, promotes more vigorous use of a broad range of tools designed to destabilise them economically, of "covert operations" against the independent economic policy of the peoples who have attained political independence.

In conditions when monopoly capital strives to create a system of international exploitation of labour, successful struggle by the democratic forces for their peoples' interests calls for action on two socio-political levels.

On the one hand, it is important to further socio-economic and political progress within the developing countries themselves, to support socialist orientation, the struggle against the TNCs, etc. Only radical changes in the relations of ownership through the socialisation of the economy, the organisation of democratic economic management and the elimination of monocrop structures can create conditions for undermining the positions held by monopoly — mostly transnational — capital, by the factions of the local finance bourgeoisie allied with it and their political representatives. Viewed as a long-term prospect, this can lead to the shaping of a consistent Third World foreign economic policy that would resist the attempts of capital to make monopoly profits a universal law.

In this connection, vigorous and comprehensive involvement of developing countries in the struggle for universal peace and disarmament assumes paramount importance. Suffice it to recall that Saudi Arabia has ordered 16 billion dollars' worth

of weapons in the United States over the past three years, that Egypt has incurred a debt of 3.7 billion dollars buying US-made military hardware and owes a total of 30 billion dollars to the IMF. The funds spent on arms are made available at the expense of the people's social and economic needs. Military spending consolidates the positions held by reactionary regimes and enhances dependence on imperialism. On the other hand, the solution to the problem of economic underdevelopment depends on a tangible change in the existing character of international relations. Specifically, there is a need to internationally resist the credit terms set by the transnational monopolies. For example, private banks usually set, as a precondition to guarantee their credits, that an agreement cynically referred to as an "agreement on assistance" be concluded with the International Monetary Fund. But the IMF grants credits only on condition that the governments concerned carry out draconian economic measures such as sharp cuts in government spending, wages and social services,[16] immunity for foreign investment and the like.

According to Richard Gerster, a Western economist, stabilisation programmes that meet IMF demands "deprive the policy of development through social reform of its power base". Since the consequences of such stabilisation "are felt particularly acutely by the low-income strata, the government loses its right to govern and there emerges the need for a change of government or of policy". Such IMF programmes "encourage repressive policy because their implementation at the expense of the broad sections of the population often entails authoritarian action and suspension of democratic institutions". Gerster cites Jamaica, the Sudan, Zaire, Bolivia, Brazil and Egypt as examples.[17] No wonder that at all international forums, specifically at UNCTAD VI and at the latest UNIDO meeting in Vienna, the United States has been opposing democratisation of IMF terms and even expansion of "soft" credits.

This "uncompromising" US policy is producing a new phenomenon in the international economic relations: while previously, compliance with IMF terms destabiliised primarily progressive governments and placed several dictatorships in control, especially in Latin America, today it is often the puppets installed in presidential palaces by international finance capital that get caught in the meat grinder of the external debt and IMF terms.

Clearly, this policy of international imperialism has no future. The developing countries are scoring certain gains in their struggle for their economic interests. Suffice it to recall the record of the OPEC which, in 1968, proclaimed the establishment of "national control over oil resources and their exploitation by national enterprises to benefit national economic development" as its goal in the early 1970s, this undermined the Western monopolies' control of oil product prices.

The successes scored by the OPEC in those years showed, first, that a resolute economic policy pursued by several Asian, African and Latin American countries could exert a powerful influence on the reproduction of monopoly capital in the industrialised centres of capitalism. Second, the new awareness reflected in the foreign economic policy of Third World countries is linked very closely with the change in the global alignment of forces, with the consolidation of the positions held by the world socialist system and with the emergence of a group of countries pursuing an anti-imperialist policy. Since the 1974 adoption by the United Nations of the Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and of the Charter of the Economic Rights and Duties of States which prompted the developing countries to take a more vigorous stand, the United States and its closest allies have found themselves increasingly in isolation at representative international conferences.

Of course, the struggle of the progressive forces in the economic sphere cannot be successful without political action because its success is largely dependent on whether it proves possible to thwart the US policy of reckless military ventures. In this respect, there is an obvious community of interests between the movement against

neocolonialism and other anti-imperialist movements on the one hand and the peace movement on the other. The need for peaceful coexistence is now spreading to the sphere of relations between industrialised capitalist nations and developing countries irrespective of their social orientation. The economic plunder of the latter and the transfer of environmental pollution to them from the leading capitalist countries adversely affect the entire international situation in today's world.

Postwar history shows that capitalism does not necessarily have to rely on a global strategy of a purely imperial type similar to that conducted currently by the US administration. Like other capitalist countries, Austria is in fact paying for this strategy through the existing system of external economic relations and receiving nothing in return except the prospect of falling under the nuclear axe. One of the reasons why tens of millions of people in industrialised capitalist countries remain jobless is that the results of their work cannot be marketed in Third World regions where hundreds of millions of working people are struggling against hunger and poverty and where unemployment is growing. This prompts certain quarters of Western public opinion, specifically, the mass movements for peace, to step up their search for an alternative strategy. This strategy is designed to reject the imperialist policy of military and economic recklessness and to further the establishment of a new international economic order.

In pursuing its own, socially more radical course aimed at promoting peace, security and international cooperation, the communist workers' movement of many countries, including Austria, is looking, together with the peace movements, for a solution to the global problem of underdevelopment affecting a large part of the world community — a solution rooted in peaceful coexistence among different social systems and in social progress.

[1] The Group of 77 was established by representatives of Asian, African and Latin American developing countries in order to draw up a common platform in the tackling of the problems of economic relations with developed capitalist countries at sessions of the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). — *Ed.*

[2] Fidel Castro, *La crisis economica y social del mundo,* Havana, 1983, p. 65.

[3] Ibid., p. 67.

[4] *Die Presse,* August 24, 1984.

[5] The International Monetary Fund coordinates and focuses the interests of finance capital, setting them as terms on which credits are granted. The great scope of these credits makes the IMF a major tool in the intensified exploitation and plunder to which developing countries are subjected.

[6] Bourgeois economists acknowledge that the external debt of the developing countries has reached such astronomical proportions that its repayment becomes impossible. The huge size of the debt poses a grave threat to the imperialist centres themselves. This can be illustrated by the fact that only government interference saved Continental Illinois, the seventh biggest bank in the United States, from bankruptcy. Such developments are inevitable if one recalls that the amount of the loans provided by the nine biggest US banks to Third World countries is 180 per cent greater than these banks' cash assets.

[7] See Willy Brandt, *Hilfe in der Weltkrise,* Hamburg, 1983. The report was prepared by a group of prominent and largely realistic political figures (Willy Brandt, Olof Palme, Edward Heath, Eduardo Frei and others) in 1983.

[8] Ibid., p. 87.

[9] Ibid., p. 149.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Representatives of 22 developed capitalist and developing countries met in Cancun, Mexico, in 1981. The United States attended the meeting, having made its participation conditional on the absence of Cuba. Cuba agreed not to attend, striving to create a precedent of the newly free countries advancing a joint programme of demands.

[13] Fidel Castro, op. cit., p. 154.

[14] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works,* Vol. 22, p. 240.

[15] *Mehrwert heute,* Autorenkollektiv, Berlin, 1981.
[16] In its issue of October 17, 1985 *Wiener Zeitung* published a brief item (buried in the mass of other news) on the fact that the International Monetary Fund asked the Argentine government for explanations about a wage raise running counter to the "agreement on assistance" as the basis for deferring repayment of Argentina's debts.
[17] See Richard Gerster, *Fallstricke der Verschuldung. Der Internationale Währungsfonds und die Entwicklungländer,* Basel, 1982, p. 105.

surveys, information and mail

Serving the Working Class and the People of Algeria

The year 1986 is highlighted by memorable dates in the history of our people's movement for the national and social liberation of our country. In January, Algeria's Communists marked the twentieth anniversary of an important declaration of the Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria (SVPA) by various events, together with their numerous friends and allies at home and abroad. The leadership of the Algerian Communist Party (ACP), having given the party its present name, the Socialist Vanguard Party, released that declaration on January 26, 1966, along with other patriots who stood for socialism, both those who belonged to the National Liberation Front (NLF) party or had been unaffiliated to it. They expressed their will to preserve the independent party of the working class and to continue the struggle for a new, socialist-oriented Algeria. In the new political context, we drew on our experience to carry forward the rich legacy of the ACP, whose 50th anniversary will be commemorated in October 1986.

The ACP was banned in 1962, five months after the declaration of independence. The Communists of Algeria and its people as a whole made numerous sacrifices both before and during the war for national independence (1954-1962). Subsequently, over a period of three years, we had to work illegally or semi-legally. While Ahmed Ben Bella[1] was in power, the ACP, combining organisational independence with the activity of many of its members within the ruling NLF, contributed its share to the early social and democratic changes (June 1964 — June 1965). It took an active part in the defence of progressive gains, which found themselves threatened immediately after June 19, 1965.[2] At that time, the party's independent line was complemented by the activity of its members within the People's Resistance Organisation (June 1965 — December 1965), which advocated a progresssive orientation and supported the legitimate role of the NLF.

In the complicated and dangerous situation created by the June 19 events (the force involved in them — both on the right and the left — formed a heterogeneous coalition), the Communists stressed in their very first statement the need to search, in the people's

common interests, for a peaceful solution to the crisis that would help preserve broad patriotic unity. The SVPA signified its readiness to work for the clarification of the situation in order to enable all patriots to support a national democratic revolution with a socialist perspective. To this end, the party pointed out, it was necessary to act simultaneously along the following lines:

Seeking the establishment of the broadest possible front by mobilising all patriotic and progressive forces irrespective of their views or their attitude to power, on the basis of unity of action around the most pressing common tasks. Such a front would enable all the forces in it to act in the national interest, in the name of the anti-imperialist struggle and economic development.

Continuing within the movement for the preservation of broad patriotic unity to build an independent party of the new type guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and scientific socialism. None but a party of this nature is equal to making a decisive and unique contribution to the choice of a development path and to the realisation of changes that would form the pivot of socialist orientation, and to lending these changes an irreversible character. Large progressive patriotic sections of the population realised more and more the need for a vanguard force, especially after the NLF party's proclamation of the Tripoli Charter (1962) and its adoption of the Algerian Charter (1964). To stress this aspiration and emphasise its awareness of the situation, translating both into specific tasks, the ACP renamed itself the SVPA.

Strengthening the ties linking the patriotic forces of Algeria with the world anti-imperialist movement, as well as the class solidarity of the Algerian working people with the international communist movement on the principles of proletarian internationalism.

Being loyal to its chosen path but denied official recognition, our party came up, especially in the early years, against difficult conditions of struggle, and was occasionally subjected to brutal repression. Throughout those twenty years, however, it stayed in the forefront of all the decisive battles of our people as it carried forward and defended national democratic goals and the cause of social progress. These battles included the fight for the nationalisation of oil and gas, the establishment of a public sector and the provision of an industrial basis for it, and the implementation of an agrarian reform adn democratic changes in the health services, social security, education, and other spheres.

In combating every manifestation of right or "left" opportunism in its own ranks, the SVPA upheld the unity of the patriotic forces in order to support and help carry out official decisions of a progressive nature aimed at consolidating the political and economic independence of the country, and to contribute thereby to the gradual provision of a real basis on which our people could exercise their will by adhering to their socialist choice. Our party worked to ensure that the 1976 National Charter was given a progressive trend and to persuade the people to back this important document.

At the same time, the Communists always warned against voluntarism and a tendency to rush events in certain spheres, phenomena which could have discredited the progressive orientation and made it vulnerable to reactionary attacks.

The SVPA constantly urges the working people to stay vigilant and to close their ranks in defence of their achievements. We call on the masses to fight for real and democratic participation in the management and supervision of the operation of enterprises, the affairs of the whole country, and the implementation of the progressive provisions of the National Charter. Our party supports the working people's effort to strengthen their mass organisations, to form and defend representative trade unions free of one-sided influence and anti-democratic pressure.

Developments at home and abroad over the past few years have proved the party's patriotic and class policy for unity to be correct.

In North Africa as elsewhere in the world, there is evidence of increasing imperialist aggressiveness. Imperialism is building up political, economic, and military pressure to

intimidate the governments of the countries of our region, to force the newly-free countries into altering their foreign policy and moderating their legitimate economic demands, and to dissociate them from their genuine and natural allies, the countries and peoples of the socialist world. In Algeria this is coupled with attempts by bourgeois elements to win greater influence and exacerbate the class struggle. These forces are out to gradually dismantle much of what has been achieved as a result of the socialist option, particularly the policy of independent economic development and social progress. This may create a real basis for weakening the revolutionary democratic orientation of the ruling quarters and for bolstering the positions of the so-called moderate wing, which prefers a "third road" and looks most favourably on economic, political, diplomatic, cultural, and ideological contacts with capitalist powers.

The process of abandoning national democratic achievements poses a direct threat to the interests of both the working people and the middle strata (including small landowners and traders and the middle echelon of civil servants). It is fraught with the danger of a change which could imperil the country's anti-imperialist policy and social progress.

In these circumstances, the SVPA has been pursuing, ever since the early 1980s, a policy of alliances aimed at bringing about a broad patriotic front to defend the achievements of the previous period and head off a swing to the right. This front may also attract certain liberal-minded sections of the bourgeoisie whose positions are endangered by increasing penetration on the part of transnationals.

True to the strategic guidelines approved by the First National Conference of the SVPA (1969), the Communists have been working for the realisation of the provisions of their ten-point general platform (July 1981). Our party considers it imperative to defend the economic independence of the country, reinforce the public sector, raise its efficiency, respect and extend the democratic and social rights of the working people, and safeguard peace and security against imperialist provocations, such as the recent Israeli air raid on Tunisia.

In championing broad unity of action as a requisite for the solution of patriotic and democratic tasks, the Communists and all friends of our party will spare no effort in the name of independence, the national interest, and social justice. The anniversary of the party's twenty-year struggle reminds us again of the need for loyalty to principle and for flexibility, so that these notions may really have the meaning given them by our people, who made tremendous sacrifices in anti-colonial battles. This will preserve the continuity of this struggle with the traditions of the Algerian Communist Party.

Ali Malki
Representative of the Socialist Vanguard
Party of Algeria on *WMR*

[1] First head of independent Algeria (1962-1965). — *Ed.*
[2] Date when Ben Bella was relieved of his post. — *Ed.*

Communist Youth Leagues

Brief Information*

Progressive Youth Society (PYS) of Turkey

The Society was founded in 1976. It groups young workers, peasants and students of secondary and vocational schools, and universities. Its motto is "The path of the

* Continued from *WMR* Nos. 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 1984; 2, 6, 1985.

working class is the path of youth".

The Society draws young men and women into the struggle against imperialism, reaction and fascism, takes a stand against repression and persecution, in defence of the rights of the country's youth, and for a democratic educational system. It demands the abolition of US military bases, opposes the NATO policy of aggression and seeks unity of action by all progressive youth associations in this struggle.

Prior to the declaration of a state of emergency late in 1978, when the Society was barred from operating in legal conditions, it was 50,000 strong; it had organisations in nearly all the districts of the country and enjoyed high prestige among youth. Its activity was backed by *Ilerici Yurtsever Genclik* (Progressive Patriotic Youth), a fortnightly published in 30,000 copies. The authorities repeatedly confiscated the journal but its influence went on growing.

The military coup on September 12, 1980 and the ensuring repression weakened the youth movement for a time. Hundreds of Society members were arrested and tortured, and some of them were killed. The managing editor of *Ilerici Yurtsever Genclik,* Erhan Tuskan, is still in prison. Many leaders of the Society had to emigrate. But even telling losses failed to stop the struggle of progressive youth.

Today progressive youth are particularly strong in educational institutions. They organise protest actions against the government's pro-imperialist policy, launch campaigns of solidarity with political prisoners, demanding a general amnesty, fight against reactionary practices in the universities, for the restoration of democracy and for the people's happy future, strive for the repeal of the ban on the Society's activity, and join in actions against the US military bases on Turkish soil.

About two years ago, the Society started a national periodical, *Ileri* (Forward), which now has a large readership in spite of repression. The organisation clandestinely circulates *Ileri* as well as leaflets and posters expressing the demands of young workers, peasants, students and servicemen.

Being an affiliate of the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students, the Progressive Youth Society of Turkey participates in campaigns of solidarity with the peoples resisting repressive regimes and imperialist aggression.

Communist Youth Federation of Sri Lanka (CYFSL)

It was founded in 1949 and groups young people from the age of 18 years upwards: industrial and agricultural workers, peasants, fishermen, small-scale producers, university and secondary school students, intellectuals.

The CYFSL is operating under the ideological and political guidance of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka, on the basis of the party's strategy and tactics.

Throughout its history, the Federation has drawn progressive, democratic and patriotic youth into the struggle against imperialism, neocolonialism and reaction, in defence of their right to work and civil freedoms, and for the possibility of living and developing their abilities in a climate of peace.

Communist youth have been doing much to consolidate the political and economic independence of Sri Lanka, strengthen national unity and improve living standards. They have led many demonstrations and organised publicity campaigns to demand land reform and a democratic education system. They have protested against attempts by international and home reaction to involve Sri Lanka in imperialism's strategic plans endangering peace and stability in the region and the independence and sovereignty of Sri Lanka.

As a result of the regime's anti-popular, pro-imperialist social and economic policies, young Sri Lankans are faced with growing unemployment, a rising cost of living, runaway inflation and cuts in spending on social benefits. The Federation sees one of its immediate tasks in fighting for the restoration and extension of rights which young people have been robbed of. It resists government plans for a reduction in

expenditures on education and has launched a mass movement under the slogan "Provide employment to all youth irrespective of political affiliations" into which it has brought young men and women of different nationalities and religions.

The Federation is cooperating with other left-wing and radical organisations, such as the youth leagues of the Sri Lanka Socialist Party and the Sri Lanka People's Party or the National Union of Students. Together with these organisations the Federation is now making preparations for a nationwide campaign in defence of the rights of youth. The campaign may take the form of rallies, demonstrations, long marches, seminars and conferences.

The Federation considers peace a prerequisite for the social progress of nations. Therefore it actively opposes imperialism's war preparations and condemns the deployment of new NATO missiles in Europe and US plans for the militarisation of space. It demands the dismantling of foreign military bases, primarily on Diego Garcia Island in the Indian Ocean and emphatically condemns attempts by world imperialism, which is led by the USA, to destabilise the situation in countries which have opted for non-capitalist development.

The CYFSL is playing an active role in the international democratic youth movement. It joins in campaigns of solidarity with peoples and youth fighting for democracy and social progress, against fascist and other dictatorial regimes. The Federation organises, among other things, actions in support of the youth of Latin America, South Africa, Palestine and Lebanon. The Federation maintains ties with the progressive youth organisations of other countries. It has established particularly close relations with the All-India Youth Federation and the youth leagues of the socialist world and is affiliated to the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

The CYFSL follows the principles of democratic centralism. Its basic organisations are youth leagues formed in factories, higher educational institutions, towns and villages. The highest authority of the Federation is its Congress, held once in three years (the latest Congress — the Ninth — met in February 1983). In between congresses, the Federation's work is guided by the Central Committee and its Secretariat.

The CYFSL publishes *Tharuna Lanka* (Young Lanka), a monthly in Sinhalese, and an *Information Bulletin*, also a monthly in English.

Communist Youth of Ecuador

Founded in 1948, this is one of the most influential youth organisations in Ecuador. Its predecessor was the Socialist Youth of Ecuador, set up in 1926 on the initiative of the Ecuadoran Socialist Party.†

The CYE is a reserve and assistant of the Communist Party of Ecuador. it works under the party's guidance, closely cooperating with it at all levels and implementing its policy among young people.

The communist youth organisation has extensive experience of work in the complex political situation prevailing in Ecuador. In the 1960s, during the revolutionary upswing in the country, it played a major part in radicalising and uniting young people and drawing them into the popular movement against bourgeois power. Following the 1963 fascist coup the CYE was in the forefront of the fight against the military fascist dictatorship, which was deposed in 1966.

In the 1970s young Communists successfully repulsed Maoist and fascist-type paramilitary gangs active in Ecuadoran campuses. This won them considerable prestige among students in secondary schools and higher institutions, who today comprise 70 per cent of the CYE membership.

In the 1980s, under bourgeois democracy, the CYE has been concentrating on uniting patriotic and progressive young people to fight for their rights. The Third CYE Congress, held in 1982, charted the strategic line towards unity of action and advanced a relevant political platform. Its chief demands are that young people should have the

right to work, education, and vocational training, and access to culture, art, and sports.

In keeping with this strategy, the CYE has made a major contribution to the formation of the Youth Sector of the Broad Left Front and to the founding of the Anti-Oligarchy Political Youth Front, which unites members of diverse social forces under a patriotic, anti-imperialist programme. To help educate children in a revolutionary spirit, the CYE has taken the Eloy Alfaro Red Young Pioneers organisation under its patronage.

The CYE sees a constant aim in mobilising young people for active participation in the people's struggle for democracy, national independence, peace, and social progress. During the 1984 election campaign two youth teams went on an agitation hike. They crossed the country from south to north, hiking 1,800 kilometres, and on the way they posted placards, distributed election leaflets, and conducted rallies. During the campaign the CYE brought 10,000 new members into the Broad Left Front, and nominated its own candidates for election to parliament and other bodies.

Communist youth are operating in close contact with working class organisations, drawing young working pepople into trade unions. It cooperates with the Youth Department of the Confederation of Working People of Ecuador.

Ideological training gets much attention in the CYE. There is a permanent National School for Young Communists, which regularly holds political study days. The CYE educates its members in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and works for peace, against imperialism in support of embattled peoples. It has extensive contacts with progressive youth leagues in other countries and cooperates actively with young people in socialist countries. It is a member of the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

The Communist Youth of Ecuador is organised along the lines of democratic centralism. It has organisations in 14 of the nation's 20 provinces. Its highest organ is its Congress. In the interim between congresses its work is guided by the central Committee, the Executive Committee, and the Secretariat.

Its printed organ is the weekly *Juventud Rebelde* (Rebel Youth).

† The ESP, founded in 1926, was renamed the Communist Party of Ecuador in 1931.

A Tool of the World's Reactionaries

International Zionism: Organisations and Activities

In August and October 1985 bombs exploded in the Boston and Santa Ana offices of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee. Before that, several British trade union and civic leaders who condemned Israel's moves in the Middle East received letters with threats to their lives. Similar cases have also occurred in the FRG, Austria and some other West European countries.

These facts are a typical example of the political practices engaged in by the forces acting under the banner of international Zionism — a system of closely interconnected organisations of the Jewish nationalist bourgeoisie. This is the subject dealt with in the following brief survey.

Let us leave aside the underlying postulates of Zionism — essentially, the precept that "the Jews are a chosen people" and that they should "unite around Zion".[1] Lenin fully exposed its racist and chauvinist essence. One might merely recall his words to the effect that "absolutely untenable scientifically", the Zionist idea is "reactionary politically".[2]

Today, this conclusion is borne out not only by the well-known consequences of the

way the Zionists are using the Israeli ship of state for aggressive, expansionist purposes in the Middle East. Acting through a ramified network of its organisations in different countries and drawing on the financial strength of monopoly capital, Zionism now also serves as a direct tool of imperialism and international reaction as a whole in their global struggle against the forces of peace, democracy and socialism.

The contemporary network of international Zionism is fully controlled by a ruling tandem — the Israeli regime and the lobbies in the United States.[3] This is clearly reflected in the Charter of the *World Zionist Organisation* (WZO), the chief element of the network, under which Israeli delegates permanently have 38 per cent of the seats at its congresses, US Zionists have 29 per cent, and all others control 33 per cent. It is also symbolic that the WZO Executive Committee has its headquarters in both Jerusalem and New York.

The WZO unites Zionist parties and organisations in more than 60 countries of the non-socialist world, numbering — as it was announced at its 30th congress in late 1982 — some 1.5 million members in the Diaspora.[4] The WZO department of organisation comprises five regional sections — for the United States; for the English-speaking and Scandinavian countries; for Latin America; for Belgium, France, Italy, Turkey, Greece and Iran; and for German-speaking countries and the Netherlands. The emissaries of the department in these countries' Jewish communities exercise direct control over Zionist activities. Propaganda is the prerogative of the information department which sends Zionist literature to scores of countries. Also engaged in the manipulation of public opinion is the department of external relations, closely connected with the Israeli Foreign Ministry. The scope of WZO activities is quite broad — from "religious and cultural instruction" to subversive acts against progressive forces.

Affiliated in the WZO are international Zionist parties and organisations such as the *Herut* (in power in Israel together with the Israel Labour Party and active in eight West European countries, ten North, Central and South American nations, in South Africa and Australia); the *World Union of General Zionists* (represented by the Liberal Party in Israel and by the Zionist Organisation of America in the United States; branches in eight Latin American countries, in Australia and several West European nations); the *World United Zionist Confederation* (branches in 22 countries; US power base includes the Hadassah, the Jewish League for Israel and the B'Nai Zion); the *Mizrachi and Gapoel-Gamizrachi World Organisation* (closely connected with the National Religious Party and the Rabbinate of Israel; branches in 17 countries); the *Women's International Zionist Organisation* (active in 50 countries); *MAPAM* (styles itself a "Left Zionist party"; branches in the United States, Canada, Australia, seven West European and seven Latin American countries); the *World Labour Zionist Movement* (A Trojan horse of Zionism in the working class movement; represented in Israel by the Israel Labour Party; branches in more than 20 countries); and others. The WZO system also includes various youth and even children's organisations specialising in the Zionist brainwashing of the younger generation of Jews.

The WZO maintains close links with another major component in the structure of international Zionism — the Israeli-based *Jewish Agency*. The Department of Immigration and Assimilation, a key division in the Agency, is charged with the practical follow-up of the "ingathering of Jews at Mount Zion", with encouraging immigration and supplying Jewish communities with relevant information. At the assmilation centres, the immigrants are taught Hebrew and undergo massive Zionist indoctrination.

In recent years, the *World Jewish Congress* (branches in 67 countries) has become perceptibly more active. Although uniting organisations that are officially "non-Zionist", the Congress is related closely to the WZO and fully relies on Zionist doctrine in practical activities. Since the Congress does not view Jewish emigration to Israel as mandatory, its platform is particularly acceptable to the bourgeois elite of Jewish

communities, especially in the United States. The "non-Zionist" image enables the Congress to carry on activities neither the State of Israel nor the WZO nor the Jewish Agency can engage in openly.

Zionist organisations control over 1,000 newspapers, magazines and other periodicals published in tens of non-socialist countries. More than 350 are published in Hebrew and the rest, in the languages of the Diaspora — English, French, German, Spanish and others. Some 250 such publications appear in the United States. However, that is only the visible tip of the iceberg of Zionist propaganda. Its mechanism is a built-in feature of the overall capitalist mass media system: according to some estimates, the Zionists control more than 50 per cent of all US newspapers, periodicals and television channels. Zionist agents have also infiltrated and are active in the press, television and radio of other capitalist countries.

Rigorously centralised and far-flung, the organisational structure of contemporary Zionism enables its leaders to direct the activities of a whole network of locally based groups. In the United States alone, they number some 500. One cannot say, however, that they represent any significant part of the Jewish communities. In the United States, their members make up only 12 per cent of the Jews; in Great Britain, France and the Netherlands, about nine per cent. Of the 500,000 Jews living in Argentina, only 19,000 are "open" Zionists; in Uruguay, the ratio is 4,000 out of 55,000. Perhaps this is the reason behind the Zionist drive to rally gentiles to their banner. Significantly, the first international congress of "Zionist Christians", held in Switzerland in the spring of 1985, called on the world's Christians to support Israel.[5]

The WZO treasurer once admitted that half the WZO revenue comes from one per cent of those contributing to the US-based United Jewish Appeal fund, and that there are no "ordinary people" among this group of donors.[6] The same could be said about the many other financing agencies of international Zionism. In the United States, 55 per cent of such agencies' board members and officials are major property holders and high-level executives; 80 per cent of all contributions come in donations of at least 10,000 dollars.[7]

The Rothschild, Seligman, Warburg, Gugenheim Hirsch and Belmont banker clans financed the Zionist movement in the nineteenth century. Today, their ranks also include the Wolfsons, the Sieffs, the Spencers, the Clores and other families operating in the banking and insurance business, in industry and commerce.

The biggest group of donors is concentrated in the United States. In terms of their profit rates, the companies they control — Loeb, Rhodes and Hornblower; the Beitch Group; Goldman, Sachs and Co.; the Lehman Brothers, Kuhn Loeb and Co. — are in the front ranks of the US business community. There are also major Jewish capitalists in Great Britain, France, the FRG, Italy, the Netherlands and several other countries; they, too, pour money into the Zionist treasury. "Donations to Israel from Jewish communities are a widespread and variegated practice".

Still, it is US government assistance to Israel that remains the prime source of Zionist financing. Since 1948, Israel has received ten per cent of all resources earmarked by Washington for foreign countries. From 1948 to 1982, she received 25.3 billion dollars. In 1985 the assistance totalled more than 1.4 billion dollars and, according to some estimates, will reach 1.8 billion dollars in 1986. US loans to Israel are offered on more favourable terms than to any other country. Washington has repeatedly written off debts its Mideast ally ran up. Israel enjoys the unique privilege of floating her domestic securities in the United States.

Israel uses these donations and contributions not only to colonise the occupied Arab lands or to pursue her aggressive policy in the Middle East. Much of these resources is channelled into the subversive activities conducted by international Zionism against the socialist countries, the working class and national liberation movements, the forces of peace and democracy throughout the world. According to General George Keehan, a US intelligence expert, for every dollar of aid to Israel, the United States received

1,000 dollars' worth of various services provided by Zionist organisations. As noted in a classified CIA report leaked to the press, virtually all these organisations are connected with the Mossad, the Israeli intelligence service, which annually receives millions of dollars from a special account in Washington.[8]

Imperialism makes wide use of the opportunities for subversion offered by international Zionism in all aspects of imperialist strategy. Particularly great hopes are pinned on the Zionist quarters connected with the military-industrial complex[9] and capable of adding significantly to the escalation of international tensions.

It is common knowledge that the US Zionist lobby did much to swing US policy away from detente and orient it on confrontation and the arms race. At a meeting with the US Secretary of Defense in December 1979 Zionist officials opposed the SALT II Treaty and advocated a substantial increase of the Pentagon's budget. A resolution justifying Washington's arms build-up policy was adopted at a conference the Zionist lobbyists from the US-Israeli Public Affairs Committee held in May 1982. In 1983, Zionists in several countries followed Israel's lead and supported the extremely dangerous moves by the US administration to deploy new US nuclear missiles in Western Europe. The Zionist press and the Zionist-financed "think tanks" such as the US-based Heritage Foundation openly urge the White House to step up the arms build-up and the mass manufacture of nuclear, chemical and space weapons.

Imperialist reliance on the opportunities for subversion offered by Zionism was made clear during the Belgrade (1977) and Madrid (1980-1981) meetings of the parties to the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. In a bid to turn these forums into a bridgehead for ideological and political sabotage aimed against the socialist countries, attempts were undertaken — aided by special emissaries of international Zionism — to raise the so-called question of Soviet Jewry. As food for new anti-Soviet forays, this subject was also discussed in detail at the much-publicised conference of 60 leaders of Zionist centres and Jewish communities from different countries, held in London in October 1984.

The Zionists not only use their numerous channels to disseminate all sorts of slander about the USSR and other socialist countries but are also directly involved in spying operations and sabotage. At least 18 international Zionist centres of this kind have their headquarters in close proximity to the borders of the European socialist countries — in West Berlin and Vienna — and in Paris, Brussels and London. The WZO annually transfers large sums to them.

The WZO Executive Committee decided to switch from "covert sabotage" to open attacks against the socialist countries as far back as 1963. Several years later "blue-shirt storm troops" — the Jewish Defence League, the Student Campaign for Soviet Jewry, the Jewish Armed Resistance and other Zionist terrorist organisations — were set up, mostly in the United States. The United Jewish Movement and the Jewish Youth Committee are recent additions of the same ilk. The mode of operation of such organisations can be deduced from the 1982 Jewish Defense League Programme under which the League is to act anywhere in the world through boycott, persecution, psychological indoctrination and physical violence. Practical action is as blatant as the programme: the Zionists committed 360 provocations and terrorist acts against Soviet citizens in the United States over the first six months of 1983 alone — that is, twice a day.

Zionist terrorism is a tried and tested weapon used by imperialist reaction against the political figures it dislikes, primarily against Palestinian Resistance fighters. Let us recall a few facts. In 1972 Zionist agents assassinated Kh. Kanefani, Palestinian author, editor of the *Al-Khadaf* periodical and member of the Palestine National Liberation Front, and W. Zueiter, PLO representative in Rome. In 1973 the Zionists "liquidated" M. an-Najar, member of the PLO Executive Committee, and K. Adwan, member of the Al-Fattah Revolutionary Council. In 1979 A. Hasan, member of the PLO leadership, was assassinated.[10] The list could go on and on.

Imperialism also assigns a role to "respectable" Zionist organisations striving to impart a semblance of liberal attitudes to their nationalist and anti-communist activities. For example, the Socialist International-affiliated World Labour Zionist Movement works vigorously to secure Social Democratic Support for Zionism and anti-Sovietism. Similar functions in the working class movement are discharged by the branches of the Zionist party MAPAM in various countries of the non-socialist world. Histadrut, the Zionist-led Israeli trade union association, uses Zionist organisations as channels for its propaganda in the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and in the trade union federations of many countries.

A major objective of all these efforts is to offset the increasingly critical attitude to Israel's moves on the international scene, contaminate as many Jews as possible with the poison of nationalism and rally them to the Zionist banner or make them pro-Zionist, and to confuse world public opinion as to the essence and objectives of Zionism. Another task is to vigorously support imperialist propaganda, fight against the world's revolutionary and peace forces and foment anti-Sovietism and anti-communism as much as possible.

* * *

Huge financial resources, tactical manoeuvring, cunning demagoguery, thoroughly organised operations and assistance from the extremely reactionary political forces still enable international Zionism to confuse certain sections of world public opinion — in many cases to an even greater degree than it is possible for other forms and varieties of imperialist ideology and policy — and to do considerable damage to the cause of peace and progress. This explains the need for the firmest possible rebuff to any and all Zionist forays both in the sphere of ideological struggle and in practical politics.

Ali Ashur,
Communist Party of Israel
representative on *WMR*

[1] Mount Zion near Jerusalem. — *Ed.*

[2] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 7, p. 100.

[3] While the Zionist bourgeoisie is in direct control in Israel, in the United States it operates within the overall context of the imperialist policy pursued by the ruling class, at the same time striving — not unsuccessfully — to increase its own influence on life in the United States and on US foreign policy. It is common knowledge that there are openly pro-Israeli legislators in the US Congress. The Zionist lobby in the United States is represented by the Conference of Presidents of Major US Jewish Organisations, specialising in exerting pressure on the White House; The US-Israeli Public Affairs Committee, working through the US Congress; the National Conference for the Defense of Soviet Jewry; and influential sections of several major Jewish bourgeois-nationalist organisations that are not officially Zionist — B'Nai Brith, the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, the Synagogue Council of America, etc. The Israeli embassy in Washington maintains close cooperation with them.

[4] Outside Israel. — *Ed.*

[5] See *Le Monde*, May 3, 1985. The almost 600 delegates from 28 countries decided that an international investment fund of 100 million dollars was to be set up for Israel.

[6] See *Session of the Zionist General Council*, Jerusalem, February 11-15, 1973, pp. 23-24.

[7] See M. Sklare, *Conservative Judaism As American Religious Movement*, New York, 1972, p. 119; J. Yaffe, *The American Jews. Portrait of a Split Personality*, New York, 1969, p. 190.

[8] See *Newsweek*, November 3, 1979, p. 13.

[9] The alliance between the Zionists and the military-industrial complex is particularly visible in the United States where Zionists control some 20 giant companies. For example, the leadership of the American Jewish Committee has influential representatives on the board of Lockheed Aerospace, a company manufacturing 90 per cent of its products for the Pentagon. The Zionists are also on firm ground in General Dynamics, a producer of ballistic and cruise missiles, nuclear-powered submarines and bombers.

[10] Palestinians are far from the only targets of terrorism. It is also frequently directed at those whose only sin is their honest opinion of this or that aspect of Zionist activities. For example, this is what was behind the 1983 death of Jessica Savitch, a well-known US television journalist who narrated a truthful television film about the plight of the Soviet Jews who, lured by Zionist propaganda, left the Soviet Union and ended up in the United States.

the book scene

Strategy of Acceleration, Strategy of Peace

Mikhail Gorbachov, *Selected Speeches and Articles,* Politizdat, Moscow, 1985, 383 pp. (in Russian).

Chronologically, this book by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee covers a short period — from April to October 1985. But what a period this was in terms of its importance! I do not hesitate to refer to it as a turning point in the life of our party, our people and our country. It was a time of creative quests, decision-making and action to boost Soviet society into new dimensions of economic, socio-political and intellectual progress.

The author notes that the Soviet people have every right to take pride in their accomplishments in various aspects of the social fabric. Thousands of major industrial projects have been built. A great deal has been done to enhance the people's material prosperity and intellectual development. Real per capita incomes have grown fivefold over the past three and a half decades. We hold a secure position as the world's leader in many fields of production, science, technology and culture.

Life, however, keeps changing. The major economic and social shifts that objectively occurred in the Soviet Union during the past quarter of a century called for a profound analysis, for specification of immediate and long-term objectives, for the identification of the ways to attain them, for novel approaches to the party's organisational, socio-economic and ideological work and, above all, for the elaboration of a strategic course of the party, a course consonant with the spirit and the exigencies of the times.

This course has been charted. Mikhail Gorbachov substantiated and proclaimed it at the April 1985 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee. It is a course of accelerating the country's socio-economic development, a course shaped inexorably by both domestic and external political conditions. Without accelerated development, it is impossible to ensure the people's well being, the country's defence capacity, complete economic independence of the capitalist world, or the victory of socialism in the peaceful competition with capitalism.

The concept of acceleration aimed at securing a radically new dimension for Soviet society makes itself felt throughout the book. The acceleration is to be a comprehensive transformation not only of the economy but also of all other aspects of the social fabric.

The dynamic essence of life, the book points out, dictates the "need for further change and transformation, the need for society to attain a qualitatively new state in the broadest possible sense of the word. This implies, first and foremost, a scientific and technological renovation of production and the attainment of the world's highest level of labour productivity. It implies a perfection of social relations, primarily in the economic sphere. It implies far-reaching changes in the sphere of labour, in material and intellectual living conditions. It implies increased activity on the part of the entire system of political and social institutions, enhancement of socialist democracy and self-government by the people" (p. 9)

The party has presented the concept of acceleration to the people and to the 27th Congress. This concept is at the heart of the three documents submitted to the congress for consideration — the draft new edition of the Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the draft Party Rules (with proposed amendments) and the Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and up to the Year 2000.

The success of the planned acceleration will depend in decisive measure on radical changes in the economy and on its transfer to the path of intensification. All our cadres, the book emphasises, must grasp the vital need to reorient each enterprise, each industry and the entire economy on intensive development. In short, intensification means greater output, faster production, lower costs and better quality. It is particularly important to improve product quality and reliability. That is the only right way towards the increasingly full satisfaction of social and personal requirements, towards the elimination of the shortages that still exist.

Substantial acceleration of scientific and technological progress is the principal tool of intensifying the development of production. This does not imply an improvement of the technologies currently in operation or a partial modernisation of machinery and equipment but, instead, a shift to radically new technological processes, to new-generation technologies which increase labour productivity many times over, enhance production efficiency and considerably improve product quality. "It is essentially an effort to re-equip all branches of the national economy relying on the latest advances of science and technology" (p. 12).

Acceleration in the development of agriculture and the follow-up of the Food Programme remain an acute problem. And while positive changes have occurred in this field, the potential for a substantial growth in production is still great. The important thing is to use these opportunities more fully and promptly. Here, too, the objective can be reached by the use of the latest advances in science and technology and of highly efficient technologies.

The conference held in the CPSU Central Committee on June 11, 1985 was of fundamental importance for the acceleration of scientific and technological progress. The report delivered by Mikhail Gorbachov at the conference is quoted in the book. "Only intensification of production and reliance on the latest advances of science and technology", the author says, can make it possible to effect a complete technical re-equipment of the national economy and radically transform the material and technical infrastructure of our society within a historically short period (p 111).

A radical improvement and fundamental restructuring of the economic mechanism and of the entire system of economic management is another means of intensification. The book advances the concept of restructuring the economic mechanism: simultaneously with the continued promotion of centralisation in the tackling of strategic tasks, the rights and the autonomy of individual enterprises are to be expanded, the cost/efficiency principle is to be enhanced and, on this basis, the work collectives' responsibility for and the stake in the end results are to be upgraded.

There is a clear reference in the book to economic managers whose prime concern is to spend as much as possible and to receive as much as possible by increasing the rouble worth of the gross output. However, "today the 'investment-intensive' path of

economic development dooms the country to stagnation" (ibid.). Meanwhile, conversion from quantity and quality, from "investment-intensive" to frugal management opens the door wide to the application of the latest scientific and technological breakthroughs, to a consistent implementation of a nation-wide technological policy.

Conversion to a new level of production and management cannot be effected at once, by a dashing cavalry charge. It will take years and years. And one is truly surprised by the position of some people who expect to gain it all here and now, forgetting that it takes a lot of hard work, that we all have to think and to use the vast latent capacities our great country possesses.

These latent capacities are mentioned in the book. They are rooted in the extremely frugal use of raw and other materials, energy and manpower, in the identification, support and publicity of advanced expertise, and in socialist emulation with its long and glorious record — from the best workers of the first five-year periods and the Stakhanovite movement to the movement for the communist attitude to work.

The collection lays particular emphasis on the most important of our latent reserves — the promotion of the human factor, that is, efforts to step up the initiative and the creative endeavour of all Soviet people, to raise the professional and general intellectual level of each Soviet citizen. And "each" means what it says — from a worker or a collective farmer to a cabinet minister and the highest party and government official. This implies better organisation and stricter discipline, order and responsibility of each and everyone at all levels of our joint endeavour.

The author condemns resolutely and indignantly the phenomena that are alien to us and that hamper our progress — red tape, obsession with countless memos, complacency, bombast, empty rhetoric, eyewash, padded records, bribery, nepotism, embezzlement, hooliganism and alcoholism. The party will spare no effort to eliminate and uproot all these evils which are not to be tolerated in our bright and sunny life. And the people resolutely support this firm policy of the party.

A brief review reflects a relatively small range of the issues raised in the book — chiefly economic (for the economy is essential to everything) and human questions.

But the author raises many other questions too — political, social, population and environmental. Moreover, ways of tackling them are also proposed. An integral, systems approach to the solution of complex issues of accelerating the country's socio-economic development is a salient feature of the book. This approach is, of course, typical of the whole policy pursued by our party. "The human factor can be activated only through a well-considered economic strategy, an effective social policy and a purposeful ideological and educational effort, all taken in their indelible integrity" (p. 361).

The human factor — man, his life, his daily cares, his accomplishments — is closely connected with economic, political, social and other factors and is decisively important for the acceleration of the country's socio-economic development.

The new edition of the Third Programme of our party is "a programme of the struggle for peace and social progress" (p. 359). It is perfectly natural for the book to offer a profound and comprehensive examination of the issues of war and peace, of the socialist community, of social progress and of the world's working class, communist and national liberation movements.

The questions of war and peace, the most acute problems facing mankind, are in the foreground of these issues.

The policy pursued by the imperialist quarters who are ready to call into question the future of all nations increases the danger of a world nuclear war in which there can be neither winners nor losers and in which civilisation itself could perish. To coexist or not to exist is the hard and even cruel alternative confronting mankind.

The plans to militarise outer space pose a particularly grave threat. The White House is not only hatching but also moving to implement these schemes. Should any

country deploy weapons in outer space, a new and uncontrollable round of the arms race will begin. All safety valves will blow, such as the ABM Treaty or the strategic arms agreements and the like. Militarisation of outer space must be prevented. Space must be reserved as a field of peaceful cooperation. Space must serve peace. A realistic assessment of the situation "dictates the need of a search for solutions which would shift international relations to a different track, to the path of peaceful cooperation, stop the arms race, begin reductions of nuclear weapons and eventually eliminate them" (p. 304).

The Soviet Union is ready to adopt such decisions — decisions based on the understanding of the realities and the dangers that exist today and are sure to arise tomorrow if these decisions are not adopted now.

Our country has already taken several steps unilaterally — for example, the moratorium on all nuclear explosions. We have advanced — and we continue to advance — new major peace proposals. In his address to French members of parliament in Paris on October 3, 1985 Mikhail Gorbachov stated that the Soviet Union had proposed to the government of the United States that assault space weapons be prohibited for either side and that a radical, 50 per cent cut be effected in the nuclear weapons capable of reaching each other's territory. It was also proposed that a separate agreement be concluded on medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe. We have learned that part of the Soviet weapons of this type have been taken off the combat readiness status and that their stationary launchers would be dismantled within eight weeks. The deadline was met.

I hold that the text of the January 15, 1986 statement will shine in the book the General Secretary of our party's Central Committee is yet to prepare for publication. The statement is a truly historic document, a programme for the complete and universal elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000 with the renunciation of the development of assault space weapons. It is a programme for the elimination of chemical weapons, their stockpiles and the industrial infrastructure for their manufacture. It is a programme for a ban on the development of conventional weapons based on new physical principles of operation and approaching nuclear weapons in terms of their destructive performance.

A world without weapons is the ideal of socialism, and the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community spare no effort to achieve this goal. In our nuclear age which threatens all nations with extinction, a world without weapons has become the ideal of all mankind. If our programme is adopted, it will take a mere fifteen years to implement it and to usher in the third millennium without the threat of a "nuclear winter", under clear skies not overshadowed by deadly nuclear thunderheads. But this calls for immense efforts on the part of governments, political parties, all peace forces and all nations. The author makes this point resolutely and with passion.

The General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee responds to, approves and supports every valuable proposal, message or wish useful for the cause of peace, whatever its origin. The collection features his messages to the Union of Concerned Scientists, to the Japanese Council of the Victims of Atomic Bombing Raids, to Chairman Willy Brandt of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, to Mrs Jane Smith, to the participants of the Perugia to Assisi Peace March and to other organisations and individuals.

This is additional proof highlighting the attentive, sincere and concerned attitude of the CPSU and of its leader to the cause of peace and social progress on our planet.

That, briefly, is what the book is about. It is a book showing a profound and all-round analysis, a book permeated with commitment to the cause and principles of the party. Yet it is a profoundly critical book which expresses alarm whenever it deals with our drawbacks or mistakes or with the future of mankind, with issues of war and peace. At the same time, it is a bright, optimistic book reflecting the conviction that the

Communist Party of the Soviet Union and our people, firmly united, will overcome all obstacles and accomplish every task we have set ourselves.

Academician *Victor Afanasiev*
member of the CPSU Central Committee,
editor-in-chief of *Pravda*

Unforgettable Years

Pieter Keuneman, *Sri Lanka and the Victory over Fascism,* Pragathi Publishers, Colombo, 1985, 90 pp.

Keuneman's book stands out because it is among the few books on World War II published in a developing country. It relates the world-wide struggle of the forces of democracy, progress and socialism against fascist enslavement, a struggle accompanied by the rapid advance of the national liberation movement in general. Whilst making a penetrating analysis of global events of the period, the book offers a detailed account of the Sri Lanka people's anti-colonial struggle and the role of the country's Communists and other left forces in it.

The author's personality gives the book special value. Pieter Keuneman, a noted figure in the international communist and working class movement, Chairman of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka, witnessed and often participated in the events depicted in his book. He was a student in Europe from 1936 until 1940 and saw with his own eyes the emergence of an anti-fascist movement that grew in step with the build-up of the Nazi regime. Nor was it long before he, then a young Marxist, joined in the movement.

The author points out, however, that in those days many people were still unaware of the grave danger posed by Hitler fascism. In the British and French colonies, some fighters for national liberation even regarded the fascists as potential allies. The Soviet Union and the Comintern, which stressed the need to join efforts against the "brown plague", were the first to reveal the essence of fascism as an openly reactionary, savage, terroristic, racist and bellicose form of dictatorship of monopoly capitalism, a form presenting the greatest threat to the working class movement in all countries, to the independence of all states, to international peace.

The fate which Nazism reserved for Asians was revealed by Hitler at a secret military conference on November 5, 1937: "We must clear territories of the local people . . . If you ask me what I mean by that, I will reply: exterminate entire racial groups, . . . millions of members of the lower races who multiply like vermin" (p. 83).

The realities of the early war years opened the eyes of African and Asian peoples to the danger of fascism. As for the illusions of those in our region who believed in the Japanese militarists' "liberating mission", they were dispelled when the atrocities perpetrated by the new colonisers on the territories seized by them came out.

The author makes an analysis of developments in Sri Lanka[1] shortly before and during the war. An active participant in political events from 1940 onwards, Keuneman recounts them more convincingly and with greater authenticity than many other analysts, doing it from the communist perspective. The relevant section contains an abundance of little known facts many of which are bound to arouse interest and possibly to call forth debate in the ranks of the national Left.

At the early stage, the dominant trend in the island's liberation movement, led by members of the domestic bourgeoisie, stood for constitutional reforms rather than political independence. The thirties saw the rise of Marxist circles. Their emergence was associated with the name of Sugeeshwara Wickremasinghe, a founder of the CPSL who was its Chairman until his death in 1981. He came into contact with the international communist movement in the latter twenties, while studying in Europe, and was the first to spread revolutionary ideas in his country.

The national liberation struggle was given a new spur with the formation in Colombo and other cities of youth leagues and the founding of the Socialist Party of Ceylon (Lanka Sama Samaja Party /LSSP/, 1935), which declared its main objectives to be independence and socialism. Those who advanced these slogans derived inspiration from the victory of the October Revolution and the example of the Soviet Union. Whilst defending the interests of the peoples of Ceylon, the Socialist Party also supported the anti-colonial movement in India and elsewhere, and identified itself with the anti-fascist struggle, as during the civil war in Spain (see p. 52).

In 1940, however, some of the LSSP leaders who were influenced by Trotskysim provoked a split in it and virtually deserted to the imperialist camp. They launched an anti-Soviet slander campaign and had Communists as well as all other supporters and friends of the Soviet Union expelled from the organisation.

It was the Communist Party, founded on July 3, 1943, that was destined to continue the progressive traditions of the movement for independence. Wickremasinghe became its Chairman and Keuneman, its General Secretary.

With the intensification of hostilities in the Pacific and then in Southeast Asia, Ceylon gained in strategic importance. After the Japanese had overrun Malaya, Indonesia and some other countries, the island was transformed into the chief British naval base in the Indian and Pacific oceans. The allied command in Southeast Asia set up headquarters in Kandy. Besides, the country was the only supplier of rubber in the region, and rubber was a highly strategic raw material, that was also exported to the Soviet Union. The trade unions, in which the Communists were playing a leading role, helped keep up rubber deliveries even after April 1942, when the Japanese launched bombing attacks against the island.

During the war the Communists concentrated on exposing the man-hating nature of fascism and on spreading the truth about the Soviet Union, which was bearing the brunt of the war against Hitler Germany. To this end they sponsored mass rallies and meetings and brought out publications in Singhalese, Tamil and English. It is worthy of note that Keuneman wrote *The Soviet Way* (1942), the first book about the USSR to come out in our country. The Communists made it clear to the people that the country could win freedom from colonial oppression only if fascism were defeated and the war carried through to a victorious end.

In 1943, an organisation called the Ceylon Friends of the Soviet Union (CFSU) was set up. It made a major contribution to solidarity with the Soviet people's fight against the Nazi invaders and with the anti-fascist movement. The organisation soon had 9,000 activists, apart from a large number of affiliate members, such as trade unions, youth leagues, student associations, sports, religious and other organisations. The CFSU held rallies, lectures, seminars and exhibitions and published pamphlets, as well as a monthly called the *Lanka-Soviet Journal*. Its contributors in those years included noted politicians, such as Solomon Bandaranaike, the former Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, and J. R. Jayawardene, the present President. The book quotes passages from their articles about the Soviet state (see pp. 65-57).

The Ceylon Trade Union Federation,[2] formed under the Communists' leadership, played a key role in mobilising the working class and fostering its solidarity with the international anti-fascist movement, being the biggest and, in fact, the only functioning trade union centre at the time. The Federation coupled this work with defence of the class interests of the working people and with the fight for national liberation. Keuneman notes that many of the rights that the workers of the country enjoy to this day were won during World War II.

In a statement issued on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism and Japanese militarism, the CC of the CPSL said.: "It is to the credit of the Marxist-Leninist understanding that guides our party that although we had been just formed and then were forced by British colonialism to work under conditions of illegality we were able to arrive at correct conclusions and mobilise the workers and

other progressive forces to make whatever contribution we could to this struggle."[3]

Keuneman describes the victory over German fascism and its allies as "the second (after the Great October Socialist Revolution. — *R.C.*) major contribution that the Soviet people have made . . . to the radical transformation of the world" (p. 9). The main result of the victory was that it weakened the positions of imperialism and led to the ascent of the forces of socialism and national liberation. This process was also in evidence in Ceylon.

Unlike other colonies, Sri Lanka did not have to pay a heavy price in lives for its independence. Keuneman attributes this to the fact that "people in other lands gave their lives to create international conditions that made our advance to political freedom easier and less bloody than most". This is why, he writes, "we owe a big debt of gratitude to the freedom-fighters of neighbouring India and to the millions of Soviet citizens who perished in order to stop Hitlerite fascism's drive for world domination" (p. 81).

Six in every ten inhabitants of today's Sri Lanka were born after the war. So was roughly half the population of the globe. The 40th anniversary of victory reminded old and young people alike of the death, suffering and privations which the war brought to millions, and of the need to thing of the bitter experience of the past and join in the effort to accomplish the paramount task of today, that of staving off a Third World War.

Looking into the historical connection between events that have occurred over the past years and the present situation in the world, the author points out the manifest similarity of the methods which the US imperialists use today in trying to impose their will on other nations to the behaviour of fascist regimes in the thirties and forties.

Imperialism, Pieter Keuneman writes on the last page of his book, "has obviously still to learn the important lesson of the defeat of fascism and the four decades thereafter — namely, that socialism and national liberation are irreversible processes that cannot be stopped without destroying the world itself".

Raja Collure
CC Political Bureau member,
Communist Party of Sri Lanka

[1] Called Ceylon until 1972.
[2] Subsequently called the Ceylon Federation of Trade Unions. — *Ed.*
[3] *Forward*, May 15, 1985.

New Books

Ye. T. Grebnev, *Managerial Innovations*, Ekonomika Publishers, Moscow, 1985, 159 pp. (in Russian)

The book deals with the basic theoretical aspects and methods of effective managerial innovations. The main attention is focused on questions not yet covered adequately by researchers, specifically on identifying and gauging the economic effect of this or that managerial innovation against the background of general economic results, on enhancing the effectiveness of innovations through the integrated study of behavioral and technologial factors and on managing and regulating the introduction of progressive innovations through the mechanism of evaluation, planning, analysis and eoconomic stock-taking.

Jaime Wheelock Román, Tomás Borge, *Nicarágua: o grande desafio* (Nicaragua: The Great Confrontation), Editorial Caminho, Lisbon, 1985, 154 pp.

The authors — members of the National Leadership of the Sandinist Front of National Liberation (SFNL) and Nicaragua's cabinet ministers — stress that the

tensions connected with the situation around their country are mostly the product of the undeclared war launched by US imperialism. Washington has imposed an economic blockade on Nicaragua, is financing, arming and training the gangs of Somoza's counter-revolutionaries in neighbouring countries and resorting to other subversive moves. Attempts to distort the Sandinist revolution in the eyes of world public opinion are also dealt with comprehensively in the book. The authors expose the slanderous inventions of US propaganda, outline the history and the structure of the SFNL and explain the domestic and foreign policy pursued by the new Nicaragua.

Abd al-Latif Hashem, *Absolute Monarchy in Saudi Arabia,* Tariq al-Kadihin Publishers, 1985, 90 pp. (in Arabic)

The Marxist scholar from Saudi Arabia examines his country's recent history, the current situation and the principles underlying the domestic policy of the monarchy. Analysing the development of capitalism in Saudi Arabia and its synthesis with the feudal socio-economic system, the author notes that the "oil boom" and vigorous infiltration of the country by imperialist monopolies were among the principal factors behind the emergence and spread of bourgeois social relations.

Emanzipation in der Krise? (Emancipation Amid a Crisis?), Herausgegeben vom Arbeitskreis Frauenfrage des IMSF, Institut für Marxistische Studien und Forschungen, Frankfort on the Main, 1985, 281 pp.

Prepared by West German Marxists, this collection is devoted to the position of women in the FRG — specifically, to their growing unemployment and discrimination in hiring. Numerous facts are cited to highlight the adverse effects of reductions in government spending on the construction of day care centres, on education and health care. The government's policy of dismantling the social fabric is accompanied by an ideological campaign whose architects are trying to make women believe that housekeeping should be their chief occupation. The authors of the book show that the conservatives quarters' attempts to curtail the rights of women are rebuffed vigorously by the democratic forces which regard gainful employment as essential for genuine emancipation.

Here We Go! Women's Memories of the 1984/1985 Miners' Strike. Published by the London Political Committee, Cooperative Retail Services Ltd. 1985, 88 pp.

Extensive participation by the strikers' wives, mothers and daughters was a salient feature of the British miners' strike. Women were on picket lines, organised demonstrations of support, managed soup kitchens, raised money and went proudly through the ordeal of arrests, insults and reprisals the authorities unleashed to break the spirit of the workers. The book contains eyewitness accounts of dramatic events that occurred in the coal basins of Yorkshire, Kent and Nottingham, recalls the expressions of solidarity with the strikers and traces the rise in women's political awareness. The authors of the collection stress that conservative stereotypes of women's role in the country's political and social fabric were collapsing overnight. Even those women who could be described as politically least conscious moved resolutely to join the struggle and spoke passionately at meetings and rallies. The book closes with these words of one of the courageous British women: "I would be proud to tell my daughter's children that I was active in the strike . . . We have made history . . . We were living it and making it." The collection is illustrated with photographs, cartoons and posters of the period.

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